

PALLADIUS RUTILIUS TAURUS AEMILIANUS

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Fortuna.

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FORTUNA

Of Palladius' life nothing is known save for a few references in his works. His use of Vindonius Anatolius Berytius (d. 360/1) provides a *terminus post quem*, and his writings are first mentioned by Cassiodorus (*Inst.* I. 28. 6, Mynors, p. 72). His *floruit* is now set at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D.; a more specific dating rests on an uncertain identification with the Palladius whom Rutilius Namatianus names as a kinsman (*De reditu suo* I. 207-216).

Palladius wrote his agricultural works with heavy borrowing from his predecessors. His principal source was Columella, but he consulted other technical writers as well, some of whom have not survived. In addition, Palladius seems to have had some practical experience in farming; he mentions his own property in Italy and Sardinia. The *Opus agriculturae* (as it is called in the manuscripts) was composed of thirteen books: a general introduction, and twelve books corresponding to the twelve months

of the year. At the end, and possibly somewhat later, Palladius added a fourteenth prose book, which treats of veterinary medicine. Last of all, in response to a friend Pasiphilus, who had asked for a copy of the earlier works, he dedicated to him a poem in elegiac couplets, the *Carmen de insitione*. The subject of grafting had been dealt with in Books I-XIII, but the literary exercise was no doubt suggested by Columella's use of hexameters in his tenth book. The three items (Book I-XIII, the *De veterinaria medicina*, and the *Carmen*) will be discussed individually, for they had somewhat different medieval transmissions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

R. H. Rodgers, *An Introduction to Palladius*, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplement 35 (London, 1975); Teuffel-Schwabe, 6th ed., 3:237 (410); Schanz, 2nd ed., 4, 1:189 (844); Pauly-Wissowa 18/3 (1949) 209, s. v. Palladius, no. 7 (Svennung); M. Sirch, *Die Quellen des Palladius in seinem Werke über die*

Landwirtschaft. Progr. Freising, 1904; J. Svennung, 'De auctoribus Palladii,' *Eranos* 25 (1927) 123-178, 230-248; the same, *Untersuchungen zu Palladius und zur lateinischen Fach- und Volkssprache*. Arbeten utgivna med understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, 44. Uppsala, 1935.

I. *Opus agriculturae* (Books I-XIII)

Editio princeps: (with *Scriptores rei rusticae*) Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1472 (H 14564, Goff S-346). The Palladius text is edited by Franciscus Colucia, whose letter to Jenson is printed at the end of the volume.

Critical edition: *Palladii Rutilii Tauri Aemiliani viri inlustri Opus agriculturae*, ed. J. C. Schmitt. Leipzig, Teubner, 1898. A new edition of the works of Palladius, ed. R. H. Rodgers is to appear shortly (Leipzig, Teubner, 1975).

The title is that given in the majority of early manuscripts; in the *Carmen de insitione* (line 3) Palladius refers to the prose books as *opus agricolare*. The convenient arrangement of the work, with each month subdivided according to its proper farming tasks and prefaced by a list of *tituli*, was clearly more useful than that of any of Palladius' predecessors. This fact alone may explain the preservation of his text and its popularity compared with that of Columella. The *Opus agriculturae* is mentioned by Cassiodorus (*Inst.* I. 28. 6) and cited by Isidore (*Orig.* XVII. 10. 8).

There are nearly 100 extant manuscripts of the work; from the ninth century there are six manuscripts written in France, and four others from France and Southern Germany date from before the twelfth century. Some of the oldest surviving codices seem not to have been used extensively. There are occasional glosses dating from the end of the ninth century, some of them in the French vernacular. On the final folia are sometimes entered miscellaneous *recepta* and doubtfully ascribed late antique scientific matter. The marginalia tend for the most part to be limited to those parts of the text which could have been read for practical value in Northern Europe (e.g. bee-keeping). One chapter of the work

(XII. 7. 1-12) was copied into the autograph notebook of Walafrid Strabo (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 878). The text reached England in the twelfth century, and in the thirteenth century it was known in Italy and Spain.

Many of the later codices, especially those written in England in the twelfth century, seem to have been produced as elaborate books rather than as practical reference works. On the other hand, a few manuscripts are heavily annotated: a good example is a manuscript at Cambridge (Corpus Christi College 297, s. XIII), in which the text has been interpolated from Isidore, and parallels from Virgil's *Georgics* are entered in the margins.

The work lent itself readily to excerpts and paraphrases (cf. Singer, no. 1080A). Palladius' work was used by the *doctor universalis* St. Albertus Magnus, and by the thirteenth-century encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais. In the fourteenth century Pietro de' Crescenzi incorporated parts of Palladius into his *Liber ruralium commodorum*. The *Tractatus de plantationibus arborum*, sometimes called *Palladii liber breuiatus per Godefridum* (from the opening verse of its prefatory distichs), was not a commentary but an independent work written in the thirteenth century on the model of Palladius. The author, Godefrid of Franconia, seems to have rewritten the work in Middle High German; the Latin text of this work has not been edited. A number of later manuscripts attribute the work to Geoffrey of Vinsauf or Albert of Cologne.

A number of vernacular translations were made prior to 1600. Prose versions exist in Italian, Catalan, Spanish, French, and German. A translation was also made into Middle English verse.

There was some Renaissance interest in the text of Palladius: Politian, for example, made a collation into the margins of his copy of the editio princeps (now Paris, Bibl. Nat. Rés. S. 439). Scholarly commentary on the work is not known to have appeared until the printed editions. At first we find only explanatory indices or an *epistola ad lectorem*. The former are represented by the glossary of Nicolaus Angelius

Bucinensis, which first appeared in the edition of *Libri de re rustica*, Florentiae: Opera et impressa P. Iuntae, 1515. (The *Enarrationes priscarum vocum* of Georgius Merula Alexandrinus, which appeared as early as the editio princeps, covered only Cato, Varro and Columella). Aldus Pius Manutius discussed the figures for shadows on sundials in his *De duobus dierum generibus simulque de umbris, et horis, quae apud Palladium*. The *epistola* first appeared in *Libri de re rustica*, Venetiis, In aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri, 1514, and it was often reprinted.

The lack of commentary can be explained by the fact that Palladius was never used as a school text, and his work was of interest primarily to those concerned with ancient technological writers. The only two commentaries on the work are those by J. M. Gesner (Leipzig, 1735; rev. ed. by A. Ernesti, 1773) and J. G. Schneider (Leipzig, 1795). There is no modern translation into English.

Bibl.: For an extensive but incomplete listing of the extant manuscripts, see Svennung, *Untersuchungen*, 619-629; cf. Dorothea W. Singer, *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland dating from before the XVI Century* (Brussels, 1928-1931), no. 997. On the medieval influence of Palladius, see Manitius, GLL II. 545, III. 118, 941; B. Bischoff, 'Eine Sammelhandschrift Walahfrid Strabos,' in his *Mittelalterliche Studien* II (Stuttgart, 1967) 34-51; R. H. Rodgers, 'The Moore Palladius,' *Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 5 (1971) 203-216.

On Godefrid of Franconia, see J. Haupt, *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Vienna) Phil.-hist. Cl. 71 (1872) 557-566 (with reference to three German versions). The German text has been edited by G. Eis, *Gottfrieds Pelzbuch: Studien zur Reichweite und Dauer der Wirkung des mittelhochdeutschen Fachschrifftums*. Südostreuopäische Arbeiten, 38. Brünn, München, Wien, 1944. A. Beltrami discusses the Godefrid text in Brescia (Cod. 23) in 'Codices Brixiani latini,' *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 14 (1906) 29-37. Cf. Singer, no.

998 (with reference to English version); Svennung, *Untersuchungen*, 627-628; and Thorndike-Kibre, 2nd ed., 879, 1100, 1407, 1622.

For vernacular translations, see Sirch, 41; Pauly-Wissowa, 211. Italian: *Volgarizzamento di Palladio* (an anonymous translation, perhaps by Andrea Lancia, ca. 1340), ed. P. Zanotti, Verona, 1810; *Palladio dignissimo et antiquo scrittore della agricultura tradutto volgare . . .* (by P. Marino), Vinegia, 1528; *La villa di Palladio Rutilio Tauro Emiliano, tradotto nuovamente per Francesco Sansovino . . .* Venetia, 1560. Catalan: For a MS translation made between 1380 and 1385 by Ferrer Sayol, *protonotario* to Eleanor of Sicily, see L. Tramoyeres Blasco, 'El tratado de Agricultura de Palladio: una traduccion catalana del siglo xiv,' *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, Ser. 3, 24 (1911) 459-465 and 25 (1911) 119-123. (A Castilian version in Madrid, Bibl. Nac. cod. 10211, is derived from the Catalan translation). French: *Les Treize Livres des choses rustiques de Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus, traduits nouvellement de latin en françois par M. Jean Darcès*, Paris, 1554. German: *Columellae und Paladii Ackerwerck, verteucht durch Mich. Herren*, Strassburg, Camerlander, 1538. Middle English: *Palladius On Hosbondrie*, ed. B. Lodge. Early English Text Society, 52, 72, London, 1873, 1879. A better ed. by M. Lidell, *The Middle-English Translation of Palladius De Re Rustica*, Berlin, 1896. Cf. C. Brown and R. H. Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), no. 654.

II. *De veterinaria medicina* (Book XIV)

Editio princeps: *Palladii Rutilii Tauri Aemiliani viri inlustris Opus agriculturae. Liber quartus decimus de veterinaria medicina*, ed. J. Svennung. Collectio scriptorum veterum Upsaliensis. Goteborg, 1926.

This book deals with the special topics of veterinary medicine, which were not conveniently covered in Books I-XIII. Much of the material was copied practically verbatim from Books VI and VII of Columella. The text is preserved in a manuscript at

Milan (Ambrosianus C 212 inf., s. XIII/XIV) where it is found in its proper place between Book XIII and the *Carmen de insitione*. The early separation from Books I-XIII resulted in a great scarcity of Book XIV in the Middle Ages. An entry in the medieval catalogue of the library at Fulda suggests that the text was available there from the ninth to the sixteenth century, but it was never widely accessible. The text was rediscovered in 1905 by R. Sabbadini, who thought that it was the work of a twelfth-century excerptor of Columella. Identification with the lost book of Palladius was made in 1925 by Svennung. An independent manuscript of the text (Leiden, Vulc. 90B, s. XVI) may have connections with the Heidelberg printer Hieronymus Commelin and his philological friend Friedrich Sylburg. Excerpts of Book XIV are found with the texts of Books I-XIII and other miscellaneous scientific matter in Vat. Barb. lat. 12, a French manuscript of s. XIII. No commentaries are known to exist.

Bibl.: R. Sabbadini, 'Un codice ignoto della veterinaria di Columella,' *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere* (Milan), Ser. 2, 38 (1905) 780-799; J. Svennung, 'Om en nyupptäckt bok av Palladius,' *Eranos* 23 (1925) 1-11; Svennung, *Untersuchungen*, Chapter 2 (pp. 24-45), with arguments for the authenticity of Book XIV. On other manuscripts, see G. Björck, 'Remarques sur trois documents médicaux de la bibliothèque universitaire de Leyde,' *Mnemosyne*, Ser. 3, 6 (1938) 146-150; R. H. Rodgers, 'Excerpts of Palladius XIV,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* (London) 15 (1968) 127-29.

III. *Carmen de insitione* (formerly known as Book XIV)

For editio princeps and critical edition, see no. I above.

These elegiac verses are addressed to Pasiphilus, an otherwise unidentified friend of Palladius, who had asked for a copy of the earlier prose books. The *Carmen* too was early separated, and the oldest text is found in the Milan manuscript. The poem

was rediscovered (though not directly from this manuscript) in the fifteenth century, and it is found in a number of manuscript collections of short poems and miscellanea. It was included in the editio princeps of Books I-XIII and in some cases it was added to manuscript copies of Books I-XIII after its appearance in printed editions.

Bibl.: For the authenticity of the *Carmen* and its medieval transmission, see Svennung, *Untersuchungen*, Chapters 3-4 (pp. 46-102); R. H. Rodgers, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Palladius' *Carmen de insitione*, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* (London) 16 (1969) 55-62.

COMMENTARY

1. ANTONIUS URCEUS 'CODRUS'

The edition of the *Scriptores rei rusticae* published at Bologna in 1494 contained a commentary on the *Carmen de insitione*, apparently compiled by the editor, Philipus Beroaldus the Elder (1453-1505) from notes of his friend Antonius Urceus, known as Codrus (1446-1500). The commentary, arranged in the form of scholia surrounding the text, is little more than a paraphrase with occasional parallels from Latin poetry.

Preface of Beroaldus (ed. of Bologna, 1494). [*Inc.*]: Hic Palladii libellus quamvis non adeo obscurus ut lucis egere videatur, quippe quae hic versu canuntur supra prosa oratione eadem fere demonstrata sunt; tamen ne nudus omnino exeat, neve Columellae horto invidet [Book X of Columella, *De re rustica* annotated by Iulius Pomponius Fortunatus, see above, p. 181], nonnulla ex Codri grammatici bononiensis dictis excerpta illi circumfudimus. Quae etsi peritum lectorem non docebunt, minus tamen doctum nonnihil adiuuabunt. Palladius ipse rei rusticae peritissimus .xiii. libros de agricultura scripsit ad Pasiphilum virum doctissimum. Et quia serius scripti fuerant adiecit hunc <decimum> quartum [decimum *om. edd.* 1496, 1504] de insitione scriptum pro temporis usura. In quo excusat tarditatem suam, et crimen reiicit in segnitiam librarii, quam quidem non maligne extimare se dicit, quoniam velocitas

procurrit in facinus, segnities figuram benignitatis imitatur, ut ipsemet dicet, et nos quoque exponemus. Est autem libellus iste carmine scriptus elegeo; premitit tamen proaemium prosa oratione factum, quo excusat tarditatem scriptionis suae, ut dicebamus. Caeterum ut de Palladio ipso non nihil dicamus: ipse supra libro qui mensis martius inscribitur, ubi loquitur de malo citreo, scribit se habuisse fundos in territorio neapolitano: fortasse fuit neapolitanus; suspicamur tamen ipsum fuisse romanum.

Commentary. [Inc.]: 'Aliud testimonium. Quia praecedentes .xiii. libri sunt testes fidei Palladii erga Pasiphilum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: bidentes. Bicens instrumentum rusticanum binos habens dentes. Iuve [nalis 3. 228]. Vive bidentis amans.'

Editions:

1494, Sept. 19. Opera agricolationum . . . cum excriptionibus .D. Philippi Beroaldi et commentariis quae in aliis impressionibus non extant. Bologna, Benedictus Hectoris: HC 14568; Goff S-348. BM; (MH).

1496, Sept. 18. Reggio Emilia, Dionysius Bertochus: HC 14569; Goff S-349. BM; (MH).

1499, Nov. 20. Reggio Emilia, Franciscus de Mazalibus: HC 14570; Goff S-350. BM; (MH).

1504. Opera agricolationum . . . cum annotationibus .D. Philippi Beroaldi et commentariis quae in aliis impressionibus non extant. Bologna, Benedictus Hectoris. Panzer VI 323. 29. BM; (MH-P, NNC, UCL).

The two following editions do not contain this commentary, although 'Codri scholia' are promised on the title-page:

1529 Libri de re rustica . . . [Paris] Venundantur I. Badio Ascensio.

1533 Lutetiae: Praelo A. Angerelli, impensis I. Parvi et G. à Prato.

Nor are the scholia to be found (as suggested in Gesner's preface, I, p. xlix) in the 1521 edition (Florentiae: Iunta) or that of 1528 (Tiguri: J. Mazochius).

Biography:

Antonius Urceus (Orcei), nicknamed Codrus, was born at Rubiera 14 Aug. 1446, and died at Bologna in 1500. He received his elementary training at Modena, then studied with Guarino at Ferrara, and from 1469 taught at Forlì under the patronage of Pino degli Ordellaffi. With the support of the Bentivogli, Codrus went to Bologna, where he held the double chair of eloquence and Greek language from 1480. His pupils included his biographer Bartolomeo Bianchini. Among his scholarly friends were Angelo Poliziano and Aldus Pius Manutius, as well as Beroaldus the Elder who published Codrus' works at Bologna in 1502 (reprinted Venice, 1506; Paris, 1515; and Basel, 1540).

Bibl.: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, 2nd. ed. vol. 42 (Paris, 1880) 368-69.

Bianchini's memoir *Codri vita a Bartholomeo Bianchino Bononiensi condita ad Minum Roscium Senatorem Bon.*, appears at the beginning of the Bologna edition of Codrus' collected works (1502); C. Malagola, *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo detto Codro* (Bologna, 1878); E. Raimondi, *Codro e l'umanesimo a Bologna*. (Università degli Studi di Bologna, Fac. di lett. et filosofia, Studi e ricerche, 1, Bologna, 1950).