

CLAS 63255

HIST 93215

Sabine MacCormack, Winter 2010

Office Hours T.Th. 2-4 in 312 and by appt. Hesburgh Center (this is NOT in the Library!)

Class meets: W 3-5.30 in Hesburgh Library, Special Collections (not 302 De Bartolo)

### **Environment, City and Countryside in ancient Rome and late antiquity**

The course examines the nature of work, especially work on the land, and attitudes to it and to the rural and urban environments, from the later Roman republic to late antiquity. Cicero considered engagement with the land to be a laudable occupation, but he, like Roman agricultural writers, was thinking of supervising work on the land, rather than performing it himself. In late antiquity, by contrast, Christian writers considered work on the land, along with other forms of physical work to be honourable occupations, at least in theory. Meanwhile, in the transition from ancient to Christian methods of time reckoning, conceptions of language, and of the hours, days, weeks, months and years, changed and contributed to the reformulation of the idea and reality of agricultural work. These changes were also expressed in poetry and in the visual arts, and they can be traced archaeologically on the land itself. The purpose of the course is to explore these and related shifts in our evidence and to consider how they can be explained. On the one hand, we are looking for practical explanations, i.e. changes in legal practice and the practice of work; on the other hand, we are looking for shifts in the cultural, religious and political environment in which people did their work and found meaning in it. To measure change and continuity, the course concludes with a 13<sup>th</sup> century Italian agricultural treatise and a 14th century Spanish translation of the late Roman agricultural writer Palladius.

Your work for this class:

- a) coming to class having done enough of the reading listed for each meeting to be able to contribute to discussion usefully.
- b) writing a research paper, due by Friday April 30th, and on no account any later. Writing drafts, or partial drafts is a good idea, and I will look at them.

1 January 13<sup>th</sup>,

Introduction. Themes, methods, logistics.

2 January 20<sup>th</sup>,

*WORK*

The nature and meaning of manual and agricultural work: some republican and early imperial evidence. Members of the Roman elite found themselves caught between an appreciation of work on the land which, so they felt, had made their ancestors great, and a sense that manual work was inherently demeaning and incompatible with the life of the spirit. What was the significance of this contradiction in Roman thinking, and did it change over time?

Cicero, *De officiis* I, 150-157

Cicero, *De senectute* 7,24-25; 15,51-17,60

Seneca, *Ad Lucilium* 47; 65; 86; 88; 90

Dessau (1902), caput XVI, *Tituli ministrorum vitae privatae, opificum, artificum* (numbers 7366-7817)

Van de Hoven (1996), 21-71

Joshel (1992)

Zimmer (1982)

Treggiari (1980)

Starks (2008 - this is about pantomime actresses, a less respectable profession)

3 January 27<sup>th</sup>,

*THE LAND*

Cato, author of the earliest extant Roman agricultural treatise, wrote, during the early phases of Roman imperial expansion, about Italian landed estates that were worked, not by the *dominus* himself, but by slaves. However, Cato also sought to cultivate Roman values that he believed predated the rise of Rome, and transmitted rituals of an earlier day that he thought should continue being performed, even though the social and economic context for these rituals had changed.

Cato, *De agri cultura* (read at least: preface; chapters 1; 131-134; 138-143)

Appian, *B.Civ.* 1, 7-33

Wissowa (1912), 18-38

Latte (1960), 65-107

Scheid (1998), 9-18  
 Toynbee vol. 2 (1965), pp. 286-415  
 Stevenson (1996)  
 Kolendo (1993)  
 Diederich (2007)

4 February 3rd,

*AGRICULTURE AND THE LIFE OF THE CITY*

Varro's treatise on agriculture takes the form of three dialogues, the first of which is addressed, by the aged author, to his wife for her guidance after his death. The import of Varro's advice should be considered in the context of the dramatic setting of each dialogue, which reflects the political circumstances of the late republic. Varro's greatest reader was Vergil, who derived from these dialogues much of his agricultural information, and also some of his poetic ideas.

Varro, *De agri cultura* Read at least: Book I, chapters 1-23; 56-69; Book II, Preface; chapter 1; chapters 9-11; Book III, chapters 1-7; 12-13; 16-17

Lehmann (1997), pp. 51-66  
 Boscherini (1976)  
 Bianco (1976)  
 Garnsey (1983)  
 Andreau (1985)  
 Desy (1993)  
 Simelon (1993)

5 February 10th

*MORE TEXT, AND WHAT TEXTS DON'T (NECESSARILY) SAY*

Let's figure out what Carandini was doing at Settefinestre ... (if our Library has not found a copy of this work by the time we meet on Feb.10th, we'll have to skip this topic and focus on the rest of the material).

Lucretius 5,783-1457 (to go with Varro)  
 Columella, Book I along with the preface

Greene (1986)  
 Broughton (1928)  
 Vallat (1991)  
 Simelon (1993)

Carandini, *Settefinestre* (1985)  
 Yntema (1993)  
 Maestre Maestre (1997)

6 February 17th,

*WORK, PROFIT AND POETRY*

Like his predecessors Cato and Varro, both of whom he had consulted, Columella provided instruction as to how to make a landed estate profitable. He had a hankering after the idea that the work should be done, on an estate of appropriate size, by the *dominus* and a handful of helpers. But in effect, he also wrote for land owners who employed slaves. He was fond of Vergil, whom he quoted constantly, and thought, *pace* Mynors, that Vergil said things that were of practical use. What importance can we assign such connections as we can find in our texts between pastoral poetry and the practical concerns of working the land (for profit)?

(Note: The parts of Vergil and Columella here selected are about cereal crops and related matters. One could equally well compare what they say about vines and olives, or about animal husbandry.)

Vergil, *Georgics* I (read lines 147-175, and 438-515 in Latin)  
 Columella, *On Agriculture* II, 6-13

(on villas, Horace, *Ep.* 1,10; Martial 3,47; 3,58; 10,30; Statius, *Silvae* I,3; II,2)

Burillo Mozota (1992)  
 Lloyd (1992)  
 Fitzgerald (2000)  
 Mynors (1990)  
 Wilkinson (1969)

7 February 24th,

*TIME AND THE CALENDAR*

Fasti and Menologia rustica portray two different views of time, one of the city, one might say, and the other of the country: but more is at stake.

Degrassi (1963). The Menologium rusticum (Degrassi p.284 ff. is also in Dessau, no. 8745)  
 Beard, North and Price (1998) vol.2, section 3,3.  
 [Lucretius 5,650-771]  
 Vergil, *Georgics* I, 204-258  
 Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I,12,1-16,44.

MacMullen (1970)  
 Michels (1967)  
 Scheid (1998), pp. 39-54  
 Rüpke (1995), pp. 191-425  
 Beard (1987)

## SPRING BREAK

8 March 17th,

### *PERFECTING NATURE: GARDENS*

Vergil mentioned that he would not write about gardens in any detail, which is why Columella in his Book X took up the subject in Vergil's footsteps, and in his honour composed the book in verse. Regarding Pompeii, Jashemski writes about the gardens, and Wallace Hadrill writes about the houses, which can lead one to overlook that the gardens Jashemski describes are, for the most part, an aspect of domestic space, or domestic space an aspect of the gardens. This has repercussions on how one should think about work within the framework of the house. And also, of course, those Pompeian gardens were all enclosed gardens, nature defined by culture, as it were.

Vergil, *Georgics* IV, 116-148  
 Columella Book 10

Jashemski (1979a)  
 Jashemski (1979b)  
 Grimal (1969)  
 Wallace Hadrill (1994)  
 Carey (2003)

SPRING BREAK, FEBRUARY 27<sup>th</sup> – MARCH 2<sup>nd</sup>

9. March 31st,

### *VERGIL*

Vergil's *Georgics* deserve a course in their own right, and this is not the occasion for it. However, Varro's presence in Vergil, and Vergil's presence in Columella allow us to review the sources we've studied to date in light of reading the *Georgics*.

Vergil, *Georgics* (allow enough time for this difficult but important text)

Erren (2003)  
 Wilkinson (1969)  
 Gale (1995)  
 Ross (1987)  
 Thomas (1999)  
 Mynors (1990)

10. April 7th,

*PLINY*

Pliny did not in the strict sense write an agricultural treatise, but agriculture is included in his encyclopedic work. Selections appear below. What distinguishes Pliny from others writing about agriculture is his larger context, which includes philosophical issues (as for instance, his ideas about the nature of the earth), and questions of historical development. Furthermore, while Italy was of the greatest interest to him, his overall perspectives are of the Roman empire in its entirety. Book I of the *Natural History* is a summary of the work and should be consulted to get an overview.

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* Book 18 (for his sentiments on the earth at 18,1,1-5, see also Book 2,63,154-113,248); Book 19,1,1-10,32 (on fibre producing plants); Book 21,1,1-14,27 (wreaths, roses, lilies, violets)

Read in Latin, Pliny, *NH* 18,1,1-5,24.

Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 2,8; 3,19; 4,6; 6,10; 7,18; 9,7, and especially 2,17 and 5,6, about his villas

[Vitruvius 6,6 on farmhouses; 8,1-6; 10,4-7 on water]

White (1970)  
 Carandini (1985)  
 Beardon (1992)

11. April 14th

*MEASURING THE LAND*

*The Roman Landsurveyors* (London 2000)  
 Columella 5, 1-3

*Corpus Agrimensorum. Codices Graeci et Latini vol. 22*, ed. Butzmann (1970) a facsimile

Hinrichs (1989)

Dilke (1976)  
*Misurare la terra* (1983-1985)  
 Gargola (1995)  
 Items from Chouquer et al. (1987)  
 Moatti (1993)

12. April 21st,

*CHRISTIANA TEMPORA*

Many Christians wrote about work, but among those who did so in Latin, it was Augustine who observed people who worked, many of them members of his congregation, most closely, and with most sympathy. Also, in his writings for and about monks, he reformulated the social, cultural and religious significance of manual work.

Augustine, *De opere monachorum*  
 Augustine, *Rule*  
 Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*

Getty (1935)  
 Hamman (1979)  
 Keenan (1935)  
 Kehoe (1988)  
 Doelger (1950)  
 Geoghegan (1945)

13. April 28,

*RUNNING YOUR OWN FARM*

Careful readers of Palladius will find parallels for almost anything he says in the earlier sources, Cato, Varro, Columella, Pliny. Nonetheless, Palladius describes a world that differs substantially from the one to be encountered in his sources. Our task is to discover how this is so, and what it tells us about the later Roman empire in the West.

Palladius  
 (also Gargilius Martialis)

Doelger (1950)  
 Vera (1998)  
 Garnsey (1998), pp. 151-165  
 Thébet (1993)  
 Giardina (1991)  
 Svennung (1935)  
 Frezouls (1980)  
 Gonzalo Bravo (in Maestre Maestre 1997)

## 14. Whenever

*LEGACIES OF THE ANCIENT WORLD*

Before concluding, we will take a look at an agricultural treatise of the thirteenth century, to see what if anything has changed, in the mind of this author ...

Petrus de Cescentiis, *Ruralia commoda*

Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus. *Obra de Agricultura traducida y comentada en 1385 por Ferrer Sayol.*

### ***Bibliography***

containing all the secondary works cited above, plus some others

Items marked ¶ should at some point appear in electronic reserves at the Library, at this address:

[https://www.library.nd.edu/eresources/ereserves/course.cgi?course=2010S\\_HIST\\_93215\\_01](https://www.library.nd.edu/eresources/ereserves/course.cgi?course=2010S_HIST_93215_01)

### **Sources**

The treatises on agriculture by Cato, Varro, Columella, and the relevant sections (i.e. books 12-19) in Pliny's *Natural History*, along with other ancient texts, can be consulted in the available editions and translations. For Palladius, apart from various older, not so satisfactory editions, there is, Palladius, *Opus agriculturae* ed. R.H. Rodgers (Teubner 1975). Augustine's ideas about work and related matters are scattered throughout his many writings, but see especially the following:

Augustine, *De opere monarchorum*, ed. J. Zycha (CSEL 41, Vienna 1900)

Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* ed. ed. J. Zycha (CSEL 28,3 part 2, Vienna 1894)

Augustine, *Rule*, text and translation in G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford 1987)

Augustine, *Sermones* (PL 38 and 39)

Augustine, *Sermones post Maurinos reperti*, ed. G. Morin in *Miscellanea Agostiniana. Testi e Studi* (Rome 1930)

Crescentiis, Petrus de (Pier de' Crescenzi), *Ruralia commoda. Das Wissen des vollkommenen Landwirts um 1300. Erster Teil. Einleitung mit Buch I-III* ed. Will Richter (Heidelberg 1995)

Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus. *Obra de Agricultura traducida y comentada en 1385 por Ferrer Sayol*. Edición de Thomas M. Capuano. Madison, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies 1990

Palladius, *Traité d'agriculture. Livres I et II*. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par René Martin. Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1976 (all that has been published so far)

Vergil, *The Georgics of Virgil. A Translation by David Ferry*. New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux 2005

P. Vergilius Maro, *Georgica*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Manfred Erren. Band I. Einleitung, Praefatio, Text und Übersetzung. Heidelberg Winter 1985.

-----

¶Ampolo, Carmine, Rome Archaïque: une société pastorale? in Whittaker ed. (1988) pp. 120-133

¶Andreau, Jean, Les financiers romains entre la ville et la campagne, in Philippe Leveau ed., *L'origine des richesses dépensées dans la ville antique. Actes du colloque organisé à Aix en Provence* (Aix en Provence 1985)pp. 177-196

*Atti del congresso internazionale di studi Varroniani, Rieti settembre 1974* (Rieti 1976)

Barker, Graeme and Lloyd, John eds., *Roman Landscapes. Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region* (1991)

¶Beard, Mary, A complex of times: no more sheep on Romulus' birthday, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* no. 213 (N.S. no. 33) (1987), pp. 1-15

Beard, Mary, John North and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge 1998)

Beardon, Mary, *Roman Nature. The Thought of Pliny the Elder* (Oxford 1992)

¶Bianco, G., Riflessi della crisi agricola italica nel *de re rustica* di Varrone, in *Atti* (1976), pp. 299-316

Bickerman, E.J. *Chronology of the Ancient World* (Ithaca 1968)

Boscherini, S., Lingua e scienza greca nel *de agricultura* di Catone (1970)

¶Boscherini, S., Città e campagna nella dottrina linguistica di Varone, in *Atti* (1976) pp. 317-320

¶Brabant, O, Classes et professions 'maudites' chez Saint Augustin, d'après les Enarrationes in Psalmos, *Revue des Études augustiniennes* 17 (1971), 69-81

Bradley, Guy. *Ancient Umbria. State, culture and identity in central Italy from the Iron Age to the Augustan era*. Oxford, Oxford University Press 2000.

Broughton, T.R.S., *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis* (Baltimore 1929)

¶Burillo Mozota, F., The evolution of Iberian and Roman towns in the middle Ebro Valley, in Graeme Barker and John Lloyd eds. (1992) pp. 37-46

¶Callu, Jean-Pierre, Cités et provinces: des confusions toponymiques, in Claude Lepelley ed., *La fin de la cité antique et le début de la cité médiévale de la fin du IIIe siècle à l'avènement de Charlemagne* (Bari 1996), pp. 15-23

Carandini, A. ed., *Settefinestre: una villa sciavistica nell' Etruria romana* 3 vols. (Modena 1985)

Carandini, A., *La romanizzazione dell' Etruria* (1985)

Carey, Sorcha. *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture. Art and Empire in the Natural History*. (Oxford 2003). Chapter 5 is about gardens in Roman painting

Cato, Marcus Porcius, *Cato the Censor on Farming*, tr. Ernest Brehaut (New York 1966) – has rather useful notes

Cato, Marcus Porcius, *On Farming De Agricultura. A modern translation with Commentary* by Andrew Dalby (Prospect Books Totnes, Devon 1998), also with notes

Chouquer, Gérard et al. eds., *Structures agraires en Italie centro-meeridionale. Cadastres et paysages ruraux* (Collection de l'École française de Rome vol. 100, 1987)

Clavel-Leveque, M. and R. Plana-Mallart, eds., *Cité et territoire. Colloque européen, Béziers, 14-16 octobre 1994*. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1995).

*Corpus Agrimensorum. Codices Graeci et Latini vol. 22*, ed. Butzmann (1970) a facsimile

Courtney, E., *Musa Lapidaria. A Selection of Latin Verse Inscriptions* (Scholars Press, Atlanta Georgia, 1995)

Dawson, Christopher, *Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting* (1944)

Degrassi, A., *Inscriptiones Italiae vol. III, Fasti et elogia fasc. II, Fasti. Anni Numani et Iuliani* (Rome 1963)

Dessau, Hermannus, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin 1902)

Diederich, Silke. *Römische Agrarhandbücher zwischen Fachwissenschaft, Literatr und Ideologie*. Berlin, De Gruyter 2007

Desy, P., *Recherches sur l'économie apulienne au IIe et au Ier siècle avant notre ère* (Brussels, Latomus 1993)

¶Dilke, O.A.W., Varro and the origins of centuriation, in *Atti* (1976), pp. 353-358

¶Doelger, Franz Joseph, Die Planetenwoche der griechisch-römischen Antike und der christliche Sonntag, *Antike und Christentum VI* (1950), 202-238, plates 4-7.

¶Dolbeau, François, Deux manuels latins de morale élémentaire, in Claude Lepelley ed. (1990), pp. 183-196

Dyson, Stephen L., *Community and Society in Roman Italy* (Baltimore 1992)

Erren, Manfred. P. Vergilius Maro, *Georgica*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Manfred Erren. Band 2 Kommentar. Heidelberg, Winter 2003.

Fitzgerald, William, *Slavery in the Roman Literary Imagination* (Cambridge 2000)

Flach, D., *Bibliographie zur römischen Agrargeschichte* (1991)

Frayn, J.M. *Sheep-Rearing and the Wool Trade in Italy during the Roman Period* (Liverpool 1984)

¶Frezouls, E., La vie rurale au Bas-Empire d'après l'oeuvre de Palladius, *Ktéma* 5 (1980), 193-210

¶Gabba, Emilio, La pastorizia nell'età tardoimperiale in Italia, in Whittaker ed. (1988) pp. 134-142

Gagé, Jean, *Les classes sociales dans l'empire romain* (Paris 1964)

¶Gale, Monica, Myth and allusion in the *Georgics*, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 41 (1995), pp. 36-61

Gargilius Martialis, *De Hortiis* ed. Innocenzo Mazzini (Bologna 1978)

Gargola, Daniel, *Lands, Laws and Gods. Magistrates and Ceremony in the Regulation of Public Lands in Republican Rome* (Chapel Hill 1995)

Garnsey, Peter, ed. *Non Slave Labour in the Greco-Roman World. Cambridge Philological Society Suppl.6* (Cambridge 1980)

Garnsey, Peter, *Cities, Peasants and Food in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 1998)

¶Garnsey, Peter, Famine in Rome, in Peter Garnsey and c.R. Whittaker eds., *Trade and Famine in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume 8, Cambridge 1983) pp. 56-65

Gazzetti, Gianfranco et al., *L'agricoltura romana. Atti del I Convegno Tolva 10-11 novembre 1979* (n.p., n.d.)

Geoghegan, Arthur T., *The Attitude Towards Labor in Early Christianity and Ancient Culture* (Catholic University of America, Washington D.C. 1945) – a very useful collection and survey of sources

Getty, Sister Marie Madeleine, *The Life of the North Africans as revealed in the Sermons of Saint Augustine* (Washington D.C. 1935)

Giardina, Andrea ed., *The Romans* (Chicago 1993)

¶Giardina, Andrea, Il tramonto dei valori ciceroniani (ponos ed emporia tra paganesimo e cristianesimo), in Mario Pani, ed., *Continuità e trasformazioni fra repubblica e principato. Istituzioni, politica, società* (Bari 1991) pp. 275-296

Giusta, Michelangelo. *Per il testo delle Res rusticae di Varrone : libri I-II / Michelangelo Giusta ; a cura di Giuseppina Magnaldi ; con la collaborazione di Raffaella Falcetto.* Alessandria : Edizioni dell'Orso, 2006 (Minima philologica. Serie latina 3) Hesburgh Library General Collection PA 6792 .A4 G58 2006=

¶Gonzales, A. 1995. "La figuration des colonies: occupation du sol et representation iconographique." Clavel-Leveque and Plana-Mallart 1995, in Clavel-Leveque, M. and R. Plana-Mallart, eds., *Cité et territoire. Colloque européen, Béziers, 14-16 octobre 1994.* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1995), 243-262.

Greene, K., *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (London 1986)

Grimal, Pierre, *Les jardins romains* (Paris 1969)

Hamman, Adalbert G., *La vie quotidienne en Afrique du nord au temps de saint Augustin* (Paris 1979)

Heitland, W.E., *Agricola: A study of Agriculture and Rustic Life in the Graeco-Roman World from the Point of View of Labour* (Cambridge 1921)

Highet, Gilbert, *Poets in a Landscape* (New York 1957)

Hinrichs, Focke Tannen, *Histoire des institutions grammatiques* (Institut français d'archéologie du proche-orient, Beyrouth, Damas, Aman, bibliothèque archéologique det historique tome CXXIII, Paris 1989)

¶Holtz, Louis, Vers la création des bibliothèques médiévales en occident, in *Morfologie* (1998), pp. 1059-1103

Jashemski, W., *The Gardens of Pompeii* (New York 1979a)

Jashemski, W., *Ancient Roman Gardens* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C. 1979b)

Jashemski, Wilhelmina Feemster and Frederick G. Mayer. *The Natural History of Pompeii* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2002)

Johnston, David, *Roman Law in Context* (Cambridge 1999)

Joshel, Sandra R., *Work, Identity and Legal Status at Rome. A Study of the Occupational Inscriptions* (Norman and London 1992)

Kaltenstadler, Wilhelm, *Arbeitsorganisation und Führungssystem bei den römischen Agrarschriftstellern (Cato, Varro, Columella)* (Stuttgart, New York, Fischer, 1978)  
Hesburgh Library General Collection S 562 .R65 K34 1978

¶Keay, Simon, the *ager Tarraconensis* in the Late Empire: a model for the economic relationship of town and country in Eastern Spain? In Graeme Barker and John Lloyd eds. (1992), pp. 79-87

Keenan, Sister Mary Emily, *The Life and Times of Saint Augustine as Revealed in his Letters* (Washington D.C. 1935)

Kehoe, Dennis P., *The Economics of Agriculture on Roman Imperial Estates in North Africa* (Göttingen 1988) DE3 H98 no.89

Kehoe, Dennis P., *Investment, Profit and Tenancy: the Jurists and the Roman Agrarian Economy* (Ann Arbor 1997)

Kehoe, Dennis P., *Investment, Profit and Tenancy. The Jurists and the Roman Agrarian Economy* (Ann Arbor 1997)

Kolendo, Jerzy, The Peasant, in Andrea Giardina ed. (1993), pp. 199-213

Kronenberg, Leah. *Allegories of farming from Greece and Rome : philosophical satire in Xenophon, Varro and Virgil.* (Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2009.) Hesburgh Library General Collection PA 3015 .A37 K76 2009

Latte, Kurt, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (München 1960)

Lehmann, Y., *Varron théologien et philosophe romain.* Collection Latomus vol. 237 (Brussels 1997)

Lepelley, Claude, et al. eds., *Haut Moyen-Age. Culture, éducation et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché* (La Garenne-Colombes 1990)

¶Leveau, Philippe, Le pastoralisme dans l'Afrique antique, in C.R. Whittaker ed., *Pastoral economies in classical antiquity* (Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary volume no. 14, Cambridge 1988) pp. 177-195

Ligios, Maria Antonietta, *Interpretazione giuridica e realtà economica dell' 'instrumentum fundi' tra il I sec. a.C. e il III sec. d.C.* (Naples 1996)

Lintott, A.W., *Judicial Reform and Land Reform in the Roman Republic* (1992)

¶Lloyd, John, Forms of Rural Settlement in the Early Roman Empire in Graeme Barker and John Lloyd eds. (1992), pp. 233-240

¶MacMullen, Ramsay, Market Days in the Roman Empire, *Phoenix* 24 (1970), pp. 333-341

Maestre Maeste, José Luis and others eds., *Estudios sobre Columela* (Cadiz 1997)

¶Magnou-Nortier, Élisabeth, Du royaume des *civitates* au royaume des *honores*. *Episcopus, comitatus, abbatia dans le royaume franc (VIe – IXe siècle*, in Claude Lepelley ed., *La fin de la cité antique et le début de la cité médiévale de la fin du IIIe siècle à l'avènement de Charlemagne* (Bari 1996), pp.313-344

Mannhardt, Wilhelm, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte aus nordeuropäischer Überlieferung* (Berlin 1877)

Martin, R., *Récherches sur les Agronomes Latins et leurs conceptions économiques et sociales* (Paris 1971)

Michels, A.K., *The Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton 1967)

*Misurare la terra: centuriazione e coloni nel mondo romano*, 3 vols. (Modena 1983-1985)

Moatti, C., *Archives et partage de la terre dans le monde romain* (Collection de l'école française de Rome vol. 173, 1993)

Mommsen, August. *Heortologie. Antiquarische Untersuchungen über die städtischen Feste der Athener* (Leipzig 1864; Amsterdam, Grüner 1968)

*Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo*. Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo XLV (Spoleto 1998)

¶Mühlenberg, Das Gleichnis von den Arbeitern im Weinberg bei den Vätern, in *EPMHNEYMATA. Festschrift für Hadwig Hörner zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Heidelberg 1990), pp. 9-26

Mynors, R.A.B., *Vergil, Georgics. Edited, with Commentary by -, with a Preface by R.G.M. Nisbet* (Oxford 1990)

Neeve, P.W. de, *Peasants in Peril. Location and Economy in Italy in the Second Century B.C.* (Amsterdam 1984)

Neeve, P.W. de, *Colonus: Private Farm Tenancy in Roman Italy during the Republic and Early Principate* (Amsterdam 1984)

Nicolet, Claude. *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press 1991)

Osborne, R., *Classical Landscape with Figures. The ancient Greek city and its countryside* (London 1987)

Patterson, John R. *Landscapes and Cities. Rural Settlement and Civic Transformation in Early Imperial Italy.* (Oxford, Oxford University Press 2006)

Peters, W.J.T., *Landscape in Romano-Campanian Mural Painting* (Assen 1963)

¶Peyras, J. 1995. 'Statut des villes et territoire des cites: le mot 'urbs' et ses derives chez les arpenteurs romains,' in Clavel-Leveque, M. and R. Plana-Mallart, eds., *Cité et territoire. Colloque européen, Béziers, 14-16 octobre 1994.* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1995), 33-66.

¶Poly, Jean-Pierre, *Agricola et eiusmodi similes.* La noblesse romaine et al fin des temps mérovingiens, in Claude Lepelley ed. (1990), pp.197-228

Potter, Timothy W., *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria* (New York 1979)

¶Pricoco, Salvatore, Le trasformazioni del monachesimo occidentale fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo, in *Morfologie* (1998), pp. 745-791

Rawson, Elizabeth, *Intellectual life in the late Roman Republic* (1985)

Ross, D.O., *Virgil's elements. Physics and Poetry in the Georgics* (Princeton 1987)

Rüpke, J., *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit. Die Geschichte der Repräsentation und religiösen Qualifikation von Zeit in Rom* (Berlin and New York 1995)

Salzman, Michele Renee, *On Roman Time: The Codex Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1990)

Sargeant, John, *The Trees, Shrubs and Plants of Vergil* (Oxford 1920) a small but useful book.

¶Scheid, John, Myth, cult and reality in Ovid's *Fasti*, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Association* n.s. 38 (1992), pp. 118-131

Scheid, John, *La religion des Romains* (Paris 1998)

Schulten, Adolf, *Die römischen Grundherrschaften. Eine agrargeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Weimar 1896)

Simelon, Paul, *La propriété en Lucanie depuis les Gracques jusqu'à l'avènement des Sévères. Étude épigraphique* (Collection Latomus vol. 220, Brussels 1993)

Starks, John H. Pantomime actresses in Latin inscriptions, in Edith Hall and Rosie Wyles eds., *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* (Oxford, Oxford U.P. 2008), pp. 110-145.

¶Stevenson, T.R., Social and psychological interpretations of Greco-Roman religion: some thoughts on the ideal benefactor, *Antichthon* 30 (1996), pp. 1-18

¶Stone, D., Culture and Investment in the Rural Landscape: the North African *bonus agricola*, in *Antiquités africaines: Hommages à Georges Souville* (Paris CNRS 1998), 103-113

¶Svennung, J., De auctoribus Palladii, *Eranos* 25 (1927), 123-248

Svennung, J., *Untersuchungen zu Palladius und zur lateinischen Fach- und Volkssprache* (Uppsala 1935)

¶Thébet, Yvon, The Slave, in Andrea Giardina ed. (1993), pp. 138-174

Thielscher, P., *Des Marcus Cato Belehrung über die Landwirtschaft* (Berlin 1963) 878 C45T44

Thomas, Richard, *Reading Virgil and his Texts. Studies in Intertextuality* (Ann Arbor 1999)

Thomas, Yan, 'Origine' et 'commune patrie.' *Étude de droit public romain (89 av.J.-C. – 212 ap.J.-C.)* (Collection de l'École française de Rome vol. 221, 1996)

Toynbee, A. J., *Hannibal's Legacy: The Hannibalic War's Effect on Roman Life* 2 vols. (London 1965)

¶Treggiari, S.M., Urban labour in Rome: *mercennarii* and *tabernarii*, in Peter Garnsey ed., *Non-Slave Labour in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume no. 6, Cambridge 1980), pp. 48-64

¶Vallat, Jean-Pierre, Survey Archaeology and Rural History – a Difficult but Productive Relationship, in Graeme Barker and John Lloyd eds., (1991) pp. 10-17

Van den Hoven, Birgit, *Work in Ancient and Medieval Thought. Ancient Philosophers, Medieval Monks and Theologians and their Concept of Work, Occupations and Technology* (Amsterdam 1996)

¶Vera, Domenico, Le forme del lavoro rurale: aspetti della trasformazione dell'Europa romana fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo in *Morfologie* (1998) pp293-342

Versnel, H.S., *Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual* (Leiden 1993) – about the Saturnia regna

Wallace Hadrill, Andrew, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton 1994)

White, K.D., *Roman Farming* (Ithaca 1970)

White, K.D., *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* (Cambridge 1975)

Whittaker, C.R. ed., *Pastoral economies in classical antiquity* PCPS Supplement 14 (Cambridge 1988)

Wilkinson, L.P., *The Georgics of Virgil. A Critical Survey* (Cambridge 1969) – you will probably find this a very helpful introduction to the work.

Wissowa, Georg, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (München 1912 and reprints)

Yntema, D., *In Search of an Ancient Countryside* (Amsterdam, Thesis Publishers 1993)

Zimmer, Gerhard, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen* (Berlin 1982)

Zumkeller, A., *Augustine's Ideal of the Religious Life* (New York 1986)

-----