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Section IV: Regional Issues

DANIEL R. CURTIS

An Agro-Town Bias? Re-examining the Micro-Demographic Model for Southern Italy in the Eighteenth Century

Abstract

Over the past 25 years, there has been an orthodox view established that 18th-century Southern Italy had a distinctive micro-demographic model based around a number of facets, 3 key ones being a proliferation of neo-local small nuclear households, an exceptionally low average age of first marriage for women (with low levels of life-time singles), and a low incidence of household service. This view, however, has been forged on the back of geographical biases in data selection—particularly in favor of Apulia, a region with a high incidence of large latifundist estates and agro-towns. What this article shows using a less geographically biased database compiled from the Catasto Onciario and State of Souls register is that while nuclear households and low ages of women's marriage may have been characteristic of the agro-town areas of the Kingdom, this did not apply for everywhere in the South. In fact, some regions displayed complex household levels comparable to parts of Eastern Europe and some regions had average ages of marriage for women that would not look out of place in parts of Northwest Europe. An explanation for such regional divergences has been sought in the tenurial complexity and diversity seen in the South. The view that the South had a low incidence of service, however, does indeed still hold, with only minor variations across regions.

I. A Southern Italian Micro-Demographic Model

It is well established in the literature now that pre-industrial household structure and marriage behaviour was not the same all over the Italian Peninsula, Sardinia, and Sicily. While early work in historical demography in the 1960s and 1970s gave the impression that the “Mediterranean” was “special” when compared to household and marriage structures seen further north in Europe,¹ a narrative later given further support by the work of David Reher,² scholars of the past 20 years or so have suggested the Mediterranean could not be treated as a homogenous whole.³ As summarized superbly by Pier Paolo Viazzo when posing the question “What’s so special about the Mediterranean?,” research performed in the 1980s onwards turned up results antithetical to broad lines of distinction between

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“Northern” and “Southern” Europe, and within Italy alone, there were at least 3 clear pre-industrial models for household and marriage patterns.⁴ While the ground breaking work of David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber on the rich data of the 1427 Florentine Catasto had shown Tuscany (within Central Italy) to have been characterized by complex⁵ households and early ages of marriage,⁶ by the 18th and 19th centuries this was still an area of complex households, but had late ages of marriage comparable to that of the supposed European Marriage Pattern (EMP) areas of Northwest Europe.⁷ In contrast, Southern Italy in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries apparently displayed the opposite features: early ages of marriage but was comparable to EMP Northwest Europe in its proliferation of neo-local small nuclear households. The third distinct model was to be found on Sardinia, which curiously exhibited both of these elements of the EMP system—late ages of marriage and nuclear households proliferation in the 18th and 19th centuries,⁸ together with a higher amount of lifecycle service.⁹ To these three broad distinctions within Italy, we could of course add a fourth, and separate “Northern” from “Central” Italy, since scholars more recently have suggested these had quite contrasting micro-demographic regimes and do not deserve to be crudely lumped together.¹⁰

The focus of this article is on the household structure and marriage behaviour said to be characteristic of the “Italian South.” However, there has not always been a complete agreement on how to define the boundaries of the “South.” One the one hand, historical territorial logic could be used to define Southern Italy as all the area of the Italian peninsula that comprised the Kingdom of Naples at its greatest extent—distinct from “Central Italy” which were the Papal States, the Duchy of Tuscany and the Republic of Lucca.¹¹ Using this definition, however, means the inclusion of the Abruzzo—an area actually to the north of the southern part of the region Lazio, whose capital Rome was at the center of the Papal States that dominated Central Italy for centuries. In order to reconcile these two possible definitions of the “Italian South,” the data provided in this article includes figures for all of the Kingdom of Naples, but also total figures with Abruzzo removed from the dataset.

Although there are undoubtedly more nuanced features, the 3 key characteristics of the Southern Italian micro-demographic model for the early modern period can be said to have been a high incidence of small nuclear households, very low ages of marriage (particularly for women), and very low numbers of residential servants and institutionalized domestic service. This view has been established most of all by the important work of Giovanna Da Molin and her subsequent students (although other scholars working independently have corroborated some of her findings),¹² and has been disseminated as an essential “truth” of how the pre-industrial Southern Italian household and marriage operated.¹³ Each of the three facets of this model are elucidated upon briefly below.

Da Molin noted matter-of-factly in her influential article that “Southern Italy was characterized by a nuclear family household system,”¹⁴ and that this was logical given the tendency towards newly created, independent households upon marriage (neo-locality).¹⁵ Such a system was said to have been crystallized in place by the marriage-based transmission of property by the parents to the daughter in the form of dowry—apparently enough to set up a new household.¹⁶ Delving deeper into Da Molin’s 18th-century data, the proliferation of nuclear households does appear to be true. In those locations with data on household

Table 1. Da Molin's 18th-century data for household composition

Total households	Nuclear households	Extended households	Nuclear households %	Extended households %
29677	23723	5023	80	16.9

Adapted and calculated from: Da Molin, "Family forms."

composition, 80% of the households were nuclear and nearly 17% complex (see table 1). To put that in a comparative perspective, the low level of complex households calculated for Southern Italy was not that far off the classic EMP areas of Northwest Europe, where figures from 5% to 14% have been suggested for restricted regions of the Low Countries, England, and Northern France, and significantly was far lower than figures obtained for certain parts of Switzerland and Austria, Southern France, Scandinavia, and most definitely the Baltics, the Balkans, and Russia.^{17,18}

The second feature Da Molin pointed out was the extremely low average ages of first marriage in the South, especially for women.¹⁹ Probably this does not surprise us, given examples provided in a much earlier literature of girls as young as 13 already having their first child in the eighteenth century, frequently to far older men.²⁰ Furthermore, foreign travelers through the likes of Sicily and Calabria in the late 1700s tended to remark with shock at such a phenomenon.²¹ Da Molin has also had support from other scholars on this issue. Gerard Delille's superb monograph, firmly rooted in the French *Annales* tradition, suggested that 16th-century Southern Italian women's age of first marriage tended to be in their teens (an average of his available data came to 19.4),²² and while the 17th-century average was higher (21.4),²³ this was obviously still low compared to 17th-century figures taken from further north in the Italian Peninsula and of course contrasted with the mid-twenties average suggested for "EMP" Northwest Europe.²⁴ More data is available for the 18th-century, though once again Da Molin showed a very low average age of marriage for women: out of 16 different places the crude average came to 20.7.²⁵ Thus in large agro-towns (towns which apparently retained a predominantly agricultural function) such as Candela, women were apparently marrying on average around 17 or 18 years of age.²⁶ Even when Da Molin's data is crudely consolidated with averages taken from other scholar's data on 18th-century Southern Italy, the figure remains quite low at 22.²⁷ Of course, this is not as low as ages of women's marriage calculated for parts of East Asia such as southerly areas of Korea (16.7 during the 18th century) or the Lower Yangtze River Area (17 during the 18th century),²⁸ but it is still low in a Western European perspective—apparently only rivalled by southern parts of the Iberian Peninsula and restricted areas of Greece.²⁹

The third element established by Da Molin was the low incidence of service,³⁰ possibly in line with other areas of the Mediterranean,³¹ and was a stark contrast to the "life-cycle" service regime seen in Northwest Europe.³² Servants apparently made up only 3% of the population in 18th-century Southern Italy (compared with 10% estimated for the whole of Italy),³³ and if they did exist, they were generally "life-time" rather than temporary "life-cycle" servants,³⁴ and more likely to be women with a female-male ratio suggested by Da Molin of

70:30.³⁵ In pushing this point forward further, Da Molin goes on to suggest that to go into service in the South was “humiliating and a disgrace” and “almost better to starve,” in the process implying a distinct cultural aversion based around “honor.”³⁶ Certainly the data provided by Da Molin is strong: from 3782 households in the 17th century, only 38 employed servants—that is 1%. Da Molin’s 18th-century data, which is more reliable and in greater quantity, showed a continuation of such trends—a low incidence of service. Out of 32,710 identifiable households, 822 had servants living in them, which amounted to just 2.5%.³⁷ This contrasted significantly with many parts of Northwest Europe, where for example, almost a third of households contained servants in Overijssel (Eastern Netherlands) and the Veluwe (Central Netherlands) in 1749.³⁸

II. Problems with the Model

Da Molin and her students have done much to crystallize a view of a Southern Italian micro-demographic model as being characterized by three facets: high proportions of small nuclear households; low ages of marriage for women, and low numbers of resident servants. Da Molin’s work has significance because her view of a Southern Italian micro-demographic model has been simply accepted by historical demographers and social and economic historians placing Italian developments in a pan European perspective, and have just read her important *Journal of Family History* paper from 1990 written in English. A good case in point is the recent consolidated database constructed by Sheilagh Ogilvie and Tracy Dennison for ages of women’s marriage, household composition, and numbers of single women across pre-industrial Europe taken from the secondary literature: their “Southern Italy” section is heavily reliant on Da Molin.³⁹ However, in this section of the article, there are a number of problems identified with the data selected by Da Molin and the methodologies she used in the process of establishing such a model for Southern Italy.

One of the main problems with Da Molin’s work is in the geographical selection of her households. Essentially she is too rooted in the particular locality of her expertise. Out of 29,677 households classifiable as either nuclear or complex in her key paper, 22,544 of them (76%) were from Apulia—a clear Apulian bias (see table 2).^{40,41}

Table 2. Da Molin’s 18th-century data for household composition in Apulia and outside Apulia

	Total households	Nuclear households	Extended households	Nuclear households %	Extended households %
Only Apulia	22544	18758	3137	83.2	13.9
Non-Apulian Regions	7133	4965	1886	69.9	26.4
Whole data Sample	2977	23723	5023	80	16.9

Adapted and calculated from: Da Molin, “Family forms.”

The specific problem of this geographical bias is of course that the demographic, social and economic characteristics of Apulia were not a proxy for demographic, social and economic characteristics right across the Kingdom of Naples—far from it. In large parts of Apulia in the 18th and 19th centuries, especially in the Northern plains of the Capitanata (the Tavoliere) and the most southerly areas of Salento in the heel where Da Molin takes most of her data from, there existed the classic agro-town structure par excellence. Here large concentrated agricultural towns supported landless laborers employed in large estate agriculture known widely as *latifundia*.⁴² This kind of tenurial structure and mode of agricultural exploitation was found in other parts of the Mediterranean such as the Alentejo and Andalucia in the Southern Iberian peninsula. With high levels of divorcement from the means of production, it was entirely logical that households would remain small and nuclear, with no extra hands needed for the farm as seen on the sharecropping regions of Central Italy and no pressing incentive for having extra children with no land to work for many laboring families.⁴³

However, it is becoming to be more widely appreciated now that the agro-town economic system was not one that spread all across Southern Italy to the same extent or had the same chronological evolution.⁴⁴ In fact this system of very large agro-towns was only particularly dominant in Northern and Southern Apulia, the Crotonese region of Central Calabria, and Western Sicily. Smaller types of agro-towns existed elsewhere such as in the hinterlands of Naples, Southern Calabria, and parts of Basilicata and Principato Ultra, while in other parts of the South, very small villages with small peasant property-owners survived such as in the Cosentino area of Central Calabria,⁴⁵ parts of Eastern Sicily, and widespread across Molise, the Terra di Lavoro, and the Abruzzi. Even in Apulia itself there was a massive contrast between social-agrosystems; the large agro-towns of the Tavoliere contrasting sharply with the dispersed *trulli* (small conical stone houses distinctive to central Apulia) seen in the raised inland Murgia.⁴⁶ *Latifundia* was not quite as prolific across Southern Italy as we once thought, displaying higher levels of tenurial complexity and variation, and sometimes only developed quite late—for example in the course of the 19th century.⁴⁷ Accordingly as the table above attests, the higher proliferation of nuclear households in the agro-town regions of Apulia (83.2% of households in Apulia were nuclear compared to 69.9% in non-Apulia regions in Da Molin's work) becomes a problem for the basic assertion that "Southern Italy was characterized by a nuclear family household system" if the dataset is biased towards Apulia.

The same problem of geographical bias is seen in the collection of her data for the other two micro-demographic facets; age of women's first marriage and proportions of resident servants. Out of 31 recorded ages of marriage for the 17th and 18th centuries across "Southern Italy," 22 of these figures were from regions of Apulia (71%).⁴⁸ Out of 19 individual settlements chosen (she has data for different dates from the same settlements), 15 of these were from Apulia (79%). Just 4 places were outside Apulia: 2 from Calabria and 2 from Basilicata. Thus the Abruzzi, Molise, the Principato Ultra and Citra, the Terra di Lavoro, and Campania were all absent, not to mention the 3 historic regions of Sicily. Calabria is a large land mass (comprising of 3 historic territorial divisions), and yet the 2 places chosen from there were both close together. The problem is exacerbated when we consider that the Apulian settlements chosen were predominantly large agro-towns with higher populations than the small settlements

chosen outside Apulia. The bias towards Apulia agro-town areas may have artificially deflated the ages of women's marriage for Southern Italy in the 18th century, especially when we consider some of the fragmentary data taken from other scholars. Indeed out of a consolidation of 34 different averages for women's age of first marriage across Southern Italy by Delille and Rossella Rettaroli for various points between the 16th and 18th centuries, the crude average for 17 Apulian figures came to 19.8 while the consolidation of 17 non-Apulian figures came to 23.2.⁴⁹ Thus, although by no means definitive, there are some signs that ages of women's marriage may have been lower in Apulia than in certain other regions of the South. The fact that the consolidation of this Rettaroli and Delille data ends up with half the places still in Apulia just underlines further the point that bias tends to be towards Apulian regions, even by scholars independent of Da Molin. Da Molin recognized explicitly that there might be regional variation in the ages of marriage across Southern Italy, noting that, "In Eboli, in Campania, women married at 20 or even earlier, though it is true that in some cases they married at 25 or later," yet follows this comment with "By the middle of the nineteenth century, there were significant differences in age at marriage"—giving us the impression that regional differences were more a 19th-century phenomenon.⁵⁰ And despite this concession, Da Molin still ends the section with the argument that "[we can] identify a characteristic nuptial model for the rural areas of Southern Italy . . . this model consists of early marriage for women."⁵¹

The same geographical biases problem again hinders Da Molin's treatment of the final facet of her Southern Italian micro-demographic model, the prevalence of household service, which is ultimately the core component of her "Family forms" article. Ultimately out of 58 different known percentages given for various places in Southern Italy between the 17th and 19th centuries, 40 were from Apulia (69%).⁵² Out of 45 individual settlements chosen (again she has data for different dates from the same settlements), 29 of these were from Apulia (64.4%). All the other provinces put together in Southern Italy barely make up a third of the total database. Ultimately the difference between the average number of households with servants from just the Apulian data was not a massive divergence from the limited data taken from the non-Apulian regions consolidated together (2.3% of households compared to 3.1%), but there was some difference—and the difference may have been more significant with more equitable data distribution. More to the point, the Apulian data includes significant "urban" settlements (by urban I do not mean agro-towns) such as Bari with over 4000 households, while in the non-Apulian data only one of those habitations has more than even 1000 households—of significance when considering urban environments tended to employ more domestic servants than rural ones.

III: Introducing a New Consolidated Dataset

What has been asserted so far then is that there is a significant problem with Da Molin and her school's excessive rootedness in their own locality; a greater problem when one considers that Da Molin's work is influential and her findings have in turn been dispersed on a wider level to historical demographers who are not experts on Italy or even the Mediterranean. The basic empirical aim of this article is to re-examine the three facets of the Southern Italian micro-demographic model described above with recourse to a large new dataset compiled through extraction

from archival manuscripts and printed primary editions of tax registers known as the *Catasto Onciario* and ecclesiastical hearth surveys known as the *Stato delle Anime* (State of Souls). The information extraction from this research has (where possible) been added to databases already created by other scholars such as Delille and Da Molin (among others), thereby creating a massive database of more than 180 different settlements across Southern Italy.⁵³ These settlements have been chosen as a conscious attempt to better take in the wider diversity of Southern Italian landscapes, settlement structures, and different modes of economic organization—rather than a complete emphasis on the agro-town regions of Apulia.

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,⁵⁴ even if the system itself may inadvertently have perpetuated inequalities.⁵⁵ Some of the more efficient assessments were conducted very quickly from 1741 onwards, though resentment and resistance in the rural hinterlands of the Kingdom was strong and therefore some were still being completed 20 years later.⁵⁶ The tremendous value of the *Catasto* was that it included all households regardless of whether they had land or not. It is a treasure-trove of

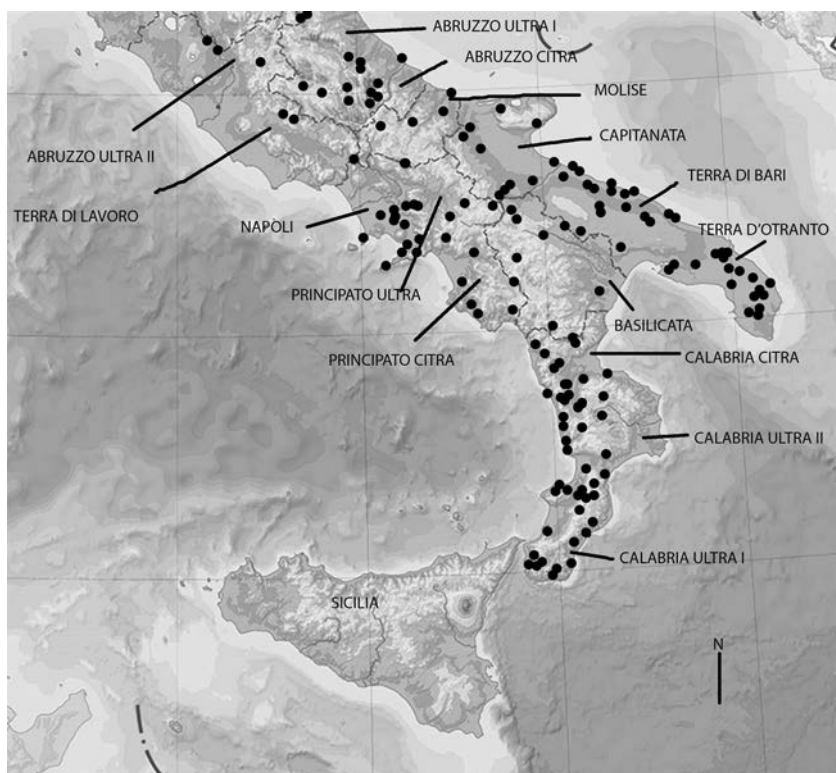


Figure 1. Map of the Kingdom of Naples with settlements included in the database marked.

(somewhat under-exploited) demographic information for the historian including the number, names, and ages of all household members (including servants), occupations of all males, marital statuses of all household members, all household property, place of origin of head of household (if immigrant), social statuses, precise neighborhoods of residence, rental or ownership of houses or rooms, and even “extra” information such as whether a child had been adopted, were remarried, or a man had two wives at the same time (*dubbrera*).

The State of Souls was an ecclesiastical population register also covering the whole of the Kingdom of Naples, but instead of a “one-off” like the *Catasto*, many different copies compiled by well-trained archpriests have survived for the 17th and 18th centuries. The State of Souls often had more topographic information than the *Catasto*, though lacked important details such as occupations. Sicily has not been included in this article because the Kingdom of Sicily was not assessed through the *Catasto Onciario*, and instead between 1548 and 1815 through property registers known as *Riveli*. The *Riveli* were much more limited than the other two sources for the Southern Peninsula: not only were the ages rounded off to the nearest “0” with much greater frequency, but there was a greater tendency to break down extended and multiple families into nuclear ones for taxation purposes and furthermore, ages were only provided for males.⁵⁷

Of course there are some limitations to these sources.⁵⁸ Although not always the case, the *Catasto* was not always rigorous with recording “fiscally irrelevant” women, minors, and the elderly (those over 60 and under 14 were fiscally exempt).⁵⁹ The State of Souls in particular had a marked “urban bias.”⁶⁰ In many “agro-town” areas, people living out in the isolated countryside were not always included. Servants on the isolated *masserie* (large farms) were not always counted, lowering the overall impression of Southern servitude. Both documents had a tendency to separate complex households into nuclear units in order to maximize tax revenue, and therefore the numbers of nuclear households presented in the data below must be taken as an absolute possible maximum. On occasion widows and children were listed as in separate households, when on closer cross-referencing, it turned out they were residing in the household of, for example, an uncle. Finally, although there was a great variety in ages recorded, there was a tendency to round-up to the nearest 0 or 5, and it was obviously in certain household’s interests to offer an age (either younger or older) which made them fiscally exempt. Indeed, if early nineteenth-century marriage acts and birth records are anything to go by, the giving and recording of ages could be very imprecise indeed. Illuminato Giammillaro married his wife Giacchina di Maggio on the 3rd of July 1828 in his home village of Santa Cristina Gela at the apparent age of 28 (4 years younger than his wife), yet 1 year later upon the birth of their first-born daughter Rosaria, Illuminato was now aged 33 and Giacchina was 31!⁶¹ Given the limitations of the sources, it is important we tread carefully and with caution, in the process of exploiting their rich potential for micro-demographic reconstructions of large areas.

IV. Household Structure

In calculating the proportion of nuclear to complex households in eighteenth-century Southern Italy, there is a complication in that there is no one exact consensus on how to measure the composition of households. The most

dominant way has been to employ a basic typology established over 40 years ago by the Cambridge Group and most closely associated with Peter Laslett.⁶² This technique has been consistently used to chart geographical variations in household structure,⁶³ and it was the typology employed by Da Molin in her significant work. Over the years some criticisms have been levelled at the Laslett typology on a number of grounds such as not being receptive to the wider institutional contexts in which the household is embedded,⁶⁴ yet ultimately new typologies can scarcely be seen as improvements. One interesting criticism made recently is that Laslett did not really make clear how he incorporated non-kin such as lodgers and servants into the households categories, and Annemarie Bouman and Tine De Moor have argued that there are more extensions to the family than basic kin-based ones.⁶⁵ Certainly these scholars have a justifiable point, and this is something to consider for those scholars working on regions of Northwest Europe with high levels of life-cycle service. However, for the purposes of this article, the traditional Laslett typology (presented below) will still be used (where servants are not considered as components of the household), on 2 grounds. First of all, this article looks to reassess perceived biases in household data taken from the likes of Da Molin et al.—therefore the same methodology has to be employed in order to make sure any differences in my data are not merely a function of methodological changes. Second, in Southern Italy, not all servants were resident in the houses of their masters—frequently they were found to be residing in their own independent houses.

Ultimately if Da Molin's considerable body of data (29,677 households) is added to data compiled from a range of other scholars (7709 households) and then added to my own database of household composition in 18th-century Southern Italy (18,430 households), forming a grand total of 55,816 households across 113 individual settlements, a different impression is formed from her assertion that "Southern Italy was characterized by a nuclear family household system." Across the whole of the database for the Kingdom of Naples, 66.6% of households were nuclear and 22.6% were either extended or multiple, and when the Apulian data is removed the nuclear households drop to 59% and complex households become 30.8% of the total. It appears that the "land of the nuclear

Table 3. The Laslett typology

Type of household	Explanation
Solitaries	People living alone including widows or widowers
No family	People living together who did not constitute a 'family', which included two or more related or unrelated people living together without a married couple present
Simple family	Those households with a nuclear core of couple without children, a couple with children, or a widow/widower with children
Extended family	Those households with a nuclear core but with one or more additional relatives that were not a couple such as an elderly parent or an aunt
Multiple family	Those households with a nuclear core but with one or more additional couples such as the head of household's spouse
Indeterminate	Those households with kin linkages impossible to classify

household” that Da Molin argued for was not applicable for the Kingdom of Naples as a whole, but in reality just limited select regions in the South. Large agro-towns such as Barletta and Cerignola in Apulia may have had extremely low levels of complex households, accounting respectively for just 6.7% and 7.2% of the total. Yet this has to be placed against those villages found elsewhere in the South where the proportion of complex households went well over 40%—Brognaturo and Simbario in the heart of Calabria, for example. As noted in the introduction, the figures were also calculated without Abruzzo—to satisfy anyone who is not convinced that this region was really part of the “South.” Certainly, the data on household composition supports those who suggest that the Abruzzo is more characteristic of “Central” rather than Southern Italy, because the proportion of complex households taken from the three historical provinces of the Abruzzo came to close to 50%. No other historical province of the south came close to matching these overall figures, which were actually so high as to be on a par with the Balkans of South-eastern Europe. What the data suggests actually is that both the Abruzzo and Apulia cannot be considered “characteristic” of the South—falling at polar opposite ends of the spectrum with regard to household structure. When both Apulian and Abruzzese data are taken away, we see complex household figures ranging from 19.2 in Calabria Ultra I to 35 in Calabria Citra—with most falling somewhere in the twenties.⁶⁶

However, even in the new large database presented above, over 50% of the data is from Apulia. Therefore it may not always be the best way to compare on a strictly regional level because the sample sizes are not the same for all the regions—we have to make sure that the findings are not simply the effect of sample bias. Indeed, it would be beyond the capacity of an individual researcher or even a small research team to compile as much household data for every province of the Kingdom of Naples as Da Molin managed for Apulia. Thus instead, we can arrange the data in a different way, according to structure of settlements. It has been said already that Da Molin’s data was biased to Apulia, a region where the large agro-town and latifundist agriculture was at its most dominant, and this may have produced a higher number of nuclear households as a result. Thus the table below is arranged according to the hierarchy of settlement within Southern Italy, distinguishing between “towns,” “agro-towns,” “small agro-towns,” and “villages, dispersed settlements, and hamlets.” This is not achieved simply by taking into account population levels; definitions are also made on the grounds of political status and economic function.⁶⁷ Indeed, despite the prevalence of large concentrated towns in Southern Italy, the south can still not be considered particularly “urbanized” during the early modern period because many of these large settlements did not have many urban functions. Thus “towns” are classified on the grounds of their large populations, but also distinguished from “agro-towns” by carrying either political jurisdictions over the surrounding countryside, engaging in significant amounts of international trade, or having a diverse occupational structure with a significant non-agricultural economic activity. “Agro-towns” could be large (larger than some “towns” sometimes), but had very limited urban functions and had a predominantly agricultural occupational character. Of course not all agro-towns were the same: “agro-towns” such as Barletta with 2831 households in the mid-18th century were clearly distinguishable from “small agro-towns” such as Trinitapoli with 156 households, even when they both were still inhabited by essentially large numbers of agricultural labourers. “Agro-towns”

Table 4. Consolidated database of household composition in the Kingdom of Naples, 18th century^a

Regions	Households	Single (%)	No structure (%)	Nuclear (%)	Extended (%)	Multiple (%)	Complex (%) (Ext + Mult)
Abruzzo Citra	2075	2.3	3.4	49.3	31.4	13.6	45
Abruzzo Ultra I	260	7.7	2.3	51.5	22.3	16.2	38.5
Abruzzo Ultra II	1585	2.7	2.7	40.5	43.6	9.2	52.8
Basilicata	1837	2.8	4.7	65.4	16	11	27
Calabria Citra	9159	9.5	4.4	55.7	27.7	7.3	35
Calabria Ultra I	1316	14.6	2	64.3	17.6	1.6	19.2
Calabria Ultra II	4344	11.8	3.1	61.2	22.3	1.5	23.8
Capitanata	4414	7.4	2.5	68.6	13.6	7.2	20.8
Molise	1444	1.9	8.6	61.4	15.3	12.8	28.1
Napoli	3572	5.4	3.4	69.6	14.4	5.9	20.3
Principato Citra	1812	10	2.5	60.3	21.8	5	26.8
Principato Ultra	1281	3.8	1	66.4	27.4	1.3	28.7
Terra d'Otranto	6537	10.4	2.6	74.7	8.5	2.9	11.4
Terra di Bari	16038	8.2	2.3	76.2	9.8	3.2	13
Terra di Lavoro	142	4.2	2.8	62.7	28.9	1.4	30.3
TOTAL	55816	7.6	2.9	66.6	17.3	5.3	22.6
TOTAL without Apulian regions	28827	6.6	3.3	59	24.1	6.7	30.8
TOTAL without Abruzzo	51896	7.9	2.8	68.1	16	4.8	20.8
TOTAL without Apulia and Abruzzo	24907	7.2	3.3	60.7	22.3	5.9	28.2

Sources: See "My Database Sources." Combined with Da Molin, "Family forms"; Barbagli, "Marriage and the family in Italy," 120-4; Carbone, "La via del rame"; Galt, *Far from the Church Bells*; Nardone, "Caratteri demografici," Table 5.

^a A breakdown of the individual settlements included in the database are provided in Appendix 1 found in 'Southern Italian Micro-Demographic Database, 18th Century', <<https://uu.academia.edu/DanieleCurtis>>.

were large agricultural settlements of more than 500 households, while “small agro-towns” had an agricultural character with less than 500 households. “Small agro-towns” were distinguished from “villages, dispersed settlements, and hamlets” by their occupational structure and predominant systems of land tenure, not population. “Small agro-towns” were agricultural settlements dominated by landless laborers, while “villages, dispersed settlements, and hamlets” were agricultural but dominated by small peasant landowning farmers, tenants with emphyteutic leases, or to a lesser extent, sharecroppers.⁶⁸

As confirmed in the table above, a geographical bias towards agro-town regions such as Apulia was always likely to produce a distorted result. Indeed, the proportion of complex households found in those agricultural settlements not considered to be “agro-towns” was almost double than those found in the large agro-towns (33.7% to 17.7%). In smaller agro-towns the divergence was not quite as wide, but still clearly visible (33.7% to 21.2%). The association of agro-towns with nuclear households was so strong that they even had greater proportions than the “proper” towns with urban functions. Even when the data from the Abruzzo is removed, the same pattern emerges—just to a slightly less pronounced extent. Thus, in sum, the proliferation of nuclear households in the model that Da Molin described was not actually a “Southern Italian” one: she was more specifically describing a model for agro-town settlements within Southern Italy; a settlement structure not seen everywhere in the South.

V: Women’s Age at First Marriage

The Catasto Onciario and the State of Souls registers cannot tell us the precise ages at which men and women married in 18th-century Italy because they are censuses not marriage acts. However, given that the censuses provide information on marriage statuses and ages of all members of the household, a calculation known as the “Singulate Mean Age of Marriage” can be calculated, a technique first developed in a seminal paper by John Hajnal to determine the average length of single life expressed in years among those who marry before age 50.⁶⁹ Although she did not go into much detail about this method, its potential and limitations, and exact way the data needed for this calculation was extracted from the manuscripts, Da Molin apparently also used the same “Hajnal methodology.”⁷⁰ The appropriateness of this methodology are two-fold for the Southern Italian context. First of all, given that the calculation is based on averaging out the proportions of those deemed “unmarried” and the amount of years they remained single, the fact that the women listed in the Catasto may be into their second or third marriage does not matter with this technique.⁷¹ Second, the sources give an excellent indicator of the marital status of all members of the household that were 15 years of age and over. Anyone listed as mother (*madre*), mother-in-law (*suocera*), wife (*moglie*), widow (*vedua*), daughter-in-law (*nuora*) or “married” (*maritata* or *casata*) were naturally counted as married or once married, alongside anyone not explicitly listed but had a child.⁷² Women’s single statuses were also explicitly recorded: a “*bizocca*” was a nun living at home, “*zitella*” was equivalent to a spinster or maid, while “*nubile*,” “*vergine*,” or “*in capillis*” all referred to unmarried status. The only times when it was not straightforward was when terms such as aunt (*zia*) and sister (*sorella*) were used without further clarification. If they had no other indication that they were married or widowed, had no spouse

Table 5. Nuclear vs. complex households according to settlement structure, 18th century (italics are total database without Abruzzo)^a

Settlement structures	Households	Single (%)	No structure (%)	Nuclear (%)	Extended (%)	Multiple (%)	Complex (%) (Ext + Mult)
Towns	10482	6.3	2.9	67.1	20.2	3.1	23.2
Agro-towns	25541	7.9	2.6	71.4	12.9	4.8	17.7
Small agro-towns	4410	9	2.4	67.2	16.9	4.2	21.2
Villages & hamlets	12128	8.1	3.5	54.5	26.1	7.6	33.7
Unclassified ^b	3255	4.8	3.1	70.4	10.8	9.5	20.3
Towns	9977	6.6	2.8	68.3	19.5	1.5	21
Agro-towns	25541	7.9	2.6	71.4	12.9	4.8	17.7
Small agro-towns	4139	9.5	2.3	69	15	3.8	18.8
Villages & hamlets	9511	9.5	3.8	57.5	22.4	6.8	29.2
Unclassified	2728	5.3	3.3	72	10.3	7.3	17.6

Sources: As in table 4.

^aA breakdown of the individual settlements included in the database are provided in Appendix 1 found in 'Southern Italian Micro-Demographic Database'.

^bProcida was on an island close to Naples and therefore not easy to categorise, while one of Barbagli's data came from the 'Chieti contado'; the contado took in a number of different settlement structures and therefore was not easily classifiable either.

living in the household, or any children conceivably belonging to them, they were assumed single.⁷³ For sister-in-law (*cognata*), if they had the same surname as the head of household's spouse, they were likely to be their unmarried sister (unless specifically indicated otherwise), while a different surname suggested the married wife of the head of household's brother. Servants without a status were taken to be unmarried given that a number of servants who were definitely married were explicitly acknowledged as such.⁷⁴

Unfortunately for the women's age of marriage category, my database cannot be consolidated with that of Da Molin or any other scholar, since we do not have access to their "raw data," only their final figures. Da Molin in fact does not even list sizes of settlements or how many women were included in her calculations of the average ages, so the reader is left to guess how significant the places she includes really were. In any case, the lack of possibility for consolidation means that my database can only be used in comparison to the data of Da Molin and others. As mentioned earlier, a crude average of Da Molin's women's ages of first marriage in the 18th century in her "Family forms" article came to just 20.7, an exceptionally low figure in the Western European context. Yet this did not compare favorably to my dataset taking in 27,384 women of ages 15–54 from settlements all across the Kingdom of Naples.⁷⁵ In fact the total average age calculated from all the data put together was just under 23. While my calculations for certain agro-towns such as Ascoli Satriano and Trinitapoli did produce women's age of marriage as low as 17.3 and 16.1 respectively, these kinds of figures from the Capitanata of Apulia were at a real extreme—most other historical provinces of the Kingdom of Naples tended to offer averages ranging from the low to mid-twenties. The problems of having a bias towards the "agro-town" regions of the South can be demonstrated in the table below. While large agro-towns offered an women's age of marriage close to 21, those settlements characterized as villages, dispersed habitations, or hamlets ended up on 24—a significant contrast given that it has been suggested that an average increase of 3 years in the age of marriage in the 18th century could have halved demographic growth all over Europe.⁷⁶ Curiously, the rural villages even offered higher ages of marriage than the "urbanized" towns (closer to 22), flying in the face of a common trend that urban ages of marriage should be necessarily higher than rural ones. Just as with the data presented above on household composition, the removal of the Abruzzo data did not change the general trends seen—agro-town women still married earlier than women of the smaller villages, but this difference was cut to 2. Indeed, again, while Apulia was an extremity on the low end of the scale regarding women's age of marriage, Abruzzo was an extremity at the other end of the scale. Out of the 4,761 women recorded for all three provinces of the Abruzzi taken together, an average age of marriage of 26.2 was recorded, much higher than seen anywhere else across the Kingdom of Naples. In some villages, women's age of first marriage was in the very late twenties, therefore again corroborating the opinion of those who see the Abruzzo as having more in common with the sharecropping Centre than the "Deep South."⁷⁷

This evidence can be further indirectly supported by my separate consolidation of data on age gaps between spouses. Generally speaking, it is suggested that large spousal age gaps went hand in hand with low ages of marriage for women.⁷⁸ Some literature has even suggested that large spousal age gaps could be taken to signify gender-based inequalities within a given society.⁷⁹ However, despite the

Table 6. Singulate mean ages of first marriage for women according to settlement structure, 18th century (*italics are total database without Abruzzo*)^a

Settlement structures	No. of women (ages 15-54)	Singulate Mean Age of Marriage (SMAM)
Towns	5387	22.1
Agro-towns	6287	21.2
Small agro-towns	2160	23.6
Villages & hamlets	13550	24
TOTAL	27384	22.9
<i>Towns</i>	<i>5387</i>	<i>22.1</i>
<i>Agro-towns</i>	<i>6287</i>	<i>21.2</i>
<i>Small agro-towns</i>	<i>1670</i>	<i>22.7</i>
<i>Villages & hamlets</i>	<i>9098</i>	<i>23.1</i>
TOTAL	22442	22.3

Sources: See "My database sources."

^aA breakdown of the individual settlements included in the database are provided in appendix 2 found in 'Southern Italian Micro-Demographic Database, 18th Century'.

work done on the SMAM in Southern Italy by the likes of Da Molin et al, little explicit or systematic attention has been given to spousal age gaps. Therefore, Southern Italy tends to be lumped in with other Mediterranean regions with statements like "the age difference between wives and husbands was usually greater [in Southern Europe] than in Northern Europe,"⁸⁰ or "differences in age between men and women were relatively small in the "classic" EMP (Northern Europe) . . . whereas the age differences in Southern Europe were in general much greater,"⁸¹ with a perception that the average gap could have been over 10 years.⁸²

The data presented in the table above (coming from only partnerships between heads of households and their wives, not other partnerships within the same household) shows that, like with the age of women's marriage, much has been exaggerated. The average gap between spouses was never in any of the settlements as high as 10, and when accounting for those occasions where the woman was older than the man, the average gap came to just 6.3. It seems that in the "proper" towns, the marriage of an older woman to a younger man must have been a more wider phenomenon that previously acknowledged—while in the whole dataset the gaps between spouses were highest in the towns with urban functions, when the data where the woman was older than the man was removed, agro-towns came to have the largest gaps between spouses. Many of the high spousal age gaps seen in the data were not first marriages either: when including just those entries that were first marriages, as far as could possibly be determined, the age gaps went down to around 5.5 and of course even lower when again accounting for those occasions that women were older than men. Indeed, that final figure of 4.7 was not even that far away from the small gaps of 3–4 years commonly cited for certain regions of 17th- and 18th-century Northwest Europe.⁸³ What is most interesting, however, is that the sharp contrasts between different settlement structures that were seen for the ages of women's first marriage were not really seen for the spousal age gaps, or at least only at a very moderate level—further confirmed by the fact that the removal of the Abruzzo (dominated by the

Table 7. Spousal age gaps according to settlement structure (*italics are total database without Abruzzo*)

Settlement structures	Married couples	Age gap for all	Age gap without women older than men	Age gap without second marriages	Age gap without second marriages or women older than men
Towns	2857	7.7	6.5	6.2	5
Agro-towns	3319	7.2	6.6	5.7	5.2
Small agro-towns	1162	6.1	5.1	4.4	3.6
Villages & hamlets	6960	7.1	6.3	5.3	4.6
TOTAL	14298	7.2	6.3	5.5	4.7
Towns	2857	7.7	6.5	6.2	5
Agro-towns	3319	7.2	6.6	5.7	5.2
<i>Small agro-towns</i>	988	5.9	5	4.4	3.7
<i>Villages & hamlets</i>	5475	6.9	6.1	5.3	4.6
TOTAL	12639	7.1	6.2	5.5	4.7

Sources: As in Table 6.

village and hamlet settlement structure) data did very little to alter the figures. Curiously the small-agrotowns displayed the smallest spousal age gaps (generally a whole year or more lower than the rest of the settlement types across all the categories), which may give some credence to a view that low ages of marriage for women and high spousal age gaps cannot always be assumed to have gone together inextricably.

VI. Service

As with the “household composition” section, it is fortunate that Da Molin’s (and other scholars’) data is presented in a form that allows it to be consolidated into a very large new database of 52,633 households. While the above two categories have essentially proved to be a considerable revision of the original Da Molin view of the Southern Italian micro-demographic model, the consolidation of servant data with that of Da Molin’s has not significantly changed the low proportion of servants seen across Southern Italy in the 18th century, even when the imbalanced bias towards Apulia is readdressed. Just 3.2% of the households in the whole sample had at least one servant, and the increase was just by 0.7% when taking away the Apulia data. Similarly the removal of the Abruzzo data had no impact on the general low incidence of service seen.⁸⁴

Only in one way did the data not corroborate what Da Molin originally suggested, and that was in the distribution between the sexes of the (low level) of service. Da Molin noted that “female domestic service was the only significant form of service; there were very few male servants” and that where female servants prevailed they were “sometimes an overwhelming majority.” The logic behind this was that most servants were apparently of a household nature, and not attributed to specific agricultural tasks. Of those servants in agriculture, few were given rights to eat and sleep in their employers household. In turn this was explained through the economic organization apparently prevalent across Southern Italy—the large estates did not require agricultural-type servants because wage laborers did most of the agricultural work. My sample, however, tends to contradict this

Table 8. Proportions of servants across the Kingdom of Naples in the 18th century

	Households	Households with servants	Households with servants (%)
TOTAL	52663	1706	3.2
TOTAL without Apulia	28758	1133	3.9
TOTAL without Abruzzo	49791	1612	3.2
	Male to female servants ^a	Male servants (%)	Female servants (%)
TOTAL	923:826	52.8	47.2
TOTAL without Apulia	911:804	53.1	46.9
TOTAL without Abruzzo	819:752	52.1	47.9

Sources: See my “database sources.” Combined with Da Molin, “Family forms”; Carbone, “La via del rame”; Galt, *Far from the church bells*; Di Maio, “Solofra alla metà.”

^aOnly taken from my database sources, not the consolidated database with Da Molin.

Table 9. Proportions of servants across the Kingdom of Naples in the 18th century according to settlement structure (italics are total database without Abruzzo)^a

Settlement structures	Households	Households with servants	Households with servants (%)
Towns	8762	497	5.7
Agro-towns	29508	711	2.4
Small agro-towns	4540	151	3.3
Villages & hamlets	9853	347	3.5
TOTAL	52663	1706	3.2
<i>Towns</i>	<i>8762</i>	<i>497</i>	<i>5.7</i>
<i>Agro-towns</i>	<i>29508</i>	<i>711</i>	<i>2.4</i>
<i>Small agro-towns</i>	<i>4269</i>	<i>135</i>	<i>3.2</i>
<i>Villages & hamlets</i>	<i>7252</i>	<i>269</i>	<i>3.7</i>
TOTAL	49791	1612	3.2

Sources: As in table 8.

^aA breakdown of the individual settlements included in the database are provided in appendix 3 found in 'Southern Italian Micro-Demographic Database, 18th Century'.

image presented by Da Molin. Using a slightly bigger sample (1749 servants compared to her 1401 servants), a more even split between the sexes is seen with the males in fact being a very narrow majority. The discrepancy can be attributed to the following: while Da Molin may be correct that many servants in the South were not incorporated into the residential household (like in the EMP Northwest) she is perhaps on less firmer footing that agricultural servants did not exist in Southern Italy. While it is true that agricultural servants were probably rendered redundant in those areas with the agro-towns and the latifundist estates worked by wage laborers, as iterated many times in this article, the South was much more than *latifundia*. From the table below, as one might expect, servants were far more numerous in the towns with more "urban functions" or more diverse occupational structures such as Cosenza or Vibo Valentia (Monteleone) than in the large agro-towns with very restricted occupational structures such as Barletta or Gravina. But there was even a (smaller) disparity between the amounts of servants to be found in large agro-town areas and those village areas often displaying more diverse tenurial structures—a whole percentage point separated the 2 categories. In those areas not characterized by latifundist estates and landless wage laborers, and there were a lot of these such areas across the South, servants with particular agricultural tasks likely played a more significant role in the local economy. In Molise for example, characterized more by small peasant farmers in mixed arable and pastoral agriculture,⁸⁵ servants were to be found in almost 10% of the 588 households recorded.⁸⁶

VII. Explanations

The empirical findings in this article can be summarized as this. Previously it has been suggested that Southern Italy, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, was characterized by a micro-demographic model that consisted of high numbers of small neo-local nuclear households, low ages of first marriage for women, and

low incidence of household service. By offering an expanded and geographically less biased dataset, this article has called into question the first two elements. While nuclear households and low ages of marriage characterized Apulia, the latifundist region par excellence, as well as characterizing some other less exaggerated agro-town areas such as parts of Principato Ultra and Basilicata, the same did not hold for all of Southern Italy. By comparing different types of agro-town with other settlement structures, actually it is found that the complex household still had a significant role to play in many areas of the Kingdom of Naples and ages of women's marriage were not as low as widely accepted. In some parts of the South in fact, the ages of marriage would not look out of place when considered next to data taken from Northern and Central Italy and in some cases were not that far off those found in parts of the "EMP" Northwest Europe. It must be noted also that while Apulia was at the extreme low end of the spectrum with regard to women's ages of marriage and proliferation of complex households, the three regions of the Abruzzo were extreme at the other end of the spectrum with exceptionally high women's ages of marriage and proliferation of complex households—so much so that it is more appropriate to place Abruzzo with "Central Italy" rather than the South, even if it was subject to the Kingdom of Naples. The one area where Da Molin is indisputably correct is on the issue of service: my data corroborates hers in showing a generally low incidence of it (outside of the "urban" towns), even if there is some disagreement about the sexual distribution of service.

The explanation for the regional diversity in household structures and composition is the easiest to fathom. Indeed, as already elucidated upon to some degree by Gerard Delille when comparing communities in Campania characterized by the territorial cohesion of neighborhoods through the concentration of lineage properties, tenurial structure clearly matters.⁸⁷ Those landless laborers of Apulia and other such agro-town areas had little incentive to add extra members into their households—their divorcement from the means of production in fact meant that any extra children or additional distant relatives would have simply been one extra burden to the already precarious household economy, often kept afloat by unpredictable and inconsistent access to waged income. Other areas such as the central Calabrian Cosentino instead had a very different incentive structure: small peasant farmers had a more secure grip on the means of production (that is the land), and their more independent control over their own economic fate meant that the desire to have either children, distant family members, or outsiders as a potential labor force was much greater.

Why then the generally much higher ages of women's marriage than one may expect (especially after reading the work of Da Molin), and the regional diversity that came to be established in Southern Italy by the 18th century? First of all, the mere fact that women were marrying later in some areas should not unequivocally be seen as an indicator of greater "gender equality" or an expression of female "agency" in itself. Since the SMAM is calculated through the proportions of single women at a particular life phase between 15 and 54, the higher amount of lifetime single women is going to push up the average age of marriage calculated. And indeed, there were many settlements where the numbers of lifetime single women were exceedingly high, more than many would expect for Southern Italy, as seen for example in the 25.9% of women 30 or over that were neither married or widowed at Pomigliano d'Arco (Napoli). To put this in perspective,

Tine De Moor and Jan Luiten van Zanden in a recent influential paper have suggested that 15–25% of lifetime single women typified EMP Northwest Europe, whereas places such as China (apparently) exhibited only 1–2% of the female population over 30 as unmarried.⁸⁸ Of the 16,875 women over the age of 30 in my total database, almost 13% were of single status—not too far from the lower “EMP figure” of 15% given by De Moor and Van Zanden.

Yet quite frequently high proportions of singles in Southern Italy were working in religious orders, physically or mentally disabled, or in many cases women were actually forced by the family to not marry for fear of splitting up and endangering the family patrimony and estates. Just as who was to marry whom, when, and how was not just left to individual choice,⁸⁹ the same applied for the decision not to marry. The phenomenon of horizontal marriages (marriage in a restricted circle, sometimes to a distant relative) and delayed marriages has been discussed for many elite aristocratic families,⁹⁰ but there is no reason why it was not also a consideration for those property-owning small peasant farmers seen outside the agro-town areas of the South. In many ways this follows the same pattern as that identified in the Italian Alps by Viazzo—a coexistence of widespread small-scale patterns of peasant landownership and marriages at a later date (with many women never married).⁹¹ Such issues naturally did not enter the minds of the poor landless laborers of the latifundist estate regions of Apulia with no property to endanger, and this is precisely the reason why lifetime single women in the mid eighteenth century in the historical province of Napoli was as high as 17%, while in the agro-town Capitanata it was just 7.2% and in the Terra di Bari just 6.4%. Rosanna Rettarolli may have once pointed to the fact that in 18th and 19th-century Tuscany, even landless laborers married relatively late (in theory weakening the link between property structure and marriage patterns), yet my response to this would be that landless laboring in Tuscany was a state of existence not comparable to the latifundist heartlands of Northern Apulia, for example. Landless laborers in Tuscany, by virtue of more fluid and flexible factor markets in land, lease, capital, credit and labor,⁹² could always end up eventually accumulating some small remnants of property; social mobility was higher—yet in Apulia, by virtue of the stagnant and undeveloped factor markets, the social distribution of landownership, locked in over many centuries, would never change and landless laborers would always be resigned to their status as “landless,” perhaps with the exception of some micro vineyard plots attached to the walls of the agro-town.⁹³

The hardest trend to account for is the low incidence of service in the Italian South. Of course, one explanation may be simply that there was a layer of service which went hidden beneath the sources that we have at our disposal—but of course on that front we will never know. Previously it had been suggested that the low level of service may have been inextricably linked to the early ages of marriage seen in Southern Italian society—either the lack of household service reduced the potential for population control through delayed marriage, or vice-versa earlier marriage prevented people going into service.⁹⁴ Yet the higher ages of marriage for women taken from my data begin to loosen these neat connections somewhat, especially since household structures and ages of marriage were sharply divergent between regions and yet household service remained more or less on a general low level across much of Southern Italy, with much smaller divergences. Rather than blind speculation, more research deserves to be done on this issue,

though the lack of corroboration between household and marriage patterns and the incidence of service does suggest that we cannot altogether do away with cultural explanations for this phenomenon—not yet at least. Indeed, it is highly curious that regardless of whether a region was characterized by relatively late or early ages of marriage for women, or whether had a high distribution of complex or nuclear households, a persistent feature would always be the low level of residential service (excluding Molise). Da Molin's contention that there existed a distinct cultural aversion to service in the South, has if anything, been strengthened by the revision of her other data on marriage and household structure.⁹⁵

VIII. Wider Significance of Findings

A revision of the Southern Italian micro-demographic model as posited by Giovanna Da Molin and others is a fruitful exercise in itself, but may also prove to have some wider significance. Indeed, the Southern Italian household and marriage model has often been placed in contrast to that of the North and Centre in order to assert deep-rooted cultural differences in the Italian peninsula.⁹⁶ In particular, the low ages of (universal) marriage and large gaps between spouses in Southern Italy have often been taken to reflect a contrast in cultural norms by those pointing to a possibility that it was not considered "proper" for women (particularly married women) to work outside the household in the South.⁹⁷ According to David Kertzer and Caroline Brettell, "The contrast with the northern regions of the peninsula, where women were a crucial part of the agricultural labor force, could not be more acute."⁹⁸ The Southern woman has been made out to have been subordinate to a regime of patriarchal authority and confined to the household.⁹⁹ Anthropologists in particular have used this kind of micro-demographic information to help argue for cultural theories based around rigid sexual segregation and a "honor" and "shame" syndrome defining both sexuality and personal reputation.¹⁰⁰ Women who found themselves in positions of service were frequently sexually exploited and abused,¹⁰¹ as were young females in workshops.¹⁰² Some scholars have termed the presence of unmarried women in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Southern Italy as a "moral horror."¹⁰³ The link between women's lack of economic independence and strong cultural restrictions on sexual behaviour has even been widespread in popular cultural representation of the past: see for example the key female Sicilian protagonists in the 1972 film "The Seduction of Mimi" or the films of Pietro Germi such as the internationally-renowned "Divorce, Italian Style."¹⁰⁴ Such tendencies to see women as the "repressed" have also made their way to scholarly literature focusing on behavioral patterns of Southern Italian immigrants to the United States.¹⁰⁵

The dominant place of "honor" as an explanatory concept for Mediterranean societies has long come under criticism,¹⁰⁶ however, and scholars have begun to suggest that the focus on the economic and cultural restrictions for Southern Italian women only serves to perpetuate stereotypes of Southern "laziness."¹⁰⁷ New literature has now begun to show that the peripheral economic role of women, always subordinate to the patriarchy and the household, to be somewhat over-stated and possibly a gross exaggeration.¹⁰⁸ The most important thing to take from the empirical data compiled in this article for the 18th-century Italian South, however, is that the micro-demographic figures just in themselves cannot serve to support either side of the narrative—neither a story of Southern Italian

female subjugation and repression, nor the revisionist view emphasizing female participation in the wider economy. Although this article shows that Da Molin's notion of widespread early age of (what is claimed to have been universal) marriage for women in the Italian South is in need of nuanced revision, later marriage and higher numbers of lifetime singles do not necessarily point to any kind of "female agency." Just as marriage is a decision which can be forged through social coercion and hierarchy, so too can the decision to not marry or delay marriage. Accordingly this micro-demographic data must always be considered in its very specific social and cultural context.

Endnotes

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1. See the classic J. Hajnal, "Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation System," *Population and Development Review* 8 (1982): 449–94. Also the later R. Smith, "The People of Tuscany and their Families in the Fifteenth Century: Medieval or Mediterranean?," *Journal of Family History* 6 (1981): 107–28; A. MacFarlane, "Demographic Structures and Cultural Regions in Europe," *Cambridge Anthropology* (1980): 4–5; P. Laslett, "Family and Household as Work Group and Kin Group," *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, ed. R. Wall, J. Robin and P. Laslett (Cambridge, 1983), 513–63.

2. D. Reher, "Family Ties in Western Europe: Persistent Contrasts," *Population and Development Review* 24 (1998): 203–34.

3. For example; R. Rowland, "Nupcialidade, família, Mediterrâneo," *Boletín de la Asociación Demografía Histórica* 5 (1987): 128–43; F. Benigno, "The Southern Italian Family in the Early Modern Period: A Discussion of Co-Residence Patterns," *Continuity and Change* 4 (1988): 165–94; M. Barbagli, "Three Household Formation Systems in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Italy," *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. D. Kertzer and R. Saller (New Haven, 1991), 250–70; D. Kertzer, "Household History and Sociological Theory," *Annual Review of Sociology* 17 (1991): 155–79. Also David Reher himself in an earlier position; D. Reher, "Marriage Patterns in Spain, 1887–1930," *Journal of Family History* 16 (1991): 7–30.

4. P. Paolo Viazzo, "What's So Special about the Mediterranean? Thirty Years of Research on Household and Family in Italy," *Continuity and Change* 18 (2003): 111–37. For a more recent update also including Eastern Europe see P. Paolo Viazzo, "Looking East. What Can Historical Studies of Eastern Countries Contribute to Current Debates on Commonalities and Divergences in Family, Kinship and Welfare Provision in Europe, Past and Present?," *Popolazione e Storia* 9 (2009): 119–36.

5. A note on terminology. "Complex" households in this article refer to those households with any kind of extension beyond the "nuclear core", whether that be "extended" (or sometimes referred to as "stem") or "mutiple" (or sometimes referred to as "joint"). For more details on definitions of typology see table 3.

6. D. Herlihy and C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Les Toscans et leurs familles. Une étude du Catasto Florentin de 1427* (Paris, 1978).

7. D. Kertzer and D. Hogan, "Reflections on the European Marriage Pattern: Sharecropping and Proletarianization in Casalecchio, 181–1921," *Journal of Family History* 1 (1991): 31–45; M. Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto. Mutamenti della famiglia in Italia dal XV al XX secolo* (Bologna, 1984); R. Rettaroli, "Maritu a chi troa, moglie a chi tocca'. Nuzialità e famiglia nell'Italia mezzadrile del primo Ottocento," *La popolazione delle campagne italiane in età moderna*, ed. E. Sonnino (Bologna, 1993), 505–26.
8. G. Murru Corrigan, *Dalla montagna ai Campidani: famiglia e mutamento in una comunità di pastori* (Cagliari, 1990); A. Oppo, "Where There's No Woman There's No Home': Profile of the Agro-Pastoral Family in Nineteenth-Century Sardinia," *Journal of Family History* 15 (1990): 483–505; G. Vismara, "Momenti di storia della famiglia sarda," *Famiglia e società sarda* (Milan, 1971), 184.
9. M. Miscali, "I servi e la terra. Il lavoro servile nella Sardegna dell'Ottocento," *Popolazione e Storia* 7 (2006): 127–44.
10. See Viazzo, "What's So Special about the Mediterranean?"; M. Barbagli, "Marriage and the Family in Italy in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Society and Politics in the Age of the Risorgimento: Essays in Honour of Mack Smith*, ed. J. Davis and P. Ginsborg (Cambridge, 1991), 100–1.
11. Sicily has not been included in this article (as part of the Kingdom of Sicily) due to methodological and source-based problems discussed later.
12. See her significant monograph; G. Da Molin, *La famiglia nel passato: strutture familiari nel Regno di Napoli in Età Moderna* (Bari, 1990).
13. It has come to have been accepted in significant general histories of family, household and marriage in pre-industrial Europe; for example see K. Lynch, *Individuals, Families and Communities in Europe, 1200–1800: The Urban Foundations of Western Society* (Cambridge, 2003).
14. G. Da Molin, "Family Forms and Domestic Service in Southern Italy from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Family History* 15 (1990): 503.
15. Barbagli, "Marriage and the Family," 119.
16. On this phenomenon in general; G. Da Molin, *Famiglia e matrimonio nell'Italia del Seicento* (Bari, 2000). Although the amount given was not always enough to set up a new household – in fact ingrained gender inequalities in the marriage-based transmission of property have been identified as far back as the Middle Ages in the South; P. Skinner, "Women, Wills and Wealth in Medieval Southern Italy," *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993): 133–52.
17. A good comparative database of all pre-industrial ages of women's marriage can be found in a recent stimulating paper by T. Dennison and S. Ogilvie, "Does the European Marriage Pattern Explain Economic Growth?," *Journal of Economic History* 74.3 (2014): 651–93.
18. Adapted and calculated from: Da Molin, "Family forms."
19. *Ibid.*, 510–2.
20. S. Silverman, "Agricultural Organization, Social Structure, and Values in Italy: Amoral Familism Reconsidered," *American Anthropologist* 70 (1968): 14; J. Davis, *Land and Family in Pisticci* (London, 1977), 25–6.
21. G. Hager, *Gemälde von Palermo* (Berlin, 1901); M. Brydone, *Tour through Sicily and Malta*, 2 vols. (London, 1773); M. Tuzet, *La Sicilie au XVIII siècle vue par les voyageurs*

- étrangers* (Strasbourg, 1955), 451; G. M. Galanti, *Giornale di viaggio in Calabria* (1792), ed. A. Placanica (Naples, 1981), 126.
22. G. Delille, *Famiglia e proprietà nel Regno di Napoli, XV-XIX secolo* (Turin, 1988), 169–70.
23. The average of Da Molin's six seventeenth-century places in Southern Italy came to 21.3.
24. T. De Moor and J.L. van Zanden, "Girl Power: The European Marriage Pattern and Labour Markets in the North Sea Region in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Period," *Economic History Review* 63 (2010): p. 17.
25. By "crude", it is meant that is an average of the 14 places with data compiled by Da Molin, not taking into account the relative populations of the places which were surprisingly not provided.
26. Based on Da Molin, "Family Forms," 511.
27. Da Molin consolidated with Delille, *Famiglia e proprietà*, 169–70; M. Kowaleski, "Appendix: Demographic Tables," *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800*, ed. J. Bennett and A. Froide (Philadelphia, 1998), 38–81; R. Rettaroli, "Age of Marriage in Nineteenth-Century Italy," *Journal of Family History* 15 (1990): 409–25; A. Galt, *Far from the Church Bells: Settlement and Society in an Apulian Town* (Cambridge, 1991); G. Centorrino, "Fecundità e nuzialità a Reggio Calabria nella prima metà del 18 secolo: un'analisi basata sui dati del Catasto Onciario del 1748" (PhD diss., University of Messina, 1995); M. Livi Bacci and G. De Santis, "Population Reproduction: A Method of Breakdown and Estimation," *Population* 10 (1998): 255; A. Carbone, "Tra storia e demografia: Cassano delle Murge e il catasto onciario del 1752," *Archivio Storico Pugliese* 52 (1999): 137.
28. K. Kuen-Tae, "Eighteenth-Century Korean Marriage Customs: The Tanso[caron]ng Census Registers," *Continuity and Change* 20 (2005): 195; M. Elvin and J. Fox, "Marriages, Births, and Deaths in the Lower Yangzi Valley during the Later Eighteenth Century," *Windows on the Chinese World: Reflections by Five Historians*, ed. C. Wing-chung Ho (Lanham MD, 2009), 67–111.
29. R. Rowland, "Sistemas matrimoniales en la Península Ibérica (siglos XVI-XIX)," *Demografía histórica en España*, ed. V. Pérez-Moreta and D. Reher (Madrid, 1988), 72–133; V. Hionidou, "Independence and Inter-Dependence: Household Formation Patterns in Eighteenth-Century Kythera, Greece," *The History of the Family* 1 (2011): table 6.
30. Da Molin, "Family Forms".
31. See also for Sicily; F. Benigno, *Una casa, una terra. Ricerche su Paceco, paese nuovo della Sicilia del Sei e Settecento* (Catania, 1985). Also in Spain; I. Dubert, "Domestic Service and Social Modernization in Urban Galicia, 1752–1920," *Continuity and Change* 14 (1999): 207–26;
32. Contrast highlighted in Reher, "Family Ties in Western Europe," 206.
33. P. Paolo Viazzo, "South of the Hajnal Line: Italy and Southern Europe," *Marriage and the family in Eurasia: Perspectives on the Hajnal Hypothesis*, ed. T. Engelen and A. Wolf (Amsterdam, 2005), 129–64.
34. P. Laslett, "Le cycle familial et le processus de socialization: caractéristiques du schema occidental considéré dans le temps," *The Family Life Cycle in European Societies*, ed. J. Cuisenier (The Hague, 1977), 339.
35. Da Molin, "Family Forms," 518.
36. *Ibid.*, 519–22.

37. *Ibid.*, 503–4.

38. B. Slicher van Bath, *Een samenleving onder spanning. Geschiedenis van het platteland van Overijssel* (Assen, 1957); H. Roessingh, “Beroep en bedrijf op de Veluwe in het midden van de achttiende eeuw,” *AAG Bijdragen* 13 (1965): 181–257.

39. Dennison and Ogilvie, “Does the European Marriage Pattern Explain Economic Growth?”

40. The total does not quite add up to 100% because Da Molin uses the Laslett typology where some households are assessed as “No Structure”. The total comes to 96.9%.

41. Adapted and calculated from: Da Molin, “Family forms.”

42. For a good elucidation of classic agro-towns in this part of Apulia see F. Snowden, *Violence and Great Estates in the South of Italy: Apulia, 1900–1922* (Cambridge, 1986).

43. Barbagli, “Marriage and the Family in Italy,” 106.

44. On this issue in particular see D. Curtis, “Is There an Agro-Town Model for Southern Italy? Exploring the Diverse Roots and Development of the Agro-Town Structure through a Comparative Case Study in Apulia,” *Continuity and Change* 28 (2013): 377–419. Also N. Colclough, “Variation and Change in Land Use and Settlement Patterns in South Italy: Ascoli Satriano 1700–1900. The Making of a Southern Agro-Town,” *History and Anthropology* 21 (2010): 9–11.

45. For the contrasting settlement and economic structures of regions in Calabria see P. Arlacchi, *Mafia, Peasants and Great Estates: Society in Traditional Calabria* (Cambridge, 1983).

46. Curtis, “Is There an Agro-Town Model for Southern Italy?; Galt, *Far from the Church Bells*.

47. F. Galassi and J. Cohen, “The Economics of Tenancy in Early Twentieth-Century Southern Italy,” *Economic History Review* 47 (1994): 585–600; S. Lupo, “I proprietari terrieri nel Mezzogiorno,” *Storia dell’agricoltura italiana in età contemporanea: uomini e classi*, vol. 2, ed. P. Bevilacqua (Venice, 1990), 105–50.

48. Da Molin, “Family Forms,” 511.

49. Delille, *Famiglia e proprietà*, pp. 168–70; Rettaroli, “Age at Marriage’.

50. Da Molin, “Family Forms,” 512.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*, 514–5.

53. The sources that make up ‘my database’ include the following; Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Regno di Napoli, Regia Camera della Sommara (1444–1806), Catasti Onciari, 451; Archivio di Stato di Cosenza, “Catasto Onciario,” <<http://www.onciario.beniculturali.it/>>; Avezzano digitale: la memoria digitale della Città di Avezzano, “Catasti onciari,” <<http://www.avezzanodigitale.it/documenti/catasti/catasti-onciari>>; F. Casarano (ed.), “Classi sociali e condizione economica nel casale di Ortelle,” *Note di Storia e Cultura Salentina* 12 (2000): 69–76; P. De Leo (ed.), *Il catasto onciario di Seminara (1742–1746)*, vol. 1 (Soveria Mannelli, 2011); G. De Loiro (ed.), *Satriano nel ‘700: attraverso i dati del Catasto Onciario* (Soveria Mannelli, 2011); B. D’Ericco (ed.), “Il Catasto Onciario di Crispiano (1754),” *Documenti per la storia di Crispiano*, ed. G. Libertini (Frattamaggiore, 2005), 111–91; P. Di Biase (ed.), *Bracciali e massari nella Puglia del Settecento. L’onciario del Trimitopoli* (Fasano, 1996); L. Russo (ed.), “Lo Stato delle Anime della parrocchia di Orta del 1753,” *Note e documenti per la storia*

di Orta di Atella (Frattamaggiore, 2006), 82–109; A. Ventura (ed.), *Onciario della città di Ascoli 1753* (Foggia, 2006).

54. The background to this new fiscal system is explained in P. Cuoco, “La funzione del catasto onciario attraverso la sua disciplina giuridica,” *Il Mezzogiorno settecentesco attraverso i catasti onciari. Aspetti e problemi della catastazione borbonica*, vol. 1, ed. M. Mafrici (Naples, 1983), 143–5.

55. G. M. Galanti, *Descrizione del Contado di Molise*, ed. F. Barra (Cava dei Tirreni, 1993), 271–2.

56. P. Villani, “Il catasto onciario e il sistema tributario,” *Mezzogiorno tra riforma e rivoluzione* (Bari, 1973), 107–8.

57. D. Ligresti, *Dinamiche demografiche nella Sicilia moderna (1505–1806)* (Milan, 2002).

58. Described in A. Bellettini, “Gli ‘status animarum’: caratteristiche e problemi di utilizzazione nella ricerche di demografia storica,” *Le fonti della demografia storica in Italia*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1974), 3–42; P. Villani, “Numerazione dei fuochi, catasti ed altre rilevazioni fiscali e censimenti,” *Le fonti*, 239–72; F. Assante, “Il catasto onciario come fonte di demografia storica,” *Le fonti*, 273–83.

59. For example see A. Anzivino, “Fuochi, famiglie e donne nel catasto onciario di Orsara di Puglia,” *Carte di Puglia* 12 (2004): 30–40; F. Assante, “Il Principato Citra e la Basilicata: le strutture demografiche,” *Mezzogiorno tra riforma*, 111–30.

60. N. Colclough, “Famiglie catastali – la dinamica delle relazioni di parentela e dell’organizzazione familiare nella Ascoli dell’Ancien Régime,” *Onciario 1753*, p. 53.

61. Archivio di Stato di Palermo, Stato Civile di Piana degli Albanesi, Palermo, Sicilia, Nascite, Matrimoni, Morte; compare Libro di matrimony [no.2] (03/07/1828) with Libro di baptesimi [no. 16] (19/07/1829).

62. P. Laslett, “Introduction: The History of the Family,” *Household and Family in Past Time*, ed. P. Laslett and R. Wall (Cambridge, 1972), 31. Further elaborated and refined in P. Laslett and E. Hammel, “Comparing Household Structure over Time and between Cultures,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16 (1974): 73–110; P. Laslett, “Family and Household as Work Group’.

63. See the mass of studies cited in R. Wall, “The Transformation of the European Family across the Centuries,” *Family History Revisited. Comparative Perspectives*, ed. R. Wall, J. Ehmer and T. Hareven (London, 2001), 223, 227.

64. L. Berkner, “The Stem Family and the Development Cycle of the Peasant Household: An 18th Century Austrian Example,” *American Historical Review* 77 (1972): 393–418; D. Reher, “La importancia del análisis dinámico ante el análisis estático del hogar y la familia. Algunos ejemplos de la ciudad de Cuenca en el siglo XIX,” *Revista de Investigaciones Sociológicas* 27 (1984): 107–35; A. Galt, “Marital Property in an Apulian Town during the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,” *The Family in Italy*, 304–20; D. Kertzer, D. Hogan and N. Karweit, “Kinship Beyond the Household in a Nineteenth-Century Italian Town,” *Continuity and Change* 7 (1992): 130–21.

65. A. Bouman and T. De Moor, “The Commercial Household. Market Alternatives to Intergenerational Support in an EMP-Area (The Netherlands, 17th Century),” (paper presented at the Social and Economic History Seminar Series, Utrecht University, 2013), 5.

66. Consolidated database compiled from “My Database Sources” found in endnote 53 combined with Da Molin, “Family forms”; Barbagli, “Marriage and the family in Italy,” 120–4; A. Carbone, “La via del rame. Mestieri, strategie matrimoniali e sistemi dotali in Terra di Bari a metà settecento,” *Mélanges de l’Ecole Française de Rome* 112 (2000): 151–72;

Galt, *Far from the Church Bells*; P. Nardone, "Caratteri demografici e fonti di stato el Mezzogiorno preunitario," *Popolazione e Storia* 12 (2011), Table 5. A breakdown of the individual settlements included in the database are provided in Appendix 1 found in "Southern Italian Micro-Demographic Database, 18th Century," <<https://uu.academia.edu/DanielCurtis>>.

67. A definition of town-status shared by recent important literature on Southern Italy in the late Middle Ages and early modern period; see 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); "The Cities of Puglia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Their Economy and Society," *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400–1700*, ed. A. Cowan (Exeter, 2000), 97–114.

68. Sources as for Table 4. Some settlements were 'unclassifiable'. Procida was on an island close to Naples and therefore not easy to categorise, while one of Barbagli's data came from the 'Chieti contado': the contado took in a number of different settlement structures and therefore was not easily classifiable either.

69. A step-by-step guide to the calculation is found in J. Hajnal, "Age at Marriage and Proportions Marrying," *Population Studies* 7 (1953): 129–31.

70. Da Molin, "Family Forms," 511.

71. Men remarried much more frequently than women in Southern Italy after the death of their partner, though not all women remained as single widows after the death of their first husband.

72. It was not unknown for women to have children outside of wedlock in the South. Livi Bacci and De Sanctis, "Population Reproduction," 255; Centorrino, "Fecondità e nuzialità a Reggio Calabria"; G. Fiume, "Cursing, Poisoning, and Feminine Morality: The Case of the "Vinegar Hag" in Late Eighteenth-Century Palermo," *Social Anthropologist* 4 (1996): 117–32. However, these rarely showed up in the censuses because they were not kept in the household – in the 18th and 19th centuries these were frequently abandoned in the *ruoti* of foundlings; G. Da Molin, "Illegittimi ed esposti in Italia dal Seicento all'Ottocento," *La demografia storica della città italiane* (Bologna, 1982), 497–564; G. Da Molin and P. Stella, "Famiglia e infanticidio nell'Europe preindustriale," in *Quaderni 1* (Bari, 1984), 69–97.

73. A problem acknowledged in Laslett, "Introduction," 88.

74. Servants were not all single in Southern Italy and was often a "life-time" rather than a "life-cycle" role as seen in Northwest Europe; Da Molin, "Family Forms," 521.

75. To make clear, these figures have been corrected to account for the proportion of women who never marry; on this technique see K. Schurer, "A Note Concerning the Calculation of the Singulate Mean Age of Marriage," *Local Population Studies* 43 (1989): 67–70.

76. P. Malanima, *Pre-Modern European Economy: One Thousand Years (10th-19th centuries)* (Leiden, 2009), 32.

77. Database compiled from 'My Database Sources' found in endnote 53. A breakdown of the individual settlements included in the database are provided in appendix 2 found in "Southern Italian Micro-Demographic Database, 18th Century," <<https://uu.academia.edu/DanielCurtis>>.

78. Although research from Korea has done much to question these assumed links; Kuen-Tae, "Eighteenth-Century Korean Marriage Customs'.

79. S. Carmichael, T. De Moor and J.L. van Zanden, "When the Heart is Weak, Don't Try to Knead It'. Huwelijksleeftijd en leeftijdsverschil als maatstaf van "agency" van vrouwen," *Levenslopen in transformatie: liber amicorum bij afscheid van prof. Dr. Paul M. M. Klep*, ed. T. Engelen, O. Boonstra and A. Janssens (Amsterdam, 2011), 208–21.
80. Lynch, *Individuals, Families, and Communities*, 9.
81. De Moor and Van Zanden, "Girl Power," 9.
82. Sources as for Table 6.
83. P. Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1977), 27; De Moor and Van Zanden, "Girl Power".
84. Consolidated database compiled from 'My Database Sources' found in endnote 53 combined with Da Molin, 'Family forms'; Carbone, 'La via del rame'; Galt, *Far from the church bells*; M. De Maio, *Solofra alla metà del XVIII secolo. Aspetti socio-ambientali ed economici dal Catasto Onciario* (Solofra, 2010). Male-female ratios of servants only includes data taken from 'My Database Sources', not the consolidated database with Da Molin.
85. In one settlement of Molise in 1753, "Agnone", 90% of the peasant households recorded owned at least one parcel of land; W. Douglass, "The South Italian Family: A Critique," *Journal of Family History* 5 (1980): 344. This contrasts with an agro-town in Capitanata in the same year, "Ascoli Satriano", where just a quarter of the households had access to land, going down to 15% when only including arable; Curtis, "Is There an Agro-Town Model?" 392.
86. Sources as for Table 8. A breakdown of the individual settlements included in the database are provided in appendix 3 found in "Southern Italian Micro-Demographic Database, 18th Century," <<https://uu.academia.edu/DanielCurtis>>.
87. Delille, *Famiglia e proprietà*.
88. De Moor and Van Zanden, "Girl Power," 19–20.
89. R. Derosas, M. Breschi, A. Fornasin, M. Manfredini and C. Munno, "Between Constraints and Coercion. Marriage and Social Reproduction in Northern and Central Italy, 18th-19th Centuries," (unpublished working paper, Ca" Foscari University of Venice, 2012), 7.
90. B. Palumbo, *Il massaro zio prete e la bizzoca – comunità rurali del Salento a metà Settecento* (Galantina, 1989), 94–6; M. Visceglia, "Linee per uno studio unitario dei testamenti e dei contratti matrimoniali dell'aristocrazia feudale napoletana tra fine Quattrocento e Settecento," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 95 (1983): 455; *Il bisogno di eternità: comportamenti aristocratici in età moderna* (Naples, 1988).
91. P. Paolo Viazzo, *Upland Communities. Environment, Population and Social Structure in the Alps since the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989). Also L. Lorenzetti and R. Merzario, *Il fuoco acceso. Famiglie e migrazioni alpine nell'Italia d'età moderna* (Rome, 2005).
92. On this issue see B. van Bavel, "Markets for Land, Labor, and Capital in Northern Italy and the Low Countries, Twelfth to Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 41 (2011): 503–31.
93. On this entrenched inequality see Curtis, "Is There an Agro-Town Model for Southern Italy?".
94. Da Molin, "Family Forms," 513; Laslett, "Le cycle familial," 339.
95. Da Molin, "Family Forms," 519–22.
96. As pointed out in Viazzo, "What's So Special about the Mediterranean?," 121.

97. Da Molin, "Family Forms," 521–2; M. Calise, "Strutture familiari e mobilità del lavoro: alle origini della industrializzazione in Italia," *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia* 19 (1979): 439–60.
98. D. Kertzer and C. Brettell, "Advances in Italian and Iberian Family History," *Journal of Family History* 12 (1987): 95.
99. G. Galasso, "Gli studi di storia della famiglia e il Mezzogiorno d'Italia," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 95 (1983): 156.
100. J. Perstiany, *Honour and Shame* (London, 1965); J. Schneider, "Of Vigilance and Virgins," *Ethnology* 9 (1971): 1–24; M. Giovannini, "Women: A Dominant Symbol within the Cultural System of a Sicilian Town," *Man* 16 (1981): 408–26. Also in wider Mediterranean literature; J. Campbell, *Honour, Family, and Patronage: A Study of Values and Institutions in a Greek Mountain Community* (Oxford, 1964); D. Gilmore, *Honour and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean* (Washington DC, 1987).
101. Da Molin, "Illegittimi". Confirmed by P. Laslett, "Servi e servizio nella struttura sociale europea," *Quaderni Storici* 68 (1988): 435–54.
102. C. Poni, "Tecnologie, organizzazione produttiva e divisione sessuale del lavoro: il caso dei mulini da seta," *Il lavoro delle donne*, ed. A. Groppi (Rome, 1996), 278.
103. N. Colclough, "Invisible Patrimonies – Capitoli Matrimoniali in Ancien Régime Ascoli," *Distinct Inheritances: Property, Family and Community in a Changing Europe*, ed. H. Grandis and P. Heady (Munster, 2003), 152.
104. M. Cottino-Jones, *Women, Desire and Power in Italian Cinema* (London, 2010), 159, 164.
105. F. Salamone, "Power and Dominance in Sicilian Households in Rochester, N.Y. (Lewis Street Center)," *Studi Emigrazione* 113 (1994): 64–74; D. Garbaccia, *From Sicily to Elizabeth Street. Housing and Social Change among Italian Immigrants, 1880–1930* (Albany, 1984).
106. M. Herzfeld, "Honour and Shame: Some Problems in the Comparative Analysis of Moral Systems," *Man* 15 (1980): 339–451.
107. M. Signorelli, 'Il pragmatismo delle donne: la condizione femminile nella trasformazione delle campagne', *Storia dell'agricoltura italiana*, ed. Bevilacqua, 625–59; M. Protasi, "Le monografie di famiglia: una fonte per lo studio delle strutture familiari e delle condizioni economico-sociali delle classi lavoratrici italiane in età liberale," *Bollettino di Demografia Storica* 28 (1998): 161–200.
108. See for example the 18th-century female weavers of Salento or the supervisory mistresses of the silk-stocking industries of Naples; V. D'Aurelio, *Dote, matrimonio e famiglia: approfondimenti a margine di una carta dotale uggianese di fine "700* (Naples, 2010), 70–5; M. Bozzi Corso, "Appunti di storia del tessuto nel Salento tra fine Ottocento e Novecento," *Itinerari di Ricerca Storica* 3 (2000): 375–93; A. Caracausi, "Beaten Children and Women's Work in Early Modern Italy," *Past and Present* 222 (2014): 100–1.