

COLUMELLA RES RUSTICA 10:
A STUDY AND COMMENTARY

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2013

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Uxori Carissimae
Parentibusque Optimis
Dicatum
Sine Quibus Non

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my very supportive wife, Amanda Smith; my parents, James and Marie White; my sister, Ellen White, and brother-in-law, Bob Recny; the rest of my extended family; the many good friends who have supported and encouraged me through the years; my professors and fellow students at the University of Akron, the University of Pennsylvania, Kent State University, and the University of Florida; my colleagues in the Classics Department at Baylor University; my current and former students; and Dr. Kathryn Paterson of *The Dissertation Coach*.

I want to extend particular thanks to the staff of the Interlibrary Services Department in the Baylor University Libraries, for all their hard work in tracking down and filling the many requests I submitted to them, and without whose efforts I would not have been able to write this thesis. For similar reasons, I want to give a special note of appreciation to the staff and contributors to Google Books, for their efforts to make older out-of-print works accessible online.

I would also like to thank the members of my committee: Dr. Konstantinos Kapparis, Dr. Jennifer Rea, and Dr. Judith Page. Finally, I would like to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to my adviser, Dr. Victoria E. Pagán, who directed this project, for her willingness to work with me and for her enthusiasm for the project itself, as well as for all her suggestions, recommendations, criticisms, patience, and encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	4
LIST OF TABLES.....	6
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	7
ABSTRACT	9
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	10
Columella and <i>Res Rustica</i> 10	10
Approaches to <i>Res Rustica</i> 10 and Roman Gardens	12
The <i>Res Rustica</i> and Vergil's <i>Georgics</i>	30
Organization and Themes of <i>Res Rustica</i> 10	46
The Commentary and the Text	62
2 TRANSLATION	67
3 COMMENTARY	90
APPENDIX: INDEX OF PLANT NAMES	338
LIST OF REFERENCES	348
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	364

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>page</u>
1-1	Readings in Rodgers' text compared with readings preferred in the present translation and commentary.....	66

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Aen.</i>	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i>
AG	Greenough, J. B. <i>et al.</i> ed. 2001. <i>Allen & Greenough's New Latin Grammar</i> . Updated by Anne Mahoney. Newburyport, MA: Focus Publishing
Col.	Columella
cent.	Century
<i>Ecl.</i>	Vergil, <i>Eclogues</i>
f.	Feminine
G.	Vergil, <i>Georgics</i>
GL	Gildersleeve, B. L. and Lodge, G. 2003. <i>Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar</i> , 3 rd ed. Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci
LS	<i>A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary</i> . 1879. Rev. & ed. C. T. Lewis and C. Short. Oxford: Clarendon Press
LSJ	Liddell, H. G. and Scott, Robert. 1968. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . Rev. H. S. Jones, with supplement. Oxford: Clarendon Press
m.	Masculine
ms.	Manuscript
mss.	Manuscripts
n.	Neuter (when describing nouns); note (in citations)
NP	Cancik, Hubert, Schneider, Helmuth, and Landfester, Manfred, ed. 1996. <i>Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> . 16 vols. + Suppl. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler
OCD	Hornblower, Simon and Spawforth, Anthony, ed. 2012. <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . 4 th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press

<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> . 1982. Ed. P. G. W. Glare. Oxford: Clarendon Press
Pr.	Preface; by itself without a book number, it designates the prose preface of <i>Res Rustica</i> Book 10
<i>RE</i>	Pauly, A. et al., ed. 1956-1972. <i>Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . 24 vols. Stuttgart: A. Druckenmüller
<i>Rust.</i>	Columella, <i>Res Rustica</i>
v.	Volume

For Latin and Greek authors and their works, the abbreviations of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 4th ed. are used. For Latin authors and works for which the *OCD* does not provide abbreviations, those of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* are used; for Latin authors not included in the *OCD* or *OLD*, the abbreviations of Lewis and Short's *A Latin Dictionary* are used. For Greek authors and works for which *OCD* abbreviations are lacking, those of Liddell & Scott's *A Greek-English Lexicon* (rev. Jones) are used.

Several of the scientific botanical names cited include the name, often abbreviated, of the botanist who first published that plant name. The abbreviations used for these botanists' names were standardized in Brummitt (1992); an up-to-date list is available at *The International Plant Names Index* (www.ipni.org).

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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May 2013

Chair: Victoria E. Pagán
Major: Classical Studies

Columella, an agricultural writer of Spanish birth, lived and wrote during the Neronian period in the mid-first century C.E. His sole surviving complete work is *Res Rustica*, a compendium of instructions on agricultural lore and practice in twelve books. The work was written in prose with the exception of Book 10, which covers gardening. Columella wrote Book 10 in hexameter verse partly in homage to Vergil's *Georgics* and partly as a way of completing or finishing the *Georgics* by adding a book about gardening; this was a subject which Vergil had briefly touched on but chose not to cover more fully, saying that he would leave it to posterity (*G.* 4. 147-148). The work has not received a complete commentary in English since that of Harrison Boyd Ash (1930). The present study rectifies this omission and further explores the relationship between *Res Rustica* 10 and the *Georgics*, the trope of the poet as gardener, and the identification of the plants mentioned, while also incorporating more recent scholarship in these areas. It also includes historical, mythological, and grammatical aids to the reader, who is presumed to be familiar with the *Georgics*.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Columella and *Res Rustica* 10

What we know of Lucius Iunius Moderatus Columella is derived from his *Res Rustica*: born in Gades, in Spain (8. 16. 9; 10. 185),¹ he was a contemporary and friend of the younger Seneca (cf. 3. 3. 3) and Seneca's brother, Gallio (9. 16. 2)—both fellow Spaniards—and a younger contemporary of Pliny the Elder, who cites him (Plin. *HN* 8. 153, 15. 66, 18. 70, 18. 303). He speaks admiringly of an uncle, Marcus Columella, a successful farmer and landowner who had a farm in Baetica in Spain (2. 15. 4; 5. 5. 15; 7. 2. 4). Columella himself had farms in Italy in Caere (3. 3. 3) and in Ardea, Carseoli, and Alba (3. 9. 2).

His sole surviving complete work is an exhaustive compendium of agricultural information titled *Res Rustica*, dedicated to a Publius Silvinus. He claims to have consulted a great many agricultural writers, Greek and Roman, prose writers and poets, when preparing it (1. 1. 1-14), though he also draws on his own experience (3. 3. 3; 3. 9. 2). A reference to an ex-consul P. Volusius, which seems to imply that he is no longer living (1. 7. 3), may refer to Lucius Volusius (*RE* II 3) Saturninus,² who died in 56 C.E. (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 30; Plin. *HN* 7. 62, 156). Taken together with the reference to

¹ All unattributed references are to Col.'s *Res Rustica*.

² Gesner (1735, 408) reads "L. Volusium," whom he identifies with this Lucius Volusius Saturninus; cf. Columella 1745, 38. Lundström (1917), Ash (1941), and Rodgers (2010) read "P. Volusium."

Seneca, who died in 65 C.E. (*Tac. Ann.* 15. 60-64), as being alive and well (3. 3. 3), this gives a probable window of 56-65 C.E. for the composition of the work.³

Res Rustica consists of twelve books, all in prose except for Book 10. Book 1 discusses the general layout and organization of the farm; Book 2 describes plowing; Books 3-5 concern vines and trees; Books 6-7 deal with livestock; Books 8-9 focus on the raising of poultry, fish, game, and bees; Book 10 is a poetic book on gardening, and was perhaps originally planned as the last book; Book 11 covers gardening again and also lays out the duties of the *vilicus*, or overseer; and Book 12 outlines the duties of the *vilica*, the overseer's wife. Many manuscripts also preserve, after Book 11, an index to the contents of Books 1-11, which is very detailed for Books 1-9.⁴ An additional book, *De arboribus*, also preserved with the text of the *Res Rustica*, falls between Books 2 and 3. *De arboribus* may be a surviving part of an earlier work by Columella or it may be the work of another author;⁵ in either event, it does not form part of the extant *Res Rustica*.⁶ Columella refers to another work of his, *Adversus astrologos* (11. 1. 31), which has not survived.

Res Rustica 10 consists of 436 hexameter lines preceded by a prose Preface. Columella claims to have written it in verse at the specific urging of his addressee, Publius Silvinus, as a reply to an apparent challenge that Vergil left in the fourth book of

³ Cf. Columella (1745, ix-x): the anonymous translator concisely lays out the internal evidence in the *Res Rustica* for the date of its composition.

⁴ Henderson (2004, 7) says that this index "adds up to an *extremely* coherent overall reference system. One which makes Columella ... the most consultable classical text to have come down to us."

⁵ Richter (1972) argues on the basis of style, content, and vocabulary that *De arboribus* is not the work of Col.

⁶ Cf. Columella (1745, 571): the anonymous translator notes that, unlike the books of the *Res Rustica*, *De arboribus* contains no mention of Publius Silvinus.

the *Georgics*: Vergil tentatively essayed the subject of gardens (G. 4. 116-146) but then broke off, saying that he would leave that topic to posterity (G. 4. 147-148).⁷ *Res Rustica* 10 is thus both an homage to the *Georgics* and an attempt to supply a “missing” fifth book of the *Georgics*, on gardening. Though it forms an important part of the overall *Res Rustica* it also stands on its own as a didactic poem designed to complement the *Georgics* and is best read and understood in light of Vergil’s poem.

Approaches to *Res Rustica* 10 and Roman Gardens

The text of the *Res Rustica* rests on two 9th cent. mss. and a number of 14th- and 15th-cent. mss.⁸ According to Rodgers, the most important manuscript is the one generally labeled S, for Sangermanesis, because at one time it was in the library of the Saint Germain monastery in Paris. It now resides in St. Petersburg and is thus often referred to as the Petropolitanus. Rodgers dates it to the third quarter of the 9th cent. The other manuscript of comparable age is labeled A, for Ambrosianus, because it resides in the Bibliotheca Ambrosianus in Florence. The importance of this ms. for the text of Columella was rediscovered by Häussner in the late 19th cent. Rodgers dates it to the second quarter of the 9th cent.; Häussner and Lundström date it to the 9th-10th cent. without being more specific. According to Rodgers, these two mss. seem to stem from a common ancestor.

Many of the later mss. seem to be descended from the text of the Ambrosianus; however, they differ often enough that the text of these later mss. seems to have been

⁷ See *georgici carminis ... relinquere* (Pr. 3).

⁸ For a detailed discussion of the manuscript tradition of the *Res Rustica*, see Häussner 1889, 9-22; Lundström 1897b, vii-x; and Rodgers 2010, v-xv.

influenced by another older textual tradition separate from that of S and A, though no other ms. of comparable age has survived. The later mss. occasionally preserve correct readings not found in S and A. Citations of Columella found in Pliny, Palladius, and other later authors are also occasionally valuable for establishing the text of the *Res Rustica*.

The most recent critical edition of the complete text of the *Res Rustica* is the Oxford Classical Text edition by Rodgers.⁹ This edition incorporates the most up-to-date textual scholarship and has a full textual critical apparatus. The previous critical edition of Columella, by Lundström *et al.*,¹⁰ was the effort of several editors working over a span of decades. For this reason its treatment of the text and of the scholarship on which it is based is uneven and dated. Some installments, including Lundström's edition of Book 10, are now over a century old. In addition to being far more recent, Rodgers' edition has the evenness of treatment found in the work of a single scholar, published at once rather than over a period of years. The complete text was also published in a Loeb Classical Library edition in three volumes with an English translation edited by Ash¹¹ and by Forster and Heffner.¹² Like the edition of Lundström *et al.*, the Loeb suffers from the lack of continuity and unevenness that come from being the collective work of several scholars which was published over several decades. In

⁹ Rodgers 2010.

¹⁰ Lundström 1897b: *De Arboribus*; Lundström 1902: *Rust.* 10; Lundström 1906: *Rust.* 11; Lundström 1917: *Rust.* 1-2; Lundström 1940: *Rust.* 6-7; Josephson 1955: *Rust.* 3-5; Hedberg 1968: *Rust.* 8-9. The text of any part of this edition of the *Res Rustica* is hereafter cited as "Lundström."

¹¹ Ash 1941: vol. 1 = Books 1-4.

¹² Forster 1954: vol. 2 = Books 5-9; Forster 1968: vol. 3 = Books 10-12 and *De arboribus*.

addition, it shares with other volumes in the Loeb Classical Library the defect of having only a very spare critical apparatus and a minimal treatment of textual issues. Richter¹³ edited a three-volume edition with a German translation and notes as part of the Sammlung Tusculum series published by Artemis-Verlag. While it has the same advantage as Rodgers' edition in that it is the work of a single scholar, with the installments published at minimal intervals, the critical apparatus and textual notes are not highly detailed. Its strength lies in its appendices covering the star signs and dates.

All these editions include *De arboribus*. Richter's and Rodgers' are the only editions of the complete text of Columella by a single editor since Gesner's.

Editions of individual books of Columella have also been published. The text of Book 10 was included with other Latin writings on agriculture in editions by Gesner and Schneider¹⁴ as well as in collections of the works of minor Latin poets edited by Wernsdorf,¹⁵ Lemaire,¹⁶ and Postgate.¹⁷ Häussner's¹⁸ monograph on the textual transmission of Columella includes a text edition of Book 10. With the exception of Häussner's work—which was taken into account by later editors—these editions or anthologies containing Book 10 have sparse textual and/or interpretative notes. In particular, by extracting Book 10 from the overall *Res Rustica* and grouping it together

¹³ Richter 1981-1983.

¹⁴ Schneider 1794.

¹⁵ Wernsdorf 1794.

¹⁶ Lemaire 1826.

¹⁷ Postgate 1905.

¹⁸ Häussner 1899.

with other minor poems, the poetic anthologies encourage the reader to regard Book 10 as a stand-alone work and to disregard the valuable interpretative context which the larger treatise provides.

Prior to editing the first volume of the *Columella Loeb*, Ash¹⁹ produced an edition of Book 10 which includes a commentary and textual notes with an English translation. Ash's treatment is thorough though brief. His citations of parallel passages—both for poetic and for botanical purposes—are spare, and his identifications of many of the plants are simply asserted without argument or citation. Santoro's²⁰ edition includes translation and notes in Italian; his notes are even briefer than Ash's and, like Ash, he tends to assert rather than argue. Marsili²¹ published a text edition with extensive textual notes but no interpretative notes or commentary, though he does include a brief index of the plants mentioned. Saint-Denis²² published an edition with an introduction, translation, and notes in French, as part of the Editions Guillaume Budé series published by Les Belles Lettres. Saint-Denis' notes, concise but dense, are very informative and scholarly; they incorporate a great deal of scholarship that was recent at the time. In addition to citing parallel passages and identifying plants, Saint-Denis goes into greater detail than Ash or Santoro in considering textual cruxes, the organization of the work, and Columella's use of star signs for dating. Fernández-Galiano's²³ edition

¹⁹ Ash 1930.

²⁰ Santoro 1946.

²¹ Marsili 1962.

²² Saint-Denis 1969a.

²³ Fernández-Galiano 1975.

includes an extensive introduction exploring the nature of the poem along with translation and brief notes in Spanish. Like Santoro, Richter, and the Loeb edition, his treatment of textual issues is slight. By contrast, the edition of Boldrer,²⁴ with translation and extensive notes in Italian, is a thorough commentary dealing with virtually all of the issues raised by the poem: poetic parallels, botanical questions, gardening and agricultural issues, and textual matters. It is thoroughly sourced and based on extensive scholarship. Boldrer's analysis is generally valuable, particularly in examining the issues raised by textual problems and suggesting how to frame various questions of text or interpretation.

Special mention should be made of two English translations of Book 10 published without an accompanying text edition. An anonymous translation published in 1745 contains many valuable interpretative and analytical notes.²⁵ Henderson²⁶ brings together his translations of the major surviving Latin works on gardening: from Columella, not only Book 10, but also 11. 3 (Columella's prose treatment of gardening); the excursus about the Corycian gardener in *Georgics* 4; Book 19 of Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*, where Pliny discusses gardening extensively; and the work on gardening of the 4th-century writer Palladius. Henderson's whimsical translation of *Rust.* 10 nevertheless follows the text closely. He includes detailed notes that help elucidate both the text and its interpretation, and an index of the plants mentioned. Henderson

²⁴ Boldrer 1996.

²⁵ Columella 1745.

²⁶ Henderson 2004.

makes a point of distinguishing between “Roman gardens” and “Roman gardening.”²⁷ He later underlines this point: “There are plenty of fascinating studies of Roman gardens, but this is the only book of Roman gardening.”²⁸

Marshall devotes the first half of her book to the role of gardening in ancient Greek and Roman literature and society in general and to surviving Greek and Roman literary sources on the topic; in the second half she examines Book 10 both as a work on horticulture and as a work of poetry.²⁹ She looks particularly at the similarities and differences in the way Columella treats gardening in poetry (Book 10) and in prose (Book 11).

Pagán examines garden-focused episodes found in larger works which as a whole are not about gardening: Columella’s *Res Rustica*, Horace’s *Satires* 1. 8, Tacitus’ *Annales* 11, and St. Augustine’s *Confessions*.³⁰ She explores how gardens function in the context of the overall theme of each work. Spencer examines how Roman writers used descriptions of landscape and cultivation of nature as a vehicle for considering issues of identity and citizenship.³¹ She highlights how the use and organization of land encapsulates and inculcates cultural identity and ethical values, and how the growth of large villa estates in the 1st cent. B.C.E. shows a shift in the idea of the landscape from

²⁷ Henderson 2002, 100.

²⁸ Henderson 2004, 1; emphasis in original.

²⁹ Marshall 1919.

³⁰ Pagán 2006.

³¹ Spencer 2010.

a place of *labor* to a place of *otium*.³² She includes Columella in her discussion, focusing in particular on how he uses various crops, including the garden plants of Book 10, to explore the connections among Rome, Italy, and the empire, and on how Columella represents a return to the moralizing view of landscape found in earlier authors such as Varro.³³ Gowers explores Columella's shortcomings as a poetic imitator and successor of Vergil, though she also emphasizes the sense of abundance that fills his garden poem.³⁴ She also points out that a Roman Garden could be "a self-contained whole or ... a tangential part of something larger,"³⁵ just as Columella's garden poem is at once self-contained but also just one part of his treatise. Gowers also considers how both Vergil and Columella explore the notion of the garden boundary, and being inside or outside the garden wall, both as a gardener and as a poet.³⁶ Noè thoroughly examines Columella's treatise through three lenses: social, economic, and cultural.³⁷ Noè particularly examines Columella's work in light of the contemporary economic situation in which Columella write and his use of technical sources, while also observing Columella's use of literary sources and his own literary ambitions. Noè also points out Columella's political agenda in urging a return to true

³² Spencer 2010, 16-46.

³³ Spencer 2010, 86-104.

³⁴ Gowers 2000.

³⁵ Gowers 2000, 130.

³⁶ Gowers 2000, 129-130, 132-135.

³⁷ Noè 2002.

country life and endorsing the economic pursuit of traditional agriculture,³⁸ while also highlighting Columella's frequent use of *ratio* in stressing the importance of rationality and science as a foundation for agriculture.³⁹ Dallinges considers Columella both as a technical writer and as a literary author, not only in Book 10 but also throughout the *Res Rustica*.⁴⁰ He also emphasizes the moral aspect of Columella's work, indicated from the beginning in the Preface to Book 1.⁴¹ Milnor explores Columella's views on domesticity as expressed in Book 12 of the *Res Rustica* (on the duties of the *vilica*, the bailiff's wife).⁴² She argues that Columella "has added to the generic tropes of Latin agricultural prose" by devoting time to outlining the specific responsibilities of a female member of the farming family, in contrast to Cato and Varro.⁴³ While examining the role played by Book 12 in Columella's overall work, she also considers the placement and function of Book 10. In particular, she suggests ways in which the poetic book seems overly exuberant and out of place in the work as a whole, despite having originally been planned as its finale.⁴⁴

Studies of ancient gardens as physical objects tend to emphasize decorative or landscape gardens of the sort more commonly found by excavators and consequently pay little attention to Columella's prescriptions for the household kitchen garden, though

³⁸ Noè 2002, 25-26, 62-69.

³⁹ Noè 2002, 151-177.

⁴⁰ Dallinges 1964.

⁴¹ Dallinges 1964, 138-141.

⁴² Milnor 2005.

⁴³ Milnor 2005, 257-261.

⁴⁴ Milnor 2005, 256-259.

these studies occasionally cite him to illustrate one point or another. Grimal examines the topic of Roman gardens from a variety of aspects including native Italian traditions, Greek literary influences, Greek gardening models, the development of both public and private gardens, the plants used in gardens, the use of gardens as architectural features and showplaces for art, surviving archaeological evidence, and gardens in literature.⁴⁵ He provides a thorough account of the development of gardens in theory and practice in Roman society from the late Republic through the early empire, looking in particular at gardens as an urban rather than a rural phenomenon. He examines the subject from many angles, including site plans, depictions in art, mentions in ancient sources, and literary treatments. Though his treatment of the subject is lengthy and detailed, he barely mentions Columella in his discussion of gardens in literature. Farrar takes an extensive look at various features of surviving Roman gardens, including layout, construction, and decoration.⁴⁶ Although she includes some consideration of gardening procedures and tools, most of her observations emphasize the architectural and ornamental features of decorative landscaped gardens, amply documented by surviving physical evidence. She is particularly interested in considering the functional and esthetic role played by architectural elements and garden sculpture. She focuses on gardens which formed part of residences; her survey of non-residential gardens is brief and cursory.⁴⁷ In addition to an examination of garden plants and tools,⁴⁸ she includes

⁴⁵ Grimal 1943.

⁴⁶ Farrar 1968.

⁴⁷ Farrar 1968, 175-186.

⁴⁸ Farrar 1968, 130-174.

a summary of where archaeological evidence for Roman gardens can be found today⁴⁹ and an index of garden plants mentioned by Pliny.⁵⁰ McKay relies extensively on such evidence in his treatment of Roman villas, which includes a brief discussion of gardens.⁵¹ Like Farrar, he is mainly concerned with ornamental gardens, not working gardens of the sort Columella depicts.

Some of the most detailed documentation of the archaeological evidence for Roman gardens has been compiled by Jashemski.⁵² She explores many facets of the surviving evidence, from garden plans and construction to ornamental features to depictions of gardens and garden plants in surviving wall paintings. Of particular interest is her analysis of the evidence for the commercial trade in flowers.⁵³ Lawson also explores the practical rather than the decorative value of garden flowers.⁵⁴ He argues that a primary function of gardens was to grow flowers to be made into garlands, which at first had religious meaning and use and only later became items of purely esthetic personal adornment.⁵⁵ MacDougall edited a collection of essays that grew out of a Dumbarton Oaks colloquium on the history of landscape architecture.⁵⁶ Collectively the essays consider both literary and archaeological evidence for Roman ornamental

⁴⁹ Farrar 1968, 200-205.

⁵⁰ Farrar 1968, 206-208.

⁵¹ McKay 1975.

⁵² Jashemski 1979-1993.

⁵³ Jashemski 1979- 1993 v. 1, 267-269.

⁵⁴ Lawson 1950.

⁵⁵ Lawson 1950, 98-100.

⁵⁶ MacDougall 1987.

pleasure gardens. Littlewood in particular admits that the literary evidence for Roman villa gardens is “fragmentary” but credits the “Roman fascination with quotidian matters abhorrent to a writer of classical Greece” for providing us with such literary evidence as exists to complement the archaeological.⁵⁷ The botanical side of ancient gardens is the focus of Ciarallo’s study that links plants depicted in Pompeian wall paintings with modern examples.⁵⁸ She stresses the wide variety found in Pompeian gardens, both in their physical layout and in the plants grown in them, as well as the contribution made by archaeology in confirming and illuminating the evidence of Pliny and other written sources. Jennings’ book is intended for the general reader, but she incorporates archaeological, historical, literary, and artistic evidence to trace the development of Roman ornamental gardens and the plants grown in them, particularly in Roman Britain.⁵⁹ She includes a brief and concise but useful index of plants that could be found in Britain in the Roman period, in which she gives for each plant its common English name, its scientific name, and an indication of how readily available it might have been.⁶⁰ These examinations of Roman ornamental gardens as physical objects are helpful in putting Columella’s garden into its cultural and horticultural context. However, in general, perhaps because Columella’s garden is purely literary, studies focused on analyzing the physical remains of actual ancient gardens or their depictions in the visual arts tend to give Columella little, if any, consideration.

⁵⁷ Littlewood 1987, 9-10.

⁵⁸ Ciarallo 2000.

⁵⁹ Jennings 2006.

⁶⁰ Jennings 2006, 72-76.

Stackelburg looks at Roman gardens from both a literary and archaeological perspective combined with modern space theory to explore the way the garden functioned as both a physical and conceptual space in the Roman world.⁶¹ She argues that the garden border—such as that described by Columella (27-28)—plays an important social role in symbolically delimiting and defining areas subject to power, control, and subjection and serves as an analogue to Roman class boundaries.⁶² Another scholar attempting to combine literary and archaeological evidence is Bowe, who looks closely at the influence of Roman gardens upon medieval, Renaissance, and modern examples.⁶³ Like Jashemski's book, Bowe's is abundantly illustrated to the point where the illustrations overwhelm the text, which often serves mainly to elucidate the illustrations. It is a coffee-table book for interested lay readers rather than a study written for scholars. The illustrations and citations provided, however, offer opportunities to pursue a more serious, scholarly examination of the subject.

There are several studies of plants in Latin literature, many of which were written mainly to assist readers of Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*. Sargeaunt lists the plants mentioned by Vergil alphabetically by the Latin name Vergil uses for them.⁶⁴ Each entry contains a description of the plant and its context, both in the ancient world and in modern Italy, along with some mention of its appearance in other ancient sources (not only other poets but also more technical sources such as Columella and Pliny), an

⁶¹ Stackelburg 2009.

⁶² Stackelburg 2009, 66-80.

⁶³ Bowe 2004.

⁶⁴ Sargeaunt 1920.

indication of when it blooms, and its modern Italian name. Sargeaunt's book is accessible and valuable for locating other Vergilian citations of a particular plant as well as for providing contextual information about the Italian landscape where the plant can be found; but the work's usefulness is limited by its conciseness, its narrow focus, and its lack of citations to secondary literature. Abbe's work features detailed entries on each plant mentioned in the *Georgics*, with each entry giving the plant's scientific botanical name, modern colloquial names in English, French, German, and Italian, citations of its appearance in the *Georgics*, and citations of its mention by other ancient writers, mainly technical writers such as Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Pliny, and Columella.⁶⁵ A woodcut depicting the plant illustrates each entry. Like Sargeaunt's book, Abbe's is mainly of value for providing Vergilian citations of plant names and for giving modern and scientific equivalents, though the illustrations help create a vivid image of how Vergil's imagined landscape might have appeared. Maggiulli's more recent, detailed consideration of the plants in Vergil is divided into two sections: a study and a glossary.⁶⁶ The first part examines Vergil's plant-related vocabulary in its context and the role played by references to the natural world in Vergil's works, as well as Vergil's indebtedness to predecessors such as Lucretius and Theophrastus in his treatment of the natural world. The second half of Maggiulli's work offers an alphabetically-arranged glossary of the names of plants used by Vergil. Each entry includes all Vergilian citations of the name, its modern botanical equivalent(s), adjectives Vergil typically uses in association with the name, and a consideration of

⁶⁵ Abbe 1965.

⁶⁶ Maggiulli 1995.

other evidence, literary and otherwise, for the plant in question. In general the works of Sargeant, Abbe, and, in particular, Maggiulli are extremely helpful in identifying the plants mentioned by Vergil and for putting them in both their cultural and literary context. These Vergilian studies are also valuable in underscoring, by the absence of citations, the many instances where Columella mentions plants not found in Vergil.

Maggiulli also examines words not found in Vergil but used by Columella, including not only plant names but vocabulary in all areas.⁶⁷ Two more scholars who explore the relationship between Columella and Vergil are Saint-Denis, who looks critically, but sympathetically, at Columella's literary use and adaptation of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*,⁶⁸ and Cossarini, who examines Columella's employment of Vergilian technical and poetic vocabulary as well as his use of Vergilian themes.⁶⁹ These studies focus mainly on literary and philological questions rather than on technical or botanical questions and treat Columella's use of Vergil as a literary source.

Baldwin and Doody examine Columella as a technical author. Baldwin looks at Columella's critical use of technical and theoretical sources in his overall work.⁷⁰ He argues that despite the number and variety of the sources he used, Columella was not "a scissors and paste compiler, with more diligence than acumen."⁷¹ On the contrary, Columella carefully considered and critiqued his sources; according to Baldwin, "close

⁶⁷ Maggiulli 1980.

⁶⁸ Saint-Denis 1969b.

⁶⁹ Cossarini 1977.

⁷⁰ Baldwin 1963.

⁷¹ Baldwin 1963, 785.

examination shows that he is very discriminating in his use of authorities and is not willing to accept a statement on trust merely because it is made by a famous name.”⁷²

Doody considers how Columella and Pliny treat Vergil as a source for technical information about agriculture.⁷³ He points out that for Roman readers the boundary between literature and technical writing was not a clear one, thus allowing later writers to regard Vergil’s *Georgics* as an important source for farming lore.⁷⁴ He shows that Columella more willingly relies on Vergil for technical information, whereas Pliny is more critical of Vergil as a technical source.⁷⁵

André’s exhaustive glossaries of Latin plant names use the Latin literary names of plants as lemmata, arranged alphabetically.⁷⁶ In addition to including citations to both poetic and prose sources, including many from late antiquity, each entry gives the modern botanical equivalent(s) for each plant, if such can be identified, and possible ancient testimonia for each one; suggests possible Greek origins of the Latin name; includes alternative forms of the name, if any, found in the literature; and offers examples of the plant name used with different modifying adjectives, which often indicate that the ancient author is actually referring to a different plant. André’s works are indispensable for any study of plants in ancient literature, whether in poetry or in technical treatises. While exhaustive in his citation of Latin sources, André is often too

⁷² Baldwin 1963, 787.

⁷³ Doody 2007.

⁷⁴ Doody 2007, 180-182.

⁷⁵ Doody 2007, 184-197.

⁷⁶ André 1956; André 1985.

sparing in his citations of both ancient Greek sources and modern botanical sources. In Andrai's glossary of Latin terms relating to all aspects of agriculture—from plants and animals to tools and procedure—entries are organized thematically, and then alphabetically within each category.⁷⁷ The entry for each term gives its probable etymology, author or authors where it is first attested (though no specific citations are given), and both its literal meanings and its figurative uses. While the work as a whole is exhaustive in scope, the individual entries are brief and spare and provide only minimal information. While useful as a quick reference, it suffers from lack of detail and specificity in its citations of ancient sources, etymological information, and guidance to proper contextual usage.

Taking a completely different approach, Bernhardt looks not at the ancient Greek and Latin names of plants but at the modern scientific, botanical names, many of them derived from references to Greek and Roman myth by botanists with a sense of history and whimsy and a familiarity with ancient literature.⁷⁸ His work is organized thematically according to stories from myth, and he links specific plant names to the characters and incidents in the myths. Bernhardt's book is useful more as an account of the names created by modern botanists based on classical references rather than as a source for ancient botany or agriculture. He does, however, show the extent of classical learning once prevalent among botanists, and ends with a defense of traditional Linnaean

⁷⁷ Andrai 1981.

⁷⁸ Bernhardt 2008.

binomial nomenclature and the “lyrical charm and scholarly pride” of turning to Greek and Roman myths for plant names.⁷⁹

Jashemski’s work on the gardens of Pompeii led her to study the native plants of the area and their use in ancient as well as modern times for medicinal purposes.⁸⁰ She provides a detailed description of the plants she studies, their scientific names and modern English and Italian names, testimony from ancient literature and modern practice, and illustrations similar to those in Abbe’s book. Like Ciarallo, Jashemski links the evidence for gardens and daily life in ancient Pompeii to the landscape and practices of modern Italy. The collection of essays edited by Jashemski and Meyer builds on Jashemski’s earlier work in attempting to reconstruct the ancient natural landscape of Campania based on evidence preserved by the eruption of Vesuvius. The essays in the volume cover all aspects of the natural history of the region and the effects caused by the eruption of 79 C.E. They include analysis of the soil, attempts to identify the plants depicted in wall paintings and the woods used in ancient furniture, and studies of the ancient flora and fauna of the region as documented by art, archaeology, and ancient literature.⁸¹

Riddle focuses on the use of plants for medicinal and magical purposes.⁸² He considers literary and artistic evidence for pre-modern understanding of the specific properties of certain plants and how plant-lore represented a kind of specialized

⁷⁹ Bernhardt 2008, 194-196.

⁸⁰ Jashemski 1999.

⁸¹ Jashemski 2002.

⁸² Riddle 1985; Riddle 1997; Riddle 2010.

knowledge passed down from generation to generation, particularly among women. He points out that knowledge of the abilities of certain plants, properly used, to prevent, abort, or affect the course of pregnancy was widespread and detailed in the ancient world.⁸³ He details Greek and Roman knowledge and use of medicinal plants, particularly those from the Artemisia family, and their association with woman and with female deities.⁸⁴ His work on Dioscorides of Anarbazus offers an in-depth study of one of the principal surviving ancient sources on plants and their medicinal properties, written by a Greek physician, a contemporary of Columella.⁸⁵ Riddle argues that Dioscorides organized and systematized a great body of plant lore—some inherited from previous generations and some collected as the result of his own travels—into a work which profoundly influenced the subsequent understanding and use of medicinal plants.⁸⁶ According to Riddle, in addition to recording the medicinal and non-medicinal applications of plants Dioscorides also developed a classification system based on similarity of effects, or “drug affinities.”⁸⁷ Though only tangential in many respects to the study of Columella, Riddle’s work shows the importance of the way in which plants were cultivated and valued for practical reasons other than food or decoration, and how the knowledge of their properties played a vital role in pre-modern societies.

⁸³ Riddle 1997, 35-63.

⁸⁴ Riddle 2010, 79-86.

⁸⁵ Riddle 1985.

⁸⁶ Riddle 1985, 1-93

⁸⁷ Riddle 1985, 94-133.

The *Res Rustica* and Vergil's *Georgics*

"In 65 C.E., a Spanish writer appointed himself Vergil's heir and stepped into a breach that did not really exist." Gowers thus dismisses Columella's self-described attempt (Pr. 3) to "complete" (*explerem*) the "omitted portions" (*omissas partes*) of the *Georgics* as an unnecessary vanity project, "a showpiece in which Columella ... takes an unpromising subject and overcompensates by making something new and monstrous out of it."⁸⁸ But Columella's relationship with the *Georgics* goes beyond his effort to complete or supplement the *Georgics* with material that Vergil allegedly skipped over, or a simple desire to show off whatever poetic ability he himself possessed. Book 10, and indeed the entire *Res Rustica*, show a thorough knowledge and deep appreciation of Vergil's work. They are at once a recapitulation and a reimagining of the entirety of the *Georgics*.

In the brief, prose preface to Book 10, Columella explains his decision to write about gardening in verse, rather than continuing in the prose of the preceding nine books. He does so, he says, to fulfill a promise made to his otherwise unknown addressee, Publius Silvinus, to meet a challenge of sorts left by Vergil in Book 4 of the *Georgics*. After beginning to describe gardening, Vergil broke off, claiming insufficient space to deal properly with the subject, and said that he would leave a poetic treatment of gardening to posterity to complete: *ut poeticis numeris explerem georgici carminis omissas partes, quas tamen et ipse Vergilius significaverat posteris se memorandas relinquere* (Pr. 3), in which Columella echoes the words of Vergil in *Georgics* 4:

verum haec ipse equidem spatiis exclusus iniquis

⁸⁸ Gowers 2000, 127.

praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo. (G. 4. 147-148)⁸⁹

In the proem of his poem Columella again recalls Vergil's words and asserts his claim to complete Vergil's unfinished task:

*hortorum quoque te cultus, Silvine, docebo,
cum caneret laetas segetes et munera Bacchi
et te, magna Pales, necnon caelestia mella
atque ea, quae quondam spatiis exclusus iniquis,
Vergilius nobis post se memoranda reliquit.* (1-5)

In lines 2-3 Columella briefly recounts the subjects of each of the four books of the *Georgics*: crops, Book 1; vines, Book 2; flocks and herds, Book 3; and bees, Book 4. The implication is that Columella himself intends to “complete” Vergil's purportedly unfinished *Georgics*: that his poem on gardening will essentially serve as the fifth and final book of the *Georgics*. As the poem unfolds, however, Columella actually goes further. Over the course of his poem he offers a kind of recapitulation of the entire *Georgics*, a sort of *Georgics* in miniature. Book 10 of the *Res Rustica* is thus in many ways both a summation of the *Georgics* and a continuation of them. Henderson comments, “This will be a Fifth Georgic from start to finish;”⁹⁰ but, as Spencer rightly points out, it will be much more than that.⁹¹ Columella does not merely summarize or extend the *Georgics*; he also includes touches of the *Eclogues* and *Aeneid*, and thus recalls the spirit of Vergil's entire poetic work.

Columella had prepared his readers for recalling Vergil by his treatment of agricultural themes in the preceding books of the *Res Rustica*. In Books 1-9 he covers

⁸⁹ All quotations from Vergil are taken from Mynors' (1969) Oxford Classical Text edition.

⁹⁰ Henderson 2004, 13.

⁹¹ Spencer 2010, 95.

the same general topics treated by Vergil in the *Georgics*, and in the same order: crops (Books 1-2), vines (Books 3-5), cattle (Books 6-8), and bees (Book 9), making Books 1-9 a sort of *Georgics* in prose. Spencer observes, “Columella has left his readers agog for Virgilian flights of fancy by ending Book 9 with bees.”⁹² Boldrer and Saint-Denis point out that Columella could more logically have dealt with gardens in or immediately following Books 1-5 of his work: because these books deal with crops and the cultivation of the soil, they offer a ready thematic connection with gardening.⁹³ But his placement of gardens after apiculture is another nod to Vergil. Vergil himself embarks on his brief excursus about gardens and the old man of Tarentum in *Georgics* 4 in the context of his consideration of bees: a garden offers a way to provide flowers to supply the bees with nectar and thus keep them safe and discourage them from wandering off (G. 109-115). Vergil himself has thus established the connection between bees and gardens, a connection which Columella chooses to exploit to underline further the Vergilian themes of his project. Columella additionally prepares the reader for his poetic gardening book by briefly discussing in Book 9 the sorts of flowers favored by bees (9. 4. 4), which again reinforces the link stressed by Vergil between bees and garden flowers. He also does so by relating a myth concerning the origin of bees (9. 2. 2-3), which recalls Vergil’s *bougonia* myth in *Georgics* 4 (G. 4. 281-314, 548-558); otherwise, references to myth occur rarely in his prose treatise, and when they do occur they are

⁹² Spencer 2010, 94.

⁹³ Boldrer 1996, 13; Saint-Denis 1969a, 8.

related briefly and in passing. Columella also makes a point of illustrating his discussion of apiculture by quoting lines from *Georgics* 4 in appropriate places.⁹⁴

Another link between the *Res Rustica* and the *Georgics* is seen in the way Columella uses the prefaces with which he begins certain, but not all, books of his work. Janson observes, “Columella has introductions of varying length to every book except Book 7, which contains only the address to Publius Silvinus that is to be found in all of them.”⁹⁵ An introduction, however, is not the same as a formal preface, and Book 7 is not the only book which lacks one. In the preface to Book 1, and thus to the overall work, Columella indicates that he will deal with each subject pertaining to agriculture in its proper place, and that he will make general remarks relating each section to his overall topic in prefaces: *quas ordine suo demum persequar cum praefatus fuero quae reor ad universam disciplinam maxime pertinere* (*Rust.* 1. Pr. 33). In addition to Book 1, however, only Books 6, 9, 10, and 12 begin with a formal preface. These books have a special programmatic significance in the work. Books 1 and 9 “bookend” the portion of the *Res Rustica* where, as remarked previously, Columella covers the same general topics treated by Vergil in the *Georgics*, and in the same general order. Book 6 comes halfway through Columella’s Vergilian program, representing, thematically, the beginning of his *Georgics* 3-4 section; the placement of a preface at the beginning of Book 6 also suggests that Columella’s original plan for his work called for ten books in all, not twelve, and thus Book 6 was to begin his second half. Book 10 covers gardening, a topic treated only superficially by Vergil—and thus technically outside

⁹⁴ For example, 9. 8. 13; 9. 9. 4; 9. 9. 6; 9. 10. 2.

⁹⁵ Janson 1964, 92.

Columella's recapitulation of the *Georgics*—and does so in verse, though Columella returns to the subject in prose in Book 11. Book 12, on the duties of the *vilica* (the wife of the *vilicus*, or overseer), is like Book 11, an “add-on”: it supplements the discussion of the *vilicus* in Book 11, just as Columella's prose discussion of gardening in Book 11 supplements his poetic treatment of it in Book 10.

Columella uses his formal prefaces to stress the importance of his overall theme and of the specific topic of each book: in the preface introducing Book 1 and thus his overall work, Columella discusses the importance of agriculture in general and of proper training in the subject;⁹⁶ in the preface to Book 6, he describes the importance of livestock and husbandry to the practice of agriculture and to society in general;⁹⁷ in the Book 9 preface, he describes what the book will cover (wild game and bees) and briefly argues why these subjects are important enough to merit special attention;⁹⁸ in the preface preceding Book 12, Columella justifies devoting a separate, seemingly extra book to the duties of the *vilica* by reference to Xenophon's discussion of these in the *Oeconomicus* and Cicero's Latin translation of it, and by acknowledging how the changed circumstances of the ownership and management of estates in his own time have put greater responsibilities on the *vilicus* and *vilica* than in former ages.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ 1. Pr. 1-28.

⁹⁷ 6. Pr. 1-7.

⁹⁸ 9. Pr. 1-2.

⁹⁹ 12. Pr. 1-9.

In the preface to Book 10, as in the other prefaces, Columella justifies giving particular attention to the subject of the book—for Book 10, horticulture.¹⁰⁰ As mentioned above, he also justifies his decision to depart from his practice of the previous nine books and to write about gardening in verse. Thus, through the overall arrangement of his work as a kind of reflection of the *Georgics*, emphasized through the selective programmatic placement of prefaces, as well as by evoking the connection between bees and gardens already suggested by Vergil in *Georgics* 4, and by his brief restatement of his purpose and of the themes of the *Georgics* in his proem, Columella has prepared his reader for his “completion” of the *Georgics* by his poetic gardening book.

Res Rustica 10 also recalls the *Georgics* in the way both poems straddle the line between didactic and epic poetry. While it is “legitimate ... to treat didactic as a subgenre of epic,”¹⁰¹ a few distinctions may be drawn between epic and didactic in their subject matter and in the mode of address by the poet to the audience.

Like the *Georgics*, *Rust.* 10 is formally a didactic poem—i.e., “poetry that teaches,” from διδάσκειν—a genre “defined primarily from its subject matter ... usually technical or philosophical in nature.”¹⁰² Katerina Volk offers an expanded definition: didactic poems share several features, including a first-person narrator (usually the poet), self-referential “metapoetic reflection,” and instruction in a particular *res*, or

¹⁰⁰ Pr. 1-3.

¹⁰¹ Gale 2005, 102.

¹⁰² Gale 2005, 101.

subject.¹⁰³ Although written in dactylic hexameter like epic poetry, unlike epics didactic poems are non-mimetic.¹⁰⁴ In addition, didactic poems often emphasize attaining happiness or success through the diligent application of specialized knowledge.¹⁰⁵

Hardie suggests that epic, on the other hand, is a “a totalizing form” in which its actors or agents strive “for a lonely pre-eminence and ultimate omniscience;” he sees Vergilian and post-Vergilian epic as an attempt “to construct a comprehensive and orderly model of the world.”¹⁰⁶ Moreover, epic is narrative, both mimetic and descriptive,¹⁰⁷ in contrast to the discursive nature of didactic.¹⁰⁸

Vergil’s *Georgics* and Columella’s *Rust. 10* transgress the didactic/epic boundary in several ways. As didactic poems, the *Georgics* and *Rust. 10* both seek to instruct the reader in a *res*: agriculture in general in the *Georgics*, more specifically horticulture in *Rust. 10*. Since both poets give instructions to the farmer/gardener, both speak in the first person and address their audience in the second person. In addition, as is normal for didactic, both poems are formally addressed to a specific person: the *Georgics* to Maecenas, *Rust. 10* to Silvinus. Both poems, however, also take a more epic turn: *Georgics* 4 concludes with the mini-epic of Aristaeus; in *Rust. 10*, Columella flirts with pursuing greater poetic heights before settling down to his more humble topic of

¹⁰³ Volk 2002, 2-3.

¹⁰⁴ Volk 2002, 30-31.

¹⁰⁵ Nelis 2004, 79-80.

¹⁰⁶ Hardie 1993, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Genette 1982, 133.

¹⁰⁸ Gale 2004b, 49.

gardening. More than that, however, he turns his entire poem into a kind of “mini-epic” of the garden. Like Vergil in the *Georgics*, Columella guides the reader—and the gardener—through the annual round of tasks essential to ensure a prosperous harvest. But within his garden, he contains the whole Roman world. It is the “garden of empire,”¹⁰⁹ including produce not only from various parts of Italy but also from one end of the empire to another. Thus Columella encapsulates in his garden the entire Roman *imperium*: in his discussion of varieties of lettuce to be planted in the garden he even recapitulates, in brief, the history of Roman expansion in the Mediterranean, moving from Italian varieties to Spanish ones to lettuces from the East (179-188). Like Vergil’s Aristaeus, the gardener is striving, through *labor*, to finish a successful journey to the completion of his task, the end of the gardening year. Moreover, by linking the gardener’s tasks to the universal sidereal cycle and encompassing within his garden devotion to both the universal Olympian gods (e.g., Bacchus, 429) and native Italian fertility gods (e.g., Vertumnus, 308) Columella joins *imperium* to *cosmos*¹¹⁰ and connects the successful maintenance of his garden with the prosperity of the Roman world. Columella’s small gardening poem is indeed a mini-epic of Roman expansion and prosperity, under the blessings of the gods and the *labor* of its people.

Columella makes the link between his poem and the *Georgics* explicit in the proem of Book 10. In addition to briefly recapping the subjects of the four books of the *Georgics* in lines 3-4, Columella also echoes Vergil’s own statement of the scope of his theme at the beginning of *Georgics* 1:

¹⁰⁹ Pagán 2006, 19.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Hardie 1986, 1-2.

*quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram
vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere vitis
conveniat, quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo
sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis,
hinc canere incipiam*

(G. 1. 1-5).

Vergil here clearly states his overall thematic program for the *Georgics*: he will discuss crops, vines, husbandry, and beekeeping, in that order. He also mentions practical astronomy, a topic to which he does not devote a separate book but which figures prominently in Book 1 of the *Georgics*, as it does throughout Columella's entire work as well. Columella's opening line also echoes the opening of *Georgics 2*:

*hactenus arborum cultus et sidera caeli:
nunc te, Bacche, canam*

(G. 2. 1-2)

and, even more closely, the beginning of the section in *Georgics 3* dealing with cattle diseases:

morborum quoque te causas et signa docebo

(G. 3. 440).

Columella has thus additionally telegraphed his Vergilian program by closely echoing Vergil's proem from the *Georgics* in the proem of his own gardening poem, and also by the order in which he treats agricultural topics in the prose work leading up to it.

After the proem, Columella begins the body of his poem with line 6:

*principio sedem numeroso praebeat horto
pinguis ager*

(10. 6-7).

Columella's placement of *principio* at the beginning of the line recalls the beginning of *Georgics 2. 9*:

principio arboribus varia est natura creandis

(G. 2. 9)

which begins the body of *Georgics 2* after an eight-line proem. Columella then organizes his *numerosus hortus* (10. 6), his "measured garden"—or "Garden

Symphony,” as Henderson renders it¹¹¹—into several large sections. Unlike Vergil’s organization of the *Georgics* into four thematic books, Columella’s poem organizes the tasks seasonally, following the agricultural year and the four seasons, from autumn to summer, beginning in September and ending in August. In doing so Columella continues to recall the four books of the *Georgics* and to touch on some of Vergil’s broad agricultural themes.

After his proem, Columella first describes the selection of the plot for the garden and the preparation of the soil, tasks that must be done during the fall and winter (6-76). He here recalls the section in *Georgics* 1 where Vergil specifies the nature of arable soil, the proper amount of moisture for certain crops, and the correct preparation and treatment of soil to yield desirable results (*G.* 1. 43-117, 1.176-203)—a topic to which he returns in *Georgics* 2, when he considers the best soil for cultivating vines (*G.* 2. 177-287). As his final admonition to the gardener preparing the plot, Columella recommends a crude statue of Priapus as an appropriate garden fixture, a reminder of Vergil’s mention of a sickle-wielding Priapus guarding the garden of bees’ flowers at *G.* 4. 110-111—just before Vergil’s garden excurses which Columella used as a justification for his foray into verse—as well as Thyrsus’ address to a garden statue of Priapus at *Ecl.* 7. 33-36. Columella, though, goes further and explicitly counsels the gardener to avoid fine sculpture of the sort created by great artists such as Polyclitus (10. 29-34). In doing so, Columella shows that the garden he has in mind is not a landscaped decorative showpiece garden, so common in the fashionable villas of his

¹¹¹ Henderson 2002, 126.

Neronian contemporaries, but a practical garden for growing useful produce—exactly the sort of garden suggested by Vergil in *Georgics* 4.

An invocation to the Muses (35-40) follows the section on basic preparation of the soil, after which Columella ends his description of the fall and winter tasks. Because there are so few tasks that must be done during fall and winter, however—mainly hoeing and preparing the soil—the fall (41-49) and winter (50-76) tasks, together with the initial comments on the preparation of the plot, constitute the first broad section of the work (6-76). Columella here includes the myth of the creation of humans from stones by Deucalion after the Flood, which recalls the brief account of the Golden Age followed by the introduction of toil into the world at *Georgics* 1. 118-146. In contrast to the relatively short autumn-winter section, the next section on spring is exceptionally long (77-310) and falls neatly into two parts at almost exactly the halfway mark for the poem. So, the four major thematic sections for Columella are: fall-winter (6-76), early spring (77-214), late spring (230-310), and summer (311-422).

In the early spring section, Columella describes the planting of a variety of flowers, herbs, and vegetables. While mentioning the varieties of plants he recommends to the gardener, he notes that while some of these originate in Italy, others come from different places throughout the Mediterranean (169-188); thus his garden represents the entire Roman world in miniature—what Pagán calls the “garden of empire.”¹¹² This section both recalls and contrasts with Vergil’s praise of the fertility and resources of Italy in *Georgics* 2 (*G.* 2. 136-176): Vergil’s poem is in many ways an exaltation of Italy, not only of its agricultural resources and traditions, but also of a

¹¹² Pagán 2006, 19.

Rome that has gained the confidence to emerge from the cultural shadow of Greece and proudly proclaim its own cultural traditions in its own language, written by a proud Italian who had mastered his Greek models and strove to exceed them. Columella's poem, by contrast, is the work of a proud provincial, a Spaniard, who, while claiming the Italian center of the Roman world as his own, also recounts symbolically how the empire has brought the entire *orbis terrarum* and its produce back to Italy to enrich the cultural and agricultural life of Rome.

At approximately the midpoint of the poem, after ending his description of the gardener's tasks in early spring with a celebration of springtime's rampant and glorious fertility in plants, animals, and even gods and humans (197-214), Columella pauses to contemplate the nature of the poetic task on which he has embarked (215-229). While doing so Columella praises a *vates*, who, inspired by the *Delphica laurus*, sings a song about lofty themes, including places sacred to Apollo, Bacchus, and other gods, the heights of heaven, the causes of things, and the rites of nature—themes which Columella will recuse himself from pursuing (225-229):

*sed quid ego inferno volitare per aethera cursu
passus equos audax sublimi tramite raptor?
ista canit, maiore deo quem Delphica laurus
impulit ad rerum causas et sacra moventem
orgia naturae, secretaque foedera caeli,
extimulat vatem per Dindyma casta Cybeles* (215-220).

Columella's reference to this poet as *vates* suggests that he has Vergil in mind, because he uses that word only two other times in Book 10, both instances clearly referring to Vergil (Pr. 3; 434). Most commentators who venture an identification of this

vates agree with Ash¹¹³ that Columella is here clearly praising Vergil. As Newman has shown, Vergil rescued the word *vates* from its unfavorable associations when used by Lucretius and other earlier Latin poets and elevated the *vates* to the status of a poet who also speaks to and for the community, a usage then assumed by Horace and other Augustan poets; the word thus became clearly linked with Vergil.¹¹⁴ Other aspects of Columella's language here show that he has Vergil in mind. For example, *sed quid ego* (215) recalls a line from Sinon's speech in *Aeneid* 2:

sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata resolvo? (*Aen.* 2. 101)

even down to the elision of the second syllable of *ego*; *maiore deo* (217), referring to Apollo's inspiration of this *vates*, echoes Vergil's *maior agit deus* (*Aen.* 12. 429), where lapyx, not realizing that Aeneas' wound had been healed through the intervention of Venus, attributes the cure to Apollo. Moreover, Columella's placing of this passage at about the midpoint of the poem is another nod to the *Georgics*, because it recalls Vergil's praise of the poet of nature, approximately halfway through the *Georgics*:

*felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
atque metas omnis et inexorabile fatum
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.* (G. 2. 490-492)

As Thomas acknowledges,¹¹⁵ most readers regard this passage as an encomium of Lucretius (though Thomas himself disagrees and argues that Vergil is actually talking about his own poetic career).¹¹⁶ Columella's repetition of Vergil's *rerum causas* further

¹¹³ Ash 1930, 83.

¹¹⁴ Newman 1954, 15-24.

¹¹⁵ Thomas 1988 v. 1, 250.

¹¹⁶ Thomas 1988 v. 1, 253.

recalls not just this passage from the *Georgics*, but Lucretius himself, the pre-eminent poet of *rerum causas*. Santoro points out that the passage immediately preceding this one, the praise of springtime fertility, is very Lucretian in tone; in particular, the emphasis on Venus as the animating fertility principle of spring recalls the hymn to Venus as the creative force underlying the world at the beginning of the *De Rerum Natura* (Lucretius 1. 1-49).¹¹⁷ All this suggests that Columella read the Vergilian passage as an encomium of Lucretius and that he wished, at this point in his own poem, to remind his readers of the *Georgics* passage and to underline the link between his own work and that of both Lucretius and Vergil.

Columella concludes that, despite his admiration for the poet who sings about the mysteries of the universe, he is content to continue as the poet of gardens (225-229). He then returns to enumerating the gardener's tasks and begins his third section, late spring, which involves additional planting and the first blooming and harvest of flowers (230-310). This segment ends when the gardener is able to take his first crop of flowers to market to sell (303-310). While describing the blooming of the spring flowers and the idyllic life of perfect spring days, Columella takes advantage of the bucolic atmosphere of the season and makes an additional nod to Vergil, this time to Corydon, Alexis, and the fair Naiad of *Eclogue 2*, the last of whom he urges, as does Vergil, to gather flowers:

*et tu, ne Corydonis opes despernat Alexis,
formoso Nais puero formosior ipsa,
fer calathis violam et nigro permixta ligustro* (298-300).

In addition to including the names of Corydon and Alexis and the Naiad, Columella mentions gathering violets and other flowers in wicker baskets as in *Ecl. 2*:

¹¹⁷ Santoro 1946, 40-43.

formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin
...
ecce ferunt nymphae calathis, tibi candida Nais,
pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens (Ecl. 2. 1, 46-47).

Columella's repetition of Vergil's *formosus* also links the two poets, because it is the first word of *Ecl.* 2 and because it features so prominently in *Ecl.* 5. 44, a line that Columella quotes almost verbatim:

formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse (Ecl. 5. 44).

In addition, *-osus* adjectives are typical of the diction of both writers. As Knox has shown, adjectives ending in *-osus*, originally restricted mainly to comedy and colloquial speech, first enter the poetic vocabulary in a notable way with Vergil and are thereafter common in technical writers such as Pliny and Columella.¹¹⁸ Columella is thus subtly underlining yet another bond with Vergil. He even raises the bar one step by transforming Vergil's *formosus* into the comparative *formosior*, suggesting that he intends not merely to equal Vergil but to surpass him.

The last major section, summer (311-422), describes the final planting and harvesting tasks for the gardener, including the gathering of the produce from fruit trees and ways to deal with garden pests. Just as Vergil had used the fourth and last book of the *Georgics* to discuss bees, so too Columella has saved insects for his fourth and last section—though the creatures Columella describes are various garden pests, and his description of the damage they cause and how to deal with them is, in some respects, reminiscent of Vergil's treatment of cattle diseases in *Georgics* 3. In addition, just as Vergil saves the sweetness of the bees' honey for the last section of the *Georgics*, so

¹¹⁸ Knox 1986, 909-101. Gowers (2000, 135) notes that all the *-osus* adjectives in Col. signify abundance.

too Columella's gardener must wait until the summer, the last season of the gardening year, to harvest figs, plums, and other sweet fruits from the orchard.

When the grapes are harvested and new wine is made, the calendar has rolled around to autumn again, and the gardener's year has come to an end. The gardener celebrates by enjoying the wine and giving thanks to Bacchus, who has blessed the fertility of the garden and the vines.

Columella ends his work with a short epilogue that clearly recalls the epilogue with which Vergil ends the *Georgics*:

*hactenus agrorum cultus, Silvinae, docebam
siderei vatis referens praecepta Maronis,
qui primus veteres ausus recludere fontis
Ascraeum cecinit Romana per oppida carmen.* (433-436)

Like Vergil's epilogue, Columella's acts as a kind of signature on the piece. In the first line of his epilogue, Columella virtually quotes his own opening line and echoes the first line of Vergil's *Georgics* epilogue:

hactenus arborum cultu pecorumque canebam (G. 4. 559).

He ends his epilogue by quoting the passage at the end of the praise of Italy in *Georgics* 2 in which Vergil lays claim to the mantle of Hesiod:

*... tibi res antiquae laudis et artis
ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere fontis,
Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen* (G. 2. 174-176).

Columella has thus done far more than "complete" Vergil's allegedly unfinished *Georgics*, or write a "Fifth Georgic" about an agricultural topic that Vergil purportedly chose to skip. By alluding in many different ways throughout his poem, and indeed through his entire work, to both the subject matter and structure of the *Georgics*,

Columella has made his overall treatise a *Georgics* writ large, and his gardening poem a *Georgics* in miniature. As for Book 10, the purported “Fifth Georgic,” Columella has called to mind Vergil’s four books by his own arrangement of gardening tasks into four sections by seasons, by beginning with choice of the correct plot and the proper treatment of the soil, and by his focus on the use of the stars as a farmer’s calendar. By pausing halfway through to consider his poetic enterprise and praise the poet who can explore all the mysteries of nature, Columella calls to mind Vergil’s own praise of such a poet—whether Lucretius or Vergil himself—midway through the *Georgics*. By ending his gardening year on a note of sweetness, both from the harvested fruit and from the new wine with which farmers celebrate Bacchus in the autumn, Columella recalls the sweetness of the bees’ honey which concludes the *Georgics*. And by closing his poem with a restatement of his debt to Vergil, the Romanizer of Hesiod, Columella lays claim to, and places himself firmly in, the tradition of didactic poetry extending from its birth with Hesiod down to his own Neronian age.

Organization and Themes of *Res Rustica* 10

Columella has organized his poem to follow the course of the gardener’s year, beginning and ending in the fall. Henderson comments, “the poem is structured as a year-round sequence, starting in autumn just after the vintage when a farmer can find a spot of time for his garden; starting in autumn so the poem can climax in rampant Bacchic revel, a festal text triumphant.”¹¹⁹ Along the way, Columella breaks up his text with invocations, brief mythological digressions, and, at about the midpoint, a longer digression on the task of the didactic poet. He often uses temporal adverbs and other

¹¹⁹ Henderson 2004, 12.

temporal constructions to indicate the beginning of a new section and to guide the reader through the course of the annual cycle. The work can be divided into the following sections: a) Preface (Pr. 1-5, prose); b) Proem (1-5); c) Preparation of the Plot (6-34); d) Invocation (35-40); e) Autumn Tasks (41-54); f) Winter Tasks (55-76); g) Spring Tasks (77-310, which is subdivided into Beginning of Spring, 77-214; Digression on the Poet's Task, 215-229; Spring Activities, Resumed, 230-254; and First Harvest, 255-310); h) Summer Tasks (311-422, which is subdivided into Early Summer, 311-368; Summer Harvest, 369-399; and Late Summer, 400-422); i) Autumn Again: End of the Gardening Year (423-432); and j) Epilogue (433-436).

Saint-Denis calls lines 1-40 the Introduction and further subdivides it as follows: Dedication to Silvinus (1-5); Garden Plot and the Problem of Water (6-26); Enclosure and Protection (27-34); and Invocation to the Muses and Plan of the Work (35-40).¹²⁰ However, I follow Marshall's treatment of the first 40 lines.¹²¹ The proem, as a dedication and indication of the poem's purpose, stands in a sense outside the poem; the actual introduction begins at line 6 with the instructions on preparing the soil. In addition, Saint-Denis incorrectly divides a single section (6-34) in which Columella discusses various tasks necessary to prepare the garden plot for planting.

Pr. 1-5 (prose): preface

In the prose preface, Columella justifies the attention he will pay to his topic and his decision to treat it in verse. He notes that gardening in the past was a matter of little attention (*segnis ... neglectus*) but has now become a much more common pursuit

¹²⁰ Saint-Denis 1969a, 11-12.

¹²¹ Marshall 1919, 92-94.

(*nunc vel celeberrimus*, Pr. 1). Henderson considers at length how Columella draws attention to the special nature of his work on gardens in several ways. Principally, Columella stresses gardening by giving it two separate treatments in the *Res Rustica*, once in verse (Book 10) and again, separately, in prose (11. 3). He writes, “Columella’s text unmistakably puts incommensurate energy into dramatizing a special role for the garden as he conceptualizes it within, and over against, his whole farming enterprise.”¹²² These two books are also the only portions of his work whose contents are not listed in detail in the index which Columella added at the end of Book 11, assuming that the index surviving in the manuscripts is his own. As Henderson notes, “the index passes up on gardening, and on gardening alone.”¹²³

Columella has segregated gardening from the rest of his task in much the same way that he directs the gardener to mark out the garden plot with a wall or hedge (*talis humus vel parietibus vel saepibus hirtis / claudatur*, 10. 27-28). Henderson suggests that this occurs because Columella’s sections on gardening are clearly an addition to what would already have been considered a complete treatment of agriculture—and the reason for adding it is indicated by the *nunc vel celeberrimus* of the Preface. “The manual was by this point substantially complete according to traditional definitions of Columella’s task. But the garden had become a ‘modern’ preoccupation, and demands/deserves proper handling.”¹²⁴ Just as Vergil had ended the *Georgics* with bees, so too Columella had ended his work up through the end of Book 9 with an

¹²² Henderson 2002, 113.

¹²³ Henderson 2002, 113.

¹²⁴ Henderson 2002, 115; emphasis in original.

account of beekeeping (9. 2-16). This similarity suggests that Columella considered his treatment of agriculture essentially finished with Book 9, except that gardening is something that now needs consideration. Columella asserts (Pr. 1-2) that the reason for gardening's new prominence is tied to the increasing use of banquets as a form of conspicuous consumption for the wealthy. In former times the rich and poor both ate fairly well and ate much alike; but because the wealthy have begun to use banquets to put on a show, this practice has driven up the price of foodstuffs, and so poorer people need to learn how to tend their own gardens to be able to eat well. There is an antiquarian aspect to this as well; Columella describes the sort of garden more commonly found earlier in Roman history than in the large estates of his own time. As Lawson comments, "the popular garden of the Roman Republic was a simple kitchen garden, while under the empire pretentious landscape gardens were the vogue. The vitalizing energy of the Republic found an outlet in the productive vegetable plot: the elaborate but sterile gardens of the empire were symbolic of incipient decay."¹²⁵ By embracing and stressing the older Roman ideal of the "productive vegetable plot," Columella is focusing his attention on older Roman virtues of hardy self-sufficiency over the extravagant conspicuous consumption common in his own time.

As for his decision to treat the subject of gardens in verse, Columella says that he is honoring a promise he made to his addressee Silvinus and paying homage to Vergil. Columella, quoting Vergil, says that he wishes to pick up Vergil's challenge to write a garden poem (Pr. 3; 2, 5). He adds that he does so reluctantly, solely because he feels an obligation to obey Vergil's wish and feels inspired by him (Pr. 3-4). He also

¹²⁵ Lawson 1950, 97.

apologizes for what he regards as the meager nature of the material, which he describes as *tenuem ... viduatam corpora materiam ... exilis ... exigua* (Pr. 4). With his choice of *tenuis* to describe his task, Columella clearly puts himself in the Callimachean tradition of Hellenistic poets, striving for verse that is *tenuis* / λεπτός.¹²⁶ He closes the Preface with a wish that, at very least, his efforts will not be a disgrace (*dedecori*) to the rest of his work (Pr. 5).

Lines 1-5: proem

The poem opens with a short proem (1-5), in which Columella recapitulates some of what he had stated in the preface. He addresses Silvinus, again states the task he will undertake, and again asserts his intention of following in Vergil's footsteps. Once again he quotes the passage in the *Georgics* where Vergil begs off the tasks of writing about gardens. He also firmly places his poem in the tradition of the *Georgics* by briefly recapping the subjects of the books of the *Georgics*, with further short quotations of Vergil.

Lines 6-34: preparation of the plot

The next section concerns the garden plot itself (6-34). That it begins the a new section—in fact, the poem proper, after the proem—is indicated by the temporal expression, *principio*, with which it opens. Columella describes the nature of the soil best suited to a garden, the way it should be watered, the way it should be enclosed, and the statuary that should be included. Here he recommends enclosing the garden with a wall or hedge, to keep out cattle and thieves: *talis humus vel parietibus vel saepibus hirtis / sit pecori neu pervia furi* (27-28). Columella's prose treatment of

¹²⁶ Clausen 1987, 3.

gardens in Book 11, however, goes into much greater detail about the enclosure and recommends a hedge of thorn bushes, which he calls a *vivam sepem*—a “living hedge” in Henderson’s rendering¹²⁷—over a brick wall, both because it is cheaper and because it lasts longer (11. 3. 2).

Columella then offers six lines indicating the type of statue that one should place in the garden, and in doing so also indicates what sort of garden it will be. No fine statue by a renowned sculptor should grace the garden; rather a rude, wooden statue of Priapus, whose image will serve to chase away thieves and small boys (29-34). Columella here again places himself firmly in the tradition of Vergil, who tells his beekeeper to maintain a garden of flowers for the bees, guarded by a statue of Priapus (G. 4. 110-111). He also shows that his will be a utilitarian garden, rather than the sort increasingly favored by the wealthy, a pleasure garden that often contained fine sculpture as a decoration.¹²⁸

Lines 35-40: invocation

The next short section is the Invocation (35-40). Like the preceding section, the beginning of this one is marked by a temporal expression, here the temporal adverb *nunc* (35). The adverb *ergo* (35) also marks the beginning of a new section. In the Invocation Columella collectively invokes the Muses, whom he calls *Pierides ... Musae* (40) and asks them to spin out (*deducite*) his work, again calling it a “slender song” (*tenui ... carmine*), as he had in the Preface. He asks them specifically to help him discuss these specific tasks: cultivation and planting-times for seeds; care for seedlings;

¹²⁷ Henderson 2002, 110.

¹²⁸ Jashemski 1979-1983 v. 1, 34-35.

the time of year when flowers bloom, grapes ripen, and grafts come to fruition on fruit-trees (35-39).

Lines 41-54: autumn tasks

After these preliminaries Columella begins to enumerate and describe the tasks appropriate to each season of the year, beginning with autumn (41-54). Two temporal adverbial clauses beginning with *cum* (41, 43) mark the beginning of this section, followed by the temporal adverb *tum* (45). At various points in the poem Columella mentions astronomical phenomena which correspond to specific points of the calendar year and then links these with particular tasks for the gardener. These astronomical phenomena and their relationship with the calendar and the farmer's tasks are specified in much greater detail in 11. 2, though there Columella follows the civic calendar year beginning in January. A comparison between the gardener's calendar in Book 10 and the more elaborate farmer's calendar in Book 11 yields a more detailed picture of year and the annual tasks which the gardener must perform on specific dates.

For Columella, autumn begins on 24 September, the date of the setting of Sirius, regarded as the autumnal equinox (41-42; cf. 11. 2. 66). At this time, the autumn grapes are harvested and pressed (43-44), a point to which Columella will return at the end of the poem (423-432). Thus the year's tasks are framed by the autumnal harvesting of grapes and making of wine. In Book 11, Columella describes two planting seasons for the gardener, spring and fall (11. 3. 9-13). In Book 10, however, he omits mention of fall planting. Instead, he presents autumn as a very light season for the gardener; the required tasks involve merely the turning of the earth and preparation for proper irrigation.

Lines 55-76: winter tasks

Another temporal conjunction, *ubi* “when” (55), indicates the beginning of this section. According to Columella, winter for the gardener begins when the constellation of Ariadne’s Crown (the Corona Borealis) is high in the sky, and the Pleiades¹²⁹ are setting in the morning; Columella places this on 8 November (52-54; 11. 2. 84).¹³⁰ Winter’s principal task is to plow or turn the earth, which is to be done beginning on 18 November. On this date, the sun moves from Scorpio into Sagittarius (55-57; 11. 2. 88). After relating the myth of the re-creation of humanity from rocks by Deucalion after the flood (59-67), Columella stresses the need for digging up and plowing the earth to turn over the soil and expose it to the elements (58, 69-76). Nothing more, however, may be done during winter.

Lines 77-310: spring tasks; beginning of spring (lines 77-214)

The spring section begins with the temporal expression *post ubi* (77). This longest and most varied section (77-310) is divided into three broad parts: two describing the gardener’s duties in springtime are separated by a digression. Each of these can be divided into smaller subsections, paragraphs, and phrases, marked by temporal conjunctions or adverbs and adverbial constructions, and occasionally by an imperative.

Spring begins with the arrival of Zephyrus, the West Wind, and the setting of the constellation Lyra (77-79). According to Columella, Lyra begins to set on 1 February

¹²⁹ In his poem Col. calls them *Atlantides*. In Book 11, however, he calls them *Vergiliae*; for other examples of this name for the Pleiades, see Cic. *Nat. D.* 2, 112, quoting from his *Aratea*; Plin. *NH* 2. 110.

¹³⁰ Saint-Denis (1969a, 12) puts this on 9 November.

and is completely set by 3 February (11. 2. 14).¹³¹ In the farmer's calendar this period covers about three and a half months, until 19 May, the date when the sun begins to enter the constellation Gemini and the days appear to lengthen (312; 11. 2. 43).

The tasks for the spring begin with manuring the garden, hoeing, and creating pathways in the garden (81-93; 11. 3. 11-13). Then comes the initial planting of flowers, medicinal plants, aromatics, and legumes (94-139).¹³² After describing the wide variety of plants that should be planted at this time, Columella returns to the subject of soil maintenance, in particular proper watering and hoeing to nurture the seedlings (140-154).¹³³ As is his custom, Columella notes each subsection and change of topic with a temporal construction: *ubi* (94), *iam* (110), *tempore non alio* (117), *tum* (127), *ubi* (140), *primum* (143), and *cum* (145, 146).

The next seasonal marker given by Columella is the rising of the constellation Aries (155-156), which he puts on 23 March (11. 3. 31). The beginning of this section is strongly marked by *mox ubi* (155). The vernal equinox immediately follows on 24-25 March (11. 3. 31). At this time the gardener should begin to transplant to the garden those plants which he began growing from seed elsewhere, for the soil is now suitable to receive them (157-158). In a brief exhortation to the gardener Columella likens the earth ready to receive the seedlings to a Mother embracing her young and compares

¹³¹ Saint-Denis (1969a, 12) puts the beginning of Col.'s spring section on 5 February.

¹³² Saint-Denis 1919a, 12. Marshall (1919, 96), under the general heading "Spring," treats the planting of flowers (96-102), medicinal plants (103-109), and aromatics and food plants (110-139) as separate subsections.

¹³³ In Book 11 Col. discusses the watering and hoeing needed to nurture each garden plant at the point in the calendar where he prescribes the sowing of that particular plant (11. 3. 16-64), rather than discussing watering and hoeing separately from gardening as he does in Book 10.

the young plants being placed in the earth to tresses of hair adorning her (159-165). He then (*nunc* 166) describes the planting or transplanting of a number of different herbs, flowers, and vegetables.¹³⁴ He draws particular attention to plants of foreign origin: the crocus, from Hybla in Sicily (169-170);¹³⁵ marjoram, from Egypt (171); and myrrh from Achaëa (172-173). This is Columella's first mention of plants from outside Italy and foreshadows his praise of the garden as containing representative specimens of the entire empire (179-188). He also uses mythological references—to the story of Myrrha and the death of Ajax—to draw further attention to myrrh and, immediately following, to the hyacinth (172-175).

Columella then (*nunc*, 178) begins a survey of various types of lettuce grown in the garden and stresses the empire-wide geographical origins of these varieties.¹³⁶ First are two types named for Caecilius Metellus, thus representing Italy (182); then, one from Cappadocia, in Asia Minor (184); next, one from Gades, in Spain, Columella's own birthplace (185); and, finally, one from Paphos on Cyprus (187-188). The bounty of the entire Mediterranean world can be found in Columella's garden. Columella also, in a general way, recapitulates the history of Roman expansion in the Mediterranean world: after considering a number of plants native to Italy, he makes a brief reference to Sicily (169-170), the first Roman possession outside Italy. Caecilius Metellus was a

¹³⁴ Col. specifically mentions transplanting at 177: *diponat plantis holitor, quos semine sevit*, "let the gardener place among the plants [the flowers] which he sowed from seed;" that is, the gardener started growing the flowers as seedlings somewhere else, and should now place them in the garden with the other plants growing there.

¹³⁵ Hybla is also proverbial for bees, so this reference also recalls both *Georgics* 4 and Col.'s own discussion of bees in book 9.

¹³⁶ According to Marshall (1919, 96), Col. here "fait allusion à Auguste et aux limites de l'empire."

Roman general in the First Punic War, Spain was acquired in the Second Punic War, and Cyprus was acquired by the Romans later, along with the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean. Only the references to Egypt and Achaëa are out of sequence.

In the next subsection (marked by *primo*, 190) Columella briefly mentions the proper planting times for each type of lettuce. Here he departs from his strictly chronological scheme, for each kind of lettuce must be planted at a different time of year: the Caecilian varieties at the end of January, the Cappadocian in February, the Spanish on 1 March and finally the Paphian on 1 April (190-193). All of these plantings, however, occur before the onset of summer; so, despite having omitted mention of the January and February plantings in their proper place, Columella has not interrupted his “gardener’s calendar” sequence too much.

In the next section (194-214) Columella exalts the fertility of the springtime; Saint-Denis calls this section the “springtime explosion.”¹³⁷ He celebrates the fertility of the entire world, land and sea, plants and animals, and even the gods: Oceanus and Neptune join with their mates, Tethys and Amphitrite respectively, to populate the seas (200-203). The rain falling to the fertile earth is likened to the shower of gold with which Jupiter once impregnated Danaë (204-206). This rampant mating and fertility helps renew the life of the world and keep it from growing old (213-214). This section begins with *dum* (194) followed by several iterations of *nunc* (196, 197, 200, 203) and *iam* (202, 204), and another *dum* (212).

Lines 77-310: spring tasks; digression on the poet’s task (lines 215-229)

¹³⁷ Saint-Denis (1969a, 13): “explosion printanière,” though he puts this section at lines 196-214.

With this acknowledgement of rebirth and renewal, Columella has now reached the midpoint of his poem, and he pauses to renew his poetic efforts. With the strong adversative conjunction *sed* he once again intrudes himself into the poem in first person—a rare occurrence—and seems to offer a kind of *recusatio* for not pursuing the more elevated theme of universal fertility on which he had embarked in the previous section. He expresses the fear that he has let the topic run away from him, almost as Phaethon let the sun's horses run away from his control (215-216). This is, he asserts, a more appropriate theme for another, superior poet, inspired by Apollo and by the Muses (217-224), more capable of such noble flights. The poet to whom he refers is probably Vergil, though it could possibly be Lucretius. Both of them are Columella's predecessors and models in blazing the trail of didactic poetry about the natural world. Interestingly, in this passage Columella includes references both to places associated with Apollo and to those associated with Bacchus—one a patron of poetry, the other a patron of those engaged in husbandry and agricultural pursuits. Columella himself backs away from this grander theme and says that Calliope now (*iam*, 25) calls him back from his reverie and is inspiring him to write poetry about the more humble task of cultivating the garden (225-229). This declaration sets the tone for the next half of the poem, and for the resumption of the discussion of the gardener's tasks.

Lines 77-310: spring tasks; spring activities, resumed (lines 230-254)

With the strong imperative *quare age* (230) Columella returns to his theme and addresses the next round of planting, which occupies lines 230-254. He describes a number of different types of plants that should be planted at this time, including his first

mention of a plant with a specifically medicinal use.¹³⁸ The separate elements in this section are marked temporally by *modo* (237), *nunc* (239 (twice), 240), *nonnumquam* (241), *mox ubi* (242), and *tunc* (244).

Lines 77-310: spring tasks; first harvest (lines 255-310)

Next comes the first harvest, the gathering of flowers (255-310); Saint-Denis calls this section “triumph of spring.”¹³⁹ This section begins with another strong adversative conjunction, *quin et* (255), followed by repetitions of *iam* (255, 256 (twice), 258), *nunc* (263, 282 (twice)), *dum* (283), and *iam* again (286, 287). A strong imperative *quare age* (294) is followed by *iam* (294), *dum* (295), *iam* (304, 306). Flowers of different varieties bloom and are gathered (255-262); the poet exhorts the nymphs to enjoy life and gather flowers (263-282): this is the temperate spring, when the summer heat has not yet arrived (282-293). There is further gathering of flowers, with two clear references to *Eclogue 2* (294-302);¹⁴⁰ and rustics gather flowers to take to market (303-310).¹⁴¹ This ends the long section about the gardener’s duties in springtime.

Lines 311-422: summer tasks; early summer (lines 311-368)

The arrival of summer is marked by the yellowing of the grain, and the lengthening of the days as the sun passes into Gemini on 19 May and then Cancer on

¹³⁸ Cress (*nasturcium*), good for stomach ailments (231-232).

¹³⁹ Saint-Denis (1969a, 13) subdivides this section thus: blooming flowers (255-274); gathering of flowers, invocation to Nymphs, and invocation to flower-gatherers (*fleuristes*), 275-310 .

¹⁴⁰ To Corydon and Alexis of *Ecl. 2. 1* and the *candida Nais* of *Ecl. 2. 46*.

¹⁴¹ Marshall (1919, 97-98) sees lines 255-263 as the continuation of the previous section, ending in merely “une charmante description des fleurs.” In her analysis, lines 264-293 form a digression extolling the happiness of this time of the year: “le bonheur, c’est la vie;” then at 294 Col. returns to the topic at hand, the praise of spring, beginning with an invocation to Vergil’s *candida Nais* and ending with the image of the rustics, and the contrast between the tender flowers (“tendres fleurs”) and the rustics’ rough fingers (“doigts rudes”).

19 June (311-313).¹⁴² Columella begins this section with another adversative combined with a temporal conjunction, *sed cum* (311), followed by *tunc* (314), *dumque* (315), *tum* (319), *sed cum iam* (325), *cumque* (326), and *et iam* (328). There are more planting and harvesting tasks for the gardener, and more produce to be taken to market (314-319). Columella reviews the mishaps that can ruin a gardener's crop, including scorching heat, insects, hail, and worms (320-336). He prescribes a variety of remedies to ward off these pests, mainly those of a magical or ritual nature (337-368). This quality is emphasized by the image ending this section: the spells he recommends will make caterpillars fall from the leaves just as the dragon guarding the Golden Fleece dropped from it into sleep induced by Medea's enchantments.

Lines 311-422: summer tasks; summer harvest (lines 369-399)

The summer harvest continues (369-399),¹⁴³ a section which Columella marks with the adversative and temporal construction *sed iam* (369) followed by *iamque* (372), *iam* (373, twice), *nunc* (374), and *tum* (378, 388). Now is the time for the gardener to pick some of the lettuce varieties mentioned earlier, as well as a variety of vegetables, including several types of cucumbers and gourds. This list includes the second mention of a specifically medicinal plant, the white cucumber, which is suitable for treating unspecified ailments.¹⁴⁴

Lines 311-422: summer tasks; high summer (lines 400-422)

¹⁴² Col. gives these specific dates at 11.2. 43 and 11. 2. 49.

¹⁴³ Saint-Denis (1969a, 13) describes this subsection as "récolte des plantes utiles."

¹⁴⁴ Col. calls it *candidus* [sc. *cucumis*] (396). He distinguishes it from the *lividus cucumis* (389), which is harmful.

Now comes high summer, a section that begins with the temporal conjunction *cum* (400), followed by *tunc* (403) and *at nunc* (407). According to Columella this season is marked by the burning of the star Sirius (*canis Erigones*) in the sun's heat (*Hyperionis aestu*) (400-401). Marshall and Saint-Denis put this time at 20 August, citing an assertion by Columella that the sun passes into Virgo on that date (11. 2. 58).¹⁴⁵ This short section is distinguished from the preceding ones by the emphasis on the harvesting of ripened fruits. Various stone-fruits are mentioned, such as apricots, plums, and peaches (405-412), but the principal emphasis rests on different types of figs (403, 413-418). Most of these are to be harvested "under oppressive Arcturus" (*gravis Arcturi sub sidere*, 413). Columella states elsewhere that Arcturus begins to set on 26 August (11. 2. 58), so presumably the fig harvest should be completed by that date. The final summer task—and the final act of planting for the gardener—the sowing of turnips and navews (421-422), takes place in August (11. 3. 18, 59), just after the Vulcanalia (419) on 23 August.

Lines 423-432: autumn again: end of the gardening year

Now autumn has returned (*sed iam*, 423), and with it the harvest and pressing of grapes to make wine (423-426). According to Columella, this is the end of the gardening year (424-425). After the grapes have been harvested and pressed, and the new wine put into fermenting vats, it is time to praise Bacchus and enjoy the fruits of the year's labors, particularly the new wine (425-432). This completes the annual cycle of

¹⁴⁵ Marshall 1919, 99; Saint-Denis 1969a, 72. According to Hyginus, the constellation Virgo is supposed to be Erigone, and Sirius represents her dog Maera (*Poet. astr.* 2. 4). Aratus has a different story about the origin of Virgo (*Phaen.* 96-136).

the gardener's year, which, after a one-month respite, will start over again on 24 September, the autumnal equinox (41-42).¹⁴⁶

Lines 432-436: epilogue

Columella ends his poem with a short, four-line epilogue that recalls the coda at the end of the *Georgics*.¹⁴⁷ But where Vergil had used his epilogue to identify himself both by name and as the author of the *Eclogues* (G. 4. 563-566), Columella here echoes the first line of his poem by restating his theme and re-addressing Silvinus.¹⁴⁸ He also explicitly places himself in the didactic poetic tradition of Vergil—whom he again calls *vates* (434), as he had at Pr. 3—and, ultimately Hesiod. Vergil himself had, in the *Georgics*, “Romanized” Hesiod (436-436)—as Vergil himself states at G. 2. 175-176, which Columella almost quotes verbatim at 435-436.

The poem as a whole follows the gardener's annual calendar from September to August, with the four seasons treated individually in disproportionate sections that correspond to the duties which the responsible gardener must perform during each season. The poem falls roughly in half in the middle of the “spring” section, with the two halves divided—or, perhaps, united—by Columella's *recusatio* from the temptation to engage in more ambitious poetry and his restatement of his gardening theme. The poem is framed by the five-line proem and four-line epilogue, in both of which Columella

¹⁴⁶ Boldrer (1996, 336) argues that the reference to Sirius at line 400 (*canis Erigones*) recalls Col.'s previous reference to the same star at line 41 (*canis*)—at the beginning of the gardener's year—and the similar phrasing in the two passages, emphasizes the ring composition of the poem.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas 1988 v. 2, 239.

¹⁴⁸ Boldrer (1996, 353) points to this as another example of the ring composition of the poem.

states his gardening theme, addresses Silvinus, and explicitly puts himself forward as a poetic successor to the Vergil of the *Georgics*.

The Commentary and the Text

In addition to serving as the first detailed commentary on *Rus Rustica* 10 in English since Ash,¹⁴⁹ the present commentary has the following objectives: 1) to elucidate the botanical and horticultural details, including the identity of the plants mentioned and astronomically-determined dates, in a more comprehensive way than has been done previously, making extensive use not only of recent scholarship but also a more detailed application of *Rust.* 11-12 and the relevant books of Pliny to elucidate *Rust.* 10; 2) to show the close relationship, both thematic and textual, between *Rust.* 10 and the *Georgics*, in more detail than in previous studies; 3) to illustrate Columella's theme of the gardener as a metaphor for the poet (and of gardening as a metapoetic activity); and 4) to provide notes that explain unusual textual and grammatical issues, as well as geographical and mythological references. *Res Rustica* 10 seems to attract two types of readers: those curious about a didactic poem that deliberately courts comparison with the *Georgics*, and those whose interest in ancient agriculture and agricultural treatises has led them to the *Res Rustica* as a whole. This commentary is thus ideally intended for a reader familiar with Vergil and with didactic poetry in general and the *Georgics* in particular, as well as for a reader interested in ancient agriculture and botany.

The lemmata I have chosen thus include names of plants; mythological, historical, and geographical references; farming implements and gardening practices;

¹⁴⁹ Ash 1930.

verbal echoes of the *Georgics*; unusual words and phrases; striking images; and passages that underscore both the relationship between *Rust. 10* and the *Georgics*, and the theme of the gardener as poet. In first half of the poem Columella mentions many plants as well as mythological, historical, and geographical terms to which he returns in the second half of the poem. These terms are discussed fully only at their first occurrence in the poem; thus the commentary on the first half of the poem is somewhat longer and more detailed than on the second half.

Because Columella wrote about gardening twice—in verse in Book 10 and again in prose in Book 11—this commentary examines Book 10 closely in light of the fuller, more detailed account of much of the same material in Book 11 and his instructions for the preparation and preservation of garden produce in Book 12. In addition, because Columella's contemporary Pliny the Elder wrote so extensively about gardening and other agricultural matters, particularly in Books 19 and 20 of his *Historia Naturalis*, his text is often cited in this commentary to provide further background information on plants and other details mentioned by Columella. Thus Columella himself and Pliny are the most frequently cited ancient sources to elucidate *Rust. 10* as a work on gardening, though Palladius, a 4th cent. C.E. writer on gardening, is also cited occasionally. The *Georgics* is the most frequently cited text to illustrate *Rust. 10* as a poem, though there are also many citations from the *Eclogues*, the *Aeneid*, and other poets. Generally any echo of a phrase in the *Georgics*, even as short as two words, will be noted; in some instances, the echo of a single unusual word will also be noted. Other predecessors and contemporaries of Columella are cited to illustrate the use of particular words and phrases. Though the emphasis has been on citing predecessors and contemporaries,

poets of a generation later—particularly Martial, Statius, and Silius Italicus—are occasionally cited to illustrate words that are rare or unusual in the surviving literary sources. For identifying the plants mentioned by Columella, the principal source used is André.¹⁵⁰ Wright,¹⁵¹ Van Wyk,¹⁵² and Henderson¹⁵³ have also been consulted. Maggiulli has been of great help in identifying which plants mentioned by Columella also appear in Vergil.¹⁵⁴ White has proven invaluable for his discussion of the tools used by farmers and gardeners.¹⁵⁵ With regard to Roman calendar dates, Richter is the principal source used for interpreting and giving standard modern equivalents for the calendar dates given by Columella for planting and harvesting times and the various astronomical and meteorological phenomena important for the gardener, particularly in Books 10-11,¹⁵⁶ though Saint-Denis and Marshall have also been consulted to a lesser extent.¹⁵⁷

All lemmata in the commentary and quotations from Columella are taken from Rodgers' edition.¹⁵⁸ The conventional distinction in spelling between vocalic *u* and consonantal *v* has been uniformly observed in this commentary for the sake of

¹⁵⁰ André 1956; André 1985.

¹⁵¹ Wright 1984.

¹⁵² Van Wyck 1984.

¹⁵³ Henderson 2004.

¹⁵⁴ Maggiulli 1995.

¹⁵⁵ White 1967.

¹⁵⁶ Richter 1981-1983.

¹⁵⁷ Saint-Denis 1969a; Marshall 1919.

¹⁵⁸ Rodgers 2010.

consistency; thus, quotations from Rodgers' text, and any other modern critical text which does not make this distinction, have been altered to reflect this. Instances where Rodgers' readings are rejected or challenged will be noted in the commentary rather than in the lemmata. The translation reflects the preferred readings as noted in the commentary (see Table 1-1).

Line readings from other editions are cited by the editor's name alone, since the line numbering of the text is consistent across all editions. Citations to notes made by individual editors are cited the same way as other secondary scholarly sources.

Quotations and citations of the text of Greek and Roman authors are to standard text editions, generally the Oxford, Teubner, Budé, or Loeb editions. Quotations and citations of Pliny the Elder are to the Loeb text edited by Jones and Rackham.¹⁵⁹

References to the text of *Res Rustica* 10 are by line number alone. Other references to Columella's text are by book, section, and line number (e.g., 11. 2. 3). Vergil's works are cited by abbreviated title, book, and line number (e.g., *G.* 2. 3). I have everywhere preferred the spelling *Vergil* to *Virgil*, except in direct quotations where I have kept the spelling found in my source.

¹⁵⁹ Pliny the Elder, 1949-1969.

Table 1-1. Readings in Rodgers' text compared with readings preferred in the present translation and commentary

Rodgers' Text	My Preferred Reading	Line
ferina	ferinae	Pr. 1
†frequentia†	ferventia	73
fesso	fisso	84
falcifero	frugifero	108
verno	veri	129
pinguis	pingui	187
docti	docto	252
caltae	loti	258
mulcet	miscet	262
teneris	tener ac	283
niveo	nigro	300
caunias	Caunis	414
mixto	multo	431

CHAPTER 2 TRANSLATION

In this translation I have tried to strike a balance between being as literal as possible, and trying to make the translation correspond, line for line, with the poem. To this end I translated the names of plants, to the extent that they could be identified and contemporary English names exist, while keeping circumlocutions used by Columella for some plants in lieu of specific names. I also tried to preserve Columella's long periodic sentences to the extent that English syntax made this possible. I worked from Rodgers' text¹ and occasionally consulted Ash,² Forster,³ Henderson,⁴ Saint-Denis,⁵ Richter,⁶ Santoro,⁷ and Fernández-Galiano⁸ for difficult passages and identifications. However, I tried to make my own rendering as original as possible; when my rendering ended up echoing a previous translation, I tried to rephrase, in part to ensure the originality of my translation, and in part because rethinking and rephrasing required me to think more deeply about the meaning of a particular passage and how it might be expressed in English, while still adhering to the constraint I had set for myself in following as closely as possible the line numbering of the Latin text.

¹ Rodgers 2010. The text in this edition is cited hereafter as "Rodgers."

² Ash 1930. The text and translation in this edition are cited hereafter as "Ash."

³ Forster 1968. The text and translation in this edition are cited hereafter as "Forster."

⁴ Henderson 2004. The translation in this edition is cited hereafter as "Henderson."

⁵ Saint-Denis 1969a. The text and translation in this edition are cited hereafter as "Saint-Denis."

⁶ Richter 1981-1983. The text and translation in this edition are cited hereafter as "Richter."

⁷ Santoro 1946. The text and translation in this edition are cited hereafter as "Santoro."

⁸ Fernández-Galiano 1975. The text and translation in this edition are cited hereafter as "Fernández-Galiano."

I began working on the translation in tandem with the commentary to the Preface and first few sections of the poem. I then decided to work on the entire translation before continuing with the commentary; doing so allowed me to get a feel for the overall structure and scope of the poem, suggested lemmata that I might want to include, and alerted me to particular words and passages that might require special attention. I returned to the translation from time to time while working on the commentary in order to address issues that arose which would affect the translation, especially in the lines where I preferred a reading that differed from Rodgers' text.

Passages where Columella is quoting Vergil are in italics; an ellipsis indicates that he has omitted something from Vergil's original line. Close echoes or verbal parallels, however, are noted only in the commentary. Greek words and plant names used by Columella which I have chosen to translate into English rather than leaving in Greek I have enclosed in quotation marks; otherwise, Greek words are left in the form in which Columella uses them. Geographical and ethnic names have been Anglicized.

Book Ten

The Gardening Book, about the Cultivation of Gardens

Preface (Prose 1-5)

[1] Receive, Silvinus, the remaining small payment of your interest, which I had pledged to you at your insistence, for I had repaid the debt in the preceding nine books, except for this part, which I now pay. Therefore, there remains the cultivation of gardens, which was formerly idle and neglected among farmers of old, but now is extremely popular. Indeed, although thrift was stingier among earlier generations, nevertheless, among the poor, their enjoyment of feasts was

more extensive, with the highest- and the lowest-ranking people maintaining a diet that included an abundance of milk and the meat of both wild and domestic animals, as though on water and grain. [2] Soon when the following age, and especially our own, established arbitrarily high costs for banquets, and meals are judged not by natural desires but by their expenses, the common people, in their poverty, having been shut out from costlier meals, are driven to common fare.

[3] For this reason, since the produce of gardens is more in use, I must prescribe their cultivation more accurately than our ancestors passed it down to us; and, as I had decided, it would have been joined to the preceding instructions in prose, if my purpose had not been defeated by your constant demand, which succeeded in getting me to complete, in poetic measures, the missing sections of the *Georgics*, which nevertheless Vergil himself had indicated that he was *leaving behind to be recounted by posterity*. For I would not have dared such a thing except by the will of the most honorable poet. [4] With his divine spirit, as it were, goading me on, I have approached—though doubtless sluggishly due to the difficulty of the task, yet not without hope of favorable success—a subject that was rather narrow and almost bereft of substance, and one which is so meager that, on the one hand, in the completion of the entire work it can be reckoned as a small part of my task, but on the other hand, in itself and bound by its own limits it can in no way be viewed as something beautiful. For even if it has many limbs, so to speak, about which I can say something, nevertheless they are so slender that, as the Greeks say, one cannot make a rope out of an incomprehensibly tiny bit of sand. [5] For this reason, whatever this is which I

have composed by burning the midnight oil, it is so far from claiming the praise appropriate to it that I would take it as a good sign if it does not reflect badly on my earlier written works. But let me now put an end to the preface.

Proem (Lines 1-5)

I shall also tell you, Silvinus, about the cultivation of gardens,
and those things which, once, *prevented by want of space*,
when he sang about the *flourishing crops* and the gifts of Bacchus,
and *you ... great Pales*, and also heavenly honey,
Vergil did *leave behind after him to be recounted by us*.

5

Preparation of the Plot (Lines 6-34)

In the beginning, let the plot for your measured garden
be the rich field which bears the stinking clod and a crumbling
surface, and, when dug, seems like thin sand;
and the nature of the soil is workable, one which teems with flourishing
greenery and, when moist, puts forth the ruddy berries of the elder;
don't choose dry soil, nor that which, inundated with marshland,
suffers the everlasting croaking of the quarrelsome frog;
then choose the land which puts forth leafy elms of its own accord and
prosperes with wild palms and, bristling with the groves of wild pear,
or teeming with the stony fruit of the wild plum, flourishes, and
is overwhelmed by an abundance of the apple, unasked for.
But it won't grow hellebore, or white hellebore with its harmful juice,
nor allow yew trees, nor sweat out vigorous poisons;

10

15

though, laden with its maddening greenery, it might nourish
the flowers of the humanlike mandrake, and the woeful hemlock, 20
and the fennel, ungentle to hands, and the brambles of the blackberry,
unkind to legs, and also bear paliurus with its sharp spines.
Let there be streams nearby, which the hardy farmer might
draw in to aid the ever-thirsty gardens,
or let the spring of a well weep into its basin—not too deep, lest the water, 25
heavy for those about to draw it, pull the groins of those striving to do so.
A plot like this should be enclosed by walls or by bristling
hedges, lest it be open to cattle, or to a thief.
Don't seek the gifts of Daedalus' skill,
nor let it be fashioned with the art of Polyclitus, or Phradmon, 30
or Ageladas; but the stump of an old tree, hewn by chance,
you should worship as the divine spirit of Priapus,
with his terrifying appendage, who always, in the midst of a garden,
threatens the boy with his manhood and the thief with his sickle.

Invocation (Lines 35-40)

Then come now: what are the care and times for planting seed? 35
What is the care for them once planted? Under what star
do the flowers and roses of Paestum bud,
under what star is the race of Bacchus or the soft tree, laden
with a grafted stock, bent down with its adopted fruit?
Pierian Muses: spin these with your slender song. 40

Winter Tasks (Lines 41-76)

When the thirsty Dog-Star has drunk the streams of Ocean
and the Sun has balanced its circuit with equal hours,
when rich Autumn, shaking his locks with apples
and stained with new wine, presses foaming grapes,
then let me turn the sweet earth with the power of the iron-bladed spade. 45

But if it remains unready, hardened by a calm sky,
then let the streams come, bidden by a sloping channel,
let the land drink the waters and fill its gaping jaws.

But if the water of neither heaven nor the field suffices, 50
and the nature of the place, or Jupiter, denies it rain,
wait for winter storms, when Ariadne, the Cretan love of Bacchus,
is veiled by the sky-blue expanse at the height of heaven,
and Atlas' daughters fear the opposing risings of the sun.

And when Phoebus, no longer trusting in the safety of Olympus 55
but fearfully flees the Claws and dreadful stings
of Scorpio and hastens on the horsey back of Sagittarius,
then, race unaware of your parentage, do not spare your false mother,
the earth; she was the mother of Prometheus' clay;

another mother bore us, at the time when savage 60
Neptune swamped the Earth with the sea, and, shaking
the depths of Hades, terrified the Lethaeon shades.
Then at once Tartarus saw the Stygian king tremble,

tremble, when the shades shrieked under the weight of the sea.

A fertile hand, in a world bereft of mortals, 65

created us; the rocks of Deucalion, torn from the lofty mountains,
gave birth to us. But behold,

A harder and everlasting labor calls us: Come then, drive away
dull slumber, and with the curved tooth of the plow

now cut back the green foliage, now cut away the leafy cloak. 70

Pierce the resisting surface with the heavy rakes,

don't hesitate to scrape away the deepest soil with the

broad-bladed hoes, and to place it on top, steaming, mixed with the
top-most clod, and let it lie there to be burned by the white frost,

and to be subject to the chilly blows and wrath of Caurus, 75

so that savage Boreas may bind and Eurus loosen them.

Spring Tasks (Lines 77-310)

Beginning of spring (lines 77-214)

Afterwards, when the bright Zephyr with its sunny breeze
has unchilled the sluggish cold of the Ripaeian wind

and Lyra, sunk in the ocean, withdraws from the starry heaven,

and the swallow will sing the arrival of spring to its nestlings, 80

then let the gardener himself, bearing wicker baskets torn asunder
by the weight, sate the land's hunger with thick rubble,

or the hardened manure of an ass, or the dung of the herd,

nor let him be reluctant to offer as fodder to the split-open field

whatever the latrine coughs up from its filthy sewers. 85
 And now let him retrace the topmost surface of the sweet earth,
 both packed by rain and hardened by frost, with the blade of the two-pronged hoe.
 Soon let him beat well the living growth of turf together with
 clods of earth, with the tooth of the mattock or the broken hoe,
 so that the reeking richness of the ripe field may be let loose. 90
 Then also let him take up the shining garden hoes, worn by the soil,
 and, drawing the narrow rows from the opposing boundary,
 let him mark them out again at angles with a narrow path.
 But when the earth, combed with clear intervals,
 shining now that disorder has been banished, demands its seeds, 95
 then plant flowers of different sorts, the stars of the earth:
 glistening white violets and the yellow buds of the marigold,
 and petals of narcissus and the savage mouths of the gaping
 wild lion and lilies, blooming with white calices,
 and also hyacinths, whether snowy-white or dark. 100
 Let the violet be planted, which lies so pale on the ground, and which,
 blooming, mixes purple with gold; and the rose, too full of modesty.
 Now sow *panaces* with its medicinal nectar, and celandine
 with its healing juice, and the poppy, which will bind fleeting
 slumber; and now let there come from Megara the generative seeds 105
 of the bulb, which spur men on and arm them for girls,
 and those which Sicca gathers buried in Gaetolian clods;

and colewort, which is planted close to fruitful Priapus,
so that it might rouse slow husbands for Love.

Now come low chervil and endive, pleasing to a 110
sluggish palate, and lettuce, leafy with slender fibers,
and garlic, with broken tops, and leeks which can be smelled from afar,
and which someone handy mixes with beans, to make a dish for workmen.

Now the parsnip, and the radish, which comes from a Syrian seed,
and, when cut and joined to the soaked bean, is offered 115
to incite calls for cups of Egyptian ale.

At no other time the caper, bitter elecampane, and
menacing fennel—which also make cheap pickles—
are planted; and also the creeping plants of mint
are sown, and the fragrant flowers of anise 120

and rue, which will aid the taste of the berry of Pallas,
and mustard, which will bring tears to the one harming it,
and the root of alexanders is planted, and the tear-bringing
onion, and the plant which seasons the taste of milk,
and which will erase the marks planted on the forehead of fugitives, 125
and which, for that reason, confesses its power by a Greek name.

Then also is planted the herb which, verdant in many places
on the entire globe of the earth, for common folk and haughty king alike,
sends forth stalks in the winter and cabbage-sprouts in the spring:
those which ancient Cumae produces on its boggy shore, 130

and also those produced by the Marrucinians, and Signia on the Lepine mount,
 and likewise fertile Capua, and the gardens in the Caudine Jaws,
 and Stabiae full of springs, and the fields of Vesuvius
 and learned Parthenope, dewy with the waters of Sebethis,
 and those from the sweet Pompeian marsh near the Herculanean 135
 salt-pits, and the Siler which flows down in a glassy stream,
 and those which the harsh Sabellians produce, with a stalk full of shoots,
 and those from the lake of Turnus and the fields of fruitful Tibur,
 and those from the land of Bruttium, and Aricia, mother of the scallion.
 When we have entrusted these seeds to the loosened earth, 140
 we warm it, laden with seeds, with constant cultivation and care,
 so that the harvest may return to us with compound interest.
 And first I advise you to bring in bountiful springs,
 lest, once the seed has sprouted, thirst burn away the new birth.
 But when the uncovered sprout has opened up its bonds, 145
 when the flowering shoot springs from its mother, the field,
 then let the careful gardener, watering, furnish healing
 streams to the budding plants, and let him hoe with a
 an iron mattock, and uproot the strangling weed from the furrows.
 But if the garden has been located on thorn-covered hills, 150
 and no streams run down from the peak of the grove,
 let a space be made, standing out, with a pile placed in front, with the clods
 heaped up, so that the crop might grow accustomed to the dry soil,

nor, after it has been moved, grow thirsty and shudder at the heat.

Soon when the Ram, first among constellations and cattle, 155

bearer of cloud-born Phrixus but not of Helle, raises its head above the waves,

and the nourishing earth now opens its bosom and, demanding mature

seeds, will desire to wed itself to the shoots that have been planted,

be watchful, men: for with silent tread the seasons

rush away, and the year turns soundlessly. 160

Behold, the most tender mother drives her own offspring,

and the births over which she labored she now seeks to have nourished

and asks for stepchildren. Now give to the mother her children,

the time is here; wreath the parent with her green

offspring, bind her hair, arrange her locks. 165

Now let the flowering earth bristle with green parsley,

now let her rejoice, with the long hair of the leek,

unbound; and let the parsnip overshadow her soft bosom.

Now too let the saffron plants, fragrant with the gift

of foreign lands, descend from the Sicilian mountains of Hybla, 170

and let marjoram come, which originates in merry Canopus,

and let Achaean myrrh be planted, which imitates your tears,

daughter of Cinyras, but is more abundant in myrrh-oil,

and the flowers of Ajax, unjustly condemned, which arise from his

sorrowful blood, and the undying amaranths, 175

and let the gardener arrange in plants the thousand colors

which rich nature produces, which he has sown from seed.

Now let corambe come, though unpleasing to the eye,

and now let lettuce hasten along, with healthful flavor,

which lessens the dismal lack of appetite during a long illness. 180

One variety is green with curling leaves, another glistens with dusky ones,

each one called by the name of Caecilius Metellus;

a third, pale in color, with a compact but intact head,

keeps as its name that of the Cappadocian nation;

and the one which my Gades begets, on the shore of Tartesus, 185

is light-colored in its curled foliage, light-colored in its stalk;

likewise the one which Cyprus nourishes in rich Paphian soil,

is wooly with purplish leaves, but milky juice.

Each variety has its own time for planting each one:

Aquarius, at the beginning of the year, plants the Caecilian variety, 190

and Lupercus, in its wild month, plants the Cappacodian;

and you Mars, plant the Tartessian type on the first of your month,

and you, Lady of Paphos, plant the Cytherian on the first of yours.

While it desires and seeks to join itself to its desirous mother

and the mother earth lies most gentle under the yielding field, 195

plant it. Now are the begetting seasons of the world,

now Love hastens toward unions, and the spirit of the globe

runs rampant towards Venus and, driven by the goads of desire,

is himself enamored of his own parts and fills them with offspring.

Now the father of the sea entices his Tethys, 200
now too the ruler of waters entices his Amphitrite,
and each one, laboring, now brings forth children by her
sea-blue husband and fills the sea with swimmers.

The greatest of the gods himself, now deceitfully laying aside his thunderbolt,
imitates the old love affair with Acrisius' daughter 205
and rains into the bosom of mother earth with a violent shower.

Nor does the mother now spurn the love of her son,
but, inflamed with desire, she allows his embraces.

From here the seas, from here the mountains, from here finally the whole world
leads forth spring; from here come the lust of men, beasts, and birds, 210
and love bursts into flame in the heart and rages in the marrow,
until Venus, sated, fills out the fertile limbs
and begets varied offspring and always populates
the world with new progeny, lest, with a childless age, it grow dull.

Digression on the poet's task (lines 215-229)

But why, having let my horses fly through the air with 215
unbridled speed, am I boldly carried away on a heavenly path?
He sang these things, whom the Delphic laurel, with a greater god,
urged on to the causes of things, and, while he was evoking the
sacred rites of nature, and the secret pacts of the heavens,
drives the bard through Cybele's chaste Dindyma, 220
and through Cithaeron and through the Nysaeen ridges of Bacchus,

through his own Parnassus, through the silence of the Pierian grove,
dear to the Muses, as, with the Bacchic cry, he shouts the Paeon to you,
O Delian god, and, Evius, Evius, the Paeon to you.

My Calliope now calls me back from lighter care 225

as I wander, and bids me to conduct my running within narrow
boundaries and, with her, to weave poems with a thin thread,
such as the pruner may sing at his task at the Muse's inspiration
while hanging in the trees, and the gardener in his blooming gardens.

Spring activities, resumed (lines 230-254)

Therefore, come, this follows: in the narrow line of the furrow 230

let cress be scattered, deadly to unseen serpents,
which an unwell belly brings forth from undigested food,
and dittany, recalling the flavor of thyme and marjoram
and the cucumber with a slender stalk, and the gourd with a delicate one.

Let the bristly cardoon be planted, which will come sweet to Bacchus 235

when drinking, but not pleasing to Phoebus when singing;
now it rises gathered up into a purple cluster,
now it grows green, its foliage the color of myrtle, and with downward-bending neck

it now remains open, now it pricks pine cones with its point,
now it bristles like a wicker basket and with menacing thorns; 240

sometimes pale, it imitates the twisted bear's-breech.

Soon when the Punic tree—which grows soft with the ruddy covering
of its seed—has clothed itself in blood-red flowers,

it is time for the sowing of colocasia, and renowned coriander is then
born, and fennel-flower, pleasing to slender cumin. 245

And the spine-like asparagus plant puts forth berries,
and the mallow, which with its bent head follows the sun.

And, Bacchus, the plant which boldly imitates your vines
and does not fear the brambles: for rising from the thorn-bushes, wicked
bryony binds the wild pears and the untamed alders. 250

Then the plant with a Greek name, just as the letter next to the first
is fixed in wax by the learned blade of the teacher,
thus too in rich soil by the blow of an iron blade
is planted the be(e)ta, green of leaf and white of stalk.

First harvest (lines 255-310)

But now too with fragrant blossoms the harvest presses on, 255
now purple spring, now the nourishing mother rejoices
to gird her temples with the year's many-colored fruits.

Now the Phrygian lotuses put forth their gem-like brightness
and the beds of violets open their winking eyes,
and the lion's mouth gapes, and, suffused with its native blush, 260

the rose, opening its maiden cheeks, shows its glory
to the Heavenly ones, and, in their temples, mingles with the Sabaeen fragrance.

Now I beseech you, Nymphs of Achelois, companions of the Muses,
and the Maenalian bands of Dryads and the Napaeen Nymphs,
you who inhabit the grove of Amphyrus, and Thessalian Tempe, 265

and the ridges of Cyllene and the fields of dark Lycaeus
and the caves always dripping with the drops of the Castalian spring,
and you who gathered the flowers of Sicilian Halaesus,
when the daughter of Ceres, eager for your dances,
plucked the green blooming lilies of the lake at Henna 270
and, snatched away, soon became the wife of the ruler of Lethe
and preferred the sad shades to the stars and Tartarus
to the sky and Pluto to Jupiter and death to life,
and now she, Proserpina, reigns over the lower world,
you too, I beseech, once your mourning and sad fear have been set aside; 275
turn your slender feet hither with a quick step
and pack the earth's locks, flowers, into your holy baskets.
Here there are no plots against the nymphs, no rapine;
chaste Faith is worshipped among us, and the holy Penates.
All things are full of merriment, full of untroubled laughter, and 280
full of wine, and banquets flourish in the happy meadows.
Now spring emerges from the chill, now the year is most mild,
while tender Phoebus urges reclining on the grass, also tender,
and of the flowing streams with their clear babbling,
it is pleasing to drink neither icy-cold ones, nor those warmed by the sun. 285
And now the garden is crowned with the flowers of Dione,
now the rose grows soft, brighter than Tyrian purple.
Nor does Latona's daughter Phoebe glow with such a purple visage

from cloud-chasing Boreas, nor does the heat of Sirius
 twinkle so, or reddish Pyrois, or, with its shimmering face, 290
 Hesperus. When the Morning Star returns at the rise of Eos,
 Thaumás' daughter Iris does not flash so with her heavenly bow,
 as the merry gardens shine with their glittering offspring.
 Therefore, come, when radiance has now risen at the end of night
 or while Phoebus plunges his horses in the Spanish waves, 295
 wherever marjoram has spread its fragrant shadows,
 pluck the blossoms of the daffodil and the barren wild pomegranate,
 and you, lest Alexis despise the wealth of Corydon,
 yourself a Naiad more comely than a comely boy,
 bring the violet in a basket and weave with wild cinnamon 300
 balsam mixed with dark privet; and sprinkle golden bouquets
 with the neat wine of Bacchus, for Bacchus enhances fragrances.
 And you, rustics, who with a hardened thumb pluck the yielding
 flowers, now heap up with iron-red irises
 a rush-basket, woven with osiers. 305
 Now let the rose stretch the fibers of twisted rush,
 and the little basket burst with the flame-colored marigold,
 so that rich Vertumnus may abound in the spring harvest,
 and, soaked with much wine, with faltering step,
 the bearer, laden, may bring back from the city his pockets full of bronze. 310

Summer Tasks (Lines 311-422)

Early summer (lines 311-368)

But when the harvest grows yellow with ripe ears
and the Sun, in the Twin star, has stretched out the day
and has swallowed the arms of the Lernaean Crab with its flames,
then join garlic with onions, and Ceres' poppy with
dill, and while they grow green, bring out the joined bundles 315
and sing the frequent praises of Fors Fortuna
when the merchandise has been sold, and rush back to the merry gardens.
Then too press the basil into the freshly-plowed and well-watered
furrow and pack it together with heavy rollers,
lest, once sown, the heat of the loosened dust should burn it out, 320
or the tiny flea, creeping in, should damage it with its teeth,
or the greedy ant be able to pillage the seeds.
Nor only do the snail, enveloped in its shell, and the hairy caterpillar
dare to gnaw away the tender leaves,
but when the cabbage grows fat with a strong 325
stem, and when the pale power of the beet swells,
and the gardener rejoices, secure in his mature harvest,
and seeks to lay the sickle to the ripe crops,
often wild Jupiter hurls down hard showers
demolishing the labors of men and beasts with hail; 330
often too, bringing plague, he even rains down dew with teeming drops,
from which are born the birds, harmful to the grape and

the gray willow, and the canker-worm creeps through the gardens;
entering them it burns up with its bite the seedlings,
which, bereft of their foliage and despoiled with a bare top, 335
lie dead, stripped, consumed by the sorrowful poison.
Lest the country-dwellers suffer these misfortunes, varied
experience of things has, itself, along with hard work, shown
new arts of security to wretched farmers; and practice, the teacher,
has passed onto them how to calm the raging winds 340
and to avert the storm by Etruscan rites.
For this reason, in order that wicked Rust may not scorch the green shoots,
it is appeased by the blood and entrails of a nursing puppy.
For this reason Etruscan Tages is said to have set the head
of an Arcadian ass, bare of skin, at the edge of the field, 345
and Tarchon, that he might keep away the thunderbolts of great Jupiter,
often surrounded his abode with white bryony.
For this reason the son of Amythaon, whom Chiron taught very many things,
hung night birds from crosses and forbade them
to weep their wild songs on the lofty rooftops. 350
But lest the dreadful beasts pluck the new crops,
it has sometimes been profitable for one treating the seeds first
to sprinkle them with the lees of olive oil, without the flower of salt,
or to steep them in the black ash found on the hearth;
it has also been profitable to pour bitter juice of horehound over 355

the plants and to touch them with a great deal of houseleek sap.
But if no treatment works to repel the pest,
let Dardanian arts come in, and a woman with bared
feet, who, having then for the first time engaged in the laws
proper to a young girl, in shame drips with foul blood, 360
but sorrowful, with gown and hair flowing loose,
is led three times around the beds and hedge of the garden.
When she has traversed it while walking—wonderful to tell!—
not unlike a storm, whether of smooth apples or
acorns covered in bark, from a shaken tree 365
the caterpillar, with twisted form, rolls onto the ground;
thus lolcos once saw the serpent, lulled to sleep
by magic incantations, slipped down from the fleece of Phrixus.

Summer harvest (lines 369-399)

But now it is time to sever the “first-cut” stalks
and to cut back both the Tartesian and Paphian stems 370
and to tie bundles with garlic and the cut leek.
Now the lascivious colewart springs forth from the fertile garden,
now the slippery sorrel, and now bushes blossom of their own accord
and the sea-leek, now a hedge bristling with butcher’s broom
bursts forth, and wild asparagus, very similar to the shape of the garden variety, 375
and moist purslane covers the thirsty rows
and the bean, injurious to the orach, grows tall.

Then, now hanging from bowers, now like a water snake,
under the summer sun, through the chill shades of the grass
the twisted cucumber and swollen gourd creep. 380

Nor do they have the same appearance; for if dear to your heart
is the longer one, which hangs from the slender peak of its top,
gather the seeds from the tender neck; or if you prefer the one of round
body, which swells very broad in its womb,
you will gather them from mid-belly; it will give a shoot suitable 385
for holding Narycian pitch or honey from Attic Hymettus
or a small bucket handy for water, or a jug for wine.

Then the same gourd will teach boys to swim in the waves.
But the dark-colored cucumber, which is born heavy in the paunch,
shaggy and covered in knotted grass, like a snake 390
lies on its belly always gathered into bending coils;
harmful, it heightens the illnesses of wicked summer.

It is foul in its juice, also stuffed with fat seeds.
But the one which, under the bowers, creeps towards the flowing stream
and, following the gliding stream, is made too thin by its longing, 395
the white one, quivering more than the udder of a newly-delivered sow,
softer than milk newly congealed and poured into vats,
will be sweet; it ripens yellow on the irrigated field,
and it will bring aid to those once ill.

Late summer (lines 400-422)

When the Dog-star of Erigone, burning in the heat of the Sun 400
 opens the fruit on the trees, and the small baskets heaped with
 mulberries drip with bloody juice,
 then the early-ripening fig drops from the twice-bearing tree
 and the baskets are packed with apricots, and plums and
 damsons, and the perseae, sent from barbarous 405
 Persia, as the story goes, laden with ancestral poisons;
 but now, with little risk of death from those served,
 they offer their ambrosial juice, forgetful of doing harm.
 But also peaches, called by the name of the same nation,
 Persia, having a small fruit, hasten to grow ripe. 410
 Those which great Gaul supplies ripen early,
 the ones from Asia come with a late fruit, in the chill.
 But under the star of stern Arcturus the Livian tree, rival to Chalcidian figs,
 bears fruit, and the Caunian, rivaling the Chian ones,
 and the purple Chelidonian and fat Mariscan 415
 and the Callistruthian, which is merry with rosy seeds,
 and the white one, which preserves the name of yellow wax,
 and the split Libyan fig, and also the Lydian, with a variegated peel.
 But also, once the rites of the Slow-Footed God have been rightly performed
 when there are new clouds, and rains hang in the sky, turnips 420
 are planted, which Nursia sends from its famous fields,
 and the bunion, which is brought from the fields of Amiternum.

Autumn Again: End of the Gardening Year (Lines 423-432)

But now that the grapes are ripe, impatient Bacchus
demands and bids us to close up our cultivated gardens.
We rustics close it up and obey your command, 425
and we merrily harvest your gift, sweet Bacchus,
among the lusty Satyrs and double-formed Pans,
tossing arms drooping from old wine.
And you, Maenalius, you Bacchus, you Lyaeus,
and Father Lenaeus, we sing, summoning you under our roofs. 430
That the wine-vat may ferment and, filled with much Falernian,
the foaming jars may overflow with rich new wine.

Epilogue (Lines 433-436)

Thus far, Silvinus, I was teaching the cultivation of gardens,
recalling the instruction of Vergil, the heavenly bard,
who first, *daring to reveal ancient springs*, 435
sang Hesiodic song through Roman towns.

CHAPTER 3 COMMENTARY

Heading

Rodgers prints the heading as *Liber Decimus Cepuricus De Cultu Hortorum*.

Rodgers (2010, vi, 401) also indicates that the two oldest (9th cent.) mss. lack the heading, which was evidently added at some later date.

Col. himself gives the title *Res Rustica* for his entire work (11. 1. 2).

Cepuricus: “Pertaining to gardening,” from Greek κηπουρικός. According to Rodgers (2010, 400), this is also lacking in the 9th-cent. mss. Pliny uses the word in Greek: *Sabinus Tiro, in libro κηπουρικῶν quem Maecenati dicavit* (Plin. HN 19. 177).

The form *cepuricus* is presumably intended to agree with *Liber* in the heading.

Book 3 of Apicius, concerning the cooking of vegetables, is described in the heading as *cepuros*, from Greek κηπουρός, “gardener” (LS).

De cultu hortorum: According to Rodgers (2010, 400) this title, also lacking in the 9th-cent. mss., appears to have been taken from 9. 16. 2, where Col. looks ahead to his plan for the following book. It also appears in a summary of the contents of the books following Book 11 in many manuscripts, in which Book 10 is identified as *Carmen de cultu hortorum* (Rodgers 2010, 480). Col. identifies the topic of Book 10 as *cultus hortorum* (Pr. 1, 3). In the introduction to his prose treatment of gardens, Col. again identifies his subject as *cultus hortorum* (11. 3. 1).

It is clear from the type of garden described in Book 10, as well as from a short description in Book 1 of the *horti* that will form part of the estate (1. 6. 24), that Col. is using *hortus* to describe a kitchen garden or market garden, the produce of which is

raised for consumption and sale. This sort of garden was “from the earliest of times ... considered an important part of a Roman family home ... this plot would play an important role in the effort toward self-sufficiency” (Farrar 1998, 12). This is in contrast to the pleasure garden or landscape garden of the sort found in luxurious homes such as those excavated at Pompeii (McKay 1975, 46-47; Jashemski 1979-1983 v.1, 25-54). Cicero refers to landscape gardening as *topiaria* (Cic. *Q Fr.* 3. 1. 5); Pliny calls it *topiarium* (Plin. *HN* 18. 265). Both are Greek loan words, and the basics of landscape gardening were most likely imported from the Greek East (McKay 1975, 46-47; Farrar 1998, 22; cf. Varro’s complaint about the increasing adoption of Greek architectural features, together with their Greek names; Varro, *Rust.* 2. Intr. 2), though the addition of a garden to the peristyle courtyard in private houses seems to have been an Italian innovation (Jashemski 1979-1983 v. 1, 16-19). In general, while the Romans borrowed landscape gardening terminology and forms from the Greeks, “the resulting new garden form was their own invention” (Farrar 1998, 22). But as Jones point out, “In the Roman period, the forms of garden, parks, and estates are prolific in variety. Lying behind this variety, the small *hortus* as vegetable or kitchen garden ... continued as a reality as well as figuring in literature.”¹

Prose Preface (Pr. 1-5)

Book 10 is introduced by a short prose preface, in which Col. reassures his addressee, Publius Silvinus, that he has not forgotten about his promise to discuss gardens, and to do so in verse to fill the gap left by Vergil in the *Georgics*.

¹ Jones 2011, 137.

The section numbers 1-5 for the Preface have become standard and are printed in many editions of the *Res Rustica*.

That Col. regarded this prose section as a formal preface may be inferred from his use of the verb *praefari* (Pr. 5); cf. *cum praefatus fuero* (1. Pr. 33). As Janson (1964, 92) has observed, every book begins with an address to Silvinus, and every book except Book 7 begins with an introduction of some sort. A short introduction, however, is not the same as a formal preface; only Books 1, 6, 9, 10, and 12 begin with such a preface, which suggests that these books have a special programmatic significance in the work.

Pr. 1. Faenoris: *Faenus* means “interest received on capital lent out;” cf. *pecuniam ... a publicanis faenore acceptam* (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 3. 169). Boldrer (1996, 94) argues that the commercial connotations of this word support the impression that Col.’s relationship with Silvinus is essentially a commercial or business association rather than a personal friendship. However, Col. mentions Silvinus’s request three times: at the end of Book 9 (9. 16. 2) and twice in the preface to Book 10 (Pr. 1, 3). This suggests that Silvinus may have been insistent in his demands. White (1993, 70-71) remarks: “A request that must be met because it is constantly reiterated implies some intimacy between the two parties: it can be posed again and again only because they are regularly in contact.... That Roman writers were importuned by friends was a natural result of the time they spent in one another’s company.” Silvinus, after all, is not only the person who made this particular request; he is the addressee of the entire treatise.

Silvine: Publius Silvinus is the addressee of the *Res Rustica*. Col. mentions that he is writing about gardening in verse to satisfy Silvinus’ request to take up the

“challenge” left by Vergil (G. 4. 147-148). Cf. *georgici carminis ... relinquere* (Pr. 3). Col. mentions this again when he indicates that in Book 11 he will accede to the request of a certain Claudius Augustalis to discuss gardens a second time, but in prose (11. 1. 2).

Col. refers to Silvinus several times in the work and addresses him at the beginning of every book. Ash (1930, 27) remarks that Silvinus is “otherwise unknown” but adds, “it appears from a few passages ... that he was a countryman and neighbor of Columella.” Col. mentions at one point that he has a farm near Caere, in Etruria (*in nostris Caeretanis*, 3. 3. 3); he later mentions a farm that Silvinus also has in that area (*in Caeretano tuo*, 3. 9. 6). This suggests that, at the very least, Col. and Silvinus were at one point neighbors in the same country district.²

The fact that Col. dedicates his work to someone so unknown is striking; Boldrer (1996, 95) remarks, “L’oscurità del personaggio sorprende considerando l’importanza dell’opera a lui dedicata.” Previous didactic writers, for the most part, dedicated their works to prominent contemporaries (e.g., Lucretius, to Memmius; the *Georgics*, to Maecenas; Vitruvius, to Augustus). Col. is perhaps following the example of Varro, who dedicated his *Res Rustica* to his wife Fundania (Book 1; her name is also significant and might be translated “farm-wife”), and friends, Turranius Niger (Book 2) and Pinnius (Book 3).³

² Col. also mentions having owned farms in Ardea, Carseoli, and Alba, all of which are in Latium (3. 9. 2).

³ White (1993, 69) draws attention to the public nature of a statement that an author is writing in response to a request: “...although such statements are ostensibly directed to the author of the request, they are not private utterances. They usually occur in prefatory passages incorporated into the finished work and circulated with it to the reading public. What is said must therefore be interpreted as the result of a three-cornered calculation which aims to influence the general reader as well as the particular

Given the apparent meaning of Silvinus' name—"Forester" or "Woody" (Henderson 2004, 33, 51)—it is possible that he is a fictitious addressee, or a pseudonym, though these are unanswerable questions. Henderson (2004, 125 n. 2) remarks, "C[olumella]'s unknown addressee, P. Silvinus, bears a 'significant name'—culture clears *woodland* (*silva*) into farm, works raw nature into cultivated art."

Silvinus' name also recalls that of Silvanus, a woodland deity; cf. Cato, *Agr.* 83; *Ecl.* 10. 24; *G.* 1. 20; *Aen.* 8. 600.

Pliny (*HN* 3. 105) identifies the *Silvini* as a people living in Apulia, which suggests that, if Silvinus was a real person, his family may have originated from there.

Stipulanti sponderam: Boldrer (1996, 95) draws attention to the alliteration, as well as that of *pensiunculam percipe* later in the sentence. In addition, these two words are used in a technical-legal sense; cf.: *stipulatus es—ubi, quo die, quo tempore, quo praesente? quis spondisse me dicis?* (Cic. *Q Rosc.* 13); also, *emptor stipulatur ... haec sic recte fieri spondesne?* (Varro, *Rust.* 2. 2. 5-6).

Reliquam pensiunculam ... cultus hortorum: This passage—together with 9. 16. 12: *quae reliqua nobis rusticarum rerum pars superest, de cultu hortorum, P. Silvine, deinceps ita ut et tibi et Gallioni nostro complacuerat, in carmen conferemus*—appears to indicate the Book 10 was originally planned to be the end of the work. Col. indicates this again at 11. 1, 2: where he states that he will exceed the length he originally planned for the work and add an eleventh book: *numerum quem iam quasi*

interlocutor to whom the writer addresses himself, and which seeks to display the writer in a favorable light in the eyes of both."

consummaveram voluminum excessi et hoc undecimum praeceptum rusticationis memoriae tradidi (11. 1. 2).

The Gallio mentioned at the end of Book 9 is identified by Forster (1954, 502 n.), Saint-Denis (1969a, 7 n. 2) and Henderson (2002, 115) with L. Iunius Gallio Annaeanus = Annaeus (*RE* 12) Novatus, the brother of Seneca the Younger, to whom Seneca dedicated *De ira* (Sen. *Dial.* 4. 1. 1) and *De vita beata* (Sen. *Dial.* 7. 1. 1), and who is mentioned in *Acts* 18:12. This brief mention at the end of Book 9—the only place in the *Res Rustica* where Col. mentions him—indicates that he, as well as Silvinus, had been urging Col. to write his book on gardening in verse. Gallio died in 65 C.E. The only evident connection between Gallio and Col. is that they were both Spaniards.

Pensiuncula, diminutive of *pensio*, is not attested before Col. Boldrer (1996, 95) believes it is an original coinage of his. Boldrer also suggests that this diminutive, together with *particula* in Pr. 4, is meant to reinforce Col.'s claims that the subject matter of Book 10 is slight (*tenuem ... exilis*, Pr. 4). Ash (1930, 20) points out Col.'s fondness for diminutive noun and adjective forms; cf. *lactucula* (111), *murteolo* (238); *flammeola* (307).

Reliquam pensiunculam percipe in Col.'s address to Silvinus, with its imperative *percipe*, recalls the the address to Maecenas at the opening of *Georgics* 4: *hanc etiam, Maecenas, adspice partem* (G. 4. 2).

Segnis ac neglectus ... nunc vel celeberrimus: Col. picks up on this theme—that gardening had been neglected by previous generations but is now the object of greater interest—again in Pr. 3: *quare cultus hortorum, quoniam eorum fructus magis in usu est*.

Col.'s reference to the former neglect of gardening as a practice also reflects the treatment of gardening in earlier literature: neither Cato nor Varro dealt with gardens in their works on agriculture (White 1970, 246); and Vergil approaches the subject (*forsan et pinguis hortos quae cura colendi / ornaret canerem*, G. 4. 118-119) only to back away and excuse himself from pursuing it further (G. 4. 147-148).

Lactis copia ferinaque ac domesticarum pecudum carne: The reading *ferina*, found in later mss., is printed by Rodgers, Forster, Richter, and Boldrer.

Ferina can be construed as an adjective, from *ferinus*, “belonging to wild animals” (LS). As an adjective, *ferina* is ablative and agrees with *carne*; the contrast is between the meat of wild animals (*ferina ... carne*) and that of domesticated cattle (*domesticarum pecudum carne*). In this reading, *-que* is linking *lactis copia* with the phrase *ferina ac domesticarum pecudum carne*, and *ac* is linking *ferina* and *domesticarum pecudum*, the two modifiers of *carne*. The adjective *ferina* is thus in parallel with a noun in the genitive (*domesticarum pecudum*) as modifiers of the same noun, *carne* (GL 360 1); the genitive case is an inherently adjectival case (AG 341). For *ferina* with *caro*, cf. *Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes ... quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum uti pecoribus* (Sall. *Iug.* 18. 1).

Boldrer takes *ferina* as a substantive and reads *lactis copia ferinaque ac domesticarum pecudum carne* as a tricolon, with *copia*, *ferina*, and *carne* as the three substantives. This requires taking *lactis copia ferinaque ac ... carne* as equivalent to *lactis copia et ferina et ... carne*, where the conjunctives link the three substantives together equally. This blurs the distinction between these conjunctions; *-que* links

words and phrases together closely, and *ac* (*atque*) adds additional emphasis (AG 324 a, b).

The oldest mss. read *ferinae*, which is the genitive of a substantive *ferina*, “wild game;” cf. *implentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae*, *Aen.* 1. 215; *sapore quodam ferinae in apris evidentissimo* (Plin. *HN* 13. 43). This is printed by Ash, Santoro, Marsili, Saint-Denis, and Fernández-Galiano. Ash, Saint-Denis, and Fernández-Galiano construe the genitive *ferinae*, along with the genitive *lactis*, as dependent on *copia* (e.g., “with an abundance of milk and game;” Ash 1930, 27). Santoro (1946, 71), however, takes *ferinae* as dependent on *carne*, together with *domesticarum pecudum*: “e di carne di selvaggina e di animali domestici.”

The examples of *ferinae* in Vergil and Pliny suggests that, while the word is unusual, there is no persuasive reason to reject the testimony of the oldest mss. Given the context, it is less awkward to construe the genitive *ferinae* with *copia* than with *carne*: *-que* links *ferinae* with *lactis*, and *ac* joins the two phrases *lactis copia ferinaeque* and *domesticarum pecudum carne*.

Frumento: *Frumentum* “is the general name for corn, especially spelt and wheat, and when used without qualification usually means wheat” (Sergeant 1920, 49). Col. refers to the early Roman diet. The basic staple for early Romans was not bread but rather *puls*, a kind of porridge made from grain (White 1970, 246); cf. *pulte autem, non pane, vixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum* (Plin. *HN* 18. 63).

Pr. 2. Plebeia paupertas summota <a> pretiosioribus cibis: The bracketed *a* is a conjecture printed in the 1514 edition of Col. by Ioannes Lucundus (Rodgers 2010,

401). It is accepted by Rodgers and Forster but not by Ash, Santoro, Marsili, Saint-Denis, Fernández-Galiano, Richter, or Boldrer.

Summovere is attested in prose with both with *a/ab* + ablative and with the bare ablative of separation (AG 401), and both constructions are used in both a literal and a figurative sense: cf. *reliquos a porta paulum summovit* (Caes. *B Gall.* 7. 50); *quem ad summovendos a bello Antiochum et Ptolemaeum reges misistis* (Livy 45. 23); *donec ambo administratione patriae ... submoverentur* (Suet. *Jul.* 16); *Pyladen urbe atque Italia summovert* (Suet. *Aug.* 45).⁴

Col. elsewhere in prose uses *summovere* with *a/ab*: cf. *sin summotus longius a collibus erit amnis* (1. 5. 4); *is [sc. palus] enim a vite summovetur* (4. 22. 2); and the usage without *a/ab* is rarely attested before his time. This suggests that Lucundus' conjecture is mostly likely correct, and that Rodgers is right to print it.⁵

Pr. 3. Prorsa: Lundström's conjecture, printed by Rodgers, Ash, Santoro, Saint-Denis, Fernández-Galiano, and Boldrer, for the *prorsus* or *prosa* of the mss. Forster prints *prosa*; Marsili prints *prorsus*. *prorsus* is a collateral form of *prorsus* (LS). *Prorsa oratio* or *prosa oratio*, "straightforward diction," is prose, in contrast to verse; cf. *et prorsa et vorsa facundia veneratus sum*, "I worshipped [Aesculapius] with eloquence in both prose and verse" (Apul. *Flor.* 18); *[Plato] multum enim supra prorsam orationem et quam pedestrem Graeci vocant surgit* (Quint. *Inst.* 10. 1. 81).

⁴ Examples from poetry suggest that poetic usage preferred *summovere* with the ablative of separation alone: *di te summoveant ... / orbe suo* (Ov. *Met.* 8. 97-98); *summovisse hiemem tecto* (Luc. 2. 385).

⁵ The fact that *a* in the text immediately follows *summotā*, a word ending in the same letter, could explain why a scribe accidentally omitted it. Reynolds (1991, 226) notes that this sort of scribal omission "is particularly common with small words."

Georgici carminis ... relinquere: Col. explicitly picks up the “challenge” left by Vergil at *G.* 4. 147-148. Col.’s *memorandas reliquit* clearly echoes Vergil’s phrase *memoranda relinquo* (*G.* 4. 148).

The use of *geogicus* as an adjective in Latin, borrowed from Greek γεωργικός, is first attested in extant Latin literature in Col. (Boldrer 1996, 16). Col. refers to Vergil’s *Georgics* as *georgicum carmen* (7. 5. 10); he uses the word again when citing the agricultural work of a certain Democritus: *Democritus in eo libro quem Georgicon appellavit* (11. 3. 2; though the earliest mss. of Col. omit the passage containing this line).

Vatis maxime venerandi: Col. is referring to Vergil. A *vates* is a bard or poet, esp. one regarded as divinely inspired (*OLD*); cf. Col.’s ascription of *numen* to Vergil in the next sentence. Col. uses this word twice more in Book 10: he refers to Vergil as *vates* in the epilogue of the poem: *siderei vatis referens praecepta Maronis* (434). He also uses *vates* to describe the unnamed poet of nature whom he praises in his Digression on the Poet’s Task (215-229): *[Delphica laurus] extimulat vatem per Dindyma casta Cybeles* (220), which strongly suggests that the unnamed poet he has in mind is Vergil.

In Latin poets before Vergil *vates* had the meaning of “priest” or “soothsayer” (Newman 1967, 14) and had negative connotations; cf. *tutemet a nobis iam quovis tempore vatum / terriloquis victus dictis desciscere quaeres. / quippe etenim quam multa tibi iam fingere possunt / somnia quae vitae rationes vertere possint* (Lucretius 1. 102-105). For Lucretius, the term *vates* “conjured up visions of ignorance and fear” (Newman 1967, 15).

Vergil was the first Roman poet to claim *vates* as an identity and rehabilitate the word into something positive: a poet with religious overtones who also spoke to and for the community. Newman (1967, 16) comments, “*Vates* were new and yet traditional, Roman, and yet backed by Greek learning, leaders of society, and yet religious and mystical leaders with no dangerous political implications.” He adds, “Unlike *poeta*, *vates* was a word of solemn religious significance.... It was therefore no light-weight poet who ... received the title of *vates*” (Newman 1964, 23). Vergil uses *vates* twice in the *Eclogues* (7. 28, 9. 33-34); four times in the *Georgics* (3. 491, 4. 387, 4. 392, 4. 450—the last three in the Aristaeus episode, referring to Proteus); and thirty-six times in the *Aeneid*, where it always has religious overtones, often associated with Apollo, especially in the early books (Newman 1967, 30). By contrast, Vergil uses *poeta* twice in the *Eclogues* (5. 45, 10.17), both times in the vocative and qualified by *divine*; once in the *Georgics* (3. 90), qualified by *Grai* and in a Homeric context; and not at all in the *Aeneid*.

By referring to Vergil as *vates*, Col. is identifying Vergil by a typically Vergilian word to underline his own claim as Vergil’s poetic—and vatic—successor, and also drawing upon the term’s religious significance. In doing so he stresses the importance of Vergil’s poetic—and georgic—example, not just as a poet but as a national spokesman. In doing so he suggests the religious and national significance of his own work, both as Vergil’s heir and as someone emphasizing old Roman values of self-sufficiency (Pr. 1).

Neque ... fuerat audendum: This clause is effectively the apodosis of a past contrary-to-fact condition, despite the pluperfect indicative *fuerat* in place of the more common pluperfect subjunctive. “In the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact, the past

tenses of the indicative may be used to express what was *intended*, or *likely*, or *already begun*. In this use, the Imperfect Indicative corresponds in time to the Imperfect Subjunctive, and the Perfect or Pluperfect Indicative to the Pluperfect Subjunctive” (AG 517b). Although this is a past contrary-to-fact condition, and the conventional literal English rendering of this passage—“*would not have been* something to be dared”—would normally correspond to the Latin pluperfect subjunctive, nevertheless it *was* something dared, i.e. Col. *has* dared to do it, and in fact has already begun to do it. The use of the indicative rather than the subjunctive here indicates this.

Pr. 4. Tenuem: “Slender;” in poetics *tenuis* is a significant programmatic word, equivalent to Callimachus’ λεπτός (Clausen 1987, 3, 125 n. 6), indicating the sort of concise, well-wrought verse favored by Hellenistic poets and their imitators. Cf. *silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena* (*Ecl.* 1. 2) and *agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam* (*Ecl.* 6. 8), where Vergil indicates the sort of poetry he intends to write and firmly places himself in the tradition of Callimachus. Col. indicates that he too places himself in this tradition.

Later (Pr. 4), Col. describes the individual topics (*membra*, “limbs”) of his subject matter as *exigua*, “slender.” For the collocation of *tenuis* and *exiguus* in Vergil, cf.: *sub ipsum / Arcturum tenui sat erit suspendere [sc. tellurem] sulco: / illic, officiant laetis ne frugibus herbae, / hic, sterilem exiguus ne deserat humor harenam* (*G.* 1. 67-70), though Vergil is using both terms in a physical sense, to describe the slightness of the furrow and the meagerness of the water. Nevertheless, Col.’s use of these two terms to apologize for the limits of his material recall Vergil’s passage; Col. is likening the scantiness of his subject material to an unproductive farm.

Particula: Cf. *pensiunculam* (Pr. 1). Unlike *pensiuncula*, *particula* is attested before Col.: *particulae caeli* (Cic. *de Orat.* 1. 179); *divinae particulam aurae* (Hor. *Sat.* 2. 2. 79). Col. uses it elsewhere: *agri sui particulas omnis ... circumire* (1. 2. 1), with reference to land; *hoc biduo Sol unam dicitur tenere particulam* (11. 2. 39), referring to a degree in astronomical measurement.

Laboris nostri: This is the first of four uses of *labor* in Book 10. The other three occurrences are in the poem (67-68, 329-330, 339-340). Col. also uses the verb *laborare* once (31). Of these, only the passage at 67-68 recalls Vergil's *labor omnia vicit / improbus* (*G.* 1. 145-146) and *est etiam ille labor curandis vitibus alter / cui numquam exhausti satis est* (*G.* 2. 397-398), which depict *labor* as something difficult, unpleasant, and unending. In the other passages, *labor* has a more positive or neutral meaning, though still referring to hard work. By referring to his composition as *labor*, Col. links his work as a poet of gardens with the actual work involved in creating the garden. The garden poet is also, in a sense, the gardener.

Vergil also links the farmer and poet in the *Georgics*. In particular, Kronenberg (2009, 157) argues that the farmer and the poet are similar in their striving for order: "Virgil's farmer reacts to physical and emotional chaos by trying to recreate order on both levels ... Virgil's poet figures initially strive for a similar, ordered understanding of the world." Kronenberg reads disappointment and pessimism into the efforts of Vergil's poet and farmer to establish their respective kinds of order in the midst of chaos. By contrast, Col.'s gardener establishes an ordered, well-regulated garden, which has its echo in Col.'s well-ordered poem. Just as the garden is bounded and defined by a hedge wall, the garden poem is enclosed in the prose treatise in which it is embedded.

Jenkyns (1993, 243-248) takes issue with the negative interpretation of *improbus*, and thus of this *Georgics* passage, expressed by Thomas (1988 v. 1, 92-93). Jenkyns reads Vergil's statement in the context of the preceding section (*G.* 1. 134-145) describing the *hominum ... labores* (*G.* 1. 118) which improved human life. In this interpretation, *labor*, although *improbus*, nevertheless *vicit*, i.e., led to genuine accomplishment and success. This view of *labor improbus* seems to accord more with Col.'s use of the term *labor*: although tending a garden is hard work, nevertheless the result justifies the effort. See *incola durus* (23).

Quod aiunt Graeci ... non possit: Barth (1624, L.x.2365) cites this passage in his discussion of the proverb *ex arena funem nectere* as an example of an impossible task and suggests that Col. is referring to an expression similar to one cited in the *Suda* (epsilon, 1535, 1): ἐξ ἄμμου σχοινίον πλέκεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων.⁶ On the stylistic and rhetorical use of *adynata* see Rowe 1965, 387-396.

Pr. 5. Boni consulat: *Boni* is a genitive of indefinite value (AG 417), a type of genitive of quality (AG 345). For the specific example of *boni consulo*, cf. GL 380 n. 2.

Dedecori: This is a dative of purpose or end (AG 382); together with *monumentis*, dative of the thing affected (AG 382), or dative of reference (AG 376), it is an example of the "double dative" construction (AG 382; GL 356).

Col. is following the tradition in prefaces, seen also in the prefaces to Livy and to Cicero's *Orator*, of apologizing for his meager ability in tackling the work at hand (Jansen 1964, 70). Unlike Livy and Cicero, though, Col. not only apologizes for his

⁶ Otto (1890, 160) cites Macarius 3, 97 as the source for a nearly identical version of this Greek proverb.

ability, but also for the slightness of his subject matter and indicates that any flaws in the result will be due not only to his own shortcomings, but also to those of his topic (Pr. 4-5).

Iam praefari desinamus: Col.'s use of *praefari* identifies the preceding prose section as a *praefatio* to the poetic section (cf. Henderson 2002, 115, n. 20).

Proem (Lines 1-5)

1-5. Hortorum ... reliquit: Following the prose preface, the first five lines serve as a proem for the poem, in which Col. states his theme and indicates once again, both explicitly and through imitation, that he is following Vergil's *Georgics*.

1. Hortorum: Col. begins in the epic manner, giving his subject, "gardens," as the first word; cf. *Aen.* 1. 1, *Hom. Il.* 1. 1, *Hom. Od.* 1. 1.

This is not, however, the tradition of didactic poems, which begin with an invocation: Hesiod begins both the *Words and Days* and *Theogony* with the address Μοῦσαι Πιερίηθεν, "Pierian Muses" (*Hes. Op.* 1); Aratus begins by invoking Zeus, ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα (*Aratus Phaen.* 1); Lucretius begins by invoking Venus as *Aeneidum genetrix* (*Lucret.* 1. 1).

Vergil begins *Georgics* 1 by stating the themes of the four books. He does not, however, begin any of the four books by stating the subject of the book in the first word in the epic style, with the possible exception of Book 3 (*te, quoque, magna Pales et te memoranda canemus*, *G.* 3. 1), since the first word, *te*, refers to Pales, the god of flocks and herds and is thus arguably a personification of the subject of Book 3. In addition, he does include a statement of theme in the first line in Books 1 (*quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram / vertere*, *G.* 1. 1-2) and 4 (*protinus aerii mellis caelestia*

dona / exsequar, G. 4. 1-2), though not as the first word. In *Georgics* 2, Vergil postpones the statement of theme until lines 2-3, while using line 1 to recap the theme from the just-completed Book 1: *hactenus arborum cultus et sidera caeli: / nunc te, Bacche, canam, nec non silvestria tecum / virgulta et prolem tarde crescentis olivae* (G. 2. 1-3). Vergil does, however, begin the section on cattle diseases in *Georgics* 3 by stating the theme in the first word: *morborum quoque te causas et signa docebo* (G. 3. 440), a line on which Col. has clearly modeled his own opening line.

By beginning his garden poem in a manner more typical of an epic poem than a didactic one, Col. calls to his reader's mind the great epic poems of the tradition in which he is working, particularly the *Aeneid*, and invites comparison. Gale (2004, xiii): "The boundary between epic and didactic is one notoriously subject to border-disputes ... It has been both asserted and denied that (narrative/heroic) epic and didactic (epic) are branches or subcategories of the same literary kind ... the affinity between the two is exceptionally close and productive." His poem will not only be a mini-*Georgics*, but it might also, in a sense, aspire to be a "mini-epic" of the garden,⁷ which contains within its borders the entire Roman world.

Cultus: A word often found in the agricultural sense in poetry and in Cicero; Cato and Varro prefer *cultura* (OLD), which Vergil uses in the *Georgics* only once (G. 3. 420). *hortorum cultus* echoes the beginning of *Georgics* 2: *arborum cultus* (G. 2. 1).

Quoque: *Quoque* emphasizes the continuity of Book 10 with the preceding books of *Rust.*, despite the shift from prose to verse (Bolderer 1996, 110). With this *quoque*,

⁷ Vita Sackville-West in her 1926 poem *The Land* describes her subject as "The mild continuous epic of the soil" (Sackville-West 2004, 3). West's poem, in four books named for each of the seasons, was inspired in part by the *Georgics* (Blythe 2008, 3-4).

the *te* immediately following, and the vocative *Silvine*, Col.'s first line recalls the beginning of *Georgics* 3: *Te quoque magna Pales* (G. 3. 1). Moreover, *quoque*, *te*, and *docebo* closely echo G. 3. 440: *morborum quoque te causas et signa docebo*.

2, 5. Atque ea ... memoranda reliquit: In lines 2 and 5, Col. recalls and closely imitates G. 4. 147-148. See *georgici ... carminis relinquere* (Pr. 3). Syntactically, lines 2 and 5 can be read in sequence as a single sentence without lines 3-4.

2. Spatiis ... iniquis: A metaphor from horseracing: *excusat se, quod non longius producat historiam hortorum, sumpta metaphora ab Circo* (La Cerda 1608, 452). Mynors (1990, 278) disagrees: "there the *spatia* are a fixed length, and could hardly be described as *iniqua*. He means only that space is insufficient." For the conjunction of *spatium* and *iniquum* giving the sense of "insufficient space," cf. *namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget / interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo, / infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit* (*Aen.* 5. 202-204, from the boat race).

3-4. Cum caneret ... caelestia mella: In these two lines (which form a single subordinate clause), Col. briefly summarizes the topics of all four books of Vergil's *Georgics*, in order: Book 1, cereal crops (*laetas segetes*); Book 2, vines (*munera Bacchi*); Book 3, flocks (*Pales*, a god of shepherds); and Book 4, bees (*mella*). Col. is explicitly staking his claim to be the poetic heir of the Vergil of the *Georgics*.

3. Laetas segetes: Col. echoes the opening of *Georgics* 1: *quid faciat laetas segetes* (G. 1. 1). *laetus* has the general meaning "happy," "joyous," but also the more specialized agricultural meaning "teeming," "flourishing," or even "fertile," "productive" (Ross 1987, 32; Mynors 1990, 3). Cf., *pabula laeta* (*Lucretius* 1. 14); also *vinetaque laeta* (2. 1157), of the vineyards created by the earth *sua sponte*. Boldrer (1996, 112) asserts

that Col. is deliberately playing on both the agricultural and metaphorical uses of the word, but that the agricultural meaning is more common in Vergil (Boldrer 1996, 112); cf. *laetis ... frugibus* (G. 1. 69). The use of *laetus* with *seges* is first attested in Cicero: *laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt* (Cic. *de Orat.* 3. 155). Col. uses the phrase elsewhere, (e.g., when describing proper manuring, *ea res laetas segetes reddit*, 2. 15. 2; cf. also 2. 15. 4, 2. 17. 3). Cf. also *gramine laeto* in line 9 and *laetatur* in line 14, both of which stress the idea of “flourishing” and “prospering.”

Munera Bacchi: The “gifts of Bacchus” are the vines and their grapes, the cultivation of which is treated by Vergil in *Georgics* Book 2 and by Col. in Books 3-5. Col. touches on the theme of Bacchus and wine in his poem at the beginning (43-44) and end (423-432) of the gardening year, and in the middle of the poem when discussing the exalted calling of the poet of nature (221-224) as well as when discussing the gathering of flowers for perfumes (302). He refers to wine as *Bacchus* once (387). See also *et “te Euhie Euhie Paeon”* (224).

The Romans identified the Greek Dionysus with the Italian god Liber. The name Bacchus comes from Βάκχος, a cult title of Dionysus (*OCD*); cf. οἶνωπα Βάκχον (Soph. *OT* 211).

4. Et te, magna Pales: Cf. *te quoque magna Pales* (G. 3. 1). Pales was an agricultural deity whose gender is attested as both male and female (*OLD*). The major festival of Pales was the Parilia, celebrated on 21 April (cf. *Ov. Fast.* 4. 721-724). By the late Republic it came to be celebrated as the birthday of the city (*Ov. Fast.* 4. 806-808). This line, following *munera Bacchi* (3), also recalls *et te, Bacche, vocant per camina laeta* (G. 2. 388).

Preparation of the Plot (Lines 6-34)

6. Principio sedem: Cf. *principio sedes apibus statioque petenda* (G. 4. 8, the first line after the proem of Book 4). Cf. G. 2. 9: the first line after the proem *Georgics 2* also begins with *principio*.

By beginning with *sedem*, Col. stresses the importance of selecting the proper site for a garden. Lines 6-26 discuss the qualities necessary for a suitable garden plot, stressing two things in particular: the nature of the soil and its proximity to a water source. The soil must be of the correct consistency, crumbly and sandy (6-8), neither too dry nor too swampy (11-12). Col. further specifies the kinds of plants which will and will not grow easily in the type of soil he considers most suitable for his garden: it will easily support grass, elderberries, elm trees, wild vines, wild pears, plums, and apples (9-10, 14-16). It will be inhospitable to hellebore and yew trees (17-19). In addition, the plot must be appropriately watered, near either a stream or a well fed by a spring, so that there is a ready source of water for irrigation (23-27).

In Book 11, Col. repeats this point: *locum autem eligi convenient ... praecipue pinguem, quique adveniente rivo, vel si non sit fluens aqua, fonte puteali possit rigari* (11. 3. 8) and goes on to discuss the way to make sure that the well will always yield enough water. He adds an additional qualification omitted in Book 10: that the site should not be located below a threshing floor, because this will be bad for growing vegetables: *providendum est autem, ne hortus areae subiaceat, neve per trituram venti possint paleas aut pulverem in eum perferre: nam utraque sunt holeribus inimica* (11. 3. 9).

Numeroso ... horto: Ash (1930, 33) remarks that this is “variously interpreted by commentators,” all of whom pick up the (according to *OLD* and *LS*) primary meaning of *numerosus* as “consisting of a great number, numerous, manifold” (*LS*). In addition, however, *numerosus* has a secondary meaning of “measured, rhythmical, harmonious, melodious” (*LS*). Moreover, *numerus* is used to denote musical or metrical verse. In the prose Preface to Book 10, Col. mentions that he is writing this book in verse in response to the persistent request by Silvinus that he treat the *omissas partes* of the *Georgics* “in poetic verse” (*poeticis numeris*, Pr. 3). By *numerosus hortus*, Col. means not only “a varied garden” but also hints at “the metrical garden” or “the garden in verse”—a reference to this work, his effort to write about gardens in verse. Henderson (2002, 126) translates the phrase as “garden symphony.” Gowers (2000, 127) observes that Col.’s *numerosus hortus* was to be “a garden in verse which was also to be a display of abundance and fertility.”

Boldrer (1996, 114) points out that *numerosus* is the first non-Vergilian word in the poem, and adds, “dopo i primi 5 versi di allusioni al poeta, al partire da questo emerge il gusto di Columella per lo sperimentalismo linguistico e la ricerca di originalità.”

Boldrer (1996, 121) also notes that Col. is fond of adjectives in *-osus*; in addition to *numeroso* (6), as well as *numerosissimis* (3. 10. 17) and *numerosius* (4. 21. 2), cf. also *frondosas* (13), *lapidosis* (15), *lacertosis* (6. 37. 6); *fructuosis* (4. 22. 8); *harenosus* (4. 22. 8); *clivosi* (2. 15. 1). According to Knox (1986, 90-101), *-osus* adjectives were originally restricted for the most part to comedy and colloquial speech; then they became more common in Latin poetry beginning with Vergil and are found often in

technical writers such as Col. and Pliny, as well as poets of the Flavian period.

Maggiulli (1980, 143) points out that of the *-osus* adjectives used by Col., “nel contesto di tutta l’opera, infatti, non pochi sono quelli che si trovano per la prima volta in letteratura.”

7. Pinguis ager putres glebas: Cf. *pingue solum* (G. 1. 64, quoted by Col. at 2. 2. 4); *putris se gleba resolvit* (G. 1. 44); and *presso pinguis sub vomere terra / et cui putre solum ... / optima frumentis* (G. 2. 203-205).

Col. elsewhere describes the ideal garden plot as *pinguis* (11. 3. 8); cf. *pinguis hortos quae cura colendi / ornaret* (G. 4. 118-119). Cf. also *humo pingui* (253). Col. twice contrasts *soli pinguis* and [*soli*] *macri* (2. 2. 2; 2. 2. 3). He elsewhere links *ager* with *pinguis* (and *putris*): *Ideoque maximos quaestus ager praebeat idem pinguis ac putris* (2. 2. 5) and again at 2. 2. 17. Earlier examples of the collocation of *pinguis* and *ager* are found in prose in Varro, when he is contrasting the properties of various types of soil and speaks approvingly of the agricultural qualities of *ager pinguis*: *Contra in agro pingui, ut in Etruria, licet videre et segetes fructuosas ac restibilibis, et arbores prolixas et omnia sine musco* (Varro, *Rust.* 1. 9. 6); and in verse in Lucretius: *sive quod inducti terrae bonitate volebant / pandere agros pinguis et Pascua reddere rura* (Lucretius 5. 1247-1248).

Putres glebas: Cf. *Zephyro putris se glaeba resolvit* (G. 1. 44). *putres glebas*, the reading of the later mss., is accepted and printed by Rodgers, Forster, and Boldrer. It is direct object (along with *resolutaque terga*) of *gerit* in line 8. Ash and Santoro print *putris glaebae*, the reading of the 9th-century mss., taking it as a genitive of description (AG 345) with *pinguis ager*.

Resolutaque terga: *Tergum* is used in the sense of “exterior surface.” Col. uses that word in this sense in three other places in the poem: *nec cruribus aequa / terga rubi* (22-23, describing the edges or branches of the bramble); *rastris ... perfode terga* (71, for the surface of the ground); and *picto ... Lydia tergo* (418, for the skin of figs).

Col. occasionally uses *tergum* elsewhere to describe the surface of the ground: cf. *alte perfossa novalium terga* (2. 2. 23); *soli terga* (4. 14, 3). This use of *tergum* is found elsewhere in Latin poetry (e.g., *sub terga terrai*, Lucr. 6. 540); *proscisso quae suscitāt aequore terga* (G. 1.97, describing plowing); *glabas cunctantis crassaque terga / expecta et validis terram proscinde iuvenis* (G. 2. 236-237).

Boldrer (1996, 116) points out that *resolvo* is a technical term in agriculture where it can mean “become loose or soft” (LS). It occurs again in this sense at line 76, describing the effect of the winter winds in loosening exposed soil (cf. Ash 1930, 50, 67); and at line 140, *resolutae ... terrae*, referring to the type of loose earth suitable for planting seeds (but cf. Ash 1930, 67). Cf. *Zephyro putris se glæba resolvit* (G. 1. 44). Boldrer (1996, 116) adds that *resoluta* applied to earth refers to “il ‘terreno sciolto,’ ovvero poco coerente, permeabile e sabbioso, particolarmente adatto alla coltivazione.”

9. Habilis natura soli: *Natura* is nominative and is another subject of *gerit* (in addition to *ager* in line 7). Ash, Santoro, and Forster agree that *habilis* should be construed as nominative with *natura* rather than as genitive with *soli*: “the workable nature of the soil.”

Col. elsewhere uses *habilis* to describe “workable” or “suitable” soil: *terram ... frumentis habilem* (2. 2. 20); *nec sunt habilia sementi [arva]* (3. 11. 16). For a poetic use

of *habilis* in Vergil, cf. *pinguibus hae [sc. vites] terris habiles, levioribus illae* (G. 2. 92), though there it describes the crops rather than the soil.

Gramine laeto: For Vergil's use of this phrase, cf. *in gramine laeto* (G. 2. 525). For the various senses of *laetus*, see *laetas segetes* (3).

10. Rutilus ebuli baccas: *Ebulum* is the Danewort or dwarf elder, *Sambucus ebulus* L. (Maggioli 1995, 288; André 1985, 92; Ash 1930, 34-35). For the redness of its berries, cf. *Ecl.* 10. 27, *sanguineis ebuli baccis minioque rubentem*. It appears elsewhere in Col. at 2. 2. 20 with the spelling *hebulum* (Rodgers, with no textual note in the apparatus; Ash prints *ebulum*, likewise with no textual note). It is attested both in a neuter form *ebulum, -i*, (*hic ebulum stridet peregrinaque galbana sudant*, Luc. 9. 916) and a feminine *ebulus, -i* (Plin. *HN* 25. 119). Cato recommends that *ebulum* be pulled up and used as bedding-material for sheep and cattle (Cato *Agr.* 37. 2). *Ebulum* appears to be the same plant also called *sambucus* or *sabucus* (LS); cf. *atque et sabuci probabiles usu statuminis* (4. 26. 1, for propping up vines); *sabucus contra firmissima ad palum* (Plin. *HN* 17. 151). Vergil does not mention this plant in the *Georgics*.

11. Sicca: This modifies either *natura soli* from line 9, which continues to be the subject; or else an appropriate implied feminine subject, such as *terra* (cf. line 49) or *tellus* (cf. line 94). The feminine subject is the antecedent of *quae* in this line and in line 13.

Vergil similarly implies the subject *terra* or *tellus* when discussing soil (e.g., *rara sit an supra morem si densa requires / (altera frumentis quoniam favet, altera Baccho, / densa magis Cereri, rarissima quaeque Lyaeo*, G. 2. 227-229), where the feminine adjectives all agree with an implied subject such as *terra*, which Vergil elsewhere states

explicitly (e.g., *nigra fere et presso pinguis sub vomere terra / ... / optima frumentis*, G. 2. 203, 205).

Stagnata palude: For the collocation of these two words, cf. *quaeque sitim tulerant, stagnata paludibus hument* (Ov. *Met.* 15. 269). In both phrases, *stagnata* agrees with the preceding *quae*, though in Col. it is singular; and *palude/paludibus* is abl. of specification (AG 418). Cf. also *Iuppiter ut liquidis stagnare paludibus orbem [vidit]* (Ov. *Met.* 1. 324).

12. Perpetitur querulae ... convicia ranae: For the collocation of *querula* and *rana*, cf. *et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querulam* (G. 1.378). “The raucous croaking of the frog is often mentioned by Latin writers” (Ash 1930, 34); cf. *ranisque loquacibus* (G. 3. 431). Ovid tells a story about the origin of frogs: rude country folk insulted Latona and prevented her from getting a drink from a pond after she had borne Apollo and Diana and were in consequence turned into frogs (Ov. *Met.* 6. 343-381); for the frogs’ croaking, cf. *vox quoque iam rauca est, inflataque colla tumescent, / patulos convicia rictus* (Ov. *Met.* 6. 377-378). For the croaking of the male frog during mating season, cf. Plin. *HN* 11. 173.

Boldrer (1996, 119) sees deliberate animal anthropomorphism in the use of both *querulae* and *convicia* to describe the sound of the frogs, perhaps indicating that Col. is deliberately recalling Ovid’s story. Boldrer also sees a comic phonetic effect in the specific consonants and vowels of the phrase, helping to paint a comic picture of the frogs; in the alliteration of *perpetitur* with *palude* at the end of the previous line; and in the use of *perpetior* itself, “attestato in poesia arcaica e soprattutto comica.” Although *perpetior* is found in some late Republican and early imperial authors, it is mainly

attested in comedy. Examples include: *verum istam amo. aliam tecum esse equidem facile possum perpeti* (Plaut. *Asin.* 845), *non ego istaec <tua> flagitia possum perpeti* (Plaut. *Men.* 719); *si istuc crederem sincere dici, quidvis possem perpeti* (Ter. *Eun.* 177).

13-16. Tum quae sponte sua ... consternitur ubere mali: Col. now lists the sorts of plants that will easily grow of their own accord in the type of soil he considers ideal for the kind of garden he has in mind.

13. Sponte sua: Boldrer (1996, 121) draws attention to the alliteration, which, she asserts, “sottolinea la naturale produttività di questa terra, qualità spesso esaltata in contesto agricolo.” This phrase is used to indicate inherent, unbidden fertility without the need for human labor: cf. *praeterea nitidas fruges vinetaque laeta / sponte sua primum mortalibus ipsa [sc. tellus] creavit* (Lucr. 2. 1157-1158); *namque aliae [sc. arbores] nullis hominum cogentibus ipsae / sponte sua veniunt* (G. 2. 10-11); *fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura / sponte tulere sua* (G. 2. 500-501). Col. uses the phrase elsewhere: *tum etiam sua sponte pabula feris benignissime subministrat* (9. 1. 15); *capparis plurimis provinciis sua sponte novalibus nascitur* (11. 3. 58).

The emphasis on things growing of their own accord is particularly striking in a work dedicated to showcasing the fruits of human labor and on instructing the farmer (or gardener, in Book 10) what he needs to do at at specific times in order to achieve a desirable result: *durior aeternusque vocat labor* (68). Vergil famously says, *labor omnia vicit* (G. 1. 145), but in the next line he immediately qualifies *labor* as *improbus*—“base”—and continues *et duris urgens in rebus egestas* (G. 1. 146). In this view, *labor*, far from being inherently innobling, is merely a necessary means to an end, in this instance

sustenance; cf. *pater ipse colendi / haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem / movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda, / nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno* (G. 1. 121-124). Vergil contrasts this with the world before Jupiter, when *ipsa ... tellus / omnia liberius, nullo poscente, ferebat* (G. 1. 127-128), that is, when the produce needed for sustenance grew *sua sponte*, without any need for labor, i.e., cultivation and hard work. See also *fecundo ... horto* (372); *sponte virescunt* (373).

Col. suggests that the best soil for the garden is one in which certain desirable plants grow of their own accord, as if in the Golden Age *ante Iovem* (G. 1. 125).

Frondosas ... ulmos: *Ulmus* is the elm, possibly *Ulmus minor* Miller or *Ulmus glabra* Huds. (Maggiulli 1995, 466). André (1985, 274-275) suggests that the *ulmus* used by Col. (e.g., 5. 6. 2) and Pliny (e.g., *HN* 16. 27) might refer to any of several elm species, e.g. *Ulmus Atinia*, *Ulmus Gallica*, *Ulmus nostras*, or *Ulmus silvestris*.

The use of elm trees as a support for vines is mentioned by Vergil: *ulmisque adiungere vitis* (G. 1. 2); Col. also discusses this practice at length (5. 6. 1, 5). For the collocation of these two words cf. *semiputata tibi frondosa vitis in ulmo est* (*Ecl.* 2. 70), though there Vergil describes the vine rather than the elm as *frondosa*. See also *numero ... horto* (6).

14. Palmitibusque feris: Col. is referring to the vine, as in Books 4 and 5. Festus offers an etymological note: *palmites vitium sarmenta appellantur, quod in modum palmarum humanarum virgulas quasi digitos edunt* (*Gloss. Lat.* 246 Lindsay).⁸

In this passage Col. is probably referring to the wild vine, *Vitis silvestris* Gmel., as opposed to the cultivated vine, *Vitis vinifera* L. (André 1985, 273). André (1985, 273)

⁸ Citations of Festus are to page numbers in W. M. Lindsay's 1913 Teubner edition.

and Saint-Denis (1969a, 51) assert that the wild vine is the same vine referred to in Latin literature as *vitis silvestris*, *vitis agrestis*, *vitis erratica*, *vitis fera*, *vitis silvatica* or *vitis labrusca*. Maggiulli (1995, 483) indicates that *vitis* and *uva* do not necessarily refer to any single species of vine that can be identified but rather may indicate any one of a variety of types. André (1985, 273-274) lists a number of other plants of botanical genera other than genus *Vitis* which are referred to in Latin as *vitis*.

Aspera silvis: Cf. *subit aspera silva* (G. 1. 152); *primum aspera silva / ... absint* (G. 3. 384-385). However, in these passages *aspera* modifies *silva*, whereas Col. uses *aspera* to modify the subject of this clause (*quae*, line 13, referring either to *natura soli* from line 9, or an appropriate implied feminine antecedent such as *terra*). *Silvis* is an ablative of specification (AG 418) with *aspera*. Despite this syntactical difference, both refer to the growth of plants of their own accord, without human intervention. Col. is thus continuing the idea presented by *sua sponte* in the previous line.

15. Achrados: *Achras* is the wild pear tree, possibly *Pirus amygdaliformis* Vill. (André 1985, 3), *Pyrus piraster* Burgsd. (Maggiulli 1995, 406), *Pirus silvestris* (Ash 1930, 35), or *Pirus crataegifolia* (Boldrer 1996, 122). Ash believes that this is the tree called *pirus silvestris* by Pliny (HN 16. 205). André agrees and further suggests that this is the tree called *pirus silvatica* by Varro (*Rust.* 1. 40. 5).

The word *achras* is a borrowing from the Greek ἀχράς. *Achrados* is the Greek genitive singular (AG 81-82); Rodgers prints this and indicates that it is found in one or more late manuscripts and is possibly a conjecture. Ash, Santoro, Saint-Denis, and Boldrer print *achradis*, the Latinized genitive singular form, found one or more later mss and as a correction in one of the oldest ms. (Rodgers 2010, 403).

Col. uses the word at 250 and 7. 9. 6. *Achras* is first attested in Latin in Col.; LS and *OLD* give no other citations, and André (1985, 3) adds only a few late, post-classical citations.

The more common Latin word for pear is *pirus*, which Col. also uses. Cf. *neque enim est ullum tam viduum solum virgultis ut non aliquos surculos progeneret, tamquam pirus silvestres et prunos vel robos certe; nam haec quamvis genera spinarum sint, solent tamen fortia et laeta et gravida fructu consurgere* (3. 11. 5), where Col. names a number of the same plants he mentions in this passage. Saint-Denis (1969a, 51) points out another link between the passage in 3. 11 and this passage in Book 10: the presence of these plants indicates “un sol cultivable.”

Pruni lapidosus obruta pomis: *Prunus* is most likely the plum, *Prunus domestica* L. (André 1985, 208-209). The tree is *prunus*, -i, f.; the fruit is *prunum*, -i, n. Cf. *prunus silvestris* (2. 2. 20), though André (1985, 209) suggests that Col. may be referring to *Prunus spinosa* L. According to Maggiulli (1995, 415), this is the tree to which Vergil refers at *G. 2. 34: prunis lapidosa rubescere corna*; elsewhere Vergil is referring to *Prunus domestica* L. (*Ecl. 2. 53, G. 4. 145*). Col. mentions *prunus* in one other passage in the poem: *armeniisque et cereolis prunisque Damasci* (404) among the fruits harvested at the very end of the gardening year.

For *lapidosus* applied to plums, cf. again *prunis lapidosa rubescere corna* (*G. 2. 34*; *lapidosa* is possibly a transferred epithet: Vergil is describing grafting of one plant onto another; cf. below on *aliena stirpe*, line 38). Santoro (1946, 16) suggests that *lapidosus ... pomis* refers to “frutta dure come pietre, o dai noccioli duri.” Boldrer (1996,

122) points out that *lapidosus* in reference to fruit can have several possible meanings; in addition to the two suggested by Santoro, she adds “cresciuto tra sassi.”

Like Col., at G. 2. 34 and G. 4. 145 Vergil mentions pears together with plums.

Pomum refers to a fruit in general, though, according to André (1956, 257), it is always “fruit d’un arbre ... jamais d’un arbuste ni d’une herbe.” Cf. *poma gravantis ramos* (Ov. *Met.* 13. 812); *eo pomo* (Plin. *HN* 15. 74, referring to a fig). Martial apparently uses the word to refer to truffles: *tubera, boletis poma secunda* (Mart. 13. 50. 2; André (1956, 257) suggests that Martial might be thinking of truffles as “‘fruits’ de la terre”). *Pomum* can also refer to a fruit-bearing tree (André 1956, 258); cf. G. 2. 426; Plin. *HN* 18, 240. For *pomus, -i, f.* meaning a fruit tree, cf. Tib. 2, 1. 43. Col. uses *pruni ... pomis* to mean “the fruit of the plum tree.”

16. Iniussi consternitur ubere mali: According to Ash (1930, 35), *iniussum* in this context means “self-sown, as opposed to *iussum*, done by hand;” cf. *iniussa virescunt gramina* (G. 1. 55). Contrast *tum iussi veniant declivi tramite rivi* (48). This continues the list of plants that grow *sua sponte* (13) and thus indicates that the soil is suitable.

For the use of *consternitur* in this context, cf. *consternunt terram concusso stipite frondas* (*Aen.* 4. 444).

Ubere in this line is equivalent to *copia*: “Columella has in mind the unusual fertility of the soil, because it bears fruits in such abundance that the earth is strewn with them” (Ash 1930, 35). Cf. *divitis uber agri ... opulentia* (*Aen.* 7. 262). This continues the *sua sponte* theme begun in line 13.

Malum is the apple, Greek μήλον or μάλον. Hence *mālum* is distinguished from the adjective *mālus*, -a, -um by the vowel quantity of the -a-. *Malum*, -i, n. can refer to either the tree or the fruit (André 1956, 196), though *malus*, -i, f. is sometimes found for the tree, on analogy with *pirum*, -i, n. vs. *pirus*, -i, f. (OLD).

Malum can indicate any soft-skinned fruit, “any fruit fleshy on the outside and having a kernel within (opp. *nux*), hence applied also to quinces, pomegranates, peaches, oranges, lemons, etc.” (LS). André (1956, 196) defines *malum* as “fruit à pépin ou noyau (à l’exception des baies en général, des prunes ... des poires et des raisins): abricot, cédrat, coing, grenade, jujube, pêche, pomme.” Pliny (HN 15. 37-52) discusses at length a number of different fruits which he describes as varieties of *mala*; cf. *malorum plura sunt genera* (Plin. HN 15. 47). When referring to fruits other than the apple, the word is often qualified with an adjective: *malum austerum* or *malum silvestre*, crab-apple; *malum citreum*, citron; *malum coloneum* or *malum Cydoneum*, quince; *malum granatum* or *malum Punicum*, pomegranate; *malum Persicum*, peach (OLD). André (1956, 196-199) lists dozens of examples of *malum* qualified with various adjectives as names of different fruits. When Pliny uses *malum* or *malus* without qualification, he seems to be referring to the apple or apple tree (e.g., Plin. HN 16. 74; Plin. HN 16. 84).

In this passage it is hard to tell whether Col. is referring to the common apple, *Pirus malus* L. (André 1985, 152; Maggiulli 1995, 352) or to another fruit, though Ash, Santoro, Forster, Saint-Denis, Boldrer, Richter, and Henderson all translate *malum* as “apple” or “apple tree.” In Col.’s later use of the term in Book 10, the qualifying adjective *teres* “smooth,” “rounded” suggests that he is referring to the common apple, and all of

the aforementioned translators render *malum* as “apple”: *non aliter quam decussa pluit arbore nimbus / vel teretis mali vel tectae cortice glandis* (364-365, comparing the caterpillars falling from the leaves, after the recommended ritual remedy has been performed, to a shower of apples or acorns from a shaken tree); cf. *mala sorba pruna post mediam hiemem usque in Idus Februarias serito* (5. 10. 19, concerning the planting of apples and other fruit trees). By contrast, Col. uses *malum* elsewhere in Book 10 when specifically referring to peaches: *quin etiam eiusdem generis de nomine dicta / exiguo properant mitescere Persica malo* (409-410).⁹ Vergil refers to the citron as *felicis mali* (G. 2. 127; Thomas 1988 v. 1, 178).

Pliny (HN 25. 95-96) says that *aristolochia* or birthwort (OLD, LS) is commonly referred to by Latin writers as *malum terrae* because of its tuberous root, which has medicinal value.

17-22. Sed negat helleboros ... ferat paliuron acutis: Col. now turns from listing the sorts of plants that will easily grow in his ideal garden soil, to the kinds that will not. Richter (1981-1983 v. 2, 486) remarks, “Die hier genannten Pflanzen haben sämtlich medizinisch-toxische Bedeutung.”

17. Negat elleboros: Cf. *poma negat regio* (Ov. Tr. 3. 10. 73); *cum terra flores negat* (Plin. HN 21. 5); perhaps also *terra domibus negata* (Hor. Carm. 1. 22. 22).

Elleborus is hellebore, Greek ἐλλέβορος, found in Latin both as *elleborus* and as *helleborus* (André 1956, 125; OLD). In addition, both a masculine *elleborus* and a neuter *elleborum* are found; the neuter is more common (Mynors 1990, 247). The Latin

⁹ It should be noted, though, that at 410 *Persica* is used as a substantive, and *malo* has a general meaning of “fruit.”

equivalent is *veratrum* (OLD). There are two kinds of hellebore: white hellebore, *Veratrum album* L.; and black hellebore, *Helleborus niger* L. (Maggiulli 1995, 289; André 1985, 94). Pliny (HN 22. 64) mentions both types (e.g., *ellebori albi; veratri candidi*, HN 28. 43; *veratrum nigrum*, HN 25. 88). Both kinds were used in antiquity to treat epilepsy and other mental diseases (Ash 1930, 35); it was also used as a laxative but was dangerous in large doses (Boldrer 1996, 123). In the prose portion of his work, Col. uses the Greek-derived name (e.g., *album helleborum*, 7. 5. 7) but more often the Latin equivalent *veratrum* (e.g., 6. 32. 2; 6. 38. 3; 7. 13. 2). Santoro (1946, 17) argues that by using the plural, Col. is referring to both types. Boldrer (1996, 123), however, argues that by using the plural, Col. is merely echoing Vergil's *elleborosque gravis nigrumque bitumen* at G. 3. 451; Mynors' (1990, 247) note on *elleborosque gravis* at G. 3. 451 ("one of the most often referred-to ancient drugs of vegetable origin") suggests that he read Vergil's plural as referring to a single substance (Mynors). Col. also follows Vergil in linking hellebore (*veratrum*) with *bitumen* (6. 32. 2). See *noxia carbasa suco* (17).

Noxia carbasa suco: *Carbasa*, the reading of the earlier mss., is printed by Lundström, Rodgers, Santoro, Marsili, Saint-Denis, Richter, and Boldrer. Many earlier editors print *galbana*, the reading of the later mss. (cf. Boldrer 1996, 123). Schneider (1794 pt. 2, 510-511) argues that this is unlikely, because *galbanum* (a type of *ferula*, or fennel: *Ferula galbaniflua* Boiss. et Bhs.; André 1956, 145) is a non-Italian plant and because it is not poisonous.¹⁰ Schneider conjectured *carpasa*, combining the *carbasa* of the earlier mss. and the Greek *κάρπασος*, a poisonous plant (cf. Boldrer 1996, 123-

¹⁰ Pliny (HN 12. 126) says that *galbanum* comes from Syria and adds that it is only good as a medicine (*medicinae hoc tantum*), which indicates that he did not consider it poisonous.

124), and some later editors, including Postgate. Ash, Forster, and Fernández-Galiano follow Scheider in printing this; Ash accepts this “in view of Columella’s frequent and faithful transliteration of Greek plant names” (Ash 1930, 35). André also accepts *carpasa* as the correct reading here, again as a faithful rendering of the Greek (André 1956, 74).

Pliny describes *sucum carpathii* as a poison against which he recommends a remedy (Plin. *HN* 32. 58; cited as *sucum carpathi* in Ash, André, Saint-Denis, and Boldrer). Pliny’s *carpathium* or *carpathum* here seems also to be derived from κάρπασος (*OLD*, *LS*) and might possibly refer to white hellebore, *Veratrum album* (André 1985, 51; *OLD*, *LSJ*). André (1956, 74) identifies Pliny’s *carpathum* as “plante toxique non-identifiée” and says that Col. here refers to the same plant; Saint-Denis (1969a, 51), citing André, asserts that Col.’s *carbasa* here is “sans doute le même que *carpathum* de Plin. *XXXII*. 58.” The modern botanical identity of this plant is uncertain.

18. Taxos: This is the yew tree, *Taxus baccata* L. (Maggiulli 1995, 451; André 1985, 256). The yew was considered poisonous and ill-omened; cf. *taxi ... nocentes* (*G.* 2. 257); *taxi arboris fumus necat mures* (Plin. *HN* 24. 116); *taxus minime virens gracilisque et tristis ac dira, nullo suco, ex omnibus sola bacifera. mas noxio fructu; letale quippe bacis in hispania praecipue venenum inest, vasa etiam viatoria ex ea vinis in gallia facta mortifera fuisse compertum est* (Plin. *HN* 16. 50). The yew is ill-omened for swans: *sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos* (*Ecl.* 9. 30); and bees: *nec propius tectis taxum sine* (*G.* 4. 47). For yew trees associated with passageways to the underworld, cf. *est via declivis funesta nubila taxo* (*Ov. Met.* 4. 432); *iam fama ferebat / saepe cavas motu terrae mugire cavernas / et procumbentes iterum consurgere taxos*

(Luc. 3. 417-419); *et nullo vertice caelum / suspiciens Phoebos non pervia taxus opacat*
(Luc. 6. 645).

Strenua toxica sudat: *Toxicum* is poison, from Greek τοξικόν, so called because it was originally used with arrows. As Boldrer (1996, 124) suggests, with *toxica* following *taxos* so closely in the same line, Col. is perhaps making a pun between *toxica* and *taxica*, i.e., derived from *taxus*, the poisonous yew tree. Pliny (*HN* 16. 51) suggests a connection between *taxicum* and *toxicum*: *sunt qui et taxica hinc appellata dicant venena—quae nunc toxica dicimus—quibus sagittae tinguantur*. Cf. André (1985, 256) on *taxus*: “Le rapprochement avec τόξον ‘arc’ repose sur la croyance à la toxicité de la plante, dont le suc aurait servi à empoisonner les flèches.”

Boldrer (1996, 124) also suggests that the phrase *strenua toxica* “indica qui probabilmente gli umori trasduti dalla terra, forti e nocivi.” She adds that the combination of these two words is original with Col.; neither word is found in Vergil.

19-20. Semihominis vesano gramine feta / mandragorae: The *mandragora* is the mandrake, of genus *Mandragora* (André 1985, 154). This is the first attestation of *mandragora* in Latin; it comes from Greek μανδραγόρας (André 1956, 199). There are two species: the male mandrake, *Mandragoras vernalis* Bert.; and the female mandrake, *Mandragoras autumnalis* Spr. (André 1985, 154); cf. *duo eius genera; candidus qui est mas, niger qui femina exitimatur* (Plin. *HN* 25. 147). The mandrake is poisonous and was used as a narcotic and purgative, as well as in magic (Saint-Denis 1969a, 51; Boldrer 1996, 125). Its root was thought to resemble the bottom half of a human body (hence *semihominis*, a possible calque on its alternate Greek name,

ἀνθρωπόμορφος; André 1985, 153-154); this caused many people to attribute human characteristics to it, even that it screamed when pulled from the ground (Ash 1930, 36). It was also considered poisonous and likely to cause madness, hence *vesano*: “Originale uso di *vesanus* con valore causativo ... che allude al potere della mandragora di ottenebrare la mente” (Boldrer 1996, 125).

Pliny (*HN* 25, 147-150) discusses the mandrake and its uses at some length, including comparing it with hellebore in regards to its properties as an emetic and purgative.

Semihominis: *Semihomo* also appears in Vergil (*semihominis Caci facies*, *Aen.* 8. 194) and Ovid (*haec inter Lapithas semihominesque Centauros / proelia*, *Ov. Met.* 12. 536-537). Ovid is using it in the same sense as Col., “half-human in appearance;” cf. *semibovemque virum semivirumque bovem* (*Ov. Ars Am.* 2. 21, of the Minotaur). Vergil may be using it in the same literal sense (*OLD*), or possibly in the metaphorical sense of “half-wild” or “half-civilized” (*LS*); cf. his later description of Cacus as *semiferus* (*Aen.* 8. 267), which could arguably be interpreted either way in context, though Lucretius uses *semiferus* in the literal sense of “half-human/half-animal”: *nam volgo fieri portenta videres / semiferas hominum species existere* (*Lucret.* 2. 701-702). Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 11. 180) uses *semihomo* in the metaphorical sense of “half-civilized”: *semihomines inter Nasamonas*.

Semihominis and *semihomines* in the examples cited must be scanned as four syllabus (cf. Gransden 1976, 109): – u u –; the *-i-* in *semi-* is elided before the *-ho-* (synezesis; AG 642, 603c n.). In this line the last syllable of *semihominis* is long by position (AG 603f) before *maestam*.

20. Maestamque cicutam: *Cicuta* is hemlock, *Conium maculatum* L. (André 1985, 66). This is not the tree commonly called hemlock today, which is genus *Tsuga*, various species (Wright 1984, 28-30). Ash (1930, 37) suggests that *maestus* underlines the poisonous property of the hemlock; Boldrer (1996, 125) suggests that *maestus* is “causativo e personificante,” like *vesanus* in the preceding line. For the poisonous nature of the hemlock, cf. *cicuta / ... homini quae est acre venenum* (Lucretius 5. 899-900); *sed mala tollet anum vitiatum melle cicuta* (Horace Sat. 2. 1. 56). Pliny (*HN* 25. 151-154) discusses the hemlock and its poisonous properties at length.

Cicuta appears twice in Virgil (*Ecl.* 2. 36, *Ecl.* 5. 85), both times referring to a flute or pipe made of hemlock-stalks, with no reference to the poisonous properties of the plant. In addition to the reference to the hemlock’s poison cited above (Lucretius 5. 899-900), Lucretius uses the word in one other passage: *et zephyri cava per calamorum sibila primum / agrestis docuere cavas inflare cicutas* (Lucretius 5. 1382-1383), referring to the stalk serving as a pipe. Clausen (1994, 76) asserts that this usage of *cicuta* was “a metrical equivalent for *calami* invented by Lucretius” which served as Vergil’s model for his use of it in the *Eclogues*.

21-22. Nec manibus mitis ... nec cruribus aequa: *Nec* in both instances is negating the following adjective (*nec mitis, nec aequa*), not the the entire clause: the verb *ferat* (22), with *cicutam* (20) *ferulas* (21) *terga rubi* (22), and *paliuron* (22) as direct objects, and an implied *terra* or *tellus* as subject (see note on *sicca*, line 11).

21. Nec manibus mitis ferulas: *Ferula* generally refers to the giant fennel, *Ferula communis* L., or a smaller version, *Ferula ferulago* L. = *Ferulago galbanifera* Koch (André 1985, 103; Wright 1984, 346). André (1956, 135, 313), however, asserts

that in this line (and line 118) Col. is actually referring to thapsia, *Thapsia gargantica*. Pliny (*HN* 13. 124) comments: *semen ferulae thapsian quidam vocavere, decepti ei, quoniam ferula sine dubio est thapsia, sed sui generis*. Col. gives a recipe for preserving fennel after it has been picked (12. 7. 4). Vergil mentions fennel only once: *venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore, / florentis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans* (*Ecl.* 10. 24-25).

Nec manibus mitis: *nec* is negating *mitis*, in what Boldrer (1996, 125) considers ‘euphemistic litotes’: essentially equivalent to *ferulae minaces* in line 118 (cf. AG 326c, 641). According to Ash (1930, 36) and Boldrer (1996, 125), Col. is referring to the practice of using stalks of giant fennel to make switches with which teachers would beat their students; cf. *ferulaeque tristes, scepra pedagogorum* (Mart. 10. 62. 10); [sc. *ferulae*] *invisae nimium pueris grataque magistris, / clara Prometheo munere ligna sumus* (Mart. 14. 80. 1-2); *et nos ergo manus ferulae subduximus* (Juv. 1. 15).

21-22. Nec cruribus aequa / terga rubi: *Rubus* is a bramble, genus *Rubus*, various species, “generally vigorous shrubs with prickly stems, lobed or compound leaves, flowers in early summer, & [sic] edible blackberry/raspberry-like fruits” (Wright 1984, 168). Maggiulli (1995, 432) says that *rubus* is “voce botanica generica, non individuabile in una determinata pianta o famiglia.” According to André (1985, 220), *rubus* most commonly refers to the common bramble, *Rubus fruticosus* L. The term can also refer to a number of different plants, including those also known as *rhamnus*, the buckthorn, *Rhamnus carthatica* L. or other species of genus *Rhamnus*; or Christ’s thorn, *Paliurus australis* Gaertn. or *Paliurus spina-christi* (André 1956 112, 275; 1985, 185; Wright 1984, 154; see *spinisque ferat paliuron acutis*, 22); and *cynosbatos*, the wild

rose bush (probably *Rosa sempervirens* L.; André 1956, 112). Pliny (*HN* 24. 117-124) discusses the nature and properties of different types of brambles. André (1985, 220) suggests that the name is derived from *ruber*, either because of the color of the plant's berries or the color of its leaves in autumn.

As in the previous phrase (*nec ... mitis*, 21), *nec* is negating the adjective *aequa* in litotes. For this sense of *aequus* as "favorable," cf. *aer avibus non aequus* (*G.* 3. 546). For the use of *tergum* in the sense of "exterior surface," see note on line 7. Col. appears to be saying that the thorns of the bramble scratch the legs of those who walk through it; cf. *furtim latebras intrare ferarum / candidaque hamatis crura notare rubis* (*Tib.* 3. 9. 9-10).

Tergum in this line means the "outer edges" of the bramble bush. Ash translates *terga* as "branches;" Boldrer as "dorsi" ("backs," or perhaps "tops" or "edges"); Saint-Denis as "lanières" ("lashes"); Santoro as "frutici" ("shrubs"). Richter tentatively ventures "Hecken?" ("hedges"). Forster renders the phrase *terga rubi* as "bramble-bushes." See also *sentis ... vepribus* (249).

22. *Spinisque ferat paliuron acutis*: *Paliurus* is a borrowing from Greek *παλίουρος*, which André derives from *πάλιον* + *οὔρος*, "one guarding again" or "second guard," "allusion à deux stipules épineuses a la base des feuilles." He identifies this as Christ's thorn,¹¹ *Paliurus australis* Gaertn. = *Paliurus spina Christi* Miller (André 1985, 185; see also *nec cruribus aequa / terga rubi*, 21-22). Maggiulli (1995, 387) says that *paliurus* in Latin is a Vergilian neologism; cf. *spinis surgit paliurus acutis* (*Ecl.* 5. 39),

¹¹ Henderson (2004, 53) translates *paliuron* as "Christ's thorn," which introduces an anachronism into Col.'s text. Because Col. is using not only a Greek word but also a Vergilian one, I will keep Col.'s word in the translation—only altering the case form to nominative—as *paliurus*.

which Col. clearly echoes in this line.¹² Col. refers to this plant elsewhere: *ea sint vastissimarum spinarum, maximeque rubi et paliuri et eius quam Graeci vocant κυνόσβατον, nos sentem canis appellamus* (11. 3. 4, on using thorn bushes as a garden hedge). For a description of *paliurus* and its medicinal uses, cf. Plin. *HN* 24. 115. See also *nec cruribus aequa / terga rubi* (21-22); *sentis ... vepribus* (249).

Paliuron is the Greek accusative singular form (AG 52). Ash (1930, 37) suggests that Col. is using it so as not to lose a syllable by elision before *acutis*, as would happen if he used the Latinized form *paliurum* (cf. AG 612e).

23. Incola durus: Col. has Vergilian precedent for describing the farmer (*incola*) as *durus*: *dicendum et quae sint duris agrestibus arma* (*G.* 1. 160), where *durus* has a positive sense (“hardy”), which seems to fit Col.’s use here. On the other hand, *durus arator* (*G.* 4. 512) has a more negative sense (“unfeeling”): Orpheus mourning the loss of Eurydice is compared to a nightingale mourning the loss of her chicks whom a *durus arator* has expelled from their nest.

Col. uses *durus* three other times in Book 10: *quae duri praebent cymosa stripe Sabelli* (137); *et vos, agrestes, duro qui pollice mollis / demetitis flores* (303-304); *saepe ferus duros iaculatur Iuppiter imbres* (329). He also uses the comparative form once: *durior aeternusque vocat labor* (68). Of these, the most relevant for the present passage are 68 and 137: at 68, the work of farming is *durior*; at 137, the Sabines as a people, who produce a particular variety of cabbage, are described as *duri*. At 303-304

¹² Henderson (2004, 127, n. 7) remarks, “Columella pegs his *Garden* close to those songs from herdsmen resting in the shade—closer, ultimately, than to Virgil’s *Georgics*?”

the farmer's thumb is *durus* because of all the work in which his hands have been engaged—they are tough enough to break the stems of flowers easily.

Both Lucretius and Vergil use *durus* to describe primitive humanity: cf. *et genus humanum multo fuit illud in arvis / durius, ut decuit, tellus quod dura creasset* (Lucretius 5. 925-926); *Deucalion vacuum lapides iactavit in orbem / unde homines nati, durum genus* (Georgics 1. 62-63). Ovid echoes Vergil: *inde genus durum sumus experiensque laborum / et documenta damus qua simus origine nati* (Ovid Metamorphoses 1. 414-415).

Durus in Vergil can describe both groups of people and individuals; cf. *gens dura atque asper cultu debellanda tibi in Latium est* (Aeneid 5. 730-731, on the people awaiting the Trojans in Italy); *durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum / deferimus saevoque gelu duramus et undis* (Aeneid 9. 603-604), when Ascanius tries to rally the Trojans; *Dardanidae duri* (Aeneid 3. 94), the prophecy to the Trojans at Delos; *Scipiadas duros bello* (Georgics 2. 170, where Vergil praises produce and people of Italy). But cf. *Cissea durum / ... / deiecit Leto* (Aeneid 10. 318, 320); *fortunam atque viam per duri pectus Halaesi* (Aeneid 10. 422). In both of these passages *durus* describes a hero who is being (or is about to be) killed.

In the often-cited *Georgics* passage *labor omnia vincit / improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas* (Georgics 1. 145-146), Vergil links *labor* and *durus*: though the two words are in different clauses, they contribute to a single idea of accomplishment through hard work motivated by necessity. Lucretius also modifies *labor* with *durus*: *atque in eo semper durum sufferre laborem* (Lucretius 3. 999, when he compares the pursuit of public life to the task of Sisyphus); *nec poterant pariter durum sufferre laborem* (Lucretius 5. 1272, of trying to make tools of gold and silver as well as bronze); *atque ipsi pariter durum*

sufferre laborem / atque opere in duro durarent membra manusque (Lucretius 5. 1359-1360, on men leaving the task of weaving to women and devoting themselves instead to hard work, which Lucretius emphasizes by the repetition of *durus* and *durare*). In Lucretius, *labor durus* is something negative to be suffered and borne, whereas Vergil, in the *Georgics*, has added a positive note—although *labor* is harsh, it can lead to positive accomplishments (Catto 1986, 313-314).

Vergil elsewhere introduces this note of *labor* as something harsh (*durus*) that nevertheless yields a positive result: *durus uterque labor* (*G.* 2. 412), of “the twice-yearly tasks of *pampinatio* (“vine-trimming”) and *runcatio* (“weeding”) ... [which] are implied by what necessitates them—the growth of foliage and weeds” (Thomas 1988 v. 1, 232). Though the tasks are difficult, by doing them the farmer will help the vineyard produce its yield: “the words and theme recall ... [*G.* 1. 145-[14]6” (Thomas 1988 v. 1, 233). Cf. also *ipse labore manum duro terat* (*G.* 4. 114), where Vergil recommends planting a flower garden to attract and keep bees: the hard work will pay off in the end.

Vergil also links *durus* and *labor* twice in the *Aeneid*: in describing the Labors of Hercules, as recounted by the Salii (*duros mille labores / rege sub Eurystheo fatis Iunonis iniquae / pertulerit*, *Aen.* 8. 291-293), where the sense of *labor* seems Lucretian and negative; and, in the mouth of Venus, to describe Aeneas’ sufferings (*et durum Aeneae flevissem saepe laborem*, *Aen.* 8. 380). In the latter passage, Vergil may again be implying a positive outcome to *labor*, since Aeneas’ trials, though onerous, will eventually result in the founding of Rome. See also *laboris nostri* (*Pr.* 4).

24. Semper sitientibus hortis: For the trope of the fields and plants as “thirsty,” cf. *medios cum sol accenderit aestus, / cum sitiunt herbae* (*G.* 4. 401-402, of the heat at

midday). Vergil also compares a mare that has been prepared to be receptive to mating, by being put on a spare diet and being exercised hard, to a thirsty field eager for rain: *hoc faciunt, nimio ne luxu obtunsior usus / sit genitali arvo ... / sed rapiat sitiens Venerem interiusque recondat* (G. 3. 135-137).

25. Fons ... putei non sede profunda: Col. elsewhere recommends digging a well if needed for irrigation, and one that is not too deep: *si deerit fluens unda, putealis quaeratur in vicino, quae non sit haustus profundi* (1. 5. 1). Cf. also: *quique adveniente rivo, vel si non sit fluens aqua, fonte puteali possit rigari* (11. 3. 8); Col. adds that to ensure a steady water supply, the well should be dug when the sun is in the last part of the constellation Virgo, in September before the autumnal equinox (11. 3. 8). Col. does not specify the time for well-digging in his poem, but the point where he places this admonition is consistent with his advice in 11. 3, since the gardener's year begins in September with the autumnal equinox (41-42).

26. Ne gravis hausuris tendentibus ilia vellat: This phrase poses two difficulties in particular: there are textual issues with the reading *hausuris*, and the use of the two participles together has prompted various suggested interpretations.

Gravis agrees with *fons* (25): if the well is too deep, the water may be too heavy, or injurious to those who draw it.

Ilia should be construed as the direct object of *vellat*, not of *tendentibus*, despite Col.'s possible Vergilian model for this line: *ilia singultu tendunt* (G. 3. 507, of cattle dying of the plague).

Hausuris is printed by Rodgers, without a textual note, following the oldest mss. Ash, Santoro, Marsili, Saint-Denis, Fernández-Galiano, and Boldrer also print *hausuris*;

Boldrer includes a detailed textual note. Forster prints *hausturis*, following later mss. Richter, perhaps bothered by the use of the two participles together, conjectures *haustus opus tendentibus*, on analogy (for the use of *opus* with *tendere*) with *ultra / legem tendere opus* (Hor. Sat. 2. 1. 1-2).

Santoro (1946, 19, 74) suggests that in this passage *tendentibus* has “valore riflessivo,” despite the lack of an explicit *se*, and that this should be read together with *hausuris*, which should be construed as having the sense of purpose or goal (as the future participle may sometimes have; AG 499.2); he also construes *tendentibus* as a dative with the adjective *gravis* (AG 383): “penosa a chi si tende per attingere,” “painful to the one exerting himself in order to draw [the water].”

Ash (1930, 39) takes the two participles together, much as Santoro does, but he reads *haurire* in this line as “drink” rather than “draw;” in addition, he construes *gravis* as adverbial, and *tendentibus* as a dative of reference (AG 376) with *ilia*: “lest it severely bruise the groins of those who shall stretch to drink it.”

Boldrer (1996, 127) considers *hausuris* the *difficilior lectio* and therefore preferable to *hausturis*. The participial form *hausurus* also appears in Vergil: *supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido / saepe vocaturum* (Aen. 4. 383). Boldrer (1996, 127-128) also argues that two participles should not be taken together, but rather belong to two different phrases: she reads *ne... tendentibus ilia vellat* as one phrase, and *gravis hausuris* as a separate phrase (construing *hausuris* as a dative with the adjective *gravis*; AG 383). She points out that the strong caesura in the line comes between *hausuris* and *tendentibus*, which, she suggests, supports her interpretation that they should not be taken together. To that end, she punctuates the line as follows: *ne,*

gravis hausuris, tendentibus ilia vellet—“lest [the water], [too] heavy for those who will draw it, should pull the groins of those trying [to do so].”

Boldrer’s proposed solution to the problem of the two adjacent participles is persuasive and is faithful to the ms. text. I have adopted her interpretation in my translation.

27-28. Talis humus ... pervia furi: Col. recommends enclosing the garden plot to keep out livestock and thieves. Enclosure is an important step in dividing what is in the garden from what is outside it. Frayn (1974, 16) remarks: “Having obtained his plot, the *rusticus* must fence it in, to prevent incursions by animals or neighbours.” Gowers (1950, 129-130, 132-135) points out the metapoetic meaning of the garden enclosure for both Vergil and Col.: Vergil is shut out from the garden (*exclusus*, G. 4. 147), while Col.’s garden is enclosed by the surrounded prose books of his treatise. The garden poet, like the gardener, must work within the boundaries he has delineated for himself.

27. Parietibus: Must be scanned as four syllables: – u u –; the first *-i-* is consonantal, making the first syllable long by position (synaeresis; AG 642, 603c n., 603f n.4). The last syllabus of *parietibus* here is long by position before *vel*. For other examples of *parietibus* scanned this way, cf. G. 4. 297; *Aen.* 2. 442.

Col. recommends enclosing the plot as the first step towards establishing the garden.

29-31. Nec tibi Daedaliae ... aut Ageladae / arte laboretur: Col. mentions the names of four prominent Greek craftsmen, one mythical and three historical. The historical sculptors were all (possibly) from Argos and were contemporaries.

29. Daedaliae ... dextrae: Daedalus is the epitome of the craftsman in Greek myth. He built the device which allowed Minos' wife Pasiphaë to mate with the bull (Hyg. *Fab.* 40); he built the Labyrinth to house the resulting Minotaur (Ov. *Met.* 8. 159-167); and he constructed the wings allowing him to escape from Crete with his son Icarus (Ov. *Met.*, 8. 183-235; *Aen.* 6. 14-15, 30-33). Pliny (*HN* 7. 198) regards Daedalus as the inventor of carpentry and of several carpentry tools.

30. Polyclitea: Referring to Polyclitus, c. 460-410 B.C.E. According to Pliny (*HN* 34. 55) he was from Sicyon and was a pupil of Ageladas, though Plato (*Prt.* 311c) says that Polyclitus was from Argos. Pliny also discusses specific works attributed to Polyclitus and credits him with perfecting the approach to sculpture that had been started by Pheidias: *hic consummasse hanc scientiam iudicatur et toreuticen sic erudisse, ut Pheidias aperire* (Plin. *HN* 34. 55-56). Cf. *RE* XXI 2, 1707-1718.

Polyclitea is an adjective agreeing with *arte* (31). Must be scanned as five syllables: u u – – –.

Phradmonis: Phradmon was an Argive sculptor known for working in bronze. Cf. *RE* XX 1, 739-740. According to Pliny (*HN* 34. 49), Phradmon was a contemporary of Polyclitus and Myron, and flourished in the 90th Olympiad, ca. 430 B.C.E. (Plin. *HN* 34. 49). Pausanias (6. 8. 1) mentions seeing, in Olympia, several victory statues by Phradmon.

Ageladae: Ageladas, or Hageladas, was an Argive sculptor of the late 6th- 5th cent. B.C.E. and was the teacher of Polyclitus, Myron, and Phidias. Cf. *RE* VII 2, 2189-2199. Pliny (*HN* 34. 49) Latinizes his names as *Hagelades* and says that he flourished in the 87th Olympiad, ca. 432 B.C.E., though this is almost certainly too late.

31-34. Sed truncum ... Priapi ... falce minetur: Priapus is the Greek god of fertility and guardian of gardens. He is the son of Aphrodite; his father is variously identified as Dionysus, Hermes, Zeus, or Pan. He is generally portrayed as having a prominent erection (*terribilis membri*, 33; *inguinibus*, 34), and often as carrying a sickle (*falce*, 34). His statue, made of rough-hewn wood (*truncum forte dolatum*, 31), was often placed in gardens as a kind of scarecrow (*medio qui semper in horto / ... minetur*, 33-34); cf. *pomosisque ruber custos ponatur in hortis / terreat ut saeva falce Priapus aves* (Tib. 1. 1. 17-18); *tum Bacchi respondit rustica proles / armatus curva sic mihi falce deus* (Tib. 1. 4. 7-8); *furem Priapo non timente securus* (Mart. 3. 58. 47); *custodem medio statuit quam vilicus horto* (Mart. 3. 68. 9); *quique deus fures vel falce vel inguine terret* (Ov. *Met.* 14. 640). Horace puts *Sat.* 1. 8 in the mouth of a Priapus statue serving as a garden guardian:

*olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,
maluit esse deum. deus inde ego, furum aviumque
maxima formido; nam fures dextra coercet
obscenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus;
ast importunas volucres in vertice harundo
terret fixa vetatque novis considerare in hortis.* (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 1-7)

Horace is referring to two aspects of the Priapus statue taken up by Col.: the prominent phallus, and the sickle (held in the right hand), both of which are intended to contribute to its deterrent effect.

Vergil also mentions having a Priapus statue as a garden scarecrow: *et custos furum atque avium cum falce saligna / Hellespontiaci servet tutela Priapi* (G. 4. 110-111); this is another link between Col.'s garden and his inspiration in *Georgics* 4. Vergil, like Horace, mentions thieves and birds as the main targets of the Priapic scarecrow.

Col., however, says that the objects of its terror will be thieves (*praedoni*) and boys (*puero*).

As Hallett (1981, 341-347) has shown, the assertion that his erection will be a threat to boys (*inguinibus puero ... minetur*, 34) refers to anal penetration. She further demonstrates that Horace's description of the statue as being made of fig wood (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 1) alludes to the use of *ficus* to describe an anus damaged by repeated penetration, and she argues that the Priapic flatulence that ends *Sat.* 1.8 is an additional allusion to anal penetration, though in Horace the Priapic anus becomes the active rather than receptive organ. Col. is content with the mere suggestion that Priapus' phallus will be a menace to young boys. For the connection between Priapus and pederasty, cf. Tib. 1. 4. 9 (part of a dialogue between the narrator and a statue of Priapus, who cautions the narrator to beware of pursuing boys): *o fuge te tenerae puerorum credere turbae. See falcifero ... Priapo* (108).

Boldrer (1996, 132) regards *praedo* as an alternative for *fur*. Col. uses it elsewhere to describe a thief who might break into an apiary, which he recommends enclosing as one would a garden: *ne sint stabula [sc. apium] vel igni vel furibus obnoxia, potest vitari opere lateritio circumstructis alvis, ut impediatur rapina praedonis* (9. 6. 4); cf. *nimbi repentini ac torrentes fluvii periculosi ... et repentinae praedonum manus quod improvisos facilius opprimere possunt* (Varro, *Rust.* 1. 12. 4).

Invocation (Lines 35-40)

36-37. Quae cura satis, quo sidere primum / nascantur flores: Col. begins his recounting of gardening tasks with a series of indirect questions, echoing again the opening of the *Georgics*: *quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram vertere ... / ...*

quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo / sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis (G. 1. 1-4). Vergil does this again at the beginning of his short excurses on gardens and the Old Man of Tarentum: *pingis hortos quae cura colendi / ornaret ... / quoque modo potis gauderet intiba rivis* (G. 4. 118-120).

Nascantur flores: Cf. *nascantur flores* (Ecl. 3. 107).

37. Paestique Rosaria: According to Ash (1930, 40) and Boldrer (1996, 132), Paestum, on the coast of Lucania, was known for roses famous for their color and fragrance; due to the mild climate, roses there bloomed twice a year (Maggiulli 1995, 431). Cf. *biferi rosaria Paesti* (G. 4. 119); *tepidique rosaria Paesti* (Ov. Met. 15. 708); *odorati ... rosaria Paesti* (Prop. 4. 5. 61); *Paestanis rubeant aemula labra rosis* (Mart. 4. 42. 10).

According to Maggiulli (1995, 431), Vergil uses *rosarium* for a garden of cultivated roses (G. 4. 199) but *rosetum* to indicate a bed of wild roses: *puniceis humilis quantum saliunca rosetis* (Ecl. 5. 17). Cf. *sub urbe colere hortos late expedit, sic violaria ac rosaria* (Varro, Rust. 1. 16. 3).

André (1985, 219) identifies the rose most commonly mentioned in ancient literature as *Rosa gallica* L., which grows wild in the northern Mediterranean and from which many varieties were developed. Maggiulli (1995, 430) states that the roses in ancient literature could be any of several species of genus *Rosa*.

The rose is generally an ornamental flower, but Vergil recommends a medicinal use for treating sickness in bees (G. 4. 268). Pliny (HN. 21. 14) says that violets and roses are practically the only garden plants used by Romans to make garlands; but

adds of the rose, *usus eius in coronis paene minimus est* (HN. 21. 15) and discusses the nature, perfume, and medicinal uses of a variety of roses (HN. 21. 14-21).

Gemment: Ash sees *gemment* as a pun on two meanings of *gemma*, “bud” and “gem”: roses bud, but they also sparkle like gems (Ash 1930, 41). *Gemmare* meaning “to bud,” however, is in fact a metaphor drawn from *gemma*, “gem,” a fact noted by Cicero (*de Orat.* 3. 155): *nam ut vestis frigoris depellendi causa reperta primo, post adhiberi coepta est ad ornatum etiam corporis et dignitatem, sic verbi translatio instituta est inopiae causa, frequentata delectationis. nam gemmare vitis, luxuriam esse in herbis, laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt.* Boldrer (1996, 133) remarks that this verb is not found in Vergil and that it is a term drawn from technical/agricultural language, not poetic language; Varro (*Rust.* 1. 40. 1) uses it in this sense: *id tum fit, antequam gemmare aut florere quid incipit.* Col. uses this verb once more in the poem: *iam Phrygiae loti gemmantia lumina promunt* (258); he also uses the verb *gemmare* and the noun *gemma* in the sense of “bud” several times in prose, particularly Books 3, 4, and 5. Cf. *florida cum tellus, gemmantis picta per herbas, / vere notat dulci distincta coloribus arva* (*Culex* 70-71); *gemmantem floribus hortum* (Man. 5. 256).

38. Bacchi genus: The “race of Bacchus” is the vine; for referring to the vine or wine as Bacchus, cf. *hic tibi praevalidas olim multoque fluentis / sufficiet Baccho vitis* (G. 2. 190-191); *nec Baccho genus aut pomis sua nomina servat* (G. 2. 240). See *munera Bacchi* (3); *palmitibusque feris* (14); *tuas ... Nysie, vitis* (248).

38-39. Aliena stirpe gravata / mitis adoptis curvetur frugibus arbor: Col. elsewhere discusses in detail the grafting of vines (4. 29); Cato (*Cato Agr.* 41) and

Varro (*Rust.* 1. 40. 5-6; 1. 41. 1-3) both also discuss the subject at length, as does Vergil (*G.* 2. 30-34, *G.* 2. 47-82).

Thomas (1988 v. 2, 161) argues that both Varro and Vergil understood that, with regard to grafting, “for a successful union the scion and the stock must be within the same family;” cf. *non enim pirum recepit quercus, neque enim si malus pirum* (Varro, *Rust.* 1. 40). Ross (1987, 103) is more specific: “modern theory and practice can be stated thus: grafting between families is impossible, between genera (intergeneric) possible though difficult, and between species (intrageneric) generally successful.” Col. understands the general principle: *sed omnis surculus omni arbori inseri potest, si non est ei, cui inseritur, cortice dissimilis. si vero etiam similem fructum eodem tempore adfert, sine scrupulo egregie inseritur* (5. 11. 1). Thus when Vergil, suggesting types of grafts, remarks: *et saepe alterius ramos impune videmus / vertere in alterius, mutatamque insita mala ferre pirum et prunis lapidosa rubescere corna* (*G.* 2. 32-34), according to Varro the first is possible, the second is not.

Vergil may well be aware of the impossibility of some of the grafts he proposes (Thomas 1988 v. 2, 161); according to Ross (1987, 107), “to recognize these grafts as impossible is, in fact, to see Virgil’s purpose”: in beginning to describe these grafts, Vergil exclaims that they are *mirabile dictu* (*G.* 2. 30), and at *Ecl.* 8. 52-53 he includes among the *adunata* precisely the type of graft which Varro claims is impossible: *aurea durae / mala ferant quercus*. Thomas (1988 v. 2, 161) remarks, “at the same time, by positing these grafts, V[ergil] stresses the transformation of the natural tree at the hands of man and under the application of *labor*.” See *laboris nostri* (*Pr.* 4).

Gravata ... curvetur: for the image of the tree as heavy with offspring, cf. *ramique virescunt / arboribus, crescunt ipsae fetuque gravantur* (Lucr. 1. 252-253); *nec minus interea fetu nemus omne gravescit* (G. 2. 429).

40. Pierides ... Musae: The association of the Muses with Pieria in Macedonia goes back to Hesiod: Μοῦσαι Πιερίηθεν (Hes. *Op.* 1). Hesiod says Pieria was their birthplace (Hes. *Th.* 52-54); Cicero, though, says that the Muses are called *Pieridae* or *Pieriae* because their father was Pierus (*Nat. D.* 3. 54). Vergil refers to the Muses as *Musae* or *Pierides* but never combines the two terms, as Col. does. Varro, by contrast, regards an invocation to the Muses as inappropriate for an agricultural treatise and instead invokes Roman and agricultural gods: *primo invocabo eos, nec, ut Homerus et Ennius, Musas* (*Rust.* 1. 1. 5).

By invoking the Muses as his inspiration, Col. puts himself in the line of Hesiod (*Op.* 1, *Theog.* 1) and of Vergil in the *Georgics* (*me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae ... / accipiant*, G. 2. 475-477)¹³ as a didactic poet. Manilius (1. 4-5) alludes to the Muses but does not actually invoke them: *aggredior primusque novis Heliconam movere / cantibus*. Muses are also invoked as the inspiration for epic poetry (Hom. *Od.* 1; *Aen.* 1. 8; 10. 163). See *Calliope* (225).

Tenui deducite carmine: This recalls the invocation at the beginning of the *Metamorphoses*: *ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen* (Ov. *Met.* 1. 4); cf. *deductum dicere carmen* (*Ecl.* 6. 5). As Clausen (1994, 180) notes, the image is drawn

¹³ When Boldrer (1996, 252) asserts: "Virgilio ... non nomina Calliope né invoca le Muse nelle *Georgiche*" she has either overlooked this passage, or does not regard it as an invocation. Vergil is asking the Muses to inspire the sort of didactic poet that he ostensibly aspires to be.

from spinning: cf. *dextera tum leviter deducens fila supinis / formabat digitis* (Cat. 64. 312-313); *tenui deducta poemata filo* (Hor. *Epist.* 2. 1. 2).

Henderson (2002, 52, 127-128 n. 10) translates *deducite* as “channel” and comments: “A metaphor of producing text as ‘spinning thread’ adapts for the garden here as ‘channeling water.’ Col. wants classical poetry to irrigate his gardening, fetching inspiration all the way from the primal Greek source of Hesiod’s farming poem, *Works and Days* (*Pierides*, v. 1), through the refining channels of later Greek poetry ... Now the tradition feeds Columella, he derives direct inspiration here, not from Virgil’s *Georgics*, but from *his* first poems, the *Eclogues* (reworking 6.5).” If Henderson is correct, then this is another instance of Col. likening poet and gardener, and the act of writing poetry to that of tending a garden.

Ash (1930, 42) connects *tenuis* with the style of diction (*genus dicendi*) which Aulus Gellius (*NA* 6. 14. 1-3) calls *gracilis* (as opposed to the other two styles he lists, *uber* and *mediocris*; but this overlooks the poetic, Callimachean associations of *tenuis* / λεπτός. See *tenuem* (Pr. 4).

Winter Tasks (Lines 41-76)

41. Sitiens ... Canis: Sirius, the Dog Star, generally *Canis* or *Canicula* in Latin (Plin. *HN* 28. 287; Cic. *Div.* 2. 93;); both terms can also refer to Procyon, the Lesser Dog (Plin. *HN* 18. 268; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 4). Col. clearly distinguishes between Procyon and Canicula (11. 2. 52); Cicero and Hyginus identify Canicula with Procyon, distinguishing it from Canis (Cic. *Arat.* 450(222), 594-595(377-378); *Nat. D.* 2. 111; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 4. 4). Sirius, identified by modern astronomers as α Canis Majoris (Ridpath 2004, 105), is the principal star in the constellation Canis Major and the

brightest star in the night sky (Ridpath 2004, 111). Col. mentions Sirius twice more in the poem (289, 400).

Canis Major was thought to represent Maera, the dog of Erigone, daughter of Icarius (cf. *canis Erigones*, 400). When Icarius was killed, Maera showed Erigone where her father's body was; Erigone then killed herself. Erigone became the constellation Virgo (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 25. 2)¹⁴ and her dog became the star Sirius (Hyg. *Fab.* 130; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 4, though Hyginus identifies Procyon as Maera). Hyginus also records alternative stories about the constellation: it is the dog of Procris, wife of Cepheus; or the dog of Orion—Homer calls the star κύων Ὀρίωνος, Orion's dog (Hom. *Il.* 22. 29)—or of Icarius (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 35). Hyginus (*Poet. astr.* 2. 36) also mentions another tradition in which Procyon represents the dog of Orion.

Ash asserts that Col. "refers to the supposed setting of the Dog Star in the Ocean" (Ash 1930, 43), but ancient sources do not mention a setting of Sirius at the time of the fall equinox. According to Col., Sirius sets at sunrise on 25 November (11. 2. 89) and in the evening on 30 April (11. 2. 37).¹⁵

Boldrer (1996, 136) regards this mention of Sirius, followed by the later mention of it in line 400, as an illustration of ring composition in the poem.

The Dog Star was often associated with dryness and heat: cf. ἐπεὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ γούνατα Σείριος ἄζει (Hes. *Op.* 587); *fervidus ille Canis* (Cic. *Arat.* 349 (108)); *iam rapidus torrens sitientis Sirius Indos / ardebat caelo* (G. 4. 425-426); *tum sterilis exurere*

¹⁴ Vergil calls the constellation Virgo *Erigone*: cf. *qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentes / panditur* (G. 1. 33-34). Aratus calls it Παρθένος (*Phaen.* 97, 491, 546).

¹⁵ Col. (11. 2. 94) and Pliny (*HN* 18. 34) also state that Sirius sets at sunrise on 30 December, but this is wrong (LeBoeuffe 1964, 331).

Sirius agros (*Aen.* 3. 141); *te flagrantis atrax hora Caniculae / nescit tangere* (*Hor. Carm.* 3. 13. 9-10); *sitiensque Canicula* (*Ov. Ars am.* 2. 231); *incipit et sicco fervere terra Cane* (*Prop.* 2. 28. 4); *aestivi tempora sicca Canis* (*Tib.* 1. 4. 6); *Canis arenti torreat arva siti* (*Tib.* 1. 4. 42); *aestui Caniculae* (*Hyg. Poet. astr.* 2. 4. 6). See *Sirius ardor* (289). The Greek name Σείριος, found in Hesiod and Aratus (*Phaen.* 331-332), may come from σείριος, “destructive” (LSJ); cf. *existimatur et Sirion appellasse propter flammae candorem* (*Hyg. Poet. astr.* 2. 35).¹⁶

According to Col., Sirius rose on 26 July (11. 2. 52); Pliny (*HN* 18. 270) puts its rising on the 23rd day after the solstice. Varro (*Rust.* 1. 28. 2). puts the rising of Sirius at 27 days after the summer solstice and 67 days before the fall equinox. All of these point to a rising in late July, which marked the arrival of the hot days of late summer.

42. Titan: Refers to the Sun: *ubi primos crastinus ortus / extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem* (*Aen.* 4. 119); *nullus adhuc mundo praebebat lumina Titan* (*Ov. Met.* 1. 10); *iungere equos Titan velocibus imperat Horis* (*Ov. Met.* 2. 118); *iam tempora Titan / quinque per autumnos repetiti duxerat anni* (*Ov. Met.* 6. 438).

In Homer (*Od.* 1. 8), Hesiod (*Theog.* 371-374), and the Homeric Hymns (*Hom. Hymn Hel.* 4-7, *Hom. Hymn Ath.* 13-14), the sun god, Helios, is the son of Hyperion,¹⁷ one of the Titans (*Hes. Theog.* 132-134); cf. *Hyperione nate* (*Ov. Met.* 4. 192). As the son of a Titan, the sun can thus also be referred to as *Titan* (OLD). See *canis Erigones flagrans Hyperionis aestu* (400).

¹⁶ Kidd (1997, 308), however, states that its “derivation ... is uncertain.”

¹⁷ Ὑπερίων, “the one going overhead.”

Paribus ... orbem libraverit horis: This refers to the autumnal equinox, which Col. variously puts at 23 September (2. 8. 2) or between 24-26 September (11. 2. 66). At this time the sun is in the constellation Libra: *XIII Kal. Oct. Sol in Libram transitum facit* (11. 22. 65); *Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas, / et medium luci atque umbris iam dividit orbem* (G. 1. 208-209).

Libra is a late addition to the Zodiac; it is the only Zodiac constellation that isn't a ζῳον. Aratus calls this constellation the Claws (χηλαί) of Scorpio (*Phaen.* 546), a name which, Latinized as *chelae*, Cicero (*Arat.* 569 (323)) and Germanicus (*Arat.* 607) retain in their translations of Aratus. Hyginus remarks: *nulla sunt duodecim signa, sed undecim ideo quod Scorpio magnitudine sui corporis duorum locum occupat signorum, e quibus prior pars Chelae, reliqua autem Scorpio vocatur* (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 4. 5); cf. *scorpios hinc duplum quam cetera possidet orbis / sidera, per chelas geminato lumine fulgens* (Germ. *Arat.* 548-549).

In the *Georgics* Vergil suggests that Scorpio will withdraw his Claws to create room for a new constellation between Virgo (*Erigone*: cf. Man. 2. 32; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 25. 2; Hyg. *Fab.* 224) and Scorpio; this will be Libra, representing Augustus, whose birthday, according to Suetonius (*Aug.* 5) was 23 September:¹⁸

*anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis
panditur (ipse tibi iam brachia contrahit ardens
Scorpios et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit)* (G. 1. 32-35)

Manilius calls this constellation both *Libra* (Man. 1. 267) and *Chelae* (Man. 2. 524).

Petronius (*Sat.* 35.3) and Pliny (*HN* 18. 221) call it *Libra*, as does Col. elsewhere (11. 2.

¹⁸ Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 100; also Scheid (2009, 293): "23 September [was] the first day of the festival marking Augustus' birthday."

65), without any reference to Scorpio's Claws. As the Balance (*Libra*) it is appropriate to the equinox, where it balances (*libraverit*) day and night. See also *chelas* (56).

43-44. Satur Autumnus quassans sua tempora pomis / sordidus et musto:

Ash (1930, 43) construes *pomis* with *quassans sua tempora* and reads this as an allusion to the wreaths of fruits offered to Vertumnus, "hence Autumnus may be said to be crowned with fruits;" cf. *insitor hic soluit pomosa vota corona* (Prop. 4. 2. 17); *cum decorum mitibus pomis caput / Autumnus agris extulit* (Hor. Ep. 2. 17-18). Richter's (1981-1983 v. 2, 425) interpretation is similar: "sein Haupt mit Früchten schüttelnd." Boldrer takes *pomis* as an ablative of specification (AG 418) with *satur*, describing Autumnus (Boldrer 1996, 137); cf. *pomifer Autumnus* (Hor. Carm. 4. 7. 11); *poma dat autumnus* (Ov. Rem. am. 187); and elsewhere in Col., *versicoloribus pomis gravidus conlucet Autumnus* (3. 21.3); for *satur* with a qualifying ablative, cf. *satur pane* (Petron. Sat. 58. 3). Boldrer (1996, 137) further views the word order of *et sordidus* as an anastrophe (AG 640), similar to that found in lines 54, 80, and 133.

Santoro, Forster, and Saint-Denis construe *pomis* and *musto* as ablatives of specification with *sordidus* in the next line, an interpretation which seems more supported by the syntax and the position of *et* than the others; though if Boldrer is correct that *et sordidus* is an anastrophe, Ash's interpretation of *pomis* also makes sense. Both Ash and Richter construe *musto* as an ablative of specification with *sordidus*.

For this image of Autumnus stained with wine/juice, cf. *venerat Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis* (Ov. Fast. 4. 897); *stabat et Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis* (Ov. Met. 2. 29); *huc, pater o Lенаее, veni nudataque musto / tinge novo mecum dereptis*

crura cothurnis (G. 2. 7-8) For the possible meanings of *pomum*, cf. note above on *pomis* (line 15).

45. Ferrato ... robore palae: The *pala* is a “long-handled spade”¹⁹ ... normally used for turning over light or well-worked soils, especially in gardens and orchards.... In light or well-worked soils a mere stirring of the top spit of earth is all that is necessary; the triangular or shield-shaped *pala* ... is very well suited to the work” (White 1967, 18-19). Cato (*Agr.* 137. 1) includes it in a list of necessary farming implements: *cuculliones, ferramenta, falces, palas, ligones, secures, ornamenta, murices, catellas*.²⁰ More specifically, Cato lists *III palas* (*Agr.* 10. 3) in his equipment inventory for an olive grove, and *VI palas* (*Agr.* 10. 4) in his inventory for a vineyard.²¹ Pliny also mentions the *pala*: *sulco latitudo palae satis est* (*HN* 17. 167); *cuspidem palae habet* (*HN* 18. 172, describing the shape of particular type of plow blade). Cf. *seu fossam fodiens palae innixus, seu cum araret, operi certe, id quod constat, agresti intentus* (*Livy* 3. 26. 9, on Cincinnatus at his farm).

46. Dulcis humus, si iam pluviis defessa madebit: Col. elsewhere refers to *terra as dulcis: multa sunt, quae et dulcem terram et frumentis habilem significant* (2. 2. 20). This is in the context of describing a method for determining the sweetness of the

¹⁹ White (1967, 14) distinguishes between spades and mattocks: “There are two important differences between the actions of spades and forks on the one hand, and picks and mattocks on the other; first, the spade and the fork press into and lift up the earth, while the pick and the mattock dislodge it by striking; secondly, the digger with spade or fork works backwards from the starting-point, while the striker with pick or mattock works forwards.” For the mattock, see *latis eradere viscera marris* (72); *fracti dente lignonis* (89).

²⁰ Cato’s *palas ligneas* (*Agr.* 11. 5) are wooden shovels or scoops (White 1967, 31).

²¹ White (1967, 18) comments: “That [the *pala*’s] use was limited is evident from Cato’s inventories; he requires only four *palae* for working his olive grove, as against six ploughs [cf. *aratra cum vomeribus VI*, Cato *Agr.* 10. 2]. The two additional *palae* required for the vineyard are easily accounted for: the closer spacing of vines would require far more plants to the acre.”

soil by soaking it in water and tasting the water, a method also described by Vergil, though he focuses on determining whether a particular soil is *amara* (G. 2. 238-247). Pliny (HN 17. 39) expands on the desirability of sweet-tasting and sweet-smelling soil, particularly after rain: *ita est profecto, illa [terra] erit optima quae unguenta sapiet. ... et cum a siccitate continua immaduit imbre. tunc emittit illum suum halitum divinum ex sole conceptum, cui comparari nulla suavitas possit. ... ac de terra odor optime iudicabit.*

48-49. Tum iussi ... compleat ora: Col. is describing the construction of irrigation channels. He elsewhere refers to irrigation either from a nearby stream or from a well, but does not mention channels: *quique [sc. ager] adveniente rivo, vel si non sit fluens aqua, fonte puteali possit rigari* (11. 3. 8). Vergil also comments on the use of irrigation channels:

*deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis
et, cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,
ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam
elicit? illa cadens raucum per levia murmur
saxa ciet scatebrisque arentia temperat arva* (G. 1. 106-109).

Vergil imitates Homer's comparison of Achilles fighting the Scamander to a man digging an irrigation channel: Hom. *Il.* 21. 257-262; cf. Thomas 1988 v. 1, 84; Ross 1987, 49-50. Vergil further asserts that digging irrigation trenches is permissible on holy days: *quippe etiam festis quaedam exercere diebus / fas et iura sinunt: rivos deducere nulla / religio vetuit* (G. 1. 268-270).

51. Iuppiter abnegat imbrem: The sky or weather is often personified as Jupiter: cf. *quod latus mundi nebulae malusque / Iuppiter urget* (Hor. *Carm.* 1. 22. 19-20); *et iam maturis metuendus Iuppiter uvis* (G. 2. 419); *quamvis caeruleo siccus Iove*

fulgeat aether (Aetna 333); cum pluvias madidumque Iovem perferre negaret (Mart. 7. 36. 1); fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus / Iuppiter (Juv. 5. 78-79).

52. Expectetur hiemps: Late fall is the time of wintry storms and rain; cf. *hiemales pluviae (11. 3. 10)*. According to Pliny, this period lasts from the end of October to 11 November, when winter begins: *post id aequinoctium diebus fere quattuor et quadraginta Vergiliarum occasus hiemem inchoat, quod tempus in III idus Novembres [= 11 November] incidere consuevit (Plin. HN 2. 125)*. Col. puts the setting of the Pleiades (*Vergiliae*) and the onset of the stormy period variously at 24 October, 28 October, and 8 November: *propter quod intellegi debet tritici satio dierum sex et quadraginta ab occasu Vergiliarum, qui fit ante diem nonum Kalendas Novembris [= 24 October], ad brumae tempora (2. 8. 2); V Kal. Nov. [= 28 October] Vergiliae occidunt; hiemat cum frigore et gelicidiis (11. 2. 78); VI Id. Nov. [= 8 November] Vergiliae mane occidunt, significant tempestatem, hiemat (11. 2. 84)*. Col. puts the beginning of winter at 10 November, one day before Pliny: *III Id. Nov. Hiemis initium (11. 2. 84)*. For the Pleiades (*Vergiliae*), see *Atlantides (54)*.

Bacchi Cnosius ardor: Rodgers and Forster print *Cnosius*; Ash, Santoro, Saint-Denis, Fernández-Galiano, Richter, and Boldrer print *Gnosius*, found in later mss.; the oldest mss. read *noxius*, which Marsili alone of modern editors prints. In support of *Gnosius*, cf. *Gnosiaque ardentis decedat stella Corona (G. 1. 222)*.

Cnosius = Cretan; Col. is referring to the constellation called Corona Borealis, which is supposed to be the crown of the Cretan princess Ariadne, daughter of Minos, who was married by Bacchus after Theseus abandoned her (Ridpath 1988, 55-56; cf. Aratus *Phaen.* 71-72). For Bacchus marrying Ariadne, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 947-948; Hyg.

Fab. 43; Catull. 64. 251-253; for her crown becoming a constellation, cf. *Bacchus amat flores: Baccho placuisse coronam / ex Ariadneo sidere nosse potes* (Ov. *Fast.* 5. 345-346); Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 5, which also records alternate versions in which the crown had been given to Bacchus by Venus, or was a crown given to Theseus by Thetis. Ovid also calls the constellation *Cressa Corona* (Ov. *Ars am.* 1. 558); Manilius (5. 21) calls it *Ariadnaea Corona*; Aratus (*Phaen.* 71) calls it simply Στέφανος.

Col. states that Corona Borealis begins to rise on 5 October and rises entirely on the mornings of 13-14 October, and that these risings portend stormy weather (11. 2. 73-74).

54. Solis et adversos: This is an example of anastrophe (AG 640), similar to that found in lines 44 (possibly), 80, and 133.

Atlantides: A cluster of stars in the constellation Taurus, said to be the daughters of Atlas: Πληιάδων Ἀτλαγενέων (Hes. *Op.* 383; cf. Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 21. 2). A smaller group of them were called the Hyades; Ovid (Ov. *Fast.* 5. 166) connects this name with the Greek ὕειν, “to rain,” but some authors connected it with ὕς, “pig,” which led to their being called *Suculae* (“little pigs”) in Latin (11. 2. 35; Plin. *HN* 18. 247). In addition to these explanations, Hyginus and Gellius also include the story that these stars represent the sisters of Hyas (Hyg. *Fab.* 192; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 21; Gell. *NA* 13. 9. 4-5). Pliny says that the Hyades are associated with stormy weather (Plin. *HN* 18. 247).

The remaining stars in the cluster were called the Pleiades, after their mother, Pleione (Ov. *Fast.* 5. 83-84); or because they represented a majority (πλείονες) of the

sisters, since the Pleiades outnumbered the Hyades (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 21. 2); or perhaps because of the association of the Pleiades with sailing (πλεῖν), since their setting marked the onset of storms and thus end of the sailing season (Hes. *Op.* 618-622; Kidd 1997, 275). Kidd also records an ancient association of their name with πελειάς, “dove” (cf. Hom. *Il.* 11. 634), because they fled and were turned into doves (πελειάδες) at the approach of Orion (Kidd 1997, 275; cf. Hes. *Op.* 619-620); the name of the star grouping is also found as Πελειάδες (e.g., Pi. *N.* 2. 11).

The Pleiades were also called *Vergiliae* in Latin because they rose at the end of spring (*ver*) (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 21. 4); *stellae sunt septem quas Vergilias nostri, Graeci autem Pliadas appellaverunt* (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 3. 20). Col. elsewhere mentions the Pleiades only in Books 2, 9, and 11 and always calls them *Vergiliae*.

Their setting was supposed to be accompanied by stormy weather (11. 2. 34; Ov. *Fast.* 5. 83-84; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 21. 4). At this time of the year they are setting in the morning, as the sun is rising (11. 2. 84); hence they “fear” the sun rising opposite them (*adversos ... ortus*) (Ash 1930, 45; Forster 1968, 10). According to Hesiod, the setting of the Pleiades and Hyades marked the time for fall plowing (Hes. *Op.* 383-384, 614-617; cf. Plin. *HN* 18. 225). Pliny (*HN* 28. 280) remarks that the rising and setting of the Pleiades frame ripening and harvesting in the agricultural year: *vergilias privatim attinent ad fructus, ut quarum exortu aestas incipiat, occasu hiems, semenstri spatio intra se messes vindemiasque et omnium maturitatem complexis*.

Col. elsewhere gives two different dates for the setting of the Pleiades: 24 October (2. 8. 2) or 28 October (11. 2. 78); Pliny puts it on 11 November (Plin. *HN* 18.

225), and states that this marks the beginning of winter (Plin. *HN* 2. 125). Pliny also notes that Hesiod (in a work now lost) put the morning setting of the Pleiades at the end of the autumnal equinox, but that other authorities differed (Plin. *HN* 18. 213). See also *expectetur hiemps* (52).

55-57. Atque ... equino: This passage refers to the passing of the sun from Scorpio to Sagittarius. According to Col., this occurred on 18 November: *XIII Kal. Dec. sol in Sagittarium transitum facit* (11. 2. 88).

55. Olympto: *Olympto* is poetic for *caelo*: *caelum dicunt Graeci Olympum* (Varro, *Ling.* 7. 20); cf. *invito processit Vesper Olympto* (*Ecl.* 6. 86); *ante diem clause componet Vesper Olympto* (*Aen.* 1. 374).

56. Chelas et spicula: Col. designates the constellation Scorpio just by its Claws (*chelae*) and stings (*spicula*); but Aratus (*Phaen.* 546) and Vergil (*G.* 1.33) use *χηλαί/chelae* (Claws of Scorpio) to designate the constellation later known as Libra; see *paribus ... orbem libraverit horis* (42).

For the Scorpion's *spicula*, cf. *Ov. Fast.* 5. 542; *Germ. Arat.* 657. This is not to be confused with the star Spica (Greek Στάχυς; cf. Aratus *Phaen.* 97), called α Virginis by modern astronomers, the brightest star in the constellation Virgo (Ridpath 2004, 111), representing the ear of grain (*spica*) which the figure holds in her hand: *[stella] quae est in dextra manu, ea cum spicis esse dicitur* (*Hyg. Poet. astr.* 3. 24; Ridpath 1988, 132); cf. *XIII Kal. Oct. Spica Virginis exoritur* (11. 2. 65).

Phoebus: Phoebus (Greek Φοῖβος) is another name/title for Apollo (cf. *Hom. Il.* 1. 43; *Hes. Theog.* 14). Col. never uses the name *Apollo* in the poem. He uses

Phoebus also in lines 246, 283, and 295. Cf. also *Latonia Phoebe* (288) for Diana (as the moon). He refers to the sun as *Titan* at 42 and 312; see *Titan* (42).

57. Nepae: *Nepa* is a scorpion: *cornibus uti videmus boves, nepas aculeis* (Cic. *Fin.* 5. 42). *Nepa* is thus also another designation for the constellation Scorpio; cf. Cic. *Arat.* 570(324). Germanicus (*Arat.* 548), calls it *Scorpios* following Aratus' Σκορπίος (*Phaen.* 546); Hyginus calls it *Scorpius* (*Hyg. Poet. astr.* 2. 26, 3. 25); Petronius calls it *Scorpio* (*Sat.* 35. 4). Manilius calls it both *Scorpios* (*Man.* 1. 268) and *Nepa* (*Man.* 2. 32). Col. says elsewhere that it begins to rise on 26 October: *VII Kal. Nov. Nepae frons exoritur* (11. 2. 78).

Tergoque Croti ... equino: Crotus is the constellation Sagittarius, an archer portrayed as a centaur: *Sagittarius autem ... Centauri corpora figuratur, velut mittere incipiens sagittam* (*Hyg. Astr.* 3. 26); *mixtus equo volucrem missurus iamque sagittam* (*Man.* 1. 270). Aratus (*Phaen.* 546) calls it Τοξευτής, which Cicero (*Arat.* 311(73)) renders as *Sagittipotens* and Germanicus (*Arat.* 551) as *Sagittifer*. Manilius variously calls it *Sagittarius* (*Man.* 2. 280), *Sagittifer* (*Man.* 2. 267), *Arcitenens* (*Man.* 2. 246), and *Centaurus* (*Man.* 241). Sagittarius is not to be confused with a different constellation called Centaurus, the centaur (*Aratus Phaen.* 431; *Man.* 1. 418; *Hyg. Poet. astr.* 3. 37; see *Chiron*, 348). According to Hyginus (*Poet. astr.* 2. 27; *Fab.* 224. 3), the constellation Sagittarius represents Crotus, son of Pan and Eupheme, nurse of the Muses.²²

²² Col. (11. 2. 20) says that Sagittarius sets on the Kalends of February, but this is an error, probably due to confusion with another constellation, *Sagitta*, the Arrow (LeBoeuffle 1964, 328).

58. Ne parcite: For a prohibition (negative command) consisting of the present imperative with *ne*, cf. *ne dubita* (73); cf. also *ne prohibete* (G. 1. 501); *equo ne credite, Teucra* (*Aen.* 2. 48). This construction is found in early Latin and in poetry (AG 450a).

59. Ista Prometheae genetrix fuit altera create: According to one version of the creation story, the original race of humans was created by Prometheus out of earth: *fertur Prometheus addere principi / limo particulam undique / desectam* (Hor. *Carm.* 1. 16. 13-15); *recens tellus ... / quam satus lapeto mixtam pluvialibus undis, / finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta deorum* (Ov. *Met.* 1. 80, 83); *quibus arte benigna / et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan* (Juv. 14. 34-35); ταῦτα ἔτι λείπεσθαι τοῦ πηλοῦ λέγουσι ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἅπαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸ γένος πλασθῆναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων (Paus. 10. 4. 4); cf. also Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 7. 1. This story is not found in Hesiod.

60. Altera nos enixa parens: The race created from earth by Prometheus was destroyed in the Flood because of its wickedness, and a new race was created out of stones by the survivors, Deucalion and Pyrrha; cf. Ov. *Met.* 1. 381-415; G. 1. 62-63; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 7. 2. Thus the earth is not the mother of the present race of humans, which instead is descended from the rocks thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha.

60-62. Quo tempore ... terruit umbras: A reference to the story of the Flood; cf. Ov. *Met.* 1. 253-312; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 7. 2.

Quo tempore saevos: Cf. *quo tempore primum* (G. 1.61), in Vergil's reference to the story of Deucalion. Col. puts the phrase *quo tempore* in the same position in the line as Vergil, and at almost the same point in the poem (line 60 of Col. 10 vs. line 61 of G. 1).

62. Barathrum: A loan word from Greek βάραθρον, referring to a pit or abyss; cf. *atque immo barathri ter gurgite vastos / sorbet in abruptum fluctus* (Aen. 3. 421, referring to the bottom of the sea). Also used to indicate the underworld: *nec quisquam in barathrum nec Tartara deditur atra* (Lucr. 3. 966); *superque immane barathrum / cernatur, trepidant immisso lumine Manes* (Aen. 8. 245-246); *infernus qualis sub nocte barathri* (V. Fl. 2. 192)

Lethaeas ... undas: Refers to the waters of Lethe, a river in the underworld, and thus to the underworld in general: *namque mei nuper Lethaeo gurgite fratris / pallidulum manas alluit unda pedem* (Catull. 65. 5-6); *Lethaei ad fluminis undam* (Aen. 6. 714); *nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro / vincula Perithoo* (Hor. Carm. 4. 7. 27-28); cf. also *raptaque, Lethaei coniunx mox facta tyranni* (271, of Persephone). For the phrase *Lethaeas ... undas*, cf. *at mea Manes / viscera Lethaeas cogunt transnare per undas* (Culex 214-215).

63. Stygium regem trementem: A reference to Hades/Pluto; cf. *Stygio regi* (Aen. 6. 252). *Stygius* refers to the River Styx, and thus to the underworld in general: *saevit et in lucem Stygiis emissa tenebris / pallida Tisiphone* (G. 3. 551-552); *Stygiis ... manibus* (Ov. Met. 4. 115-116). Cf. also *rex tremendus* (G. 4. 469); *te Stygii tremuere lacus* (Aen. 8. 296).

65-67. Nos fecunda manus ... Deucalioneae cautes peperere: Col. refers more explicitly to the story of the creation of humans from rocks thrown by Deucalion; cf. *Deucalion vacuum lapides iactavit in orbem / unde homines nati, durum genus* (G. 1. 62-63); *inde genus durum sumus experiensque laborum, / et documenta damus, qua simus origine nati* (Ov. Met. 1. 414-415).

65. Fecunda manus: The hands of Deucalion and Pyrrha (Ash 1930, 47) are called *fecundae* because, by throwing rocks, they been the source of new life; cf. *Ov. Met.* 1. 399-413. Vergil uses *fecundus* to describe the fertility of the soil (cf. *tellus fecunda*, *G.* 1. 67) and the rain that stirs up life in the earth: *tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether / coniugis in gremium laetae descendit et omnis / magnus alit magno commixtus corpora fetus* (*G.* 2. 325-327).

68. Durior aeternusque vocat labor: Cf. *difficilis nostra poscitur arte labor* (*Ov. Ars am.* 2. 538), where Ovid recalls himself to his theme after a digression. *Labor* can denote the work of the both the poet and the gardener. See *laboris nostri* (*Pr.* 4); *incola durus* (22).

68-69. Heia age segnis / pellite nunc somnos: This phrasing recalls *en age segnis / rumpe moras* (*G.* 3. 42-43): *age segnis* at the end of the line, followed by an imperative and the accusative noun modified by *segnis* (though *Col.* adds *nunc* between the imperative and the noun). Cf. also the imperative *ergo age* (*G.* 1. 63), immediately following Vergil's recounting of the Deucalion creation myth. *Col.* follows his Vergilian model (*G.* 1. 60-63) in shifting from the Deucalion creation myth to an exhortation to the farmer to begin his plowing. For the idea of awakening the gardeners from their slumber and calling them to work, cf. *invigilate viri* (159). Similarly, the poet recalls himself from his reverie and prepares to resume his assigned task (215-229).

69-73. Et curvi vomere ... ne dubita: The *vomer* is the plow,²³ *dens* refers to the sole or share-beam;²⁴ cf. *vomeris obtunsi dentem* (G. 1. 262). For *curvi ... dentis* cf. *curvi formam aratri* (G. 1. 170); *curvo sine vomere* (Ov. Am. 3. 8. 39).

For the image of plowing as “wounding” the earth, cf. *colla iube domitos oneri supponere tauros, / sauciet ut duram vomer aduncus humum* (Ov. Rem. am. 171-172); *solutis / ver nivibus viridem monti reparavit amictum* (Claud. B. Get. 167-168).

For the image of tree foliage as hair, cf. *nemorum coma* (Hor. Carm. 1. 21. 5); *redeunt iam gramina campis arboribusque comae* (Hor. Carm. 4. 7. 1-2); *comata silva* (Catull. 34. 9). Col. extends this image to garden plants: *comae* (70, 98, 165, 188, 277, 297, 335); *crines* (165, 181, 238). Col. again likens the earth to a woman with plants for hair at 164-168.

71. Gravibus rastris: Cf. *aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis* (G. 1. 496); *et gravibus rastris sub love versat humum.* (Ov. Ars am. 1. 726).

The *rastrum* is a drag-hoe,²⁵ “a multi-purpose implement ... for digging and clearing the surface of the soil ... for breaking ground as a substitute for the plough ... and particularly for reducing the large clods left after ploughing” (White 1967, 55); cf.

²³ Cf. *eius* [sc. *aratri*] *ferrum vomer, quod vomit eo plus terram* (Varro, Ling. 5. 135). Strictly speaking *vomer* refers to the plowshare; but White (1967, 132) remarks: “The term ‘vomer’ is often used, especially in poetry, to denote the whole plough.” Strictly speaking, the plow as a whole is *aratrum* (White 1967, 123-129); cf. *aratrum, quod arat terram* (Varro, Ling. 5. 134).

²⁴ Cf. *dens, quod eo mordetur terra* (Varro, Ling. 5. 135). Also *dentale* (White 1967, 130); cf. *duplici dentalia dorso* (G. 1. 172); [Celsus] *censet et exiguis vomeribus et dentalibus terram subigere* (2. 2. 24); *tertium* [sc. *genus vomeris*] *in solo facili non toto porrectum dentali sed exigua cuspidem in rostro* (Plin. HN 18. 171). White (1967, 130) describes the relationship between the *dens/dentale* and the *vomer*: “The sole or share-beam (*dentale*) is the essential part of the plough, and indeed can be regarded as the plough itself. Since it was commonly protected against friction by an iron sheath (the *vomer*) the term *vomer* was often, especially in poetry, used for the whole plough.”

²⁵ The plural is generally masculine, *rastri* (White 1967, 52; OLD); cf. *rastri, quibus dentatis penitus eradunt terram atque eruunt, a quo rutu rastri dicti* (Varro, Ling. 5. 136).

multum adeo, rastris glaebas qui frangit inertis / vimineasque trahit crates, iuvat arva (G. 1. 94-95); *rapi subactum solum pluribus iterationibus aratri vel rastris postulant* (2. 10. 23); *quod superest inferioris soli rastris licet effodere* (3. 11. 3); *aratione per transversum iterate occatio sequitur, ubi res posecit, crate vel rastro* (Plin. HN 18. 180).

Cunctantia perfode terga: For the image of plowing as “piercing” the earth’s “back” which “resists,” cf. *glaebas cunctantis crassaque terga / exspecta et validis terram proscinde iuvenis* (G. 2. 236-237). Cf. also Col.’s earlier reference to *resolutaque terga* (7).

Col. uses forms of *perfodere* in this sense elsewhere: *alte perfossum novalia terga* (2. 2. 23); *solum ... mox bidentibus aequaliter perfossum* (11. 3. 56); *solum terrenum, priusquam consternatur, perfossum* (1. 6. 12).

72. Latis eradere viscera marris: All recent editors accept *marris*, a reading found in later mss., instead of *matris*, the reading of the majority of mss., including the earliest ones. For the phrase *eradere viscere*, cf. *avolsaque viscera montis* (*Aen.* 3. 575); Vergil’s genitive *montis* immediately following *viscera* may have influenced the corruption of *marris* to *matris* in this line.²⁶

The *marra* is a kind of mattock or hoe.²⁷ White (1967, 40-41) remarks: “neither the shape nor the functions of this implement can be precisely determined from the

²⁶ It is possible that a scribe interpreted *matris* as *marris*; this sort of letter confusion is not uncommon, and the fact that *mater* is a more frequently used word than *marra* might also have influenced a scribe’s interpretation of the text. Cf. Reynolds 1991, 221-223.

²⁷ White (1967, 36) groups mattocks, hoes, and axes together because of their similar shape and function, but he notes the differences: “Mattocks differ from axes in the relation of the blade of the implement to the haft. In mattock-type implements the haft is set at right-angles to the width of the blade, while in axes the edge of the blade lies parallel to the haft.... Both types employ a striking or dragging action, and are thus clearly distinguished from spades and shovels.” For the distinction between spades and mattocks, see *ferrato ... robore palae* (45).

evidence.” Pliny mentions the *marra*: *solum apricum ... bidente pastinari debet ternos pedes, bipalio aut marra reici quaternum pedum fermento* (HN 17. 159); *verno sariri debet liberarique ceteris herbis, ad trimatum marris ad solum radi* (HN 18. 147). Cf. *maximus in vinclis ferri modus, ut timeas ne / vomer deficiat, ne marra et sarcula desint* (Juv. 3. 310-311); *cum rastra et sarcula tantum / adsueti coquere, et marris ac vomere lassi / nescierunt primi gladios extendere fabri* (Juv. 15. 166-168). White (1967, 41) observes, “[The *marra*] must have been a common enough implement, or it would surely not have appeared in Juvenal’s list along with ploughshares and hoes.” See *marrae ... dente* (89).

73. Ne dubita: For the imperative with *ne*, see *ne parcite* (58).

Et †summo frequentia caespite mixta†: The principal textual problem in this line is *frequentia*, which is the reading of a number of mss., including older mss., and which is printed (though obelized) by Rodgers; other older mss. read *frequenti* or *fremenia*. Neither *frequentia* or *fremenia* will fit metrically after *et summo* because of the short initial syllable. Gesner (1735, 699) conjectured *summoque* in place of *et summo* to obviate this difficulty, but no recent editor accepts it.

Various readings have been conjectured. All modern editors except Rodgers, Boldrer, and Richter retain *et summo* and then print Gesner’s conjecture *ferventia* (construed with *viscera* in the preceding line), based on a reading *ferventi* found in a later ms. For *terra* with *fervere*, cf. *incipit et sicco fervere terra Cane* (Prop. 2. 28. 4); *nec fit / corpus humo gelidum, sed humus de corpore fervet* (Ov. Met. 7. 559-560); also, *ferventia caedibus arva* (Sil. Pun. 9. 483). For *fervere* with *viscera*, cf. *qua viscera fervent* (Luc. 3. 644). Richter (1981-1983 v. 2, 426) conjectures *fermentis*, on the basis

of another passage in Col.: *purum quod superest inferioris soli rastris licet effodere et in fermentum congerere atque componere* (3. 11. 3).

Boldrer (1996, 155-156) rejects these and offers two alternatives: a reading found in a late ms., *frondenti* (to be construed with *caespite*), which she prints; and a conjecture *frigentia* (to be construed with *viscera*). In support of the former, describing the earth as *frondens*, cf. *ungula frondentem concussit cornea campum* (Luc. 6. 83); *tum vivo frondens e caespite tellus / aggeritur* (V. Fl. 5. 61-62). Col. elsewhere uses *frondens* to describe violets (100) and lettuce (109); cf. also *cum glebis vivacem caespitis herbam / contundat* (88), where *vivacem* suggests an image similar to *frondens*. Boldrer, however, dislikes the accumulation of ablatives in the line caused by this reading as well as by Richter's conjecture *fermentis*, and thus offers *frigentia* [*viscera*].

Caespite is printed by Rodgers, Forster, and Richter without comment; other editors print *cespite*, apparently the reading of the majority of the mss. *caespes* is the more common form in classical Latin, though *cespes* is found in later authors: cf. *vacuae pro cespite terrae* (Stat. *Silv.* 1. 1. 50). Boldrer (1996, 156) construes the ablative *caespite* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both *mixta* ("mixed with turf") and with *ponere* ("to place on the turf;" cf. *non duro liceat morientia caespite membra / ponere*, Luc. 5. 278-279).

Mixta (construed with *viscera*) is the reading of all mss. and is printed by all editors. Rodgers (2010, 405), however, objects to it because he considers the image it presents to be inappropriate for the context: "*mixta* suspectum (nam oportet caespitem deorsum verti, ut glaebae inferioris soli superiaceant)."

Of the suggested possibilities, Gesner's *ferventia* is the most convincing. Boldrer (1996, 156) offers no reason for rejecting this conjecture but simply remarks that her preferred reading is "tuttavia sembra preferibile." The transposition of *er* to *re* is a straightforward scribal error (Reynolds 1991, 229) and could lead to the development of the existing ms. readings. Other examples of *fervere* both with *viscera* and with words referring to the earth illustrate the existence of the image of entrails and the earth boiling. Finally, this reading offers a vivid picture of steaming earth, which will be "burned" again, yet actually frozen, by exposure to frost (74). The contrast between the steaming earth and the frozen (yet burning) frost suggests Vergil's picture of "the farmer's function to effect balance between opposing opposites" (Ross 1987, 51). I have thus adopted *ferventia* as the reading used for my translation.

74. Canis ... urenda pruinis: *Canus* here refers to the hoariness of the frost and has no connection with *canis*, dog. However, the collation of *canis pruinis* and *urenda* recalls the common image of the burning Dog Star; cf. *Canis* (41). In this instance, though, the burning is the result of extreme cold rather than extreme heat. For the phrase *canis pruinis*, cf. *frigora nec tantum cana concreta pruina* (G. 2. 376); *nec prata canis albicant pruinis* (Hor. *Carm.* 1. 4. 4); *prima quidem glacies et cana vincata pruina* (Petron. *Sat.* 123). Col. describes the same practice elsewhere: *igitur solum quod conserere vere destinaverimus, post autumnum patiemur effossum iacere brumae frigoribus et pruinis iniurendum* (11. 3. 13).

75. Verberibus gelidis ... Cauri: *Caurus* is the northwest wind; Col. elsewhere calls it *Corus* (11. 2. 21, 11. 2. 45, 11. 2. 63). Pliny, using an eight-point wind compass, identifies *Caurus* as the NW wind, called *Argestes* by the Greeks (*hunc Graeci ...*

Argesten vocant) and says that it blows *ab occasu solstitiali*, “from sunset at the solstice” (as distinguished from Favonius, the west wind, which blows *ab occasu aequinoctiali*) (Plin. *HN* 2. 119). Gellius, also using a compass of eight winds, also identifies *Caurus*, *quem solent Graeci appellare argesten*, as the NW wind (Gell. *NA* 2. 22. 12). Strabo, however, identifies ἄργέστης as the SW wind (Strab. 1. 2. 21). Aristotle, using a twelve-point wind compass, says that the WNW wind is variously called ἄργέστης, ὀλυμπίας, or σκίρων (Arist. *Mete.* 2. 6. 363b). Vitruvius names 24 winds, identifying those at blowing from the principal directions of the eight-point compass as *venti*, with two intermediate winds between each of the 8 *venti* identified as *flatus* rather than *venti*; he distinguishes *Caurus*, the NW wind (*ventus*), from *Corus*, the WNW wind (*flatus*), and identifies *Argestes* as the WWSW wind (*flatus*) (Vitr. *De arch.* 1. 6. 9-10). Vitruvius (*De arch.* 1. 6. 5) also mentions that some people regard *Corus* as another name for *Caurus*. Isidore of Seville uses a twelve-point wind compass with *Corus/Caurus* as the WNW wind, but without a NW wind (Isid. *Orig.* 13. 11. 3). Isidore further comments: *Corus est, qui ab occidente aestivo flat, et vocatus Corus, quod ipse ventorum circulum claudat, et quasi chorum faciat. Hic antea Caurus dictus, quem plerique Argesten dicunt, non ut imprudens vulgus Agrestem* (Isid. *Orig.* 13. 11. 10).

This wind brings freezing cold: cf. *VIII Kal. Mart. ... frigidus dies Aquilone vel Coro, interdum pluvia* (11. 2. 63); *semper spirantes frigora Cauri* (G. 3. 356).

76. Alliget ... Boreas Eurusque resolvat: On the image of the north wind binding and the east wind loosening, Ash (1930, 50) comments, “The earth is figuratively chained during the winter and released from her bonds in spring;” cf. *nec tibi tam prudens quisquam persuadeat auctor / tellurem Borea rigidam spirante moverit. /*

rura gelu tunc claudit hiems (G. 2. 315-317); *solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni* (Hor. Carm. 1. 4. 1); *et madidis Euri resolutae flatibus Alpes* (Luc. 1. 219); *ver magnus agebat / orbis et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri* (G. 2. 338-339).

Boreas: *Boreas* here is the north wind or northeast wind. Homer identifies four winds, at the four principal compass points, of which Βορέης is the north wind (Hom. *Od.* 5. 295-296; cf. Plin. *HN* 2. 119). Aristotle says that the north wind is called both βορέας and ἀπαρκτίας (Arist. *Mete.* 2. 6. 363 b). Pliny, however, identifies the wind called *Aquilo* in Latin, *Boreas* in Greek as the NE wind; he calls the north wind *Septentrio* (*Aparctias* in Greek): *a septentrionibus Septentrio, interque eum et exortum solstitialem Aquilo (Aparctias et Boreas dicti)* (Plin. *HN* 2. 119). Like Pliny, Vitruvius (*De arch.* 1. 6. 5) calls the north wind *Septentrio* and the NE wind *Aquilo*, of the eight principal winds he identifies. Gellius (*NA* 2. 22. 9) also identifies *Aquilo/Boreas* as the NE wind, and adds, *eumque propterea quidam dicunt ab Homero aithregeneten appellatum; boream autem putant dictum apo tes boes, quoniam sit violenti flatus et sonori*. Like Pliny, Isidore identifies the north wind as *Septentrio*: *Septentrio dictus eo quod circulo septem stellarum consurgit, quae vertente se mundo resupinato capite ferri videntur* (Isid. *Orig.* 13. 11. 11); he identifies the NNE wind as *Aquilo* (*porro Septentrio [habet] ... a sinistris Aquilonem*, Isid. *Orig.* 13. 11. 3), also called *Boreas*: *Aquilo dictus eo quod aquas stringat et nubes dissipet; [13] est enim gelidus ventus et siccus. Idem et Boreas, quia ab Hyperboreis montibus flat; inde enim origo eiusdem venti est; unde et frigidus est. Natura enim omnium septentrionalium ventorum frigida et sicca est, australium humida et calida* (Isid. *Orig.* 13. 11. 12). For the chill of the North Wind, cf. *Boreae penetrabile frigus* (G. 1. 93).

Col. uses the eight-point wind compass found in Pliny and Gellius; in his prose section on weather-signs (11. 2) he refers to seven winds by name, not naming a southeast wind. He uses the Greek name *Boreas* only in his poem, here and line 288 (*nubifugo Borea*). Elsewhere he names *Septentrio* (alternatively *venti septentrionales*, which he says are also called ὀρνιθίαι, 11. 2. 21; see *veris ... hirundo*, 80) and *Aquilo* as separate winds (e.g., 11. 2. 21).

Eurusque: *Eurus* is the east wind or southeast wind. Homer mentions Εὐρος as the east wind (Hom. *Od.* 5. 295; cf. Plin. *HN* 2. 119). For Aristotle, however, εὐρος is the ESE wind: οὗτος γὰρ ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς χειμερινῆς πνεῖ (Arist. *Mete.* 2. 6. 363b). Strabo disagrees; he puts its origin as the direction of the summer sunrise, making it more NE: τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ θερινῶν ἀνατολῶν εὐρον (Strab. 1. 2. 21). Gellius, like Homer, regards *Eurus* as the east wind: *qui ventus igitur ab oriente verno, id est aequinoctiali, venit, nominatur "eurus" ficto vocabulo, ut isti etymologikai aiunt, ho apo tes eous rheon. is alio quoque a Graecis nomine apheliotes, Romanis nauticis subsolanus cognominatur* (Gell. *NA* 2. 22. 7-8). Vitruvius (*De arch.* 1. 6. 5) identifies *Eurus* as the SE wind, *ab oriente hiberno*, of his eight principal winds; he further identifies *Ornithiae* as the ESE wind, which blows *certo tempore*, and *Vulturnus* as the SSE wind (*De arch.* 1. 6. 10). Pliny (*HN* 2. 119) calls the east wind *Solanus* (Greek: *Apeliotes*; *Apheliotes* at *HN* 18. 337) and the SE wind *Vulturnus* (Greek: *Eurus*). Isidore calls the east wind *Subsolanus*, with *Eurus* as the ESE wind and *Vulturnus* as the ENE wind: *ventorum quattuor principales spiritus sunt. Quorum primus ab oriente Subsolanus ... Subsolanus a latere dextro Vulturnum habet, a laevo Eurum* (Isid. *Orig.* 13. 11. 3-4). He adds an etymological note:

Subsolanus vocatus eo quod sub ortu solis nascatur; *Eurus* eo quod ab EO fluat, id est ab oriente; est enim coniunctus Subsolano; *Vulturnus*, quod alte tonat (Isid. Orig. 13. 11. 4), and quotes Lucretius to illustrate his last etymology: *altitonans Vulturnus* (Lucr. 5. 745).

In Col.'s eight-point wind compass, the east wind is *Eurus*, *quem quidam Vulturnum appellant* (11. 2. 65; cf. 5. 5. 15); he doesn't mention a SE wind by name. The first mention of *Eurus* during the year in Col.'s weather calendar is on 1 February (11. 2. 14).

For the vigorous blowing of *Eurus*, cf. *quas animosi Euri adsidue franguntque feruntque* (G. 2. 441); *aut ubi navigiis violentior incidit Eurus* (G. 2. 106); *qualia succinctis, ubi trux insibilat Eurus / murmura pinetis fiunt* (Ov. Met. 15. 603-604).

Spring Tasks (Lines 77-310)

Beginning of spring (lines 77-214)

77. Rhiphaeae ... brumae: *Ripaeus* is also seen as *Rhipaeus*, *Riphaeus*, or *Rhiphaeus* (OLD). The Ripaeian mountains were a range variously located in the far north or in Scythia, the "favoloso limite settentrionale delle terre conosciute" (Bolder 1996, 158). Cf.: *Lacus ipse Maeotis Tanain amnem ex Ripaeis montibus defluentem accipies, novissimum inter Europam Asiamque finem* (Plin. HN 4. 78); *subicitur Ponti region Colica, in qua iuga Caucasi ad Ripaeos montes torquentur* (Plin. HN 6. 15); *mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhiphaeasque arduus arces / consurgit* (G. 1. 240-241); *sed quos pulsabat Rhipaeum ad Strymona* (Sil. Pun. 11. 459). They also offer a general image of a far-off, exotic place: *cum quo Rhipaeos possim conscendere montes* (Prop. 1. 6. 3).

The Ripaeian mountains are also symbolic of cold weather from the north: *talīs Hyperboreo septem subiecta trioni / gens effrena virum Rhipaeo tunditur Euro / et pecudum fulvis velatur corpora saetis* (G. 3. 381-383); *solus Hyperboreas glacies Tanaimque nivalem / arvaque Rhipaeis numquam viduata pruinis / lustrabat* (G. 4. 517-519); *Riphaeas ... nives* (Luc. 4. 118); *ceu condita bruma, / dum Riphaea rigent Aquilonis flamina* (Sil. Pun. 12. 6-7); *atque ubi Riphaea stupuerunt flumina bruma* (V. Fl. 5. 603). With regards to the present passage, Ash (1930, 50) suggests, “The *montes Riphaei*, in Scythia, stood proverbially for the extreme north;” Col. is using them to represent wintry weather.

78. Zephyrus: *Zephyrus* is the west wind, one of the four principal winds named by Homer, who calls it Ζέφυρος ... δυσαής (Hom. Od. 5. 295). It is called *Favonius* in Latin (Plin. HN 2. 119; HN 18. 337). Aristotle (*Mete.* 2. 6. 363 b) also considers ζέφυρος the west wind; he specifies that it blows from the equinoctial sunset, δυσμὴ ἰσημερινή. Strabo (1. 2. 21) identifies it as the wind coming from the direction of the summer sunset, which would put it towards the NW: δύσεων δὲ θερινῶν μὲν ζέφυρον. Gellius (NA 2. 22. 12) also identifies the Greek *Zephyrus* with the Latin *Favonius*, and specifies that it blows from the opposite direction from *Eurus*, which he regards as the east wind. Isidore (*Etym.* 13. 11. 8) suggests an etymology for *Favonius*: *Favonius nuncupatus eo quod foveat fruges ac flores. hic Graece Zephyrus, quia plerumque vere flat ... Zephyrus Graeco nomine appellatus eo quod flores et germina eius flatu vivificentur. hic Latine Favonius dicitur propter quod foveat quae nascuntur.* Isidore quotes Vergil to illustrate the effect of the west wind in spring: *et Zephyro putris se gleba resolvit* (G. 1.

44). Cf. also: *zephyrique tepentibus austris / laxant arva sinus* (G. 2. 330-331); *solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni* (Hor. *Carm.* 1. 4.1); also Catull. 46. 1-3. Pliny (HN 18. 337) says that *Favonius* is gentler (*lenior*) and drier (*siccior*) than the east wind, *Subsolanus*, which is associated with gentle rains (*leniter pluvius*).

Col. called the west wind *Zephyrus* only in Book 10; everywhere else he calls it *Favonius*. He states that *Favonius* starts to blow around the middle of February (8. 11. 7; 11. 2. 5); he specifies 7 February as the day when *Favonius* begins to blow (11. 2. 15). Pliny marks the beginning of spring on the 45th day after the winter solstice (which he puts at 26 December: HN 18. 221)—i.e., about 7 February—when *Favonius* is blowing (Plin. HN 18. 222; Pliny marks the beginning and end of the four seasons not on the solstices and equinoxes, but rather at points about midway between them: HN 18. 220-223).

Regelaverit: For the image of the west wind in spring “de-icing” the winter chill, cf. *iam ver egelidos refert tepores / iam furor aequinoctialis / iucundis Zephyri silescit aureis* (Catull. 46. 1-3).

79. Sidereoque polo: *Polus* originally referred to “the extreme point at either end of the axis on which the heavenly spheres were believed to revolve” (OLD). It then came to represent the sky in general (hence, *sidereus*): *vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox, / involvens umbra magna terramque polumque* (Aen. 2. 250-251); *et polo / deripere lunam vocibus possim meis* (Hor. *Epod.* 17. 77-78); *stellasque vagas miratus et astra / fixa polis* (Luc. 9. 12-13).

Lyra mersa profundo: The setting of the constellation Lyra, the lyre. Varro remarks, “quod Graeci vocant λύραν, fidem nostri” (Rust. 2. 5. 12). Like Varro, Cicero

renders Aratus' Λύρη (*Phaen.* 268) as *fides* (Cic. *Arat.* 276(42)); Germanicus, however, always uses *Lyra* (Germ. *Arat.* 270). Aratus (*Phaen.* 268-271) describes it as the lyre made by Hermes as an infant from a tortoise shell; Hyginus (*Poet. astr.* 2. 7, 3. 6) and Manilius (1. 324-330), who always call the constellation *Lyra*, say that it represents the lyre made by Mercury and then given to Orpheus, which was placed in the sky to honor Orpheus.

Col. calls this constellation *Lyra* only here; elsewhere, in prose, he calls it *Fidicula*, a term found in Cicero (*Nat. D.* 21. 8. 22). Col. says that it begins to set on the first of February and is completely set by 3 February (11. 2. 4-5); Pliny, who also calls the constellation *Fidicula*, says that it rises on 5 January and sets in the evening on 4 February (*HN* 18. 234-235). Ovid, however, says that it appears to set on 18 January (*Fast.* 1. 652-653) and is completely set by 2 February (*Fast.* 2. 75-76).

80. Veris et adventum nidis cantabit hirundo: *hirundo* refers to the swallow “and various kinds of martin” (*OLD*); cf. *aut arguta lacus circumvolitavit hirundo* (*G.* 1. 377). Pliny discusses how swallows build their nests: *hirundines luto construunt, stramento roborant* (*HN* 10. 92; he goes on to discuss how swallows treat chicks in the nest, *HN* 10. 92-93). Also cf. *haec illast simia, quae has hirundines ex nido volt eripere ingratiis* (*Pl. Rud.* 771-772).

The coming and nesting of swallows was regarded as a sign of spring: *hoc geritur Zephyris primum impellentibus undas, / ante novis rubeant quam prata coloribus, ante / garrula quam tignis nidum suspendat hirundo* (*G.* 4. 305-307); *te, dulcis amice, reviset / cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima* (*Hor. Epod.* 1. 7. 12-13); *an veris praenuntia venit hirundo* (*Ov. Fast.* 2. 853). Col. remarks elsewhere that the

swallows arrive on 20 February: *X Kal. Mart. ... hirundo advenit* (11. 2. 21). Pliny puts the arrival of the swallows at 18 February and adds that this is why the westwind blowing at that time was called by some *Chelidonias* (from Greek χελιδών, swallow), and by others *Ornithias* (*HN* 2. 122; cf. 11. 2. 21).

Veris et adventum: Boldrer (1996, 159) remarks that the position of *et* here is an anastrophe (AG 640), designed to place the important word, *veris*, first in the line. Cf. *sordidus et musto* (line 44, and note); also lines 54 and 133. Col. elsewhere uses *adventus* to describe the arrival of swallows and the coming of spring: *dum ... hirundinis adventus commodiores polliceantur futuras tempestates* (9. 14. 17); *mox ubi bruma confecta est, intermissis quadraginta diebus, circa hirundinis adventum, cum iam Favonius exoritur* (11. 3. 5).

Nidis: Generally taken by commentators and translators as ablative of place, (AG 429.4), “in their nests;” Saint-Denis (1969a, 55), however, suggests taking it as a dative of purpose (AG 382.2), “pour sa niche.” He adds, “en Italie l’apparition du printemps précède la naissance des hirondeaux qui se produit en mai pour l’hirondelle de fenêtre et un plus tard pour l’hirondelle de cheminée.” No other recent commentator, however, has found this suggested interpretation persuasive.

Cantabit: The older mss. read *cantavit*. Postgate (1904, 207) prints *cantabit*, which he claims as his own suggested emendation (cf. Ash 1930, 50); Rodgers (2010, [xxviii], 405), however, indicates that the reading *cantabit* is found in one or more later mss, but thinks that it probably originated as a conjecture. All recent editors print *cantabit* except Marsili and Fernández-Galiano, who print *cantavit*; and Santoro, who prints *cantarit*, a conjecture of Lucundus (cf. Rodgers 2010, xviii, 405).

The perfect *cantavit* is certainly wrong; given the future perfect *regelaverit* (78) and the future *cedet* (79), a future or future perfect would be expected here as well. The corruption of *cantabit* to *cantavit* is a simple scribal error that can be explained by the proximity of the sounds of *b* and *v* in late Latin (Reynolds 1991, 225). As for *cantarit*, the syncopated future perfect indicative (AG 181) is not unknown in Col.—cf. *redundarit* (12. 19. 4)—but it is not common, and is found nowhere else in Book 10.

81-85. Rudere tum pingui ... vomit latrina cloacis: Col. elsewhere discusses the practice of manuring the garden, including the suitability of human excrement for this purpose, and advises doing so after midwinter (11. 3. 11-13); cf. also 3. 15. 5; 11. 2. 42. Pliny also discusses manuring the garden to encourage the growth of certain plants (Plin. *HN* 19. 148-149, 153, 177). Cato discusses the procedure for proper manuring of different sorts of crops (Cato *Agr.* 1. 29). Cf. *ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola* (*G.* 1. 80).

81. Aselli: Col. recommends asses' dung as the best for manuring the garden, followed by that of cattle or sheep (11. 3. 12).

83. Holitor: Also found as *olitor*, literally a “vegetable-grower” (from (*h*)*olus*), this is the term used by Col. for the gardener. Also found elsewhere in Book 10 at lines 148, 177, 229, and 327, as well as several times in Book 11. Cf. *nam mulier holitori numquam supplicat, si quast mala: / domi habet hortum* (Pl. *Mil.* 193-194); *Paredrum excita, ut hortum ipse conducat: sic olitorem ipsum commovebis* (Cic. *Fam.* 16. 18. 2). Pliny (*HN* 19. 64) uses the term for gardeners who grew cucumbers for Tiberius. As Col. indicates, the gardener who grows the crops and the vendor who sells them at market are often the same person (306-310, 316-317, 327).

84. Pigeat: *Pigeat* is the reading found in later mss. The oldest mss. read *pudeat*, which is printed by all modern editors except Rodgers. Ash (1930, 53) suggests that *pudeat* makes more sense here in light of Vergil's *ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola* (*G.* 1. 80), clearly one of Col.'s models for this passage. However, *puget* is a more common word than *pigeat*, which makes *pigeat* the *difficilior lectio* and thus more likely to be altered to *pudeat* than vice versa. It is true, as Reynolds (1991, 221-222) points out, that the principle *difficilior lectio potior* can be "overworked" to justify an incorrect reading. However, not only does *pigeat* makes sense in this passage, but since it is a word found in Vergil (cf. *G.* 1. 177, *Aen.* 4. 335, 5. 678), Col. is not departing entirely from Vergil's example by using it in place of *pudeat*. Finally, Col. shows throughout the poem that he is capable of transforming and adapting his Vergilian models, not merely copying them exactly (cf. 1-5; 424-425; 435-436). Hence I accept the late ms. reading *pigeat*, printed by Rodgers.

Fesso ... novali: *Fesso* is the reading found in some later mss., and is printed by Rodgers and Boldrer; the oldest mss., and some later mss., read *fisso*, which is printed by Ash, Forster, Santoro, Saint-Denis, Fernández-Galiano, and Richter.

In support of *fisso*, cf. *gaudentem patrios findere sarculo / agros* (*Hor. Carm.* 1. 1. 11-12); *inimicam findite rostris / hanc terram, sulcumque sibi premat ipsa carina* (*Aen.* 10. 295-296); *hoc ubi hiulca siti findit canis aestifer arva* (*G.* 2. 353; cited by Col. at 3. 15. 4). Ash (1930, 53) argues that *fessus* seems inappropriate as a description of a *novale*, which usually refers to a new-plowed field or one allowed to lie fallow between plantings (*OLD*), or one that has been plowed once: *dicitur ... novalis, ubi satum fuerit, antequam secunda aratione novatur rursus* (*Varro, Rust.* 1. 29. 1).

In support of *fesso*, cf. *dulcis humus, si iam pluviis defessa madebit* (46); for similar expressions, cf. *effetos cinerem immundum iactare per agros* (G. 1. 81); *fatigatam et effetam humum* (2. 1. 1); *lectis exhausto floribus horto* (Ov. Pont. 3. 4. 63). Moreover, as Boldrer (1996, 163) points out, *novale* comes to mean any enclosed or cultivated field (OLD): *impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit* (Ecl. 1. 70); *quid nunc ruris opes pontoque novalia dicam / iniecta* (Stat. Silv. 2. 2. 98-99); and, specifically referring to a garden: *satis erit ... ferramento novale converti* (11. 3. 11). Moreover, against reading *fisso* is the fact that Col. most often uses forms of *findere* to describe the splitting of wood, not of the soil, either by human action (e.g., 11. 2. 12) or by the heat of the sun (e.g., 11. 2. 42).

However, Col. again describes the garden plot as a *novale*, and one that has been split or plowed: *tum quoque proscisso rigoque inspersa novali / ocima comprimite* (318-319). In addition, by this point Col. has already instructed the gardener to dig up or turn the soil of the plot (69-73). Moreover, since at this point in the poem the gardener has not yet planted his first crop, *fessus* does not seem to be an appropriate description of the soil. Finally, in the apparent parallel passage *humus ... pluviis defessa* (46), *defessa* is qualified by the ablative *pluviis*; *fesso* in the present passage has no such qualification. Thus, taken together, the overall context of this passage and the authority of the older mss. favor reading *fisso* here, and that is the reading I have accepted.

86. Durataque ... pruinis: See *canis ... pruinis* (line 74). For *durus*, see *incola durus* (23).

87. Aequora: *Aequor* refers to a flat surface of land; cf. *at prius ignotum ferro quam scindimus aequor* (G. 1. 50); *proscisso quae suscitatur aequore terga* (G. 1. 97); *filius ardentis haud setius aequore campi / exercebat* (Aen. 7. 781-782).

Mucrone bidentis: *Bidens* is a two-bladed hoe; cf. *solum ... mox bidentibus aequaliter perfossum* (11. 3. 56); *solum apricum ... bidente pastinari debet ternos pedes, bipalio aut marra reici quaternum pedum fermento* (Plin. HN 17. 159); *seminibus positis superest diducere terram / saepius ad capita et duros iactare bidentis* (G. 2. 354-355); *glabraeque versis / aeternum frangenda bidentibus* (G. 2. 399-400).

Mucro refers to the point of a sharp or bladed tool: *eiusque [sc. falcis] velut apex pronus imminens mucro vocatur* (4. 25. 1); *cum pectere barbam / coeperit et longae mucronem admittere cultri* (Juv. 14. 216-217). See *docti mucrone magistri* (252, of a schoolmaster's stylus).

89. Marrae ... dente: In this line, the *marra* "is clearly described as a toothed implement, and must be a kind of mattock. It would be very difficult to use a Roman spade for the operation of breaking up the clods with the living turf attached to them ... it must have been an implement with strong tines" (White 1967, 41). See *latis eradere viscera marris* (72).

Fracti dente ligonis: The *ligo* is a mattock.²⁸ cf. *sed rusticorum mascula militum / proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus / versare glebas* (Hor. Carm. 3. 6. 37-39); *nec dubitem longis purgare ligonibus herbas / et dare iam sitiens quas bibat hortus aquas* (Ov. Pont. 1. 8. 59-60). Cato includes it in a list of necessary farming implements: *cuculliones*,

²⁸ White (1967, 38) remarks: "The common type [of *ligo*] consisted of a broad, inward-curving blade of iron attached to a handle....The curved blade made it useful for trenching in garden and orchard, and for uprooting and destroying weeds and scrub."

ferramenta, falces, palas, ligones, seures, ornamenta, murices, catellas (Cato Agr. 137.1).

Dente here is an ablative of means (AG 409), with *marrae* and *ligonis* as possessive genitives (AG 343) depending on it. For *dens* referring to the blade of a tool, cf. *dens, quod eo mordetur terra* (Varro, *Ling.* 5. 135); *tum dente tenaci / ancora fundabat navis* (*Aen.* 6. 3-4); *eiusmodi terram ... levissimo dente moveri satis est* (2. 2. 25). For *bidens* as a two-bladed tool, see *mucrone bidentis* (87).

The reading *fracti* here, though found in the mss. and printed by all modern editors, has troubled commentators because *fractus* does not seem to fit the context. If the reading is accepted, then by *fracti ... ligonis*, Col. seems to be suggesting that the tool has a curved blade (Boldrer 1996, 165); cf. *iam falces avidis et aratra caminis / rastraque et incurvi saevum rubuere ligones* (Stat. *Theb.* 3. 588-589); *agricolam, flexidum forte ligonis / exercet dentes* (Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 7. 379-380). Saint-Denis (1969a, 55) comments: “*Fracti* signifie que le fer du hoyau est coudé en dedans, tandis que celui de la houe est à peine courbé.” However, there are no obvious parallels where *fractus* is used in this sense. Santoro, by contrast, understands *fracti ... ligonis* to mean a double-bladed spade: “zappa biforcuta” (Santoro 1946, 76).

There is no clear example of *fractus* meaning “bent” or “curved;” but *frangere* is used to describe the curling or braiding of hair: *comam in gradus frangere* (Quint. *Inst.* 1. 6. 44); or, metaphorically, “shortening” a day: *morantem saepe diem mero / fregi* (Hor. *Carm.* 2. 7. 5-6). Moreover, *infringere / infractus* can mean “bend” / “bent”: *ducitque manum digitosque sonanti / infrangit citharae* (Stat. *Achil.* 1. 574-575); *folia latiora et ...*

pinguia et ad terram infracta (Plin. HN 27. 133); *mares ... longis auribus infractisque* (Plin. HN 8. 202, describing goats).

Richter (1981-1983 v. 2, 428) conjectures *docti*, suggesting parallel passages in Horace (Hor. *Carm.* 3. 6. 37-39, quoted above) and Propertius: *illic assidue tauros spectabis arantis, / et vitem docta ponere falce comas* (Prop. 2. 19. 11-12). Horace and Propertius, however, use *doctus* to describe the person using the tool, not the tool itself.

Boldrer (1996, 166) conjectures *fricti*, suggesting that *fricti ... ligois* offers a parallel with *trita ... sarcula* in line 91; for the image cf. *vomeris obtunsi dentem* (G. 1. 262); for the use of *fricare* with *dens*, cf. *dentes lavandos fricandosque* (Plin. *Ep.* 1. 18. 9).

Flexi is another possible emendation, as Boldrer (1996, 166) acknowledges, and it makes clear that the tool has a curved blade; cf. Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 7. 379-380. Other proposed emendations are *tracti*, *facti*, *forte*, *frangat* (cf. *glabaeque versis / aeternum frangenda bidentibus*, G. 2. 399-400), and *fractam* (Boldrer 1996, 165-166; Ash 1930, 53).

Since no modern editors have found any of these proposed emendations persuasive enough to print, it is probably best to accept the ms. reading *fracti*, while acknowledging that it seems to have an usual sense here.²⁹ I have thus retained the reading *fracti* for my translation.

²⁹ K. D. White (1967, 38-39) accepts the reading *fracti* as evidence that there was a *fractus ligo*, a specific type of tool which he describes as “a *ligo* with a notched blade,” known only from this passage of Col. However, he acknowledges that the precise interpretation of *fracti* is uncertain, and adds: “Literary references to technical matters, especially in poetry, are often ambiguous, and should be treated with caution.”

90. Maturi ... ubera campi: Col. continues the anthropomorphized image of the earth as a woman, previously seen in lines 70-72, where he ascribes other human attributes to the earth: *comas* (70), *amictus* (70), *terga* (71), *viscera* (72); see notes above on lines 70-72.

Col. elsewhere uses *ubera* in connection with the earth: *alma Tellus annua vice velut aeterno quodam puerperio laeta mortalibus distenta musto demittit ubera* (3. 21. 3); cf. *fertilis ubere campus* (G. 2. 185). Ash (1930, 54) suggests that Col. is referring to the topsoil; however, as Thomas (1988 v. 2, 200) indicates for G. 2. 185, Col. may simply be referring to the “richness of the soil.”

91. Tunc quoque trita solo splendentia sarcula: *Sarculum* is a kind of hoe (White 1967, 36, 43); cf. *cum pluvie incipiet, familiam cum ferreis sarculisque exire oportet* (Cato Agr. 155); *patrios findere sarculo / agros* (Hor. Carm. 1. 1. 11-12); *quod frumenti radices sarculo detegantur* (2. 11. 1); *nonnulli, priusquam serant, minimis aratris proscindunt atque ita iaciunt semina et sarculis adruunt* (2. 10. 33, on planting *faenum Graecum*). For the image of the blade polished by the soil scraping against it, cf. *depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro / ingemere et sulco attritus splendere vomer* (G. 1. 45-46); and, possibly: *sarcula nunc durusque bidens et vomer aduncus / ruris opes, niteant* (Ov. Fast. 4. 926-927).

Boldrer (1996, 166) points out the double alliteration in t and s (*tunc ... trita; solo splendentia sarcula*), which reflects the alliteration in G. 1. 45-46 (*tum ... taurus; sulco ... splendere*). Cf. *alligat alnus* (251), *proxima primae* (252), *mucrone magistri* (253).

92-93. Angustosque foros ... tramite parvo: Here Col. describes the procedure for dividing the garden plot into beds; cf. Cato *Agr.* 161; Plin. *HN* 19. 60. Col. gives similar instructions at greater length in his prose treatment of gardening (11. 3) and makes it clear that the reason for doing this is to enable the gardener better to tend to the individual sections of the garden without disturbing the seedlings: *circa Idus Ianuarias humus refossa in areas dividitur; quae tamen sic informandae sunt, ut facile runcantium manus ad dimidiam partem latitudinis earum perveniant, ne qui persecuntur herbas, semina proculare cogantur, sed potius per semitas ingrediantur et alterna vice dimidias areas eruncent* (11. 3. 13). His instructions in Book 11, however, call for doing this in the middle of January, which is several weeks earlier in the gardening year than he instructs doing so in Book 10; see *Lyra mersa profundo* (79).

92. Limite: *limes* here indicates a pathway cut across the plot to divide it into smaller sections: *ne signare quidem aut partire limite campum / fas erat* (G. 1. 126-127); *arboribus positis secto via limite quadret* (G. 1. 278); *humum longo signavit limite mensor* (Ov. *Met.* 1. 136); *vineas limitari decumano xviii pedum latitudinis ... aliisque transversis limitibus denum pedum distingui* (Plin. *HN* 17. 169).

94. Discrimine pectita tellus: Col. continues the anthropomorphizing image of the earth, here describing the lines dividing the plot into beds as if they were a parting in a head of hair; cf. lines 70-73, 90. For *discrimen* as a hair parting, cf. *hinc fines capilli discripti, quod finis videtur, discrimen* (Varro, *Ling.* 6. 81); *compositum discrimen erit, discrimina lauda* (Ov. *Ars am.* 2. 303); *longa probat facies capitis discrimina puri* (Ov. *Ars am.* 2. 137). Col. later uses *discrimen* to describe the division of lettuce into leaves (186).

For *pectere*³⁰ as combing of hair, cf. *nequiquam Veneris praesidio ferox / pectes caesariem* (Hor. *Carm.* 1. 15. 13-14); *tunc putas illam pro te disponere crines / aut tenues denso pectere dente comas?* (Tib. 1. 9. 67-68); *hanc matutinos pectens ancilla capillos / incitet* (Ov. *Ars am.* 3. 367-368). The participial form *pectitus* is found only in Col., here and in one other passage, where he applies it to the carding of wool: *pluviis vero diebus ... mulier sub dio rusticum opus obire non potuerit, ut ad lanificium reducatur praeparataeque sint et pectitae lanae* (12. 3. 6). The more common participial form is *pexus*: *pexo capillo* (Cic. *Cat.* 2. 22); *pexaque barba* (Mart. 7. 58. 2); also used by Col.: *at Cappadocia [sc. lactuca], quae pallida et pexo densoque folio viret* (11. 3. 26; cf. *discrimen*, 186).

96. Terrestria sidera, flores: Cf. 288-291, where Col. says that the beauty of the flowers in the garden outshines that of heavenly bodies. Boldrer (1996, 170) remarks that Col.'s description of flowers as "earthly stars" here is an "originale metafora," and that *terrestria sidera* is a striking oxymoron. Apuleius also uses this image: *magnae religionis terrena sidera* (Apul. *Met.* 11. 10, describing the shining, shaved heads of the male initiates). For the stars as a standard of beauty, cf. *quamquam sidere pulchrior / ille est* (Hor. *Carm.* 3. 9. 21-22).

97-100. Candida leucoia ... caeruleos hyacinthos: The list of flowers in this passage recalls a similar list in Book 9: *at in hortensi lira consita intent candida lilia nec*

³⁰ A related term is *pecten*, a reaping comb (White 1967, 113); cf. *multi mergis, alii pectinibus spicam ipsam legunt* (2. 20. 3); *panicum et milium singillatim pectine manuali legunt Galliae* (Plin. *HN* 18. 297). Ovid compares reaping crops with cutting the earth's hair: *temporibus certis desectas alligit herbas / et tonsam raro pectine verrit humum* (Ov. *Rem. am.* 191-192).

his sordidiora leucoia, tum Puniceae rosae luteolaeque et Sarranae violae, nec minus caelestis luminis hyacinthus (9. 4. 4).

97. Candida leucoia: *Leucoium* from Greek λευκόϊον, lit. “white violet” (λευκοϊόν; Chantraine 1999, 632), a flower with, as the name indicates, white petals. Ash and Forster render it here as “snowdrop,” though the modern snowdrop belongs to the genus *Galanthus*, whereas genus *Leucojum* refers to a similar flower called the snowflake (Wright 1984, 366).

According to André (1956, 185, 330-331; 1985, 143), *leucoium*, despite the etymology of its name, can refer to the violet or stock with white, violet, or red petals (*Matthiola incana* L.), equivalent to *viola alba* or *viola purpurea* (*Viola odorata* L.); or the gillyflower with yellow petals (*Cheiranthus cheiri* L.), equivalent to *viola lutea*. Cf. *violis honos proximus, earumque plura genera, purpureae, luteae, albae* (Plin. *HN* 21. 27; Pliny further discusses violets and their properties at *HN* 21. 130-131). Col.’s description of the flowers here as *candida* indicates that he has in mind the white variety; cf. *nitent candida lilia nec his sordidiora leucoia* (9. 4. 4). The word *leucoium* occurs in Latin literature only in these two passages of Col.

According to Theophrastus, the λευκόϊον is the first flower to appear at or even before the beginning of spring: τῶν δ’ ἀνθῶν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκφαίνεται τὸ λευκόϊον, ὅπου μὲν ὁ ἀήρ μαλακώτερος εὐθὺς τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὅπου δὲ σκληρότερος ὕστερον, ἐνιαχοῦ τοῦ ἤρος (*Hist. pl.* 6. 8. 1; he goes on to identify the λευκόϊον with the ἴον, the violet), and adds that it is especially good for making garlands. Theocritus (*Id.* 7. 63-64) also

mentions this flower in connection with garlands: κήγῶ τῆνο κατ' ἄμαρ ἀνήτινον ἢ ῥοδόεντα / ἢ καὶ λευκοΐων στέφανον περὶ κρατὶ φυλάσσω. Cf. Plin. *HN*. 21. 14.

Boldrer (1996, 170) calls the phrase *candida leucoia* “un originale gioco etimologico bilingue;” for other examples in the poem, see *immortalesque amaranti* (175); *oculis inimica corambe* (178); *distorto corpore campe* (366); *lubrica ... lapathos* (373); possibly *longa phaselos* (377).

Given the accentuation of the Greek λευκοΐον, *leucoia* here is scanned as a dactyl, – u u, with the -o- and -i- scanned as separate short vowels and with the final -a elided before the following *et*.

Flaventia lumina caltae: *Calta* or *caltha* is a yellow flower, possibly the pot marigold, *Calendula officinalis* L. or *Calendula arvensis* L. (André 1985, 46; Maggiulli 1995, 252; Wright 1984, 490). This is not the same flower as some modern marigolds, which belong to genus *Tagetes* (Wright 1984, 496), nor is it the same as genus *Caltha*, which is in the buttercup family (Wright 1984, 532). According to Consoli (1901, 18), *caltha* is first attested in Latin literature in Vergil—*mollia luteola pingit vaccinia caltha* (*Ecl.* 2. 50)—although it probably existed earlier in common speech and perhaps also in earlier literature that has not survived; Plautus uses the diminutive *caltula* to refer to a kind of women’s garment: *caltulam aut crocotolam* (Pl. *Epid.* 231). For other mentions of this flower in verse, cf. *illa legit calthas, huic sunt violaria curae* (Ov. *Fast.* 4. 437); *caltaque Paestanas vincet odore rosas* (Ov. *Pont.* 2. 4. 8); *aut crocus alterna coniungens lilia caltha* (*Ciris* 97). Like Col., Pliny (*HN* 21. 28) mentions the *caltha* immediately after discussing the violet: *proxima ei* [i.e., *violae*] *caltha est colore et amplitudine*; Col. mentions *caltha* once more in the poem: *flammeola ... caltha* (307).

Col. seems to be the first to use *lumen* to describe the brilliant color of a flower (Boldrer 1996, 170); cf. *caelestis luminis hyacinthus* (9. 4. 4); *iam Phrygiae loti gemmantia lumina promunt* (258). Ovid draws a connection between *lumina* and flowers, though he does not use the word explicitly to describe a flower's vivid colors: *vel quia purpureis collucent floribus agri, / lumina sunt nostros visa decere dies; / vel quia nec flos est hebeti nec flamma colore, / atque oculos in se splendor uterque trahit* (Ov. *Fast.* 5. 363-366). *Lumen* is also used to describe the brilliant shine of metals and gems: *quasve dedit flavo lumine chrysolithos* (Prop. 2. 16. 44); *argenti bifores radiabant lumina valvae* (Ov. *Met.* 2. 4); *ferri lumine diro / turbatus sonipes* (Stat. *Theb.* 9. 802-803).

98. Narcissique comas: *Narcissus* is the Greek *νάρκισσος*, the modern narcissus or daffodil, *Narcissus poeticus* L., *Narcissus serotinus* L., or *Narcissus tazetta* L. (André 1956, 216; 1985, 169; Maggiulli 1995, 368; Wright 1984, 364, 368-370). According to Consoli (1901, 12), Vergil is the first to use *narcissus* in Latin: *tibi candida Nais, / pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens, / narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi* (*Ecl.* 2. 48; cf. *πλέξω λευκόϊον, πλέξω δ' ... / νάρκισσον, Anth. Pal.* 5. 147. 1-2, ascribed to Meleager); *pro molli viola, pro purpureo narcisso* (*Ecl.* 5. 38); *narcisso floreat alnus* (*Ecl.* 8. 53); *narcissi lacrimam* (*G.* 4. 160). Col.'s likely model for this passage is *sera comantem / narcissum* (*G.* 4. 123). Pliny (*HN* 21. 128) remarks on the etymology of the term, arising from the plant's effect on the body: *narcissi duo genera in usum medicum recipient, purpureo flore et alterum herbaceum, hunc stomacho inutilem et ideo vomitorium alvosque solventem, nervis inimicum, caput gravantem et a narce narcissum dictum, non a fabuloso puero* (Plin. *HN* 21. 128). Chantraine (1999, 736),

however, believes that the derivation from *νάρκη* (“torpor”) is a folk-etymology, and that *νάρκισσος* is more likely a borrowing into Greek from a non-Indo-European language. Notwithstanding Pliny’s etymological caution, the flower was popularly linked to the myth of Narcissus: *tu quoque nomen habes cultos, Narcisse, per hortos* (Ov. *Fast.* 5. 225; cf. also Ov. *Met.* 3. 509-510).

Pliny regards the purple flower called *narcissus* as actually a type of purple lily: *sunt et purpurea lilia ... narcissum vocant ... differentia a liliis est et haec, quod narcissis in radice folia sunt* (HN 21. 24; cf. André 1956, 187; 1985, 145). Theophrastus mentions two different flowers which he calls *νάρκισσος*, one a spring flower, mentioned together with (and distinguished from) another spring flower called *λείριον* (*Hist. pl.* 6. 8. 1); the other an autumn flower, also called *λείριον* (*Hist. pl.* 6. 6. 9, 6. 8. 3). Pliny echoes Theophrastus: he distinguishes the *narcissus* from the *lilium trans maria*, both of which are spring flowers (HN 21. 64); the *lilium trans maria* is probably *Narcissus tazetta* (André 1985, 145). Pliny also mentions two varieties of lily that bloom in the summer, which may be identified with *Narcissus serotinus* L. (HN 21. 67; André 1985, 145).

For *coma* referring to the head or bloom of a flower, cf. *ille comam mollis iam tondebat hyacinthi* (G. 4. 137); *illa papavereas subsecat ungue comas* (Ov. *Fast.* 4. 438). For the likening of foliage to hair, see *et curvi vomere ... ne dubita* (69-73).

Col. uses the phrase *narcissique comas* again at line 297, though at a different position in the line.

98-99. Hiantis saeva leonis / ora feri: Possibly the snapdragon or “dragon’s mouth,” *Antirrhinum majus* (André 1956, 183; 1985, 141; Wright 1984, 516); Ash (1930, 57) renders it as “lion’s mouth.” Col. mentions this flower later in the poem: *oscitat et leo* (260). These two occurrences in Col. are the only attestations in extant classical Latin literature of *leo* used to refer to this flower.

Ash (1930, 56) notes that *hiare* can apply to “any flower with a spreading calyx” (Ash); cf. *nec flos ullus hiat pratis* (Prop. 4. 2. 45); *oscitat et leo* (260) is essentially the same description of the flower.

99. Calathisque virentia lilia canis: *lilium* here is the lily; the cultivated lily is *Lilium candidum* L. (André 1985, 145; Maggiulli 1995, 341-342), also mentioned by Vergil as being in the garden of the old man of Tarentum: *albaque circum / lilia* (G. 4. 130-131); the wild lily, also mentioned by Vergil (*tibi lilia plenis / ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis*; *Ecl.* 2. 45-46) is most likely *Lilium Martagon* L. (Maggiulli 1995, 341). Pliny comments on the whiteness of the lily: *lilium rosae nobilitate proximum est ... candor eius eximius* (Plin. *HN* 21. 22-23); cf. *candida circum / lilia* (*Aen.* 6. 709); *nitent candida lilia* (9. 4. 4). The modern lily family includes a number of other genera in addition to genus *Lilium* (Wright 1984, 408-420).

Pliny (*HN* 21. 24) also mentions a red lily: *est et lilium rubens, quod Graeci crinon vocant, alii forem eius cynorrhodon*; Theophrastus (*Hist. pl.* 6. 8. 3) lists τὸ κρίνον among the summer flowers. This is probably the modern *Lilium Chalcedonicum* L. (André 1956, 187; 1985, 145). Pliny briefly mentions two more varieties of lily among summer flowers (*HN* 21. 67; cf. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 6. 8. 1), though these may actually be

varieties of narcissus; for these and also for Pliny's purple lily (*HN* 21. 25), see *narcissique comas* (98).

Lilium, like the Greek λείριον, is perhaps a borrowing from a non-Indo-European Mediterranean language; the two L's so close together run contrary to the dissimilation of L's in native Latin words (Ernout 1951, 648).

Calathus is a basket and is so used elsewhere by Col.: *fer calathis violam* (300); *mollior infuse calathis modo lacte gelato* (397); *prunisque Damasci / stipantur calathis* (404-405); cf. *tibi lilia plenis / ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis* (*Ecl.* 2. 45-46). Here Col. uses it to indicate the shape of the lily's calyx, a comparison he makes more explicit elsewhere: *nunc similis calatho* (240, on the shape of the cardoon).

Virens is here used not in its literal sense of "being green" (as *calathis ... canis* shows), but in the more abstract sense of "thriving, flourishing, blooming": cf. *ille virentis et / doctae psallere Chiaie / pulchris excubat in genis* (*Hor. Carm.* 4. 13. 6-8); *arcem / ingeniis opibusque et festa pace virentem* (*Ov. Met.* 2. 794-795); and later in Col., *toto quae plurima terrae / orbe virens* (127-128, describing cabbage); and, more metaphorically, *plena mero, laetisque vigent convivia pratis* (281).

100. Vel niveos vel caeruleos hyacinthos: *hyacinthus* is from Greek ὑάκινθος, which itself was probably borrowed into Greek from an unrelated language. The Latin *vaccinium* is probably a parallel form borrowed from the same source; ὑάκινθος in Greek was originally Ἑάκινθος (Chantraine 1999, 1150; Ernout 1951, 1255), though in general *vaccinium* seems to refer to a different plant (André 1985, 126-127, 268). The term *hyacinthus* refers to a number of different flowers that cannot now be identified

with certainty, though almost certainly not the modern hyacinth (*Hyacinthus orientalis* L.), which was a more recent arrival to the West from the East (André 1985, 126).

Palladius remarks that the *hyacinthus* was sometimes confused with the similar-looking *iris* and *gladiolus*: *hyacinthum, qui iris vel gladiolus dicitur similitudine foliorum* (Pall. 1. 37. 2).

The classical hyacinth is often described as a reddish flower; *suave rubens hyacinthus* (Ecl. 3. 63); *ferrugineos hyacinthos* (G. 4. 183); cf. *ferrugineis ... hyacinthis* (305). In addition, Ovid describes a hyacinth that is similar in appearance to a lily but purple rather than white (*Met.* 10. 212-213). This might be identified with the modern squill, such as *Scilla bifolia* L. and *Scilla hyacinthoides* L. (André 1985, 126). This is probably the flower to which Col. refers in line 305; but his description of the *hyacinthus* here as either snow-white or blue suggests that he has a different flower in mind here. Col. elsewhere refers to a sky-blue hyacinthus: *caelestis luminis hyacinthus* (9. 4. 4); but he does not elsewhere mention a white one.

Moreover, the classical hyacinth is also described as having distinctive markings: *inscripti nomina regum / ... flores* (Ecl. 106-107; cf. ἄ γραπτὰ ὑάκινθος, Theoc. *Id.* 10. 28). These markings were variously explained: *hyacinthum comitatur fabula duplex, luctum praeferens eius quem Apollo dilexerat, aut ex Aiakis cruore editi, ita discurrentibus venis ut Graecarum litterarum figura AI legatur inscriptum* (Plin. HN 21. 66). Ovid recounts both versions: that the flower shows the Greek exclamation of mourning AIAI to signify Apollo's grief over the death of Hyacinthus (Ov. *Met.* 10. 214-216), and that the flower sprang up from the blood of Ajax (Ov. *Met.* 13. 394-398); Col.

refers to the Ajax version later in the poem (174). The flower thus described might be identified with *Delphinium Ajacis* L. or *Gladiolus segetum* Gawl. (André 1985, 127).

101-102. Quae pallet ... viola: *Viola*, the Latin parallel to the Greek ῥόδον (originally probably Ῥόδον; Chantraine 1999, 466; André 1985, 272), can refer to a number of different flowers. Col. mentions the *viola* once more in the poem (300), and *violaria* once (259). Pliny mentions a number of different colors and varieties: *violis honos proximus* [i.e., after the lily], *earumque plura genera, purpureae, luteae, albae ... ex his vero ... purpureae ... solaeque Graeco nomine a ceteris discernuntur, appellatae ia* (Plin. *HN* 21. 27). He also remarks: *florum prima ver nuntiatum viola alba ... post ea quae ion appellatur et purpurea, proxime flammeum, quod phlox vocatur, silvestre dumtaxat* (Plin. *HN* 21. 64). Pliny further observes: *violae silvestres et sativae*, and remarks on the respective properties of the purple (*purpureum*), white (*alba*) and yellow (*lutea*) varieties (Plin. *HN* 21. 130). Col. himself elsewhere refers to a *Sarrana viola* (9. 4. 4.; see note below on *Sarrano ... ostro*, 287), which André (1985, 272) equates with the stock, *Matthiola incana* L. For the present passage, cf. Vergil's *pallentis violas* (*Ecl.* 2. 47), though Col. here seems to be referring to a flower that could be white (*pallet*, 101) or purple (*purpurat*, 101) or yellow (*auro*, 102); André (1985, 272) asserts that in this passage Col. is referring to the gillyflower, *Cheiranthus cheiri* L., though the purple variety may be *Viola odorata* L. (André 1956, 330-331). The modern genus *Viola* includes violas, violets, violettas, and pansies (Wright 1984, 348-526). See also *candida leucoia* (97).

102. Nimium rosa plena pudoris: For the rose, see *Paestique rosa* (37). Col. elsewhere associates the rose's hue with modesty: *ingenuo confusa rubore / virgineas*

adaperta genas rosa (260-261). Cf. *et rosa purpureum ... pudibunda ruborem* (Culex 399); *conscia purpureus venit in ora pudor / ... quale rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae* (Ov. Am. 2. 5. 34, 37).

103. Medica panacem lacrima: *Panaces*, also *panax* (11. 3. 29) is a borrowing into Latin of the Greek πανακές or πάναξ, also seen as πανάκεια, from πᾶν + ἄκος “all-heal” (LSJ), so called from its medicinal properties. This term is used to refer to a number of medicinal plants that cannot now be identified with certainty (André 1985, 186-187). Pliny remarks on the significance of the name: *panaces ipso nomine omnium morborum remedia promittit, numerosum et dis inventoribus adscriptum* (Plin. HN 25. 30). Pliny goes on to distinguish four varieties: *unum quippe asclepion cognominatur, a quo is filiam Panaciam appellavit* (Plin. HN 25. 30); *alterum genus heracleon vocant et ab Hercule inventum tradunt, alii origanum heracleoticum aut Silvestre, quoniam est oregano simile, radice inutili ... tertium panaces chironium cognominatur ab inventore. folium eius simile lapatho, maius tamen et hirsutius* (Plin. HN 25. 32); *quartum genus panaces ab eodem Chirone repertum centaurion cognominatur, sed et pharmaceon in controversia inventionis a Pharnace rege deductum* (Plin. HN 25. 33; cf. Χείρωνος ἐπαλθέα ῥίζαν, Nic. Ther. 500). Col. says that *panaces* should be transplanted around the end of March (11. 3. 17; cf. 11. 3. 29).

Pliny comments on the way the resin drips or oozes from the plant: *sponte erumpentem sucum* (HN 25. 31); *excipitur sucus inciso caule messibus, radice autumnno* (HN 12. 127). He also likens the juice of another tree, the styrax, to tears: *lacrimae ex austero iucundi odoris, intus ... suco praegnans* (HN 12. 124). André (1956, 236; 1985, 186) suggests that *panaces* most often refers to medicinal plants of the genus

Opopanax L. This may be myrrh: gum opopanax is an aromatic resin with anti-inflammatory properties produced by *Commiphora kataf* and other species of the genus *Commiphora*, which consists of a number of varieties of myrrh, all of which produce resin having various medicinal applications (Van Wyk 2004, 111). Ovid remarks on the drops of resin seeping from the bark of the myrrh tree, and explains them as the tears of Myrrha: *flet tamen, et tepidae manant ex arbore guttae, / est honor lacrimis, stillataque cortice murra / nomen erile tenet* (*Met.* 10. 500-502).

Vergil explicitly refers to *panaces* (as *panacea*) once: *oderiferam panaceam* is one of the healing herbs which Venus infuses into the water with which Iapyx bathes Aeneas' wound (*Aen.* 12. 419). Maggiulii (1995, 388-389) suggests that here Vergil is referring to the variety which Pliny calls *heracleon*, and which André (1985, 186) believes refers to *Opopanax hispidus* Gris. Vergil also mentions the variety which Pliny calls *centaurion*: *grave olentia centaurea* (*G.* 4. 270); Thomas (1988 v. 2, 195) points out that just as Chiron fails to cure the plague (*G.* 549-550), his namesake herb fails to cure the sick beehive. Lucan (9. 918) distinguishes between *panacea* and *centaureum*: *et panacea potens et Thessala centaurea*, which suggests that he understood Vergil's *panacea* and *centaureum* to be two different plants.

Since the identity of this plant is uncertain, and both Pliny and Vergil, in addition to Col., refer to it by the same (or similar) Greek name, I have retained *panaces* in my translation.

Pliny uses the term *heraclion* to refer to a different medicinal plant, a type of wild poppy, also called *aphron* (*HN* 20. 207). For the wild poppy, see note below on *succoque salubri glaucea* (103-104). Pliny also remarks that *ligusticum* (lovage) and

cunila are also sometimes called *panaces* (HN 19. 165; 20. 168; 20. 169). See *satureia* (233).

103-104. Succoque salubri / glaucea: *Glaucium* or *glauceum* is a borrowing of Greek γλαύκιον, so called from its greenish-gray or bluish-gray (γλαυκός) leaves. The term seems to refer to several different plants; André (1985, 57, 111) believes that Col. is referring to the horned poppy or blue-gray celandine (genus *Glaucium*, perhaps *Glaucium flavum*; Wright, 1984, 512; there is also a Celandine poppy or wood poppy, *Stylophorum diphyllum*, Wright 1984, 314), also called *ceratitidis* (Greek κερατίτις, from κεράτιον “little horn;” cf. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9. 12. 3). Pliny names and describes it: *silvestrium [sc. papaverum] unum genus ceratitim vocant, nigrum ... calyculo inflexo ut corniculo ... quidam hoc genus glaucion vocant, alii paralium* (Plin. HN 20. 205-206, following Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9. 12. 3). Pliny also comments at length on the medicinal properties of its seeds, leaves, and roots (Plin. HN 205-206). Pliny later describes a plant also called *glaucion* which grows in Syria and Parthia, which he says resembles the poppy but is not identical to it (*humilis herba densis foliis fere papaveris, minoribus tamen sordidoribusque*), and he describes its preparation and medicinal uses (Plin. HN 27. 83) This description does not correspond to his previous discussion of *ceratitidis/ glaucion* (Plin. HN 20. 205-206), which suggests that Pliny using the term *glaucion* to refer to two different plants. Vergil does not mention either *glauceum* or *ceratitidis*.

104. Profugos vinctura papavera somnos: *Papaver* is the poppy, which exists in a number of varieties. Pliny mentions three types of cultivated poppy: *papaveris sativi tria genera: candidum ... nigrum ... tertium genus rhoean vocant Graeci, nostri erraticum* (HN 19. 168). He further remarks on its soporific properties: *e sativis albi*

calix ipse teritur et vino bibitur somni causa (HN 20. 198); *sucus ... papaveris ... opium vocant* (HN 20. 199); *semine quoque eius ... utuntur ad somnum* (HN 20. 201); *decoquitur et bibitur contra vigilias* (HN 20. 202). André (1985, 188) identifies the cultivated poppy as *Papaver somniferum* L. Theophrastus lists three varieties of wild poppy: μήκωνες δ' εἰσὶν ἄγριαι πλείους· ἡ μὲν κερατῆτις καλουμένη μέλαινα ... ἑτέρα δὲ μήκων ῥοιᾶς καλουμένη ... ἑτέρα δὲ μήκων Ἑπακλεία καλεῖται ... ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ ὁμωνυμία τινὲ συνείληπται (*Hist. pl.* 9. 12. 3-5). For the variety called κερατῆτις, see note above on *succoque salubri glaucea* (103-104). Col. includes the poppy among a group of plants that can be sown both in the autumn, around 1 September, and in the spring, in February before 1 March (11. 3. 14).

Vergil mentions poppies several times: *Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno* (*G.* 1. 78); *Lethaea papavera* (*G.* 4. 545); *soporiferumque papaver* (*Aen.* 4. 486). Also *cereale papaver* (*G.* 1. 213, repeated by Col. at line 314). Maggiulli (1995, 390-394) believes that all of these passages refer to *Papaver somniferum* L., whereas other Vergilian mentions of the poppy refer to *Papaver rhoeas* L.: *summa papavera* (*Ecl.* 2. 47); *lassove papavera collo / demisere caput* (*Aen.* 9. 436-437). Maggiulli further suggests that *vescumque papaver* (*G.* 4. 131, in the garden of the old man of Tarentum) might belong to either species.

105. Viros ... armantque puellis: For love/sex described in military terms, cf. *militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra cupido* (*Ov. Am.* 1. 9. 1; the metaphor is explored through the rest of the poem). Tibullus (1. 1. 53-58) contrasts his situation as a lover with that of Messala, abroad on military campaigns. Vergil suggests a military metaphor for agriculture: *dicendum est quae sint duris agrestibus arma* (*G.* 1. 160,

using *arma* for the tools and implements of the farmer); cf. *G.* 2. 277-287, where he compares the spacing of the planted vines to the position of soldiers arrayed in formation.

106. Megaris ... bulbi: *Bulbus* is a borrowing of the Greek βολβός (Ernout 1951, 139). André (1956, 60-61; 1985, 40-41) indicates the the term *bulbus* can refer to any number of plants that grow from bulbs, but asserts that here Col. is probably referring to the grape hyacinth, genus *Muscari*, or perhaps more specifically the tassel hyacinth, *Muscari comosum* Mill. (cf. Wright 1984, 400).

Megara lies between Athens and Corinth (*OCD*). Cato includes bulbs from Megara among flowers he recommends planting for garlands: *coronamenta omne genus, bulbos Megaricos* (*Agr.* 8. 2). Pliny cites this passage of Cato in his own discussion of bulbs (*HN* 19. 93-97). Col. seems to be drawing on Ovid here: cf. *Megaris ... veniant: Daunius, an Libycis bulbus tibi missus ab oris / an veniat Megaris* (*Ov. Rem. am.* 797-798, on the foods that should be avoided when trying to fall out of love; for both Ovid and Col. Megarian bulbs have erotic connotations). Cf. *candidus, Alcathei qui mittitur urbe Pelasga / bulbus* (*Ov. Ars am.* 2. 421-422, on foods that should be eaten to arouse passion; Alcatheus was a mythic hero associated with Megara: Pind. *Isthm.* 8; Paus. 1. 41. 3-6). Pliny (*HN* 20. 105) also remarks on the aphrodisiac properties of Megarian bulbs: *venerem maxime Megarici [sc. bulbi] stimulant*. Martial includes *bulbique salaces* among foods that should revive flagging sexual desire (*Mart.* 3. 75. 3).

Genitalia semina: For this collocation, cf. *vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt* (*G.* 2. 234, with the phrase at the same metrical position in the line as here in Col.); cf. also: *pabula primum ut sint, genitalia deinde per artus / semina qua possint*

membris manare remissis (Lucr. 5. 851-852); and: *genitalia corpora ... semina rerum* (Lucr. 1. 58-59, with *genitalia corpora* at the same metrical line position as Col.'s *genitalia semina*). Col. uses *genitalis* once more in the poem: *nunc sunt genitalia tempora mundi* (196), and eleven times in the prose books. It is common in Pliny. Vergil uses it in one other passage: *genitali arvo* (G. 3. 126). Ovid describes the elements as *genitalia corpora: quattuor aeternus genitalia corpora mundus / continet* (Ov. *Met.* 15. 239-240). See *nunc sunt genitalia tempore mundi* (196).

107. Et quae Sicca legit Gaetulis obruta glebis: Sicca was a city in northern Africa (OCD); cf. Sall. *J.* 56. 3. The Gaetuli lived in northern Africa: *Hannibal ... Gaetulos cum praefecto nomine Isalca praemittit* (Livy 23. 18. 1); the term was used to refer in general to northern Africa: *Syrtisque Gaetulas* (Hor. *Carm.* 2. 20. 15); *quid dubitas vinctam Gaetulo tradere Iarbae?* (Ov. *Her.* 7. 125).

Pliny mentions bulbs from north Africa: *post hos* [i.e. bulbs from the Chersonese] *in Africa nati maxime laudantur* (Plin. *HN* 19. 95). Ovid includes bulbs from north Africa among foods that should be avoided when one is trying to stay out of love: *Daunius an Libycis bulbus tibi missus ab oris* (Ov. *Rem. am.* 797).

108. Falcifero ... Priapo: *Falcifero* is Hensius' conjecture here, printed by Rodgers (2010, 406); all the principal mss. read *frugifero*, which is printed by all other recent editors. Boldrer (1996, 177) regards the conjecture *falcifero* as "ingenioso ma non necessario."

Frugifer is lacking in Vergil. Col. uses it several times: cf. *arbores frugiferae* (11. 2. 46); *palmitem quamvis frugifera parte enatum* (3. 10. 14). It is used to describe gods associated with fertility: cf. *nos quoque frugiferum sentimus inutilis herba / numen* (Ov.

Pont. 2. 1. 15-16); *frugifera* ... *Ceres* (Sen. *Phoen.* 219); *Osirim / frugiferum* (Stat. *Theb.* 1. 718-719). Boldrer (1996, 177) suggests that Col. has in mind *pomifer Autumnus fruges effuderit* (Hor. *Carm.* 4. 7. 11).

Falcifer is used to describe Saturn: *ante pererrato falcifer orbe deus* (Ov. *Fast.* 1. 234); *nam si falciferi defendere templa Tonantis* (Mart. 5. 16. 5).³¹

It is probably best to accept the ms. reading *frugifero* here, while acknowledging that it is unusual in this context; Priapus is commonly associated with the *falx*, or sickle (cf. 32-34), and there are no other examples of Priapus described as *frugifer*. However, given the fact that *frugifer* is used to describe other fertility gods, it is not inappropriate for Priapus. See *sed truncum ... Priapi ... falce minetur* (31-34). Moreover, *frugifero* is applicable in this passage, which discusses plants known for aphrodisiac properties (cf. *genitalia semina*, 106). Thus, *frugifer* is the reading that I have adopted in my translation.

Col. refers once to the gardener's use of the *falx* (328).

109. Eruca: *Eruca* is rocket or arugula, *Eruca sativa* Lam. (André 1985, 97). Pliny discusses the growing and preparation of *eruca* and states that it is *concitatrix veneris* (Plin. *HN* 19. 154). Pliny lists it among a group of herbs that exist in only one variety (*HN* 19. 122) and says that it breaks ground on the third day after being sown from seed (*HN* 19. 117). For more on the aphrodisiac properties of *eruca*, cf. *nec minus erucas aptum vitare salaces / et quidquid Veneri corpora nostra parat* (Ov. *Rem. am.* 799-800); *venerem revocans eruca morantem* (*Mor.* 86); *sed nihil erucae faciunt bulbique salaces* (Mart. 3. 75. 3; cf. note above on *Megaritis ... bulbi*, 106). Cf. also *eruca*

³¹ For non-divine contexts for *falcifer*, cf. Ov. *Met.* 13. 929-930; Lucr. 3. 642.

salax (372). Col. includes *eruca* among a group of plants that can be sown both in the autumn, around 1 September, and in the spring, in February before 1 March (11. 3. 14). He also lists it among a group of plants that need very little cultivation other than manuring and weeding (11. 3. 29). He includes *eruca* in several salad recipes (12. 59. 1-2). Nasidienus, host of the dinner which Fundanius describes to Horace, recommends including *eruca* in the recipe for sauce served with lamprey (*Sat.* 2. 8. 51-52). Vergil does not mention *eruca*. See also *eruca salax* (372).

Eruca meaning rocket should not be confused with *eruca* meaning caterpillar; cf. *serpitque eruca per hortos* (333).

110. Breve chaerepolum: Also found as *chaerephyllum*, *chaerophyllum*, and *caerefolium* (the form preferred by the *OLD*), this is chervil, both cultivated (*Anthriscus cerefolium* L.) and wild (*Anthriscus silvestris* L.); André (1985, 44, 58) presumes that the name comes from a Greek form *χαϊρέφυλλον*, but this is unattested. Forster prints *chaerophyllum*; all other modern editors print *chaerepolum*. If *chaerepolum* is correct, Col. uses it only here, perhaps *metri causa*; elsewhere he refers to this plant as *caerefolium* (11. 3. 14, Rodgers) or *chaerephyllum* (11. 3. 42, Rodgers) and states that it should be sown around 1 October (11. 3. 42); elsewhere he includes it among a group of plants that can be sown both in the autumn, around 1 September, and in the spring, in February before 1 March (11. 3. 14). Pliny includes it among a group of plants that should be sown at the autumn equinox: *caerefolium, quod paederota Graeci vocant* (*HN* 19. 170). This plant is not mentioned by Vergil.

Breve here might mean that the plant grows low to the ground: cf. *lapathi brevis herba* (Hor. *Sat.* 2. 4. 29); or that it lives for a short time: cf. *breve lilium* (Hor. *Carm.* 1. 36. 16).

110-111. Torpenti grata pilato / intuba: *Intuba*, also *intubus* or *intubum*, (as well as alternate forms *intib-*) is probably either chicory (*Cicorium intybus* L.) or endive (*Cicorium endivia* L.) (André 1956, 170; 1985, 131-132; Wright 1984, 280; Van Wyk 2004, 100). Different editors print different forms of the name here and in other passages where Col. refers to this plant.

André (1956, 170; 1985, 131) interprets *intuba* here as nominative singular; the *OLD* cites it as neuter plural. *Chaerepolium* (111) and *lactuca* (111) are nom. sing., but *alia* (112) and *ulpica* (113) are neut. pl., so the context of the passage does not help decide. Pliny refers to it both as *intubi* (masculine plural) and *intubum* (neuter singular) in the same passage (*HN* 19. 129; *HN* 20. 73).

André (1956, 170; 1985, 131) suggests that at 111 Col. probably means wild chicory. Col. refers to this plant elsewhere: in 2. 17. 1, he includes *intuba* (Rodgers) among weeds to be pulled up from a meadow. At 11. 3. 27 he describes methods for encouraging the growth of this plant (*intubi*, Rodgers); he does the same at 8. 14. 2 and adds, *sed praecipue genus intibi, quod σέρην Graeci appellant* (8. 14. 2, Rodgers). According to André (1956, 170; 1985, 131), in these last two passages Col. is probably referring to endive.

Pliny distinguishes between *intibus* (endive) and *chicorium* (chicory) and discusses the medicinal properties of each (*HN* 20. 73-74). He also states: *erraticum apud nos quidam ambubaïam appellavere. In Aegypto chicorium vocat quod silvestre sit*

(HN 20. 3). He repeats the latter statement elsewhere: *est et erraticum intubum quod in Aegypto chicorium vocant* (HN 19. 129). Dioscorides (2. 132) distinguishes between σέρις ἀγρία and σέρις κηπευτή.

Vergil includes *amaris intiba fibris* among things that can frustrate the hard work of the farmer (G. 1. 120, which probably refers to wild chicory); on the other hand, *quoque modo potis gauderent intiba rivis* (G. 4. 120) probably refers to endive, since Vergil here is talking about garden plants (Maggiulli 1995, 323).

Given that Col. at 111 is describing a garden plant, in this passage he likely means the endive. *torpenti grata pilato* presumably refers to the bitterness of the plant (Van Wyk 2004, 100), remarked by Vergil and Pliny (G. 1. 120, Plin. HN 19. 129).

111. Teneris frondens lactucula fibris: *Lactuca* is lettuce, *Lactuca sativa* L. (André 1985, 136). The name is derived from *lac*: *lactuca* is most likely an adjective in origin (*lactuca herba*), “milky” (Ernout 1951, 597). Pliny remarks: *est etiamnum alia distinctio albae [sc. lactucae] quae μηκωνίς vocatur a copia lactis soporiferi, quamquam omnes somnum parere creduntur; apud antiquos Italiae hoc solum genus earum fuit, et ideo lactucis nomine a lacte* (HN 19. 126). Pliny elsewhere refers to lettuce juice as *lac* (HN 20. 67); cf. *sucus omnibus [sc. lactucis] candidus, viribus quoque papaveri similis* (Plin. HN 20. 61); also Varro, *Ling.* 5. 104. Col. (179-193; 11. 3. 25-26) and Pliny (HN 19. 125-128) describe different varieties of lettuce. Col. includes lettuce among a group of plants that can be sown both in the autumn, around the beginning of September, and in the spring, in late February before the beginning of March (11. 3. 14). Pliny also mentions wild lettuce: *draco vernam nausiam silvestris lactucae suco restinguit* (HN 8. 99). He discusses at length the medicinal properties of lettuce, including wild lettuce

(*HN* 19. 127-128; 20. 58-68). Col. includes lettuce in several salad recipes (12. 59. 1-2) and discusses ways to preserve it (12. 9. 1-2). Vergil does not mention lettuce.

Lactucula here is diminutive, possibly *metri causa*, though it also occurs in at Suet. *Aug.* 77, on the eating habits of Augustus. The oldest mss. read *et lactula* here.

Of the tenderness of the leaves, Col. elsewhere remarks: *sed huius quoque radix fimo liniri debet, maioremque copiam desiderat aquae, sicque fit tenerioris folii* (11. 3. 25).

112. Aliaque infractis spicis: *Alium*, also *allium* (OLD), is garlic, *Allium sativum* L. (André 1956, 23-24; 1985, 10; Van Wyk 2004, 39). Col. describes the appearance and planting of both *ulpicum* and garlic (11. 3. 20-23); in particular, he describes the way in which clove of both *ulpicum* and garlic is divided into several segments, or *spicae*: *idque* [i.e., *ulpicum*] *circa Kalendas Octobres, antequam deponatur, ex uno capite in plura dividetur. habet, velut alium, plures cohaerentes spicas* (11. 3. 20). Pliny also describes the appearance, cultivation, and uses of garlic (Plin. *HN* 19. 111-116) and also remarks on its segmentation: *pluribus coagmentatur nucleis, et his separatim vestitis* (*HN* 19. 111). He also discusses at length the medicinal uses of garlic (*HN* 20. 50-57) and mentions different varieties: *est et* [sc. *alium*] *silvestre, quod ursinum vocant, odore simili, capite praetenui, foliis grandibus* (Plin. *HN* 19. 116; cf. Van Wyk 2004, 39); *alium silvestre* (Plin. *HN* 28. 265).

Vergil mentions garlic once: *alia serpullumque herbas contundit olentis* (*Ecl.* 2. 11), part of the lunch Thestylis prepares for the reapers. Maggiulli (1995, 223) suggests that Vergil here might be referring to *Allium sativum* L., or to a closely-related species, *Allium siculum* Ucria.

112-113. Olentia late / ulpica: *Ulpicum* is a variety of garlic, *Allium sativum* L., having a larger head (André 1956, 334; 1985, 10, 275). Col. remarks: *ulpicum, quod quidam alium Punicum vocant, Graeci autem ἀφροσκόροδον appellant, longe maioris est incrementi quam alium* (11. 3. 20). Pliny comments: *ulpicum quoque in hoc genere Graeci appellavere alium Cyprium, alii ἀντισκόροδον ... grandius alio* (HN 19. 112).

Both Col. and Pliny comment on the pungency of garlic: *sed quandoque vel conseremus vel iam matura in tabulatum reponemus, servabimus ut is [sic] horis quibus aut obruentur aut eruentur, luna infra terram sit. nam sic sata et rursus sic recondita existimantur neque acerrimi saporis exsistere neque mandentium halitus inodorare* (11. 3. 22); *quo pluris nuclei fuere hoc est asperius. taedium huic quoque halitu, ut cepis, nullum tamen cocti* (Plin. HN 19. 111); *cetero, ut odore careant, omnia haec iubentur seri cum luna sub terra sit, colligi cum in coitu* (Plin. HN 19. 113). Cf. Hor. Ep. 3.

113. Quaeque fabis habilis †fabrilia miscet†: This is a crux with no satisfactory solution; it is not clear to what Col. is referring. Ash, Forster, Santoro, Marsili, Saint-Denis, and Fernández-Galiano print the text here as is without obeli. Boldrer prints the text as is and obelizes only †*fabrilia*†. Richter prints *fabrilia*—a word not recognized by the *OLD*—without obeli and without making a note.

The principal issues raised by this passage are: to what does *quae* refer; what is the meaning of *fabrilia*, if that is the correct reading; and how should *habilis* be understood.

The first question is whether *quae* here refers back to *ulpica* (in which case *-que* is joining the following phrase to the preceding *late olentia* (112) as an additional description of *ulpica*), or to a different plant, for which Col. does not give a name.

Rodgers (2010, 406) remarks: “intelligo cum Wernsdorfo plantam quandam cum fabis sata bene provenit.” Ash understands *quae* as referring to *ulpica*; Forster, Santoro, Fernández-Galiano, Richter, and Henderson (2004, 56) understands *quae* as referring to unspecified plants or herbs used to season beans (*faba*).

Fabrilis means referring to a workingman or craftsman (*faber*), or craftsmanlike, skilled (*OLD*). Recent translators and editors, except Saint-Denis, Fernández-Galiano, and Boldrer, understand *fabrilia* here (assuming the reading is correct) as describing a dish prepared for workers (e.g., “working man’s ... lunch,” Henderson 2004, 56). Martial notes the association of beans and root vegetables as food for workmen: *faba fabrorum* (Mart. 10. 48. 16); *fabrorum prandia, betae* (Mart. 13. 13. 1).

Saint-Denis (1969a, 33), followed by Fernández-Galiano, understands *quae* to refer to a different plant, preserved by drying, which he argues is the meaning behind *fabrilia*: “et les plantes qu’un habile cuisinier mêle aux fèves après qu’elles ont séché a la fume.” He adds this note on *fabrilia*: “tous les traducteurs entendent nourritures pour les tâcherons; mais la langue de la gastronomie emploie le mot pour les bulbes ou les raisins conservés a la fumée des forges” (1969, 57); cf.: *aliis [sc. uvis] gratiam, qui et vinis, fumus adfert, fabrilisque in ea re gloriam praecipuam fornacibus Africae Tiberii Caesaris auctoritas fecit* (Plin. HN 14. 16); *fabriles bulbi* (Apic. 8. 7. 14, an ingredient in a recipe for stuffed roast pig). This is possible, though in the Pliny passage cited by Saint-Denis, *fabrilis* is describing the smoke produced by the forge, not the grapes dried by the smoke; the *OLD* cites this Pliny passage as an illustration of the primary meaning of *fabrilis*, referring to a worker or craftsman.

Boldrer (1996, 181) mentions a suggested emendation that has not found favor with recent editors: *fabrilibus escis* in place of *fabrilia miscet*. This makes the reference of *fabrilis* here clear but leaves the phrase without an obvious verb. For †*fabrilia miscet*† Rodgers (2010, 406) remarks: “*fastidia vincet temptaverim*; cf. *cupiens varia fastidia cena / vincere* (Hor. Sat. 2. 6. 86-87); *sed mixta famem fastidia vincunt* (Stat. Theb. 1. 715).

Ash, Forster, Santoro, Saint-Denis, Fernández-Galiano, and Richter all understand *habilis* as a substantive referring to a clever cook. Rodgers (2010, 406) notes: “*alii habilis substantive interpretantur pro coquo ingenioso qui ulpica vel holera similia fabis misceat fabrorum in escas.*” Fabbri (1978, 245-249) suggests *avidus* as an emendation, in the sense of *edax* or *gulosus*, but this still leaves unanswered the question of what person is being so described. Bolderer (1996, 6, 180-181) understands *habilis* here as an adjective (*maneggevole*) describing an original noun that was corrupted into *fabrilia*, which she obelizes but does not try to emend or translate.

The most straightforward solution is to accept the text as is and the interpretation suggested by many recent translators—*habilis* referring to a capable cook, *fabrilia* referring to the workers’ lunch prepared with the garden plants—while noting the problems with the text as it stands and acknowledging the provisional nature of the interpretation. This is the text and interpretation I have adopted in my translation. Whether *quae* refers back to *urtica* or to a different, unnamed plant or plants is a more difficult question; there does not appear to be a problem with the text of *quaeque*, so this question is purely a matter of interpretation. In the context of this passage, it is perhaps better to understand *quae* as referring to a different plant or group of herbs,

because otherwise *urtica* would here have two modifiers (*olentia late* and the *quae* clause, whereas most of the other plants mentioned in this passage have a single modifying word or phrase. The exceptions are *siser* (114), which has no modifier, and the unnamed Assyrian root, which is described both by its origin and its method of preparation (114-115).

Fabis: *Faba* is the bean. The term refers both to the plant and to the seed (bean) itself and seems to describe any number of different beans, of genus *Vicia*, though perhaps most often *Vicia faba* L. (André 1956, 132; 1985, 101). Col. includes *faba* among *legumina* (2. 7. 1). He discusses its cultivation (2. 10. 6-14; 2. 11. 7-10) and asserts that sowing beans is equivalent to manuring the soil (2. 2. 13; 11. 10. 7; 11. 2. 81; cf. Varro, *Rust.* 1. 23. 3). Pliny discusses the cultivation and uses of the bean (*HN* 18. 117-122) and its medicinal applications (Plin. *HN* 22. 140). He recommends sowing the bean in the fall before the setting of the Pleiades (Plin. *HN* 18. 120; see note above on *Atlantides*, 54). Vergil, however, recommends sowing beans in the spring (*G.* 1. 215, Vergil's only mention of *faba*), which Col. claims is the worst time to do so (2. 10. 9).

Although beans are included in the modern genus *Vicia*, Col. (11. 2. 81) distinguishes between *faba* and *vicia*, which is vetch or tare, *Vicia sativa* L. (André 1956, 329; 1985, 271). Col. does not mention *vicia* in the poem, but elsewhere he recommends sowing it in the fall for fodder (e.g., 2. 10. 33; 2. 17. 5; 11. 2. 72). Vergil mentions *vicia* at *G.* 1. 75 and *G.* 1. 227. See also *longa phaselos* (377).

114. Siser: *Siser* (cf. Greek σίσαρον) is a root vegetable; according to André this is the parsnip, *Pastinaca sativa* L. (André 1956, 240, 295; 1985, 241; Van Wyk 2004,

420); the *OLD* suggests that it might be the rampion, *Campanula rapunculus*. Pliny (*HN* 19. 90-92) describes the nature and preparation of *siser* and distinguishes between *siser* and *pastinaca*. He discusses *pastinaca*, which might a kind of parsnip, separately at some length; he stresses its strong taste and mentions several varieties, include a wild one (*agreste*) and one called *daucos* by the Greeks (*HN* 19. 88-89). *Pastinaca* can also refer to the carrot (*Daucus carota* L.), both wild and cultivated (André 1956, 240; 1985, 190). Col. also distinguishes between *pastinaca* and *siser*, though they are cultivated in much the same way and should be planted in late August or early September (11. 3. 35); elsewhere he includes both among a group of plants that should be planted either around 1 September or in late February before 1 March (11. 3. 14). In another passage he includes *siser* among a group of plants that can best be sown around the time of the Vulcanalia (23 August):³² *ceterum Augusto circa Vulcanalia tertia satio est, eaque optima radicis et rapae itemque navi et siseris nec minus holeris atri* (11. 3. 18). Neither *siser* nor *pastinaca* is mentioned by Vergil; *pastinaca* will not fit into hexameter verse. See *staphylinus* (168).

Assyriouque venit quae semine radix: Cf. *radix Syriaca* (316). *Radix Syriaca* = *raphanus Syriacus*, the horseradish (*Armoracia rusticana* P. Gaetn, Mey. & Scherb. = *Cochlearia armoracia* L.; Van Wyk 2004, 52); or the radish, *Raphanus sativus* L. (André 1956, 269-270; 1985, 214-215; Van Wyk 2004, 52). Col. seems to distinguish between *raphanus* (radish) and *radix Syriaca* (11. 3. 59). He also recommends planting the *radix Syriaca* in February, together with the turnip and navew: *nec minus si vernum et aestivum fructum voles habere, Syriaca radicis et rapae napique semina obrues* (11. 3.

³² Scullard 1981, 178-180; see *quin et Tardipedi sacris iam rite solutis* (419).

16). Pliny discusses various root vegetables, particularly the turnip, navew, and radish, at great length (*HN* 18. 125-132; *HN* 19. 75-87); like Col., he distinguishes between the radish (*raphanus*) and the *radix Syriaca* (*HN* 19. 81). Pliny describes the long root of the *raphanus* in a way that makes it sound more like the horseradish than the modern radish: *in longitudinem procurrente radice raphani similitudine* (*HN* 18. 130). He says that the wild radish is also called *armoracia*: *raphanum et silvestrem esse diximus ... in Italia et armoraciam vocant* (*HN* 20. 22). Col. recommends the juice of *armoracia* to treat eye pain (6. 17. 8).

The precise identification of *radix Syriaca*, apparently a different plant from *raphanus*, is uncertain. Vergil does not mention *radix Syriaca*, *raphanus*, or *armoracia*. For the conflation of Syria and Assyria, cf. *Sardanapalli, opulentissimi Syriae regis* (Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 101); *si non Assyrio fuerint bis lauta colore / ... vellera* (*Culex* 62-63); *alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno* (*G.* 2. 465). For another example of a plant which Col. describes but does not name in the poem, cf. *et lactis ... nomine Graio* (124-126).

Venit: Col. uses *venire* to mean “grow, spring forth”: 171, 178, 236, 372, and 412; cf. *hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvae* (*G.* 1. 54); *sponte sua veniunt* [sc. *arbores*] (*G.* 2. 11).

116. Pelusiaci ... zythi: According to Pliny, *zythum* is a kind of Egyptian beer: *ex iisdem* [sc. *frugibus*] *fiunt et potus, zythum in Aegypto, caelia et cerea in Hispania, cervesia et plura genera in Gallia* (*HN* 22. 164; cf. *HN* 14. 149). Pelusium was a city in Egypt: cf. *iam Pelusiaco veniens a gurgite Nili* (Luc. 10. 53); *tu Pelusiaci scelus Canopi / deflebis pius et Pharo cruenta / Pompeo dabis altius sepulcrum* (Stat. *Silv.* 2. 7. 70-73);

cf. also: *nec Pelusiacae curam aspernabere lentis* (G. 1. 228); *praeterea malorum genera exquirenda maxime ... Pelusiana* (5. 10. 19, on desirable varieties of apples).

117. Tempore non alio: Cf. G. 3. 245.

Salgama: Pickles; the term might come from *sal*, because pickles are made using salt or brine; cf. ἄλμη “brine” from ἅλς “salt” (Ernout 1951, 1041; LSJ). The earliest attestation of this word is in Col. In Book 12, Col. discusses making vinegar (12. 5) and brine (12. 6) and using them to make pickles and preserves, along with general techniques for pickling and preserving (12. 4, 12. 7).

118. Capparis: Also found in an indeclinable neuter form *cappari*; from Greek κόππαρις (*OLD*). This is the caper, *Capparis spinosa* L. (André 1956, 70; André 1985, 48). Pliny (*HN* 19. 127) discusses the nature and properties of several varieties of caper; he adds: *quidam id cynosbaton vocant, alii ophiostaphylen*. He also discusses its medical uses at length (*HN* 20. 165-167). Col. includes the caper among a group of plants that should be sown around April 1 (11. 3. 17); he also discusses its cultivation at length (11. 3. 54-55) and says that it should be sown around the time of the equinoxes (*seritur utroque aequinoctio*, 11. 3. 55). In addition, he gives a recipe for preserving capers (12. 7. 4-5). Vergil does not mention the caper.

Tristes inulae: *Inula* is elecampane, *Inula helenium* L. (André 1985, 132). The name is possibly related to Greek ἐλένιον (André 1956, 170); it also appears in the forms *innula*. Pliny discusses the nature and preparation of elecampane (*HN* 19. 91-92), as part of his larger discussion of roots and bulbs. He notes its medicinal uses (*HN* 20. 38) and includes it among plants that shed their leaves from the top down (*folia*

cadunt a cacuminibus, HN 19. 100), though André (1956, 170; 1985, 132) suggests that in this passage Pliny has misread Theophrastus' σέλινον (*Hist. pl.* 1. 9. 4) as ἐλένιον.

Col. elsewhere includes elecampane among plants best sown around April 1 (11. 3. 17); he briefly discusses its proper cultivation and recommends that it, as well as *pastinaca* and *siser* be planted at the end of August or beginning of September (11. 3. 35). He discusses various methods of preserving elecampane after it has been picked (12. 48). Nasidienus, host of the dinner which Fundanius describes to Horace, recommends including elecampane in the recipe for sauce served with lamprey (*Sat.* 2. 8. 51-52). Vergil does not mention elecampane.

Pliny mentions the bitterness (*amarior*) of elecampane and suggests ways to flavor it to make it more palatable (HN 19. 91-92); cf. *atque acidas mavolt inulas* (Hor. *Sat.* 2. 2. 44); *inulasque amaras* (Hor. *Sat.* 2. 8. 51); *sed magis angellis paulum prostantibus, utqui / titillare magis sensus quam laedere possint, / fecula iam quo de genere est inulaeque sapes* (Lucr. 2. 428-430).

Ferulaque minaces: See *nec manibus mitis ferulas* (21).

119. Serpentina gramina mentae: *Menta* is mint, *Mentha viridis* L. and other species of genus *Mentha*; like the Greek μίνθη, the term *menta* is borrowed from a non-Indo-European language (André 1956, 206-207; 1985, 159). Col. says that mint should be planted in March (11. 3. 37). He recognizes a wild mint (*silvestre mentastrum*) distinct from cultivated mint (11. 3. 37). He includes mint in recipes for making vinegar (12. 5. 1) and sour milk (12. 8. 1). Pliny discusses the cultivation (HN 19. 159-160) and the medicinal uses (HN 20. 144-152) of mint, including wild mint (*mentastrum*). He remarks: *mentae nomen suavitas odoris apud Graecos mutavit, cum alioqui mintha*

vocaretur, unde veteres nostri nomen declinaverunt, nunc autem coepit dici ἡδύοσμον (HN 19. 159). Vergil does not mention mint.

Ash (1930, 61) points out that the construction *serpentia gramina mentae* recalls *cerinthae ignobile gramen* (G. 4. 63), and suggests that the genitive *mentae* here is epexigetical (appositional, cf. AG 343d). For *serpere* describing low-growing plants, cf. *cucurbita serpit* (380); for a similar but figurative image, cf. *hanc sine tempora circum / inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus* (Ecl. 8. 12-13).

120. Bene odorati flores ... anethi: *Anethum* (also *anetum*) is dill, *Anethum graveolens* L., from Greek ἄνηθον (André 1956, 32; 1985, 17; Van Wyk 2004, 47). Vergil mentions dill once: *et florem iungit bene olentis anethi* (Ecl. 2. 48), clearly a model for Col. in this line. According to Consoli (1901, 15-18) *anethum* is a Vergilian neologism, perhaps drawn from Theocritus (e.g., *Id.* 15. 119; cf. Maggiolli 1995, 237).

Col. includes dill among a group of plants that should be sown either around 1 September or in late February before 1 March (11. 3. 14); he discusses the planting of dill at 11. 3. 42. Pliny (HN 19. 117) says that dill breaks ground on the fourth day after being sown from seed. He lists dill among a group of plants which, he says, have only a single variety and are the same everywhere (HN 19. 123); he also includes it among a group of herbs sown at the autumn equinox (HN 19. 170). He mentions dill among a group of herbs grown for both kitchen and medicinal uses (*culinis et medicis nascuntur*, HN 19. 167) and briefly discusses its medicinal applications (HN 20. 196). Col. includes dill in his recipes for preserving alexanders (12. 8. 3) and lettuce (12. 9. 1).

121. Rutaque: Rue, *Ruta graveolens* L. (André 1985, 221; Van Wyk 2004, 280). Col. says that rue should be planted, either as a seed or as a plant, in February (11. 3.

16) and transplanted around 1 April (11. 3. 17); he discusses its cultivation further at 11. 3. 38. Col. gives a recipe for preserving rue (12. 7. 4-5) and also includes rue in his recipe for preserving lettuce (12. 9. 1). Pliny remarks: *rutam furtivam tantum provenire fertilius putant sicut apes furtivas pessime* (HN 19. 123). Pliny discusses the medicinal uses of rue at great length (HN 20. 131-143); he remarks: *in praecipuis autem medicaminibus ruta est*, and distinguishes a cultivated variety (*sativa*) from a wild (*silvestris*) one (HN 20. 131). He also mentions a curious bit of folklore about rue: *rutam furtivam tantum provenire fertilius putant sicut apes furtivas pessime* (HN 19. 123). Vergil does not mention rue.

Pliny mentions a number of infusions of rue in wine and vinegar and even rose oil (*rosaceum*) among its medicinal uses (Plin. HN 20. 131-143), but he does not mention rue combined with olives or olive oil. Palladius, however, includes rue in a recipe for pickling olives (Pallad. 12. 22. 5). See also note below on *Palladiae baccae* (121). Col.'s phrasing *baccae iutura saporem* in this line recalls Vergil's *mella ... / et liquida et durum Bacchi domitura saporem* (G. 4. 101-102).

Palladiae baccae iutura saporem: The “berry of Pallas” is the olive; cf. *caerula quot bacas Palladis arbor habet* (Ov. Ars am. 2. 518); *ponitur hic bicolor sinceræ baca Minervæ* (Ov. Met. 8. 664); *oleaeque Minerva / inventrix* (G. 1. 18-19); *Palladia gaudent silva vivacis olivæ* (G. 2. 181). For the olive tree as Athena's gift to Athens, cf. Paus. 1. 27. 2; Ov. Met. 6. 80-81. Cf. also *Palladia ... amurca* (353).

Palladius refers to *Pallas*, a title of Athena/Minerva: cf. Παλλάς Ἀθήνη (Hom. Il. 1. 400); Παλλάδ' Ἀθήνην (Il. 4. 510); *Palladis Minervæ* (Vitr. De arch. 4. 8. 4). It can also be used by itself as an alternate name for the goddess: cf. τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι

τάσδ' ἔθεσαν (Hdt. 5. 77. 4); *summasque ad Palladis arces* (Aen. 11. 477); *Palladis exemplo de me sine matre creata / carmina sunt* (Ov. Tr. 3. 14. 13-14).

The olive, *olea* or *oliva*, from Greek ἐλαία, originally ἐλαίφα (Chaintraine 1999, Vergil mentions olives and olive trees in a number of places in his works; but in the *Georgics* he devotes only six lines to the olive (G. 2. 410-425), asserting that it needs no deliberate cultivation (*non ulla est oleis cultura*, G. 2. 420). Col. remarks: *omnis tamen arboris cultus simplicior quam vinearum est longeque ex omnibus stirpibus minimam impensam desiderat olea, quae prima omnium arborum est* (5. 8. 1). He goes on to discuss the cultivation of the olive at some length (5. 8-9, and throughout 11. 2), though, like Vergil, Col. devotes far more space in his work to the vine (Books 3-4) than to the olive. Col. also discusses various ways of preserving olives (12. 49-51) and making olive oil (12. 52-54); cf. Plin. *HN* 15. 1-34.

122. Seque lacessenti ... factura sinapis: *Sinapis* (also neuter forms *sinapi* and *sinape*), from Greek σίναπις and σίναπι, is mustard, both white mustard (*Sinapis alba* L.) and black mustard (*Brassica nigra* Koch) (André 1956, 294-295; André 1985, 240; Van Wyk 2004, 70). Col. briefly discusses the cultivation of mustard (11. 3. 29). He also describes the preparation of mustard as a condiment (12. 57) and mentions it as an ingredient in the pickling of turnips (12. 56. 3). Pliny briefly discusses mustard and its medicinal uses (*HN* 19. 170-171; *HN* 20. 236-240). Vergil does not mention mustard.

Col. most likely refers to the pungency of mustard; cf. *sinapi ... Pythagoras principatum habere ex his quorum sublime vis feratur iudicavit, quoniam non aliud*

magis in nares et cerebrum penetret (Plin. *HN* 20. 236); Pliny also mentions the medicinal efficacy of its aroma (*HN* 20. 238).

123. Holeris pulli radix: *Holus pullum*, more commonly called (*h*)*olus atrum* (or, in one word, (*h*)*olusatrum*) is alexanders, *Smyrniolum olusatrum* L. (André 1956, 164; 1985, 125). Col. elsewhere discusses its cultivation (11. 3. 36) and its harvesting and preparation (12. 7. 4; 12. 58. 1); he includes it among a group of plants best sown around the time of the Vulcanalia, 23 August (11. 3. 18) and he also gives a recipe for preserving it (12. 7. 4). Pliny discusses its cultivation (*HN* 19. 162) and medicinal uses (Plin. *HN* 20. 117); he comments: *olusatrum mirae naturae est* (*HN* 19. 162). Vergil does not mention alexanders.

Pliny remarks of *olusatrum*: *hipposelinum Graeci vocant, alii zmyrniolum* (*HN* 19. 162; cf. *HN* 20. 117) Similarly, Col. notes: *atrum olus, quod Graecorum quidam vocant ... πετροσέλινον, alii ζμυρναῖον* (11. 3. 36); the older mss. include *hipposelinon* (variously spelled) between *vocant* and *πετροσέλινον*. Lundström deletes *hipposelinon* in that passage, taking it to be a gloss; Rodgers prints it in braces { }, indicating that in his opinion it should be deleted. Theophrastus (*Hist. pl.* 1. 9. 4) includes *ἵπποσέλινον* among small shrubs.

Lacrimosaque caepa: *Caepa* (also *cepa*; *OLD*) is the onion, *Allium cepa* L. (André 1956, 80; 1985, 56; Van Wyk 2004, 38). André (1985, 56) notes that in antiquity a great many varieties were cultivated; Pliny remarks: *cepae silvestres non sunt* (*HN* 20. 39). Col. elsewhere notes: [*caepam*] *vocant unionem rustici* (12. 10. 1). He mentions onions once elsewhere in the poem (314).

Col. says that onions can be planted from seed in February (11. 3. 16); he discusses at length both their cultivation (11. 3. 56-58) and their preservation after harvesting (12. 10. 1). He also includes the onion in several salad recipes (12. 59. 1-2) and in a recipe for making sour milk (12. 8. 1). Pliny discusses at length the nature, varieties, cultivation, and preservation of the onion (*HN* 19. 99-107) and its medicinal application (*HN* 20. 39-43). See also *caenoso litore* (130). Vergil does not mention the onion.

Lacrimosa: With regard to the tear-inducing property of onions, Pliny remarks: *omnibus* [sc. *cepis*] *odor lacrimosus* (*HN* 19. 101); also: *sativae* [sc. *cepa*] *olfactu ipso et delacrimatione caligini medentur* (*HN* 19. 39). Interestingly, he recommends that onion juice be rubbed on the eyes to treat various eye ailments (*HN* 20. 39-40). For *lacrimosus* in a causative sense, cf. *bellum lacrimosum* (Hor. *Carm.* 1. 21. 13); *lacrimoso non sine fumo* (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 5. 80).

124-126. Et lactis ... nomine Graio: Pepperwort: *Lepidium latifolium* L., called *lepidium* in Latin, from Greek λεπίδιον (André 1956, 184; 1985, 142; cf. Van Wyk 2004, 415). Col. uses the word *lepidium* in prose, but not in the poem; Ash (1930, 63) and Boldrer (1996, 188) suggest that Col. deliberately avoids using *lepidium* in the poem because it would not fit into the meter. Col. mentions both cultivated (*sativum*) and wild (*silvestre*) varieties (12. 8. 3). He says that it should be planted immediately after 1 January (12. 3. 16); he further discusses both its cultivation (11. 3. 41) and its preservation after harvesting (12. 8. 3). Pliny also describes the cultivation of pepperwort and mentions that it was originally a foreign plant: *peregrinum fuit et*

lepidium (Plin. *HN* 19. 166). Vergil does not mention *lepidium*. See *caecis nasturcia dira colubris* (231).

124. Lactis gustus quae condiat herba: Both Col. (12. 8. 3) and Pliny (*HN* 19. 166) mention mixing *lepidium* with milk. Pliny states: *usus eius non sine lacte* (*HN* 19. 166).

125. Deletura quidem ... signa fugarum: This is probably a reference to the plant's caustic properties, useful for erasing the tell-tale brand on a runaway slave; see next note on *vimque suam ... nomine Graio* (126). For the branding of slaves, cf. *proscriptum famulus servavit fronte notatus* (Mart. 3. 21. 1); *frons haec stigmatate non meo notanda est* (Mart. 12. 61. 11); *vera enim stigmata credebat captivorum frontibus impressa* (Petron. *Sat.* 105. 11). For attempts to erase the brand, cf. *tristia saxorum stigmata delet Eros* (Mart. 10. 56. 6); *stigmata nec vafra delebit Cinnamus arte* (Mart. 6. 64. 26).

126. Vimque suam ... nomine Graio: It is called λεπίδιον in Greek because it removes skin lesions (λεπίς, λέπρα) or from λεπίζειν, "to peel," because of its caustic nature (Boldrer 1996, 189; Forster 1968, 16; Ash 1930, 63). Pliny remarks: *lepidium inter urentia intellegitur* and notes that its application can clear the skin and remove skin lesions in addition to other medicinal uses (*HN* 20. 181).

127-139. Tum quoque conseritur ... mater Aricia porri: In this passage Col. discusses several varieties of cabbage, *Brassica oleracea* L. (André 1956, 56-57; 1985, 37-38). The proper Latin term is *brassica*, which Col. uses only once in his poem (326), though he uses it often in prose. Ash (1930, 63) suggests that the variety of plants called *brassica* by the Romans is imperfectly described by the English "cabbage" or

“colewort.” Col. includes cabbage among a group of plants whose seeds can be sown twice a year, around 1 September and in late February before March 1 (11. 3. 14). He further describes the cultivation (11. 3. 23-24) and preservation (12. 7) of cabbage. Pliny discusses the cultivation and varieties of cabbage, including some of the ones referred to by Col. (HN 19. 126-143); he also describes its various and extensive medicinal applications at great length (HN 20. 78-96), as does Cato (Agr. 156-157). Pliny further comments: *brassicae laudes longum est exsequi* (HN 20. 96).

The varieties of cabbage that Col. mentions in this passage are all associated with peoples and places in Italy; in effect, Col. here gives the reader a tour of central and southern Italy. This recalls Vergil’s “praises of Italy” in the *Georgics* (G. 2. 136-176) and sets the stage for Col.’s later list of different varieties of lettuce, which expands beyond Italy and includes places from throughout the Roman world (179-188). Whereas Vergil’s “praises of Italy” is preceded by a catalogue of trees and shrubs of various nations throughout the world (G. 2. 109-135), Col. reverses Vergil’s order and moves from Italy proper (cabbage) to the wider world (lettuce). In essence, in his survey of cabbages and lettuce, Col. briefly recaps the history of the growth of the Roman Imperium: first dominating Italy, then expanding beyond Italy to the entire coastline of the Mediterranean.

129. Frigoribus caules et verno cymata mittet: *Caulis* (cf. καυλός) and *cyma* (treated in some passages as feminine and in others as neuter; from κύμα; OLD) refer respectively to the stalk and sprouts, particularly of cabbage. Col. uses these terms when describing the pickling of cabbage (12. 7). In the poem *caulis* appears twice more (325, 369); this is the only occurrence in the poem of *cyma*. Cf. [sc. *brassica*] *cymam a*

prima satione praestat proxima vere; hic est quidam ipsorum caulium delicatior teneriorque cauliculus (Plin. HN 19. 137); *altera satio ab aequinoctio verno est, cuius planta extremo vere plantatur, ne prius cyma quam caule pariat* (Plin. HN 19. 138); for the use of these terms to describe plants other than cabbage, cf. *sed curandum est ut haec utraque, antequam caulem agant et cymam faciant, dum sunt tenera, componantur* (12. 56. 4, on the preservation of navews and turnips).

Verno is Rodgers' (2010, 407) emendation, which would agree with an understood *tempore*, on analogy with *neque utique verno [sc. tempore] recidenda* (4. 10. 1). This looks back a few lines to: *putandi autem duo sunt tempora: melius, aut ait Mago, vernum* (4. 10. 1). The older mss. all read *veri*, which is printed by other editors. The *OLD* cites this line as evidence for an ablative form *veri* of *ver*. Boldrer (1996, 191) notes that *veri* in this passage is a *hapax* in Col.; in prose he uses *vere*, which would not fit the meter. For the structure and phrasing of the present passage, cf. *valentissimam quamquam partem vineti frigoribus, macerrimam vere vel autumnno* (4. 23. 2). If the reading *veri* is accepted here, it could be construed as a locative (AG 427a), on analogy with, for example, *vesperi* or *ruri* (Ash 1930, 64); cf. *quae heri Athenis Ephesum adveni vesperi* (Pl. Mil. 439); *ruri si recte habitaveris* (Cato Agr. 4). The fact that the form *veri* is unusual and unattested elsewhere does not seem sufficient reason to disregard the unanimous testimony of the oldest mss. While it is true that the principle *difficilior lectio potior* can be overused to defend anomalous readings that are simply wrong, it is still a valuable guiding principle (Reynolds 1991, 161, 221). In this instance, *veri*, if correct, would represent a unique, and therefore perhaps suspect, surviving example of this

form; but it is plausible in this context and is analogous with similar forms. Hence I prefer *veri*.

130. Veteres ... Cumae: A town in Campania, north of the Bay of Naples, site of the first Greek settlement in Italy, settled by Greeks from Euboea (OCD); site of the Sibyl consulted by Aeneas: cf. *sic fatur lacrimans, classique immittit habenas / et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris* (Aen. 6. 1-2); *ultima Cumaei iam venit carminis aetas* (Ecl. 4. 4); *excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum, / quo lati ducunt aditus centum ostia centum, / unde runt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllae* (Aen. 6. 42-44); *nam Sibyllam quidem Cumis ego ipse oculis meis vidi in ampulla pendere* (Petron. Sat. 48. 8); *Cumaeae templa Sibyllae* (Ov. Met. 15. 712).

Caenoso litore: *C(a)enoso* is the reading of later mss., printed by Rodgers; it is accepted by Boldrer, who translates it “limosa,” and also by Henderson (2004), who renders it “slimy.” *Caenosus* is from *caenum*, “mud.” The oldest mss. read *ceposo* (printed by Marsili), which Lundström and some older editors print as *caeposo*; *c(a)eposo* would mean “full of onions” (*c(a)epa*). Boldrer (1996, 192-193) argues that *caenoso* fits what the sources say about the marshy area around Cumae, whereas there is no indication that the region was particularly known for onions. Cf. *loca feta palustribus undis / litora Cumarum* (Ov. Met. 14. 103-104); *Acherusia palus, Cumis vicina* (Plin. HN 3. 61). Cf. also: *nec ulla re magis gaudet quam rivis atque caenoso lacu volutari* (7. 10. 6).

Ash, Santoro, Forster, and Saint-Denis print *caesposo*, following *cesposo* of later mss. as well as the Aldine ed. (1514) and early editors; Fernández-Galiano prints *cesposo*. Ash translates it as “grassy,” Santoro as “erboso,” Forster as “turf-clad,”

Saint-Denis as “herbu,” Fernández-Galiano as “frondosa.” Ash (1930, 64) notes: “The adjective [caesposo] is ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *metri gratia*, for *caespitosus*, the natural adjective for *caespes* but not occurring. The plains surrounding Cumae, on the coast of Campania, were of unusual fertility;” Pliny (*HN* 19. 140) describes the cabbages of Cumae as low to the ground and spread out, like ground cover: *Cumanum* [sc. *genus*] *sessile folio, capite patulum*. Richter also prints *caesposo* but oddly translates it as “zwiebelreich,” as if reading *c(a)eposo*.

Either *caenoso* or *caesposo* makes sense here, and either *cenoso* or *cesposo* could have given rise to the *ceposo* of the oldest mss. Boldrer’s case for *caenoso* is persuasive, given the primary-source evidence for the marshiness of the area around Cumae and the lack of other testimony for any particular association of the area with onions. Thus I accept *caenoso*. For *-osus* adjectives in Col. see *numeroso ... horto* (6).

131. Marrucini: A people of east-central Italy, on the Adriatic coast. Their chief town was Teate, modern Chieti (*OCD*). Cf. *milites Domitianos sacramentum apud se dicere iubet atque eo die castra movet iustumque iter conficit VII omnino dies ad Corfinium commoratus, et per fines Marrucinatorum, Fretranorum, Larinatium in Apuliam pervenit* (*Caes. B Civ.* 1. 23. 5); *ex Campania in Samnium, inde in Paelignos pervenisse, praeterque oppidum Sulmonem in Marrucinos transisse* (*Livy* 26. 11. 11); *procul ista tuo sint fata Teate, / nec Marrucinos agat haec insania montes* (*Stat. Silv.* 4. 4. 85-86); *Marrucinatorum Teatini* (*Plin. HN* 3. 106).

Signia: A town in Latium (*OCD*), modern Segni (Ash 1930, 65); cf. *et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines volebat, Signiam Circeiosque colonos misit, praesidia urbi futura terra marique* (*Livy* 1. 56. 3); *eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex*

Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum iterum deducta est (Livy 2. 21. 7). According to Pliny (*HN* 14. 65), a dry, astringent wine was made at Signia: *nam quod Signiae nascitur austeritate nimia continendae utile alvo inter medicamina numeratur*. Col. mentions pears from Signia in list of different varieties of pears: [*pira*] *Signina* (5. 10. 18).

Monte Lepino: *Lepino* is the reading of later mss., printed by Rodgers; the oldest mss. read *Lepuno*. Ash (1930, 64-65) and Boldrer (1996, 193) note that this is the only occurrence of either form in Latin literature. Boldrer further observes that the modern name for these mountains—which are “nel Lazio meridionale tra i colli Albani ed i monti Ausoni”—is “i monti Lepini,” which suggests that *Lepino* is the correct reading here.

132. Pinguis item Capua: Capua, in Campania (*OCD*), was known abundant agriculture and other riches, which is mostly likely what *pinguis* here refers to; cf. *qui locus* [i.e., Capua] *propter ubertatem agrorum abundantiamque rerum omnium superbiam et crudelitatem genuisse dicitur* (Cic. *Leg. agr.* 1. 18); *dives Capua* (*G.* 2. 224); *florentis Capuae gaza* (Sil. *Pun.* 17. 280). For *pinguis* used to describe the richness of fields, see *pinguis ager* (7).

Caudinis faucibus horti: The Caudine Forks (Col. “Jaws”), in Samnium in southern Italy, were the site of a Roman surrender in the Second Samnite War in 321 B.C.E. (*OCD*). For the fertility of the land in the Caudine Forks, cf. *altera per Furculas Caudinas, brevior; sed ita natus locus est: saltus duo alti angusti silvosique sunt montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti. iacet inter eos satis patens clausus in medio*

campus herbidus aquosusque (Livy 9. 2. 6). For the form *Caudines fauces*, cf. *Boviana quique / exagitant lustra aut Caudinis faucibus haerent* (Sil. *Pun.* 8. 564-565).

133. Fontibus et Stabiae celebres: Stabiae is modern Castellamare di Stabia, on the Bay of Naples (*OCD; NP*). According to Pliny the Younger (Plin. *Ep.* 6. 16. 12), this is where his uncle, Pliny the Elder, died when Vesuvius erupted in 79 C.E. Pliny the Elder also mentions Stabiae (*HN* 3. 70), as does Ovid: *et Surrentino generosos palmite colles / Herculeamque urbem Stabiasque et in otia natam / Parthenopen et ab hac Cumaeae templa Sibyllae* (Ov. *Met.* 710-712). Pliny (*HN* 31. 9) mentions the waters at Stabiae in his catalogue of medicinal springs and waters. *Fontibus et Stabiae* is an anastrophe (AG 640); cf. lines 44 (possibly), 54, and 80.

Vesvia rura: *Vesvia* is the reading of one older ms., printed by Lundström and Rodgers, as well as by Ash, Forster, Saint-Denis, Fernández-Galiano, and Richter; the other older mss. read *Vesbia* or *Vespia*. Santoro, Marsili, and Boldrer print *Vesbia*. All editors and translators take this to be a reference to the slopes of Mt. Vesuvius. Col. uses *Vesuvius* in prose, but here it would not fit the meter. *Vesbius* referring to Vesuvius is attested elsewhere: *hic est pampineis viridis modo Vesbius umbris* (Mart. 4. 4. 1); *ut magis Inarime, magis ut mugitor anhelat / Vesbius, attonitas acer cum suscitaturbes* (V. Fl. 3. 208-209). For another possible example of *Vesvius* (though *Vesbius* is also attested), cf. *fractas ubi Vesvius erigit iras / aemula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis* (Stat. *Silv.* 4. 4. 79-80). Either *Vesvius* or *Vesbius* would fit here, though it is more likely that an original *Vesbius*, as a less familiar form, was altered to *Vesvius*, than the other way around; in addition, the confusion of the sounds of *b* and *v* in late Latin probably influenced the transmission of the text here (Reynolds 1991, 221, 225).

For the fertility of the area around Vesuvius, cf. *talem dives arat Capua et vicina Vesaevo / ora iugo* (G. 2. 224-225); *quarum [sc. vitium] minor vulgo notissimum, quippe Campaniae celeberrimos Vesuvii colles Surrentinosque vestit* (3. 2. 10); *ex his [sc. vitibus] minor austro laeditur, ceteris ventis alitur, ut in Vesuvio monte Surrentinisque collibus* (Plin. HN 14. 22).

134. Doctaque Parthenope: Parthenope is another name for Naples; Pliny (HN 3. 62) remarks: *litore autem Neapolis ... Parthenope a tumulo Sirenis appellata*. Ovid also calls it *Parthenope* and includes it among places in Campania: *inde legit Capreas promunturiumque Minervae / et Surrentino generosos palmite colles / Herculeamque urbem Stabiasque et in otia natam / Parthenopen et ab hac Cumaeae templa Sibyllae* (Met. 15. 709-712). It was a center of Greek culture and learning; Martial also calls it *docta Neapolis* (5. 78. 14). Vergil says that he spent time there in his younger days: *illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat / Parthenope* (G. 4. 563-564).

Sebethide roscida lympha: *Sebethis* is an adjective for *Sebethos*, a stream near Naples (OCD); *nec tu carminibus nostris indictus abibis, / Oebale, quem generasse Telon Sebethide nympha / fertur, Teleboum Capreas cum regna teneret* (Aen. 7. 733-735); The stream of *Sebethis* flows into the Bay of Naples near the city; cf. *at te nascentem gremio mea prima recepit / Parthenope ... / ... nitidum consurgat ad aethera tellus / Eubois et pulchra tumeat Sebethos alumna* (Stat. Silv. 1. 2. 260-263).

135. Dulcis Pompeia palus: Pliny (HN 3. 62) mentions a stream near Pompeii: *Pompei haud procul spectato monte Vesuvio, adluente vero Sarno amne*. Vergil mentions the *Sarnis* in his catalogue of places in Campania (Aen. 7. 738); cf. *nec Pompeiani placeant magis otia Sarni* (Stat. Silv. 1. 2. 265).

Dulcis is perhaps meant to contrast this Pompeian fresh water with the Herculanean salt marshes which Col. mentions next. For *dulcis* used of fresh water, as opposed to salt water, cf. *aquam ex alto marinam sumito ... quo aqua dulcis non perveniet* (Cato Agr. 112); *quis habebat piscinam nisi dulcem* (Varro, Rust. 3. 3. 9); *intus aquae dulces* (Aen. 1. 167).

135-136. Vicina salinis / Herculeis: Pliny mentions Herculaneum just before Pompeii in his catalogue of places in Campania (HN 3. 62). According to Ash (1930, 66), there is no other evidence of salt beds near Herculaneum. Santoro asserts that Col. is here referring to the fishponds at the “Rock of Hercules” at Stabiae: cf. *in Stabiano Campaniae ad Herculis petram melanuri in mari panem abiectum rapiunt* (Plin. HN 32. 17). Boldrer (1996, 196) agrees and suggests further that by *Herculeus* Col. is here referring to the the god Hercules, who is associated with salt. Solinus (1. 7-8) says that the altar of Hercules in Rome was near a place called Salinae: *quippe aram Hercules, quam voverat si amissas boves repperisset, punito Caco patri Inventori dicavit. qui Cacus habitavit locum, cui Salinae nomen est; ubi Trigemina nunc porta.*

136. Siler: The Siler or Silarus is a river in Leucania, the modern Sele. Lucan also calls it Siler (Luc. 2. 426), Vergil calls it Silarus (G. 3. 146), and Pliny (HN 2. 226, HN 3. 70) uses both forms. Pliny says of it: *in flumine Silero ultra Surrentum non virgulta modo immerse verum et folia lapidescunt, alias salubri potu eius aquae* (HN 2. 226).

137. Duri ... Sabelli: The Sabelli were Samnites of Sabine origin (OCD). Cf. *alteri consuli Aemilio ingresso Sabellum agrum non castra Samnitium, non legiones usquam oppositae* (Livy 8. 1. 7); *Samnitium, quos Sabellos et Graeci Saunitas dixere*

(Plin. *HN* 3. 107). Santoro (1946, 33), however, regards *Sabelli* here as merely equivalent to *Sabini*.

The Sabelli were regarded as hardy: cf. *haec genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam* (*G.* 2. 167); *sed rusticorum mascula militum / proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus / versare glaebas et severae / matris ad arbitrium recisos / portare fustis* (Hor. *Carm.* 3. 6. 37-41). Cf. *incola durus* (23).

Cymosa stirpe: Pliny describes Sabellian cabbage and its leafiness: *Sabellico usque in admirationem crispa sunt folia quorum crassitudo caulem ipsum extenuet, sed dulcissimi perhibenter ex omnibus* (Plin. *HN* 19. 141). According to Boldrer (1996, 197) *cymosus* here is a *hapax* of Col.; the *OLD* cites only this passage to illustrate the word. Cf. also *frigoribus caules et verno cymata mittet* (129) and note on *cyma*. For *-osus* adjectives in Col., see *numeroso ... horto* (6).

138. Turni lacus: According to Ash (1930, 66), no ancient geographical writer mentions a *lacus Turni*. However, Pliny appears to refer to a similar place name when describing a type of cabbage from Aricia: *nuper subiere Lacuturnenses [sc. caules] ex convalle Aricina, capite praegrandes, folio innumeri, alii in orbem conlecti, alii in latitudinem torosi* (Plin. *HN* 19. 141); Boldrer (1996, 198) notes, however, that the transmitted text of Pliny reads *Lacuturrenses*, and that it was emended to *Lacuturnenses* on the basis of this line of Col. The *OLD* cites only this passage of Pliny for *Lacuturnensis*.

Possible candidates for this *Turni lacus* are: 1) “eine Quelle in Latium, auch lacus luturnae genannt” (Richter 1981-1983, v. 2, 490; cf. Forster 1968, 18)—cf. *extemplo Turni sic est adfata sororem [i.e., luturnam] / diva deam, stagnis quae fluminibusque*

sonoris / praesidet (*Aen.* 12. 138-140)—and 2) “lacus Triviae, presso Aricia, oggi lago di Nemi” (Santoro 1946, 33); cf. *audii et Triviae longe lacus* (*Aen.* 7. 516). Boldrer (1996, 198) acknowledges that the identification is uncertain, but suggests that the mention of Tibur immediately following suggests that Col.’s *lacus Turni* here is most likely in Latium.

Pomosi Tiburis arva: Tibur, modern Tivoli, is a town in Latium, near the river Anio, modern Aniene (*OLD, OCD*). Cf. *Romae Tibur amem, ventosus Tibure Romam* (*Hor. Ep.* 1. 8. 12); *vos nunc omnia parva qui putatis, / centeno gelidum ligone Tibur / vel Praeneste domate pendulamque / uni dedite Setiam colono* (*Mart.* 4. 64. 31-34); cf. also *Plin. Ep.* 8. 17.

For the fertility of the area around Tibur, cf. *Tiburis Argei pomifera arva* (*Ov. Am.* 3. 6. 46); *et praeceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda / mobilibus pomaria rivis* (*Hor. Carm.* 1. 7. 13-14); *seu tu Paestanis genita es seu Tiburis arvis* (*Mart.* 9. 60. 1); *pomifera arva creant Anienicolae Catilli* (*Sil. Pun.* 4. 225). Boldrer (1996, 198) notes that this is the third *-osus* adjective used by Col. in a short span of lines (*caenoso*, 130; *cymosa*, 137). See *numeroso ... horto* (6).

139. Bruttia ... tellus: The territory of the Brutti, in the toe of Italy, modern Calabria (*OLD, OCD*). *Mediterranei Bruttiorum Aprustani tantum* (*Plin. HN* 3. 98); *adversus Hannibalem Bruttii et Lucani* (*Livy* 27. 35.12); *item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia motus erat* (*Sall. Cat.* 42. 1). For the collocation *Bruttia ... tellus*, cf. *Bruttia maerentem casus patriaeque suosque / Hannibalem accepit tellus* (*Sil. Pun.* 16. 1-2). Pliny describes cabbage from Bruttium (*HN* 19. 140).

Mater Aricia porri: Aricia, modern Ariccia, is SE of Rome in the Alban hills (OCD); cf. *Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia ferociter in absentem Tarquinius erat invectus* (Livy 1. 50. 3); *egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma* (Hor. Sat. 1. 5. 1). For the collocation *mater Aricia*, cf. *Virbius, insignem quem mater Aricia misit* (Aen. 7. 762). Pliny (HN 19. 140-141) describes cabbage from the area of Aricia. See *Turni lacus* (138).

Of leeks from Aricia, Pliny observes: *laudatissimum [sc. porrum] Aegypto, mox Ostiae atque Ariciae* (HN 19. 110); cf. *mittit praecipuos nemoralis Aricia porros* (Mart. 13. 19. 1).

Porri: *Porum*, also *porrus*, is the leek, *Allium porrum* L.; cf. Greek πράσον (André 1956, 259; 1985, 206). Col. (11. 3. 30-32) and Pliny (HN 19. 108-111; HN 20. 44) discuss the cultivation of leeks. Col. says that leeks should be planted from seed in February, then can be transplanted as early as the Kalends of March and as late the Ides of May (11. 3. 16-18). In particular both Col. and Pliny distinguish between *porrum capitatum*, a leek which grows a head, i.e. whose leaves are allowed to grow uncut (cf. *capitis porri longo ... capillo*, 167; cf. Mart. 3. 19. 1-2); and *porrum sectivum* or *sectum* (cf. *porro ... secto*, 371), a leek whose tops were cut and eaten, leaving the bulb to grow new leaves (cf. OLD; André 1985, 206). Pliny discusses the medicinal uses of both *porrum sectivum* (HN 20. 44-47) and *porrum capitatum* (HN 20. 48-49). Col. includes *porrum sectivum* in his recipes for sour milk (12. 8. 2), for preserving lettuce (12. 9. 1) and white olives (12. 49. 5), and for a type of salad (12. 59. 1). He also recommends the juice of the horehound and the leek to counteract garden pests (6. 25). Vergil does not mention the leek.

140-154. Haec ubi ... exhorreat aestus: Col. returns to discussing the mechanics of tending and watering the garden, from which he had digressed after line 95 to discuss specific crops that should be planted at this time (96-139). He discusses many of these late-winter tasks in greater detail (11. 2. 25-30; 11. 3. 8-13).

140. Credidimus resolutae semina terrae: For the expression *credere terrae*, cf. *in debita quam sulcis committas semina quamque / invitae properes anni spem credere terrae* (G. 1. 223); cf. also: *in aream perducantur ea, quae terrae credimus* (2. 12. 1); *spes sulcis credit aratis / semina* (Tib. 2. 6. 21).

Ash (1930, 67) interprets *resolutae ... terrae* here as the earth “released from the bonds of Boreas.” See *resolutaque terga* (7).

143. Moneo largos inducere fonts: Col. discusses the mechanisms for watering the garden in greater detail (11. 3. 9-11). Pliny mentions proper irrigation in his brief discussion of general principles of garden cultivation (*HN* 19. 60), as does Vergil: *deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis / et, cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis, / ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam / elicit* (G. 1. 106-109).

145-149. At cum feta ... exterminet herbam: Col. reminds the careful gardener (*sedulus olitor*, 148) of his important tasks: irrigation (*praebeat imbres ... irrorans*, 147-148), tilling the ground with appropriate tools (*ferroque bicorni pectat*, 148-149), and removing superfluous vegetation (*angentem sulcis exterminet herbam*, 149). For ways in which Col. likens the work of the poet to that of the gardener, see *tenuem* and *laboris nostri* (Pr. 4); *numero ... horto* (6).

148. Ferro ... bicorni: Col. elsewhere calls the double-bladed tool used for this purpose *bipalium*, “a foot-rest spade ... essentially a trenching implement: it was

employed for deep digging over of heavy ground without much inversion of the sod” (White 1967, 20, 22). Cf. *at ubi copa est rigandi, satis erit non alto bipalio, id est, minus quam duos pedes ferramento novale converti* (11. 3. 11); *siccus ager ... bipalio prius subigi debet, quae est altitudo pastinationis cum in duos pedes et semissem convertitur humus* (3. 5. 3); *vel ad bipalium, quae est altitudo duorum pedum* (11. 2. 17); cf. *bipalio vertenda terra* (Varro, *Rust.* 1. 37. 5); *locus bipalio subactus sit et bene glutus* (Plin. *HN* 17. 125). Forms of *bipalium*, however, would not fit the meter of the poem. For *bicornis*, cf. *furcasque bicornis* (*G.* 1. 264); Horace describes the (crescent, horned) moon as *siderum regina bicornis* (Hor. *Carm. saec.* 35). For the *pala*, see *ferrato ... robore palae* (45).

154. Mutata loco: Col. refers to transplanting (*transferre*), which he discusses at length in his prose treatise (e.g., 11. 2 . 18). Cf. *mutatam ignorant subito ne semina matrem* (*G.* 2. 268). Col. refers several times to *seminaria*, or nurseries, where shoots are grown for later transplanting or grafting (e.g., for olives, 11. 2. 42); he also discusses the growing of certain plants (e.g., cabbage, 11. 3. 23; lettuce, 11. 3. 25) from transplanted shoots. In addition, he describes how to set up a nursery for vine shoots which will then be transplanted or grafted (3. 5. 1-4). Cf. *depositis plantis* (158); *et quos enixa ... proles* (162-163).

Col. himself is engaged in poetic transplantation: he has transplanted many Greek words and plant names and plants into Latin, both by direct borrowing and by puns; he has gathered plants from throughout the Mediterranean world and replanted them in his Italian landscape; and he has transplanted a poetic book about gardening—nurtured in the nursery of the *Georgics*—into his prose agricultural treatise.

155-56. Mox ubi nubigenae ... caput efferet undis: This describes the rising of the constellation Aries the Ram, which, according to Col. (11. 2. 31), occurred on X Kal. Mart. (= 23 March; Saint-Denis 1969a, 60), six days after the sun had entered Aries and two days before the spring equinox. Hyginus (*Poet. astr.* 2. 20) relates the story that Aries represents the flying ram with the golden fleece (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3. 875-876), which carried Phrixus and his sister Helle away from Cretheus, who was trying to kill Phrixus (cf. Ov. *Her.* 18. 143-144). It took them to Colchis, though before their arrival Helle fell off (*nec portitor Helles*, 155), and the sea where she fell was named the Hellespont after her (Ov. *Fast.* 3. 869-870; *Her.* 18. 139-141). Upon his arrival in Colchis, Phrixus sacrificed the ram in thanks for his safe arrival and dedicated the fleece in the temple (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 20). It became the Golden Fleece sought by Jason and the crew of the Argo (Ov. *Met.* 7. 7; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 9. 1). See *sic quondam ... vidit lolcos* (367-368).

155. Nubigenae: According to Hyginus (*Poet. astr.* 2. 20) it was Nubes who rescued Phrixus and Helle and gave them the ram, and who later placed the ram among the constellations. Another, perhaps more likely explanation for *nubigenae* is that the mother of Phrixus and Helle was named Nephele (Ov. *Met.* 11. 195). Though *nubigenae* technically agrees with *Phruxi*, it implicitly modifies *Helles* as well (AG 286a, 287). With *nubigenae*, Col. might also be hinting at the rain and storms which accompany Aries' rising and the spring equinox (11. 2. 31).

156. Signorum ... princeps: The Romans customarily listed Aries first among the constellations of the Zodiac: *aurato princeps Aries in vellere fulgens* (Man. 1. 263; cf. Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 1. 8, 2. 20-30, 4. 5); *nobile Lanigeri sidus, quod cuncta sequuntur*

(Man. 1. 278). By contrast, Aratus begins the list with Cancer, i.e., at the summer solstice (*Phaen.* 544-549; cf. Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 4. 5). Boldrer (1996, 207) suggests that the Roman order of the constellations, beginning with Aries, reflects a time when the Roman calendar began in March, when the spring equinox occurs; cf. *neu dubites, primae fuerint quin ante Kalendae / Martis* (Ov. *Fast.* 3. 135-136). This order was preserved as customary even after beginning of the calendar was shifted to January.

Pecorum princeps: For this description of the ram, cf. *rex in Regia arietem immolat ... a principe civitatis et princeps gregis immolatur* (Varro, *Ling.* 6. 12); *dux pecoris hircus* (Tib. 2. 1 58); *de duce lanigeri pecoris, qui prodidit Hellen, sol abit* (Ov. *Fast.* 4. 715-716, for April 20).

Caput efferet undis: For this phrasing, cf. [*Arethusa*] *summa flavum caput extulit unda* (G. 4. 352); [*Neptunus*] *caput extulit unda* (Aen. 1. 127); *tum caput Eleis Alpheias extulit undis* (Ov. *Met.* 5. 487). *efferre* is used specifically of the rising of heavenly bodies: *cum magnis sese Nepa lucibus effert* (Cic. *Arat.* 656(434)); *quattuor in partis cum Corniger extulit ora* (Man. 5. 39).

158. Depositis ... plantis: Another reference to transplanting; cf. *hic plantas tenero abscindens de corpora matris / deposuit sulcis* (G. 2. 23-24). See *mutato loco* (154).

162-163. Et quos enixa est partus ... privignasque ... proles: “Both the plants which have grown where they were sown and those transplanted from elsewhere” (Forster 1968, 20). Another reference to the fact that some plants are grown from seed in the garden, while others are started from seed in another location and then transplanted to the garden; see *mutato loco* (154).

Col.'s references to transplanting are another link between the gardener and the poet. Col. has transplanted his garden from Vergil's *Georgics* to his own work, grafting a poetic book into a prose treatise. He has also transferred many Greek plants (as seen from their names) into his Italian landscape. He has also "transplanted" Greek words into Latin via bilingual puns; see *immortalesque amaranti* (175).

164-168. Viridi redimite parentem ... staphylinus inumbret: Col. returns to the image of the earth as a woman, with the plants and their foliage as her hair (*comam ... crines*, 165; *longo ... capillo*, 167). See *et curvi vomere ... ne dubita* (69-73); cf. *discrimine pectita tellus* (94).

166. Apio viridi: *Apium* or *apius* is most likely celery, *Apium graveolens* L., or possibly parsley, *Petroselinum crispum* Mill. (André 1985, 20-21; 1956, 35; Van Wyk 2004, 47). Derived from *apis* (*apium* = "l'herbe aux abeilles;" André 1985, 20; Ernout 1951, 70); cf. *apiastro, quod alii melliphyllon, alii melissophyllon, quidam melittaenam appellant* (Varro, *Rust.* 3. 16. 10). According to Maggiulli (1995, 238), *apium* occurs first in Vergil, though similar forms in earlier authors include Varro's *apiastrum* and Cato's *apiacon*, which he regards as a variety of cabbage: *altera [sc. brassica] est cripsa, apiacon appellatur* (Cato *Agr.* 157. 2). Col. also mentions *apiastrum*, or balm (*Melissa officinalis* L.; André 1985, 20; Van Wyk 2004, 204) as an herb that attracts bees (9. 8. 13, quoting G. 4. 63; 9. 9. 8).

Col. discusses the cultivation of *apium*, and says that it can be grown equally well from seed or from plants (11. 3. 33). He adds that it grows well in the summer and thus advises that it is the only seed that should be sown after the Ides of May and before the Vulcanalia in August (11. 3. 18). Col. gives a recipe for pickling *apium* (12. 7. 1) and

includes it in recipes for pickling pepperwort (12. 8. 3; see *et lactis ... nomine Graio*, 124-126) and olives (12. 49. 5, 12. 50. 5). He also lists it as an ingredient in a salad (12. 59. 1) and in a recipe for *oxyporum*, a digestive aid (12. 59. 4). Pliny discusses the varieties (HN 19. 124) and medicinal uses (HN 20. 113) of *apium*. Vergil mentions *apium* twice: *apio ... amaro* (Ecl. 6. 68); *virides apio rivae* (G. 4. 121, which Col.'s *apio viridi* recalls).

167. Capitis porri longo ... capillo: The headed leek, *porrum capitatum*; see *mater Aricia porri* (139).

168. Staphylinus: Possibly the carrot, *Daucus carota* L. (André 1985, 248; André 1956, 302; Van Wyk 2004, 124) or the parsnip, *Pastinaca sativa* (Ash 1930 73; André 1985, 241; Van Wyk 2004, 420). *staphylinus* from σταφυλῖνος (André 1985, 248): cf. *agrestis pastinaca et eiusdem nominis edomita, quam Graeci σταφυλῖνον vocant* (9. 4. 5); cf. also *alterum genus est staphylinus, quod pastinacam erraticam vocant* (Plin. HN 20. 30). *Pastinaca* will not fit into the meter. Pliny (HN 28. 232) includes the seed of *staphylinus* in a remedy for dropsy. This is the only appearance of *staphylinus* in Col. The word does not occur in Vergil. For more on *pastinaca*, see *siser* (114).

169-170. Odoratae peregrino munere plantae ... croceae: *Croceus* is the adjective of *crocus*, from κρόκος; this is saffron, *Crocus sativus* L. (André 1985, 79). It has a characteristic aroma (Van Wyk 2004, 116); cf. *nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores / ... mittit* (G. 1. 56-57); *invitent croceis halantes floribus horti* (G. 4. 109). Col. mentions it once more in the poem (301). Vergil uses the noun *crocus* once each in the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*: G. 4. 182; Aen. 9. 614. He uses the adjective *croceus* a handful of times, mostly in the *Aeneid*: cf. Ecl. 4. 44; G. 1. 56; Aen. 1. 649, 4. 585, 6. 207.

According to Pliny (*HN* 21. 31), saffron does not grow well in Italy, but is mostly cultivated in Cyrene, Cilicia, Lycia, and Sicily; cf. *Tmolon et Corydon* [sc. *aiunt abundare*] *flore croceo* (3. 8. 4).

170. Sicaniis montibus ... Hyblae: Mt. Hybla on Sicily (*NP*, *OLD*) was well-known for flowers, bees, and honey: cf. *Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti* (*Ecl.* 1. 54); *thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae* (*Ecl.* 7. 37); *quot apes pascuntur in Hybla* (*Ov. Ars am.* 2. 517); *et careat dulci Trinacris Hybla thymo* (*Ov. Trist.* 5. 13. 22). Pliny (*HN* 11. 32) rates honey from Hybla among the three best varieties.

171. Sampsuca: *Sam(p)suc(h)um* or *sam(p)suc(h)us* (*OLD*), from *σάμψουχον*, is probably marjoram, *Majorana hortensis* Moench (André 1985, 225; André 1956, 280) or *Origanum majorana* (Van Wyk 2004, 221, 419). Rodgers alone of modern editors prints *sampsuca*, following the *editio princeps*; the others print *samsuca*, following the oldest mss. Also called *amaracus*, from *ἀμάρρακος* (André 1985, 12-13): *amaracum Diocles medicus et Siculo gens appellavere quod Aegyptus et Syria sampsucum* (Plin. *HN* 21. 61); though André (1956, 26) remarks that *amaracus* may refer to “différentes plantes odorantes non distinguées par les anciens.” For its sweet smell, cf. *suave olentis amaraci* (Catull. 61. 7). Pliny gives several medicinal applications of this plant (Plin. *HN* 21. 163) and includes it in a perfume recipe (Plin. *HN* 13. 10). This is the only mention of *sampsucum* in Col.; *amaracus* also occurs once (296). *sampsucum* does not appear in Vergil; *amaracus* appears once (*Aen.* 1. 693).

Hilaro ... Canopo: Canopus was a city in Egypt located at the western mouth of the Nile (*NP*); cf. *Isi, Paraetonium genialiaque arva Canopi / quae colis et Memphin palmiferamque Pharon* (*Ov. Am.* 2. 13. 7-8). It was supposedly named after Canopus, a

helmsman of Menelaus (Plin. *HN* 5. 128). Propertius (3. 11. 39) calls Canopus *incestus*; Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 11. 431), *lascivus*; Juvenal (15. 46), *famosus*.

172-173. Et lacrimas .. Achaia murra: For myrrh, see *medica panacem lacrima* (103). For the story of Myrrha, cf. Ov. *Met.* 10. 310-502. In this line *Achaia* is scanned as four syllables.

173. Stactis: *Stacta* or *stacte* is myrrh oil; cf. [sc. *arbores murrae*] *sudant autem sponte prius quam incidantur stacten dictam, cui nulla praefertur* (Plin. *HN* 12. 68); *murra et per se unguentum facit sine oleo, stacte dumtaxat, alioqui nimiam amaritudinem adfert* (Plin. *HN* 13. 17).

174-175. Et male damnati ... Aiacii flores: This is the hyacinth; here Col. alludes to one of the stories about the origin of the hyacinth, that it became stained by the blood of Ajax, who killed himself after losing the contest for the arms of Achilles to Odysseus. For the hyacinth, see *vel niveos vel caeruleos hyacinthos* (100).

175. Immortalesque amaranti: *Amarantus* or *amarantum*, from ἀμάραντον, “unfading,” is possibly the amaranth, *Amarantus caudatus* L. (André 1985, 13; 1956, 20) or the related cockscomb, *Celosia cristata* (Richter 1981-1983, v. 2. 491; cf. Wright 1984, 486) The oldest mss. read *amaranthi*, which perhaps arose from confusion with ἄνθος, “flower” (Boldrer 1996, 220-221). Pliny describes its appearance as *spica purpurea verius quam flos aliquis* and says that it blooms in August (*HN* 21. 47), after the rose and the cyanus (*HN* 21. 68). Col. does not mention it elsewhere. Vergil does not mention *amarantus*.

Col.’s description of *amaranti* as *immortales* is most likely a play on the meaning of ἀμάραντον in Greek, “un brillante gioco etimologico bilingue” (Boldrer 1996, 220); cf.

summae naturae eius [i.e., *amaranti*] *in nomine est, appellato, quoniam non marcescat* (Plin. *HN* 21. 47). See also *candida leucoia* (97); *oculis inimica corambe* (178); *distorto corpore campe* (366); *lubrica ... lapathos* (373).

176. Et quos mille parit dives natura colores: The gardener's inclusion of decorative plants in the midst of plants having nutritional or medicinal uses recalls Horace's admonition to the poet to mix the useful and the pleasant: *aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae / aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae ... omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci, / lectorem delectando pariterque monendo* (Hor. *Ars P.* 333-334, 343-344).

178. Oculis inimica corambe: This plant is difficult to identify, in part because the reading is uncertain, though the consensus of recent commentators is that it is probably some type of cabbage. Ash (1930, 75) renders it as "sea-cabbage." Modern sea kale is *Crambe maritima* (Gough 1996, 2). The oldest mss. read *coramve*; *corambe*, a late ms. reading, is printed by Lundström³³ and all recent editors (and the *OLD*) except Santoro and Boldrer, who print the late ms. reading *coramble* (Boldrer 1996, 223), which, if correct, would occur only here (Ash 1930, 75). André (1985, 74) also reads *coramble* and derives it from κοράμβλη, a type of cabbage, *Brassica oleracea* L. He derives the Greek name from κόρη "pupil" and ἀμβλύνειν "to dim," a meaning reflected in Col.'s *oculis inimica*. If *corambe* is the correct reading, it may be derived from κράμβη "cabbage," *Brassica cretica* Lamb. (André 1985, 77); cf. *tertia* [sc.

³³ Lundström (1900-1902, 183) acknowledges the appeal of *coramve* but prefers *corambe*: "videtur enim *corambe* (κοράμβη) etiam usitatorem formam verbi esse." For the interchange of *v/b* in later Latin, cf. Reynolds 1991, 221, 225.

brassica] est proprie appellata crambe (Plin. *HN* 20. 79). Cf. κράμβη. κοράμβλη τις οὔσα, ἡ ἀμβλύνουσα τὸ διορατικόν (*Suda* kappa 2318). Neither *corambe* nor *coramble* is attested elsewhere in Latin literature. Because the plant cannot easily be identified, I have retained *corambe* in my translation.

179-180. Salutari ... morbi: According to Pliny (*HN* 19. 128), Augustus was cured of an illness by lettuce given by his physician, Musa; for this reason, a method was found to preserve lettuce by pickling, so it would always be available. Augustus had a statue erected to Musa in thanksgiving for his recovery (Suet. *Aug.* 59). See *teneris frondens lactucula fibris* (111).

181-189. Altera crebra ... lactea crure est: Col. describes five varieties of lettuce, originating from different geographical areas. The first two are Italian, one is from Asia Minor, one from Spain, and one from Cyprus; thus the produce of Col.'s garden symbolically includes the entire empire. Cf. Col.'s survey of cabbage varieties from Italy (127-139). Col. mentions these five varieties again when he describes the best time to plant them (190-195; 11. 3. 26-27).

181-182. Altera crebra ... de nomine dicta Metelli: The first two types of lettuce mentioned by Col. are named *Caeciliana* for a Caecilius Metellus, one with green leaves (*altera crebra viret*) and one with darker or purple leaves (*fusco nitet altera crine*). Suggested identifications for this Caecilius are L. Caecilius Metellus (*RE* 72), consul in 251 BCE during the First Punic War (Wernsdorf 1794 v. 6, 78; Ash 1930 76); or Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (*RE* 94), consul in 143 B.C.E. (Santoro 1946, 39). As Boldrer (1996, 225) points out, “non era raro che piante e prodotti prendessero nome da personaggi storici e politici famosi, così come da populi e stati;” cf. *eiudem gentis de*

nomine dicta [sc. *Persica*] (409); *arbos Livia* (413). Col. refers to these two *caeciliana* varieties at 11. 3. 26: *ea* [sc. *lactuca*] *autem quae <est> fusci aut purpurei aut etiam viridis coloris et crispi folii, uti Caeciliana, mense Ianuario recte seritur*. Pliny refers to Col.'s darker *caeciliana*: *purpuream* [sc. *lactucam*] *maximae radice Caecilianam vocant* (Plin. *HN* 19. 127). *Caeciliana* would not fit into the meter of the poem. See *Caeciliam ... anno* (190).

183-184. Tertia, quae spisso ... cognomine gentis: Col.'s third lettuce variety is *Cappadoca*, named for Cappadocia in Asia Minor (*OCD*); cf. *Cappadocia* [sc. *lactuca*], *quae pallido et pexo densoque folio viret* (11. 3. 26). Pliny (*HN* 19. 126, 128) also mentions this variety, which he calls *Cappadocica*, but does not describe it in detail. See *Cappadociamque ... Lupercus* (191).

185-186. Et mea ... Gadis ... thyrsos est: Col. was a native of Gades, modern Cádiz, in the province of Baetica in Spain (*OCD*); *M. quidem Columella patruus meus ... diligentissimus Baeticae provinciae* (5. 5. 15); cf. 7, 2, 4; *in nostro Gadum municipio* (8. 16. 9). Cf. Plin. *HN* 4. 119. Col. describes this lettuce variety at 11. 3. 26: *quae deinde candida est est crispissimi folii, ut in provincia Baetica et finibus Gaditani municipii* (11. 3. 26). See *tuque ... calendis* (192).

185. Tartesi: *Tartes(s)us* is another name for southern Spain (*OCD*); *Tartesii pelagi, quod est ultimum* (8. 16. 10); *sparserat occiduus Tartessia litora Phoebus* (*Ov. Met.* 14. 416); *iam Tartessiaco quos solverat aequore Titan / in noctem diffusus* (*Sil. Pun.* 6. 1-1, referring to the Atlantic); *donec anhelantis stagna in Tartessia Phoebus / mersit equos* (*Sil. Pun.* 10. 537-538). According to Pliny (*HN* 4. 120), *Tartesos* is the

Roman name (*nostrī Tarteson appellant*) of the island where Gades was located. Cf. *Tartesida* (192); *Tartessiacos ... thyrsos* (370).

186. Vibrato discrimine: Boldrer (1996, 277) suggests that *discrimen*, “qui applicato per prima volta ad una pianta, designa probabilmente la suddivisione della lattuga in foglie;” cf. Ash 1930, 77. For *discrimen* used for a furrow resembling a parting in hair, see *discrimine pectita tellus* (94); cf. *compositum discrimen erit, discrimina lauda* (Ov. *Ars am.* 2. 303). For *vibratus* used to describe curly hair, cf. *crinis / vibratos calido ferro* (Aen. 12. 99-100); *Aethiopas ... gigni barba et capillo vibrato* (Plin. *HN* 2. 189). Cf. *crispissimi folii* (11. 3. 26).

Thyrso: Col. is referring to the stem or stalk of the plant; see also *Paphosque ... thyrsos* (370); cf. *lactuculae thyrsum* (Suet. *Aug.* 77); *languidior caliculi repente thyrso* (Petron *Sat.* 132. 8. 2); *huius [sc. neuropasti] thyrsum ad remedia splenis et inflations conditus ex aceto manditur* (Plin. *HN* 24. 121). Pliny (*HN* 21. 87) distinguishes between *thyrsum* and *caulis*: *hanc [sc. colocasiam] e Nilo metunt, caule, cum coctus est, araneoso in mandendo, thyrso autem qui inter folia emicat spectabili*. For *caulis*, see 129, 325, 369.

187. Cypros item Paphio ... pinguis in arvo: Paphos was a city in Cyprus (OCD; Plin. *HN* 5. 129-130), home of a shrine to Venus (Plin. *HN* 2. 210). Col. mentions this lettuce at 11. 3. 27: *est et Cypri generis, ex albo rubicunda levi et tenerrimo folio*. Pliny does not mention this variety, unless this is the same as one he calls *Graeca*: *Graecas [sc. lactucas], levioris has folii caulisque lati, praeterea longi et angusti, intibus similis* (Plin. *HN* 19. 126). Cf. *Paphosque ... thyrsos* (370).

Pinguis: Wernsdorf's conjecture, printed by Rodgers; the mss. read *pingui*, which is accepted by all other modern editors. Wernsdorf appears to have liked the symmetry of having one adjective apiece modify each of the nouns *Cypros* and *arvo*: "Ego *Paphio* adiungam *arvo*, et *pinguis* ponam pro *pingui*, hoc modo: *Cypros item Paphio quam pinguis nutrit in arvo*" (Wernsdorf 1794, v. 6, 79). This aesthetic preference does not seem sufficient justification for rejecting the testimony of the mss., particularly since Col. elsewhere describes soil as *pinguis*: *pinguis ager* (7); *humo pingui* (253); cf. *pingues agros* (11. 2. 8); *pingui solo* (Plin. *HN* 18. 198); cf. also *pinguissima ... arva* (Val. Max. 7. 1. 2). I have thus accepted the ms. reading *pingui* in my translation.

190. Primo ... Aquarius anno: *Caeciliana* should be planted in January: *quae ... uti Caeciliana, mense Ianuario recte differtur* (11. 3. 26); *esse enim nigras [sc. lactucas] quarum semen mense Ianuario seratur* (Plin. *HN* 19. 125). The sun entered Aquarius during the month of January (11. 2. 4),³⁴ which Col. reckons as the first month of the Roman year (11. 2. 3); cf. *simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum* (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1. 36).³⁵ Hyginus (*Poet. astr.* 2. 29) relates that Aquarius is variously regarded as representing Ganymede (cf. *Man.* 5. 486-490), Deucalion, or Cecrops. *primo ... anno* recalls *primis ... a mensibus annis* (*G.* 1. 64). See *altera crebra ... de nomine dicta Metelli* (181-182).

³⁴ *XVII Kal. Febr. Sol in Aquarium transitur* (11. 2. 4); Forster (1968, 71) puts this on 16 January. Aquarius begins to rise two days later (11. 2. 4). Cf. *haec ubi transierint, Capricorno, Phoebi, relicto / per iuvenis curres signa gerentis aquam* (Ov. *Fast.* 1. 651-652).

³⁵ Vergil, by contrast, follows the older Roman calendar, in which the year begins in March and ends in February, when Aquarius is setting: cf. *iam cadit extremoque inrorat Aquarius anno* (*G.* 3. 304; cf. Forster 1968, 177. n.); *iam levis obliqua subsedit Aquarius urna* (Ov. *Fast.* 2. 457). See *pecorum princeps* (156).

191. Cappidocamque ... ferali mense Lupercus: *Cappadocia* lettuce is planted in February; cf. *at Cappidocia [sc. lactuca] ... mense Februario [sc. disseritur]* (11. 3. 26). February is the month in which both the Lupercalia (15 February) and the Feralia (21 February) occur (Scullard 1981, 49-74-78); *tertia post Idus nudos aurora Lupercos / aspicit* (Ov. *Fast.* 2. 267-268, for 15 February); *est honor et tumulis, animas placate paternas* (Ov. *Fast.* 2. 533, for 21 February). For *feralis*, cf. *ingentem struxere pyram ... / ...et feralis ante cupressos / constituunt* (Aen. 6. 215-217); *picea ... feralis arbor et funebri indicio ad fores posita ac rogis virens* (Plin. *HN* 16. 40).

192. Tuque tuis ... pange Kalendis: The Spanish variety should be planted in March: *quae deinde candida est ... ut in provincia Baetica et finibus Gaditani municipii, mense Martio recte pangitur* (11. 3. 26); cf. *albas [sc. lactucas] quarum [sc. semen] Martio [sc. seratur]* (Plin. *HN* 19. 125).

Mavors: A variant form of the name of the god Mars; cf. *quoniam belli fera moenia Mavors / armipotens regit* (Lucr. 1. 32-33); *saepe in letifero belli certamine Mavors* (Cat. 64. 394); *saevit medio in certamine Mavors* (Aen. 8. 700). Mars was the patron deity of March: *forsan ipse roges, quid sit cum Marte poetae: / a te, qui canitur, nomina mensis habet* (Ov. *Fast.* 3. 3-4); *peregrinos inspice fastos: / mensis in his etiam nomine Martis erit* (Ov. *Fast.* 3. 87-88).

Tartesida: See *Tartesi* (185). The form *Tartesida* is a Greek 3rd-declension accusative singular (AG 81-82), here agreeing with an implied *lactucam*. Boldrer (1996, 23) notes that *Tartesida* is a *hapax* in Col.

193. Tuque tuis, Paphie, Cytheream pange Kalendis: This line has problems of both text and interpretation. The oldest mss. read *tuque suis Paphien iterum iam*

pange Kalendis. Gesner (1735, 716) prints this but notes: “elumbis versus & [sic] indignus elegancia Columellae, qui forte scripsit: *tuque tuis Paphien, Paphie, depange Kalendis*.” Wernsdorf (1794, 80) also prints the ms. text but in a note agrees with Gesner and adds an additional objection: “quia [sc. hic versus] praecedenti non respondet, ut debebat. In quo cum Mavortem alloquatur auctor, ut suis Calendis lactucam Tartesida pangat, ita hoc versu, qui idem incipit *Tuque, Paphie* debebat appellari, quae Cypriam lactucam suo, h[oc] e[st] Aprili mense pangeret.” Lundström, followed by all recent editors except Ash, Saint-Denis, and Rodgers, prints *tuque tuis, Paphie, Paphien iam pange Kalendis*, adopting most of Gesner’s emendation. Saint-Denis prints *tuque tuis, Paphien, Cythereia, pange Kalendis*, adopting Schrader’s suggestion *Cythereia*. Saint-Denis also notes (1969, 61-62): “le vers, tel qu’il est donné dans les manuscrits, est inacceptable; il ne doit pas cependant être éliminé; car le poète reprend ici les cinq espèces de laitues qu’il a énumérées plus haut; la correction *Cythereia* est satisfaisante; ce vocatif fait pendent à *Mavors* du vers précédent.” Rodgers prints his own conjecture, substituting *Paphie Cytheream* for Schrader’s *Paphien Cythereia*. Ash (1930, 78-79) alone of recent editors prefers to print the ms. text, noting: “I cannot find sufficient justification for disagreement with the unanimous testimony of the manuscripts. *Iterum* may refer to a second sowing or to transplanting.” Cf. *hoc mense [i.e. Februario] lactuca seritur, ut possit Aprili mense transferri* (Pall. 3. 24. 2).

The consensus of recent editors is that Col. is instructing the gardener to plant the Paphian variety of lettuce in April. In support of this interpretation, many editors cite 11. 3. 27, which, however, contains its own textual problem: Lundström, Richter, and

Rodgers read: *est et Cypri generis ex albo rubicunda levi et tenerrima folio, quae usque in Idus Octobres commode disponitur*, the reading of the 9th cent. mss.; in place of *in Idus Octobres*, Ash, Forster, and Saint-Denis read *in Idus Apriles*, the reading of later mss., which is also accepted by Henderson (2004, 40).

The context of this passage suggests that Col. is recommending that this variety be planted in April, since the preceding lines mention planting the other varieties in January, February, and March.³⁶

Paphos was sacred to Venus (see *Cypros item Paphio ... in arvo*, 187), who was also the patron deity of April: *venimus ad quartum, quo tu celeberrima mense: / et vatem et mensem scis, Venus, esse tuos* (Ov. *Fast.* 4. 13-14). *Cytherea* is another epithet of Venus, after the island of Cythera: *hunc ego sopitum somno super alta Cythera / aut super Idalium sacrata sede recondam* (Aen. 1. 680-681); *mota Cytheriaca leviter mea tempora myrto / contigit* (Ov. *Fast.* 4. 15-16); *sic Erato (mensis Cythereius illi / cessit, quod teneri nomen amoris habet)* (Ov. *Fast.* 4. 195-196). *Paphie* is a Greek first-declension feminine nominative/vocative singular form, *Paphien* the corresponding accusative singular (AG 81-82).

Given the fact that the transmitted text is not obviously wrong or without sense, even though it is not entirely satisfactory, and given that none of the proposed

³⁶ The context of 11. 3. 26-27 might support reading *in Idus Apriles* at 11. 3. 27, rather than *in Idus Octobres*, since Col. has just recommended planting other lettuce varieties in January, February, and March. However, Col. continues: *fere tamen aprico caeli statu, quibus locis aquarum copia est, paene toto anno lactuca seri potest* (11. 3. 27). This indicates that lettuce can be planted throughout much of the growing year, in which case it is difficult to object to *in Idus Octobres*. In addition, it is possible that the pattern January-February-March in the preceding section led to the corruption of *Octobres* into *Apriles* by a scribe who assumed that because *Octobres* did not follow the pattern it must therefore be an error (cf. Reynolds 1991, 221, 231-232). The presence of *aprico* in the following sentence may also have suggested *Apriles* as a possible correction to a perceived error.

emendations has won a consensus of support, Ash's decision to accept the ms. reading—with *suis* emended to *tuis*—appears to be justified, though the objections of Saint-Denis and other editors are duly noted. I have thus adopted Ash's reading in my translation.

196. Nunc sunt genitalia tempora mundi: Cf. *terrae et genitalia semina poscunt* (G. 2. 324) in Vergil's praise of spring, recalled by Col. in the next passage. *Genitalia tempora* is at the same position in the line as Vergil's *genitalia semina*. See *genitalia semina* (106).

197-214. Nunc Amor ... ne torpeat aevo: In the conclusion to the first part of the Spring section, Col. rhapsodizes about the rampant fertility of nature in a passage that recalls Lucretius' hymn to Venus and celebration of fertility at the beginning of *De Rerum Natura* (Lucr. 1. 1-20). This sets up the following section, Digression on the Poet's Task (215-229).

For the fertility of spring, cf. G. 1. 43-49; G. 2. 324-342; Ov. *Fast.* 1. 149-160; also Ovid's praise of Venus as the source of both fertility and creativity at *Fast.* 4. 91-114.

197-198. Nunc Amor ... cupidinis actus: *Amor* and *Cupido* are both names for the god of love, son of Venus: *at Cytherea novas artis, nova pectore versat / consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido / pro dulci Ascanio veniat ... ergo his aligerum dictis adfatur Amorem: / nate, meae vires, mea magna poeetentia solus, / nate* (*Aen.* 1. 657-659, 663-665).

200-201. Pater ... Amphitriten: *Pater aequoreus* is Oceanus, who was the husband of Tethys: Τηθύς δ' Ὠκεανῶ ποταμοῦς τέκε δινήεντας (Hes. *Theog.* 377);

duxerat Oceanus quondam Titanida Tethyn (Ov. *Fast.* 5. 81). Neptune was the husband of Amphitrite, daughter of Nereus (Hes. *Theog.* 240-243): *ipse pater timidam saeva complexus harena / coniugium castae violaverat Amphitrites* (Ciris 72-73); cf. Ποσειδῶν δὲ ... [sc. Εὐμόλπον] δίδωσι Βενθεσικύμη τρέφειν, αὐτοῦ θυγατρὶ καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτης (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 15. 4). For Oceanus as *pater*, cf. *Oceanumque patrem rerum* (G. 4. 382). For *aequoreus* used to describe sea divinities, cf. *aequoreae ... Nereides* (Cat. 64. 15); *genitor aequoreus* (Sen. *Phaed.* 942, of Neptune). *Tethyn* and *Amphitriten* are Greek accusative case forms (AG 81-82).

204-206. Maximus ... imbre: *Maximus ipse deum* is Jupiter; cf. *Iuppiter optimus maximus* (Livy 3. 17. 3); *ipse deum ... genitor* (Aen. 7. 306); *pater ipse deum* (Ciris 269).

Col. likens the rain upon the earth to Jupiter visiting Danae in a shower of gold and impregnating her with Perseus, after her father, Acrisius, had imprisoned her to prevent her having a son; cf. *neque enim [sc. Acrisius] Iovis esse putabat / Persea, quem pluvio Danae conceperat auro* (Ov. *Met.* 4. 610-611; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 16. 1-8).

206. Inque ... imbre: For the image of rain as the act of the sky god impregnating the earth, cf. *postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater aether / in gremium matris terrai praecipitavit* (Lucr. 1. 250-251); *tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether / coniugis in gremium laetae descendit et omnis / magnus alit magno commixtus corpora fetus* (G. 2. 325-327).

207. Genetrix nati ... amorem: According to Hesiod, Gaia (the earth) bore Uranus (the starry heavens) (*Theog.* 126-127) and then by him had Cronus (*Theog.* 137-138), who was the father of Zeus (*Theog.* 453-458); Hyginus (*Fab. Pr.* 3, 13) states

that Saturn was the son of *terra*, and Jupiter was the son of Saturn. Thus Jupiter is a descendant of the earth (though technically her grandson, not her son). Boldrer (1996, 239) suggests that Col. is recalling Hes. *Theog.* 126, and that Jupiter represents the starry sky by metonymy. For *genetrix* referring to the earth, see 59, 161.

209. Ver agit: Cf. *vere adeo frondi nemorem, ver utile silvis; / vere tument terrae* (G. 2. 323-324).

Digression on the poet's task (lines 215-229)

In this section, after praise of spring and fertility (197-214), Col. looks at the task of the poet of nature and *rerum causas* (218); he declines to become such a poet, and instead accepts his more circumscribed role as a poet of gardens. This is approximately the halfway point of the poem, and recalls G. 2. 475-489—nearly halfway through the *Georgics*—in which Vergil asks the Muses to inspire him to be a great poet of nature, but then says that if he should prove unequal to the task, he would like to be the poet of the countryside. Like Vergil, Col. is ostensibly acknowledging the limits of his poetic range, while at the same time striving for excellence and distinction within those limits. Just as the gardener must identify the boundaries of the plot (27-28) before planting, the poet must define the boundaries of his poetic task.

215-216. Sed quid ego ... raptor: Cf. *sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam grata resolvo?* (*Aen.* 2.101), including the elision of the second syllable of *ego*. For the image, cf. Ovid's account of Phaethon (*Met.* 2. 1-328), especially when Phaethon loses control of the horses of the Sun. Cf. also *avia cum Phaethontis rapax vis solis equorum / aethere raptavit toto terrasque per omnis* (*Lucret.* 5. 397-398), the wording of which is echoed by Col.: *rapax / audax; equorum / equos; aethere / aethera; raptavit / raptor.*

217-224. *Ista canit ... Euhie Paeon*: Col. refers to a poet who, inspired by Apollo and Bacchus, sings about the wonders of the natural world—the topics (*ista*) which Col. touched upon in the preceding section (197-215). Propertius (3. 2. 9-10) also joins Apollo and Bacchus as sources of poetic inspiration: *miremur, nobis et Baccho et Apolline dextro, / turba puellarum si mea verba colit? See quae dulcis ... grata canenti* (235-236).

217. *Quem*: Ash (1930, 83) sees this *quem* as a reference to Vergil. Vergil acknowledges the inspiration of Apollo: *in tenui labor; at tenuis non Gloria, si quem / numina laeva sinunt auditque vocatus Apollo* (G. 4. 6-7). “The causes of things, the mysteries of nature, and the laws of the heavens are discussed in the first book of the *Georgics*, *passim*” (Ash 1930, 83; cf. G. 2. 475-482). Moreover, Col. refers to this inspired poet as *vates* (220), a term he elsewhere uses for Vergil (Pr. 3; 484). See *vatis maxime venerandi* (Pr. 3).

Col. may also have Lucretius in mind here. As Santoro (1946, 42-43) recognizes, this passage clearly recalls not only Lucretius—the poet of *rerum causas* (218)—but also Vergil’s praise of Lucretius, *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas* (G. 2. 490),³⁷ which occurs at about the midpoint of the *Georgics*, just as Col. places this encomium at the midpoint of his poem. In addition, the allusion to Phaethon (215-216) recalls Lucr. 5. 397-398. See *Calliope* (225).

³⁷ Thomas (1988 v. 1, 249-250) disagrees with the traditional view that Vergil is referring to Lucretius: “The passage as a whole is best understood as applying to Vergil and his career.” He argues that the topics about which Vergil asks the Muses to inspire him (G. 2. 477-482, 490-92) actually relate to the *Georgics* themselves, whereas the alternatives (G. 2. 483-489, 493-494) seem to fit the *Eclogues*. He adds, “V. at 491-3 is dealing with his *own* poetic ambitions, and with his place in the tradition of poets such as Aratus and Lucretius, a point obscured by strict and exclusive identification with Lucretius.” However, Col.’s allusion to Lucretius’ lines about Phaethon suggests that he read this Vergilian passage at least in part as a reference to Lucretius.

217. Maiore deo: This is Apollo, as indicated by *Delphica laurus* (217) and Col.'s address to Apollo, *Delie te Paian* (224); cf. *maior agit deus atque opera ad maiora remittit* (*Aen.* 12. 429), where Iapyx attributes to Apollo (cf. *Aen.* 12. 392-394) the cure of Aeneas' wound which Venus had effected (*Aen.* 12. 411-419). Apollo, a god, is *maior* in comparison with Col.'s own source of inspiration, the Muse Calliope (225). In addition, Col. also notes that, in contrast to what he has just recalled about the inspired *vates of rerum causas* (whether Vergil or Lucretius), his own pursuit is *levior* (225). See *Calliope* (225).

Col. never calls Apollo by his proper name. See *Phoebus* (56).

Delphica laurus: Cf. *Phoebi Delphica laurus* (*Lucretius*. 6. 154, at the same position in the line); *Parnasia laurus* (*Georgics*. 2. 18).

220. Vatem: See *vatis maxime venerandi* (Pr. 3).

Dindyma castra Cybebes: There are two textual issues here: *castra* and *Cybebes*. Rodgers and Richter alone among modern editors print *castra*, a late ms. reading; all others follow the oldest mss. and print *casta*. Boldrer (1996, 248) points out that *casta* is appropriate to the cult of Cybele (cf. *Attis / turrigeram casto vinxit amore deam*, *Ovid Fast.* 222-223), and that reading *castra* would require construing *Dindyma* as an otherwise unattested adjectival form. For *Dindyma* as a plural noun, cf. *ite per alta / Dindyma* (*Aeneid*. 9. 617-618). Silius also describes *Dindyma* as *casta*: *semivirique chori, gemino qui Dindyma monte / casta colunt* (*Silius Pun.* 17. 20-21). There appears to be no solid justification for rejecting the reading *casta* of the oldest mss.; thus I accept *casta* as the basis for my translation.

Of modern editors, only Rodgers and Ash print Postgate's emendation *Cybebes*,³⁸ in place of the reading *Cybeles* found in all mss. In poem 63, Catullus consistently scans *Cybele* as u u – (cf. *agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora simul*, 63. 12) and *Cybebe* as u – – (cf. *tympanum tuum, Cybebe, tua, Mater, initia* (63. 9); cf. Κυβέλη, Κυβήβη (LSJ). Other Latin poets make the same distinction; cf. *turrigera frontem Cybele redimita corona* (Ov. *Fast.* 6. 321); *vertice turrigero iuxta dea magna Cybebe* (Prop. 3. 17. 35). If the ms. reading *Cybeles* is accepted here, it must be scanned u – –, which would be unique in extant Latin literature. For this reason, Postgate's *Cybebes* is perhaps preferable, though not without misgivings, despite the unanimous testimony of the mss. The forms *Cybebes* and *Cybeles* are first-declension Greek genitive singular forms (AG 81-82).

The association of Dindymon with Cybele is first attested in Latin literature in Catullus (63. 191): *Cybebe, dea domina Dindymi*. Ovid (*Fast.* 4. 249-250) treats both Dindymon and Cybele as mountains in Phrygia, sacred to the mother goddess: *Dindymon et Cybelen et amoenam fontibus Iden / semper et Iliacas Mater amavit opes*.

Col. has introduced a goddess who is neither Italian nor Greek but Asiatic: i.e., truly foreign. Cybele, as mother goddess, recalls the rampant fertility of springtime which Col. praised at the end of the previous section (197-214). It was this musing on unrestrained mating and fertility which prompted his reverie on the lofty poetic heights to which he might wish to aspire.

³⁸ Postgate (1904 v. 2, 208) proposes *Cybebes* without offering explanation or justification. I suggest that his emendation was prompted by the metrical distinction between *Cybele* and *Cybebe* found in Catull. 63.

221. Perque Cithaeronem: Cithaeron is a mountain between Attica and Boeotia (*NP*), sacred to Bacchus and to the Muses; cf. *ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho / orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeon* (*Aen.* 4. 302-303); cf. Corinna (*PMG* 654 i. 12-34), where Cithaeron competes in a singing context supervised by the Muses (cf. Larmour 2005, 26-31). Cf. *vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron* (*G.* 3. 43).

Nyseia per iuga Bacchi: Following Lundström, *Nyseia* is the reading of all modern editors except Forster, Marsili, and Fernández-Galiano, who print *Nysaeaque*. The oldest mss. read *Nisaiea*, later mss. read *Nyseiaque* or *Nisaeaque*. For the form *Nyseia*, cf. *et iuga tota vacant Bromio Nyseia* (*Luc.* 8. 801). *Nyseia* has to be scanned as four syllables: – – u u. Col. calls Bacchus *Nysie* (248).

Nysa was regarded as the birthplace of Bacchus (*NP*); cf. *Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris* (*Aen.* 6. 805); *tura dant Bacchumque vocant Bromiumque Lyaeumque ... additur his Nyseus* (*Ov. Met.* 4. 11, 13); *Nysam urbem plerique Indiae adscribunt ... Libero Patri sacrum* (*Plin. HN* 6. 79); cf. also Hom. *Il.* 6. 132; *Hymn. Hom. Bacch.* 6-9. See *munera Bacchi* (3).

222. Per sua Parnassi: Parnassus is a mountain in Phocis, location of Delphi and sacred to Apollo (*NP*); cf. *sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua dulcis / raptat amor* (*G.* 3. 291-292); *nec tantum gaudet Phoebos Parnasia rupes* (*Ecl.* 6. 29); cf. Ash 1930, 83.

222-223. Per amica ... Pierii nemoris: See *Pierides ... Musae* (40).

224. "Delie te Paean": The third reference to Apollo's inspiration of the poet of *rerum causas*: see *maiore deo ... Delphica laurus* (217); *per sua Parnassi* (222). *Paean* is "a hymn usu. [sic] of victory, addressed to Apollo or another god" (*OLD*); *ante condemnentur ei, quorum causas receperimus, ... Paeanem aut hymnum recitarimus*

(Cic. *De or.* 1. 251); *conspicit et alios ... laetumque choro paeana canentis* (*Aen.* 6. 656, 657); *victorque canebat / paeana Amphion rupe* (*Prop.* 3. 15. 41-42).

Et “te Euhie Euhie Paean”: *Te* is found only in later mss.; otherwise the reading printed by Rodgers and other modern editors (except Marsili and Boldrer) reflects the reading of the oldest mss. There is a metrical hiatus (AG 612g) between the first *Euhie* and the second. Marsili (1962, 21) omits *et*; this omission, as he acknowledges, requires that there also be a metrical hiatus between *te Euhie*.

Boldrer (1996, 72, 251) conjectures *et te Euhie Euhoe Paean*. She dislikes the repetition of *Euhie*: “tale iterazione ... sembra banale rispetto al primo emistichio su Apollo ... dove al vocativo segue l’esclamazione appropriate al dio,” and she observes that by emending the second *Euhie* into *Euhoe* “il parallelismo si ristabilisce.” *Euhoe* is, she observes, “grido tipico delle bacchanti,” from Greek εὐοῖ (LSJ): cf. *Satyris clamantibus “Euhoe”* (*Ov. Ars am.* 3. 157); “*euhoe Bacche*” *sonat* (*Ov. Met.* 4. 523); and esp. *euhoe Bacche fremens* (*Aen.* 7. 389)—see *Bacchea voce frementem* (223). While Boldrer’s conjecture is clever, it is not convincing in light of the ms. testimony. In addition, the judgment of the majority of editors, and that fact that Col. is shifting from addressing Apollo to addressing Bacchus, justifies retaining the late ms. reading *et*.

Euhius (from Greek Εὐήιος; LSJ) is a cult title of Bacchus; cf. *Mithridatem dominum, illum patrem, illum conservatorem Asiae, illum Euhium, Nysium, Bacchum, Liberum nominabant* (*Cic. Flac.* 60). This is the third reference to Bacchus’ inspiration of the poet of *rerum causas*: see *Nyseia per iuga Bacchi* (221); *Bacchea voce* (223).

225. Calliope: Chief of the Muses (*Hes. Theog.* 79), traditionally the Muse of epic poetry; cf. *Aen.* 9. 525. Ash (1930, 85) suggests that, as chief of the Muses, she

can represent other sorts of verse; Santoro (1946, 44) and Forster (1968, 26) note that Col. uses her to represent the Muses in general. See *Pierides ... Musae* (40); *maiore deo* (217).

Boldrer (1996, 252) suggests that Col. is drawing on Calliope's connection with epic poetry to indicate that he has larger poetic ambitions; cf. *descende caelo et dic age tibia / regina longum Calliope melos* (Hor. *Carm.* 3. 4. 1-2), where *longum melos* might refer to Horace's epic theme (though not epic form). However, Lucretius also invokes Calliope: *tu mihi supremae praescripta ad candida calcis / current spatium praemonstra, callida Musa / Calliope, requies hominum divomque voluptas, / te duce ut insigni capiam cum laude coronam* (Lucr. 6. 92-95). By mentioning Calliope as his inspiration, Col. is again emphasizing his connection with Lucretius. Moreover, Col.'s descriptions of his poem—*tenui ... carmen* (40), *gracili ... carmina filo* (227)—imply that he does not aspire to compose a *longum melos* in the epic sense. And yet his reference to being inspired by Calliope, in addition to his epic-style opening (see *hortorum*, 1), suggests that Col. is flirting with higher poetic ambitions.

At *Ov. Met.* 332-345, Calliope represents the Muses in the contest with the Pierides and sings of the abduction of Persephone (*Met.* 346-486); according to Hinds (1967, 5-7), in this passage Ovid is imitating and inviting comparison with Aratus. By making Calliope his Muse, Col. is inviting further comparison with Ovid (as well as Aratus) and placing himself firmly in the poetic tradition of his predecessors.

227. Gracili connectere carmina filo: See *tenui deducite carmen* (40).

228-229. Quae canat ... viridantibus hortis: Col. is again likening the poet to the gardener (*olitor*) as well as to the pruner (*putator*). The *putator* trims back the

excess growth of the trees and vines: cf. *summunque putator / haud dubitat terrae referens mandare cacumen* (G. 2. 228-29); *falce data frondator erat vitisque putator* (Ov. *Met.* 14. 649); cf. also 11. 2. 26, 32. Similarly, the poet must carefully prune and cultivate his writing: *saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint / scripturus* (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 10. 72-73).

228. Musa modulante: For the inspiration of the poet by the Muses, see *Pierides ... Musae* (40); *Calliope* (225). Forster (1968, 26-27) treat *Musa* as impersonal, writing it lower-case and rendering *musa modulante* as “tunefully;” cf. *silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena* (*Ecl.* 1. 2.); *dum canit et maestum musa solatur amorem* (*Aen.* 10. 191).

Spring activities, resumed (lines 230-254)

230. Parvo discrimine sulci: See *discrimine pectita tellus* (94); contrast *vibrato discrimine* (186). Cf. also *parvo discrimine leti* (407).

231. Caecis nasturcia dira colubris: *Nasturcium* (also *nasturtium*, *OLD*) is probably garden cress, *Lepidium sativum* L. (André 1956, 217; André 1985, 170), not the modern *nasturtium* (genus *Tropaeolum*), which is ornamental (Wright 1984, 250, 526). Pliny (*HN* 19. 155) offers an etymology for the name: *nasturtium nomen accepta narium tormento*. Col. includes *nasturtium* among a group of plants that should be sown around the beginning of September or else in late February before the first of March (11. 2. 14). Pliny says that it breaks from the ground on the seventh day after being sown from seed (*HN* 19. 117). He lists *nasturtium* among a group of herbs that exist in only one variety (*HN* 19. 123) and includes it among herbs whose taste he describes as *acres* (*HN*. 19. 186). He also discusses its medicinal uses and

distinguishes two kinds, *album* and *nigrius* (HN 20. 127-130). In particular, he recommends *nasturtium* for treating intestinal parasites: *semen [sc. nasturcii] ex vino omnia intestinorum animalia pellit* (HN 20. 128; cf. Dsc. 2. 184); cf. *indomito male sana cibo quas educat alvus* (232). Ash (1930, 85) suggests that Col. is using *colubris* in place of *lumbricis*, which will not fit into the meter; cf. *lumbrici, qui fere nascuntur cruditibus* (6. 25); *de taeniis lumbricisque* (Plin. HN 27. 145). See *et lactis ... nomine Graio* (124-126).

Richter (1981-1983 v. 2, 443) suggests that *caecis* describes the blindness of the parasites (“augenlosen”). Others interpret it to mean “hidden;” cf. *caeci morbi, quorum causas ne medici quidem perspicere queunt* (1. 5. 6); also cf. *latens ... coluber* (Ov. Met. 11. 775; cf. Boldrer 1996, 256).

233. Satureia: This is probably savory, *Satureia hortensis* L. (André 1956, 282; 1985, 227), also called summer savory (Van Wyk 2004, 291). This is apparently the same plant which Col. elsewhere calls *cunila*: *vel nostratis cunilae, quam satureiam rustici vocant*; (9. 4. 2); *nostra cunila, quam dixi satureiam* (9. 4. 4); *haec [sc. cunila] apud nos habet vocabulum et aliud satureia dicta* (Plin. HN 19. 16). Pliny (HN 20. 169-173) distinguishes several types of *cunila* and discusses their medicinal uses at length; he mentions that one particular variety is called *panacea* (Plin. HN 20. 169; see *medica panacem lacrima*, 103). Col. recommends mixing savory seed with onion seed and sowing these around the beginning of February (11. 3. 57). He gives a recipe for preserving *cunila* (12. 7. 5) and includes *cunila* (12. 8. 2) and *satureia* (12. 8. 3) in different recipes for sour milk. He also includes *satureia* in a salad recipe (12. 59. 3-4).

He distinguishes *satureia* from *cunila* when discussing pickling: *haec conditura possit commode satureia viridis, et aequae viridis cunila servari* (12. 7. 5).

Thymi referens et thymbraeque saporem: Cf. *saporis praecipui mella reddit thymum, eximio deinde proximum thymbra serpullumque et organum* (9. 4. 6). Col. elsewhere links *thymus* and *thymbrae* as food for honeybees: *floribus thymi et cunilae thymbraeque apes mella conficiunt* (9. 14. 10); *quae serotinis floribus thymi et origami thymbraeque benignius apes alere possint* (9. 14. 19).

Thymus (also *thymum*, from Greek θύμον) is probably thyme, *Thymus vulgaris* L. or a type of savory, *Satureia thymbra* L. (André 1956, 315-316; 1985, 260; cf. Van Wyk 2004, 323). Like Col. (cf. also 9. 4. 6), Vergil remarks on the flavor that *thymus* gives to honey: cf. *thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae* (*Ecl.* 7. 57); *redolentque thymo fragrantia mella* (*G.* 4. 169). Pliny too discusses the importance of thyme in making honey (*HN* 21. 56-57); he also recommends thyme as a flavoring for elecampane in making a digestive tonic (*HN* 19. 92). Col. includes thyme in a recipe for sour milk (12. 8. 2) and for preserving onions (12. 10. 2) and in a type of salad (12. 59. 3-4).

Thymbra (from Greek θύμβρα) is probably a type of savory, *Satureia thymbra* L. or *Satureia capitata* L. = *Thymus capitatus* Hoff.-Link (André 1956, 315; 1985, 260). Vergil mentions it once: *haec circum casiae virides et olentia late / serpulla et graviter spirantis copia thymbrae / floreat* (*G.* 4. 30-32), where, according to Consoli (1901, 129-130) *thymbra* is a Vergilian neologism. Pliny (*HN* 19. 165) remarks: *ceteri [sc. appellant] ... thymbram vero quae sit cunila*.

234. Et tenero cucumis fragili cucurbita collo: *Cucumis* is the cucumber and *cucurbita* is the gourd. Both are members of the gourd family, *Cucurbitaceae* (Gough

1996, 2). According to Col. cucumbers and gourds are cultivated in similar ways (11. 3. 48-50): *cucumis et cucurbita, cum copia est aquae, minorem curam desiderant* (11. 3. 48). He admonishes the gardener not to allow a woman, particularly when menstruating, into a plot where cucumbers and gourds are growing (11. 3. 50). See also *intortus cucumis praegnansque cucurbita serpit* (380). Pliny remarks of cucumbers, *cartilaginum generis extraque terram est cucumis* (HN 19. 64); then says of gourds, *similis et cucurbitis natura, dumtaxat in nascendo* (HN 19. 69). Col. does not include cucumbers or gourds among the vegetables that can be pickled (12. 7, 12. 9); Pliny (HN 19. 74) mentions that they can be preserved in brine.

The cucumber is *Cucumis sativa* L. (André 1956, 106-107; 1985, 80). Col. discusses the cultivation of the cucumber (11. 3. 51-53) and remarks: *cucumis tener et iucundissimus fit, si ante quam seras, semen eius lacte maceres* (11. 3. 51). Pliny also discusses varieties and cultivation of cucumbers (HN 19. 69-74, 20. 7-9) and their medicinal uses (HN 20. 10). He says that it breaks ground on the sixth day after being sown from seed (HN 19. 117). He also mentions a wild cucumber, *cucumis silvestris* (HN 20. 3). He cites Col. (11. 3. 52-53) for a method of growing cucumbers year round (HN 19. 68). Vergil mentions *cucumis* once: *tortusque per herbam / cresceret in ventrem* (G. 4. 122), as one of the plants that would grow in the putative garden which he declines to write about (G. 4. 147-148). Richter (1957, 345) suggests that Vergil's description is more appropriate for the gourd, and that Vergil used *cucumis* for metrical reasons (cf. Maggiulli 1995, 278); cf. Pliny's description of the gourd at HN. 19. 70. See also *lividus et cucumis ... collectus in orbem* (389-391).

Cucurbita is probably *Lagenaria vulgaris* Serv. (André 1956, 107-108; 1985, 80). Pliny discusses the varieties and cultivation (*HN* 19. 69-74) and medicinal uses (*HN* 20. 11-17) of the gourd. *Fragili ... collo: cf. vires sine adminiculo standi non sunt.* (Plin. *HN* 19. 69). He says that it comes up from the ground on the seventh day after being sown from seed (*HN* 19. 117). Vergil does not mention *cucurbita*.

235. Hispida ponatur cinara: *Cinara*, from Greek κινάρα, is the cardoon, *Cinara cardunculus* L. (André 1985, 66). André changed his opinion from his earlier *Lexique* (1956, 90), where he identified *cinara* as the artichoke, *Cinara scolymus*). Marshall (1919, 124) also identifies *cinara* as the artichoke; but Saint-Denis (1969a, 63) remarks: “L’artichaut, qui ... est une forme améliorée par la culture, a été obtenu au XVe siècle par les horticulteurs italiens.” According to Ash (1930, 86), the cardoon is a kind of thistle, related to the modern artichoke, *Cynara scolymus* (*Taylor’s Guide* 1987, 292). Col. includes the cardoon with a group of plants whose seeds are best sown around the beginning of September or in February before the beginning of March (11. 3. 14) and gives further recommendations for its cultivation (11. 3. 28). Pliny does not use the word *cinara*, but he describes the cultivation and preservation of the *carduus* (*HN* 19. 152). He also discusses their medicinal properties and identifies two types of *carduus*, one of which the Greeks call σκόλυμος (*HN* 20. 262-263). Vergil does not mention this plant.

235-236. Quae dulcis ... grata canenti: Pliny (*HN* 20. 262) remarks that the cardoon can allegedly stimulate thirst: *radix cuiuscumque ex aqua decocta potoribus sitim facere narratur.* This would make singing difficult, “because of its bitterness and its drying effect on the throat” (Ash 1930, 87). On the image of Apollo as a singer, cf.

quondam cithara tacentem / suscitāt Musam neque semper arcum / tendit Apollo (Hor. *Carm.* 2. 10. 18-19); *cantor Apollo* (Hor. *Ars P.* 407). Col. has previously linked Apollo and Bacchus as sources of poetic inspiration: see *ista canit ... Euhie Paeon* (217-224).

235. laccho: *lacchus*, from Greek Ἰακχος, is the name of a god worshipped at Eleusis, perhaps perhaps originating in a cry of the initiates: Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε (Ar. *Ran.* 316); cf. Ἰακχε πολυτίμητε (Ar. *Ran.* 398). Dionysus was also worshipped at Eleusis, and *lacchus* became another name for Dionysus/Bacchus (OCD); cf. *florens volitabat lacchus / cum thiaso Satyrorum et Nysigenis Silenis / te quaerens Ariadna* (Catull. 64. 251-253); *populus Alcidae gratissima, vitis laccho* (Ecl. 7. 61). Like *Bacchus*, it came to be used as metonymy (AG 641) for wine, as Col. is doing in this line; cf. *multo madefactus laccho* (309); cf. also *inflatum hesterno venas laccho* (Ecl. 6. 15). See *munera Bacchi* (3); *sparge mero Bacchi, nam Bacchus condit odores* (302).

lacchus is scanned as three syllabus, which reflects the scansion of Ἰακχος in Greek; cf. *multo madefactus laccho* (309); *dulcis lacche* (426); *mystica vannus lacchi* (G. 1. 166); cf. also Ecl. 6. 16, 7. 61; Catull. 64. 251.

237-241. Haec modo ... tortos imitatur acanthos: Description of the *cinara*. Saint-Denis (1969a, 63-64) argues that Col. is describing six successive stages in the development of the plant, rather than six different varieties.

237. Purpureo ... corymbo: Cf. Pliny's (HN 20. 262) description of one variety of *carduus*: *alter florem purpureum mittit inter medios aculeos celeriter canescentem et abeuntem cum aura*. *Corymbus*, from Greek κόρυμβος (OLD), appears in Vergil: *vitis /*

diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos (Ecl. 3. 38-39); cf. *racemis in orbem circumactis qui vocantur corymbi* (Plin. HN 16. 146, describing ivy).

238. Murteolo ... crine: *Murteolus* is a *hapax* in Col. for the more common *murteus* or *myrteus* (Boldrer 1996, 261; OLD). For diminutives in Col., see *reliquam pensiunculam ... cultus hortorum* (Pr. 1). For image of foliage as hair, see *et curvi vomere ... ne dubita* (69-73).

Tortos ... acanthos: *Acanthus*, from Greek ἄκανθος, is the acanthus, *Acanthus mollis* L. (André 1956, 14-15; André 1985, 2; Maggiulli 1995, 213-215). Cf. *et molli circum est ansas amplexus acantho* (Ecl. 3. 45); *tellus / mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho* (Ecl. 4. 19-20); *flexi ... vimen acanthi* (G. 4. 123).³⁹ André and Maggiulli regard this as the second of the two varieties of acanthus distinguished by Pliny: *alterum leve, quod aliqui paederota vocant, alii melamphyllum* (HN 22. 76). According to Pliny, the acanthus had ornamental, nutritional, and medicinal uses. Col. does not mention the acanthus elsewhere.

242-243. Sanguineis ... floribus ... arbos / Punica: The pomegranate tree, *Punica granatum* L.; the fruit is *malum Punicum* (André 1985, 153, 211). Col. says that beet seed should be planted when the pomegranate is flowering (11. 3. 17, 42). He includes pomegranates (*mala ... granata, quae Punica vocantur*) in a recipe for a fruit-based medicinal syrup (12. 42. 1) and gives a long recipe for preserving pomegranates after harvesting (12. 46). Cf. *circa Carthaginem Punicum malum cognomine sibi*

³⁹ According to Maggiulli (1995, 214-215) and André (1956, 14-15), Vergil's *basas semper frondentis acanthi* (G. 2. 119) refers to a different plant. There is another species of acanthus, *Acanthus spinosus* L., which is a tree rather than an herb; cf. the first type of acanthus mentioned by Pliny (HN 22. 76). Maggiulli argues that Vergil at G. 2. 119 is actually referring to *Acacia arabica* Willd, which he has confused with *Acanthus spinosus* L.

vindicat; aliqui granatum appellant (Plin. *HN* 13. 112). Pliny distinguishes several varieties (*HN* 13. 112-113) and discusses their medicinal effects and applications at length (*HN* 23. 106-114). Pomegranate juice mixed with coriander seed is a treatment for internal parasites (Plin. *HN* 20. 218). Vergil does not mention the pomegranate.

242. Sanguineis floribus: Red is the distinguishing color of the pomegranate; cf. *quae rutilo mitescit tegmine grani* (243). Pliny remarks on its use as a source for reddish dye: *idoneus et tinguentis vestibus, quarum color inde nomen accept* (*HN* 13. 113). Ash (1930, 87) remarks that the pomegranate was “so called, some think, from the red (*puniceus*) color of its flowers and fruit,” which inverts Pliny’s explanation of the name.

244. †Tempus haris satio†: Rodgers (2010, 411) remarks that *tempus haris* is “locus nondum sanatus;” Postgate and Boldrer also obelize this passage. No proposed emendation has found general acceptance. The other modern editors print the text without obeli. Santoro, Forster, and Richter print *aris*, a late ms. reading, in place of *haris*. Ash (1930, 88) remarks, “I find no reason to doubt the testimony of the mss.,” he takes *tempus* in apposition with the nominative *satio*⁴⁰ and *haris* as a dative of reference (AG 376); cf. *vere fabis satio* (G. 1. 215).⁴¹ I have adopted Ash’s grammatical interpretation in my translation because the text is probably corrupt, and Ash’s solution is serviceable and defensible.

⁴⁰ This is more common with an infinitive: cf. *tempus decidere caules* (368); *papaver / tempus humo tegere* (G. 1. 213-214); *iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla* (G. 2. 542). See AG 504 n. 2; *OLD* s.v. *tempus* 8c.

⁴¹ Col. expresses the same idea with the gerundive and gerund: *tempora ... serendis / seminibus* (35-36), *sunt tempora quamque serendi* (189).

Haris: *Aron* or *aros* (*arum*, OLD), from Greek ἄρον, is the colocasia or Elephant's ear, *Colocasia antiquorum* Schott = *Arum colocasia* L. (André 1956, 41-42; 1985, 26; cf. *Colocasia esculenta antiquorum*, Wright 2004, 376).⁴² Pliny describes it in his section on bulbs: *est inter genera [sc. bulborum] et quod in Aegypto aron vocant ... radice mollioris naturae, quae estur et cruda* (HN 19. 96). Vergil does not mention this plant.

Although the quantity of the *-i-* cannot be determined due to the position of *haris* in the line, given the nominative forms attested *haris* must be dative plural rather than genitive singular.

Famosaque tunc coriandra: *Coriandrum*, from Greek κορίανδρον, is coriander, *Coriandrum sativum* L. (André 1956, 100; André 1985, 75). According to André, κορίανδρον comes from κόρις, “dogwood” because its odor recalls that of dogwood. Saint-Denis (1969a, 64) suggests that this reputation explains Col.’s epithet *famosa*. Col. includes coriander among a group of plants whose seeds can be sown twice a year, around 1 September or in February before 1 March (11. 3. 14) and lists it among a group of plants that need very little cultivation other than manuring and weeding (11. 3. 29). He includes coriander in a recipe for pickling *lepidium* (12. 8. 3). Pliny includes coriander among a group of herbs that exist in only one variety (HN 19. 123). He mentions that coriander does not grow wild, and that it has a variety of medicinal applications, both topical and internal (HN 20. 216-218). Vergil does not mention coriander.

⁴² According to André (1985, 26), *aron* can also refer to the dragon plant, *Arum dracunculus* L. (*Dracunculus vulgaris*, Wright 2004, 376). Pliny describes a *silvestris arus* also called *dracontium* or *dracunculus* (HN 24. 142).

245. Gracili ... cumino: *Cuminum* or *cyminum* (OLD), from Greek κύνινον, is cumin, *Cuminum cyminum* L. (André 1956, 108-109; 1985, 81; Van Wyk 2004, 407). Pliny (HN 19. 160) says that cumin is *condimentorum ... amicissimum*.⁴³ He describes its growing conditions and medicinal applications (HN 19. 161), and he cites a claim by Varro that cumin and coriander mixed with vinegar will act as a preservative for meat during the summer (HN 20. 218). Col. includes cumin in a recipe for preserving black olives (12. 51. 1-2). Vergil does not mention cumin.

Gracilis is not elsewhere applied to cumin, but cf. *gracili ... hibisco* (Ecl. 10. 71); *gracilis ... harundo* (Ov. Am. 1. 7. 55).

Melanthia: *Melant(h)ium* or *melant(h)ion* (OLD), from Greek μελάνθιον (from μέλας), is black cumin, *Nigella sativa* L. (André 1985, 157; *Taylor's Guide* 1987, 424)⁴⁴ André (1956, 149, 204; 1985, 110-111) identifies this with *git*: cf. *git ex Graecis alii melanthion, alii melaspermon vocant* (Plin. HN 20. 182).⁴⁵ Pliny says that *git* is used in baking (HN 19. 167-168; cf. Van Wyk 2004, 216) and has a variety of medicinal applications (HN. 20. 182-184). Vergil does not mention *melanthion* or *git*.

Grata cumino: “Columelle veut dire que les deux plantes font bon ménage, parce qu’elles fournissent des graines ayant une odeur aromatique très forte” (Saint-Denis 1969a, 64). Neither Col. nor Pliny specifically mentions a combination of

⁴³ Pliny identifies a second variety, wild cumin: *alterum eius genus silvestre, quod rusticum vocant, alii Thebaicum* (HN 19. 161); according to André, wild cumin is *Lagoecia cuminoides* L.

⁴⁴ Ash (1930, 89) and Forster (1968, 27) render *melanthia* as “fennel-flowers” (also LS).

⁴⁵ LS identifies *git* as “Roman coriander.”

melanthium/git and cumin as a seasoning. For *gratus* in this sense, cf. *lotus habet ... interius candidum corpus, gratum cibis crudum sed gratius decoctum* (Plin. HN 13. 110).

246. Et baca asparagi spinosa prosilit herba: *Asparagus*, from Greek ἄσπαραγος, is cultivated asparagus, or *sativus asparagus* (cf. 11. 3. 43), *Asparagus officinalis* L. (André 1956, 44; André 1985, 28). This is distinguished from wild asparagus, *corruda* (André 1956, 102; 1985, 76): cf. *asparagi corruda simillima filo* (375); *sativi asparagi et quam corrudam rustici vocant* (11. 3. 43); *corrudam—hunc enim intellego silvestrem asparagum, quem Graeci ὄρμινον aut μνάκινθον vocant aliisque nominibus* (Plin. HN 19. 151). Wild asparagus was considered the source of cultivated asparagus: cf. *ibi corrudam serito, unde asparagi fiant* (Cato Agr. 6. 4); *omnium in hortis rerum lautissima cura asparagus. de origine eorum e silvestribus corrudis abunde dictum* (Plin. HN 19. 145); *silvestres fecerat natura corrudas ... ecce altilles spectantur asparagi* (HN 19. 54). Col. (11. 3. 43-46) and Pliny (HN 19. 151) describe elaborate procedures for sowing, transplanting, and cultivating asparagus. Col. gives a recipe for pickling asparagus (12. 7. 1-3). Pliny remarks: *inter utilissimos stomacho cibos asparagi traduntur. cumino quidem addito inflationes stomachi colique discutiunt* (HN 20. 108) and remarks on various internal and topical applications for both cultivated and wild asparagus (HN 20. 108-111). Vergil does not mention asparagus.

Baca: Boldrer (1996, 265) remarks that this is a unique use of *baca* in association with asparagus. See *Palladiae baca* (121).

Spinosa ... herba: This describes the shape of asparagus; cf. *spinosarum [sc. herbarum] multae species. in totum spina est asparagus, scorpio, nullum enim folium habent* (Plin. HN 21. 91).

247. Moloche, prono sequitur quae vertice solem: *Moloche*, also *malache* and *malva*, from Greek μολόχη or μαλάχη, is the mallow, *Malva silvestris* L. (André 1956, 194-196, 210; André 1985, 151-152, 163). Pliny distinguishes between the cultivated and the wild mallow: *in magnis laudibus malva est utraque et sativa et silvestris ... maiorem Graeci malopen vocant in sativis, alteram ab emoliendo ventre dictam putant malachen* (HN 20. 222) and discusses its many and varied medicinal uses (HN 20. 222-230). Pliny includes the mallow in a list of plants that should be sown at the autumn equinox (HN 19. 170) and comments on its growth habits (HN 19. 62-63). On the mallow as a food, cf. *me pascunt olivae / me chicorea levesque malvae* (Hor. Carm. 1. 31. 14-15). Vergil does not mention the mallow.⁴⁶

Prono ... vertice: Theophrastus (*Hist. pl.* 7. 8. 1) groups the mallow (μαλάχη) among plants that are ἐπιγειόκαυλα, having stems low to the ground. For *pronus* describing a low-bending plant, cf. *tenerum prono deflectens pondere corpus* (Catull. 62. 51).

Sequitur ... quae solem: Ash (1930, 89), Saint-Denis (1969a, 264), and Boldrer (1996, 266) cite Theophrastus (*Hist. pl.* 7. 8. 1) as evidence for the heliotropism of the mallow. However, this appears to be a misreading of Theophrastus. He describes several plants, including the mallow, as ἐπιγειόκαυλα, and adds: τὸ δὲ ἡλιοτρόπιον ἐτι μᾶλλον ὡς εἶπεῖν τοιοῦτον. Thus ἡλιοτρόπιον is a noun referring to an additional plant with a low stem, not an adjective describing an additional property of the mallow. Boldrer further suggests that the image is drawn from the story of the nymph Clytie,

⁴⁶ Col. mentions the mallow only one other time, in passing, when discussing the proper time of year (*quo tempore malvae florent*) to employ certain methods for ridding beehives of moths (9. 14. 9).

turned into a heliotropic plant through unrequited love of Apollo: cf. *tantum spectabat euntis / ora dei vultusque suos flectebat ad illum* (Ov. Met. 4. 264-265). For the phrase *sequitur ... solem*, cf. *solem certissima signa sequentur* (G. 1. 439).

248-250. Quaeque tuas ... bryonias alligat alnos: Describes bryony, whose name, *bryonias*, is postponed until the third line (250). Just as bryony grows amid the thorns, Col. has buried its name in a nest of descriptive phrases. For a similar postponement of the plant name, see *nomine tum Graio ... pede candida beta* (252-254).

248. Tuas ... Nysie, vitis: For this direct address to Bacchus in the context of plants, cf. *te, Bacche, canam, necnon silvestria tecum / virgulta* (G. 2. 2-3)

Nysie: See *ista canit ... Euhie Paeon* (217-224), esp. *Nyseia per iuga Bacchi* (221).

Vitis: The cultivated vine, *Vitis vinifera* L. (André 1956, 333; 1985, 273). See *palmitibusque feris* (14); *Bacchi genus* (38).

249. Nec metuit sentis: Cf. *nec metuit surgentis pampinus austros* (G. 2. 333); for the context, cf. Plin. *HN* 23. 27-28; see *bryonias* (250).

Sentis ... vepribus: *Sentis* and *vepris*, both used more often in the plural (André 1956, 290, 326) are general terms for a thorn bush; cf. Col.'s advice for creating a hedge wall around the garden: *oportebit autem virgeam saepem interponere quam super se pendent sentes utriusque sulci ... hunc veprem manifestum est interimi non posse, nisi radicitus effodere velis* (11. 3. 7); cf. also: *incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva* (Ecl. 4. 29); *liberantur arva sentibus, qui aestivo tempore ... recisi plerumque radicitus intereunt* (6. 3. 1); *harundines binas applicabimus singulis viticulis*,

aut ... de vepribus hastilia (4. 12. 1); *sunt* [sc. *ranae*] *quae in vepribus tantum vivunt* (Plin. *HN* 32. 50). For the bramble bush, see *nec cruribus aequa / terga rubi* (21-22).

Improba: Cf. *labor omnia vincit / improbus* (G. 1. 145-146); also *certam quatit improbus hastam* (*Aen.* 11. 767). Boldrer (1996, 267) points out that this is the first attested use of *improbus* to describe a plant. For the sense of *improbus* here, cf. *OLD* s.v. *improbus* 4 “shameless,” 5 “immoderate.” *improba* agrees with *bryonias* (250).

250. Achradas: See *achrados* (15). *Achradas* is a Greek accusative plural form (AG 81-82).

Indomitasque ... alnos: *Alnus* is the alder, which is found in Italy in three species: *Alnus cornifolia* Ten., *Alnus glutinosa* Gaertn., and *Alnus incana* Moench (André 1956, 24; 1985, 10-11); Pliny includes the alder among trees that do not bear fruit (*HN* 16. 108) and remarks: *folia alni ex fervent aqua remedia sunt tumoris* (*HN* 24. 74). Vergil mentions the alder several times in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*:⁴⁷ cf. *atque solo proceras erigit alnos* (*Ecl.* 6. 63);⁴⁸ *tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas* (G. 1. 136); *crassique paludibus alni / nascuntur* (G. 2. 110-111). This is Col.’s only mention of the alder.

Indomitas: Cf. *adacta in terram in palustribus alnus aeterna onerisque quantilibet patiens* (Plin. *HN.* 16. 219); cf. also *HN* 16. 173.

⁴⁷ Maggiulli (1995, 224-225) asserts that Vergil is referring to *Alnus glutinosa* Gaertn.

⁴⁸ Clausen (1994, 199) suggests that in having the sisters of Phaethon turn to alders—a detail unique to his version—Vergil was recalling the alders around the Po where he grew up in northern Italy; cf. *nec non et torrentem undam levis innata alnus / missa Pado* (G. 2. 451-452).

Alligat alnos: Boldrer (1996, 268) points out this alliteration, followed in the next two lines by *proxima primae* (252) and *mucrone magistri* (253). See *tunc quoque ... sarcula sumat* (91).

Bryonias: *Bryonias* or *bryonia*, from Greek βρυωνία,⁴⁹ can refer to two different plants: red bryony, also called white bryony,⁵⁰ *Bryonia dioica* Jacq.; or black briony, *Tamus communis* L. (André 1956, 59; 1985, 39; cf. Van Wyk 2004, 72). Pliny (*HN* 23. 24) distinguishes between *bryonia alba* (also called *vitis alba*, *HN* 23. 21) and *bryonia nigra* (also called *nigra vitis*, *HN* 23. 26-27), both of which have medical uses (*HN* 23. 21-28). White bryony is also called *vitis alba*; black bryony is also called *t(h)amnus* or *vitis nigra* (André 1956, 310-311, 333; 1985, 255, 273). Boldrer (1996, 267-268) suggests that Col. is referring in this passage to black bryony; cf. *est ergo et nigra, quam proprie bryoniam vocant ... in fructectis et harundinetis maxime nascitur* (Plin. *HN* 23. 27-28). Pliny lists *tamnus* among wild plants used for food (*HN* 21. 86) and eaten by deer (*HN* 8. 112). Col. includes *vitis alba* and *tamnum* in a list of plants that can be pickled following the recipe he gives (12. 7. 1-3). The nominative form *bryonias* is not found elsewhere (*OLD*; Boldrer 1996, 268).⁵¹ Vergil does not mention either type of bryony. See *vitibus albis* (347); *thamni* (373).

⁴⁹ André (1985, 39) links βρυωνία with βρύειν, “to teem, abound, bloom.”

⁵⁰ The true white bryony, *Bryonia alba*, is, however, a different plant (Van Wyk 2004, 72).

⁵¹ Richer (1981-1983 v. 2, 444) proposes the reading *bryonia colligat* in place of *bryonias alligat* to avoid the unique *bryonias* of the mss. Boldrer (1996, 268) responds: “il testo tradito è preferibile anche considerando altre forme originali di nomi di piante usate nel carne (v. 313 *caunis*; 422 *bunias*).” *Bryonias* is plausible as a Greek first-declension nominative singular form, though in Latin such forms are generally only seen in masculine personal names, such as *Aeneas* (AG 44).

252-254. Nomine tum Graio ... pede candida beta: As he did with bryony (248-250), Col. postpones the name of the plant until the third line, after several descriptive phrases.

252-253. Nomine ... Graio / ... littera proxima primae: The Latin name of the beet, *beta*, is the same as that of the second letter of the Greek alphabet; cf. '*muraena et littera*': *murem cum rana alligata fascemque betae <accepit>* (Petron. *Sat.* 56. 9; Trimalchio give his guests parting gifts based on puns). The verbal connection between a vegetable planted in the garden and a letter scratched on a waxed tablet is another link between the gardener's work and the poet's. Col.'s pun is difficult to render in English; "be(e)ta" is my attempt in the translation.

252. In cera docti mucrone magistri: "Cera designa per metonomia la tavoletta cerata" (Boldrer 1996, 269); cf. *cera notata manu* (Ov. *Am.* 1. 11. 14); *cera referta notis* (Ov. *Am.* 1. 12. 8); *defixit nomina cera* (Ov. *Am.* 3. 7. 29).

The reading *docti*, probably based on a conjecture, is found in one or more late mss. (Rodgers 2010, xxviii, 411) and is printed by all modern editors except Postgate, Marsili, and Boldrer. These three print *docto*, the reading found in most mss., including the oldest ones. Boldrer (1996, 296) defends *docto* not only on paleographical grounds, but comments, "in nesso con *mucrone* è anche più espressivo, essendo pertinente al *magister* ma riferito per ipallage al suo strumento personificato." For similar personification and hypallage (AG 640), cf. *medius docta cuspide Bacchus erit* (Prop. 2. 30. 38); *doctae ... tabellae* (Prop. 3. 23. 1); *te similem doctae referet mihi linea cerae* (Stat. *Silv.* 3. 3. 201). The strength of the ms. tradition and the evidence of similar constructions are persuasive arguments in favor of the reading *docto*. In addition, the

construction of *docto mucrone* is thus parallel with that of *ferratae cuspidis* in the next line (253): the adjective modifies the name of the tool immediately following it.

Mucrone: While Col. elsewhere uses *mucro* to refer to a gardening tool (87), here he uses it for a writing stylus; cf. *saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint / scripturus* (Hor. Sat. 1. 10. 72-73). This reinforces the connection between the gardener and the poet: just as the letter beta *pangitur ... docto mucrone magistri* (252), the garden beet *ferratae cuspidis ictu / deprimitur* (253-254).

253. Humo pingui: For Col.'s description of the earth as *pinguis*, see *pinguis ager putres glebas* (7); *Cypros item Paphio ... pinguis in arvo* (187).

Ferratae cuspidis ictu: Col. is using *cuspis* to refer to a gardening tool of some sort. Saint-Denis (1969a, 64) states that this is the *paxillus: isque palus ... vel deponendus est, vel, prius paxillo perforato solo, altius adfigendus* (4. 16. 3). However, the *paxillus* seems to be a kind of peg or other small piercing implement; cf. *paxillis adactis tabulae superponantur* (8. 8. 3); *et in fico quidem dodrentales paxillis solo patefacto seruntur* (Plin. HN 17. 154).⁵²

Boldrer (1996, 270) suggests that Col. may be referring to the *pastinum*, which Col. elsewhere explicitly describes as a planting tool: *pastinum vocant agricolae ferramentum bifurcum quo semina panguntur* (3. 18. 1). White (1967, 109) renders *pastinum* as “dibble” and includes it among the forks, or pronged implements,⁵³ he also suggests (1967, 17) that the name is related to *pastinare*, to trench.

⁵² White (1967) does not mention the *paxillus*.

⁵³ Varro does not mention the *pastinum*. Isidore mentions a *pastinatum*, and describes it very much like the way Col. describes the *pastinum*: *pastinatum vocant agricolae ferramentum bifurcum quo*

Ferratae: Cf. *ferrato ... robore palae* (45).

Cuspidis ictu: Cf. *sed non Dardaniae medicari cuspidis ictum / evaluit* (*Aen.* 7. 756-757); *Achilles / totaque Peliacae sternebat cuspidis ictu / agmina* (*Ov. Met.* 12. 73-75); *nam sterilis [sc. terra] ... facile deprehenditur vel uno ictu cuspidis* (*Plin. HN* 17. 33).

254. Folio viridis, pede candida beta: *Beta* is the beet. Pliny distinguishes two varieties: *eius [sc. betae] quoque a colore duo genera Graeci faciunt, nigrum et candidius, quod praeferunt ... appellantque Sicilium* (*Plin. HN* 19. 132). Col. is apparently describing *beta candida* or *beta alba*, which is *Beta cicla* L.,⁵⁴ cf. *pallentia robora betae* (326). The other variety, *beta nigra* or *beta rubra*, is *Beta vulgaris* L. (André 1956, 53; André 1985, 35; cf. *Taylor's Guide* 1987, 95, 97, 306). Col. indicates the best time to plant beets: *nam semen betae, cum Punicum malum florebit, tum demum optime seritur* (11. 3. 17; cf. also 11. 3. 42). Pliny remarks: *beta hortensiorum levissima est* (*HN* 19. 132). He also discusses its nature, cultivation—repeating the same advice found in Col. about the best sowing time—and the ways it is customarily eaten (*HN* 19. 132-135) as well as its medicinal uses (*HN* 20. 69-71). Pliny (*HN* 20. 72) also mentions a wild beet: *est et beta silvestris, quam limonium vocant, alii neuroidem*; this is *Beta maritima* L. (André 1985, 35). Pliny indicates that it is used primarily to treat

semina panguntur (*Isid. Etym.* 20. 14. 8). White (1967, 109) argues that Isidore is simply repeating Col. but has gotten the name of the tool wrong.

⁵⁴ Or *Beta vulgaris cicla*, Swiss chard or leaf beet (*Taylor's Guide* 1987, 242-243, 396). “The beet ... is a relatively modern vegetable, for it was not until the sixteenth century that it became popular for its root. Prior to this time the Greeks, Romans, and Europeans of the Middle Ages grew leaf beet, or what is now known as Swiss chard” (Faust 1975, 86).

burns and dysentery, and as a stain remover (*HN* 20. 72). Vergil does not mention the beet.

Folio viridis: For *viridis* with the ablative, cf. *viridissima gramine ripa* (*G.* 3. 144); *area gramineo ... viridissima prato* (*Ov. Am.* 3. 5. 5).

Pede: For *pes* used to denote the stalk of a plant, cf. 12. 7. 1; 12. 36; cf. *tralaticio, ut a pede nostro pes lecti ac betae* (*Varro, Ling.* 6. 55).

First harvest (lines 255-310)

255. Odoratis messis iam floribus instat: Col. begins his harvest with a variety of fragrant flowers (256-261). He later portrays the gardener as taking his harvested flowers to market to be sold (303-310); cf. “Flowers had long been a profitable side crop for farmers living near cities” (Jashemski, 1979-1983 v.1, 279).

These flowers were most likely grown to be made in to garlands or chaplets for religious purposes (cf. 261-262), or valued for their fragrance as a source of perfume (cf. 302); according to Jashemski (1979-1983 v. 1, 287), “flowers grown at Pompeii in antiquity were used for two purposes, for making perfume and for garlands.” Pliny remarks: *in hortis seri et coronamenta iussit Cato* (*HN* 22. 1); he also discusses at great length a wide variety of flowers and leaves that are cultivated primarily to made into garlands, chosen for their color or fragrance (*HN* 22. 2-69). Jashemski (1979, 267-269) remarks: “There was a thriving business in garlands and wreaths at Pompeii” and notes the many depictions of garlands on Pompeiian wall paintings.

On the importance of garlands, Lawson (1950, 98) remarks: “The value of flowers in beds and borders as a decorative feature of the small garden was little recognized by the Romans. A flower was not truly appreciated until it was cut: then it

received a religious significance.” Cf. also: “Flowers played an important part in the life of the ancient Romans. They were much in demand for festivals, banquets, birthdays, weddings, games, and funerals. A garland was the proper gift to honor not only the gods but also the living and the dead” (Jashemski 1979-1983 v. 1, 267).

Crowns and garlands are also the emblem of the poet: *mollia, Pegasides, date vestro sarta poetae: / non faciet capiti dura corona meo* (Prop. 3. 1. 19-20).

256-257. iam ver purpureum, iam ... gaudet: Cf. *Ecl.* 9. 40-41, *hic ver purpureum, varios hic flumina circum / fundit humus flores*. The beginning of the line also recalls *iam ver egelidos refert tepores* (Catull. 46. 1).

258. Phrygiae caltae: The reading *caltae* is Pontedera’s conjecture, accepted by Rodgers (2010, xxiv, 411). The mss. read *lotae*; this was emended by Lucundus in the 1514 Aldine edition to *loti*, (Rodgers 2010, 411; cf. Saint-Denis 1969a, 40; Ash 1930, 91), which is printed by all recent editors except Marsili, who prints *lotae*.

Marsili (1962, 25), however, suspects that *loti* may be correct, and suggests a process in the textual transmission that might have resulted in the ms. reading: *loti* > *lote* > *lotae*. It is also possible that the preceding *Phrygiae* could have influenced the scribes to alter *loti* to *lotae* (cf. Boldrer 1996, 272) if *Phyriae* was interpreted as an adjective and a scribe did not realize that *lotus* is feminine; cf. Reynolds 1991, 230.

Lotus, from Greek *λωτός*, is used to refer to a number of different plants, particularly the European hackberry, *Celtis australis* L.; the wild jujube, *Zizyphus lotus* Willd.; and *Nelumbo nucifera* Gaertn., which is the modern lotus (André 1956, 189-190; André 1985, 147-148; Wright 1984, 154, 214; Van Wyk 2004, 213).

One perceived difficulty with accepting the reading *loti* is that there is no apparent connection between the *lotus* and Phrygia; it is generally associated with Africa: cf. *Africa ... insignem arborem loton gignit, quam vocat celthim* (Plin. *HN* 13. 104); ἐν Λιβύῃ δὲ ὁ λωτὸς πλεῖστος (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 4. 3. 1). Another difficulty is that *lotus* generally refers to a kind of tree, as in the preceding examples, whereas in this section Col. is describing flowering plants; yet Pliny (*HN* 13. 107) remarks: *haec est natura arboris* [i.e., *loti*]. *est autem eodem nomine et herba, et in Aegypto caulis in palustrium genere*. Boldrer (1996, 272; cf. André 1985, 148) suggests that Col. may be referring to a trefoil, perhaps *Trifolium fragiferum* L. (cf. Wright 1984, 480; André 1985, 148), or the *melilotus*, *Melilotus messaniensis* L. or perhaps *Melilotus officinalis* L., known as sweet clover (Van Wyk 2004, 203; cf. André 1985, 158; Wernsdorf 1794, 93-94). *Melilotus* or *melilotum* is from Greek μέλιλωτον (André 1985, 158); cf. Theophr. *HP* 7. 15. 3). Pliny remarks: *melilotos ubique nascitur, laudatissima tamen in Attica, ubicumque vero recens nec candicans et croco quam simillima, quamquam in Italia odoratior candida* (*HN* 21. 64). He also includes it among flowers used to make garlands, and observes: *melilotum quod sertulam Campanam vocamus* (*HN* 21. 53). Cf. *pars thyma, pars rhoean, pars meliloton amat* (Ov. *Fast.* 4. 440).

Cf. *at cui lactis amor, cytisum lotosque frequentis / ipse manu salsasque ferat praesepibus herbas* (G. 3. 394-395). Col. (7. 9. 6) specifically includes *lotus* in a list of trees—as distinguished from bushes or low-growing plants—that can provide wild fodder for pigs.

Boldrer (1996, 272) and Ash (1930, 91) suggest that Col. might have been influenced by the existence of a Phrygian flute, which was made of lotus-wood; cf. *ad*

tibiarum cantus [sc. *lotus*] *expetitur* (Plin. *HN* 13. 106); *ludicrae* [sc. *tibiae*] *vero e loto* (Plin. *HN* 16. 172); *ut strepit assidue Phrygiam ad Nilotica loton* (Sil. *Pun.* 11. 430).

Schneider accepts Pontedera's conjecture *caltae* on analogy with *flaventia lumina caltae* (97) and *flammeola ... calta* (307), both of which occur in context with the same flowers mentioned in this passage: "praeterea tribus in locis noster eosdem flores una nominat" (Schneider 1794, vol. 2 pt. 2, 533.) This is a clever argument, particularly in light of the other two passages where Col. mentions the *caltā*. However, no one arguing for this reading suggests any particular connection between the *caltā* and Phrygia, or offers a possible explanation for how *caltae* could have been corrupted in transmission to *lotae*. No previous commentator has remarked on the similarity between *caltae* and *celtis*, which, according to Pliny (*HN* 13. 104), is another name for the African *lotus*.

While the similarity in context between this line and *caltā* in lines 97 and 307 is striking, it does not seem to be a sufficient reason to reject the testimony of the mss. out of hand. In addition, Marsili and Boldrer offer plausible explanations for the corruption of *loti* to the ms. reading *lotae*. While acknowledging the persuasiveness of the context of lines 97 and 307, on balance it is best to follow the majority of modern editors and read *loti*, which I have done in my translation.

gemmaantia: See *gemment* (37).

259. Violaria: Beds of violets; cf. *sub urbe colere hortos late expedit, sic violaria ac rosaria* (Varro, *Rust.* 1. 16. 3); *inriguumque bibant violaria fontem* (G. 4. 32). For *viola*, the violet, see *quae pallet ... viola* (101-102).

260. Leo: See *hiantis saeva leonis / ora feri* (98-99).

260-261. Et ingenuo ... rosa praebet honores: For the comparison of a maiden's blushes to roses, cf. *flagrantis perfusa genas, cui plurimus ignem / subiecit rubor ... / ... aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa / alba rosa* (*Aen.* 12. 65-66, 68-69); *at illi / conscia purpureus venit in ore pudor / ... quale rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae* (*Ov. Am.* 2. 5. 33-34, 37). Col. reverses the simile and compares the ruddiness of the rose to a maiden's blushes.⁵⁵ See *nimum rosa plena pudoris* (102). For the rose, see *Paestique rosaria* (37).

261-262. Rosa praebet honores / caelitibus: More garlands (cf. 255): "The statues and shrines of the gods were wreathed in flowers, especially the rose" (Ash 1930, 91); cf. *saepe deum nexis ornatae torquibus arae* (*G.* 4. 276); *nos delubra deum miseri ... festa velamus fronde per urbem* (*Aen.* 2. 248-249); *nunc alii flores, nunc nova danda rosa est* (*Ov. Fast.* 138).

262. Sabaeum mulcet odorem: Saba was in SW Arabia, the area known as Arabia Felix (*NP*), and was proverbial for its incense; cf. *India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei* (*G.* 1. 57); *centumque Sabaeo / ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant* (*Aen.* 1. 416-417).

Mulcet is Housman's conjecture, printed by Rodgers (2010, xx, xxiii, 412). According to Boldrer (1996, 275), Housman based this on *Arabum Suriis mulcebit odores* (*Man.* 5. 264). The mss. read *miscet*, which is printed by all other recent editors; cf. *mixtos ... odores* (*Lucret.* 2. 852); *sic positae [sc. arbores] quoniam suavis miscetis odores* (*Ecl.* 2. 55). There is no need to reject the ms. reading; as Boldrer (1996, 275)

⁵⁵ Ash (1930, 91) asserts that *genas* in this line should be understood as *oculos* (cf. *et conniventes oculos violaria solvent*, 259), which seems to make more sense with *adaperta*. Yet this completely overlooks Col.'s deliberate use of the blushing maiden / red rose trope.

remarks of Housman's proposed emendation: "congettura brillante ma, credo, non necessaria."

263-281. Nunc vos Pegasidum ... convivia pratis: In the midst of his section on the flower harvest, Col. invokes a variety of minor female deities who are all associated with specific wild places that have mythological connections. For Col.'s invocations of the Muses, see 40, 225.

263. Pegasidum comites Acheloidas: The Achelous, Greece's longest river, is in Aetolia, in central Greece (*NP*); in myth, the daughters of Achelous, the *Acheloides*, are the Sirens; cf. *vobis, Acheloides, unde / pluma pedesque avium, cum virginis ora geratis?* (*Ov. Met.* 5. 552-553). Also in the form *Acheloïades*: cf. *Acheloïadumque relinquit / Sirenum scopulos* (*Ov. Met.* 14. 87-88). *Acheloidas* is a Greek third-declension accusative plural form (AG 82) and scans as five syllabus.

The *Pegasidae* are the Muses; cf. *at mihi Pegasides blandissima carmina dictant* (*Ov. Her.* 15. 17); *mollia, Pegasides, date vestroserta poetae: / non faciet capiti dura corona meo* (*Prop.* 3. 1. 19-20). In origin the term refers to the winged horse Pegasus because of his connection with Hippocrene, a spring on Helicon associated with the Muses: *visus eram molli recumbans Heliconis in umbra, / Bellerophonteiqua fluitumor equi* (*Prop.* 3. 3. 1-2); *dicite quae fontes Aganippidos Hippocrenes / grata Medusaei signa tenetis equi* (*Ov. Fast.* 5. 7-8); λοεσσάμεναι τέρενα χροά ... "Ἴππου κρήνης ... ἀκροτάτῳ Ἑλικῶνι χοροῦς ἐνεποιήσαντο (*Hes. Theog.* 5-7). Pegasus was thought to have created Hippocrene by striking the ground with his hoof; cf. *virgineumque Heliconapetit. quo monte potita / constitit et doctas sic est adfata sorores: / fama novi fontis nostras pervenit ad aures, / dura Medusaei quem praepetis ungularupit* (*Ov. Met.* 5.

254-257); ἢ τοῦ Ἴππου καλουμένη κρήνη· ταύτην τὸν Βελλεροφόντου ποιῆσαι φασιν ἵππον ἐπιψάσαντα ὄπλῃ τῆς γῆς (Paus. 3. 31. 3); cf. Ov. Fast. 3. 449-458. The name *Pegasus* is possibly connected to πηγῆ, stream or spring (LSJ; cf. Hinds 1987, 5). Hinds (1987, 6-9) shows how Ovid's account of the origin of Hippocrene (*Met.* 5. 250-257) is in many ways a reworking of Aratus' (*Phaen.* 216-224). By alluding to the story here, Col. invites further comparison with both Ovid and Aratus, two poetic predecessors whom he often quotes and alludes to.

264. Maenaliisque chorus Dryadum: *Maenalus* refers to a mountain range in Arcadia (*NP*; cf. Plin. *HN* 4. 21). It was associated with Pan; cf. *Maenalus argutumque nemus pinosque loquentis / semper habet, semper pastorum ille audit amores / Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis* (*Ecl.* 8. 22-24); *Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae* (*G.* 1. 17); *Maenalia sacra relictas deo* (*Ov. Fast.* 4. 650). But see *et te Maenaliū, te Bacchum, teque Lyaeum* (249). Boldrer (1996, 276) comments: "solo qui ... *Maenalus* è attribuito alle Driadi."

See *quae iuga Cyllenes et opaci rura Lycaei* (266); Ovid also mentions *Maenalus*, *Cyllene*, and *Lycaeus* together (*Met.* 1. 216-217). Pliny lists *Cyllene*, *Lycaeus*, and *Maenalus* among the mountains of Arcadia (*HN* 4. 21).

Chorus Dryadum: *Dryades* are tree nymphs; cf. *at chorus aequalis Dryadum clamore supremos / implerunt montis* (*G.* 4. 460-461); *Satyri Dryadesque chorus egere puellae / Naiadum in coetu* (*Culex* 116-117).

Nymphasque Napaeas: Nymphs are female nature spirits in human form (*NP*). *Napaeae* are nymphs of wooded vales (Greek *νάπη*); cf. *et facilis venerare Napaeas* (*G.*

4. 535). The similarity in sound between *nymphas* and *Napaeas* is an example of paronomasia (AG 641).

265. Nemus Amphrysi: The Amphrysus is “a river in Thessaly, near which Apollo fed the flocks of Admetus” (*OLD*); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 580, 7. 229. It is thus particularly associated with Apollo; cf. *et te memoranda canemus / pastor ab Amphryso* (*G.* 3. 2-3, addressing Apollo); cf. *quae contra breviter fata est Amphrysia vates* (*Aen.* 6. 398, of the Cumaean Sibyl).

Thessala Tempe: Tempe was the valley of the river Peneus, in Thessaly, between Mt. Ossa and Mt. Olympus (*NP*); cf. *pastor Aristaeus fugiens Peneia Tempe* (*G.* 4. 317); *sublimis rapitur subiectaque Thessala Tempe* (*Ov. Met.* 7. 222); cf. also *Ov. Met.* 1. 568-569. It was associated with Apollo; according to Pausanias (10. 5. 9), Tempe is where Daphne, fleeing Apollo, was changed to a laurel tree (cf. *Ov. Met.* 1. 525-567).

266. Iuga Cyllenes: Cyllene is a mountain range in Arcadia (*NP*); it was sacred to Hermes, who was thought to have been born in a cave there (cf. *Mercurius ... quem candida Maia / Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fudit* (*Aen.* 8. 139); *Cyllenia proles* (*Aen.* 4. 258, referring to Mercury); cf. also *Ov. Fasti.* 5. 87-88. *Cyllenes* is the Greek genitive singular (AG 82). See also *Maenaiosque choros Dryadum* (264).

Opaci rura Lycae: Lycaeum was a mountain in Arcadia at the border with Elis and Messenia, home of shrines to Zeus and to Pan (*NP*); cf. *viridis ... summa Lycae* (*G.* 4. 539). See also *Maenaiosque choros Dryadum* (264).

267. Antraque Castaliis semper rorantia guttis: Castalia was a spring at Delphi, sacred to Apollo and the Muses (*NP*). Cf. *sed me Parnasi deserta per ardua*

dulcis / raptat amor; iuvat ire iugis, ubi nulla priorum / Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo (G. 4. 291-293). For *antra ... rorantia*, cf. *rorantia ... astra* (Aen. 3. 567).

268-274. Et quae Sicani ... Proserpina regno: Col. here alludes to the story of the abduction of Persephone by Hades. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 5. 385-408; *Fast.* 4. 425-454; *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 1-32. This story and its aftermath illustrate the cycle of fertility, which Col. is elucidating in his poem. The abduction of Persephone led to the establishment of the annual cycle of growth, death, and rebirth, which Col.'s gardener follows from year to year.

Hinds (1987, 5-7) points out that Ovid (*Met.* 385-408) tells the story of Persephone in the context of a poetic context between the Muses and the Pierides (*Met.* 5. 294-678). He argues that Ovid thus shows that he understands that poetic imitation is a kind of rivalry: in this instance, he is imitating and transforming Aratus, and thus engaging in rivalry with him, in his account of the origin of Hippocrene. By referring to this story, Col. is placing himself in the poetic tradition, as an imitator and rival—and a successor—to Ovid and other Greek and Roman poetic predecessors.

268. Sicani ... Halaesi: The *Halaesus* was a river (Ash 1930, 93) or a mountain (Santoro 1946, 48) in Sicily; cf. Boldrer 1996, 278. There was a town in Sicily called Halaesa (*NP*).

269. Cereris proles: Proserpina (Persephone), daughter of Ceres (Demeter); cf. Hes. *Theog.* 912-914; Ov. *Met.* 5. 514-533; Ov. *Fast.* 449-456.

270. Aequoris Henna: Henna was a fortified city in Sicily (*NP*), site of a shrine to Demeter (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 107); cf. *Trinacris ... grata domus Cereri. multas ea possidet urbes, / in quibus est culto fertilis Henna solo* (Ov. *Fast.* 4. 420-422). For Henna as the

location of the abduction of Persephone, cf. *prope est spelunca quaedam ... qua Ditem patrem ferunt repente cum curru exstitisse abreptamque ex eo loco virginem secum asportasse* (Cic. Verr. 2. 4. 107); *attonita est plangore Ceres (modo venerat Hennam)* (Ov. Fast. 4. 455). For *aequor* meaning a plain or level surface of land, see *aequora* (87); for the plains of Henna, cf. Ov. Fast. 4. 462.

271. Lethaei ... tyranni: *Lethaeus tyrannus* is Hades (Pluto). Lethe is one of the rivers of the Underworld; cf. *namque mei nuper Lethaeo in gurgite fratris / pallidulum manans alluit unda pedem* (Catull. 65. 5-6); *tum pater Anchises: animae, quibus altera fato / corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam / securos latices et longa obliviam potant* (Aen. 6. 713-715). It can be used to represent the Underworld in general; cf. *nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro / vincula Perithoo* (Hor. Carm. 4. 7. 27-28); *Lethaeos ... deos* (Luc. 6. 685-686).

272. Tartara: *Tartarus* or *Tartara* originally referred to a pit in the Underworld, used as a prison for the Titans and other evildoers; cf. Aen. 6. 576-627. It can be used to refer to the Underworld in general; *Tartarus horriferos eructans faucibus aestus* (Lucret. 3. 1012); *hinc via, Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas* (Aen. 6. 295).

273. Ditem: Dis is a name for the god of the underworld, also known as Pluto and Orcus; cf. *Pluto Latine est Dis pater, alii Orcum vocant* (Enn. var. 78 Vahlen); *etenim prope est spelunca quaedam conversa ad aquilonem infinita altitudine, qua Ditem patrem ferunt repente cum curru exstitisse abreptamque ex eo loco virginem secum asportasse et subito non longe a Syracusis penetrasse sub terras, lacumque in eo loco repente exstitisse* (Cic. Verr. 2. 4. 107, on the abduction of Proserpina); *Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis* (G. 4. 467); *hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere*

adorti (*Aen.* 6. 697, on Theseus and Pirithous); *paene simul visa est dilectaque raptaque Diti* (*Ov. Met.* 395, on Proserpina).

277. Tellurisque comas: For the image of the plants as the “hair” of Mother Earth, see *et curvi vomere ... ne dubita* (69-73) and cf. lines 70, 98, 165, 181, 188, 238, 297, and 335.

278. Hic nullae ... non ulla rapina: Another reference to the abduction of Persephone; see *et quae Sicani ... Proserpina regno* (268-274).

279. Casta Fides nobis colitur: Cf. *incorrupta Fides* (*Hor. Carm.* 1. 24. 7); *cana Fides* (*Aen.* 1. 292); [sc. *licuit*] *sceptra casta vidua titari fide* (*Sen. Ag.* 111). For the veneration of *Fides* and other abstract qualities as personified gods, cf. *tum autem res ipsa, in qua vis inest maior aliqua, sic appellatur ut ea ipsa vis nominetur deus, ut Fides ut Mens, quas in Capitolio dedicatas videmus proxume a M. Aemilio Scauro, ante autem ab A. Atilio Calatino erat Fides consecrata* (*Cic. Nat. D.* 2. 61); *sequitur, ut eadem sit in is quae humano in genere ratio, eadem veritas utrobique sit eademque lex, quae est recti praeceptio pravique depulsio, ex quo intellegitur prudentiam quoque et mentem a deis ad homines pervenisse (ob eamque causam maiorum institutis Mens Fides Virtus Concordia consecratae et publice dedicatae sunt* (*Cic. Nat. D.* 2. 79).

Sanctique Penates: Gods of the larder and household; cf. *di Penates, sive a penu ducto nomine (est enim omne quo vescuntur homines penus) sive ab eo quod penitus insident; ex quo etiam penetrales a poetis vocantur* (*Cic. Nat. D.* 2. 68); *adhibete penatis / et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Achatas* (*Aen.* 5. 62-63); *Ilium in Italiam portans victosque Penates* (*Aen.* 1. 68). The *Penates* are sometimes associated with one or more *Lares*, guardian deities: *di Penates meum parentum, familiai Lar pater,*

vobis mando meum parentum rem (Plaut. *Merc.* 834); *ista tua pulchra Libertas deos Penatis et familiaris meos Lares expulit* (Cic. *Dom.* 108); *raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaue in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset relinquentes exirent* (Livy 1. 29. 4).

282. Nunc ver egelidum: Cf. *iam ver egelidos refert tepores* (Catull. 46. 1).

283. Phoebus: See *Phoebus* (56).

Teneris: This is Goodyear's emendation, printed by Rodgers (2010, xxiii, 412).

Some late mss. read *tener ac*, which is printed by every other modern editor except Marsili (1962, 28), who prints his own conjecture, *tener est*. The oldest ms. read *tenerans*, which no modern editor adopts.

The principal objection to *tener* is its use as a description of the sun;⁵⁶ *teneris* would describe those encouraged to lie on the grass, dative with *suadet* (284). Either way, this is the only place in the poem where Col. uses *tener* to describe something other than vegetation (cf. 111, 234, 323). As Goodyear (1971, 60) notes, *Phoebus* in this line can stand without a modifier, as it does once elsewhere (295); however, *Phoebus tener* would suggest a contrast between the relative mildness of the sun in the springtime and the baking heat of the sun during the summer: *cum Canis Erigones flagrans Hyperionis aestu* (400). Boldrer (1996, 284) suggests that *tener* in this sense is equivalent to *tepidus*: cf. *aurea pellebant tepidos umbracula soles* (Ov. *Fast.* 2. 311);

⁵⁶ Goodyear (1971, 60) remarks: "*tener ac* is an early conjecture which should have been called into question long ago. There are three objections to it: (i) Columella uses *ac* only once in Book x (at 426); (ii) he has no closely comparable example of a clear break in sense at the second diaeresis (260 seems the nearest analogy); (iii) the word-play (something Columella likes—cf. 193 and 199) is rendered halting and imperfect....If, as seems probable, *Phoebus* in 283 can stand alone, then 276 *teneras advertite plantas* may suggest that Columella here wrote either *teneras* (cf. Virg. *Aen.* xii 813-814) or, since the construction with the accusative and infinitive is rather ponderous, *teneris*."

and that its use to describe the sun recalls similar uses of *tener* to describe the air: cf. *variae volucres ... aera per tenerum liquidis loca vocibus opplent* (Lucret. 2. 145-146); *aera carpebat tenerum stridentibus alis* (Ov. Met. 4. 616).

The possibility Goodyear regards as “ponderous,” *teneras*, is attractive in part because of its echo of Vergil⁵⁷ and of Col. himself.⁵⁸ In addition, *teneras* could plausibly be corrupted into the *tenerans* of the oldest mss. (cf. Reynolds 1991, 221-223). Only Goodyear’s dislike of the construction of *suadet* with the accusative *teneras* + infinitive prompts his suggestion of the dative *teneris*. *teneras* would most likely refer to the nymphs mentioned in line 278.

Given the novelty of both Rodgers’ reading *teneris* and Goodyear’s other suggestion *teneras*, the consensus opinion of the majority of modern editors, and the fact that *tener ac* could also plausibly be corrupted into the *tenerans* of the mss., the conservative course is to keep *tener ac*, while acknowledging the unusual—though not unparalleled—use of *ac* in the poem, the slight awkwardness of the phrasing of the line with *ac*, and the unusual use of *tener* to describe the sun.

In my translation I accept the reading *tener ac* so as to highlight the striking contrast between the gentleness of the sun during springtime, when the heat has not yet become fierce, and the harshness of the stormy weather that arises without warning at this time of the year. See *duros ... imbres* (329).

⁵⁷ Cf. *teneras arcebat vincula palmas* (Aen. 2. 406); *teneras turbavit ianua frondes* (Aen. 3. 449). Vergil also uses accusative-infinitive with *suadere*: *luturnam misero (fateor) succurrere fratri / suasi* (Aen. 12. 813-814).

⁵⁸ Cf. *teneras advertite plantas* (276); *teneras erodere frondes* (323).

286. Dionaeis ... floribus: Dione is the mother of Venus/Aphrodite (cf. Hom. *Il.* 5. 370-371; Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.59). The name can also be used to refer to Venus herself, as Col. is doing: Ovid refers to Venus as Dione (*Fast.* 2. 461, 5. 309); Vergil calls Venus *Dionaeae matri* (*Aen.* 3.19). Ash (1930, 96) remarks: "gardens were under the care of Venus, daughter of Dione;" cf. *tibi suavis daedala tellus / summittit flores* (*Lucret.* 1. 7-9, addressed to Venus); *adveneror Minervam et Venerem, quarum unius procuratio oliveti, alterius hortorum* (*Varro, Rust.* 1. 6. 6). Venus is also particularly associated with the spring: cf. *nec Veneri tempus quam ver erat aptius ullum* (*Ov. Fast.* 4. 125).

287-293. iam rosa ... fetibus horti: The brilliance of the garden roses is compared favorably with the brightness of Tyrian purple dye, the star Sirius, the moon, the morning and evening star, and the rainbow.

287. Rosa ... Sarrano clarior ostro: Sarra is another name for the Phoenician city of Tyre (*OLD*; cf. *Gell. NA* 14. 6. 4), the center of the purple dye industry and thus proverbially associated with purple (*OCD*). Cf. *Sarranae violae* (9. 4. 4); *ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro* (*G.* 2. 506). For the description of roses as purple, cf. *Punicae rosae* (9. 9. 4); *flos purpureus rosae* (*Hor. Carm.* 3. 15. 15.); *qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae* (*Hor. Carm.* 4. 10. 4). For the rose, see *Paestique Rosaria* (37).

288. Nubifugo Borea: *Boreas* is the North Wind; see *alliget ... Boreas Eurusque resolvat* (76). *Nubifugus* occurs only here (*OLD*; Ash 1930, 96; Boldrer 1996, 286). *nubifugo* is the reading of the oldest mss. and is printed by all modern editors; some later mss. read *nubifico* (Rodgers 2010, 413). For the idea of the North Wind dispelling clouds and creating a clear sky, cf. *protinus Aeoliis Aquilonem claudit in antris / et*

quaecumque fugant inductas flamina nubes (Ov. *Met.* 1. 262-263); *claro ... Aquilone* (G. 1. 460); *ut nubes, gravidas quos modo vidimus, / arctoi Boreae dissicit impetus* (Sen. *Tro.* 394-395).

288-289. Latonia Phoebe / purpureo radiat vultu: *Phoebe* is a poetic name for Artemis/Diana, found often in Roman poets;⁵⁹ it corresponds to the name *Phoebus* used to refer to her brother Apollo (see *Phoebus*, 56). She comes to be regarded as the moon goddess; cf. *solem deum esse lunamque, quorum alterum Apollinem Graeci, alteram Dianam putant* (Cic. *Nat. D.* 3. 51); cf. Catull. 34. 15-18. Her name comes to be used by metonymy (AG 641) for the moon, as Col. is doing here; cf. *vento semper rubet aurea Phoebe* (G. 1. 431); *nec nova crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe* (Ov. *Met.* 1. 11). She is the daughter of Leto/Latona (cf. *Hom. Hymn Del. Ap.* 14-15; *Aen.* 12. 198; *Hor. Carm.* 1. 21. 1-4; *Ov. Met.* 13. 634-635) and is thus called *Latonia* (cf. Catull. 34. 5; *Aen.* 9. 405; *Ov. Met.* 1. 696).

For the description of the moon's color as purple, cf. *candor erat qualem praefert Latonia Luna, / et color in niveo corpore purpureus* (Tib. 3. 4. 29-30). For the use of *vultus* to describe the face of the moon, cf. *purpureus Lunae sanguine vultus erat* (Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 12); *exerit vultus rubicunda Phoebe* (Sen. *Phaed.* 747). Vergil uses *vultus* to describe the face of the sun: *nam saepe videmus / ipsius in vultu varios errare colores* (G. 1. 451-452).

289. Sirius ardor: The phrase *Sirius ardor* also occurs at *Aen.* 10. 273. For Sirius and its association with heat and dryness, see *sitiens ... Sirius* (41).

⁵⁹ Not to be confused with the Titan Phoebe (Φοίβη), daughter of Uranus and Gaea, and husband of Coeus (Hes. *Theog.* 132-136, 404).

290. Rutilus Pyrois: The planet Mars, which is red in color; from Greek Πυρόεις, “fiery.” Cf. Πυρόεις, *quae stella Martis appellatur* (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2. 53); *tertia est stella Martis ... Veneris sequens stellam hac ... de causa. quod Vulcanus cum uxorem Venerem duxisset, et propter eius observationem Marti copia non fieret, ut nihil aliud adsequi videretur, nisi sua stella Veneris sidus persequi a Venere impetravit. itaque cum vehementer amore eum incenderent, significans e facto stella Pyroenta appellavit* (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 42). The red color of the planet is appropriate for the roses to which it is being compared.

291. Hesperus ... remeat cum Lucifer: Hesperus is the Greek name for the evening star; cf. *ite domum, saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae;* (*Ecl.* 10. 77); cf. also *Ov. Met.* 5. 440-441. It is often called *Vesper* in Latin; cf. *illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper* (*G.* 1. 251); *vespero surgente* (*Hor. Carm.* 2. 9. 10). Lucifer is the morning star; cf. *dum rota Luciferi provocet orta diem* (*Tib.* 1. 9. 62); *praevious Aurorae Lucifer* (*Ov. Pont.* 17. 112). The identity of both the morning and evening star with the planet Venus was understood in antiquity: *stella Veneris, quae Φωσφόρος Graece, Lucifer Latine dicitur cum antegreditur solem, cum subsequitur autem Ἑσπερος* (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2. 53); *Hespere, mutato comprehendis nomine Eous* (*Catull.* 62. 35); *quarta stella est Veneris, Lucifer nomine ... hanc eandem Hesperum appellari, multis traditum est historiis. ... dicitur ... et ex oriente sole et occidente videri.* (*Hyg. Poet. astr.* 2. 42).

Eoo ... ortu: *Eos* (Ἠώς) is the Greek name for dawn and the dawn goddess; cf. *tres ubi Luciferos veniens praemiserit Eos, / tempora nocturnis aequa diurna feres* (*Ov. Fast.* 3. 877-878); *at cum sole novo terras inrorat Eous* (*G.* 1. 288); *ante tibi Eoae*

Atlantides abcondantur (G. 1. 221; see *Atlantides*, 54). The usual Latin name for the dawn is *Aurora*; cf. *ubi nona suos Aurora induxerat ortus* (G. 4. 552); *ecce vigil nitido patefecit ab ortu / purpureas Aurora fores* (Ov. *Met.* 2. 112-113).

292. Sidereo fulget Thaumantias arcu: Thaumantias is Iris, goddess of the rainbow, the daughter of Thaumias (Hes. *Theog.* 265-266). Cf. *Thaumantias Iris* (Ov. *Met.* 4. 480); *sic roseo Thaumantias ore locuta est* (*Aen.* 9. 5); cf. also *imbrifera ... Thaumantide* (Stat. *Silv.* 3. 3. 81). The rainbow, the last image of brightness to which Col. compares the roses, also suggests the variety of colors created by the different flowers in the garden.

295. Dum Phoebus equos in gurgite mersat Hiberno: The setting of the sun. *Hibernus* means Spanish or Iberian, and thus refers to the Western Ocean (the Atlantic); cf. *ni roseus fessos iam gurgite Phoebus Hiberno / tingat equos noctemque die labente reducat* (*Aen.* 11. 913-914); *ter iuga Phoebus equis in Hiberno flumine mersis / dempserat* (Ov. *Met.* 7. 324-325). See *Phoebus* (42).

296. Amaracus: *Amaracus* is probably marjoram; see *sampsuca* (171).

297. Narcissique comas: See *narcissique comas* (98).

Sterilisque balausti: *Balaustum* is the flower of the pomegranate, *Punica granatum* L. (André 1956, 50; 1985, 113). Of the pomegranate, Pliny remarks: *flos balaustum vocatur, et medicis idoneus et tinguendis vestibis, quarum color inde nomen accepit* (*HN* 13. 113). Pliny discusses a number of medicinal uses for the pomegranate flower, both topical and internal (*HN* 23. 112-113). For the pomegranate, see *sanguineis ... floribus ... arbos / Punica* (242-243).

298-299. Et tu ... formosior ipsa: These two lines clearly recall passages from the *Eclogues*. Line 298 calls to mind *formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin* (*Ecl.* 2. 1), while line 299 closely follows *formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse* (*Ecl.* 5. 44). Col.'s *Nais* suggests the fair *Nais* of *Ecl.* 2 who will also gather flowers: *ecce ferunt nymphae calathis, tibi candida Nais / pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens* (*Ecl.* 2. 46-47).

300. Viola: See *quae pallet ... viola* (101-102). Vergil's Naiad will also gather violets (*Ecl.* 2. 47).

Niveo ... ligustro: Rodgers' reading *niveo* is Parrhasius' emendation for the *nigro* of the mss. (Rodgers 2010, 413). It is praised by La Cerda (1608, 26) in his note to *Ecl.* 2. 18 (*alba ligustra cadunt*). It is also endorsed by Gesner (1735, 726), though he prints *nigro*, as do all modern editors. The emendation is clearly suggested by the poets' mention of the whiteness of the flower: in addition to *Ecl.* 2. 18, cf. *candidior folio nivei, Galatea, ligustri* (*Ov. Met.* 13. 789); *loto candidior puella cycno / argento, nive, lillio, ligustro* (*Mart.* 1. 115. 2-3). For this reason, the proposed emendation *niveo* is attractive. However, the ms. tradition unanimously reads *nigro*; and as Santoro (1946, 52) observes: "noi non ci sentiamo autorizzati a mutare il testo." Ash (1930, 99) suggests, in defense of *nigro*: "The adjective, then, refers to the evergreen foliage rather than to the color of the flower;" this is echoed by Saint Denis (1969, 66). For these reasons, I prefer the ms. reading *nigro* in my translation.

Vergil mentions the *ligustrum* only once, in the *Ecl.* 2 passage mentioned above: *o formose puer, nimium ne crede colori: / alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur* (*Ecl.* 2. 17-18). Maggioli (1995, 339) and Consoli (1901, 3, 5-6) regard *ligustrum* as a

Vergilian coinage, based on *ligus* or the root of *ligare*, on the model of words such as *arbustum* or *apiastrum*.

The identification of this plant is uncertain. André (1985, 144) suggests that Vergil, Ovid, and Col. are referring to the privet, *Ligustrum vulgare* L., and that Pliny may also be referring to this plant: *ligustra tesseris utilissima* (HN 16. 77). However, elsewhere Pliny may be using the term to refer to a different plant, perhaps henna, *Lawsonia inermis* L.: *cypros in Aegypto est arbor ziziphi foliis, semine coriandri candido, odorato. ... hanc esse dicunt arborem quae in Italia ligustrum dicuntur* (HN 12. 109); *ligustrum si eadem arbor est quae in oriente cypros, suos in Europa usus habet* (HN 24. 17). Pliny goes on to list a number of medicinal applications for treating various sores.

301. Balsama: *Balsamum*, from Greek βάλσαμον, “d’origine sans doute sémitique” (André 1985, 33), is perhaps balsam, *Commiphora opsobalsamum* Engl., both the tree and its juice (André 1985, 33). Vergil mentions this once: *quid tibi odorato referam sudantia ligno / balsamaque et bacas semper frondentis acanthi?* (G. 2. 118-119). André (1956, 51), however, also notes that *balsama* in Col. is “plante des jardins qui ne peut être le Baumier que les Romains n’ont vu qu’au triomphe de Vespasien et Titus en 71;” cf. *sed omnibus odoribus praefertur balsamum, uni terrarum Iudaeae concessum ... ostendere arborum hanc urbi imperatores Vespasiani* (Plin. HN 12. 111). André (1983, 33; 1956, 51, 103) suggests that the *balsamum* of Vergil and Col. might be costmary, *Chrysanthemum balsamita* L. (cf. Van Wyk 2004, 404), also known as *costum*, “cultivée comme plante d’ornement.” Pliny (HN 12. 112-123) describes the nature and varieties of the balsam, the method of tapping its sap, and the various uses for the tree and its products.

Casia: Also *cassia*, from Greek κάρσια, might be cinnamon, *Cinnamomum aromaticum* L., or a type of daphne, *Daphne gnidium* L. or *Daphne mezereum* L. (André 1985, 52; 1956, 75).⁶⁰ André says further that types of daphne were “cultivés dans les jardins romains et italiens comme plantes mellifères” (1985, 52).

Vergil mentions *casia* once in the *Eclogues* and several times in the *Georgics*: cf. *tum, casia atque aliis intexens suavibus herbis* (*Ecl.* 2. 49); *haec circum casiae virides et olentia late / serpulla et graviter spirantes copia thymbrae* (*G.* 2. 30-31); Maggiulli (1995, 255) says that a number of identifications have been proposed for the plant meant by Vergil, including various species of genus *Lavandula*, lavender (Van Wyk 2004, 189; Wright 1984, 114).

Col. includes *casia* among scent-bearing plants found in Italy (3. 8. 4), and lists it with the plants that should be planted around beehives (9. 5. 6); cf. Plin. *HN* 21. 70; *vix humilis apibus casias roremque ministrat* (*G.* 2. 213); cf. also *G.* 4, 182; 4. 404 (the *bougonia*).

Croceosque corymbos: “Saffron-colored clusters.” Ash (1930, 99) suggests that this might refer to bunches of violets of that color; cf. *croceae ... Hyblae* (170, the only other appearance of *croceus* in the poem); *croceis halantes floribus horti* (*G.* 4. 109); *pinguntque aureolos viridi pallore corymbos* (*Culex* 144). Alternatively, Ash (1930, 99) remarks: “some ... take the phrase to mean bunches of crocus flowers, or clusters of yellow ivy berries;” cf. *vitis / diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos* (*Ecl.* 3. 38-39).

⁶⁰ Forster translates *casia* in this line as marjoram; André (1985, 52) acknowledges that *casia* can sometimes refer to marjoram, but does not think Col. is referring to marjoram in this line, because he just mentioned marjoram in line 296 (*amaracus*).

302. Sparge mero Bacchi, nam Bacchus condit odores: Boldrer (1996, 293) suggests that *Bacchi ... Bacchus* in this line is a polyptoton “con uso ambivalente del nome, che può indicare sia il dio sia (nel secondo caso) il vino per metonimia.” For *Bacchus*, see *munera Bacchi* (3). According to Boldrer (1996, 293), Col. is hinting at the flower trade to which he will refer more explicitly at 304-310 (cf. , and suggesting that a sprinkling of wine will help preserve the scent of the flowers.

Condit: *Conditura* is the word Col. uses for preserves of various sorts (cf., e.g., 12. 4. 4; 12. 48. 2; 12. 49. 1). He does not give a recipe for preserving the scent of flowers with wine (though Pliny at *HN* 13. 9-10 mentions the use of wine as an ingredient in perfume), but when discussing various methods for preserving wine (12. 19-41) Col. does recommend adding fragrant herbs: *ad praedictum autem modum musti adici debent hi odores: nardi folium, iris Illyrica, nardum Gallicum ... item murræ pondo quincunx ... casiae selibram, amomi pondo quadrans, croci quincunx* (12. 20. 5); *nam nulla res alienum odorem ad se ducit quam vinum* (12. 28. 4).

303-304. Et vos, agrestes, duro qui pollice mollis / demetitis flores: Cf. *qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem / seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi* (*Aen.* 11. 68-69). Col. goes further in contrasting *mollis* (the flowers) with *durus* (the farmer’s thumb), which Col. has already used to describe the gardener; see *incola durus* (23). This image also recalls a passage in Catullus’ second *epithalamium*: *idem [sc. flos] cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui* (Catull. 62. 43).

304-310. Cano iam vimine ... urbe reportet: The farmer takes the assorted harvested flowers to town to sell for cash (cf. 255). Jashemski (1979-1983 v. 1, 267-288) discusses the evidence for the flower trade at Pompeii, which suggests that the

commercial trade focused on two principal uses for flowers: garlands and perfume. Pliny discusses perfumes and their manufacture at length (*HN* 13. 1-25); cf. *ratio faciendi* [sc. *unguenti*] *duplex, succus et corpus; ille olei generibus fere constant, hoc odorum; haec stymmata vocant, illa hedysmata* (*HN* 13. 7). This is the first passage in the poem in which Col. suggests a commercial purpose for the garden, in addition to providing produce for home consumption. Later the gardener will take assorted vegetables to market (314-317); cf. *mercibus ... adultis* (327). By contrast, Vergil's Old Man of Tarentum grows his garden purely for his own benefit and sustenance; cf. *nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis* (*G.* 4. 133). Vergil does not mention any commercial possibilities for the Old Man's garden. See *odoratis messis iam floribus instat* (255).

305. Ferrugineis ... hyacinthis: Cf. *ferrugineos hyacinthos* (*G.* 4. 183). For the hyacinth, see *vel niveos vel caeruleos hyacinthos* (100); *et male damnati ... Aiicii flores* (174-175).

307. Flammeola caltha: See *flaventia lumina caltae* (97). *Flammeolus* is a rare word; Boldrer (1996, 295) asserts that *flammeolus* occurs only here in classical Latin literature, but she is mistaken: Juvenal (10. 334) refers to a bridal veil as a *flammeolum*.

308. Dives Vertumnus: Vertumnus or Vortumnus was regarded by the Romans as originally an Etruscan god; cf. *ab eis dictus vicus Tuscus, et ideo ibi Vortumnus stare, quod is deus Etruria princeps* (Varro, *Ling.* 5. 46). Radke (1965, 318) notes that the identification of Vertumnus as being of Etruscan origin rests entirely on Varro and Propertius. Marquis (1974, 491) remarks: "almost all we know of Vertumnus is contained in Propertius 4. 2," which is spoken by a statue of Vertumnus. Marquis

(1974, 494-495) interprets Varro's and Propertius' accounts as supporting his argument that cult of Vertumnus came to Rome very early, near the beginning of the regal period.

Because of the apparent connection of his name with *vertere*, he was regarded as a god of change, including the change of seasons and the exchange of trade (*OLD*); cf. *Vertumnus verso dicor ab amne deus. / seu, quia vertentis fructum praecerpimus anni, / Vertumni rursus creditur esse sacrum* (Prop. 4. 2. 10-12); *at mihi quod formas unus vertebar in omnis / ... / numen ab eventu patria lingua dedit* (Prop. 4. 2. 47-48; but Heyworth, in his 2007 edition of Propertius, reconstructs a lacuna between lines 47-48 and interpolates lines 51-54).

LS, evidently looking for a Latin origin for the name, suggests that *Vertumnus* comes from an old middle/passive participle, *vertumenos*, from *vertere*; Sihler (1995, 618), however, while allowing that certain "fossil forms" of this construction may be found in Latin (e.g., *femina*), remarks: "most other words of similar shape in the language, such as *autumnus* "autumn" and *Vertumnus* (a deity), are obscure." Marquis (1974, 496-497) argues that, although the name at first glance "surely is good Latin," it is more likely a Latinized form of the name of the Etruscan god Veltune.

Boldrer (1996, 296) suggests that the identification of Vertumnus as a god of nature and springtime was due to a perceived connection with *ver*. Ovid presents Vertumnus as a god of nature and farming who woos Pomona, goddess of fruits, and who exhibits his changeableness by transforming from one shape into another (*Met.* 14. 641-771). According to Propertius, he was also associated with gardens: *nam quid ego adiciam, de quo mihi maxima fama est, / hortorum in manibus dona probata meis?* (4. 2. 41-42).

Myers (1994, 225) points out importance of Ovid's placement of the story of Vertumnus and Pomona in *Met.* 14 as a structural organizing device: she argues that it "has been seen to function programmatically in the *Metamorphoses* in effecting a transition from the opening cosmogenic sequence of the poem to the amatory themes which occupy the bulk of the narrative." Similarly, Col. places his mention of Vertumnus at a hinge point between two sections; like Ovid, he has placed it squarely in the second half of his poem. In Book 10, however, Vertumnus has a function opposite to that which he has for Ovid; instead of marking the beginning of an amatory section, Col.'s Vertumnus marks the end of it. The references to the fertility of springtime—suggested by the mention of Persephone (268-274)—are past, and as we move beyond Midsummer the focus shifts from planting to the harvest. In addition, Col.'s use of the Vertumnus story is another way in which he deliberately places himself in the Roman poetic tradition. In Ovid, the story of Pomona and Vertumnus "follows a section of the poem heavily indebted to the model of Vergil's *Aeneid*" (Myers 1994, 227)." In turn, Col.'s placement of Vertumnus in the poem deliberately recalls Ovid; this ultimately creates another link in the chain binding Col. and Vergil. The fact the story of Pomona and Vertumnus is set in a garden further underscores the poetic nature of Col.'s garden; Pomona's garden is set within Ovid's *Metamorphoses* just as the garden poem is set within Col.'s agricultural treatise.

Johnson (1997) focuses on Vertumnus' efforts to get into Pomona's garden disguised as an old woman. In addition to being Col.'s second reference to forceful (attempted) seduction in the second half of the poem (the previous being that of Persephone), Johnson reveals another way in which Col. is using Vertumnus

programmatically. He points out (1997, 368) that Vertumnus is the last of a series of suitors for Pomona, and the only one who succeeds in getting into the garden. Col. might be suggesting that he has finally succeeded in creating a garden of verse, where others have failed or given up the attempt (as Vergil did). If Vertumnus is a stand-in for Col., it highlights his transformation from the writer of a technical, practical treatise on agriculture to a poet of gardens. Like Vertumnus, Col. could enter the garden only by (metaphorically) changing his shape.

Vertumnus is the reading of some later mss. and is accepted by all modern editors. The oldest mss. read *Portunus*.

309. Multo madefactus laccho: For *lacchus* as another name for Bacchus, and by metonymy, referring to wine, see *laccho* (235).

Summer Tasks (Lines 311-422)

Early summer (lines 311-368)

312. Atque diem gemino Titan extenderit astro: *Gemino ... astro* refers to the constellation Gemini, the Twins. In ancient astronomy, the sun was in Gemini in May and June: *XIII Kal. Iun. sol in Geminos introitum facit* (11. 2. 43). During this time the days are lengthening as the summer solstice draws nearer, since Gemini immediately precedes Cancer in the Zodiac (Man. 1. 265-266). Gemini thus marks the arrival of summer (Man. 2. 265-266); cf. *et Gemini clarum iactantes lucibus ignem, / haec [sc. signa] sol aeterno convestit lumine lustrans, / annua conficiens vertentia tempore cursu* (Cic. *Arat.* 587(331)-589(333)). Pliny (*HN* 18. 281) states that the Milky Way (*lacteus circulus*) passes through Gemini. According to Hyginus (*Poet. astr.* 2. 22), the Gemini are most commonly regarded as Castor and Pollux, though he offers other possible

identifications. According to Homer (*Il.* 3. 237-238), Castor and Pollux (Greek: Πολυδεΰκης) were the brothers of Helen. Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* 1. 146-150) includes them among the crew of the *Argo*.

For *Titan* referring to the sun, see *Titan* (42).

313. Hauserit et flammis Lernaei bracchia Cancri: Col. places the entrance of the sun into Cancer in mid-June: *XIII Kal. Iul. Sol introitum <in> Cancrum facit* (11. 2. 49); and the summer solstice several days later: *VIII VII et VI Kal. Iul. Solstitium* (11. 2. 49). Ovid gives the same date for the entrance of the sun into Cancer: *iam sex et totidem luces de mense supersunt, / huic unum numero tu tamen adde diem: / sol abit a Geminis, et Cancri signa rubescunt* (*Ov. Fast.* 6. 725-727). Pliny (*HN.* 18. 256) agrees on the date of the solstice, though he puts it on a single day: *VIII Kal. vero Iul. longissimus dies totius anni et nox brevissima solstitium facit*. For the connection between Cancer and the summer solstice, cf. *et claro conlucens lumine Cancer, / in quo consistens convertit curriculum sol / aestivus medio distinguens corpore cursus*. (*Cic. Arat.* 509(263)-511(265)). After the summer solstice the days begin to grow shorter: *Cancer ad aestivae fulget fastigia zonae / extenditque diem summum parvoque recessu / destruit et, quanto fraudavit tempore luces, / in tantum noctes auget* (*Man.* 3. 625-628).

Hauserit et flammis: The sun is “consuming the arms of Cancer with flames” because Cancer marks the onset of hot weather: cf. *aestifer est pandens ferventia sidera Cancer* (*Cic. Arat.* 566(320)); *ardentis ... sidera Cancri* (*Man.* 3. 264). Cancer was thought to be facing—and thus holding its claws—towards Leo (*Hyg. Poet. astr.* 3. 22), and thus towards the hotter days of summer.

Lernaei: According to Hyginus (*Poet. astr.* 2. 23), when Hercules was fighting the Lernaean Hydra, Juno sent a crab to attack him; Hercules killed the crab, which Juno then placed among the Zodiac constellations.

314-315. Alia tunc caepis ... hilares in hortos: This is the second time Col. instructs the gardener to take his produce to market; first it was to sell flowers, now assorted edible plants. See *cano iam vimine ... urbe reportet* (304-310).

314. Alia: Garlic; see *aliaque infractis spicis* (112).

Caepis: Onion; see *lacrimosaque caepa* (123).

314-315. Cereale papaver anetho / iungite: In these few words, Col. echoes a passage of Vergil, to which he has already alluded (298-299): *tibi candida Nais, / pallentis violas et summa papavera carpens, / narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi* (*Ecl.* 46-48).

314. Cereale papaver: “Ceres’ poppy,” either because of its association with Ceres or because it is edible. Cf. *Cereale papaver* (*G.* 1. 212); Servius comments: *vel quod est esui, sicut frumentum; vel quod Ceres eo usa est ad oblivium doloris ... vel quia pani aspergatur* (*Serv. G.* 1. 212). Cf. also *vescum papaver* (*G.* 4. 131), in the garden of the Old Man of Tarentum; *vescus* perhaps also has a double meaning here: normally “thin,” but etymologically related to *vesci*, “to eat.” (Ernout 1951, 1286-1287).

According to Pliny (*HN* 19. 168) the seeds of the white poppy were eaten: *candidum [sc. papaver], cuius semen tostum in secunda mensa cum melle apud antiquos dabatur; hoc et panis rustici crustae inspergitur, adfuso ovo inhaerens*. For the poppy, see *profugos victura papavera somnos* (104).

Anetho: Dill; see *bene odorati flores ... anethi* (120).

316. Fortis Fortunae: The festival of Fors Fortuna occurred on 24 June (Degrassi 1963, 472-473), just after the summer solstice; cf. *quam cito venerunt Fortunae Fortis honores! / post septem lucas lunius actus erit* (Ov. Fast. 6. 773). There was a temple to Fors Fortuna on the banks of the Tiber outside the city; cf. *dies Fortis Fortunae appellatus ab Servio Tullio rege, quod is fanum Fortis Fortunae secundum Tiberim extra urbem dedicavit Iunio mense* (Varro, Ling. 6. 17); cf. *reliquo aere aedem Fortis Fortunae de manubiis faciendam locavit prope aedem eius deae ab rege Ser. Tullio dedicatam* (Livy 10. 46. 14).

319. Ocima: *Ocimum*, from Greek ὄκισμον, is basil, *Ocimum basilicum* L. (André 1985, 175; 1956, 224). Varro (Ling. 5. 103) identifies *ocimum* as a word of Greek origin: *quae in hortis nascuntur, alia peregrinis vocabulis, ut Graecis ocimum*. Pliny discusses the nature and medicinal uses of basil at length (HN 10. 119-123), and reports on dangers described by other authors: cf. *ocimum quoque Chrysippus graviter increpuit inutile stomach, urinae, oculorum quoque claritati, praeterea insaniam facere et lethargos et iocineris vitia*. He also mentions a wild variety even more useful than the cultivated one: *silvestri ocimo vis efficacior ad eadem omnia* (HN 20. 124). On the best time for sowing basil, Col. remarks: *satio eius [i.e., api] est optima post Idus Maias usque in solstitium, nam teporem desiderat. fere etiam his diebus ocima seruntur* (11. 3. 34). He includes basil among a group of plants that need little cultivation after being planted: *neque est eorum cultus alius, quam ut stercoreata runcentur* (11. 3. 29). Vergil does not mention basil.

Gravibus densate cylindris: A *cylindrus* (Greek κύλινδρος; OLD) is a roller, used for leveling ground; cf. *aream, ubi frumentum teratur, sic facito.... comminuito*

terram et cylindro aut pavicula coaequato (Cato Agr. 129); *area cum primis ingenti aequanda cylindro* (G. 1. 178); *incrementum eius [sc. api] supervoluto cylindro coerceas. ... quorum [sc. ocimorum] cum semen obrutum est, diligenter inculcator pavicula vel cylindro. nam si terram suspensam reliquas, plerumque corrumpitur* (11. 3. 34). White (1969) does not mention the *cylindrus*.

320. Exurat sata ne resoluti pulveris aestus: Cf. *et cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis* (G. 1. 107). *aestus* also appears at 154—where Col. also mentions the danger posed to young plants by dry heat—and at 400.

321-336. Parvulus aut pulex ... tristi consumpta veneno: In this section Col. warns against a variety of garden pests. Pliny, in his treatment of gardening, briefly reviews the diseases and pests that plague garden plants and includes some mentioned by Col. (HN 19. 176-180); elsewhere he also discusses diseases and pests that attack trees and vines (HN 17. 216-231). Palladius (1. 35. 13) offers a general method to rid a garden of pests: *prasocoridas Graeci vocant animalia, quae solent hortis nocere. ergo ventriculum vervecis statim occisi plenum sordibus suis, spatio, quo abundant, leviter debebis operire. Post biduum reperies ibi animalia ipsa congesta. Hoc cum bis vel tertio feceris, genus omne, quod nocebat, extingues.*

321. Parvulus aut pulex inrepens dente lecessat: *Pulex* generally refers to the flea (OLD; cf. Varro, *Rust.* 3. 9. 8), though here it may refer to a different type of insect that eats plants; cf. *qui aestate ista seret, caveat ne propter siccitates pulex adhuc tenera folia prorepentia consumat* (11. 3. 60). Pliny (HN 19. 177) says that certain pests are associated with particular plants, and that the *pulex* is found in turnips: *bestiolarum quoque genera innascuntur, napis pulices.*

Boldrer (1996, 303) points out the alliteration in *parvulus ... pulex*, and suggests that by describing the *pulex* as *parvulus* Col. is alluding to Horace's *parvula formica*: *parvula—nam exemplo est—magni formica laboris / ore trahit* (Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 33-34).

Inrepens: Cf. *inrepentibus aquis praedictisque animalibus* (3. 18. 5); *ne possint noxia inrepere animalia* (8. 3. 4).

322. Neu formica rapax populari semina possit: For ants as an agricultural pest, cf. [*aream*] *amurca conspargito ... si ita feceris, neque formicae nocebunt neque herbae nascentur* (Cato Agr. 91); *Tremellius quidem adseverat, priusquam impluverit, ab avibus aut formicis sata non infestari* (2. 8. 5). Palladius offers several remedies for an ant infestation: *contra formicas, si in horto habent foramen, cor noctuae admoveamus: si foris veniunt, omne horti spatium cinere aut cretae candore signabimus* (1. 35. 2); *formicas abiges origano et sulfure tritis foramen aspergens.... item coclearum vacuas testas si usseris et eo cinere foramen inculces* (1. 35. 8).

For the conjunction of *formica* and *populari*, cf. *populatque ingentem farris acervum / curculio atque inopi metuens formica senectae* (G. 1. 185-186); *ac veluti ingentem formicae farris acervum / cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt* (Aen. 4. 402-403).

Boldrer (1996, 303) suggests that *rapax*, “normalmente associato con preditori come il lupo ... è una scherzosa iperbole per la formica.” Col. had already suggested the ant to the reader's mind by recalling Horace's *parvula formica*.

323. Teneras erodere frondes: For *frons* with *erodere*, cf. *uruciae, dirum animal, eroduntque frondem* (Plin. HN 17. 229). Boldrer (1996, 303) notes that *erodere* in this

sense appears first in Col.; cf. *ut tineae everrantur, papilionesque enecentur ... nam et ceras erodunt* (9. 14. 8).

For *tenera* with *frons*, cf. *dum frons tenera imprudensque laborum* (G. 2. 372); *impulit et teneras turbavit ianua frondes* (Aen. 3. 449). In this second passage, Vergil is describing the Cumaean Sybil writing down prophecies on leaves (*folia*) which are then scattered by the wind. By alluding to this use of plant leaves as writing material, Col. is again underscoring the link between his garden and his garden poem.

324. Implicitus conchae limax: *Limax* (cf. Greek λείμαξ; *OLD*) is a slug or snail; cf. *limax ab limo, quod ibi vivit* (Varro, *Ling.* 7. 64); *limaces cocleae a limo appellatae* (Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 103 Lindsay); as an agricultural pest, cf. *satae [sc. viciae] fere limacem nocere comperimus* (2. 20. 30); *bestiolarum quoque genera innascuntur ... raphano urucae et vermiculi, item lactucis et oleri, utrique hoc amplius limaces et cochleae* (Plin. *HN* 19. 177); *limaces nascuntur in vicia, e aliquando e terra cochleae minutae mirum in modum erodentes eam* (Plin. *HN* 18. 156). Palladius (1. 35. 2) suggests a remedy: *contra culices et limaces vel amurcam recentem vel ex cameris fulginem spargimus*. Though *cocha* (cf. Greek κόγχη; *OLD*) generally refers to a shellfish or mollusk shell (cf. Plin. *HN* 9. 115), it can also refer to shells in general: cf. *aut lapidem bibulum aut squalentis infode conchas* (G. 2. 348); or to something of similar shape: cf. *conchae ferreae, quibus depletur oleum* (12. 52. 8).

Boldrer (1996, 303) points out the repetition of the -x sound in 321-324: *pulex ... rapax ... limax*. In the poem no other word with the pattern of *pulex* occurs, and Col. uses words ending in -ax only four other times: *fallax* (204), *audax* (216, 248), and *salax* (372).

Hirsutaque campe: Greek κάμπη (connected with κάμπτειν, “to bend”: LSJ; Chantraine 1999, 490-491), is the caterpillar, Latin *eruca* or *uruca* (*OLD*); the name is Col. refers to it again as *campe* at 366, and as *eruca* at 333 (q.v.); cf. *apricis regionibus post pluvias noxia incesserunt animalia quae a nobis appellantur urucae, Graece autem κάμμαι nominantur* (11. 3. 63). Col.’s use of *campe* in this poem is the only appearance of the word in extant classical Latin literature. For *hirsutus* used to describe an invertebrate, cf. *namque et luba tradidit et Arabicis concham esse similem pectini insecto, hirsutam echinorum modo* (Plin. *HN* 9. 115), though Pliny seems to be describing the shell rather than the creature inhabiting it. Palladius suggests various remedies: *campas fertur evincere, qui fusticulos allii sine capitibus per horti omne spatium comburens nidorem locis pluribus excitarit. ... nasci quoque prohibentur, si circa arborum vel vitium crura bitumen et sulfur incendus vel si ablatas de horto vicino campas aqua excoquas et per horti tui spatia universa diffundas* (1. 35. 6); *campas nonnulli ficulneo cinere persequuntur: si permanserint, urina bubula et amurca aequaliter mixta conferveant et, ubi refrixerint, olera omnia hoc imbre consperge* (1. 35. 13).

325-326. Valido ... lurida caule / brassica: Cabbage; see *tum quoque conseritur ... mater Aricia porri* (127-139). Col. uses the word *brassica* only here in the poem, though he uses it often in prose. For *caulis*, see *frigoribus caules et verno cymata mittet* (129).

326. Pallentia robora betae: See *folio viridis, pede candida beta* (254).

327. Mercibus atque holitor gaudet securus adultis: This is the third time in the poem that Col. refers to the commercial possibilities of the garden, that some of the produce is being grown for sale; see *cano iam vimine ... urbe reportet* (304-310).

328. Falcem: White (1967, 72) defines *falx* as a “sickle, hook, scythe”⁶¹ and remarks: “This common term covers a wide variety of iron implements, consisting of a curved blade, equipped with a single cutting edge. Numerous variations in the size and curvature of the blade, and in the length and set of the handle in relation to the blade, have been developed ... to meet the different conditions encountered in the various tasks of reaping and pruning.” Cato (*Agr.* 10. 3) lists three different types of *falces* required for an olive grove: *falces faenarias ... stramentarias ... arborarias*; he later (*Agr.* 11. 4) lists five different types needed for a vineyard: *falces sirpiculas ... silvaticas ... arborarias ... vineaticas ... rustarias*. Varro (*Rust.* 1. 22.5) remarks: *quorum [sc. ferramentorum] non nulla genera species habent plures, ut falces*. Col. (2. 20. 3) mentions several types of *falx* as harvesting implements: *sunt autem metendi genera complura. multi falcibus veruculatis atque iis vel rostratis vel denticulatis medium culmen secant*. White (1967, 73-85) discusses at length the difficulties in interpreting the evidence to understand the configuration and function of each different type of *falx* mentioned.

This is Col.’s only reference in the poem to the *falx* as a gardening tool, though his statue of Priapus wields a *falx*: see *sed truncum ... Priapi ... falce minetur* (31-34).

⁶¹ Isidore (*Etym.* 20. 14) suggests an etymology for *falx/falcis*: *falcis est, qua arbores putantur et vites; dicta autem falcis quod his primum milites herbam filicem solebant abscindere*. He then quotes Martial (14. 34): *pax me certa ducis placidos curvavit in usus; / agricolae nunc sum, militis ante fui*.

329-330. Saepe ferunt ... labores: For the damage to crops caused by bad weather, cf. *Lucr.* 5. 213-217; *G.* 1. 316-334. Col. links *durus* and *labor* elsewhere: *durior aeternusque vocat labor* (68). Although in the present passage *duros* is not directly linked to *labores*, the proximity of the two words in these two lines suggests the other passages in which Col. has used these terms, and their Lucretian and Vergilian echoes.

329. Duros ... imbres: For *durus*, see *incola durus* (23); *duri ... Sabelli* (137). For the contrast between the gentleness of the sun and the harshness of the rain, see *teneris* (283).

330. Hominumque boumque labores: Cf. *hominumque boumque labores* (*G.* 1. 118). For *labor*, see *laboris nostri* (Pr. 4).

333. Serpitque eruca per hortos: *Eruca* or *uruca* is the caterpillar; see *hirsutaque campe* (324); *distorto corpore campe* (366). For the caterpillar as a garden pest, cf. *bestiolarum quoque genera innascuntur ... raphano urucae et vermiculi, item lactucis et oleri* (Plin. *HN* 19. 177); *urucam male pascit hortus unam* (Mart. 11. 18. 12). Palladius (1. 35. 3) offers this remedy: *contra erucas semina, quae spargenda sunt, sempervivi suco madefiant vel erucarum sanguine. cicer inter olera propter multa portenta serendum est. aliqui cinerem de fico super erucas spargunt. item squillam vel in horto serunt vel certe suspendunt. aliqui mulierem menstruantem nusquam cinctam solutis capillis nudis pedibus contra erucas et cetera hortum faciunt circumire. aliqui fluviales cancos pluribus locis intra hortum crucifigunt.* Pliny (*HN* 23. 62) gives the following remedy against caterpillar bites: *vino cognata res sapa est musto decocto donec tertia pars superest ... usus contra ... pinorum erucas, quas pityocampas vocant*

... *contra mordentia venenata*. See also *intortus cucumis praegnasque cucurbita serpit* (380).

Eruca meaning caterpillar should not be confused with *eruca* meaning rocket; cf. *eruca* (109); *eruca salax* (372).

339. Labor ostendit miseris: For *labor*, see *laboris nostri* (Pr. 4).

341. Et tempestatem Tuscis avertere ritus: The Romans derived many of their divination practices from the Etrucans; cf. *si te ratio quaedam Etruscae disciplinae, quam a patre, nobilissimo atque optimo viro, acceperas, non fefellit, ne nos quidem nostra divinatio fallat* (Cic. *Fam.* 6. 6. 2); *Tuscos, quibus summa est fulgurum persequendorum scientia* (Sen. *Q Nat.* 2. 32. 2); *haec propter placuit Tuscos de more vetusto / acciri vates* (Luc. 1. 584-585); *prodigiosa fides et Tuscis digna libellis* (Juv. 13. 62). Palladius (1. 35. 1-2, 14) discusses a number of magical remedies against bad weather.

342. Mala Rubigo: *Rubigo* or *robigo* is rust, or mildew, very damaging to crops; for *mala rubigo* cf. *ut mala culmos / esset robigo segnisque horreret in arvis* (G. 1. 150-151). Vergil also describes the old weapons unearthed by the farmer at Philippi as being damaged by *rubigo*: *agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro / esesa inveniet scabra robigine pila* (G. 1. 495); cf. *squalida desertis robigo infertur aratris* (Catull. 64. 42). Pliny (*HN* 28. 275-277) asserts that *rubigo* is caused by the phases of the moon over the course of the year and the attendant difference between heat and cold reaching the earth. Palladius (1. 35. 1) suggests a remedy against *rubigo*: *contra nebulas et rubiginem paleas et purgamenta pluribus locis per hortum disposita simul omnia, cum nebulas videris instare, conbure*.

Boldrer (1996, 311) and Ash (1930, 107) understand *Rubigo* here as the name of a deity, “l’equivalente femminile del ... dio Robigus,” found in classical literature only here and in Ovid: *flamen in antiquae lucum Robiginis ibat* (*Fast.* 4. 907).

The Robigalia, a festival to avert *rubigo* from the crops, was celebrated on 25 April (Degrassi 1963, 9, 448-449).⁶² It was named for Robigus, the god who kept rust away from the crops; cf. *Robigum et Floram* [sc. *invocabo*], *quibus propitiis neque robigo frumenta atque arbores corrumpit, neque non tempestive florent* (Varro, *Ling.* 1. 6); *Robigalia dicta ab Robigo; secundum segetes huic deo sacrificatur, ne robigo occupet segetes* (Varro, *Ling.* 6. 16). Ovid (*Fast.* 4. 901-942) gives a legendary explanation for the origin of the Robigalia and its date. Pliny (*HN* 28. 285) looks both to early Roman history and astronomy for an explanation: *Robigalia Numa constituit anno regni sui XI, quae nunc aguntur a. d. VIII kal. Mai., quoniam tunc fere segetes robigo occupat.... vera causa est quod post dies undetriginta ab aequinoctio verno per id quadriduum ... in IV Kal. Mai. canis occidit, sidus et per vehemens et cui praeoccidere caniculam necesse sit.* For a metaphorical use of *rubigo*, cf. *ne vestrum scabra tangat rubigine nomen / haec atque illa dies atqua alia atque alia* (Catull. 68. 151-152).

343. Sanguine lactentis catuli: Ovid (*Fast.* 4. 939-942) offers a fanciful explanation for the sacrifice of a dog on the Robigalia, because of a connection between the date of the festival and the constellation Canis Major: *est canis, Icarium dicunt, quo sidere moto / tosta sit tellus, praecipiturque seges. / pro cane sidereo canis hic imponitur area, / et, quare fiat, nil nisi nomen habet.* Pliny (*HN* 29. 58) remarks on

⁶² Cf. *Robigalia dies festus septimo Kalendas Maias, quo Robigo deo suo, quem putabant robiginem avertere, sacrificabant* (Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 325 Lindsay).

the choice of a suckling puppy as a sacrificial victim: *catulos lactentes adeo pueros existimabant ad cibum, ut etiam placandis numinibus hostiarum vice uterentur iis*. Cf. *Ov. Fast.* 4. 904. See *mala Robigo* (342), esp. Pliny's comment on the festival's connection with the constellation Canis. For the association of the constellation Canis Major with heat, see *sitiens Canis* (41); *cum canis Erigones flagrans Hyperionis aestu* (400).

344. Hinc caput Arcadici nudum cute fertur aselli: Cf. *omnia semina horti vel agri feruntur ab omnibus malis ac monstris tuta servari, si ... equae calvaria sed non virginis intra hortum ponenda est, vel etiam asellae* (Pallad. 1. 35. 16). Arcadia is in the central Peloponnese (OCD); for the association of asses and mules with Arcadia, cf. *patria etiam spectatur in his [sc. mulis], Arcadicis in Achaia, in Italia Reatinis* (Plin. *HN* 8. 167); *asinus Arcadicos* (Plaut. *Asin.* 333).

345. Tyrrhenus Tages: Tages is an Etruscan deity said to have sprung from the earth and taught divination to the Etruscans; cf. Cic. *Div.* 2. 50; *Ov., Met.* 15.552-559; *Luc.* 1. 636-638. The mention of Tages in connection with the garden recalls the circumstances of his appearance as recorded by Cicero: Tages was turned up in a field by a farmer's plow.

346. Tarchon: The Etruscan general who helped Aeneas against Turnus. *Tarchon* is the reading found in late mss.; the older mss. read *Tarcho* or *Tarcha*. *Tarchon* is preferable both because it corresponds to Vergil's spelling in the *Aeneid* (cf. *Aen.* 8. 506, 10. 153, 11. 184), and, as Lundström (1897, 113; 1900-1902, 185) notes, reading *Tarchon* preserves what may be a deliberate pair of end-rhymes between lines 346 and 348 (... *Tarchon* // ... *Chiron*) and lines 347 and 349 (... *altis* // ... *albis*).

Col.'s naming of Tarchon, following that of Tages (345), further underlines the association of the Etruscans with magic.

347. Praecinxit vitibus albis: See *bryonias* (250). For the use of bryony as a garland to protect against bad weather, cf. *contra grandinem ... omne horti spatium alba vite praecingitur* (Pallad. 1. 35. 1). Pliny (*HN* 23. 28) recommends girding the farmhouse with black bryony to repel birds that prey on domestic fowl: *aiunt, si quis villam ea cinxerit, fugere accipitres tutasque fieri altilis*.

348. Amythaeonius: Melampus, son of Amythaeon (Paus. 1. 44. 5), a mythic soothsayer born in Pylos but associated with Argos (*OCD*). Homer calls him μάντις ἀμύμων (*Od.* 11. 289; cf. *Od.* 15. 225-242; Paus. 4. 36. 3). He could understand the speech of animals after snakes licked his ears clean (*Schol.* Hom. *Od.* 11. 290). Pausanias (2. 18. 4) records that Melampus cured Argive women of madness. He also mentions (9. 31. 5) that Hesiod is said to have written a poem, now lost, about Melampus the seer (ἐς τὸν μάντιν Μελάμποδα). Melampus also cured the daughters of Proetus of madness (Paus. 8. 18. 8); he is said to have discarded the means he used to cure them in the river Anigrus, on account of which the river's waters have a foul odor (Paus. 5. 5. 10).⁶³ Cicero mentions Melampus as an example of a diviner whose deeds are considered credible simply because of their antiquity: *neque enim ... Melampodis ... tantum nomen fuisset ... nisi vetustas ea certa esse docuit* (*Leg.* 2. 33). See also *Chiron* (348).

⁶³ Cf. Ov. *Met.* 15. 322-328; in Ovid's version, the waters of the river cause those who drink them to avoid wine and drink only water.

Chiron: A centaur, son of Saturn and Philyra (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 38; cf. G. 3. 550, Ov. *Met.* 6. 126). According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 274. 9): *Chiron ... artem medicinam chirurgicam ex herbis primus instituit*. According to Homer, Chiron had instructed Machaon's father in the use of the drugs which Machaon uses to treat Menelaus' wound (*Il.* 4. 218-219). Chiron, who was very learned, was the tutor of Achilles and Asclepius/Aesculapius (Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 38; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2. 628-634) as well as Melampus and other from Greek myth. He died as a result of an accidental wound from Heracles' arrow poisoned with the Hydra's blood and was placed in the heavens as the constellation Centaurus (Ov. *Met.* 2. 649-652; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 38).

Melampus and Chiron are linked by both Pausanias and Vergil. One explanation related by Pausanias for the bad smell of the river Anigrus is that Chiron, when wounded, washed his wound in the river, which thus became contaminated with the Hydra's blood (5. 5. 10). Vergil mentions Chiron and Melampus as examples of magicians whose arts fail to stop the plague and actually make it worse (G. 3. 549-550).

353. Palladia sine fruge salis conspergere amurca: *Amurca* is the dregs or lees from the pressing of olives. Col. describes a method for extracting *amurca* from olives (12. 50. 2, 4).

For the use of *amurca* to repel pests, cf. *alii ... amurca insulsa, cum coepit infestari seges, perfudunt sulcos et ita noxia animalia summovent* (2. 9. 10); *frumento ne noceat curculio neu mures tangant. Lutum de amurca facito, palearum paulum addito, sinito macerescant bene et subigito bene; eo granarium totum oblinito crasso luto.... cuculio non nocebit* (Cato Agr. 92; cf. also Agr. 95); *vulgo vero si uredo noceat et vermes radicibus inhaereant, remedium est amurca pura ac sine sale spargere, dein*

sarire (Plin. *HN* 18. 159); *contra culices et limaces vel amurcam recentem vel ex cameris fulginem spargimus* (Pallad. 1. 35. 2).

There are other agricultural uses for *amurca*. Col. recommends using it to prepare a storage place for grain: *sedem frumentis optimam ... horreum camara contectum, cuius solum terrenum, priusquam consternatur, perfossum et amurca recenti non salsa madefactum* (1. 6. 12). Vergil mentions the use of *amurca* to increase yield: *semina vidi equidem multos medicare serentis / et nitro prius et nigra perfundere amurca, / grandior ut fetus siliquis fallacibus esset* (*G.* 1. 193-196; cited by Pliny, *HN* 18. 157); and as a treatment for the skins of sheep after shearing (*G.* 3. 448); Cato (*Agr.* 91) says that a new threshing floor should be soaked with *amurca*. Pliny (*HN* 15. 33-34) discusses a number of uses for *amurca*.

For *Palladius*, see *Palladiae bacae iutura saporem* (121).

354. Innatave laris nigra satiare favilla: For the use of ashes to repel pests, cf. *qui aestate ista seret, caveat ne ... pulex adhuc tenera folia prorepentia consumat, idque ut vitetur, pulvis qui supra cameram invenitur, vel etiam fuligo quae supra focus tectis in haeret, colligi debet; deinde pridie quam satio fiat, commisceri cum seminibus et aqua conspargi* (11. 3. 60).

A *lar* is a guardian deity of the home; cf. *pater familias ubi ad villam venit, ubi larem familiarem salutavit* (Cato *Agr.* 2. 1); *repetebant praeterea deos patrios, aras, focos, larem familiarem, in quae tu invaseras* (Cic. *Phil.* 2. 75). The term can be used figuratively to refer to the home; cf. *omnia secum / armentarius Afer agit, tectumque laremque* (*G.* 3. 343-344); *avitus apto / cum lare fundo* (Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 43-44);

sedibus his profugos constituuisse larem (Ov. *Tr.* 1. 10. 40). Col. is using it to refer to the hearth or fireplace. See also *sanctique Penates* (279).

356. Marrubii: *Marrubium*, also *marruvium* (OLD), is horehound, *Marrubium vulgare* L. and *Marrubium creticum* L. (André 1985, 155). Pliny (*HN* 20. 241) remarks on horehound's well-known properties: *marrubium plerique inter primas herbas commendavere, quod Graeci prasion vocant, alii linostrophon, nonnulli philopaeda aut philochares, notius quam ut iudicandum sit*. Pliny distinguishes two types: *marrubii duo genera ... nigrum et quod magis probat candidum* (*HN* 20. 244; cf. *HN* 26. 93).

According to André (1985, 155), Col. is referring to white horehound (cf. Van Wyk 2004, 198). Pliny recommends it for both topical and internal medicinal uses, for a variety of afflictions including snakebite, skin problems, aches, coughs, digestive problems and eye trouble (*HN* 20. 241-244). Col. recommends the juice of horehound and leek to counteract garden pests: *marrubii quoque sucus et porri valet eiusmodi necare animalia* (6. 25). Vergil does not mention horehound.

Sedi: *Sedum* is the common houseleek or roof houseleek, *Sempervivum tectorum* L (André 1985, 233; Wright 1984, 440; Van Wyk 2004, 427).⁶⁴ Pliny (*HN* 18. 159) remarks: *Democritus suco herbae quae appellatur aizoum, in tegulis nascens, et ab aliis hypogaesum, Latine vero sedum aut digitillum, medicata seri iubet omnia semina*.

⁶⁴ André (1956, 288) says that *sedum* is “nom de diverse Crassulacées non distinguées par les anciens” and thus can refer to a group of related plants. *Crassulaceae* is the botanical family to which these plants belong. Also in this family is the modern genus *Sedum*, which includes the stonecrop and other “mat-forming, sprawling plants” (Wright 1984, 438-440).

Sedi is *lucundus*' conjecture (Rodgers 2010, 415), accepted by all later editors; the mss. read *seri*, "whey." According to Ash (1930, 111) are no ancient testimonia for the use of whey against pests. However, the juice of *sedum* is specifically recommended for this purpose by Col. (2. 9. 10; 11. 3. 61, 64) and Palladius (10. 3. 2). Vergil does not mention *sedum*.

358. Dardanicae ... artes: The "arts of Dardanus" are magic. Dardanus was regarded as a magician and inventor of magic arts; cf. Apul. *Apol.* 90. 6; Plin. *HN* 30, 9. The attribution of magic to Dardanus, like the attribution of divination to the Etruscans (see *Tyrrhenus Tages*, 345) is part of a Greek and Roman pattern of ascribing the origin of magical arts to other cultures.⁶⁵ Ogden (2002, 44) remarks: "For all that magic spread over the entire world, it is presented as fundamentally external and antithetical to Roman culture." Nevertheless, Roman agricultural writers, including Col., include magical procedures among the remedies they offer for pests and other difficulties.

358-362. Nudataque plantas ... ducitur horti: Col. restates this idea in Book 11: *sed Democritus in eo libro qui Graece inscribitur περὶ ἀντιπαθῶν affirmat has ipsas bestiolas enecari, si mulier, quae in mentruis est, solutis crinibus et nudo pede unamquamque aream ter circumeat; post hoc enim decidere omnes vermiculos et ita emori* (11. 3. 64); cf. *privatim autem contra urucas ambiri arbores singulas a muliere initiante menses, nudis pedibus, recincta* (Plin. *HN* 17. 266); *quocumque autem alio menstruo si nudatae segetem ambient, urucas et vermiculos scarabaeasque ac noxia alia decidere* (Plin. *HN* 28. 78); *aliqui mulierem menstruantem nusquam cinctam solutis*

⁶⁵ But cf. Henderson (2004, 131, n. 48): "Columella makes [Dardanus] *sound* [sic] like a founder of 'Dardanian' Troy, mythic origin of Rome." Cf. *Troiae Dardanus auctor* (*Aen.* 6. 650).

capillis nudis pedibus contra erucas et cetera hortum faciunt circumire (Pallad. 1. 35. 1).

Pliny (*HN* 28. 77-86) discusses in great detail the various properties and powers attributed to menstrual fluid.

Of the ritual described, Ash (1930, 113) notes: “The bare feet, ungirt robes, flowing hair, and threefold circumambulations are regular features of the religious symbolism;” cf. *maestum Iliades crinem de more solutae* (*Aen.* 11. 35); *unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta* (*Aen.* 4. 518, of Dido); *cinctas ... resolvite vestes* (*Ov. Met.* 1. 382, of Deucalion and Pyrrha); *egreditur tectis vestes induta recinctas, / nuda pedem, nudos umeris infusa capillos* (*Ov. Met.* 7. 182-183, of Medea). For the ritual use of three repetitions, cf. *idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda* (*Aen.* 6. 229); *et magna Manis ter voce vocavi* (*Aen.* 6. 506); *ter se convertit, ter sumptis flumine crinem / inroravit aquis ternisque ululatibus ora / solvit* (*Ov. Met.* 7. 189-191); *terque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat* (*Ov. Met.* 261).⁶⁶

Of the tone of the passage as a whole, Boldrer (1996, 320) remarks: “Il rito è descritto con particolari, con anaphora⁶⁷ di *resolutus* che conferiscono gravità al verso.”

364-366. Non aliter quam ... distorto corpore campe: After describing a ritual repeated threefold, Col. uses what amounts to a threefold simile to describe the dispossessed pests falling from the plants. He explicitly comparing them to apples or

⁶⁶ For other examples of the significance of the number three in Ovid’s account of Medea’s ritual, cf. *tres aberunt noctes, ut cornua tota coirent / efficerentque orbem* (*Met.* 7. 179-180, the night Medea chooses to perform the ritual); *triceps Hecate* (*Met.* 7. 194, the goddess to whom she prays); *et iam nona dies curru pennisque draconum / nonaque nox omnes lustrantem viderat agros* (*Met.* 7. 234-235, the amount of time she travels to gather the necessary herbs: nine = three x three). Cf. Lease (1919, 61): “The number 3 plays a part in ritualistic observances.” See also Tavenner (1916) for a detailed discussion of the symbolic importance of the number three in Latin literature.

⁶⁷ Cf. AG 598f, 641.

acorns shaken loose from a tree by the rain—but the rain itself is falling as well. He oddly likens the caterpillars, which are the enemy of the crops which the gardener is trying to grow, to the desired crops themselves, as if the pests have become the produce of the tree.

365. Mali: For *malum*, see *iniussi consternitur ubere mali* (16).

Glandis: *Glans* is the acorn. The term is used to refer to the fruit of certain trees, such as the oak (André 1985, 111); cf. *quernas glandes* (G. 1. 305); *glans optima in quercu atque grandissima* (Plin. *HN* 16. 20). Pliny (*HN* 16. 15-27) discusses the nature and uses of various types of acorns.

For the image of the acorn falling from a tree, cf. *bacae glandesque caducae* (Lucr. 5. 1363); for acorns as the typical food of primitive people, cf. *quae est autem in hominibus tanta perversitas, ut inventis frugibus glande vescantur?* (Cic. *Orat.* 30). According to Pliny (*HN* 16. 15), flour can be made from acorns if grain is scarce. The acorn is a standard example of a foodstuff that is found wild and gathered, rather than deliberately cultivated and is thus stands in contrast to everything cultivated in the garden. Col. does recommend the planting of oak trees as well as chestnut trees, but only as supports for vines: *potest enim quercus simili ratione seri ... [si] dumosi glareosique montes, atque ea genera terrae ... glandem magis quam castaneam postulabunt* (4. 33. 5).

366. Distorto corpore campe: *Campe* is the caterpillar; see *hirsutaque campe* (324); *serpitque eruca per hortos* (333). Gesner (1735, 733) notes that *distorto corpore* plays on the Greek meaning of κάμπη, “curved;” Boldrer (1996, 322) calls this an example of Col.’s fondness for “gioco etimologico bilingue;” see also *candida leucoia*

(97); *immortalesque amaranti* (175); *oculis inimica corambe* (178); *lubrica ... lapathos* (373).

367-368. Sic quondam .. vidit lolcos: A reference to the story of Jason, who set out from lolcos in Thessaly in the Argo to find the golden fleece, which had originally belonged to the flying ram that carried Phryxus from Greece to Colchis; cf. Ov. *Met.* 7. 1-158; cf. Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2. 20; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 9. 1. For the lulling of the guardian serpent to sleep, cf. Ov. *Met.* 149-158; *Her.* 12. 101-108. See *mox ubi nubigenae ... caput efferet undis* (155-156) and *nubigenae* (155).

Col. follows his comparison of the falling caterpillars to other falling objects—rain, apples, acorns (364-366)—with a mythological simile. Though the caterpillars are far smaller than the serpent, they are just as pestilential to the gardener and the damage they can cause is just as detrimental to his livelihood. This reference to the story of Jason follows soon after Col.'s description of the ritual with the menstruating girl (358-372), which in its details recalls Ovid's account of Medea's ritual invocation of Hecate to create the spell that will rejuvenate Jason's father Aeson (*Met.* 7. 179-219).

Summer harvest (lines 369-399)

369. Prototomos ... caules: *Prototomus* is Greek προτότομος "first-cut" (*OLD*). Pliny (*HN* 19. 137) describes the first yield of cabbage: *brassica ... cymam a primasatione praestat proxima vere; hic est quidam ipsorum caulium delicatior teneriorque cauliculus*. Cf. also: *cum mihi boleti dederint tam nobile nomen, / prototomis—pudet heu!—servio coliculis* (Mart. 14. 101. 1-2); *et faba fabrorum prototomique rudes* (Mart. 10. 48. 16). For *caules*, see *frigoribus caules et verno cymata mittet* (129).

Tempus decidere caules: Ash (1930, 113) remarks, “the infinitive is loosely joined to the substantive to indicate purpose.” But see †**tempus haris satio**† (244), esp. note on *satio*.

370. Tartesiacos Paphiosque ... thyrsos: The Tartessian and Paphian varieties of cabbage, previously mentioned at 185-187.

371. Apio: Celery or parsley; see *apio viridi* (166).

Secto ... porro: This is the cut leek, *porrum sectivum*; see *mater Aricia porri* (139).

372. Eruca salax: Rocket or arugula; see *eruca* (109).

Fecundo ... horto: Cf. *est mihi fecundus dotalibus hortus in agris* (Ov. *Fast.* 5. 209, spoken by Flora); cf. also *fecundus rumex* (*Mor.* 73) and the mention of sorrel in the next line (373). This is Col.’s third use of *fecundus* in the poem: cf. *nos fecunda manus viduo mortalibus orbe / progenerat* (65-66); *dum satiata Venus fecundos compleat artus* (212). Both previous examples involve situations of divine agency; thus the bounteous fertility of the garden at this time of year is thus almost spontaneous, a gift of the gods; cf. *sua sponte* (13); *sponte virescunt* (373).

373. Lubrica ... lapathos: *Lapathus/os* (f.) or *lapathum* is sorrel, usually *Rumex* L. in Latin (cf. Plin. *HN* 20. 231), comprising a number of species of genus *Rumex* L. (André 1985, 137-138, 220-221; 1956, 179-179, 276), including *Rumex crispus* L. (yellow dock), *Rumex acetosa*, *Rumex acetosella* (Van Wyk 2004, 278), and *Rumex patientia* L. (André 1956, 178, 276). The name *lapathos* comes from Greek λάπαθον or λάπαθος, possibly related to λαπάσσειν “to empty, discharge,” because of its laxative effect (André 1985, 137-138; Boldrer 1996, 324-325; LSJ; Van Wyk 2004, 278). Pliny

(HN 20. 231-235) discusses various varieties of *lapathum* and their medicinal uses; he says that the leaves in particular have laxative properties: *eadem* [sc. *radix*] *decocta cum vino sistit alvum, folia solvunt* (HN 20. 235). Cf. *si dura morabitur alvus, / mitulus et viles pellent obstantia conchae / et lapathi brevis herba* (Hor. Sat. 2. 4. 27-29). Vergil does not mention sorrel, as either *lapathos* or *rumex*.

Lubrica: Ash (1930, 114) remarks: “The adjective *lubrica*, some say, aptly describes the herb when cooked; others think that it is so called because of its laxative effect.” *lubrica ... lapathos* is thus another instance of what Boldrer (1996, 322) elsewhere calls a “gioco etimologico bilingue,” though she overlooks this example (1996, 324-325). Both Ash and Forster render *lubrica ... lapathos* as “slippery sorrel,” Santoro as “lapazio lassativo,” and Boldrer as “lassativo lapazio;” these translations thus preserve the effect of Col.’s alliteration. Henderson (2004) renders it “oily sorrel,” which loses the alliteration. Because I regard the alliteration as worth preserving, I have adopted Ash’s and Forster’s rendering of this phrase.

Thamni: What plant is intended here is uncertain. *Thamni* is printed by all modern editors, but André (1956, 310, 313) regards this as equivalent to *tamni*, “black bryony.” Cf. *OLD*: “thamnus: see tamnus.” See *quaeque tuas ... bryonias alligat alnos* (248-250).

Santoro (1946, 59) identifies *thamni* as “genere di vite silvestre” and cites Pliny (HN 21. 86), where *tamnus* is included in a list of *herbae sponte nascentes*; Pliny says that, along with *ruscus* (see *hirsuto rusco*, 374), it is one of the few such plants found in Italy. Col. includes *thamnum* in a list of plants used for pickling (12. 7. 1-2).

Ash (1930, 114) and Saint-Denis (1969a, 70) assert that the use of *thamnus* for *tamnus* is due to confusion with Greek θάμνος, “shrub.” They also note that some editors have emended *thamni* in this line to *ramni*, “buckthorns” (*Rhamnus cathartica* L., or perhaps Christ’s thorn, *Paliurus australis* Gaertn.; cf. André (1985, 217); see *spinisque ferat paliuron acutis*, 22), though no recent editor has done so (but see Gesner 1735, 733-734). Forster (1968, 39) renders *thamni* as “bushes” but notes that in the context of this line, “a specific plant name seems required” and suggests “the original reading may have been *tamni*.” Henderson (2004, 63) refuses to attempt an identification and renders this as “*thamnum* shrubs.”

Schneider (1794, v. 2 pt. 2 549-540) regards *tamnum* in Col. and Pliny (*HN* 21. 86) as a corruption of *tamum*; cf. *uva taminia* (Plin. *HN* 23. 17; 26. 138), a type of wild grape.

Forster is correct that, given the context, a specific plant is meant here, rather than a generic “shrub.” Col. has referred to bryony already, so “black bryony” is a reasonable suggestion, given the text, and I have adopted it in my translation. It is, however, impossible to be certain.

Sponte virescunt: Cf. *iniussa virescunt gramina* (*G.* 1. 55). See *sua sponte* (13); *fecundo ... horto* (372).

374. Scilla: Also *squilla*, from Greek σκίλλα, the squill or sea onion, *Urginea maritima* Baker = *Scilla maritima* L. and other species (André 1985, 220-230; 1956, 284-285; Van Wyk 2004, 331). Varro (*Rust.* 1. 7. 7) gives the squill as an example of a plant that lives in the sea, citing Theophrastus (cf. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 1. 4. 3). Pliny (*HN* 19. 93), in his discussion of bulbs, remarks: *verum nobilissima [sc. bulborum] est scilla*,

quamquam medicamini nata exacuendoque acuto; nec ulli amplitude maior, sicuti nec vis superior. He goes on to distinguish three types: *duo genera medicae, masculum albis foliis, femineum nigris; et tertium genus est cibis gratum, Epimenidu vocatur, angustius folio ac minus aspero* (HN 10. 93). Vergil mentions squill once, as a source of ointment for the skins of sheep after shearing (G. 3. 451).

Hirsuto rusco: *Ruscus* or *ruscum* is butcher's broom, *Ruscus aculeatus* L. (André 1985, 221; Wright 1984, 222; Van Wyk 2004, 279). Pliny (HN 21. 86) mentions it, along with *tamnus*, as one of the few *herbae sponte nascentes* found in Italy. Of its medicinal uses, Pliny (HN 21. 173) says: *rusci radix decocta alternis diebus in calculorum valetudine et tortuosiore urina vel cruenta.* He also notes (HN 23. 166) that the leaves are prickly (*foliis acutis*), and that in the country brooms are made from it (*fiunt ruri scopae*). Vergil (G. 2. 413) refers to *aspera rusci / vimina*, and his Thyrsus (Ecl. 7. 42) wants to appear *horridior rusco*. *hirsutus* thus refers to the bristliness of the broom's leaves. Col. includes *ruscum*, *thamnum*, and *asparagus* together in his list of plants that can be pickled according to the recipe he gives (12. 7. 1-2); cf. *thamni* (373); *asparagi corruda simillima filo* (375).

375. Asparagi corruda simillima filo: *Corruda* is wild asparagus, probably *Asparagus officinalis* L., though possibly *Asparagus aphyllus* L., *Asparagus tenuifolius* L., or *Asparagus acutifolius* L. (André 1985, 76); for asparagus and *corruda*, see *et baca asparagi spinosa prosilit herba* (246).

376. Andrachle: *Andrachle* is Lundström's (1900-1902, 185-186) emendation for the ms. reading *andrachiae*, and is accepted by most subsequent editors. Santoro and Forster follow Häussner (1889, 24, 35) in printing *andrachne*, a reading found in early

printed editions; Marsili prints the ms. reading *andrachiae*. From Greek ἀνδράχλη or ἀνδράχνη, this is probably purslane, *porcillaca* or *portulaca*, *Portulaca oleracea* L. (André 1985, 16, 205-206; *OLD*; *LSJ*; cf. Wright 1984, 526; Van Wyk 2004, 423). Cf. *andrachlen omnes fere Graecis porcillacae nomine interpretantur, cum sit herba et andrachne vocetur unius litterae diversitate* (cf. Theophr. *Caus. pl.* 1. 10. 4); *cetero andrachle est silvestris arbor, neque in planis nascens, similis unedoni* (Plin. *HN* 13. 120); *inter utraque genera⁶⁸ sunt andrachle in Graecia et ubique unedo: reliqua enim folia decidunt iis praeterquam in cacuminibus* (Plin. *HN* 16. 80); *huic [sc. aizoo] similis est quam Graeci andrachlen agrian vocant, Italia inlecebram, pusillis latioribus foliis et brevioris cacumine* (Plin. *HN* 25. 162; *illecebra* or *elecebra* can refer to the stonecrop, *Sedum album* L., *Sedum stellatum* L., or to purslane; André 1985, 93, 131). Pliny recommends *andrachle agria* for eye trouble, headaches, and earaches (*HN*. 25. 163-164), as well as for stomach troubles: *miscetur his [sc. nucleis nucis pineae] contra vehementiores stomachi rosiones cucumeris semen et sucus porcilacae* (*HN* 26. 143). He says that the poppy should be sown together with cabbage and *porcillaca* (*HN* 19. 167). Col. includes *portulaca* with herbs that can be preserved at the time when the vintage (*vindemia*) is coming (12. 13. 2). Vergil does not mention purslane.

377. Gravis: See *longa phaselos* (377).

⁶⁸ I.e., deciduous trees and evergreens; cf. *praeterea arborum aliis decidunt folia, aliae sempiterna coma virent* (Plin. *HN* 16. 78); cf. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν [sc. δένδρα] ἀείφυλλα τὰ δὲ φυλλοβόλα ... δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ ἀνδράχλη ... τὰ μὲν κάτω φυλλοβολεῖν τὰ δὲ ἔσχατα ἀκρεμόνων ἀείφυλλα ἔχειν (Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 1. 9. 3).

Atriplici: *Atriplex* or *atriplexum*, from Greek ἀτράφραχυσ,⁶⁹ is the orach or saltbush, *Atriplex hortensis* L. (André 1985, 30; 1956, 46; Wright 1984, 522; Van Wyk 2004, 401). Ernout (1951, 96) remarks, “Les formes romanes remontent peut-être à une forme plus voisine de l’original grec *atrapex, *atriplex.” André (1985, 30) suggests that the Latin form *atriplex* developed due to the influence of *-plex* compounds in Latin, esp. *triplex*. Cf. *chaerephyllum itemque holus atriplicis, quod Graeci vocant ἀνδράφραξιν, circa Kalendas Octobres obrui oportet non frigidissimo loco. ... papaver et anethum eandem habent condicionem sationis quam chaerephyllum et ἀνδράφραξις* (11. 3. 42); *quae rectam non habent radicem statim plurimis nituntur capillamentis, ut atriplex et blitum* (Plin. HN 19. 99). Pliny (HN 19. 117) states that *atriplex* breaks through the ground on the eighth day after planting. He identifies a wild orach, *atriplex silvestre*, which has a variety of topical and internal medicinal applications (HN 20. 119-121); André (1956, 46; André 1985, 30) identifies this as *Chenopodium Bonus Henricus* L., a type of goosefoot (cf. Van Wyk 2004, 94). Vergil does not mention *atriplex*.

Longa phaselos: The *phaselos* or *phaselus*, from Greek φάσηλος, φασίολος, or φασίωλος, is a type of leguminous plant of genus *Dolichos* or *Vigna*, possibly *Vigna sinensis* Endl.; the term can refer to the plant as well as to the pods and seeds or beans (André 1985, 196; André 1956, 246-247). Some beans are also classed in genus *Phaseolus* (Wright 1984, 508; Van Wyk 2004, 237), but this genus is now used solely for plants originating in the Americas (Boldrer 1996, 327). Col. discusses the cultivation

⁶⁹ “Les formes romanes remontent peut-être à une forme plus voisine de l’original grec *atrapex, *atriplex” (Ernout 1951, 96). André (1985, 30) suggests that the Latin form *atriplex* developed due to the influence of *-plex* compounds in Latin, esp. *triplex*.

of this plant: cf. *phaseoli modî [sic] quattuor obruuntur totidem operis, occantur una, metuntur una* (2. 12. 3); *iugerum agri recipit ... phaseli modios quattuor* (11. 2. 75).

According to André, Pliny's *passiolus* may refer to the same plant or type of plant: *siliquae ... passiolorum cum ipsis manduntur granis; serere eos qua velis terra licet ab idibus Octobribus* (HN 18. 125). Vergil also prescribes the time for planting the *phaselos*: *si vero viciamque seres vilemque phaselum, / nec Pelusiacae curam aspernabere lentis, / haud obscura cadens mittet tibi signa Bootes* (G. 1. 227-229; according to Thomas (1988 v. 1, 107), the evening setting of Bootes occurs at the end of October).⁷⁰ See also *fabis* (113).

Longa: Santoro (1946, 60) suggests "cioè i baccelli lunghi alla maniera dei fagioli, pieni di semi dell' atriplice, sorta di ortaggio che si mangia cotto." Since one of the botanical genera in the bean family is *Dolichos*, Col. might here be engaging in another of his bilingual puns (see *candida leucoia*, 97): *longus* = δόλιχος. Boldrer (1996, 327) links *longa* with *gravis*: "L'aggettivo, riferito a *phaselos*, allude al fatto che la pianta soffoca l'atreplice con le sue ramificazione (vd. *longa* nel verso) se troppo vicina....Columella, indicando la posizione delle piante, sembra avere presente un orto reale." For this sense of *gravis*, cf. *solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra, / iuniperi gravis umbra, nocent et frugibus umbrae* (Ecl. 10. 75-76).

378. Chelydri: Cf. *gravis ... chelydros* (G. 3. 415); *nigris exesa chelydri* (G. 2. 214). Col.'s use of this word recalls Vergil's various mentions of snakes; see *intortus cucumis praegasque cucurbita serpit* (380).

⁷⁰ Cf. *Vergilius ...seri iubet ... viciam vero et passiolos et lentem boote occidente* (Plin. HN 18. 202); this supports the argument that Pliny's *passiolus* is the same as Col.'s and Vergil's *phaselus*.

380. Intortus cucumis praegnasque cucurbita serpit: For the cucumber (*cucumis*) and the gourd (*cucurbita*), see *et tenero cucumis fragilique cucurbita collo* (234); *lividus et cucumis ... morbos aestatis iniquae* (389-392).

Intortus cucumis ... serpit clearly recalls Vergil's *tortusque per herbam / cresceret in ventrem cucumis* (G. 4. 121-122). Rebecca Armstrong (2008, 366-368) argues that Vergil is comparing the cucumber to a snake, and that this recalls other Vergilian references to snakes: *latet anguis in herba* (Ecl. 3. 93); *immanem ante pedes hydrum moritura puella / servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba* (G. 4. 458-459, on Eurydice's death); Vergil's prescriptions to the farmer for repelling snakes (G. 414-439); and the simile likening Sergestus' wrecked ship to a snake run over on the road (Aen. 5. 273-279), esp. *nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus* (Aen. 5. 276). Robert Cowan (2009, 286-289) links Vergil's snaky cucumber with Col.'s. Armstrong argues that Vergil plays with expectations in making what seems at first like a dangerous snake turn out to be a harmless cucumber. Cowan sees Col., by contrast, inverting this expectation: that what begins as a harmless cucumber turns into a dangerous snake.

Vergil did not originate the likening of the cucumber to a snake: cf. Varro, *Rust.* 1. 2. 25: *cucumis anguinus* (used in a recipe for killing bugs). Cf. *cucumis anguineus* (2. 9. 10; 7. 10. 5; 7. 13. 2); *multi hunc [sc. cucumin] esse apud nos qui anguinus vocetur, ab aliis erraticus, arbitrantur, quo decocto sparsa mures non adtingunt* (Plin. *HN* 20. 9). André (1985, 80) notes: "le fruit, au simple toucher, crache son fruit et ses grains comme le serpent son venin."

Vergil's snake-turned-cucumber comes in the context of his praise for the beauty and bounty of the garden (G. 4. 116-146). While Col.'s cucumber-turned-snake also

comes in the midst of his praise of the fertility of the garden (*fecundo ... horto*, 373), it also appears not long after his discussion of garden pests and their remedies (*parvulus aut pulex ... tristi consumpta veneno*, 321-336). Moreover, Col. uses the same verb, *serpit*, to describe that action of both the snaky cucumber and the destructive caterpillar (*serpitque eruca per hortos*, 333). Thus, this passage continues Col.'s admonitions about the dangers that might present themselves in the garden and leads to his warning about the perils of the *lividus ... cucumis* (389). Col. expands on Vergil's snake simile by including the gourd along with the cucumber; in Book 10, Col. always pairs the two plants. See also *fetidus hic succo ... candidus* (393-396).

Martial (11. 18. 10-11) also links cucumbers with snakes: *in quo nec cucumis iacere rectus / nec serpens habitare tota possit*.

386. Naryciae picis: Narycia was a city in Bruttium in southern Italy, settled by Greek colonists from Locris (*Aen.* 3. 399; *Ov. Met.* 15. 705); cf. Narycum, a town in Locris in Greece (*Plin. HN* 4. 27). It was also called Locri Epizephyrii and was the only Locrian colony in Italy (*OCD*). For pitch from that region, cf. *Naryciaeque picis* (*G.* 2. 438); *pix in Italia ad vasa vino condendo maxime probatur Bruttia* (*Plin. HN* 14. 127).

387. Bacchove lagoenam: For the use of *Bacchus* as metonymy (*AG* 641) for wine, cf. *cum fruges Cererem, vinum Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem sermonis utimur usitato, sed ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, deum credat esse?* (*Cic. Nat. D.* 3. 41). See *munera Bacchi* (3).

389-392. Lividus at cucumis ... morbos aestatis iniquae: See *intortus cucumis praegnasque cucurbita serpit* (380).

389. Lividus ... cucumis: Cf. *caeruleus cucumis* (Copa 22). Pliny (HN 19. 65) mentions different varieties of cucumbers. Cf. *cucurbita quoque omni modo fastigiatur, vaginis maxime vitilibus, contacta in eas postquam defloruit, crescitque in qua cogitur forma, plerumque draconis intorti figura* (HN 19. 70); cf. *intorti cucumis* (380).

393-395. Fetidus hic succo ... candidus: A second variety, the white cucumber, is also imagined as a creeping snake: *at qui sub trichila manentem repit at undam* (394). Earlier in the poem Col. had depicted the cucumber and the gourd hanging under the *trichila* before he compared them to snakes: *tum modo dependens trichilis, modo more chelydri ... intortus cucumis praegnasque cucurbita serpit* (378-380). Cowan (2009) discusses Col.'s likening of the *intortus cucumis* and *lividus cucumis* to a snake, but does not mention that Col. also imagines the *candidus cucumis* in a similar way.

396. Candidus: sc. *cucumis*, as distinguished from the *lividus cucumis* (389).

Late summer (lines 400-422)

400. Canis Erigones flagrans Hyperionis aestu: This is Sirius, the Dog-Star. For Sirius and Erigone, see *sitiens ... Sirius* (41). See also *Titan* (42); *Sirius ardor* (289). *Erigones* is a first-declension Greek genitive singular form (AG 44).

401. Cumulataque moris ... manat fiscella cruore: *Morum* is the mulberry, *Morus nigra* L., from Greek μόνρον, μόνρα; *morum* is the fruit, *morus*, -i. f. is the tree (André 1985, 164). Both Vergil and Ovid remark on the blood-like color of the mulberry: cf. *iamque videnti / sanguineis frontem moris et tempora pinguit* (Ecl. 6. 21-22); *arbori fetus adspergine caedis in atram / vertuntur faciem, madefactaque sanguine radix / purpureo tinguit pendentia mora colore* (Ov. Met. 4. 125-127). This is Col.'s only

mention of the mulberry, though it is mentioned once in the pseudo-Col. *De arboribus* (25. 1).

André (1985, 164) notes that *morum* is also used to designate the fruit of a bramble bush, *Rubus fruticosus* L., which seems to be different from the blood-red mulberry, which Pliny (*HN* 24. 120) calls *sativa morus* and which is the fruit of a tree (*HN* 16. 74); cf. *in duris haerentia mora rubetis* (*Ov. Met.* 1. 105); *nec rubos ad maleficia tantum genuit natura, ideoque et mora his, hoc est vel hominibus cibos, dedit* (Plin. *HN* 24. 117); Pliny continues with a list of the many medicinal application of these berries (*HN* 24. 117-120).

403. Tunc praecox ... ab arbore ficus: This line is almost a so-called “golden line”⁷¹, except that the adjectives and nouns are arranged chiastically (cf. AG 598 f 2): *praecox* (a) *bifera* (b) ... *arbore* (B) *ficus* (A). Wilkinson (1963, 215-216) calls this pattern a “silver line.”

Bifera ... ab arbore: Both Col. and Pliny refer to fig trees that bear fruit twice or thrice a year; cf. *omnes [sc. fici] etiam biferae vel triferae flosculi* (5. 10. 11); *sunt et biferae in iisdem [i.e., fici], in Coe insula caprifici triferae sunt: primo fetu sequens evocatur, sequenti tertius* (Plin. *HN* 16. 114).

Praecox ... ficus: *Ficus* is the common cultivated fig, *Ficus carica* L.; the name is used for both the tree and its fruit (André 1985, 104). Col. names ten different types of figs at 413-418, and also at 5. 10. 11 (though not the same set of ten). He also gives

⁷¹ Cf. Mayer (2002, 139-179). Panhuis (2006, 206) regards the golden line as “two crossed hyperbata;” for hyperbaton, cf. also AG 641.

a recipe for making vinegar from figs, for use in places *in quibus vini ideoque etiam aceti penuria est* (12. 17. 1). Vergil does not mention the fig.

Praecox: Cf. *figus et praecoces habet quas Athenis prodromos vocant* (Plin. HN 16. 113).

404. Armeniisque: *Armenia*, here for *Armeniaca* (sc. *poma*), are apricots, *Prunus armeniaca* L.; the tree is *Armeniaca* (sc. *arbor*) (André 1985, 25). Col., in discussing types of fruit trees to plant in orchard (*pomaria*), remarks: *sorbi [sc. mali] quoque et Armeniaci et Persici non minima est gratia* (5. 10. 19). André thinks that Pliny is referring to the apricot when he mentions a variety of plums which he calls *Armeniaca: necnon ab externa gente Armeniaca, quae sola et odore commendantur* (HN. 15. 41). Vergil does not mention apricots.

Cereolis: Sc. *prunis*; this is a variety of plum, *Prunus domestica* L.; see *pruni lapidosi obruta pomis* (15). Pliny (HN 15. 41-43) discusses several varieties of plums and their cultivation; one type he mentions, [*pruna*] *cerina* (HN 15. 41), “waxy plums,” is likely the same variety which Col. mentions here, as is Vergil’s *cerea pruna* (*Ecl.* 2. 53). Vergil mentions plums in his discussion of grafting: *mutatamque insita mala / ferre pirum et prunis lapidosa rubescere corna* (*G.* 2. 33-34); and in his praise of the Old Man of Tarentum: *et spinos iam pruna ferentis* (*G.* 4. 145).

Prunisque Damasci: “Plums of Damascus,” the damson plum, *Prunus damascena* R. This is mentioned by Pliny (HN 15. 43) in his catalogue of different varieties of plums: *in peregrinis arboribus dicta sunt Damascena a Syriae Damasco cognominata*.

405-406. Pomis, quae barbara Persis / miserat: This seems to refer to the *persea*, Greek *περσέα* or *περσαία*, *Mimusops Schimperi* L., a tree known in Egypt (André 1985, 193); cf. *Aegyptus et perseam arborem sui generis habet, similem piro, folia retinentem* (Plin. *HN* 13. 60). Pliny asserts that its name comes from the mythic hero Perseus rather than the country Persia: *eam quoque eruditiores negaverunt ex Perside propter supplicia translate, sed a Perseo Memphi satam, et ob it Alexandrum illa coronari victores ibi instituisse in honorem atavi sui* (Plin. *HN* 15. 46). Vergil does not mention the *persea*. Because there seems to be no common English equivalent, I have retained *persea* in the translation.

Patriis armata venenis: The *persea* was alleged to be poisonous, though apparently there was some confusion on this point between the *persea* and the peach: *falsum est venenata cum cruciatu in Persis gigni et poenarum causa ab regibus translata in Aegyptum terra mitigata; id enim de persea diligentiores tradunt, quae in totum alia est myxis rubentibus similis nec extra orientem nasci voluit* (Plin. *HN* 15. 45).

409-410. Eiusdem gentis ... Persica malo: *Persicum* [sc. *malum*] is the peach, *Prunus persica* Sieb. et Z. (André 1985, 193). Pliny (*HN* 15. 42) includes peaches among a group of fruits that will last for a season if kept in jars like grapes (*ut uvae cadis condita*). Col. includes the peach among a group of trees that should be grafted in mid-March (11. 2. 11). Vergil does not mention the peach.

411- 412. Tempestiva madent ... Asiatica fetu: *Gallica* and *Asiatica* are different varieties of peaches; cf. Plin. *HN* 15. 39. Pliny (*HN* 15. 40) says that the Asiatic variety ripens in late autumn, though one type ripens earlier, in the summer (*aestate praecocia* [sc. *Persica*]); he goes on to say that ordinary peaches grow

everywhere (*popularia undique*) and are given to the sick (*pomum innocuum expetitur aegris*).

413-419. At gravis ... Lydia tergo: In this section Col. describes ten different varieties of figs. He mentions a number of these varieties in the Book 5 of the *Res Rustica*: *serendae sunt autem praecipue Livianae [sc. ficus] Africanae Chalcidicae †fulcae† Lydiae callistruthiae †astopiae† Rhodiae Libycae Tiburnae, omnes etiam biferae et triferae flosculi* (5. 10. 11). See *praecox ... ficus* (403).

413. Gravis Arcturi sub sidere: Arcturus is the fourth-brightest star in the sky and is the brightest star in the constellation Bootes (Ridpath 1988, 35). Vergil specifically mentions Arcturus when admonishing the farmer to pay attention to the stars: *praeterea tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis / Haedorumque dies servandi et lucidus Anguis* (G. 1. 2-4-205, quoted by Col. at 11. 1. 31). According to Col., Arcturus rises early at night (*prima nocte*) on 21 February (11. 2. 21; cf. Hes. Op.); sets on 7 June (11. 2. 45); begins to set again on 26 August (11. 2. 58); rises on 5 September (11. 2. 63); and sets in the evening on 29 October (11. 2. 78). It was regarded as a portent of stormy weather; cf. *interdum pluvia* (11.2. 58); [sc. canit] *Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones; / quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles / hiberni* (Aen. 1. 744-746, the Song of Iopas); *inrepu hibernum et fluctus movi maritimos. / nam Arcturus signum sum omnium acerrimum: / vehemens sum exoriens, cum occido vehementior* (Plaut. Rud. 69-71).

414. Livia: Forster (1954, 94) and Ash (1930, 122) suggest that this fig variety was named for Livia, the wife of Augustus; Ash further suggests that this may be inspired by the story that Livia poisoned Augustus by smearing poison on the figs in his

garden (cf. Cass. Dio 56. 30). Pliny suggests that the name may have come from the person who introduced this variety, but he does not try to identify the specific individual: *sunt et auctorum nomina iis [sc. ficis], Liviae, Pompei (HN 15. 70). Cf. 5. 10. 11.*

Chalcidicis: This is one of several fig varieties which, according to Pliny, take their name from their country of origin: *ad nos ex aliis transiere gentibus, Chalcide, Chio (HN. 15. 69).* Chalcis is a city on the Greek island of Euboea (*OCD*). Varro (*Rust.* 1. 46. 6) also mentions together figs from Chalcis and Chios. Pliny (*HN 15. 71*) remarks of this variety: *ex Chalcidicis quarundam trifero proventu.* Cf. 5. 10. 11.

Caunias: Caunus was a city in Caria, near the border between Caria and Lycia (*OCD*). It was famous for its dried figs (Ash 1930, 123; Richter 1981-83 v. 2, 497 n. 131; cf. Plin. *HN 15. 82-83*).

Caunias is Ursinus' conjecture, printed by Rodgers. The oldest mss. read *caunis*. *caunias* would be a Greek first-declension nominative singular, on the model of *bryonias* (250) and *bunias* (422) (q.v.). In this interpretation, Col. is setting up two parallel comparisons: the Livian fig is compared with the Chalcidian, and the Caunian with the Chian.

Fernández-Galiano (1975, 66) and Boldrer (1996, 344) print the ms. reading *Caunis* and construe it as nominative singular (with a long *-i-*), thus following the same two-comparison interpretation. Forster (1968, 43) and Henderson (2004, 64) also interpret the passage this way.

Ash also prints *Caunis* but construes it as a dative plural parallel with *Chalcidis* and *Chiis*, equivalent to *Cauneis* (Ash 1930, 122; Richter 1981-1983 v. 2, 497 n. 131). In this interpretation, the Livian fig is being compared with three types, the Chalcidian,

Caunian, and Chian—which, as Saint-Denis (1969a, 74) and Boldrer (1996, 344) point out, is made awkward by the lack of a conjunction between *Caunis* and *Chiis*.

Santoro (1946, 64) also prints *caunis* and construes it as a dative plural, but interprets it as a common noun rather than a proper noun: “Cauno era ... rinomata per i suoi fichi secchi; in seguito il solo sostantivo pl. *Caunae* (*arum*) si adoperò a significare qualsiasi specie di fichi secchi.” *Chiis* is thus an adjective modifying the noun *caunis*; in Santoro’s reading, Col. is thus comparing Livian figs to two other varieties, those of Calchis and those of Chios: “Columella vuol dire che il fico Livio era grandevole come quelli Calcidici e i fichi secchi di Chio.” Boldrer (1996, 344) objects: “sorprende il riferimento a fichi essiccati in una rassegna di frutti freschi.”

Saint-Denis (1969a, 74) reviews the options and ends up taking Santoro’s suggestion further: “Reste une seule solution: traiter *caunis* comme un nom commun, synonyme de *ficis* (même emploi de *carica*, qui originellement était la figue de Carie).” Thus *caunis* here essentially just means “figs” in general, or perhaps “figs like those from Caunus.” Richter (1981-1983 v. 2, 461) also adopts this interpretation.

Despite the problems interpreting *caunis*, there is no convincing reason to reject the ms. reading and replace it with *caunias*, a form attested nowhere else (even if Col. himself offers possible parallels). In addition, Boldrer’s (1996, 344) objection to interpreting *Caunis* as generic (and thus as dative plural) is persuasive: “non persuade la combinazione di termini geographici (di cui uno perderebbe il significato originario complicando inutilmente l’espressione), mentre è verosimile che, in un elenco di varietà distinte in base all’origine, ognuno designi una specie distinta.” As for *Caunis* as a nominative singular rather than a dative plural, Col. has provided parallels in *callistruthis*

(416) and *gongylis* (421). Hence I accept the ms. reading *Caunis* in my translation, understanding it as a nominative singular (modifying an understood *figus*), following the interpretation of Forster, Henderson, Fernández-Galiano, and Boldrer.

Chiis: Chios is an island in the Aegean, purported settled by colonists from Euboea in the 9th cent. B.C.E. (*OCD*). Martial remarks on the taste of Chian figs: *nam mihi, quae novit pungere, Chia sapit* (7. 25. 8); *Chia seni similis Baccho, quem Satia misit, / ipsa merum secum portat et ipsa salem* (13. 23). See *Chalcidicis* (414); *Mariscae* (415).

415. Purpureaeque Chelidoniae: Chelidonia is derived from Greek χελιδών, “swallow.” Ash (1930, 123), Forster (1968, 43), and Richter (1981-1983, v. 2 497) derive the name from the Chelidonian (“Swallow”) Islands off the coast of Licia; André (1956, 137) suggests that it is due to the color, “rouge-brun comme la gorge de l’hirondelle;” Boldrer (1996, 345) tentatively suggests that the name may come from the time of year when it ripens, “perchè il fico matura al tempo delle migrazioni.” Pliny (*HN* 15. 71) says that this variety of fig ripens late, almost in winter: *novissima sub hiemem maturatur chelidonia*. Pliny (*HN* 37, 155) remarks on “swallow stones” that are purple in color: *chelidoniae duorum sunt genera, hirundinum colore, ex altera parte purpureae, in alia purpuram nigris interpellantibus maculis* (cf. *HN* 11. 203). Regardless of the origin of the name of these figs, Col.’s use of *purpureae* to describe these figs is likely a remark on their resemblance to “swallow stones.”

Mariscae: Cato mentions this variety of figs: *ficos mariscas in loco cretoso et aperto serito* (*Agr.* 8. 1; quoted by Pliny at *HN* 15. 71); cf. also Varro, *Rust.* 1. 6. 4, Plin. *HN* 15. 70. Seneca the Elder (*Suas.* 2. 17) indicates that Mariscan figs were

undesirable: *eo pervenit insania ius, ut ... ficus non esset nisi mariscas*. Martial describes these figs' taste as *fatuas* (7. 25. 7) and he uses Chian and Mariscan figs as an example of opposites: *non eadem res est: Chiam volo, nolo mariscam: / ne dubites quae sit Chia, marisca tua est* (12. 96. 9-10). See *Chiis* (414).

416. Callistruthis: From *καλλιστρούθια*, lit. "beautiful sparrow." The form *callistruthis*, found only here, is nominative singular; cf. *gongylis* (421). The form *callistruthiae* is found once in Col. (5. 10. 11), and once in Pliny (*HN* 15. 69), when he remarks on the flavor of this variety: *callistruthiae [sc. fici] farti sapore praestantiores, ficorum omnium frigidissimae*. Ash (1930, 123) and Boldrer (1996, 345) suggest that this fig was so named because sparrows (Greek *στρουθός*) were particularly fond of it.

417. Albaque ... cerae: This is a roundabout way of naming the fig called *albicerata* by Pliny (*HN* 15. 70); for this kind of periphrasis, cf. *tertia, quae spisso ... cognomine gentis* (183-184). Cato (*Agr.* 6. 1) and Varro (*Rust.* 1. 24. 1) describe a type of olive called *albiceris*, which Pliny (*HN* 15. 20) calls *albicera*. Col. describes using *alba cera*, white wax, to seal storage jars (12. 52. 16).

418. Libyssa: The term *Libya* generally referred to the North African coast west of Alexandria, though its usage could range from referring to just the area around Cyrenaica to referring to entire continent now called Africa (*OCD*). Cato (*Agr.* 8. 1, quoted by Pliny at *HN* 15. 72) refers to one variety of figs as *Africanæ* (as does Col. at 5. 10. 11); Pliny (*HN* 15. 74) records a story that Cato used a fresh African fig to demonstrate how close the Carthaginians were to Rome, when urging the Senate to embark on the Third Punic War. For the adjectival form *Libyssus*, cf. *quam magnus*

numerus Libyssae harenae / lasarpiciferis iacet Cyrenis (Catull. 7. 3-4); *belua nec retinet tardante Libyssa amore* (Sil. Pun. 6. 459).

Picto ... Lydia tergo: Lydia was in Western Asia Minor, bordering Caria (OCD). Lydia figures prominently in Herodotus as the kingdom ruled by Croesus (Hdt. 1. 6-96). Varro (*Rust.* 1. 46. 6) includes Lydian figs, as well as Chalcidian and Chian, in a list of types of imported figs. Pliny (*HN* 15. 69) describes Lydian figs as *purpureae*. Cf. 5. 10. 11.

Picto ... tergo: *Tergum* here refers to the skin of the fig; cf. Vergil's use of *tergum* for the surface of a tree (G. 2. 271). For Col.'s use of *tergum* to describe the surface of the ground, see *resolutaque terga* (7). He also uses it to describe the back of the constellation Sagittarius, imagined as a centaur (57).

419. Tardipedi sacris iam rite solutis: Col. is referring to the Vulcanalia, the festival of Vulcan; cf. *Volcanalia a Volcano, quod ei tum feriae et quod eo die populus pro se in ignem animalia mittit* (Varro, *Ling.* 6. 20). This took place on 23 August (Degrassi 1963, 17, 30-31, 48, 79, 500-502; Scullard 1981, 178-180).⁷² Ash (1930, 123) remarks that at this time of year "the new grain would be in the barns and in danger from fire." Col. elsewhere says: *X Kal Sept. ex eodem sidere* [i.e., *Fide*] *tempestas plerumque oritur, et pluvia* (11. 2. 58) but does not mention that this is the date of the Vulcanalia. He also remarks: *ceterum Augusto circa Vulcanalia tertia satio est* (11. 3. 18), but does not give the date.

⁷² Evidence that the Vulcanalia was observed on 23 August is epigraphical (e.g., the *Fasti* given in Degrassi 1963). No extant literary source mentions the specific date of the festival.

Tardipedi: An epithet of Vulcan/Hephaestus, referring to his lameness; cf. *tardipedi deo* (Catull. 36. 7). In Greek, Hephaestus is called Ἀμφιγυῆεις, “lame” (Hes. *Theog.* 571). Homer (*Il.* 1. 590-594) tells how Hephaestus, hurled from Olympus by Zeus, fell all day until he landed in Lemnos.

421. Gongylis: From Greek γογγυλῖς (and thus nominative singular), this word occurs only here in Latin literature (cf. Bolder 1996, 347). Ash (1930, 124) and André (1985, 112, 216) identify this with Latin *rapum*: *Brassica rapa* L., the turnip. Col. recommends planting turnip-fields (*rapinae*) in late September (11. 2. 71). Pliny (*HN* 18. 126-132) discusses at length the nature, cultivation, and uses of the turnip. He remarks: *alius usus praestantior his non est* and observes that one of the reasons for its great usefulness is that it can serve as fodder for animals as well as food for humans (*HN* 18. 126), an observation also made by Col. (2. 10. 22). Pliny further notes its various medicinal uses (*HN* 20. 18-19) and identifies a wild variety, *silvestre rapum*, distinct from the cultivated kind (*HN* 20. 20). Pliny (*HN* 19. 75) groups turnips and navews among cartilaginous plants that grow underground (*reliqua cartilaginum naturae terra occultantur omnia*). See also *bunias* (422).

Nursia: Nursia was a Sabine town in the central Apennines (*OCD*); cf. *qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt, quos frigida misit / Nursia et Ortinae classes populique Latini* (*Aen.* 7. 715-716). Suetonius (*Ves.* 1. 3) records that Vespasian’s mother was born at Nursia. Pliny (*HN* 18. 130) praises turnips grown in Nursia: *palma in Nursino agro nascentibus* [sc. *rapis*].

422. Amiternis ... arvis: Amiternum was another Sabine town in the central Apennines (*OCD*); cf. *una ingens Amiterna cohors* (*Aen.* 7. 710). Pliny (*HN* 19. 77)

says that the best navews come from Amiternum, the next-best from Nursia: *palma Romae Amiterninis* [sc. *napis*] *datur, dein Nursinis*.

Bunias: From Greek βουνιάς, André (1985, 41, 169) identifies this as the navew, *Brassica napus* L., Latin *napus*. This word occurs twice in Latin literature, in this line of Col. and in Pliny (*HN* 20. 21), where he identifies it as a type of navew. Col. says that navew-beds (*napinae*) should be planted in late September, along with turnip beds (11. 2. 71). He elsewhere discusses the cultivation of navews and turnips together (2. 10. 21-24); he remarks: *riguis locis utrumque recte ab solstitio seritur, siccis ultima parte mensis Augusti vel prima Septembris* (2. 10. 23). Pliny discusses the cultivation of navews along with that of turnips and notes: *satus utrique generi iustus inter duorum numinum dies festos, Neptuni atque Volcani* (*HN* 18. 131-132); the Neptunalia took place on 23 June (Scullard 1981, 168), the Vulcanalia on 23 August (see 419). Pliny (*HN* 19. 75-77) identifies several different varieties of navew and stresses the similarity of the navew and the turnip See also *gongylis* (421). For the form of the word *bunias* see *bryonias* (250).

Autumn: End of the Gardening Year (Lines 423-432)

423-425. Sed iam ... claudimus: The gardening year is complete, the garden has given all its produce for the year and is shut until the cycle will repeat itself. Like the finished garden, Col. also brings his finished poem to its end.

424-425. Claudamus ... claudimus: For this repetition, cf. *claudite Nymphae, / Dictaeae Nymphae, nemorum iam claudite saltus* (*Ecl.* 6. 55-56)—though Col. has departed from his Vergilian model in altering the form of the verb in the repetition, rather

than repeating it exactly. Col. strives to include variety in his poem as well as in his garden.

424. Euhios: A title of Bacchus; see *et “te Euhie Euhie Paeon”* (224). Rodgers adopts and prints Boldrer’s conjecture *Euhios*; in support of it, Bolder (1996, 348-349) argues that it has “desinenza arcaica e poetica, più vicino alla forma tradita ed a quella originaria greca Εὐΐος.” Saint-Denis, Fernández-Galiano and Richter print *Euhius*, which Rodgers (2010, 418) identifies as a conjecture of lucundus. Forster follows some of the older editors (e.g., Gesner and Schneider) in printing *Euius*. Lundström, Ash, Santoro, and Marsili print *Euchios*, the reading of most of the mss. Based on line 224, either *Euhios* or *Euhius* is preferable; there is no other example of a title of Bacchus with the form *Euchios*. *Euhios* would be a Greek second-declension nominative masculine singular form (AG 52). Col. uses Greek forms elsewhere (e.g., *achrados*, 15); in addition, although the ms. reading *Euchios* is not correct as it stands, it is possible that the ending *-ios* preserves a trace of the original reading; on the principle *difficilior lectio potior* (cf. Reynolds 1991, 221-222)—or, in this instance, *difficilior coniectura*—*Euhios* might perhaps be preferred over *Euhius*.

Both *Euhios* and *Euhius* are found elsewhere in Latin; cf. *pars Hymenaeae canunt, pars clamant Euhion, euhoe* (Ov. *Ars am.* 1. 563); *lynxem Maenas flexura corymbis / euhion ingeminat* (Pers. 1. 101-102); *non levis Euhius* (Hor. *Carm.* 1. 18. 9); *Mithridatem ... illum Euhium, Nysium, Bacchum, Liberum nominabant* (Cic. *Flac.* 60). Given that this is a choice between two conjectures, and that examples of each are attested elsewhere in Latin literature, it is reasonable in this instance to accept Rodgers’ judgment that Boldrer’s conjecture *Euhios* is correct.

426. lacche: Another title of Bacchus; see *laccho* (235).

427. Lascivos Satyros: A satyr (σάτυρος) is a divine hedonistic woodland creature; cf. *si di sunt, suntne etiam Nymphae deae? si Nymphae, Panisci etiam et Satyri* (Cic. *Nat. D.* 3. 43); *sunt mihi semidei, sunt, rustica numina, nymphae / faunisque satyrique et monticolae silvani* (Ov. *Met.* 1. 192-193). Pliny (*HN* 19. 50) mentions the presence of statues of satyrs as apotropaic charms in gardens: *hortoque et foro tantum contra invidentium effascinationes dicari videmus saturica signa*. Like Pan, they are thought of as biform creatures; cf. *capripedes Satyros* (Lucret. 4. 580); see also *Panasque biformes* (427).

Panasque biformes: Pan, the Arcadian god of shepherds and wildlife, was generally thought of as part human and part goat (*OCD*); cf. *semicaper Pan* (Ov. *Met.* 14. 515); *capripedes ... Panes* (Prop. 3. 17. 34). Vergil includes Pan among the rustic gods whose aid he invokes at the beginning of the *Georgics*: *ipse, nemus relinquens patrium saltusque Lycaei, / Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae, / adsis* (G. 1. 16-18).

429. Et te Maenaliū, te Bacchum, teque Lyaeum: All three of these titles refer to Bacchus. For *Maenalius*, see *Maenaliusque chorus Dryadum* (263). Boldrer (1996, 351) remarks: “è originale l’uso di *Maenalus* ... come appellativo di Bacco.” For Bacchus, see *munera Bacchi* (3). Vergil also mentions *Maenala* in conjunction with Pan (G. 1. 17).

Lyaeum: Lyaeus, from Greek Λύαιος, is a cult title of Dionysos/Bacchus, “the god who frees men from cares” (Ash 1930, 126), from λύειν “to release” (LSJ); cf. *patrique Lyaeo* (Aen. 4. 58); *Bacchumque vocant Bromiumque Lyaeumque* (Ov. *Met.* 4.

11); *corniger increpuit thyrso graviore Lyaeus* (Ov. Am. 3. 15. 17); *altera frumentis quoniam favet, altera Baccho,/ densa magis Cereri, rarissima quaeque Lyaeo* (G. 2. 228-229).

430. Linaeumque patrem: Linaeus, from Greek Ληναῖος, is a cult title of Dionysos/Bacchus as god of the wine-press, from ληνός, “wine press” (LSJ); cf. *huc, pater o Linaee* (G. 2. 4, 7); *te, libans, o Linaee vocat* (G. 2. 529); *et cum Linaeo genialis consitor uvae* (Ov. Met. 4. 14); *dulce periculum est, / o Linaee, sequi deum* (Hor. Carm. 3. 25. 18-19).

431-432. Ferveat ... musto: For the ideas expressed in these lines, cf. *aut dulcis musti Volcano decoquit umorem / et foliis undam trepidi despumat aeni* (G. 1. 295-296); *huc pater o Linaee (tuis hic omnia plena / muneribus, tibi pampineo gravidus autumn / floret ager, spumat plenis vindemia labris), / huc, pater, o Linaee, veni nudataque musto / tingue novo mecum dereptis crura cothurnis* (G. 2. 4-8). The pressing of the new wine is a sign of autumn.

In the passage from *Georgics* 1 (295-296), Vergil uses *Volcanus* as metonymy for fire. But Col.’s mention of *mustum* (432) so soon after setting the scene for autumn with the Vulcanalia (419) immediately recalls Vergil’s *dulcis musti Volcano decoquit umorem* (G. 1. 295).

Mixto: This is Boldrer’s emendation, which Rodgers prints; the earlier mss. read *musto*, which is printed by Lundström; later mss. read *multo*, which is printed by all other modern editors. Ash (1930, 126) remarks, in defense of *multo* (as opposed to *musto*): “Either reading is possible, but the latter [i.e., *multo*] seems to have the greater probability in that *musto* in the next line must stand, and Columella studiously avoids

such close and unemphatic repetition.” Boldrer (1996, 353) dismisses the reading *multo* in this line as “*lapsus o errore grafico.*”

Boldrer (1996, 353-354) conjectures *mixto* and then construes *mixto ... Falerno* as an ablative absolute. She defends it by referring to Col.’s recipe for preserving and improving defective wine by mixing into it must obtained from superior grapes (12. 19. 2-20.1), and by adducing several instances of *miscere* used with *Falernum*: cf. *Surrentina vafer qui miscet faece Falerna / vina* (Hor. Sat. 2. 4. 55); *doctus eris vivam [sc. gallinam] mixto mersare Falerno* (Hor. Sat. 2. 4. 19); *qua sapient melius mixta Falerna manu* (Mart. 10. 66. 6). This is clever but not convincing enough to reject the ms. reading *multo*, even though it is found only in later mss. As Boldrer herself said about another conjecture, which she found unpersuasive, *mixto* is “ingenioso ma non necessario” (see *falcifero ... Priapo*, 108). Thus I have preferred the reading *multo* for my translation.

431. Falerno: *Falernus* refers to a region in northern Campania and, in particular, to wine from that region. Cf. *Latinus ager ... et Falernus ... plebi Romanae dividitur* (Liv. 8. 11. 13); *Falernus ager a ponte Campano laeva petentibus Urbanam coloniam Sullanam nuper Capuae contributam incipit, Faustianus circiter III milia passuum a vico Caedicio, qui vicus a Sinuessa VI M. passuum abest* (Plin. HN 14. 62). For the wine, cf. *si quis Falerno vino delectetur* (Cic. Brut. 287); *nec cellis ideo contende Falernis* (G. 2. 96, discussing various types of wine); *seu te in remoto gramine per dies / festos reclinatum bearis / interiore nota Falerni* (Hor. Carm. 2. 3. 6-8); *da nobis vina Falerna* (Petron. Sat. 55. 3); *secunda nobilitas Falerno agro erat et ex eo Faustiano; cura culturaque id coegerat ... nec ulli nunc vino maior auctoritas. solum vinorum*

flamma accenditur. tria eius genera, austerum, dulce, tenue, quidam ita distinguunt (Plin. *HN* 14. 62). The context in which Falernian is mentioned suggests that it was highly prized; Horace (*Carm.* 2. 11. 18-20) suggests that it was strong and also calls it *liquidi ... Falerni* (Epist. 1. 14. 34); Tibullus (2. 1. 27) describes it as *fumosos ... Falernos*.

Epilogue (Lines 433-436)

Col. ends his poem with a four-line epilogue that recalls the seven-line epilogue at the end of the *Georgics*. Like Vergil's epilogue, Col.'s acts as a kind of signature.

433. Hactenus ... docebam: Col. echoes his own opening line, line 1, in restating the theme of the work, *hortorum cultus* (which also functions effectively as a title for the poem); the repetition of the vocative *Silvine*; and *docebam*, which echoes *docebo* (line 1). *Silvine docebam* occupies the same metrical line position as *Silvine docebo* in line 1, which further underlines the echo. The wording of this line also clearly echoes the first line of Vergil's *Georgics* epilogue, *haec super arvorum cultus pecorumque canebam* (*G.* 4. 559): Col.'s *hactenus ... hortorum cultus ... docebam* correspond to Vergil's *haec ... arvorum cultus ... canebam*. Cf. also the beginning of the epilogue of Col.'s prose treatment of gardening in Book 11: *hactenus praecipendum existimavi de cultu hortorum* (11. 3. 65).

434. Siderei ... Maronis: Col. again explicitly lays claim to the legacy of Vergil (= Maro: cf. 7. 3. 23; 9. 4. 1; Mart. 1. 61. 2; Juv. 11. 180), as he did at the beginning of the poem, when he set out his intention to "complete" the unfinished work of the *Georgics* (Pr. 3; lines 2-5).

Sidere: This description recalls Vergil's stated desire to be a poet of the heavens: *me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae ... accipiant caelique vias et sidera monstrent* (G. 2. 475, 477), even though he ends up acknowledging that this might be beyond him, and that his next wish is to be a poet of the countryside (G. 2. 483-486). For Col., though Vergil is clearly the premier poet of the countryside, he is also the supreme poetic model, a kind of guiding star for Col.'s poetic ambitions.

Vatis: See *vatis maxime venerandi* (Pr. 3). Col. refers to Vergil as *vates* in at least one (Pr. 3) and possibly two (220) other passages in the poem. Even if Col. had not named Vergil (*Maronis*) in this line, *vatis* would make it clear whom he meant.

Referre praecepta: Cf. *possum multa tibi veterum praecepta referre* (G. 1. 176).

435-436. Qui primus ... per oppida carmen: Col. ends as he began, by quoting the *Georgics*: *sanctos ausus recludere fontis, / Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen* (G. 2. 175-176). Thomas (1988 v. 1, 190) says of this line of Vergil: "The clausula is elegantly ordered, in the manner of a golden line ... and with balancing references to Greek tradition (*Ascraeum ... carmen* = Hesiodic) and to the Roman application (*Romana per oppida*)." He adds: "Such juxtaposition reflect[s] the dual traditions of Augustan poetry." By quoting Vergil, Col. stakes his claim to be Vergil's poetic—and georgic—heir.

Col., however, does not quote exactly; as he does elsewhere, he changes his model very slightly. The last line and a half is almost a word-for-word repetition—except for the form of *canere*. This is similar to his practice elsewhere: quoting almost, but not quite exactly. See *claudamus ... claudimus* (424-425); also 1-5.

Ascraeum: Col. is claiming the mantle of Vergil as Vergil had claimed that of Hesiod. Ascra, a town in Boeotia, was the birthplace of Hesiod; cf. *νάσσατο δ' ἄγχ' Ἑλικῶνος οἰζυρῆ ἐνὶ κόμῃ, / Ἄσκρι, χεῖμα κακῆ, θέρει ἀργαλέη, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐσθλῆ* (Hes. *Op.* 638-639, on his and Perses' father); cf. also: *esset perpetuo sua quam vitabilis Ascra / ausa est agricolae Musa docere senis: / et fuerat genitus terra, qui scripsit, in illa, / intumuit vati nec tamen Ascra suo* (Ov. *Pont.* 4. 14. 31-34). Vergil elsewhere refers to Hesiod as *Ascraeo ... seni* (*Ecl.* 6. 70). Ovid compares himself to Hesiod, to whom the Muses had appeared as he tended flocks: *nec mihi sunt visae Clio Clisque sorores / servanti pecudes vallibus, Ascra, tuis* (*Ars am.* 1. 27-28; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 22-23).

APPENDIX
INDEX OF PLANT NAMES

This list includes the classical Latin plant names for plants mentioned or described in *Rust.* 10 or discussed in the commentary, their common modern English names, and their modern botanical scientific names. Included are the proper classical Latin names for plants which Col. describes but does not name, or for which he uses a Greek name. Greek names used by Col. in Latinized form are also included. In instances where the modern identification of the plants is uncertain or speculative, all possibilities mentioned in the commentary have been included. The classical Latin or Greek plant names and the Latin portions of modern botanical names are in italics. Citations are to line numbers in the text and lemmata in the commentary.

A

<i>acanthus</i>	241
acanthus.....	241
<i>Acanthus mollis</i> L.....	241
<i>achras</i>	15
alexanders.....	123
<i>alium</i>	112, 314
<i>allium</i>	112,314
<i>Allium caepa</i> L.....	123, 314
<i>Allium porrum</i> L.....	139,167, 371
<i>Allium sativum</i> L.....	112, 113, 314
<i>amaracus</i>	171, 296
amaranth.....	175
<i>amarantum</i>	175
<i>amarantus</i>	175
<i>Amaranthus caudatus</i> L.....	175
<i>andrachle</i>	376
<i>anethum</i>	120, 314
<i>Anethum graveolens</i> L.....	120, 314
<i>Anthriscus cerefolium</i> L.....	110
<i>Anthriscus silvestris</i> L.....	110
<i>Antirrhinum majus</i>	98
<i>apium</i>	166, 371
<i>Apium graveolens</i> L.....	166, 371
<i>apius</i>	166, 371
apple.....	16
<i>arbos Punica</i>	242-243
<i>armoracia</i>	114
<i>Armoracia rusticana</i> P. Gaertn., Mey. & Scherb.....	114
arugula.....	109, 371
<i>arum</i>	244

<i>Arum colocasia</i> L.....	244
<i>asparagus</i>	246
asparagus.....	246
asparagus, wild.....	375
<i>Asparagus officinalis</i> L.....	246
<i>atriplex</i>	377
<i>Atriplex hortensis</i> L.....	377
<i>atriplex silvestre</i>	377

B

balsam.....	301
<i>balsamum</i>	301
basil.....	319
bean.....	113
beet.....	254, 326
<i>beta</i>	254, 326
<i>Beta cicla</i> L.....	254, 326
<i>Beta vulgaris cicla</i>	254
black cumin.....	245
bramble.....	22
<i>brassica</i>	326; cf. 127-139, 178, 369
<i>Brassica cretica</i> Lamb.....	178
<i>Brassica napus</i> L.....	422
<i>Brassica nigra</i> Koch.....	122
<i>Brassica oleracea</i> L.....	127-139, 178
<i>Brassica rapa</i> L.....	421
<i>Brionia doïca</i> Jacq.....	250, 347
<i>bryonias</i>	250
bryony.....	250, 347; cf. 373
<i>bulbus</i>	106
<i>bunias</i>	422
butcher's broom.....	374

C

cabbage.....	127-139, 178, 326, 369
<i>caepa</i>	123, 314
<i>caerifolium</i>	110
<i>Calendula arvensis</i> L.....	97
<i>Calendula officinalis</i> L.....	97
<i>calt</i>	97, 307; cf. 258
<i>Campanula rapunculus</i>	114
caper.....	118
<i>cappari</i>	118

<i>capparis</i>	118
<i>Capparis spinosa</i> L.....	118
cardoon.....	235, 237-241
<i>carbasa</i>	17
<i>cas(s)ia</i>	301
celery.....	166, 371
<i>Celosia cristata</i>	175
<i>Celtis australis</i> L.....	258
<i>cepa</i>	123, 314
<i>chaerefolium</i>	110
<i>chaerephyllum</i>	110
<i>chaerophyllum</i>	110
<i>Chenopodium Bonus Henricus</i> L.....	377
<i>Cheiranthus cheiri</i> L.....	97, 102
chervil.....	110
chicory.....	111
Christ's thorn.....	22
<i>Cicorium endivia</i> L.....	111
<i>Cicorium intybus</i> L.....	111
<i>cicuta</i>	20
<i>cinara</i>	235, 237-241
<i>Cinara cardunculus</i> L.....	235, 237-241
cinnamon.....	301
<i>Cinnamomum aromaticum</i> L.....	301
<i>Cochlearia armoracia</i> L.....	114
cockscomb.....	175
colocasia.....	244
<i>Colocasia antiquorum</i> Schott.....	244
<i>Commiphora</i> (Genus).....	103, 173
<i>Commiphora kataf</i>	103, 173
<i>Conium maculatum</i> L.....	20
<i>corambe</i>	178
coriander.....	244
<i>coriandrum</i>	244
<i>Coriandrum sativum</i>	244
<i>corruda</i>	375
cress.....	231
<i>crocus</i>	170
<i>Crocus sativus</i> L.....	170
cucumber.....	234, 380, 389, 396
<i>cucumis</i>	234, 380, 389, 396
<i>Cucumis sativa</i> L.....	234, 380, 389, 396
<i>cucurbita</i>	234
cumin.....	245
<i>cuminum</i>	245

	<i>Cuminum sativum</i> L.....	245
	<i>cunila</i>	233
	<i>cyminum</i>	245
D		
	daffodil.....	98
	daphne.....	301
	<i>Daphne mezereum</i> L.....	301
	<i>Daucus carota</i> L.....	168
	<i>Delphinium Ajacis</i> L.....	175
	dill.....	120, 314
	<i>Dolichos</i> (Genus).....	377
	dragon's mouth.....	98
	dwarf elder.....	10
E		
	<i>ebulum</i>	10
	elecampane.....	118
	Elephant's ear.....	244
	<i>elleborus</i>	17
	elm.....	13
	endive.....	111
	<i>eruca</i>	109, 371
	<i>Eruca sativa</i> Lam.....	109
	European hackberry.....	258
F		
	<i>faba</i>	113
	fennel.....	21, 118
	<i>ferula</i>	21, 118
	<i>Ferula communis</i> L.....	21
	<i>Ferula ferulago</i> L.....	21
	<i>Ferula galbanifera</i> Koch.....	21
	<i>ficus</i>	403, 413-418
	<i>Ficus carica</i> L.....	403, 413-418
	fig.....	403, 413-418
G		
	garlic.....	112, 113, 314
	gillyflower.....	97, 102
	<i>Gladiolus segetum</i> Gawl.....	175

<i>gongylis</i>	421
goosefoot.....	377
gourd.....	234, 380

H

<i>harum</i>	244
<i>Helleborus niger</i> L.....	17
hemlock.....	20
<i>holus atrum</i>	123
<i>holus pullum</i>	123
horehound.....	356
horseradish.....	114
houseleek.....	356
<i>hyacinthus</i>	100, 175

I

<i>innula</i>	118
<i>intiba</i>	111
<i>intuba</i>	111
<i>inula</i>	118
<i>Inula helenium</i> L.....	118

J

jujube, wild.....	258
-------------------	-----

L

<i>lactuca</i>	111, 181-189
<i>lactucula</i>	111, 181-189
<i>Lactucula sativa</i> L.....	111, 181-189
<i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i> Serv.....	234, 380
<i>lapathus</i>	373
leaf beet.....	254
leek.....	139, 167, 371
<i>leo</i>	98
<i>lepidium</i>	124-126
<i>Lepidium latifolium</i> L.....	124-126
<i>Lepidium sativum</i> L.....	231
lettuce.....	111, 181-189
<i>leucoium</i>	97
<i>ligustrum</i>	300
<i>Ligustrum vulgare</i> L.....	300

<i>lilium</i>	99
<i>Lilium candidum</i> L.....	99
lily.....	99
<i>lotus</i>	258
lotus.....	258

M

<i>Majorana hortensis</i> Moench.....	171, 296
<i>malache</i>	247
mallow.....	247
<i>malum</i>	16
<i>malva</i>	247
<i>Malva silvestris</i> L.....	247
<i>mandragora</i>	20
<i>Mandragora</i> (Genus).....	20
marjoram.....	171, 296
<i>marrubium</i>	356
<i>Marrubium creticum</i> L.....	356
<i>Marrubium vulgare</i> L.....	356
<i>Matthiola incana</i> L.....	97
<i>melanthium</i>	245
<i>menta</i>	119
<i>Mentha</i> (Genus).....	119
<i>Mentha viridis</i> L.....	119
<i>Mimusops Schimperi</i> L.....	405-406
mint.....	119
<i>moloche</i>	247
<i>Morus nigra</i> L.....	401
<i>morum</i>	401
mulberry.....	401
<i>murra</i>	103, 173
mustard.....	122
myrrh.....	103, 173

N

<i>napus</i>	422
<i>narcissus</i>	98, 297
narcissus.....	98, 297
<i>Narcissus poeticus</i> L.....	98, 297
<i>Narcissus serotinus</i> L.....	98, 297
<i>Narcissus tazetta</i> L.....	98, 297
<i>nasturcium</i>	231
<i>nasturtium</i>	231

navew.....	422
<i>Nelumbo nucifera</i> Gaertn.....	258
<i>Nigella sativa</i> L.....	245

O

<i>ocimum</i>	319
<i>Ocimum basilicum</i> L.....	319
<i>olea</i>	121
<i>olea europea</i> L.....	121
<i>oliva</i>	121
olive.....	121
onion.....	123, 314
orach.....	377
<i>Origanum majorana</i>	171

P

<i>paliurus</i>	22
<i>Paliurus australis</i> Gaertn.....	22
<i>Paliurus spina</i> Christi.....	22
<i>panaces</i>	103
<i>papaver</i>	104, 314
<i>Papaver somniferum</i> L.....	104, 314
parsley.....	166, 371
parsnip.....	114, 168
<i>pastinaca</i>	114, 168
<i>Pastinaca sativa</i> L.....	114, 168
peach.....	410-412
pear.....	15
pear, wild.....	15
pepperwort.....	124-126
<i>persea</i>	405-406
<i>Persicum malum</i>	410-412
<i>Petroselinum crispum</i> Mill.....	166
<i>phaselos</i>	377
<i>pirus</i>	15
<i>Pirus amygdaliformis</i> Vill.....	15
<i>Pirus crataegifolia</i>	15
<i>Pirus malus</i>	16
<i>Pirus piraster</i> Burgs.....	15
<i>Pirus silvestris</i>	15
plum.....	15
pomegranate.....	242-243
poppy.....	104, 314

<i>porcillaca</i>	376
<i>porrum</i>	139, 167, 371
<i>portulaca</i>	376
<i>Portulaca oleracea</i>	376
pot marigold.....	97
privet.....	300
<i>prunus</i>	15
<i>Prunus domestica</i> L.....	15
<i>Punica granatum</i> L.....	242-243
<i>Prunus persica</i> Sieb. et Z.....	410-412
purslane.....	376

R

radish.....	114
<i>radix Syriaca</i>	114, 316
rampion.....	114
<i>Raphanus sativus</i> L.....	114
<i>raphanus Syriacus</i>	114
<i>rapum</i>	421
rocket.....	109, 371
<i>rosa</i>	37, 261, 287
rose.....	37, 261, 287
<i>Rosa gallica</i> L.....	37, 261, 287
<i>rubus</i>	22
<i>Rubus</i> (Genus).....	22
rue.....	121
<i>Rumex</i> (Genus).....	373
<i>ruscus</i>	374
<i>Ruscus aculeatus</i> L.....	374
<i>ruta</i>	121
<i>Ruta graveolens</i> L.....	121

S

saffron.....	170
saltbush.....	377
<i>Sambucus ebulus</i> L.....	10
<i>sampsucum</i>	171
<i>satureia</i>	233
<i>Satureia capitata</i> L.....	233
<i>Satureia hortensis</i> L.....	233
<i>Satureia thymbra</i> L.....	233
savory.....	233
<i>scilla</i>	374

<i>Scilla bifolia</i> L.....	100
<i>Scilla hyacinthoides</i> L.....	100
<i>Scilla maritima</i> L.....	374
sea onion.....	374
<i>sedum</i>	356
<i>Sempervivum tectorum</i> L.....	356
<i>sinapi</i>	122
<i>sinapis</i>	122
<i>Sinapis alba</i> L.....	122
<i>sisaron</i>	114
<i>siser</i>	114
<i>Smyrniolus olusatrum</i> L.....	123
snapdragon.....	98
sorrel.....	373
squill.....	100, 374
<i>staphylinus</i>	168
stock.....	97
summer savory.....	233
Swiss chard.....	254

T

<i>tamnus</i>	250
<i>Tamus communis</i> L.....	250
<i>taxus</i>	18
<i>Taxus baccata</i>	18
<i>thamnum</i>	373
<i>thamnus</i>	250, 373
<i>thapsia</i>	21
<i>Thapsia gargantica</i>	21
<i>thymbra</i>	233
thyme.....	233
<i>thymum</i>	233
<i>thymus</i>	233
<i>Thymus capitatus</i> Hoff.-Link.....	233
<i>Thymus vulgaris</i> L.....	233
turnip.....	421

U

<i>ulmus</i>	13
<i>ulpicum</i>	113
<i>Ulmus atinia</i>	13
<i>Ulmus gallica</i>	13
<i>Ulmus glabra</i> Huds.....	13

<i>Ulmus minor</i> Miller.....	13
<i>Ulmus nostras</i>	13
<i>Ulmus silvestris</i>	13
<i>Urginea maritima</i> Baker.....	374

V

<i>veratrum</i>	17
<i>Veratrum album</i>	17
<i>Vicia</i> (Genus).....	113
<i>Vigna</i> (Genus).....	377
vine.....	38
vine, wild.....	14
<i>viola</i>	102, 259, 300
<i>viola alba</i>	97
<i>viola lutea</i>	97
<i>Viola odorata</i> L.....	97, 102, 300
<i>viola purpurea</i>	97
violet.....	97, 102, 259, 300
<i>vitis</i>	14, 38
<i>vitis alba</i>	347
<i>vitis nigra</i>	250
<i>Vitis silvestris</i> Gmel.....	14

Y

yew	18
-----------	----

Z

<i>Zizyphus lotus</i> Willd.....	258
----------------------------------	-----

LIST OF REFERENCES

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David J. White was born and raised in Akron, Ohio and graduated from Walsh Jesuit High School in 1980. In 1984, he graduated from the University of Akron with a B.A. in classics. In 1987, he obtained an M.A. in classical studies at the University of Pennsylvania, where he was an Annenberg Fellow. Also in 1987, he received a Lord Scholarship to attend the summer session of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. He received a master's in library and information science in 2000 from Kent State University and has worked as a library cataloger at the University of Pennsylvania, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the Western Reserve Historical Society. He earned a Ph.D. in classical studies from the University of Florida in 2013. He has taught at the University of Pennsylvania, the University of the Arts, Lehigh University, St. Joseph's University, and the University of Akron. Since 2004, he has taught at Baylor University where he is currently a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Classics.