

**A new Mezzogiorno? Exploring agro-towns and inequality in Southern Italy through a collective agricultural system in Apulia, 1600-1900**

*“What do people do here? I once asked at a little town between Rome and Naples; and the man with whom I talked, shrugging his shoulders, answered curtly, ‘c’è miseria’, there’s nothing but poverty... I have seen poverty enough, and squalid conditions of life, but the most ugly and repulsive collection of houses I ever came upon was the town of Squillace”.*<sup>1</sup>

George Gissing’s ‘rambles’ through Southern Italy at the turn of the twentieth century led him to remark extensively on the topography. In particular, he frequently mentioned the miserable living conditions of the people he encountered who tended to live huddled together in large impoverished towns. His account is made all the more interesting by the fact that (a) Southern Italy is today more economically disadvantaged than Northern Italy with some of the poorest social and economic infrastructures in Western Europe,<sup>2</sup> and (b) this habitation pattern within large towns has been retained in large parts of modern Southern Italy. While alternative settlement patterns do exist in Southern Italy including small villages and isolated farms, it is undeniable that the distribution of large concentrated towns is prolific.<sup>a</sup> It is also a settlement structure often seen in other areas of the Mediterranean such as in central and southern parts of the Iberian Peninsula, regions of mainland Greece, and in parts of Northern Africa. These large agglomerated settlements are often referred to as ‘agro-towns’, pointing to their essentially agricultural function.

The prevalence and persistence of agro-towns across Southern Italy (and indeed across large parts of the Mediterranean) is curious, but as yet is not well explained in the literature. This is unfortunate because understanding the roots behind the agro-town structure may shed some light on economic underdevelopment in Southern Italy and Spain; especially given an explicit link has often been made between these towns and poverty. The Italian government in fact recognised the problems linked to persistent habitation within agro-towns

---

<sup>a</sup> See figure 1 for a rough geographical distribution of agro-towns in Southern Italy. For alternative settlement structures in Southern Italy see endnotes 62 and 63 of this paper.

in the South, and in the mid twentieth century actually expropriated land from large estates to give to poor labouring families to entice them into living away from the towns.<sup>3</sup> The aim of this paper is to examine the roots and development of this quite distinctive Mediterranean settlement pattern by focusing explicitly on Southern Italy.

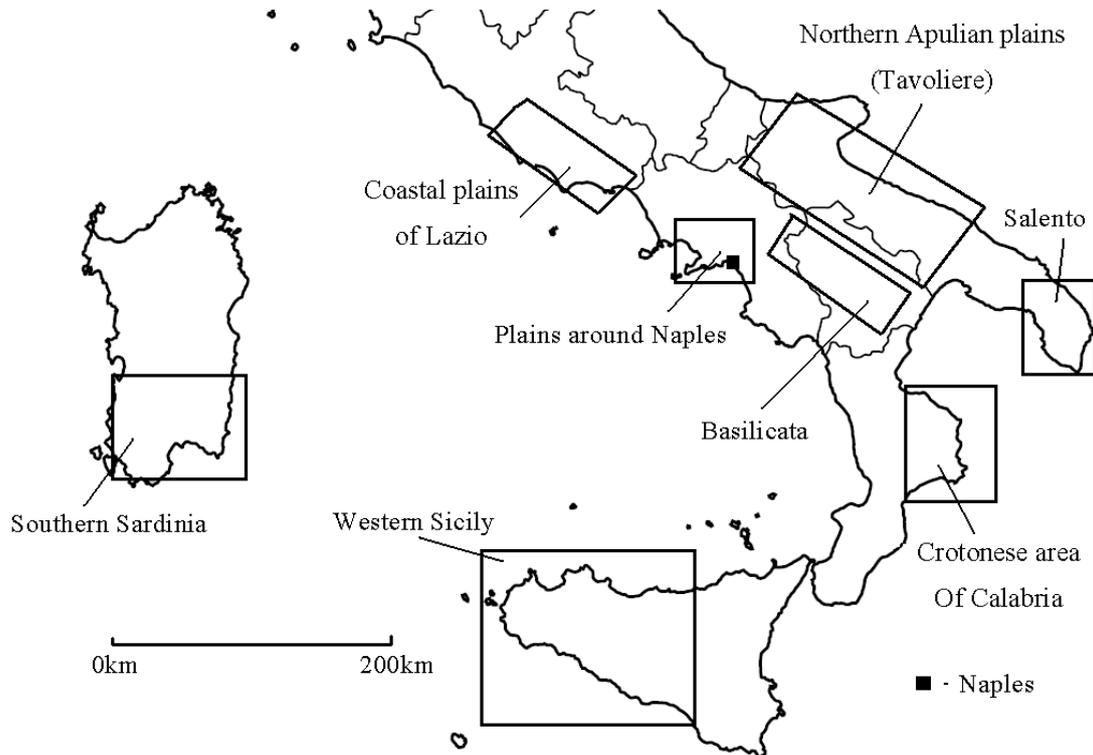


FIGURE 1. Rough locations of main agro-town areas of Southern Italy<sup>b</sup>

Very initial work on agro-towns saw their formation as a logical grouping together of people in what was an essentially harsh environment. Early twentieth-century geographers highlighted poor access to water as a reason for settlement concentration.<sup>4</sup> Connected to this point, some geographers put precedence on the incidence and threat of malaria, particularly out on the plains.<sup>5</sup> After all, at the end of the nineteenth century, malaria killed around nine times more people in Southern Italy than in Northern and Central Italy combined.<sup>6</sup> Other scholars, even famous ones such as Max Weber and Fernand Braudel, alluded to the fact that many parts of Southern Italy were subject to widespread lawlessness and perpetual insecurity,

<sup>b</sup> Even the concentrated towns vary in structure. In Western Sicily and the Northern Apulian plains there is a proliferation of very large agro-towns, while in areas such as Southern Basilicata (Lucania) there is still a pattern of concentrated settlement amongst mainly deserted countryside – but the settlements are much smaller in size.

and that living out in the countryside was not a ‘rational’ decision.<sup>7</sup> These arguments were not convincing at all. Many of the same conditions are found all over the world even today, in places not necessarily characterised by agro-towns. Environmental determinism was not a satisfactory explanation and causal conditions were not dealt with systematically.

A new group of scholars based largely (though not exclusively) around the disciplines of ethnology and anthropology later added some sophistication to these environmentally deterministic interpretations, however. These scholars generally framed the proliferation of agro-towns across much of the Mediterranean in a negative light, emphasizing the role played by specific social and economic conditions such as high levels of inequality and widespread poverty.<sup>8</sup> In particular, scholars tended to link Southern Italian agro-towns with grain cultivation exploited through a series of large estates known as *latifundia* with minimal capital investment.<sup>9</sup> Latifundist estates tended to be hundreds and sometimes over a thousand hectares in area, cultivated almost entirely by agricultural labourers, often on short-term contracts and even on a day-by-day basis.<sup>10</sup>

Other ‘negative’ interpretations of agro-towns in parts of the Mediterranean were linked to scholarly interest in the so-called ‘Mediterranean mindset’ or embedded cultural values. Towns were logical given a widespread culturally ingrained distaste for the countryside, whereby inhabitants exalted virtues of ‘urban’ life.<sup>11</sup> Connected with this was the apparent ‘regionalism’ of many areas of the South, where inhabitants had high levels of local patriotism and identification with their town of origin.<sup>12</sup> Such towns were home to internal discontent expressed in hostile entrenched class attitudes between landowners and labourers.<sup>13</sup> The inhabitants of these agro-towns apparently displayed animosity to other towns in the vicinity: indicative of a closed character.<sup>14</sup> Culture and politics came together most closely in the work of Robert Putnam, whose famous and somewhat controversial thesis posited that Southern Italy was a place where people had no concept of ‘citizenship’ or civic tradition.<sup>15</sup> The lack of trust apparently offered fertile conditions for the proliferation of mafia organisation,<sup>16</sup> led to the poor performance of Southern credit cooperation,<sup>17</sup> and led in a more general sense to dysfunction of financial institutions.<sup>18</sup> Of course, these kinds of views on

Southern Italy were informed by wider literature linking culture to economic performance.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Putnam's thesis at the time seemed convincing given other works had suggested agro-towns in Southern Italy lacked urban functions and municipal institutions,<sup>20</sup> and furthermore had no tradition of jurisdictional control over their rural hinterlands in the way that Northern and Central Italian city-states controlled their own surrounding countryside.<sup>21</sup>

In that sense, the explanation of the agro-town in the Mediterranean came to be framed in an entirely negative story of inequality. Some might even say these ideas were placed within a narrative of Southern 'backwardness'; a place of extreme social and economic polarities, a place without a civic-consciousness, closed societies, and a place which never appeared to take the 'step forward' towards modernisation.<sup>22</sup> Southern Italy was portrayed as a place mired in antiquated feudal relations with little room for dynamic change: some historians emphasized the reinforcement of feudal powers in the transition to the early-modern period.<sup>23</sup> Agro-towns were linked in a general sense then (without real causal links established) to inequality, widespread '*miseria*', and persistent institutional and economic structures.<sup>24</sup> Apparently they varied little in their economic function and one study even goes as far as to say 'one agrotown resembled most others economically'.<sup>25</sup>

The problem with this negative explanatory framework for the agro-town in Southern Italy was that it was rarely historically rigorous.<sup>26</sup> Thus, from the literature cited above we actually cannot easily discern whether agro-towns are a recent phenomenon, only emerged within the past few centuries, or have medieval or even ancient antecedents. The long-term processes leading to the emergence of the agro-towns were not properly considered, with little explicit focus on chronology. Even some of the best sociological work identifying many different 'types' of *Mezzogiorno* (Southern Italy) failed to go back much before 1860.<sup>27</sup> In some cases historical sources were not used at all.<sup>28</sup>

Fortunately, some of the best historical scholarship on Southern Italy in the past thirty years (driven forward by impressive work from the *Istituto di Studi sulle Società del Mediterraneo* based in Naples) has gone some way to addressing flaws in the previous methodology. In fact, in contrast to agro-towns being framed in an entirely negative story of

Southern stagnation and backwardness, historians have focused on different regions of Southern Italy and shown agro-towns as part of a more 'positive' story. Biagio Salvemini in his study on an area of Central Apulia skilfully went back as far as the sixteenth century to show the view of agro-towns as being 'backward', immobile, economically irrational, dysfunctional, and with market weaknesses, totally without foundation.<sup>29</sup> Salvemini instead highlighted how agro-towns fitted into an adaptive agricultural and economic system, subject to the pressure of international markets and changing balances between arable and pastoral lands.<sup>30</sup> Rather than a simplistic association between agro-towns and *latifundia*, scholars such as Angelo Massafra, Saverio Russo and Annastella Carino have shown a greater complexity of tenurial structure including the proliferation of micro-plots in the early-modern period.<sup>31</sup>

Similarly, Eleni Sakellariou has shown that real urban centres emerged in Apulia as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; outward-looking places with high numbers of their inhabitants involved in non-agricultural activity and economically integrated into regional markets.<sup>32</sup> Apulian merchants and artisans actively participated in commercial exchange in a combination of regional and long-distance trading opportunities.<sup>33</sup> This was in contrast to a previous view likening Apulia almost to a 'colony' of the Venetian State; a significant client for agricultural produce.<sup>34</sup> Sakellariou's interpretation finds wider consensus with other scholars working on Apulia from the early-modern period.<sup>35</sup> Rather than emphasizing the over-arching grip of central political power from Naples or the economic might of Northern city-states,<sup>36</sup> these studies lend themselves more to economic development stimulated through local or regional interest groups.<sup>37</sup> Some of these towns even came to have some limited jurisdictional control over subordinate settlements in their rural hinterlands, not just in Apulia but also in Campania.<sup>38</sup> Scholars have even disputed the perceived wisdom that Southern Italian agro-towns had no municipal or urban functions, for example in parts of Salerno, and also in the towns of Reggio Calabria and Avellino.<sup>39</sup> One such function of these towns was increasingly to hold periodic markets and fairs.<sup>40</sup>

The formation of agro-towns in Sicily was initially linked by Henri Bresc to a reliance on a complete grain monoculture dictated by the exploitation of southern markets by

northern commercial elites.<sup>41</sup> However, exceptional work from Stephan Epstein was able to challenge Bresc's view by showing how Sicilian towns from the late Middle Ages onwards exhibited highly diversified economies and produced a vast array of items for regional trade.<sup>42</sup> In fact Sicily benefited from a lack of urban monopolies or protectionism; institutional configurations which conversely held back regions such as Tuscany in the transition to the early-modern period.<sup>43</sup> The development of the South is no longer approached simply through a North-South paradigm.<sup>44</sup> Like Apulia, concentrated towns in Sicily also developed in a context of regional networks of trade.<sup>45</sup> Where previous 'negative' interpretations of the development of agro-towns had highlighted their almost exclusively agricultural and closed character, more recent historical work on Southern Italy is instead putting forward their diversified and integrated features.<sup>46</sup> Agro-towns apparently were products of more complex ecological systems, connected with wider territories and other networks of towns.<sup>47</sup> This same complexity in the Mezzogiorno has been extended to research at the household level too: while early work suggested that Northern and Central Italy were typified by larger complex households while the small nuclear household was characteristic of Southern Italy,<sup>48</sup> later work has shown an entire diversity in household structure – proving a death-knell to big theories about the Southern Italian family.<sup>49</sup>

Previous historical literature had suggested that an economic divergence between Northern and Southern Italy had already been drawn in the Middle Ages.<sup>50</sup> However, the economic position of the Kingdom of Naples is now beginning to be revised in a general sense, particularly through important and skilled research by Paolo Malanima. Malanima has used comparative data such as wage series to show that before the end of the nineteenth century a gap between Northern and Southern Italy barely existed.<sup>51</sup> Similar lines of argument have been made with GDP.<sup>52</sup> The notion of pre-industrial backwardness in the South has drastically been revised, also with support from Stefano Fenoaltea and Giovanni Federico. Even the scale of nineteenth- and twentieth-century *latifundia* has now been reconsidered, where new literature is highlighting a greater variety of modes of exploitation.<sup>53</sup> Old views of conservative landlords more concerned with ostentation than agricultural improvements have

been challenged.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, in 1860 numbers engaged in 'industrial' occupations were higher in the South than the North.<sup>55</sup> That is not to say the pre-twentieth-century *Mezzogiorno* has now been painted as some sort of utopia, however: scholars have also recognised that at the time of Unification, Southern Italy displayed in many areas low levels of literacy and life-expectancy.<sup>56</sup>

Thus, it is clear that scholarly literature on the economics and society of Southern Italy has become far more nuanced and sophisticated in recent years. A particular feature of these new interpretations is a greater appreciation of diversity and dynamism in economic activity in the South supported by a wide variety of institutional structures. However, this still poses some problems for understanding why the agro-town was a general phenomenon across a large part of Southern Italy (and the Mediterranean at large). We know now that Southern Italy was not as backward, isolated and conservative as once thought and exhibited a level of market integration, non-agricultural activity and tenurial complexity. But the point is so did many places in pre-industrial Europe – it did not mean that all these places were characterised by an overwhelming tendency for habitation within large towns, however.

Therefore, in this paper it is suggested that both the 'negative' older interpretations (of the anthropologist and ethnographic tradition), and the more 'positive' newer interpretations (of the historical, economic and archaeological tradition) can both be correct. Agro-towns did proliferate in Southern Italy because of widespread and often extreme inequalities in the distribution of land. However, this does not mean that highly unequal land distribution within the South necessarily has to be logically connected with things like *latifundia* or feudal structures or stigmatised by notions of 'backwardness' or an unchanging society. In that sense the old view highlighting Mediterranean inequality and the new views highlighting diversity and dynamism in the economic and social structures do not have to be mutually oppositional. Agro-towns then may have been connected with high levels of inequality in the distribution of land in Southern Italy as a general phenomenon, but that does not mean there was just one 'Southern Italian path' towards inequality based around loaded terms like 'stagnation', 'conservatism', or 'backwardness'.<sup>57</sup>

In the first section of the paper it will be shown that agro-towns tended to be connected with high inequalities in the distribution of land in Southern Italy, and this association between inequality and large concentrated towns goes back at least to the eighteenth century, but probably even earlier. In the second section of the paper it will be shown agro-towns did not necessarily develop through latifundist agriculture and conservative structures, but were actually part of dynamic and flexible institutional structures for managing economy and agriculture. This is shown by a more detailed case study of two towns within Apulia: Ascoli Satriano and Locorotondo. As a general point, this paper supports the more recent work (mainly written in Italian) revising a previous image of Southern Italy as conservative and backward, and wishes to assert that point to an international audience which may not be able to access the Italian literature.

## I. AGRO-TOWNS AND INEQUALITY

One of the problems with the early anthropological and ethnographic literature on inequality and agro-towns in the Mediterranean is that the link was rarely tested systematically – only merely suggested.<sup>58</sup> In this section, the connection between polarised distributions of landholding and the proliferation of agro-town structures is explored further using a comparative approach. Although the large concentrated town is a general phenomenon across large parts of Southern Italy, it has also been recognised that there are certain areas which do not conform to this model of settlement. In fact, there are some areas of Southern Italy which exhibited a more dispersed pattern of settlement; smaller villages and hamlets or scattered houses and farmsteads. The Murgia in Central Apulia, most of the Abruzzo, parts of Eastern Sicily, and the Cosentino area of Calabria certainly did not conform to the agro-town model.<sup>59</sup> The same is true of other parts of the Mediterranean such as Portugal: large towns may dominate in the Alentejo regions to the south, but further to the north small scattered hamlets dominate.<sup>60</sup> With that in mind, a simple question we can ask is whether the areas which did not conform to the typical pattern of agro-towns had more equitable distributions of land than

those agro-town areas. This question is first addressed by taking some comparative examples of the Gini indexes for inequality in the distribution of property in the twentieth century from across the Mediterranean. For clarification, a figure of 0 on the Gini index would represent a totally equal society (resources distributed evenly between all landholders), while 1 would represent a totally unequal society (resources consolidated in the hands of one interest group).

TABLE 1.  
*Gini indexes for various places in the Mediterranean, twentieth century*

	<i>Place</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>GI</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Agro-towns	(Genuardo) <sup>c</sup>	Sicily, Italy	Pre-1966	0.88	Blok
	Trapani	Sicily, Italy	1947	0.76	INEA
	Pisticci	Basilicata, Italy	1972	0.81	Davis
	Crotone	Calabria, Italy	1972	0.89	ISTAT
	Alcala	Andalucia, Spain	1970	0.87	Davis
	Vila Velha	Beira Baixa, Portugal	1970	0.75	Davis
	Huelva (province)	Andalucia, Spain	1982	0.86	Sanchez
	Cádiz (province)	Andalucia, Spain	1982	0.83	Sanchez
Small villages / dispersed settlements	Conversano	Apulia, Italy	1972	0.57	Galt
	Locorotondo	Apulia, Italy	1972	0.55	Galt
	Alberobello	Apulia, Italy	1972	0.63	Galt
	Cisternino	Apulia, Italy	1972	0.52	Galt
	Fontelas	Alto Douro, Portugal	1978	0.56	O'Neill <sup>d</sup>
	Cosentino area <sup>e</sup>	Calabria, Italy	1929	0.63	CA 1929
	Zumpano	Calabria, Italy	1972	0.59	Davis
	Belmonte	Asturias, Spain	1970	0.70	Galt 'Social'

*Sources:* Galt, *Far from the church bells*, 28-9; 'Social stratification on Pantelleria, Italy', *Ethnology* **19** (1980), 410; A. Blok, *The mafia of a Sicilian village, 1860-1960* (Oxford, 1974), 251; INEA, *La distribuzione della proprietà fondiaria in Italia* (Rome, 1947); ISTAT, *Secondo censimento generale dell'agricoltura, 25 ottobre 1970* (Rome, 1972); *Catasto agrario 1929. Compartimento delle Calabrie. Provincia di Cosenza* (Rome, 1936), fasc. 79; Davis, *People of the Mediterranean*, table 6; A. Rafael Peña Sánchez & J. Rodríguez García, 'La concentración de la tierra en Andalucía en la década de los 80: una aproximación cuantitativa', *Estudios Regionales* **46** (1996), 211-39; O'Neill, *Social inequality*, 72-3.

<sup>c</sup> Parentheses indicate a pseudonym since the place's real identity is unknown.

<sup>d</sup> Own calculation from database of O'Neill's transcribed landholding survey.

<sup>e</sup> Including the same individual settlements as in table 4 for the eighteenth century.

As a general trend from the table, it appears that agro-towns seem more frequently to be associated with higher levels of inequality in land distribution than in areas of the Mediterranean that do not conform to the agro-town pattern. The levels of polarisation in the agro-town areas were probably even higher than the figures presented given that most of the Italian examples come after the land reforms of the mid-twentieth century. However, as mentioned already, one of the problems with the (often older) literature emphasizing the connection between inequality and agro-towns in Southern Europe is that it is not always historically rigorous. We have plenty of data from the twentieth century on land distribution, but the point is that agro-towns did not suddenly appear in the twentieth century. Furthermore, the polarisation of resources was not a modern phenomenon – it probably had existed over a long period. If any kind of legitimate connection can be made between the proliferation of agro-towns and high levels of land inequality, we first have to take our comparative analysis back in time – preferably to the point in the past when the actual agro-town concentrated structure was beginning to take shape. This issue will be addressed by firstly looking in more detail at my own comparative historical case study of two areas in Apulia (Ascoli Satriano and Locorotondo), and then secondly these findings are fleshed out with some comparisons taken from other parts of Southern Italy.

Ascoli Satriano is located on the edge of a large plain in Northern Apulia known as the Tavoliere. Archaeological evidence suggests that earliest human habitation at Ascoli was around the ninth century BCE.<sup>61</sup> Similar dated earthworks have been found all over these plains.<sup>62</sup> In the Roman period, Ascoli ('Ausculum' as it was known then<sup>63</sup>) was a small cluster of habitations connected to a wider network of scattered villas operated by slave labour and focused on grain cultivation.<sup>64</sup> When the Western Roman Empire began to collapse in fourth and fifth centuries, many of these farms were abandoned.<sup>65</sup> On the surface this fits with the influential thesis of Jean-Marie Martin, who framed early medieval settlement on the Apulian plains as a case of total depopulation with a retraction of cultivation and a re-growth of woodlands.<sup>66</sup> Nonetheless, there were some signs of continuity between the Roman and early medieval periods at Ascoli (on the plains in general).<sup>67</sup> An archaeological project at the villa

of Faragola, two kilometres outside the current location of Ascoli, has shown how the settlement readapted from an elite aristocratic residence into a small peasant village.<sup>68</sup>

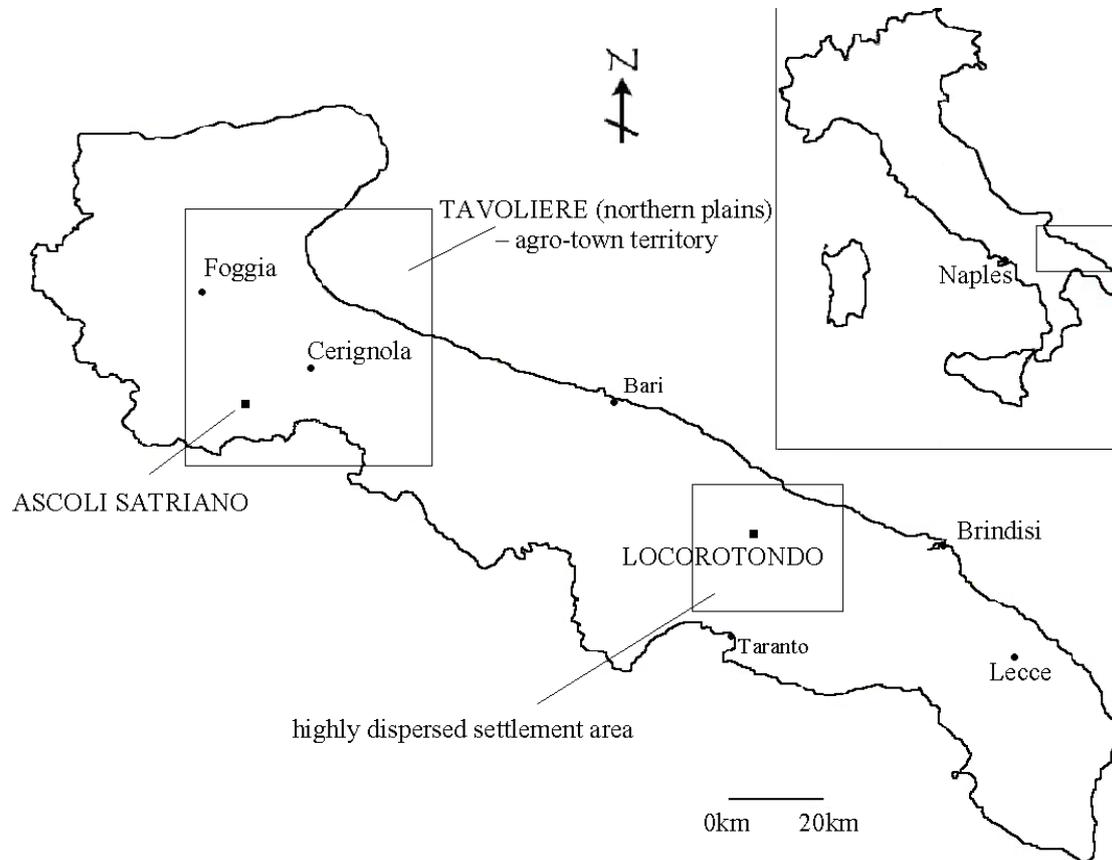


FIGURE 2. Map of Apulia

The medieval reconstruction of settlement in many parts of Apulia is difficult due to paucity of sources, and Ascoli is no different in that respect.<sup>69</sup> Essentially, Ascoli's development from the high Middle Ages into the early modern period seemed to be characterised by total decline followed by re-emergence; perhaps unsurprising given the political struggles associated with the frontier region. Ascoli was subjected to the rule of the Vandals and Goths, Lombard princes,<sup>70</sup> and Byzantine and Norman lords from the fifth to the twelfth centuries, not to mention Saracen invasions in the late tenth century. Norman soldiers burnt Ascoli to the ground in 1082,<sup>71</sup> though it had been rebuilt in a different location by 1111 'without its previous beauty'.<sup>72</sup> The settlement was fortified by 1180.<sup>73</sup>

Late-medieval Ascoli is particularly difficult to reconstruct. Certainly we know that it began to descend as a feudal fee through aristocratic families who received lands and jurisdictions there in return for services rendered to sovereigns.<sup>74</sup> We also know that absentee landowners already had managed to secure land in the territory by the thirteenth century,<sup>75</sup> as what happened all over this area of Apulia.<sup>76</sup> Settlement evidence is vague, however. One significant event was an earthquake on the 5<sup>th</sup> of December, 1456, which totally destroyed Ascoli, and the surviving inhabitants had to relocate to a new spot where the current town is positioned.<sup>77</sup> The 1456 earthquake reaped havoc in Southern Italy, with the number of victims estimated in Molise, Campania, Abruzzo, Basilicata, and Apulia estimated between 30,000 and 100,000.<sup>78</sup> After relocation, Ascoli grew from 420 households in 1532 to 870 households by 1648 (a population of 4350); enough to warrant 'small town' status, though we cannot be sure of the location of these houses. Twenty-one years later however, Ascoli was reduced to less than half of its former size, badly hit by outbreaks of pestilence with a great loss of human and animal life.<sup>79</sup> Nonetheless, a sketch made of Ascoli in 1703 (see figure 4), shows the general form of a concentrated town, even though the population in 1709 was half of what it had been before the plague epidemic, and only narrowly more houses than in 1532.

By the time of the Catasto Onciario (a fiscal assessment of property in the Kingdom of Naples) in 1753, Ascoli had surpassed the houses recorded one century previous.<sup>80</sup> Nearly every house was recorded within the town centre or a *contrada* (neighbourhood) near the walls. The transmission of property through women via marriage contracts had led to the establishment of many 'new' nuclear households (77 per cent of all households in 1753);<sup>81</sup> however, houses were positioned very close together as daughters inherited houses within the same *contrada* as their parents.<sup>82</sup> The only houses far from the walls were the large farms (*masserie*) belonging to elite landowners.<sup>83</sup> Many of these *masserie* were located in exactly the same spots as former Roman *fattorie* and villas, and perhaps also failed villages from the

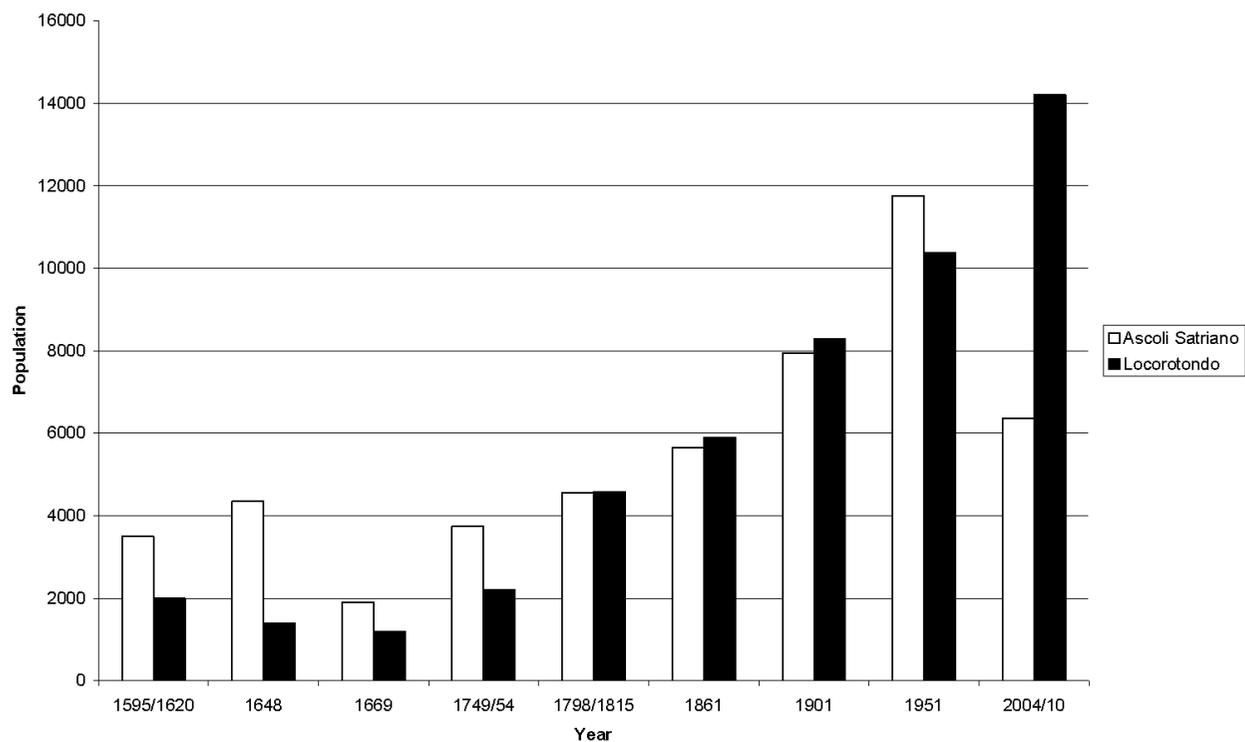


FIGURE 3. Population trends in comparison, Ascoli Satriano and Locorotondo, 1595-2010 [Sources: L. Giustiniani ed., *Dizionario geografico ragionato del Regno di Napoli di Lorenzo Giustiniani*, ii (Naples, 1797), 8-9, 282; N. Colclough, 'Family and the spatial distribution of kin in eighteenth century Ascoli', <<http://lucy.ukc.ac.uk/jb6/archives/ascpaper/ascfr.html>>; A. Ventura ed., *Onciario della città di Ascoli 1753* (Foggia, 2006); ISTAT, *Catasto agrario (1929-VIII. Compartimento delle Puglie. Provincia di Bari)* (Rome, 1933), no. 71; *Secondo censimento generale dell'agricoltura; Dodicesimo censimento generale della popolazione* (Rome, 1983); Archivio di Stato di Bari (hereafter ASB), 1749 Catasto Oncario di Locorotondo; A. Mele, *Una famiglia in ascesa nel Regno di Napoli. I marulli duchi di Ascoli tra Sei e Settecento* (Foggia, 2000), 138-41.]

late Middle Ages.<sup>84</sup> Despite the obvious concentrated structure of the town, the Onciario probably concealed a level of settlement in the countryside not systematically recorded by the assessors.<sup>85</sup> Nonetheless, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ascoli Satriano simply became bigger and more concentrated – hindered only in brief phases such as the typhus epidemics of 1764-7 and 1815-7.<sup>86</sup>



FIGURE 4. Ascoli Satriano in 1703. [Source: G. Pacichelli, *Il Regno di Napoli in prospettiva...* (Naples, 1703).]

Locorotondo was located further south to Ascoli, on a raised rocky inland plateau in Central Apulia known as the Murgia. Locorotondo also knew human habitation from around the ninth century BCE, but the first settled farming communities probably emerged much later around the fifth century CE.<sup>87</sup> Saracen invasions and Lombard counter-attacks caused destruction of the principle coastal settlements of Brindisi, Bari, and Taranto, and forced people into the wooded Murgia to seek refuge.<sup>88</sup> As with Ascoli, there is limited documentary material to reconstruct the medieval settlement development of Locorotondo. Around 1086, the Count of Conversano founded the Abbey of S. Stefano of Monopoli, giving them amongst other feudal property, the fee of Casale S. Giorgio, later to become Locorotondo. The Knights

of Jerusalem fortified the settlement in the fourteenth century, and from the fifteenth century, Locorotondo descended through the hands of various aristocratic families.<sup>89</sup>

The demographic development of Locorotondo was less dramatic than Ascoli's trajectory, as seen from figure 3. In 1648, it was less than half the size of Ascoli, yet Locorotondo was also less severely hit by bouts of pestilence in the mid-seventeenth century which had been so disruptive in Ascoli.<sup>90</sup> Locorotondo was less afflicted by cattle plagues as its more rocky and wooded environment did not support this sort of pastoral economy. The epidemic evened out population differences between the two places, and from the late seventeenth century onwards, both settlements followed a similar demographic trajectory. Locorotondo grew during the eighteenth century, though not into a concentrated town like Ascoli. Certainly there was a town centre tucked away behind the walls; home to the church, taverns, and artisan shops. However, this co-existed with a level of dispersed settlement. Clusters of *trulli* (conical stone houses) known as '*jazzeleri*' were mentioned by notaries, which were clearly out in the countryside.<sup>91</sup> By the census of 1811, 37 per cent of inhabitants were living outside the walls and in new areas (*nuovi borghi*).<sup>92</sup> The scattered pattern of settlement has continued to modern day, a contrast to the stereotypical vision of the concentrated town in the Mediterranean. In 1971 over half the population lived outside the walls, as shown below.



FIGURE 5. Distribution of dispersed *trulli* in Locorotondo, end of the twentieth century.

[Adapted from: A. Liuzzi, *La Murgia dei Trulli: lineamenti caratteristiche, sviluppo economico e civile* (Martina Franca, 1981), 150.]

Although Ascoli and Locorotondo (like many Apulian towns) experienced strong demographic growth after the shock of the mid seventeenth century plague, only Ascoli redeveloped into a concentrated town. As noted in the introduction, some of the older more negative literature suggested agro-towns were linked to high levels of inequality and poverty in the South. However, can the link be confirmed much further back in the past? In that sense, was Ascoli more unequal than Locorotondo in the eighteenth century, during its phase of settlement reconstruction and demographic recovery?

By making use of the fiscal registers from the mid-eighteenth century, the answer suggests this was the case. The Catasto Onciario was a register of taxable property combined with a census of households for the Kingdom of Naples, mandated by the Bourbon King Charles VII of Naples (Charles III of Spain) in order to make the tax system more efficient

and equitable.<sup>93</sup> The declarations of property varied from settlement to settlement – the first ones were conducted in 1741 while some were not completed until 1788.<sup>94</sup> One of the helpful features of the *Onciario* was that it included all households, regardless of whether they had land or not; thus making it a good source for reconstructing inequality.<sup>95</sup> Some caution needs to be taken nonetheless in the sense that the new tax was based on simple estimates rather than sophisticated measuring.<sup>96</sup> By making databases of the *Onciario* entries, it was confirmed that the agro-town of Ascoli was far more inequitable than the dispersed settlement of Locorotondo. Ascoli received an astonishing 0.97 on the Gini index for distribution of land (including all types of land: arable, pastoral, vineyards, and olives) compared to 0.77 in Locorotondo.<sup>97</sup> The scale of inequality in Ascoli can be further highlighted by comparing Gini indexes elsewhere in Italy in the early-modern period. For example, in Piedmont in Northern Italy, the small town of Ivrea had a Gini index which oscillated between 0.6 and 0.7 all the way from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century.<sup>98</sup> Even when compared to the famously inequitable distribution of property in the fifteenth-century Florentine *contado* (a Gini index of 0.8), Ascoli exhibited far greater levels of polarisation.<sup>99</sup> Gini indexes between 0.65 and 0.75 were quite common for small towns and rural areas across pre-industrial Western Europe from the fourteenth up to the eighteenth century.<sup>100</sup>

Thus inequality in Ascoli proved sharp. One per cent of Ascoli households and institutions listed owned 58 per cent of the land. Furthermore, 93 per cent of the land was in the hands of feudal lords such as the Duke of Ascoli, lesser aristocratic families, or absentee ecclesiastical institutions in Ascoli, leaving just 7 per cent in the hands of local peasants, labourers and tradesmen. In Locorotondo, 55 per cent of the land was in the hands of local agriculturalists and tradesmen. Three-quarters of the population had no access to land at all in Ascoli compared to just under a fifth in Locorotondo. In fact, most of the Ascoli residents did not even own houses (just a quarter of the households did), often renting a room from ecclesiastical institutions or wealthy aristocrats who monopolised real estate in the town.

TABLE 2.

*Access to land in Locorotondo and Ascoli Satriano, 1749-53 (%)*

	<i>Households and institutions with land in Ascoli</i>	<i>Households and institutions with land in Locorotondo</i>
Arable	15	74
Vineyards	17	74
Pasture	4	25
<b>Total land</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>82</b>

Sources: Ventura ed., *Onciario 1753*; ASB, 1749 Catasto Onciario di Locorotondo.

TABLE 3.

*Social distribution of land in Locorotondo and Ascoli Satriano, 1749-53*

	<i>Ascoli Satriano</i>		<b>Locorotondo</b>	
	<i>Hectares</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Hectares</i>	<i>%</i>
Aristocrats	13118	37	296	15
Urban	0	0	0	0
Ecclesiastical institutions	20016	56	599	31
Farmers & tradesmen	2491	7	1070	55
<b>Total</b>	<b>35625</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4855</b>	<b>101</b>

Sources: Ventura ed., *Onciario 1753*; ASB, 1749 Catasto Onciario di Locorotondo

Locorotondo's Gini index was much lower than Ascoli's, although at 0.77 it was still quite high, especially if we compare it to the figures in table one based on the twentieth-century land distributions. However, a note must be made on this. Locorotondo may have had a Gini of 0.77 in 1749, but this figure was stretched somewhat by the large amount of forest in the hands of the Duke of Martina Franca (without the forest it was 0.7). Furthermore, by the twentieth century this general figure was as low as 0.55 (see table 1). The reason can be put down, as Anthony Galt has expertly demonstrated, to the dissemination of emphyteutic leases from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.<sup>101</sup> These contracts specified to the tenant that they must improve the property and this was common to the Mediterranean.<sup>102</sup> Initially ecclesiastical institutions but later lay feudal aristocrats decided to offer their land out on long term heritable leases with the stipulation that the receiving peasant tenants had to improve the land by preparing the soil for viticulture.<sup>103</sup> The landlords' plan was that after the initial labour

intensive and back-breaking work made by the tenants, they would take the land back into hand – after 20 to 30 years. However, due to the weaknesses of the elite landowning class (explained later), this never happened. Landlords lost their grip and security on the land, and eventually it was actually owned by the peasants themselves. Vineyards as the backbone of small peasant property in Locorotondo were distributed much more equally than land taken in its entirety in 1749; a Gini index of 0.56 in comparison to the 0.77 mentioned above. In that sense, the proliferation of the lease allowed a larger proportion of Locorotondese inhabitants to gain access to their own land, with many of the farmers actually deciding it was in their interests to build their stone *trulli* out in the fields next to their vineyards.<sup>104</sup> In fact the inheritance practice in Locorotondo shifted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in line with these changes: real estate in the town transferred to the daughter upon marriage was replaced by a system whereby sons received a rural *trullo* out in the countryside while daughters received cash payments.<sup>105</sup> This demonstrates the interconnectivity of land access and settlement development, as well as explaining reduction of the Gini index in Locorotondo between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries.

Thus, the connection of inequality in the distribution of land and the proliferation of agro-town structures is suggested by this comparative historical example. However, further historical data taken from other parts of Southern Italy also supports this link. For example, the large concentrated town of Calopezzati in Calabria knew a Gini index of 0.87 for distribution of land in the eighteenth century.<sup>106</sup> Further calculations by the author of transcribed *catasti* for a cluster of small towns close to Naples in the Campania (Crispano, Frattapiccolo and Pomigliano d'Atella) also showed a highly skewed distribution of land in the eighteenth century, all recording Gini indexes close to 0.9.<sup>107</sup> Eighty-six per cent of the households or institutions listed in the *Onciario* for Crispano worked less than two hectares, and well over half of those recorded neither owned nor had any access to land through lease. These figures can be contrasted with the author's database of Gini indexes taken from the Cosentino region of Calabria,<sup>108</sup> which was a part of Southern Italy identified by Pino Arlacchi as not conforming to the agro-town model. Here people lived in small villages and

hamlets.<sup>109</sup> As table 4 shows, the distribution of land here was much more equitable, with Gini indexes even below 0.5 in places. Some of the Cosentino achieved the same level of equality as the famously egalitarian mountain villages studied by Robert Netting in the Swiss Alps.<sup>110</sup>

TABLE 4.

*Gini indexes for villages in the Cosentino area of Calabria, mid-eighteenth century*

<i>Village</i>	<i>Gini index</i>
Cavellerizzo	0.52
Serra di Leo	0.48
S. Ippolito	0.68
Francolisi	0.69
Marri	0.47
S. Benedetto	0.73
S. Lauro	0.51
Casole	0.69
Lappano	0.59
Cerzeto	0.48

*Source:* Archivio di Stato di Cosenza (hereafter ASC), III. Catasti, notai e archivi non statali, Catasti, Catasto Onciario, (various nos).

In sum, it has been argued in this first section that large concentrated agro-towns were more likely to exist in parts of Southern Italy that were characterised by high levels of inequality in the distribution of land. By the same token, those settlement structures which diverged from the general pattern of agro-towns tended to have much more equitable distributions of land. This association was not made simply with contemporary or twentieth-century figures, but also was placed within the chronological development of the agro-town structure and seemed to be confirmed by a comparative historical case study in Apulia, supported by some additional data from Campania and Calabria.

## II. HISTORICAL PATHS TOWARDS INEQUALITY: EXPLORING ASCOLI AND LOCOROTONDO FURTHER

The notion that agro-towns were in some way connected with inequitable distribution of land conforms to a previous (not particularly historicised) view perpetuated by many international ethnographers and anthropologists, who highlighted inequality and polarisation as some of the fundamental features of life in the Mediterranean. However, this next section shows that while agro-towns and inequality are likely linked (historically), the old negative view of Southern Italy as a ‘backward’ or conservatively-minded place, hindered by long traditions of feudalism, *latifundia*, and absence of civic consciousness, does not necessarily have to follow. As is demonstrated in this section through comparative analysis of Ascoli and Locorotondo in Apulia, the perpetuation of an inequitable distribution of land could have dynamic and diverse origins. Thus, an older ‘more negative’ literature written mainly by international anthropologists and ethnographers and a new more historically-grounded literature (written mainly in Italian) and portraying pre-industrial Southern Italy as a more dynamic place do not need to be mutually opposed.

After learning in section one that Ascoli Satriano was a place of extreme inequality in the distribution of land in the eighteenth century, we might be tempted to picture the development of Apulian agro-towns in a negative light with an emphasis on large latifundist estates and the impoverishment of a mass rank of wage workers. This is the kind of image portrayed by Frank Snowden when he described the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ‘Company Towns’; places like Cerignola or Andria where poor people were crowded into rented hovels in terrible living conditions, often with no windows and located underground.<sup>111</sup> These kinds of conditions gave rise to endemic and epidemic diseases, as described also by Snowden for Barletta in 1910.<sup>112</sup> In a report from 1889, it was noted ‘misery had become more terrible’. One peasant was recorded as having died from starvation leaving three children behind, while the very next day another agricultural worker had fallen into the public highway exhausted by lack of food.<sup>113</sup> The troubling aspect of the report was its note

that such cases were so common, it was becoming almost impossible to provide support to the destitute – the town of Andria was described as entirely ‘over-populated’.

However, while *latifundia* and the masses of impoverished agricultural labourers may have characterised the environment of many Apulian agro-towns in the late nineteenth century, it was not clear that the actual development of the concentrated agro-town structure occurred in these conditions. Concentrated agro-towns and inequitable distribution of land on the Northern Apulian plains actually were established and perpetuated in a context of an ecologically-managed mixed system of arable and pastoral farming with high levels of capital investment in large flocks and herds of animals. Ascoli in particular was crystallised into a real commercial and trading centre based around urban functions.<sup>114</sup> While agro-towns and inequality were locked into this system, managed centrally through the government in Naples, the more equitable and dispersed settlements of Locorotondo (and more generally on the Murgia) had autonomy over their own adaptable strategies – achieving control over their own land thanks in combination to greater independence from Naples and internal weaknesses of their elite feudal landlords. Locorotondo became orientated towards international markets through the coastal ports of Apulia rather than the overarching coercive arm of Naples.

*i: Ascoli and the the plains of the Tavoliere*

The emergence of the large concentrated towns such as Cerignola, Troia, Foggia, Lucera, Candela, Andria, and Ascoli Satriano on the northern plains of Apulia (the Tavoliere), emerged in a context of strict economic and agricultural management from the Royal Customhouse of Naples. The system was based around a rigorous supervision of transhumant sheep farming between the Apulian plains and the mountains of the Abruzzo.<sup>115</sup> Transhumance between the two regions had Roman origins, though the system retracted in the early Middle Ages with the collapse of the long-distance trading networks.<sup>116</sup> When the Normans arrived in Apulia, transhumant sheep-farming probably picked up again (from around the eleventh century onwards), although the Royal Customhouse only formalised the

institutions necessary for its management in 1447.<sup>117</sup> Some evidence points to local cloth production in parts of late-medieval Northern Apulia.<sup>118</sup>

The rationale behind the Royal Customhouse of Naples was to create a balance between arable and pastoral land on the Tavoliere.<sup>119</sup> Alongside the Castilian *Mesta*, it was Europe's largest managed pastoral economy. Privately owned arable land was grazed during fallow periods, while royal pastures were never cultivated. In that sense, it was an early exercise in environmental sustainability and a way of avoiding ecological degradation. It also lent itself to flexible manipulation in the economic interests of the Neapolitan political and commercial elite. Wool and wheat were cash products which were to be sold in Naples, and fortunately for Ascoli, it was located on a key overland transport link through the Basilicata to Naples.<sup>120</sup> Naples was one of the most populous cities in Western Europe before the plagues of 1656; therefore the ratio between arable and pasture fluctuated with the trends of demand and prices for agricultural goods.<sup>121</sup> Grain fed the kingdom while taxes on sheep provided its riches.<sup>122</sup> Apulia accounted for over a fifth of total grain imported into Naples between the mid 1500s and the mid 1600s, and in 1486 around 655,200 kilos of grain was shipped from Manfredonia in Northern Apulia to Naples.<sup>123</sup> Tax exemptions and privileges granted by Naples on certain Apulian centres eased the export of grain.<sup>124</sup> Of course, the ratios between arable and pasture were not entirely dictated by demand. For example, the pestilences of 1656 in Northern Apulia led to an entirely contracted labour force, thereby halting any trend towards large-scale arable cultivation.<sup>125</sup> Elite landowners quickly shifted investment strategy towards sheep farming with smaller labour intensive demands – an extreme case being the estates of the Prince of Melfi.<sup>126</sup> However, when population began to increase on the plains again, pressure was once again put on producers to bring more land into grain cultivation.<sup>127</sup>

The incipient town structure on the Northern Apulian plains had its roots in the rigorous management of the Tavoliere by Naples from its regional base in Foggia. First of all, the building of farms and houses out in the countryside became entirely restricted. In that respect the Tavoliere became depicted as a barren wilderness, comparable to the Steppes of Central Asia. It was the second biggest province in the Kingdom of Naples in terms of area,

and frequently the least populous in the early-modern period.<sup>128</sup> Land became divided into *locazioni*, each comprised of a number of isolated farms known as *masserie*. Livestock farms were more complex than grain farms, took up more space, and included a wider range of buildings such as dog kennels, animal stables, sheep pens, cheese processing sites, and threshing floors.<sup>129</sup> In particular the complex belonging to the abbey of S. Leonardo di Siponto at their Feudo di Torre Alemanna had all these things as well as taverns, olive presses,<sup>130</sup> and bakeries inside an almost fortified design.<sup>131</sup> *Locazioni* were also subdivided between smaller huts (*capanne*), which belonged to shepherds and often included a church nearby. In sum, the potential for local inhabitants to construct their own habitations where they wanted on the plains was limited. The point is reinforced by the fact that on the Tavoliere lie the remnants of former villages, abandoned between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Up to around the fifteenth century, this sort of settlement structure was possible on the plains of the Tavoliere, but was quickly destroyed when the Royal Customhouse management of agriculture was institutionally formalised.<sup>132</sup>

Second, the inequitable distribution of land on the plains was often crystallised through Neapolitan state control of the regional economy. From the sixteenth century onwards, Naples favoured the large landowners and those with the larger flocks, and they were often given the best grazing lands.<sup>133</sup> The best grazing lands were very close to Ascoli, especially the *locazioni* of Orta and Ordona, because they had previously gone under the plough.<sup>134</sup> The skewed property distribution came to be locked-in over the long term and made more inequitable from the sixteenth century onwards with smallholders put at a constant disadvantage.<sup>135</sup> The State in fact on occasion supported the expropriation of small cultivators - reintegrating the land as part of larger pastoral complexes.<sup>136</sup> This was in contrast to the Royal Customhouse's belief that they were 'pacifying' the countryside and promoting harmony through balanced justice and good government.<sup>137</sup>

In particular, the commercialised pastoral economy which emerged in Ascoli came to be entirely polarised in the hands of powerful interest groups in the eighteenth century – many of whom employed armed retainers to protect their flocks and land.<sup>138</sup> In Ascoli, the Catasto

Onciario recorded nearly 30,000 animals, a significant amount in comparison to the 2000 found in Locorotondo, and almost 95 per cent of these were goats or sheep. The pastures had the most inequitable distribution of all the land – only three per cent of the population had access to grazing in the eighteenth century, while the average size of a pastoral landholding belonging to an individual or institution was over 200 hectares.<sup>139</sup> Only 15 per cent of the population had access to an animal, and it was only this high because some of the impoverished labourers had a donkey to carry goods from the fields. Eighty-five per cent of all animals were consolidated in the hands of the top 10 landowners in Ascoli. Some of these landowners had extremely large herds, such as the Marquis of Basilicata, Don Alessandro Rinuccini, who by himself owned a third of all animals listed in whole Catasto including 10,000 sheep amongst others. These animals were grazed out on *masserie* belonging to the Locazione del Feudo, west of Ascoli and centred on the present-day hamlet of Palazzo d'Ascoli. Until the late seventeenth century, these enterprises were run by the Crown, which specialised in horse-breeding for the army; however it had come into the hands of the Marquis through royal debts.<sup>140</sup> These large pastoral enterprises were frequently in the hands of absentee institutions since 80 per cent of the pastures belonged to non-residents, often ecclesiastical institutions. The Jesuits controlled many of these commercial estates until they were dissolved by royal decree in 1767.<sup>141</sup>

Nonetheless, while inequitable distributions of land and power might account for restrictions on habitation in the countryside of Northern Apulia in the early-modern period, it cannot explain why the development of capital intensive and labour extensive forms of commercialised pastoral farming occurred simultaneous to the intense growth of these concentrated towns after the pestilences of the mid seventeenth century. How can we account for the large inward migration into Ascoli in the eighteenth century and where was the attraction? Indeed, 32 per cent of households in the Onciario of 1753 were living in Ascoli as immigrants, indicative of high mobility. Unfortunately while we know the place of origin for all of these people (people came from all over Apulia and Basilicata to live and work in Ascoli),<sup>142</sup> the Catasto did not record occupations for immigrants. They were not all poor

labourers looking for work, though. Some were referred to as ‘magnificent’, indicative of elite status, while others were doctors, clerics, and widows.<sup>143</sup>

It seems the town of Ascoli expanded its population as a result of its well-developed trading and commercial sector: essentially an urban sector. Obviously this kind of situation contrasts entirely with some the views crystallised by Putnam, who emphasized Southern Italy’s agricultural character, its sense of a closed community, and its lack of civic amenities. Ascoli blossomed in the eighteenth century despite its extreme inequality in the distribution of land as traders and artisans were able to provision the large estates and transhumant pastoralists with produce.<sup>144</sup> Neville Colclough actually showed through a list of hearths from 1728 that only about 35 per cent of the population worked on large estates, and these were not always grain. Actually more of this kind of work was taken on by temporary seasonal workers from the Southern Apulia and the Central Uplands, who did not own property in Ascoli and rented rooms from wealthy aristocrats in the town, taking up notarized six-month contracts to work the estates.<sup>145</sup> Agricultural labourers made up a minority of the population. In fact, Ascoli had a high amount of inhabitants working outside agriculture, either in professional or clerical roles, or in mercantile or industrial roles as craftsmen or apprentices. Colclough’s figures from 1728 suggested that almost half the people in Ascoli worked in the ‘urban sector’,<sup>146</sup> and this is supported by my data from 1753 which recorded 40 per cent of the inhabitants in urban occupations.<sup>147</sup> Some of those in the ‘urban sector’ supported their trades with work on micro plots of vines attached to the town walls.<sup>148</sup> Elsewhere on the agro-town plains such as at Orsara di Puglia, high levels of non-agricultural labour have been found.<sup>149</sup> These figures can be contrasted with Locorotondo where only 14 per cent of households were involved in non-agricultural occupations in the mid eighteenth century or Santo Marco dei Cavoti in Northern Basilicata (an area characterised by small villages and dispersed farms) where only 10 per cent of the heads of households were classed as ‘artisans’.<sup>150</sup>

Thus, the large concentrated town structure of Ascoli was crystallised in place a long time before monoculture and latifundist estates started to dominate on the Tavoliere. In 1806 the Royal Customhouse of Naples and its management of the Apulian plains collapsed in line

with a Europe-wide ideological move away from communal property forms at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>151</sup> The same solution was devised for the Sila Forest in Calabria.<sup>152</sup> Neo-Malthusian and neo-liberal ideological reforms necessitated a dismantlement of a system deemed antithetical to new visions of modernity.<sup>153</sup> This had been preceded by the writings of a number of ‘enlightened thinkers’ such as Antonio Genovesi, Gaetano Filangieri, and Giuseppe Galanati discontented with the persistence of old feudal structures across the Kingdom of Naples.<sup>154</sup> One such Neapolitan reformer, Ferdinando Galiani, went as far as to describe the collective transhumance system in Apulia as ‘barbarous’ and having parallel nowhere across ‘civilised Europe’.<sup>155</sup> However, the collapse of the Royal Customhouse did nothing to change inequitable property distribution on the Tavoliere. In fact it exacerbated inequality, since ‘communal land’ was simply divided up and sold to the highest bidders at public auction.<sup>156</sup> In that way land was consolidated into the hands of already-wealthy interest groups in Northern Apulia: former feudal lords and barons, urban entrepreneurs, and property speculators.<sup>157</sup> The same skewed process happened in Sicily when newly-wealthy rent collectors expropriated communal parcels allocated to peasants as compensation.<sup>158</sup> Thus, finally the labour intensive and environmentally exhaustive system of *latifundia* dominated the region towards the late 1800s – a far cry from what had come before.<sup>159</sup> Old sheep-orientated *masserie* were readapted for this purpose.<sup>160</sup> As production shifted, flocks of immigrant workers came to fill the suburbs (vineyards and meadows were converted into habitations) – yet this labourer migration merely added to a pattern of towns already fixed in place in another economic and ecological context.

### *ii: Peasant power and adaptive strategies in Locorotondo*

The importance of some of the conditions which led to the perpetuation of inequitable land distribution and agro-towns on the Northern Apulian plains, including the strong coercive arm of Naples and the imposition of a centrally-managed agricultural system, can be further highlighted through comparison with areas of Apulia which did not conform to the same land

distribution and settlement structure. It is shown in this section that these divergent developments in Locorotondo were testament to a different colonisation context, which led in turn to a weaker group of elite landlords who by the eighteenth century had to concede land to peasants through emphyteusis rather than consolidate large estates. Furthermore, Locorotondese peasants had more room to follow adaptive strategies through viticulture, since they avoided the strong coercion from the government of Naples and orientated production through the coastal towns of Apulia itself.

In Galt's book on Locorotondo, he emphasized the importance of widespread access to land and the diffusion of emphyteutic leases as the main reasons why settlement structure developed different from the agro-town pattern seen elsewhere in Southern Italy.<sup>161</sup> This argument was highly convincing. What he failed to show, however, were the mechanisms behind these developments in Locorotondo. His argument was that landlords had trouble finding labour to work large estates in the eighteenth century, putting them off grain cultivation, and instead resorted to emphyteutic leasing of vineyards to local peasants.<sup>162</sup> On the surface the argument made sense, particularly given emphyteutic leasing had been used in Sicily in the sixteenth century with the explicit intention of bringing people to underpopulated areas.<sup>163</sup> His rationale on further inspection, however, was not logical. Although the population of Locorotondo was behind Ascoli's by some way in the mid eighteenth century, demographic boom between 1750 and 1850 meant that by 1861, Locorotondo actually had more inhabitants than Ascoli (see figure 3). Furthermore, the territory of Locorotondo was one-eighth of the size of Ascoli. Given this information, it is really doubtful that Locorotondo landlords would have found it difficult to find workers for hypothetical estates, considering large estates were formed elsewhere in places with lower population densities.

Instead, the more equitable property structure seen in Locorotondo had its roots in the first instance in its colonisation and reclamation context. In Locorotondo, local peasants were by the sixteenth century colonising the woodlands and wastes with their own private enclosures. At the time when the town of Locorotondo bought its hinterlands from the Royal Court in 1566 (establishing its territorial borders),<sup>164</sup> the settlement was located in the middle

of a large common territory which ran from Monopoli on the coast to Ostuni in the south-east.<sup>165</sup> The communities of nearby Martina Franca, Fasano, Cisterino, as well as Locorotondo, benefited from the common rights of grazing and collection of wood.<sup>166</sup> Sixteenth-century fulling mills existed in various places along the River Cervaro, very close to this territory; indicative of silvo-pastoral farming.<sup>167</sup> Around the mid sixteenth century, however, inhabitants began to encroach into the commons, something which the Royal Court struggled to prevent. It was noted in the document from 1566 that much of the land was now enclosed and had vineyards belonging to farmers from Locorotondo and Martina Franca.<sup>168</sup> The document also mentioned two *jazzèleri*, Trito and S. Marco, showing how the seeds of dispersed settlement had already been laid. It was also noted that it was now legal to plant vineyards and gardens under private ownership, which effectively meant that by the eighteenth century, all common land ceased to exist in Locorotondo.<sup>169</sup> This early encroachment by local farmers allowed them to build up a firm property base by the eighteenth century, which gave them stronger foundations in opposition to feudal lords. Indeed, the fact that a wider section of the population in Locorotondo received access to land through emphyteutic concessions from the 1700s onwards was down to the fact that the elite landowners in Locorotondo were a lot weaker than to be found in other parts of Southern Italy such as Ascoli. In Locorotondo, there was a greater power struggle between social groups than seen in typical agro-town areas.

The fee of Locorotondo had belonged to the Duke of Martina, Francesco Caracciolo I, since 1645; bought from another noble family of the town of Monopoli.<sup>170</sup> The Duke was the largest landowner in Locorotondo in 1749 with 355 hectares to his name (seven per cent of the territory). Proportionally, the Duke of Ascoli, Don Sebastiano Marulli did not hold much more; around nine percent of the total. However, the territory of Ascoli Satriano was a lot larger than that of Locorotondo (the nine per cent corresponded to 3290 hectares); thus comprised an estate around 10 times the size of the Duke of Martina Franca. Furthermore, the quality and fertility of the Locorotondo land was significantly lower than the lush plains around Ascoli. The Caracciolo family did have estates outside Locorotondo in the nearby

regions, but at the same time the Marulli family of Ascoli similarly had *masserie* in other parts – particularly to the south.<sup>171</sup> The landed weaknesses of the large landowners in Locorotondo in comparison to the agro-town regions of Apulia is shown by the fact that the top 10 Locorotondese landowners only comprised 14 per cent of the total land; paling in comparison to the 58 per cent in the hands of the top 10 Ascoli landowners. The Duke of Martina Franca (lord of Locorotondo) had all things one would associate with feudal estates: a castle, a tavern, a butchery, craft shops, furnaces, a mill – even underground snow-storage facilities.<sup>172</sup> The Duke of Ascoli, however, had all these things but in greater quantity.

The weak position of the Locorotondo landlords translated itself into jurisdictional problems, especially for the feudal lord, the Duke of Martina Franca.<sup>173</sup> The relationship between the local municipal authorities (*università*) and the aristocratic elite was symptomatic of the general weakening of large landlords' power. Before 1550, the municipal government tended to support the prevailing aristocratic and baronial groups. However, as the woodlands began to be cleared and more investment was put into agriculture, the municipal authorities instead began to align themselves away from the barons and more towards serving the interests of the local community which was expanding in size and influence.<sup>174</sup> As the Duke of Martina Franca began to see his jurisdictional powers over Locorotondo waning in the eighteenth century, he increasingly took recourse to ancient rights found in old documents in an attempt to stem the general trend towards heightened municipal autonomy.<sup>175</sup> In 1754, conflict had led the Duke to make demands on the municipal authorities, arguing that they owed him three annual sums.<sup>176</sup> First, a sum of 48 ducats for ovens, mills and herbage, as agreed in 1502 and 1509 with previous barons Alberico and Alessandro Carafe. Second, a sum of 200 ducats as a tribute for autonomy afforded the municipal authorities by the barons. Third, a sum of 50 ducats as a direct charge to the municipal authorities covering a fine for the marriage of daughters in the territory, and also as compensation for underpayment by the *università* for half the land bought from former barons, the Loffredo family. The weak position of the feudal lords was highlighted by the fact the *università* refused outright to pay these sums, and in fact, turned the claims around by suggesting they themselves had been

overcharged over the years. Eventually the Duke lost his title of a twentieth,<sup>177</sup> and while the feudal lords renewed their complaints in 1785, by this time they were well beaten.<sup>178</sup> During the course of the eighteenth century, the municipal authorities stopped paying rent to the Duke, the *decime* (tenth) and twentieth had disappeared, and total ducal income in 1794 was down from its level in 1667.<sup>179</sup> Demographic expansion and rising prices further reduced the relative value of feudal revenues.<sup>180</sup>

In sum, the more equitable distribution of land and the divergence from agro-town settlement pattern in Locorotondo had its seeds set in its particular colonisation context and the more equitable power balance between interest groups. These jurisdictional and landed weaknesses of the elite landlords led them down the route of emphyteutic leasing in the eighteenth century. What is more, the weaknesses of the landlords also led the emphyteutic leases to become almost heritable, where landlords lost their grip on property to peasants and emphyteutical income eroded with inflation over the long term.<sup>181</sup> The same process has been traced for parts of eighteenth-century Southern France and Catalonia.<sup>182</sup> The importance of this process can be highlighted by comparison with events in Northern Apulia dominated by large towns. Improvement contracts were also actually attempted here in the 1800s. From Cerignola to Bitonto in the nineteenth century, attempts were made to plant vineyards by enticing labour through improvement contracts; especially by the great landowners such as the Pavoncelli family. In the first phase of Pavoncelli planting, 1022 tenants were created, each with small plots of one to five hectares.<sup>183</sup> In this situation, however, once the terms of the lease had ended after 27-29 years with improvements made, the land reverted back into the hands of landlords who retained a strong grip on property and agricultural production.<sup>184</sup> A similar story of events was seen in the agro-towns of the Crotonese in Calabria.<sup>185</sup>

Thus, in contrast to the centrally-managed system of large commercialised pastoral and arable farms owned by large absentee landowners in Ascoli, Locorotondo in the eighteenth century had ripe conditions for the proliferation of viti-culture. Peasants began to build their rural *trulli* away from the walls of the town of Locorotondo and instead next to their newly acquired vineyard plots. This kind of peasant adaptive strategy was of course

aided by their greater autonomy to make their own economic decisions. Neapolitan coercion did not extend so strongly this far into the Murgia of Apulia. Despite being characterised by a large band of small peasant farmers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Locorotondo was highly commercialised.<sup>186</sup> In particular, it was plugged into newly emerging international wine markets, and much trade was conducted through the ports of Bari and Monopoli.<sup>187</sup> These ports showed steady commercial expansion from 1750 onwards.<sup>188</sup> Wine from Locorotondo was sent on Sicilian and Venetian ships abroad.<sup>189</sup> The port of Taranto also became important for the Murgia.<sup>190</sup> Nearby Martina Franca with its workforce dedicated towards specialised livestock rearing and leather production was a ready eighteenth-century market; especially since its own wine production did not take off until the 1800s.<sup>191</sup> The institutional monopolies imposed by Naples and seen on the Tavoliere did not apply for Locorotondo and surrounding regions, and Locorotondese peasants used their grip on property and production to benefit from the misfortunes which hit wine producers in Southern France or Catalonia, as vineyards in the late 1800s were ruined by phylloxera.<sup>192</sup> In 1883 it was noted that Locorotondo's domestic and international wine trade gave rise to prosperity within the town.<sup>193</sup>

### III. IS THERE A SOUTHERN ITALIAN AGRO-TOWN MODEL?

The essential points put forward in this paper are follows. First, it is argued that the proliferation of the agro-town structure across many parts of Southern Italy is closely associated with high levels of inequality in the distribution of land. Second, it is argued that this association between inequality and large concentrated towns had historical connections going back at least to the eighteenth century, but probably was informed by institutional configurations much earlier. In that sense, on the surface this paper supports some of the early more negative interpretations of the economy and society of the Mediterranean made by a range of international scholars – often ethnographers and anthropologists.

However, a third point argued in this paper is that the roots and origins of this inequality (identified as an important part of agro-town proliferation) were quite diverse. Indeed, while inequitable distribution of property may be seen as quite a general phenomenon across much of Southern Italy, there was no one ‘Southern Italian’ or ‘Mediterranean path to inequality’. Furthermore, while early ‘negative’ literature on the Mediterranean was correct on the grounds of inequality, it is important that we do not simply take on some of the loaded and distorted concepts which came with this story. In no sense can we accept that agro-towns and inequality were linked to conservative agricultural and economic systems, the long perpetuation of feudal structures, or the lack of ‘urban functions’ and ‘civic consciousness’ previously argued for Southern Italy. In that way, this paper also supports some of the more nuanced and historically-grounded work now undertaken by Italian scholars on the economic and social history of the South, which has recognised and emphasized its dynamism and diversity. Both the interpretations highlighting inequality and the interpretations highlighting dynamism are equally correct, and need not be mutually oppositional.

Of course, the views put forward in this paper have been teased out of a comparative case study restricted to some limited areas of Apulia. It is clear that the institutional management of the agricultural systems on the Tavoliere through the coercive arm of Naples in a mutually beneficial consensus with large landowners cannot explain the perpetuation of inequality and agro-towns across the whole of Southern Italy, let alone the whole of the Mediterranean world. This paper is simply a first step – recognising the co-existence of inequality and dynamism; continuity and change. In parts of Sicily or Calabria, for example, the roots of inequitable land distribution likely were informed by other (perhaps dynamic) institutional configurations from the past, completely different from what is seen in Northern Apulia. It is argued in this paper then that there is a ‘Southern Italian agro-town model’: a general framework connected to the perpetuation of inequitable distributions of land in many areas of the *Mezzogiorno* over the long-term. However, there was no ‘Southern Italian model for inequitable property distribution’: this cannot be argued for. In that sense, the old story of the South being a place of persistent inequality forged through conservatism and

backwardness may soon come to be replaced by a new appreciation of the many paths towards inequality forged through dynamic and diverse institutional structures.

---

<sup>1</sup> G. Gissing, *By the Ionian Sea: notes of a ramble in Southern Italy* (Teddington, 2007 [1901]), 65.

<sup>2</sup> P. Ginsborg, *Italy and its discontents: family, civil society, state 1980-2001* (London, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> These attempts at land reform largely failed due to the inadequate quality and size of the land given out and the lack of infrastructure in place for settlement; see A. Blok, 'Land reform in a west Sicilian Latifondo village: the persistence of a feudal structure', *Anthropological Quarterly* **39** (1966), 1-16; A. Bonanno, 'Theories of the state: the case of land reform in Italy, 1944-1961', *Sociological Quarterly* **29** (1988), 131-47. Farms were abandoned soon after occupation; C. Marciani, *L'esperienza di Riforma Agraria in Italia* (Rome, 1966), 120.

<sup>4</sup> E. Semple, *The geography of a Mediterranean region. Its relation to ancient history* (London, 1932), 539-40; H. Ahlmann, 'Etudes de géographie humaine sur l'Italie subtropicale. Calabre, Basilicate et Apulie', *Geografiska Annaler* **8** (1926), 113-5; C. Maranelli, *Considerazioni geografiche sulla questione meridionale* (Bari, 1946), 26-8; C. Colamonico, 'La distribuzione della popolazione nella Puglia centrale e meridionale secondo la natura geologica', *Bolletino Reale della Società Geografica* **5** (1916), 201-34, 274-305, 403-29.

<sup>5</sup> G. Kish, 'The marine of Calabria', *Geographical Review* **43** (1953), 496; F. Compagna, *La questione meridionale* (Milan, 1963), 78; H. Ahlmann, 'The geographical study of settlements: examples from Italy, Germany, Denmark, and Norway', *Geographical Review* **18** (1928), 93-128; M. Le Lannou, 'Le rôle géographique de la malaria', *Annales de Géographie* **45** (1938), 121-6; P. Birot and P. Gabert, *La Méditerranée et la Moyen-Orient* (Paris, 1964), 163-4.

<sup>6</sup> F. Snowden, 'Fields of death': malaria in Italy, 1861-1962', *Modern Italy* **4** (1999), 27; L. Unger, 'Rural settlement in Campania', *Geographical Review* **43** (1953), 506.

<sup>7</sup> M. Weber, *The city* (New York, 1962), 82; F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the age of Phillip II*, trans. S. Reynolds, ii (New York, 1972), 734, 865.

<sup>8</sup> J. Boissevain, 'Poverty and politics in a Sicilian agro-town: a preliminary report', *International Archives of Ethnography* **50** (1966), 198-236.

<sup>9</sup> A. Blok, 'South Italian agro-towns', *Comparative Studies in Society & History* **11** (1969), 121-35; T. Tentori, 'Social classes and family in a southern Italian town: Matera', in J. Perstiniy ed., *Mediterranean family structures* (Cambridge, 1976), 273-85; D. Mack Smith, 'The latifundia in modern Sicilian history', *Proceedings of the British Academy* **51** (1965), 87-93; M. Rossi-Doria, 'The land tenure system and class in southern Italy', *American Historical Review* **64** (1958), 46-53; R. King & A. Strachan, 'Sicilian agro-towns', *Erdkunde* **32** (1978), 111-23.

<sup>10</sup> G. Labrot, 'La città meridionale', in G. Galasso & R. Romeo eds., *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, viii (Rome, 1984), 221.

<sup>11</sup> A. Blok & H. Driessen, 'Mediterranean agro-towns as a form of cultural dominance; with special reference to Sicily and Andalusia', *Ethnologia Europaea* **14** (1984), 111-24; J. Schneider & P. Schneider, *Culture and political*

---

*economy in western Sicily* (New York, 1976), 66, 151; S. Silverman, *The three bells of civilization: the life of an Italian hill town* (New York, 1975); J. Davis, *The people of the Mediterranean: an essay in comparative social anthropology* (London, 1977); M. Kenny & D. Kertzer eds., *Urban life in Mediterranean Europe* (Chicago, 1983); H. Driessen, 'Male sociability and rituals of masculinity in rural Andalusia', *Anthropological Quarterly* **56** (1983), 125.

<sup>12</sup> As seen in D. Gilmore, *The people of the plain. Class and community in lower Andalusia* (New York, 1980).

<sup>13</sup> D. Gilmore, 'Class, culture, and community size in Spain: the relevance of models', *Anthropological Quarterly* **49** (1976), 100; S. Mintz, 'The folk-urban continuum and the rural proletarian community', *American Journal of Sociology* **59** (1953), 136-43; J. Caro Baroja, 'The city and the country: reflections on some ancient commonplaces', in J. Pitt-Rivers ed., *Mediterranean countrymen: essays in the social anthropology of the Mediterranean* (Paris, 1963), 38; G. Djurfeldt, 'Classes as clients of the state: landlords and labourers in Andalusia', *Comparative Studies in Society & History* **35** (1993), 174-5; T. Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868-1903* (Princeton, 1973); J. Mintz, *The anarchists of Casas Viejas* (London, 1983). On class stratification see J. Corbin, 'Social class and patron-clientage in Andalusia: some problems of comparing ethnographies', *Anthropological Quarterly* **52** (1979), 99-114; L. Tolosana, *Belmonte de los Caballeros: anthropology and history in an Aragonese community* (Princeton, 1983).

<sup>14</sup> C. Chapman, *Milocca: a Sicilian village* (Cambridge, 1971), 150; R. Behar, *Santa María del Monte: the presence of the past in a Spanish village* (Princeton, 1986); S. Freeman, 'Corporate village organization in the Sierra Ministra: an Iberian structural type' *Man* **3** (1968), 477-87; M. Herzfeld, *The poetics of manhood: contest and identity in a Cretan mountain village* (Princeton, 1985); P. Loizos, *The Greek gift: politics in a Cypriot village* (Oxford, 1975), 94-5.

<sup>15</sup> R. Putnam, *Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy* (Princeton, 1993). See also the earlier controversial 'amoral familism' of E. Banfield, *The moral basis of a backward society* (New York, 1958).

<sup>16</sup> D. Gambetta, *La mafia siciliana. Un'industria della protezione private* (Turin, 1992).

<sup>17</sup> B. A'Hearn, 'Could Southern Italians cooperate? Banche Popolari in the Mezzogiorno', *Journal of Economic History* **60** (2000), 91.

<sup>18</sup> L. Guiso, P. Sapienza & L. Zingales, 'The role of social capital in financial development', *American Economic Review* **94** (2004), 526-56.

<sup>19</sup> Most significantly D. Landes, *The wealth and poverty of nations* (New York, 1998), 516; F. Fukuyama, *Trust: the social virtues and the creation of prosperity* (New York, 1995); D. Gambetta, 'Can we trust trust?', in *Trust: making and breaking cooperative relations* (Oxford, 2000), 213-37.

<sup>20</sup> S. Silverman, 'Agricultural organization, social structure, and values in Italy: amoral familism reconsidered', *American Anthropologist* **70** (1968), 1-20.

- 
- <sup>21</sup> C. Vivanti, 'Città e campagne', in R. Romano ed., *Storia dell'economica italiana. L'età moderna: verso la crisi*, ii (Turin, 1991), 267-70; M. Berengo, 'Città e 'contado' in Italia dal XV al XVIII secolo', *Storia della Città* **36** (1986), 107; G. Galasso, 'Gli insediamenti e il territorio', in *L'altra Europa. Per un'antropologia storica del Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Milan, 1982), 58; E. Di Ciommo, 'Piccole e medie città meridionali tra antico regime e periodo napoleonico', in *Villes et territoire pendant la période napoléonienne (France et Italie)* (Rome, 1987), 357. The classic work on the Northern city-states is P. Jones, *The Italian city-state. From commune to signoria* (Oxford, 1997).
- <sup>22</sup> B. Levine, 'Modernity, backwardness, and capitalism in the Two Souths', in E. Dal Lago & R. Halpern eds. *The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno: essays in comparative history* (Basingstoke, 2002), 231-7.
- <sup>23</sup> R. Romano, 'La storia economica dal secolo XIV al Settecento', in R. Romano & C. Vivanti (eds.), *Storia d'Italia*, ii (Turin, 1974), 1847; 'L'Italia nella crisi del secolo XV', *Nuova Rivista Storica* **1** (1966), 580-95.
- <sup>24</sup> F. Friedmann, 'The world of 'la miseria'', *Partisan Review* **20** (1953), 218-31.
- <sup>25</sup> D. Gabaccia, *From Sicily to Elizabeth Street: housing and social change among Italian immigrants, 1880-1930* (New York, 1984), 13-4.
- <sup>26</sup> A criticism made in T. Abse, 'Recent works on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Italian history', *Historical Journal* **27** (1984), 1021.
- <sup>27</sup> See the otherwise excellent P. Arlacchi, *Mafia, peasants, and great estates: society in traditional Calabria* (Cambridge, 1983). A criticism of Arlacchi made in P. Bevilacqua, 'Calabria fra antropologia e storia', *Studi Storici* **22** (1981), 667.
- <sup>28</sup> J. Broegger, *Monteverese: a study of peasant society and culture in southern Italy* (Oslo, 1971).
- <sup>29</sup> B. Salvemini, 'Prima della Puglia. Terra di Bari e il sistema regionale in età moderna', in P. Villani & P. Macry eds., *Storia d'Italia. Le regioni dall'Unità ad oggi. La Puglia* (Turin, 1989), 114.
- <sup>30</sup> B. Salvemini, *L'innovazione precaria. Spazi, mercati e società nel Mezzogiorno fra Sette e Ottocento* (Rome, 1995); 'The arrogance of the market: the economy of the Kingdom between the Mediterranean and Europe', in G. Imbruglia ed. *Naples in the eighteenth century: the birth and death of a nation state* (Cambridge, 2000), 60-2.
- <sup>31</sup> A. Carrino, 'Messagna: una agrotown?', in *Parentela, mestiere, potere: gruppi sociali in un borgo meridionale di antico regime (Messagne: secoli XVII-XVIII)* (Bari, 1995), 20-2; A. Massafra & S. Russo, 'Microfondi e borghi rurali nel Mezzogiorno', in P. Bevilacqua ed. *Storia dell'agricoltura italiana: spazi e paesaggi*, i (Padova, 1989), 181-228.
- <sup>32</sup> E. Sakellariou, 'The cities of Puglia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: their economy and society', in A. Cowan ed. *Mediterranean urban culture, 1400-1700* (Exeter, 2000), 97-114; 'Le piccole e medie città nel regno aragonese di Napoli', in *Actas del XVII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. El mundo urbano en la Corona de Aragón de 1137 a los decretos de nueva planta*, i (Barcelona, 2003), 557-72; 'I centri minori del Regno di Napoli nel tardo medioevo. Problemi e prospettive', *Incontri Mediterranei* **5** (2004), 194-207. Also the superb

---

E. Sakellariou, *Southern Italy in the late Middle Ages: demographic, institutional and economic change in the Kingdom of Naples, c.1440-c.1530* (Leiden, 2012).

<sup>33</sup> B. Salvemini & M. Visceglia, 'Bari e l'Adriatico', in A. Massafra & F. Tateo eds., *Storia di Bari nell'antico regime*, i (Bari, 1991), 172-3.

<sup>34</sup> A. Leone, 'Caratteri dell'economia mercantile pugliese (1467-1488)', *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici* 6 (1979-80), 105-9; 'Il versante adriatico del Regno nell'ultimo quarto del sec. XV: Trani, 1484-1488', *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 99 (1981), 231. A view perpetuated by the fact that Northern city-states were reliant on trade with the South in the Middle Ages; see D. Abulafia, *The two Italies* (Cambridge, 1977); 'Southern Italy and the Florentine economy, 1265-1370', *Economic History Review* 34 (1981), 377-88.

<sup>35</sup> A. Ciuffreda, 'Massari e mercanti di piazza. Storie di famiglia e percorsi individuali nelle medie città pugliesi tra sei e settecento', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 112 (2000), 175-9; G. Galasso, 'La provincializzazione del Regno e l'egemonia napoletana nel secolo XVI: il caso pugliese', in D. Fonseca ed. *La Puglia tra Barocco e Rococò* (Milan, 1982), 373-87; A. Massafra, 'Equilibri territoriali, assetti produttivi e mercato in Capitanata nella prima metà dell'Ottocento', in *Produzione, mercato e classi sociali nella Capitanata moderna e contemporanea* (Foggia, 1984), 5-56.

<sup>36</sup> A. Musi, *Mezzogiorno spagnolo. La via napoletana allo stato moderno* (Naples, 1991), 81; A. Cernigliaro, *Sovranità e feudo nel Regno di Napoli (1505-1557)*, 2 vols (Naples, 1983).

<sup>37</sup> In the form of local feudal nobles; M. Visceglia, *Territorio, feudo e potere locale. Terra d'Otranto tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Naples, 1988), 215. Also in the form of the provincial landed bourgeoisie; S. Russo, *Storia di famiglia. Mobilità della ricchezza in Capitanata tra Sette e Ottocento* (Bari, 1995); P. Macry, 'Le elites urbane: stratificazione e mobilità sociale, le forme del potere locale e la cultura dei ceti emergenti', in A. Massafra ed. *Il Mezzogiorno preunitario. Economia, società e istituzioni* (Bari, 1988), 808-11; N. Antonacci, *Terra e potere in una città rurale del Mezzogiorno. Le elites di Andria nell'Ottocento* (Bari, 1996), 156-7.

<sup>38</sup> A. Spagnoletti, *L'inconstanza delle umane cose. Il patriziato di Terra di Bari fra egemonia e crisi* (Bari, 1981); 'Il patriziato barese nei secoli XVI e XVII. La costruzione di una difficile egemonia', in M. Visceglia ed. *Signori, patrizi, cavalieri nell'età moderna* (Rome, 1992), 115; C. Massaro, 'La città e i casali', in B. Vetere ed. *Storia di Lecce. Dai Bizantini agli Aragonesi* (Rome, 1993), 345-92; B. Marin, 'Les bourgs ruraux sous juridiction de la ville: les casali', in C. Vallat, B. Marin & G. Biondi eds. *Naples. Démythifier la ville* (Paris, 1998), 98-104; A. Musi, 'La città assente: Salerno nella provincializzazione del Mezzogiorno spagnolo', *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 5 (1988), 63-88.

<sup>39</sup> A. Musi, 'Piccole e medie città nella storia moderna del Mezzogiorno continentale', *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 10 (1994), 156-7; A. Placanica, *La Calabria nell'età moderna: uomini, strutture, economie*, i (Naples, 1985); F. Barra, *Storia di Avellino* (Avellino, 1992).

- 
- <sup>40</sup> A. Grohmann, *La fiere del Regno di Napoli in età aragonese* (Naples, 1969), 68-72.
- <sup>41</sup> H. Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen: économie et société en Sicile, 1300-1450*, 2 vols (Rome, 1986).
- <sup>42</sup> S. Epstein, *An island for itself: economic development and social change in late medieval Sicily* (Cambridge, 2003); 'Cities, regions, and the late medieval crisis: Sicily and Tuscany compared', *Past & Present* **130** (1991), 3-50; 'The textile industry and the foreign cloth trade in late medieval Sicily (1300-1500): a colonial relationship?', *Journal of Medieval History* **15** (1989), 141-83.
- <sup>43</sup> Epstein, 'Cities, regions', 46.
- <sup>44</sup> On this point see P. Bevilacqua, *Breve storia dell'Italia meridionale* (Rome, 1997); J. Davis, 'Casting off the 'Southern Problem': or the peculiarities of the South reconsidered', in J. Schneider ed. *Italy's Southern Question. Orientalism in one country* (Oxford, 1998), 205-24.
- <sup>45</sup> F. Benigno, 'Assetti territoriali e ruralizzazione nella Sicilia del Seicento: note per una discussione', in *La popolazione delle campagne italiane in età moderna* (Bologna, 1993), 55-70.
- <sup>46</sup> P. Bevilacqua & M. Gorgoni, 'Mercati', *Meridiana* **1** (1987), 11-8; P. Bevilacqua, 'Clima, mercato e paesaggio agrario nel Mezzogiorno', in *Storia dell'agricoltura italiana in età contemporanea: spazi e paesaggi*, i (Venice, 1989), 643-67; M. Petruszewicz, 'Agromania: innovatori agricoli alla periferia dell'Ottocento', in P. Bevilacqua ed. *Storia dell'agricoltura italiana: mercati e istituzioni*, iii (Venice, 1991), 295-343; *Latifundium: moral economy and material life in a nineteenth-century periphery* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 1-21; S. Lupo, *Il Giardino degli aranci. Il mondo degli agrumi nella storia del Mezzogiorno* (Venice, 1990); N. Antonacci, 'Le città rurali dell'Italia meridionale nel XIX e XX secolo. Rassegna critica e prospettive di ricerca', *Società e Storia* **71** (1996), 19-31.
- <sup>47</sup> G. Delille, *Famiglia e proprietà nel Regno di Napoli, XV-XIX secolo* (Turin, 1988); 'La famiglia Contadina nell'Italia moderno', in P. Bevilacqua ed., *Storia dell'agricoltura Italiana in età contemporanea: uomini e classi*, ii (Venice, 1990), 507-34.
- <sup>48</sup> Banfield, *The moral basis*; Silverman, 'Agricultural organization'; J. Davis, *Land and family in Pisticci* (London, 1973), 42. Also for the wider Mediterranean similar views found in Peristiany ed. *Mediterranean family structures*.
- <sup>49</sup> The historiography provided by P. Paolo Viazzo, 'What's so special about the Mediterranean? Thirty years of research on household and family in Italy', *Continuity & Change* **18** (2003), 111-37. See the diversity in Southern Italian household structure in W. Douglas, 'The South Italian family: a critique', *Journal of Family History* **5** (1980), 340; G. Da Molin, 'Family forms and domestic service in southern Italy from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century', *Journal of Family History* **15** (1990), 504-27; Delille, *Famiglia e proprietà*; N. Colclough, 'Continuity and change in marriage patterns and group formation in a south Italian town', *L'Uomo* **7** (1994), 17-37.
- <sup>50</sup> G. Galasso, *Il Mezzogiorno nella storia d'Italia* (Florence, 1977); L. Cafagna, 'Intorno alle origini del dualismo economico in Italia', in *Problemi storici dell'industrializzazione e dello sviluppo*, ed. A. Caracciolo (Urbino, 1965), 103-50.

- 
- <sup>51</sup> P. Malanima, 'An age of decline. Product and income in eighteenth-nineteenth century Italy', *Rivista di Storia Economica* **22** (2006), 91-134.
- <sup>52</sup> V. Daniele and P. Malanima, 'Il prodotto delle regioni e il divario Nord-Sud in Italia, 1861-2004', *Rivista di Politica Economica* **97** (2007), 267-315; E. Felice, 'Regional value added in Italy, 1891-2001, and the foundation of a long-term picture', *Economic History Review* **64** (2011), 929-50.
- <sup>53</sup> F. Galassi & J. Cohen, 'The economics of tenancy in early twentieth-century southern Italy', *Economic History Review* **47** (1994), 585.
- <sup>54</sup> S. Lupo, 'I proprietari terrieri nel Mezzogiorno', in Bevilacqua ed., *Storia dell'agricoltura*, ii, 105-50. Despite the persistence of a negative view of latifundist agriculture in G. Toniolo, *L'economia dell'Italia fascista* (Rome, 1980); V. Zamagni, *Dalla periferia al centro. La seconda rinascita economica dell'Italia (1861-1990)* (Bologna, 1993).
- <sup>55</sup> L. De Rosa, *La provincia subordinata. Saggio sulla questione meridionale* (Rome, 2004), 3-19.
- <sup>56</sup> E. Felice, 'I divari regionali in Italia sulla base degli indicatori sociali (1871-2001)', *Rivista di Politica Economica* **97** (2007), 359-405.
- <sup>57</sup> A criticism of the vague notion of 'backwardness' is made in the excellent J. Davis, *Naples and Napoleon: Southern Italy and the European revolutions, 1780-1860* (Oxford, 2006), 7; 'Remapping Italy's path to the twentieth century', *Journal of Modern History* **66** (1994), 291-320. Also J. Morris, 'Challenging Meridionalismo: constructing a new history for Southern Italy', in J. Morris & R. Lumley eds. *A new history of the Italian South: the Mezzogiorno revisited* (Exeter, 1997), 1-19.
- <sup>58</sup> A problem already noted over 30 years ago in Davis, *People of the Mediterranean*, 88.
- <sup>59</sup> See R. Dickinson, 'Dispersed settlement in southern Italy', *Erdkunde* **10** (1956), 282-97; *The population problem of Southern Italy: an essay in social geography* (Syracuse, 1955), 24; Arlacchi, *Mafia*, chp. 1; A. Galt, *Far from the church bells: settlement and society in an Apulian town* (Cambridge, 1991); R. Rochefort, *Le travail en Sicile* (Paris, 1961), 100-1; B. Palumbo, *Madre madrina: rituale, parentela e identità in un paese del Sannio* (Milan, 1991); F. Piselli, *Parentela ed emigrazione. Mutamenti e continuità in una comunità calabrese* (Turin, 1981).
- <sup>60</sup> Compare J. Cutileiro, *A Portuguese rural society* (Oxford, 1971), 7, 42; B. Juan O'Neill, *Social inequality in a Portuguese hamlet: land, late marriage, and bastardy, 1870-1978* (Cambridge, 1987), 31-3.
- <sup>61</sup> R. Goffredo & V. Ficco, 'Tra Ausculum e Herdonia: i paesaggi di età daunia e romana della Valle del Carapelle', in G. Volpe & M. Turchiano eds., *Faragola I. Un insediamento rurale nella Valle del Carapelle. Ricerche e studi* (Bari, 2010), 29.
- <sup>62</sup> C. Delano Smith, 'Ancient landscapes of the Tavoliere, Apulia', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **41** (1967), 203-8; J. Bradford, *Ancient landscapes* (London, 1957), 96.
- <sup>63</sup> M. Campopiano ed., *Liber Guidonis compositus de variis historiis. Studio ed edizione critica dei testi inediti* (Florence, 2008), LXXVII.

- 
- <sup>64</sup> C. Accorsi et al., 'Ricerche archeoambientali nella Daunia antica. Dati pollinici sull'insediamento di Arpi e sulla villa romana di Ascoli Satriano', in L. Quilici & S.Q. Gigli eds., *Agricoltura e commerci nell'Italia antica* (Rome, 1995), 108-13; G. Volpe, *La Daunia nell'età della romanizzazione. Paesaggio agrario, produzione, scambi* (Bari, 1990), 56-60; E. Sanpaolo, 'Appunti preliminari per la storia dell'insediamento nel territorio di Ascoli Satriano', in *Atti del 12 Convegno Nazionale sulla Preistoria, Protostoria e Storia della Daunia* (San Severo, 1991), 117-30.
- <sup>65</sup> G. Volpe, 'Herdonia romana, tardoantica e medievale alla luce dei recenti scavi', *Ortona* **10** (2000), 533-6.
- <sup>66</sup> J-M. Martin, *La Pouillé du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Rome, 1993), 148-50; J-M. Martin & G. Noyé, 'Il popolamento del Tavoliere e dei suoi dintorni (provincia di Foggia, Italia)', in *La Capitanata nella storia del Mezzogiorno medievale* (Bari, 1991), 47-63; G. Volpe, 'Villaggi e insediamento sparso in Italia meridionale fra tardoantico e altomedioevo: alcune note', in G. Brogiolo, A. Chavarria & M. Valenti eds., *Dopo la fine delle ville: evoluzione delle campagne dal VI al IX secolo* (Mantova, 2005), 221-49; 'Paesaggi e insediamenti rurali dell'Apulia tardoantica e altomedievale', in G. Volpe & M. Turchiano eds., *Paesaggi e insediamenti rurali in Italia meridionale fra Tardoantico e Altomedioevo* (Bari, 2004), 299-314; J-M. Martin & G. Noyé, 'Guerre, fortifications d'habitats en Italie méridionale du Ve au IXe siècle', in A. Bazzana ed., *Castrum 3. Guerre, fortification et habitat dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Age* (Madrid, 1988), 227-9.
- <sup>67</sup> N. Christie, *The Lombards. The ancient Longobards* (Oxford, 1997), 90; P. Favia, 'Temi, approcci, metodologici, modalità e problematiche della ricerca archeologica in un paesaggio di pianura di età medievale: il caso del Tavoliere di Puglia', in N. Mancassola & F. Saggiolo eds., *Medioevo, paesaggi e metodi* (Mantova, 2006), 179-98.
- <sup>68</sup> G. Volpe et al., 'L'abitato altomedievale di Faragola (Ascoli Satriano)', in G. Volpe & P. Favia eds., *V Congresso Nazionale di Archaeologia Medievale* (Florence, 2009), 284-90; G. Volpe, 'A late Roman villa at Faragola, Italy, in Minerva', *International Review of Ancient Art & Archaeology* **17**, 1 (2006), 44-5.
- <sup>69</sup> Made worse by a fire in 1667 destroying the most important ecclesiastical documents; L. Todisco Grande, 'Memoria dell'antichità del sito del governo di Ascoli Satriano', in A. Silba ed., *Frammenti di storia nella città dei tre colli: Ascoli Satriano in tre antiche documenti* (Ascoli Satriano, 2007), 133.
- <sup>70</sup> See Ascoli's confirmation in 911 by the governor of 'Langobardia' in G. Loud, *The Latin church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), 28.
- <sup>71</sup> L. Protospata, 'Chronicon', in Silba ed., *Frammenti di storia*, 18.
- <sup>72</sup> Todisco Grande, 'Memoria dell'antichità', 131.
- <sup>73</sup> L. Lupriore, *Ascoli di Capitanata tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Foggia, 2008), 79.
- <sup>74</sup> See G. Checchia de Ambrosio, *Ricordi storici di Capitanata* (San Severo, 1987), 54; J. Perthes Gotha ed., *Almanach de Gotha, Annuaire généalogique, diplomatique et statistique, cent – quatorzième année* (1877), 314; C. De Lellis, *Discorsi delle famiglie nobili del Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1654), 157; E. di Maio ed., 'I dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli', <[www.storia.unina.it/Sforza/](http://www.storia.unina.it/Sforza/)>; A. Siena Chianese, *La nobiltà napoletana oggi, incontri*

---

(Naples, 1995), 101; R. Magdaleno, *Titulos y privilegios de Napoles siglos XVI-XVIII*, i (Valladolid, 1980), 320; M. Romano, *Gli apprezzamenti e le platee dell'Archivio Caracciolo di Torella come fonte per la ricostruzione del paesaggio e della "Forma Urbis" medievale degli insediamenti del Vulture* (Potenza, 2004), 58, 125, 126, 249, 266; F. Della Marra, *Famiglie estinte fuorestierte o non comprese ne' Seggi di Napoli imparentate colla casa della Marra* (Naples, 1641), 163; M. Marinaccio, 'Una famiglia feudale ed il suo patrimonio nella seconda metà del 1700: i Marulli di Ascoli', in *La daunia felix* (Foggia, 2000), 133.

<sup>75</sup> S. Gilsdorf, 'Foundation of a French monastery in Abruzzo: Santa Maria della Vittoria (1277)', in K. Ludwig Jansen, J. Drell & F. Andrews eds., *Medieval Italy: texts in translation* (Philadelphia, 2009), 250.

<sup>76</sup> H. Houben, *Die Abtei Venosa und das Mönchtum im normannisch-staufischen Süditalien* (Tübingen, 1995), 203-9.

<sup>77</sup> Todisco Grande, 'Memoria dell'antichità', 131.

<sup>78</sup> B. Helly, 'Case studies', in F. Ferrigni et al. eds., *Ancient buildings and earthquakes. The local seismic culture approach: principles, methods, potentialities* (Bari, 2005), 139.

<sup>79</sup> The proportion of survivors was suggested as just one-sixth of the former population in a chronicle though this may have been exaggerated; see Todisco Grande, 'Memoria dell'antichità', 131. For the overall Kingdom of Naples figures see J. Marino, *Pastoral economics in the Kingdom of Naples* (Baltimore, 1988), 65-6.

<sup>80</sup> The higher number of houses in 1753 than in 1648 despite lower population figures is because there were more absentee owners of real estate with more than one house by 1753.

<sup>81</sup> Ventura ed. *Onciario 1753*.

<sup>82</sup> For Ascoli inheritance practice; N. Colclough, 'Invisible patrimonies – Capitoli matrimoniali in ancien régime Ascoli', in H. Grandis & P. Heady eds., *Distinct inheritances: property, family and community in a changing Europe* (Munster, 2003), 145-58.

<sup>83</sup> For example the *masseria* of the 'Magnificent' Potito Romani in the Locazione di S. Giuliano; Archivio di Stato di Foggia, Dogana delle Pecore di Foggia, no. 20; P. Di Cicco, *Il Tavoliere di Puglia nella prima metà del XIX secolo* (Foggia, 1966), 199-209.

<sup>84</sup> R. Licinio, *Masserie medievali. Masserie massari e carestie da Federico II alla Dogana delle Pecore* (Bari, 1998), 13-25. It has been suggested elsewhere in Apulia that *masserie* were on the same sites as former Roman villas; A. Ambrosi, 'Schemi propositivi per lo studio dell'architettura della masseria pugliese', in *Contributi allo studio del paesaggio urbano e rurale della masseria in Puglia; quaderni della scuola di perfezionamento in pianificazione urbana e territoriale* (Bari, 1983), 7-20; L. Mongiello, *Le masserie di Puglia* (Bari, 1984). The fortified *masseria* of Torre Alemania near Ascoli had a small clustered habitation as early as the thirteenth century; R. Licinio, *Castelli medievali: Puglia e Basilicata, dai Normanni a Federico II e Carlo I D'Angiò* (Bari, 1994), 145.

<sup>85</sup> N. Colclough, 'Famiglie catastali – la dinamica delle relazioni di parentela e dell'organizzazione familiare nella Ascoli dell'ancien régime', in Ventura ed., *Onciario 1753*, 53.

- 
- <sup>86</sup> On these epidemics; L. Del Panta, *Le epidemie nella storia demografia italiana (Secoli XIV-XIX)* (Turin, 1980).
- On concerted demographic growth in the Kingdom of Naples; A. Massafra, 'Economia e società nel periodo Spagnola', in G. Musca ed., *Storia della Puglia*, ii (Bari, 1979), 79.
- <sup>87</sup> P. Attema, G-J. Burgers & P. Martijn van Leusen, *Regional pathways to complexity: settlement and land-use dynamics in early Italy from the Bronze Age to the Republican period* (Amsterdam, 2010), 75.
- <sup>88</sup> V. Di Michele, *Locorotondo: rinvenimenti archeologici in Contrada Grofoleo: origini di un centro abitato della Valle d'Itria* (Martina Franca, 1986).
- <sup>89</sup> P. Montanaro & P. Tursi, *Guida di Locorotondo* (Bari, 1991), 15.
- <sup>90</sup> L. Massella, 'Economia e società nel periodo Spagnolo', in Musca ed., *Storia di Puglia*, 36.
- <sup>91</sup> Galt, *Far from the church bells*, 76-7.
- <sup>92</sup> *Idem*, 151.
- <sup>93</sup> The background to this new fiscal system can be found in P. Cuoco, 'La funzione del catasto onciario attraverso la sua disciplina giuridica', in M. Mafri ed., *Il Mezzogiorno settecentesco attraverso i catasti onciari. Aspetti e problemi della catastazione borbonica*, i (Naples, 1983), 143-5; N. Faraglia, 'La sala del catasto onciario nell'Archivio di Stato', *Napoli Nobilissima. Rivista di Topografia ed Arte Napoletana* 7 (1898), 65-7; M. Nicola Miletti, 'Il sollievo del Regno. Profili giuridici del catasto onciario', in Ventura ed., *Onciario*, 21-36.
- <sup>94</sup> A. Galt, 'Social class in a mid-eighteenth century Apulian town: indications from the Catasto Onciario', *Ethnohistory* 33 (1986), 422.
- <sup>95</sup> The uses of the *catasto* for research into settlement, economy and demography are explained in F. Assante, 'Il catasto onciario come fonte di storia demografica', in *Le fonti della demografia storica in Italia* (Rome, 1973), 273-83; G. Da Molin, *La famiglia nel passato. Strutture familiari nel Regno di Napoli in età moderna*, ii (Bari, 1995), 27-37; A. Carbone, 'Tra storia e demografia: Cassano delle Murge e il catasto onciario del 1752', *Archivio Storico Pugliese* 52 (1999), 135-63.
- <sup>96</sup> Davis, *Naples and Napoleon*, 37.
- <sup>97</sup> My own database of Ventura ed. *Onciario 1753*.
- <sup>98</sup> G. Alfani, 'Wealth inequalities and population dynamics in early modern Northern Italy', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40 (2010), appendix.
- <sup>99</sup> D. Curtis, 'Florence and its hinterlands in the late Middle Ages: contrasting fortunes in the Tuscan countryside, 1300-1500', *Journal of Medieval History* 38 (2012) 481-2.
- <sup>100</sup> J.L. van Zanden, 'Tracing the beginning of the Kuznets Curve: Western Europe during the early modern period', *Economic History Review* 48 (1995), 645-7.
- <sup>101</sup> A. Galt, 'Emphyteusis and indigenous agricultural development: the case of Locorotondo, Italy', in R. Herr ed., *Themes in the rural history of the Western world* (Iowa, 1993), 68-98.

- 
- <sup>102</sup> See, for example, J. Marfany, *Land, proto-industry and population in Catalonia, c. 1680-1829: an alternative transition to capitalism?* (Farnham, 2012), chp. 2; R. Congost, 'Property rights and historical analysis: what rights? What history?', *Past & Present* **181** (2003), 73-106.
- <sup>103</sup> On ecclesiastical institutions laying the seeds of emphyteusis in the Terra di Bari; G. Poli, 'Appunti per una tipologia dei contratti agrari nella fascia costiera di Terra di Bari nel Cinquecento', in A. Massafra ed., *Problemi di storia delle campagne meridionali nell'età moderna e contemporanea* (Bari, 1981), 321-34. For a similar chronology in Salento (Southern Apulia); R. Villari, *Mezzogiorno e contadini nell'Età moderna* (Bari, 1977), 73.
- <sup>104</sup> A. Massafra, 'Murgia dei Trulli: trasformazione del paesaggio agrario dai primi dell'Ottocento ai giorni nostri', *Umanesimo della Pietra* **1** (1983), 9-16.
- <sup>105</sup> A. Galt, 'Marital property in an Apulian town during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', in D. Kertzer & R. Saller eds. *The family in Italy* (New Haven, 1991), 304-20.
- <sup>106</sup> F. Assante, *Calopezzati: proprietà fondiaria e classi rurali in un Comune della Calabria (1740-1886)* (Naples, 1964), 41.
- <sup>107</sup> G. Libertini ed., *Documenti per la storia di Crispiano* (Naples, 2003); *Documenti per la storia di Frattaminore (Frattapiccola, Pomigliano d'Atella e Pardinola)* (Naples, 2005).
- <sup>108</sup> The possibilities of working with these documents highlighted in V. Edigi, 'Fuochi, onciari, catasti, nell'Archivio di Stato di Cosenza', *NAS* **11** (1951), 63-6.
- <sup>109</sup> Arlacchi, *Mafia*, chp. 1; M. Rossi-Doria, 'La Calabria agricola e il suo avvenire', *Il Ponte* **9-10** (1950), 1176.
- <sup>110</sup> R. Netting & R. McGuire, 'Leveling peasants? The maintenance of equality in a Swiss Alpine community', *American Ethnologist* **9** (1982), 273-4.
- <sup>111</sup> F. Snowden, *Violence and great estates in the south of Italy: Apulia. 1900-1922* (Cambridge, 1986), 41-61.
- <sup>112</sup> F. Snowden, 'Cholera in Barletta, 1910', *Past & Present* **132** (1991), 67-103.
- <sup>113</sup> ASB, Fondo Intendenza-Prefettura (agricoltura, industria e commercio), no. 7, fo. 41.
- <sup>114</sup> N. Colclough, 'Variation and change in land use and settlement patterns in South Italy: Ascoli Satriano 1700-1990. The making of a southern agro-town', *History & Anthropology* **21** (2010), 9-11.
- <sup>115</sup> For a superb explanation of how it worked see Marino, *Pastoral economics*.
- <sup>116</sup> G. Barker, 'The archaeology of the Italian shepherd', *Proceedings of the Philosophical Society* **25** (1989), 13; M. Corbier, 'La transhumance entre le Samnium et l'Apulie: continuités entre l'époque républicaine et l'époque impériale', in G. d'Henry ed., *La romanisation du Samnium aux IIe et le siècles av. J.-C.* (Naples, 1991), 161. Some argue for even earlier; for example K. Lomas, *Rome and the western Greeks 350 BC – AD 200. Conquest and acculturation in southern Italy* (London, 1993), 122-3.
- <sup>117</sup> The founding charter from Alfonso of Aragon who conquered the Kingdom of Naples in 1447 has been printed in S. Grana, *Istituzioni delle leggi della Regia Dogana di Foggia* (Naples, 1770), 72-9.

- 
- <sup>118</sup> G. De Gennaro, 'Le lane di Puglia nel basso medioevo', in M. Spallanzani ed., *La lana come materia prima. I fenomeni della sua produzione e circolazione nei secoli XIII-XVII* (Florence, 1974), 149-67.
- <sup>119</sup> For an explanation of the rationale see S. Di Stefano, *Della ragion pastorale* (Naples, 1731).
- <sup>120</sup> A. Massafra, *Campagna e territorio nel Mezzogiorno fra Settecento e Ottocento* (Bari, 1984), 199.
- <sup>121</sup> On the population of Naples see Sakellariou, *Southern Italy in the late Middle Ages*, 446.
- <sup>122</sup> A. Calabria, *The cost of empire: the finances of the Kingdom of Naples in the time of Spanish rule* (Cambridge, 1991), 33-6.
- <sup>123</sup> G. Coniglio, *Il vicereame di Napoli nel secolo XVII. Notizie sulla commerciale e finanziaria secondo nuove ricerche negli archivi italiani e spagnoli* (Rome, 1955), 37; C. Salvati ed., *Copia quarterni Bernardi de Anghono mag. Actorum penes mag. portulanum Apulie de tractis extraxtis (1486-87)* (Naples, 1968), 18-23.
- <sup>124</sup> G. Fenicia, 'Tendencias comerciales en el Reino de Nápoles durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI (1503-1556)', *Estudis* **19** (1993), 14.
- <sup>125</sup> See the descriptions in P. Ardoini, *Descrizione del Stato di Melfi (1674)*, ed. E. Navazio (Lavello, 1980). Also J. Marino, 'I meccanismi della crisi nella dogana di Foggia nel XVII secolo', in Massafra ed., *Problemi di storia delle campagne meridionali*, 309-20.
- <sup>126</sup> S. Zotta, 'Momenti e problemi di una crisi agraria in uno 'stato' feudale napoletano (1585-1615)', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* **90** (1978), 717-96. Prior to the pestilence, investment was restricted to grain farming; A. Lepre, *Feudi e masserie, problemi della società meridionale nel '600 e nel '700* (Naples, 1973), 85-123.
- <sup>127</sup> E. Cerrito, 'Ambiente, insediamento e regime agrario nella pianura dauna agli inizi del secolo XIX', *Rivista di Storia dell'Agricoltura* **2** (1981), 113-5.
- <sup>128</sup> A. La Cava, 'La demografia di un commune Pugliese nell'età moderna', *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* **25** (1939), 25-66.
- <sup>129</sup> S. La Sorsa, 'La pastorizia pugliese e le sue costumanze', *Archivio 'Vittorio Scioioja' per le Consuetudine Giuridiche Agrarie e le Tradizioni Popolari Italiane* **8** (1941), 8-11; A. Bissanti, 'Il Tavoliere di Puglia', in C. Colamonico ed. *La casa rurale nella Puglia* (Florence, 1970), 70-91.
- <sup>130</sup> Olive tree cultivation was labour and capital intensive, so mainly ecclesiastical institutions constructed olive presses in Northern Apulia; R. Licinio, 'L'organizzazione del territorio fra XIII e XV secolo', in C. Fonseca & D. Blasi eds., *La Puglia tra medioevo ed età moderna. Città e campagna* (Milan, 1981), 215; G. Poli, *Territorio e contadini nella Puglia moderna. Paesaggio agrario e strategie produttive tra XVI e XVIII secolo* (Galatina, 1990), 65
- <sup>131</sup> G. Laurenti, 'Visita dell'abbazia o precettoria di S. Leonardo di Puglia e dell'abbazia di S. Maria di Banzi', in A. Massafra & A. Ventura eds., *Il patrimonio dell'Abbazia di S. Leonardo di Siponto: illustrazione e trascrizione del manoscritto di una visita pastorale di fine secolo XVII conservato nella Biblioteca provinciale di Foggia* (Foggia, 1978), 43-89.

- 
- <sup>132</sup> R. Licinio, *Uomini e terre nella Puglia medievale. Dagli svevi agli Aragonesi* (Bari, 1983); *Masserie medievali*; C. Delano Smith, 'Villages désertés dans les Pouilles: le Tavolière', in *I paesaggi rurali europei* (Perugia, 1975), 125-40; C. Klapisch Zuber, 'Villaggi abbandonati ed emigrazioni interne', in *Storia d'Italia. I documenti*, v (Turin, 1973), 345-9.
- <sup>133</sup> See the abuses of power and concessions to favourites listed in F. De Dominicis, *Lo stato politico, ed economico della Dogana della Mena della Pecore di Puglia*, iii (Naples, 1781), 37-9.
- <sup>134</sup> A. Gaudiani, *Notizie per il buon governo della Regia Dogana della mena della pecore di Puglia*, ed. P. Di Cicco (Foggia, 1981 [1715]), 100.
- <sup>135</sup> M. Nardella, 'Terre di portata e terre salde di Regia corte: le aree di cereali-coltura estensiva nei territori soggetti alla giurisdizione della Dogana', in *Decimo convegno sulla preistoria, protostoria e storia della Daunia* (San Severo, 1989), 187-92; 'Produzione mercantile e intervento dello Stato nella seconda metà del Cinquecento: le terre a cerealicoltura estensiva della Dogana delle pecore di Foggia', in *Undicesimo convegno sulla preistoria, protostoria e storia della Daunia* (San Severo, 1990), 279-90.
- <sup>136</sup> C. Altobella & A. Muscio, 'Aspetti del contrasto agro-pastorale dei territori della Dogana delle pecore di Puglia: usurpazioni, reintegre e trasformazioni', in *Agricoltura e pastorizia in Capitanata: la storia e le ragioni di un conflitto (secc. xv-xix)* (Bari, 1997), 40-3.
- <sup>137</sup> J. Marino, 'Economic idylls and pastoral realities: the 'trickster economy' in the Kingdom of Naples', *Comparative Studies in Society & History* **24** (1982), 232-3.
- <sup>138</sup> Villari, *Mezzogiorno e contadini*, 14-58; Marino, *Pastoral economics*, 255-9; S. Russo, *Tra Abruzzo e Puglia. La transumanza dopo la Dogana* (Milan, 2002).
- <sup>139</sup> Ventura ed., *Onciario 1753*.
- <sup>140</sup> Giustiniani ed., *Dizionario-geografico*, ii, 6.
- <sup>141</sup> See a study of two Jesuit estates to the south-west of Ascoli in G. Vitolo, *Introduzione-documenti Cavessi per la storia di Rocchetta S. Antonio*, ed. P. Carlone (Altavilla Silentina, 1987). The alienation of ecclesiastical estates was commonplace throughout parts of Southern Italy in the late 1700s; for Calabria A. Placanica, 'Note sull'alienazione dei beni ecclesiastici in Calabria nel tardo Settecento: a proposito del carteggio di un ispettore di Cassa Sacra del 1790', *Studi Storici* **6** (1965), 435-82.
- <sup>142</sup> The wide geographical span of origin for immigrants into Ascoli has also been suggested in S. Russo, 'Uomini e colture: questioni di carte', in R. De Lorenzo ed., *Storia e misura. Indicatori sociali ed economici nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia (secoli XVIII-XX)* (Milan, 2007), 81.
- <sup>143</sup> The diverse status of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century immigrants in Northern Apulia is discussed in Russo, *Storie di famiglie*; 'La cerealicoltura del Tavoliere e la montagna appenninica (secoli XVIII-XIX)', in A. Calafati & E. Sori eds., *Economie del tempo. Persistenze e cambiamenti negli Appennini in età moderna* (Milan, 2004), 117-25.

- 
- <sup>144</sup> Colclough, 'Variation and change', 4.
- <sup>145</sup> As in Cerignola; S. Russo, 'I lavoratori delle masserie: geografia della provenienze', in *Il paesaggio agrario di Cerignola fra Settecento e Ottocento* (Cerignola, 1999), 29-31.
- <sup>146</sup> Colclough, 'Variation and change', 5.
- <sup>147</sup> Ventura ed., *Onciario 1753*.
- <sup>148</sup> A. Ventura, 'L'Onciario di Ascoli Satriano', in *Onciario 1753*, 63.
- <sup>149</sup> A. Anzivino, 'Fuochi, famiglie e donne nel catasto onciario di Orsara di Puglia', *Carte di Puglia* **12** (2004), 30-40.
- <sup>150</sup> B. Palumbo, 'Casa di mugliera, casa di galera. Identità, residenza e parentela in un paese del Sannio', *La Ricerca Folklorica* **25** (1992), 7.
- <sup>151</sup> M-D. Demélas & N. Vivier eds., *Les propriétés collectives face aux attaques libérales (1750-1914). Europe occidentale et Amérique latine* (Rennes, 2003); R. Congost & J. Miguel Lana eds., *Campos cerrados, debates abiertos. Análisis histórico y propiedad de la tierra en Europa (siglos XVI-XIX)* (Pamplona, 2007).
- <sup>152</sup> G. Corona, *Demani ed individualismo agrario nel Regno di Napoli (1780-1806)* (Naples, 1995), 23-62.
- <sup>153</sup> R. Colapietra, 'Gli economisti settecenteschi dinanzi al problema del Tavoliere', *Rassegna di Politica e di Storia* **58** (1959), 24-32; 'Riforma e restaurazione del sistema del Tavoliere di Puglia', *Rassegna di Politica e di Storia* **74** (1960), 26-32; 'L'Unità d'Italia e l'affrancamento del Tavoliere di Puglia', *Rassegna di Politica e di Storia* **76** (1961), 22-32; P. Di Cicco, 'Il problema della Dogana delle Pecore nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo', *La Capitanata* **4** (1966), 63-72; *Censuazione ed affrancazione del Tavoliere di Puglia (1789-1865)* (Rome, 1964).
- <sup>154</sup> See F. Venturi ed. *Illuministi Italiani, v: riformatori napoletani* (Milan, 1962), 28, 618-9; G. Galanti, *Nuova descrizione storia e geografica della Sicilie* (Naples, 1786), i, 273-4, ii, 7, iii, 261-9; *Breve descrizione di Napoli e del suo contorno*, iii (Naples, 1792), 309.
- <sup>155</sup> Marino, *Pastoral economics*, 245.
- <sup>156</sup> Massafra, 'Equilibri territoriali', 40-4; S. Russo, *Grano, pascolo e bosco in Capitanata tra Sette e Ottocento* (Bari, 1990); 54; S. d'Atri, 'Censuazione del Tavoliere e proprietà fondiaria a Cerignola', in *Il paesaggio agrario di Cerignola fra Settecento e Ottocento* (Cerignola, 1999), 33-46. Despite initial promises of dividing up the land into small farms; see Davis, *Naples and Napoleon*, 178.
- <sup>157</sup> S. Lupo & R. Mangiameli, 'La modernizzazione difficile: blocchi corporativi e conflitto di classe in una società 'arretrata'', in *La modernizzazione difficile. Città e campagne nel Mezzogiorno dall'età giolittiana al fascismo* (Bari, 1983), 227; L. Martucci, 'La riforma del Tavoliere e l'eversione della feudalità', *Quaderni Storici* **19** (1972), 253-83.
- <sup>158</sup> L. Riall, 'Ill-contrived, badly executed [and] ... of no avail? Reform and its impact in the Sicilian latifondo (c.1770-1910)', in Dal Lago & Halpern eds. *The American South*, 136-9.

- 
- <sup>159</sup> F. De Felice, *L'agricoltura di Terra di Bari dal 1880 al 1914* (Milan, 1971); A. Cormio, 'Le campagne pugliesi nella fase di transizione (1880-1914)', in *La modernizzazione difficile*, 147-216; L. Masella, 'La Puglia contemporanea', in *Storia del Mezzogiorno. Regioni e province nell'Unità d'Italia*, xv (Rome, 1986), 607-708.
- <sup>160</sup> See S. Russo & F. Mercurio, 'L'organizzazione spaziale della grande azienda', *Meridiana* **10** (1990), 94-124.
- <sup>161</sup> Galt, *Far from the church bells*. Also V. Ricchioni, 'Aspetti della trasformazione fondiaria nella Murgia dei Trulli', *Atti del Congresso Geografico Italiano* **18** (1957), 330-45.
- <sup>162</sup> In particular Galt attributes significance to the wave of transatlantic emigration in the nineteenth century as noted in E. Presutti ed., *Puglie. Relazione del Delegato Tecnico. In Inchiesta Parlamentare sulle Condizioni dei Contadini nelle Province Meridionali e nella Sicilia*, i (Rome, 1909), 147.
- <sup>163</sup> F. Benigno, *Una casa, una terra: ricerche su Paceco, paese nuovo nella Sicilia del Sei e Ottocento* (Catania, 1985); T. Davies, 'Village-building in Sicily: an aristocratic remedy for the crisis of the 1590s', in P. Clark ed., *The European crisis of the 1590s. Essays in comparative history* (London, 1985), 191-208; V. Ricchioni, 'Della proprietà fondiaria privata nel Mezzogiorno avanti le riforme francesi', in *Studi storici di economia dell'agricoltura meridionale* (Florence, 1952), 39-42; D. Mack Smith, *Medieval Sicily, 800-1713* (London, 1968), 195-8.
- <sup>164</sup> G. Sampietro, *Fasano: indagini storiche* (Fasano, 1922), 254-63.
- <sup>165</sup> Galt, *Far from the church bells*, 69.
- <sup>166</sup> On the early rights see B. Cascella, 'I magistri forestarii e la gestione delle foreste', in R. Licinio ed. *Castelli, foreste, masserie: potere centrale e funzionari periferici nella Puglia del secolo XIII* (Bari, 1991), 47-94; R. Travaglini, *I limiti della foresta oritana in documenti e carte dal 1432 al 1809* (Oria, 1977).
- <sup>167</sup> Sakellariou, *The cities of Puglia*, 107.
- <sup>168</sup> D. Chirulli ed., *Istoria cronologica della Franca Martina cogli avvenimenti piu notabili del Regno di Napoli* (Martina Franca, 1982), 217-41.
- <sup>169</sup> See the reports on the condition of the commons in ASB, Atti Demaniali (1809), no. 69.
- <sup>170</sup> M. Capograssi, 'Due secoli di successioni feudali registrati nei cedolari di Terra di Bari', *Rivista Araldica* (1956), 192; A. Carrino, *La città aristocratica. Linguaggi e pratiche della politica a Monopoli fra Cinque e Seicento* (Bari, 2000), 253-61.
- <sup>171</sup> E. Papagna, *Sogni e bisogni di una famiglia aristocratica: i Caracciolo di Martina Franca in età moderna* (Milan, 2002), 67. The distribution of these lands is mapped in E. Papagna, 'Dimensione territoriali e rappresentazione cartografica di una signoria feudale in età moderna', in G. Giarrizzo & E. Iachello eds., *Le mappe nella storia. Proposte per una cartografia del Mezzogiorno e della Sicilia in età moderna* (Milan, 2002), 33-43.
- <sup>172</sup> G. Guarella, 'Niviere e vendita della neve nelle carte del passato', *Riflessioni Umanesimo della Pietra* **11** (1988), 117-24.
- <sup>173</sup> On this process see A. Cofano, *Storia antif feudale della Franca Martina* (Fasano, 1977).

- 
- <sup>174</sup> V. Di Michele, 'Fermenti di rivolta antibaronale nella Locorotondo della prima metà' del Settecento', *Locorotondo* **4** (1988), 113.
- <sup>175</sup> In particular a pact from 1605; G. Guarella, 'L'università di Locorotondo: i Borassa e le capitolazioni del 1605', *Locorotondo* **4** (1988), 28.
- <sup>176</sup> F. Fumarola, 'Appunti della storia di Locorotondo: la Valle d'Itria e le origini di Locorotondo', <<http://digilander.libero.it/locomind/storia/fumarola%201.htm>>.
- <sup>177</sup> A common feature in this part of Apulia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; see L. Masella, 'Decime e demani: l'eversione della feudalità in terra d'Otranto', *Quaderni Storici* **19** (1972), 284-301.
- <sup>178</sup> G. Baccari, *Memorie storiche di Locorotondo* (Fasano, 1869), 90-1.
- <sup>179</sup> Papagna, *Sogni e bisogni*, 91.
- <sup>180</sup> M. Aymard, 'La transizione dal feudalesimo al capitalismo', in R. Romero & C. Vivanti eds. *Storia d'Italia, Annali I* (Turin, 1978), 1155-69.
- <sup>181</sup> Galt, *Far from the church bells*, 238.
- <sup>182</sup> Congost, 'Property rights and historical analysis'.
- <sup>183</sup> G. Pavoncelli, *Un'azienda vinaria in Capitanata* (Cerignola, 1897), 16.
- <sup>184</sup> Snowden, *Violence*, 35-40.
- <sup>185</sup> E. Sereni, *Il capitalismo nella campagne (1860-1900)* (Turin, 1968), 171-2.
- <sup>186</sup> Galt, *Far from the church bells*, 225.
- <sup>187</sup> M. Visceglia, 'Il commercio dei porti pugliesi nel Settecento: ipotesi di ricerca', in P. Villani ed., *Economia e classi sociali nella Puglia moderna* (Naples, 1976), 187-220. Taxes on wine traded through Monopoli are found as early as the fifteenth century; see F. Muciaccia ed., *Il Libro Rosso della città di Monopoli* (Bari, 1906), 242.
- <sup>188</sup> P. Chorley, *Oil, silk and enlightenment: economic problems in eighteenth-century Naples* (Naples, 1965), 38.
- <sup>189</sup> Galt, 'Emphyteusis', 80.
- <sup>190</sup> M. Visceglia, 'Commercio e mercato in Terra d'Otranto nella seconda metà del XVIII secolo', *Quaderni Storici* **28** (1975), 153-4; *Territorio, feudalità*, 156.
- <sup>191</sup> P. Boso, *Martina Franca nel 1755* (Taranto, 1969), 33-7; A. Montanaro, 'Quotizzazione delle masserie – ascesa e declino della viticoltura a Martina Franca', *Umanesimo della Pietra* **1** (1983), 35-42.
- <sup>192</sup> J. Simpson, 'Cooperation and conflicts: institutional innovation in France's wine markets, 1870-1911', *Business History Review* **79** (2005), 527-58; J. Carmona & J. Simpson, 'The 'rabassa morta' in Catalan viticulture: the rise and decline of a long-term sharecropping contract, 1670s-1920s', *Journal of Economic History* **59** (1999), 303-12.
- <sup>193</sup> D. Mele, *Annuario storico-statistico-commerciale di Bari e Provincia* (Bari, 1883), 230.