

## Cultivating the City in Early Medieval Italy

Food-growing gardens first appeared in early medieval cities during a period of major social, economic, and political change in the Italian peninsula, and they quickly took on a critical role in city life. The popularity of urban gardens in the medieval city during this period has conventionally been understood as a sign of decline in the post-Roman world, signalling a move towards a subsistence economy. Caroline Goodson challenges this interpretation, demonstrating how urban gardens came to perform essential roles not only in the economy, but also in cultural, religious, and political developments in the emerging early medieval world. Observing changes in how people interacted with each other and their environments from the level of individual households to their neighbourhoods, and the wider countryside, Goodson draws on documentary, archival, and archaeological evidence to reveal how urban gardening reconfigured Roman ideas and economic structures into new, medieval values.

Caroline Goodson is Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of History at the University of Cambridge where her research interrogates material remains alongside archival and literary records to evaluate the rise of early medieval polities in the Western Mediterranean. In 2002–3, she was a Fellow of the American Academy at Rome for her doctoral research and subsequently has been funded by the British Academy and the Leverhulme Foundation. A Fellow of the Royal Historical Society since 2010, her previous publications include *The Rome of Pope Paschal I (817–824): Papal Power, Urban Renovation, Church Rebuilding and Relic Translation* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

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Caroline Goodson  
*University of Cambridge*



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In writing this book I have been reminded of how much of what we do – and what we believe is possible or what we ought to do – is shaped by what our families did. In my family there is a habitus of urban gardening. My father was a top-notch urban gardener in South Texas, growing sweet-corn, green beans, tomatoes, and excellent jalapeño peppers behind the garage, and oranges, lemons, and bananas in the yard. My maternal grandmother had been a farmer and when she retired to the city, she converted the yard of her house to an extraordinarily productive food garden with the best peas, carrots, and rhubarb in Calgary, Canada. My own efforts have never matched their successes, but from childhood I understood not only that it was possible to have a place to grow fresh food next to your house, but also that it was a very good thing. Wendy Davies, Lisa Fentress, and Marina Hamilton-Baillie have provided admirable examples of vegetable gardens and given me advice on planting, pruning, pea-sticks, and purslane. My family has been very forbearing about this project. This project began with my daughter's infancy and has been around for all of my son's life thus far. At various times they both have made toy computers to play with as too often they have seen me typing away on mine. John and Mary Pinkerton have countless times gracefully stepped in to look after babies while I've been away or in the library; my research life would hardly exist without their help. My partner, Mark, has heard too much and too often about the vexations of early medieval charters, the gaps in the archaeobotanical record, my perennial problem of needing books which are in a different city or another country, and many other laments about research and book-writing. With gratitude, appreciation, and love, I dedicate this to him.

## Terms and Measurements

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*Pertica* (measure of length): either 5.25 m (12 piedi of 43.75 cm each)<sup>1</sup> or 2.057 m (6 piedi).<sup>2</sup> For the documents discussed in this volume, I believe that Ruggini's measures are more likely and have used 5.25 m (see 'Berengar', p. 212, note 147).

*Tavola* (measure of area): in (modern) Milan is 0.273 acres (4 sq. *trabucchi*)<sup>3</sup>

*Iugerus* (measure of area): 2,500 sq. m. 1 *culleus* (50 L) of wine can be made from each 2,500 sq. m<sup>4</sup>

*Decimata* (liquid measure): used in late antique and early medieval sources from central Italy, uncertain capacity

*Salma*: a measure or load (as in saddle-pack) of liquid, grain, or salt, in Southern Italy = 270 L<sup>4</sup>

*Libra* (measure of weight): Roman period = 328.9 g; Carolingian *libra* : 489.6 g

*Modius* (variable unit of capacity and also of area):

Capacity: a volumetric dry measure, about 8.7 L (6.7 kg) of wheat.<sup>5</sup> As a point of comparison, the ration from late Roman *annona* was 5 *modii* per month (33 kg of wheat, equalling 1.1 kg per day) per citizen.<sup>6</sup>

Area: the amount of land which could be sown with one *modius* of grain. Dimensions varied from region to region, Pierre Toubert calculated that in Lazio in the central Middle Ages, 1 *modius* : 2,300 sq. m.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cracco Ruggini, *Economia e società nell'Italia annonaria*, p. 505.

<sup>2</sup> Zupko, *Italian weights and measures*, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> Zupko, *Italian weights and measures*, p. 306.

<sup>4</sup> Zupko, *Italian weights and measures*, p. 252.

<sup>5</sup> Carandini, *Schiavi in Italia*, pp. 249–50. See Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina*, pp. 167–9. In this context the *modius* is probably equivalent to 8.75 L.

<sup>6</sup> Durliat, *De la ville antique*, p. 113, note 195. <sup>7</sup> Toubert, *Les structures*, p. 459, note 1.

## Abbreviations

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<i>c.</i>	circa
<i>ch.</i>	chapter
<i>d.</i>	deceased
<i>reg.</i>	ruled
<i>s.</i>	century
<i>AG</i>	<i>Alphabetum Galieni</i> , ed. N. Everett as <i>The Alphabet of Galen: pharmacy from antiquity to the Middle Ages. A critical edition of the Latin text with English translation and commentary</i> (Toronto, 2012). References given to the numbers and names of substances used in the critical edition.
<i>AGCS</i>	<i>Il Regesto del monastero dei SS. Andrea e Gregorio ad clivum scauri</i> , ed. A. Bartola (Rome, 2003).
<i>ARF</i>	‘Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi,’ ed. F. Kurze, <i>MGH, SS RG 6</i> (Hanover, 1895).
<i>ASRSP</i>	<i>Archivio della Società Romana della Storia Patria.</i>
<i>Benevento</i>	<i>Le più antiche carte del capitolo della cattedrale di Benevento: 668–1200</i> , ed. A. Ciaralli, V. De Donato, V. Matera (Rome, 2002).
Cassiodorus, <i>Institutiones</i>	Cassiodorus, <i>Institutiones</i> , ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937), translated as <i>Institutions of divine and secular learning and On the soul</i> , trans. J. Halporn, Translated texts for historians 42 (Liverpool, 2004).

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- Cassiodorus, *Variae* Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ed. Th. Mommsen, *MGH, AA* 12 (Berlin, 1894), translated as *The Variae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, trans. S. J. B. Barnish, *Translated Texts for Historians* 12 (Liverpool, 1992).
- CDB* *Codice diplomatico barese*, 19 vols. (Bari, 1897–1971).
- CDC* *Codex diplomaticus cavensis*, ed. Michele Morcaldi, Mauro Schiani, and Silvano De Stefano, 8 vols. (Naples, 1873–93).
- CDL* *Codice diplomatico longobardo*, I–II, ed. L. Schiaparelli, *FSI* 62–3 (Rome, 1929–33); III, IV.1, ed. C. Brühl, *FSI* 64–5, IV.2 ed. H. Zielinski (Rome, 1973–83), V, ed. H. Zielinski, *FSI* 65bis (Rome, 1986).
- CDLangobardiae* *Codex Diplomaticus Langobardiae*, ed. G. Porro Lambertenghi, *Historiae patriae monumenta* 13 (Turin, 1878).
- CDMA* P. Fedele, ‘Carte del monastero dei SS. Cosma e Damiano in Mica Aurea ab an. 982 ad an. 1200, pt 1, X–XI,’ *ASRSP* 21 (1898), pp. 459–534; 22 (1899, pp. 25–107, and pp. 383–447), re-edited with index: P. Pavan: *Codice diplomatico di Roma e della Regione Romana*, 1 (Rome, 1981) (Pavan edition used).
- CDP* *Codice diplomatico parmense*, ed. U. Benassi, 2 vols. (Parma, 1910).
- CDV* *Codice diplomatico veronese*, ed. V. Fainelli, 2 vols. *Monumenti storici* ns 1, 17 (Venice, 1940).
- ChLA* *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile editions of Latin charters*, First Series, eds. A. Bruckner and R. Marichal, Second Series, eds. G. Cavallo and G. Nicolaj, 118 vols. (Olten and Lausanne, 1954–2019), cited by vol. number.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. Th. Mommsen et al., 17 vols. (Berlin: 1842–)



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- Cod.Per.* *Il Codice Perris: Cartulario Amalfitano*, ed. J. Mazzoleni and R. Orefice, 5 vols. (Amalfi, 1985–9).
- CSS* *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae: cod. Vat. Lat. 4939*, ed. J-M. Martin, 2 vols., *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* 3 (Rome, 2000).
- DBI* *I diplomi di Berengario I*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, FSI 35 (Rome, 1903).
- Dial.* Gregory I, *Dialogues*, ed. A. de Vogüé, in *Dialogues*, 3 vols., *Sources Chrétiennes* 251, 260, 265 (Paris, 1978–80).
- Dionisi Dionisi, Giovanni. *De duobus episcopis Aldone et Notingo Veronensi ecclesiae assertis et vindicatis* (Verona, 1758).
- Dioscurides Pedanius Dioscorides, *De materia medica libri quinque*, ed. M. Wellmann, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1907–14), trans. by L. Beck, in *De materia medica. Pedanius Dioscorides of Anazarbus*, rev. ed. (Hildesheim and New York, 2011).
- DGL* *I diplomi di Guido e di Lamberto*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, FSI 36 (Rome, 1906).
- DKar I* *MGH, DD, Karolinerum I, Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, ed. E. Mühlbacher (Hanover, 1906), pp. 77–478.
- DLoI* *MGH, DD Karolinerum II, Lothari I. et Lothari II. Diplomata*, ed. T. Schieffer (Berlin, 1966), pp. 1–365.
- DLo* ‘*I diploma di Lotario*,’ in *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto*, FSI 22 (Rome, 1924) pp. 249–88.
- DMLBS* *Dictionary of medieval Latin from British sources*, ed. R. E. Latham (Oxford, 1975–2013).
- DOI* ‘*Otto I*,’ *MGH DD, Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae I. Diplomata Conradis I, Henrici I et Ottonis I*, ed. T. Sickel (Hanover, 1879–84), pp. 80–638.
- DOIII* ‘*Otto III*,’ *MGH DD, Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae II. Diplomata Ottonis II et III*, ed. T. Sickel, 2 vols. (Hanover, 1893), vol. I.

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- DUL* *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e Adalberto*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, FSI 38 (Rome, 1924).
- ILS* *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1892–1916).
- Jaffé *Regesta pontificum romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, ed. Ph. Jaffé, rev. ed. (Leipzig, 1885).
- LP* *Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. L. Duchesne, rev. ed., 3 vols. (Paris, 1955–7), translated as *Book of pontiffs (Liber pontificalis): ancient biographies of the first ninety Roman bishops to AD 715*, trans. R. Davis, Translated texts for historians 6, rev. ed. (Liverpool, 2010); *The lives of the eighth-century popes (Liber pontificalis): the ancient biographies of nine popes from AD 715 to AD 817*, trans. R. Davis, Translated texts for historians 13, rev. ed. (rev. ed. Liverpool, 2007), *The lives of the ninth-century popes: the ancient biographies of ten popes from AD 817–891*, trans. R. Davis, Translated texts for historians 20 (Liverpool, 1996).
- LSA* *Last Statues of Antiquity*, <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>
- LTUR* *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, ed. E. Margareta Steinby, 6 vols. (Rome, 1993–2000).
- LTUR Suburbium* *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae, Suburbium*, ed. A. La Regina, 5 vols. (Rome, 2001–8).
- Manaresi *I placiti del Regnum Italiae*, ed. C. Manaresi, 3 vols., FSI 91, 96, 97 (Rome: 1955–60).
- MEC 1* *Medieval European Coinage with a catalogue of coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Vol. 1: The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)*, ed. P. Grierson, M. Blackburn (Cambridge, 1986).
- MEC 14* *Medieval European Coinage with a catalogue of the coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Vol.*

	14: <i>Italy (III) South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia</i> , ed. P. Grierson, L. Travaini (Cambridge, 1998).
<i>MÉFR</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>AA</i>	<i>Auctores antiquissimi</i>
<i>Capit.</i>	<i>Capitularia regum Francorum</i>
<i>Conc.</i>	<i>Concilia</i>
<i>DD</i>	<i>Diplomata</i>
<i>EE</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Form.</i>	<i>Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi</i>
<i>LL</i>	<i>Leges</i>
<i>SS RG</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicum in usum scholarum</i>
<i>SS RL</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Langobardum</i>
<i>SS RM</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i>
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetae Latini</i>
<i>MNDHP</i>	<i>Monumenta ad Neapolitani Ducatus Historiam Pertinentia</i> , ed. B. Capasso, vol. I (Naples, 1881).
<i>Museo</i>	<i>Il museo diplomatico dell'Archivio di Stato di Milano</i> , ed. A. R. Natale (Milan, 1970).
Niermeyer	Jan Frederik Niermeyer, ed., <i>Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus</i> (Leiden, 2004).
<i>Papsturkunden</i>	<i>Papsturkunden</i> , 869–1046, ed. H. Zimmermann, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1984).
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus: series graeca</i>
<i>P.Ital</i>	<i>Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700</i> , ed. Jan Olof Tjäder, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, 80 XIX, 1, 2, 3, 3 vols. (Lund and Stockholm, 1954–82). Transcriptions have been given from <i>ChLA</i> .
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844–55).
<i>RE</i>	Gregory I, <i>Registrum epistularum</i> , in <i>S. Gregorii Magni Registrum epistularum</i> , ed. D. L. Norberg. <i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> 140, 140A (Turnhout, 1982). Translated as <i>The letters of Gregory the Great</i> , trans. J. C. Martyn, <i>Mediaeval</i>

xx List of Abbreviations

- sources in translation* 40, 3 vols. (Toronto, 2004).
- RF* *Il Regesto di Farfa*, ed. I Giorgi and U. Balzani, 5 vols. (Rome, 1879–1914).
- RN* ‘Regesta Neapolitana,’ in *Monumenta ad Neapolitani Ducatus Historiam Pertinentia*, ed. B. Capasso, vol. II, I (Naples, 1885).
- Rossini E. Rossini, ‘Documenti per un nuovo codice diplomatico veronese (dai fondi di S. Giorgio in Braida e di S. Pietro in Castello (803–994)’, *Atti dell’Accademia di Agricoltura Scienze e Lettere di Verona* 18 (1966–7), 1–72.
- RS* *Il Regesto sublacense dell’undecimo secolo*, eds. L. Allodi and G. Levi (Rome, 1885).
- SMCM* *Cartario di S. Maria in Campo Marzio*, ed. Enrico Carusi (Rome, 1948).
- SMVL* *Ecclesiae s. Mariae in Via Lata tabularium: partem vetustiore[m] quae complectitur chartas inde ab anno 921 usque ad a. 1045*, ed. L. M. Hartmann, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1895); ed. M. Merones, vol. III (Vienna, 1913).
- TSMN* P. Fedele, ‘Tabularium S. Maria Novae,’ *ASRSP* 23 (1900), pp. 171–237; 24 (1901), pp. 159–196; 25 (1902), pp. 169–209; 26 (1903), pp. 21–141.

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Figure 1 Map of places discussed.

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