C.I.L. 235 [=578] Tarenti rep. nuper in fundamentis novae aediculae S. Cataldi in templo archiepiscopali PAC. (1685)

L . IVNIO . L . F . GAL

MODERATO

COLUMELLAE

TRIB . MIL . LEG . VI . FERRATAE

Servavit Pacichellius (1685) p. 363 (inde opinor Mur. ms. 18.224, ed. 826.5 a Pollidoro). Henzen 5598 ex ed. 1.

4 TRIB . MI … LEG . VI . FAERRATAE Poll. – Etsi epigraphia Tarentina vulneribus apertis et caecis laborat tota movetque suspicionem titulus qui scriptoris de re rustica nomina ostendat, tamen neque Pacichellii Tarentina suspecta sunt et hunc titulum egregie tuetur C. L. Grotefend *Ztschr. für Alterthumswiss*. 1835 p. 179. Columellam enim natione Hispanum fuisse et commoratum esse in Syria, quod utrumque aliunde constat, conveniti cum tribu Galeria tituli nostri Hispanorum propria, et cum tribunatu legionis VI ferratae consistentis in Syria. Talia homo imperitus Pacichellius fingere non potuit; Pollidorus vero a Pacichellio sumpsit.

1. Dio Cassius 41.24.1 ad a. 705 = 49 B.C.E.: (*Καῖσαρ*) *τοῖς δε Γαδειρεῦσι πολιτείαν ἅπασιν ἔδωκεν, ἣν καὶ ὁ δῆμος σφισιν ὕστερον ἐπεκύρωσε*.

Dio Cassius 41.24.1 ad a. 705 = 49 B.C.E.: (Caesar) to all Gaditanians granted citizenship, which the people of Rome later confirmed to them.

1. H. Gummerus p. 53: *Cum Moderato igitur philosopho, aequali suo, ea quidem erat ‘consanguinitate’ coniunctus, qua inter se cognati dicuntur omnes philosophiae studiosi. Sed Pythagoreae disciplinae, cuius ille erat interpres, nulla in scriptis eius inveniuntur certa vestigia.*

H. Gummerus p. 53: While [L.J.] Moderatus [Columella] was definitely linked by that ‘kinship’ with Moderatus the philosopher, his own equal, which among themselves all devoted to philosophy are said to be kinsmen, no imprints of Pythagorean learning, of which he was an interpreter, are found in his writings.[[1]](#footnote-1)

1. Columella 5.1.2: *Quippe cum ea velut omissa desiderentur, quae non sunt propria nostrae professionis, ut proxime, cum de commetiendis agris rationem M. Trebellius noster requireret a me, vicinum atque adeo coniunctum esse censebat demonstranti, quemadmodum agrum pastinemus, praecipere etiam pastinatum quemadmodum metiri debeamus*.

Columella 5.1.2: For indeed subjects, which do not properly belong to our profession, are demanded as though they had been left out; for example, only recently, when my friend M. Trebellius required from me a method of measuring land he expressed the opinion that it was a kindred and indeed closely connected task for one who was showing how we ought to trench land to give instructions also how we ought to measure the land thus trenched.

1. Tacitus 6.47(41): *Per idem tempus Cietarum natio Cappadoci Archelao subiecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in iuga Tauri montis abscessit locorumque ingenio sese contra imbelles regis copias tutabatur, donec M. Trebellius legatus, a Vitellio praeside Suriae cum quattuor milibus legionarium et delectis auxiliis missus, duos collis, quos barbari insederant (minori Cadra, alteri Davara nomen est), operibus circumdedit et erumpere ausos ferro, ceteros siti ad deditionem coegit.*

Tacitus 6.47(41): At this period the Cietae, a tribe subject to the Cappadocian prince Archelaus the younger, resisted compulsion to supply property–returns and taxes in Roman fashion by withdrawing to the heights of the Taurus mountains where, aided by the nature of the country, they held out against the prince’s unwarlike troops. But the divisional commander M. Trebellius, sent by L. Vitellius (imperial governor of Syria) with 4,000 regulars and picked auxiliary forces, constructed earthworks round two hills held by the natives (the smaller called Cadre, the larger Davara). After killing some who attempted to break out, Trebellius forced the rest to surrender.

1. Columella 2.15.4: *Si tamen nullum genus stercoris suppetet, multum proderit fecisse quod Marcum Columellam patruum meum, doctissimum et diligentissimum agricolam, saepe numero usurpasse memoria repeto, ut sabulosis locis cretam ingereret,…*

Columella 2.15.4: If, however, no kind of manure is available, it will be very helpful to follow the practice which I remember my uncle, Marcus Columella, a very learned and painstaking farmer frequently employed: that is, to heap clay on gravely ground…

1. Columella 5.5.15: *M. quidem Columella, patruus meus, vir illustribus disciplinis eruditus, ac diligentissimus agricola Baeticae provinciae, sub ortu Caniculae palmeis tegetibus vineas adumbrabat,…*

Columella 5.5.15: Indeed, my paternal uncle, Marcus Columella, a man learned in the noble sciences and a most industrious farmer of the province of Baetica, used to shelter his vines about the rising of the Dogstar with palm–mats,…

1. L. Annaeus Seneca *De brevitate vitae* 1.1: *Maior pars mortalium, Pauline, de naturae malignitate conqueritur; quod in exiguum aevi gignimur, quod haec tam velociter, tam rapide dati nobis temporis spatia decurrunt, adeo ut exceptis admodum paucis ceteros in ipso vitae apparatu vita destituat.*

L. Annaeus Seneca *De brevitate vitae* 1.1: The greater part of mortals, Paulinus, complains about the malice of life; that we are born into a small time, the space of whose time given us runs so fast, so accelerated, that except for only a few, for the rest life leaves just during the very preparations of life.

1. L. J. Moderatus Columella 1.pr.1: *Saepenumero civitatis nostrae principes audio culpantes modo agrorum infecunditatem, modo caeli per multa iam tempora noxiam frugibus intemperiem; quosdam etiam praedictas querimonias velut ratione certa mitigantes, quod existiment ubertate nimia prioris aevi defatigatum et effetum solum nequire pristina benignitate praebere mortalibus alimenta.*

L. J. Moderatus Columella 1.pr.1: Again and again I hear leading men of our state condemning now the unfruitfulness of the soil, now the inclemency of the climate for some seasons past, as harmful to crops; and some I hear reconciling the aforesaid complaints, as if on well–founded reasoning, on the ground that, in their opinion, the soil was worn out and exhausted by the over–production of earlier days and can no longer furnish sustenance to mortals with its old–time benevolence.

1. T. Lucretius Carus 2.1146–1152… 1157–1163:

*Omnia debet enim cibus integrare novando*

*et fulcire cibus, cibus omnia sustentare –*

*nequiquam, quoniam nec venae perpetiuntur*

*quod satis est neque quantum opus est natura ministrat.*

*Iamque adeo fracta est aetas,* ***effeta****que tellus*

*vix animalia parva creat, quae cuncta creavit*

*saecla deditque ferarum ingentia corpora partu.*

*…*

*Praeterea nitidas fruges vinetaque laeta*

*sponte sua primum mortalibus ipsa creavit,*

*ipsa dedit dulcis fetus et pabula laeta;*

*quae nunc vix nostro grandescunt aucta labore,*

*conterminusque boves et viris agricolarum,*

*conficimus ferrum vix arvis suppeditati:*

*usque adeo parcunt fetus augentque laborem.*

For it is food that must repair all by renewing, food must support, food sustain everything, but in vain, since the veins cannot contain enough and nature does not supply as much as is necessary. Even now indeed the power of life is broken, and the earth exhausted scarce produces tiny creatures, she who once produced all kinds and gave birth to the huge bodies of wild beasts.

…

Besides, she or her own accord first made for mortals the bright wheat and the luxuriant vineyards, of herself she gave forth sweet fruits and luxuriant pasturage, which now scarce grow great when increased by our toil; and we exhaust the oxen and the strength of our farmers, we wear out the ploughshare, and then are scarce fed by our fields: so do they grudge their fruits and increase our toil.

1. Columella 1.pr.2: *Quas ego causas, P. Silvine, procul a veritate abesse certum habeo, quod neque fas est existimare rerum Naturam, quam primus ille mundi genitor perpetua fecunditate donavit, quasi quodam morbo sterilitate adfectam; neque prudentis est credere Tellurem, quae divinam et aeternam iuventam sortita communis omnium parens dicta sit, quia et cuncta peperit semper et deinceps paritura sit, velut hominem consenuisse*.

Columella 1.pr.2: Such reasons, P. Silvinus, I am convinced are far from the truth; for it is a sin to suppose that Nature, endowed with perennial fertility by the creator of the universe, is affected with barrenness as though with some disease; and it is unbecoming to a man of good judgment to believe that *Tellus* to whose lot was assigned a divine and everlasting youth, and who is called the common mother of all things – because she has always brought forth all things and is destined to bring them forth continously – has grown old in mortal fashion.

1. T. Lucretius Carus 2.1164–1174:

*Iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator*

*crebrius, incassum magnum cecidisse laborem,*

*et cum tempora temporibus praesentia confert*

*praeteritis, laudat fortunas saepe parentis.*

*Tristis item vetulae vitis sator atque vietae*

*temporis incusat momen saeclumque fatigat,*

*et crepat antiquum genus ut pietate repletum*

*perfacile angustis tolerarit finibus aevom,*

*cum minor esset agri multo modus ante viritim;*

*nec tenet omnia paulatim tabescere et ire*

*ad scopulum, spatio aetatis defessa vetusto.*

Now the ancient ploughman shaking his head sighs many a time that his great labour has all come to nothing, and comparing times present with times past often praises the fortunes of his father. Sadly also the cultivator of the degenerate and shrivelled vine rails at the progress of time and continually criticizes the age, and grumbles how the old world, full of piety, supported life with great ease on a narrow domain, though the man’s portion of land was formerly much smaller than it is now; nor does he comprehend that all things gradually decay, and go to the reef of destruction, outworn by the ancient lapse of years.

1. H. Gummerus p. 18: Nam Stoici ut mundum et ortum esse et aliquando interiturum probarent, cum aliis rationibus tum hoc quasi senescentis terrae argumento utebantur. Neque aliter de eadem re disputabant Epicurei, inter quos Lucretius de *fracta aetate effetaque tellure* multa verba protulit. Argumenta vero, quibus eam opinionem refellit Columella, vix dubitari potest quin a Peripateticis sint petita, qui quidem Aristotelem secuti et semper fuisse mundum et semper futurum docebant et contra Stoicos summo studio defendebant.

H. Gummerus p. 18: For as the Stoics proved that the universe both came to existence and will some time perish with other reasons, they also argued that the earth was somehow subject to growing old. Nor did the Epicureans argue differently about this, among whom Lucretius pronounced many words about the broken age and the effete earth. In truth the arguments with which Columella refutes this opinion, can hardly be doubted that are sought from the Peripatetics, who indeed following Aristotle taught and defended againgst the Stoics with great dedication that there always was and that there always be a universe.

1. Columella 3.11.1: *Ac prius quam ipsum solum perspiciamus, illud antiquissimum censemus, rudem potius eligendum agrum, si sit facultas, quam ubi fuerit seges aut arbustum.*

Columella 3.11.1: And before considering the soil itself, we think it a matter of very first importance that land hitherto untilled, if we have such, should be chosen in preference to that upon which there has been a crop of grain or a plantation of trees and vines.

1. Columella 3.11.2: *Nam de vinetis quae longo situ exoleverunt, inter omnes auctores constitit pessima esse si reserere velimus, quod et inferius solum plurimis radicibus sit impeditum ac velut irretitum, et adhuc non amiserit virus et cariem illam vetustatis, quibus hebetata quasi aliquibus venenis humus torpeat.*

Columella 3.11.2: As to vineyards which have become worthless through long neglect, it is agreed by all authorities that they are worst of all if we wish to replant them, because the lower soil is imprisoned in a tangle of many roots, as if caught in a net, and has not yet lost that infection and rottenness of old age by which the earth is deadened and numbed as if by some poison or other.

1. *Georgics* 2.203–211:

*Nigra fere et presso pinguis sub vomere terra*

*et cui putre solum (namque hoc imitamur arando),*

*optima frumentis: non ullo ex aequore cernes*

*plura domum tardis decedere plaustra iuvencis:*

*aut unde iratus silvam devexit arator*

*et nemora evertit multos ignava per annos,*

*antiquasque domos avium cum stirpibus imis*

*eruit; illae altum nidis petiere relictis,*

*at rudis enuit impulso vomere campus.*

Land that is dark, and rich beneath the share’s pressure and with a crumbly soil – for such a soil we try to rival with our ploughing – is, in the main, best for corn; from no other land will you see more wagons wending homeward behind slow bullocks; or land from which the angry ploughman has carried off the timber, levelling groves that have idled many a year, and tearing up by their deepest roots the olden homes of the birds – these leave their nests and seek the sky, but forthwith the untried plain glistens under the driven ploughshare.

1. Columella 2.2.4: *Quod noster quoque Vergilius, cum et alias fecundi arvi laudes rettulisset, adiecit,*

*et cui putre solum namque hoc imitamur arando*

Columella 2.2.4: This, too, our own Vergil said when, after recounting the other good points of a fruitful field, he added:

and one of crumbling soil; for this is what we rival when we plough.

1. Columella 5.4.2–3: *Nam vel scrobe vel sulco semina deponuntur, quoniam pastinationis expertes sunt exterarum gentium agricolae: quae tamen ipsa paene supervacua est his locis quibus solum putre et per se resolutum est: namque hoc imitamur arando, ut ait Vergilius, id est etiam pastinando. Itaque Campania, cum vicinum ex nobis capere possit exemplum, non utitur hac molitione terrae quia facilitas eius soli minorem operam desiderat. Sicubi autem densior ager provincialis rustici maiorem poscit impensam, quod nos pastinando efficimus, ille sulco facto consequitur, ut laxius subacto solo deponat semina.*

Columella 5.4.2–3: The plants are placed either in a plant–hole or in a furrow, since the farmers of foreign races are unacquainted with trenching, which indeed is almost superfluous in places where the soil crumbles and has fallen to pieces of its own accord, for, as Vergil says; ‘Tis this that with the plough we imitate,’ that is to say in fact by trenching. Thus the Campanians, though they might take a neighboring example from us, do not employ this method of working the ground, because the ease with which their soil can be cultivated calls for less labor; but wherever a dense soil calls for a greater expenditure on the part of the provincial peasant, what we effect by soil–preparation he achieves by making a furrow in order that he may set his plants in soil which has already been worked into a looser condition.

1. Columella 11.1.29: *Praelabentis vero temporis fuga quam sit irreparabilis, quis dubitet? Eius igitur memor praecipue semper caveat, ne improvidus ab opere vincatur. Res est agrestis insidiosissima cunctanti, quod ipsum expressius vetustissimus auctor Hesiodus hoc versu significavit:*

*Αἰεὶ δ᾽ ἀμβολιεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἄταισι παλαίει.*

*Quare vulgare illud de arborum positione rusticis usurpatum, serere ne dubites, id villicus ad agri totum cultum referri iudicet, credatque, praetermissas non duodecim horas sed annum periisse, nisi sua quaque die quod instat effecerit.*

Columella 11.1.29 : Who can doubt how irreparable is the flight of time as it slips away? The bailiff, mindful of this, should always beware above all things, lest, through want of forethought, he be overcome by his work; for agriculture is very apt to deceive the dilatory man, a fact which the very ancient author Hesiod has expressed rather forcibly in this line:

He who delays must aye with ruin strive.

Wherefore let the bailiff hold that the opinion about the planting of trees common on the lips of husband–men, ‘never hesitate to plant,’ is applicable to the whole of agriculture, and let him be sure that not merely twelve hours but a whole year has been lost, if pressing work is not carried out on its own proper day.

1. Columella 1.1.7–14: *Magna porro et Graecorum turba est de rusticis rebus praecipiens, cuius princeps celeberrimus vates non minimum professioni nostrae contulit Hesiodus Boeotius. Magis deinde eam iuvere fontibus orti sapientiae Democritus Abderites, Socraticus Xenophon, Tarentinus Archytas, Peripatetici…*

Columella 1.1.7–14: There is, furthermore, a great throng of Greeks who give instruction on husbandry ; and the first of them, that most renowned poet, Hesiod of Boeotia has contributed in no small degree to our art. It was then further assisted by men who have come from the well–spring of philosophy – Democritus…

1. Hesiod W&D 405–413

*Οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα γυναῖκα τε βοῦν τ᾽ ἀροτῆρα,*

*κτητήν, οὐ γαμετήν, ἥτις καὶ βουσὶν ἕποιτο,*

*χρήματα δ᾽ ἐν οἴκῳ πάντ᾽ ἄρμενα ποιήσασθαι,*

*μὴ σὺ μὲν αἰτῇις ἄλλον, ὃ δ᾽ ἀρνῆται, σὺ δὲ τητᾷ,*

*ἡ δ᾽ ὥρη παραμείβηται, μινύθῃ τὸ ἔργον.*

*μηδ᾽ ἀναβάλεσθαι ἔσ τ᾽ αὔριον ἔς τε ἔνηφιν.*

*οὐ γὰρ ἐτωσιοεργός ἀνὴρ πίμπλησι καλιὴν*

*οὐδ᾽ ἀναβαλλόμενος. μελέτη δὲ τὸ ἔργον ὀφέλλει.*

*αἰεὶ δ᾽ ἀμβολιεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἄτῃσι παλαίει.*

First of all, get a house, and a woman and an ox for the plough – a slave woman and not a wife, to follow the oxen as well – and make everything ready at home, so that you may not have to ask of another, and he refuse you, and so, because you are in lack, the season pass by and your work come to nothing. Do not put your work off till to–morrow and the day after; for a sluggish worker does not fill his barn, nor one who puts off his work: industry makes work go well, but a man who puts off work is always at hand – grips with ruin.

1. Columella 1.pr.3: *Nec post haec reor violentia caeli nobis ista, sed nostro potius accidere vitio, qui rem rusticam pessimo cuique servorum velut carnifici noxae dedimus, quam maiorum nostrorum optimus quisque et optime tractaverat.*

Columella 1.pr.3: And, furthermore, I do not believe that such misfortunes come upon us as a result of the fury of the elements, but rather because of our own fault; for the matter of husbandry, which the best of our ancestors had treated with the best of care, we have delivered over to all the worst of our slaves, as if to a hangman for punishment.

1. Cato pr.4: *At ex agricolis et viri fortissimi et milites strenuissimi gignuntur, maximeque pius quaestus stabilissimusque consequitur minimeque invidiosus, minimeque male cogitantes sunt qui in eo studio occupati sunt.*

Cato pr.4: But it is from the farming class that the bravest men and the sturdiest soldiers come, their calling is most highly respected, their livelihood is most assured and is looked on with the least hostility, and those who are engaged in that pursuit are least inclined to be disaffected.

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1. Translations of Gummerus are mine. Others are from the Loeb Classical Library for which, please, consult ‘bibliography’, with minor changes based on O.C.D., necessary for the argument. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)