

### ALLEGORIES OF FARMING FROM GREECE AND ROME

In this book Professor Kronenberg shows that Xenophon's Oeconomicus, Varro's De Re Rustica, and Virgil's Georgics are not simply works on farming but belong to a tradition of philosophical satire which uses allegory and irony to question the meaning of morality and the right way to live. These works metaphorically connect farming and its related arts to political life; but instead of presenting farming in its traditional guise as a positive symbol, they use it to model the materialistic foundations and deficiencies of conventional morality and politics. In turn, they juxtapose a contemplative model of life that is superior to the active life in its access to knowledge and lack of hypocrisy. Although these three texts are not usually treated together, and each section can be taken as a stand-alone analysis, this book convincingly connects them with an original and provocative interpretation of their allegorical use of farming. It also fills an important gap in our understanding of the literary influences on the Georgics by showing that it is shaped not just by its poetic predecessors but by philosophical dialogue.

LEAH KRONENBERG is Assistant Professor of Classics at Rutgers University.



# ALLEGORIES OF FARMING FROM GREECE AND ROME

Philosophical Satire in Xenophon, Varro, and Virgil

LEAH KRONENBERG

Rutgers University





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

> Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521517263

© Leah Kronenberg 2009

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2009

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Kronenberg, Leah, 1976–
Allegories of farming from Greece and Rome: philosophical satire in Xenophon, Varro, and Virgil /
Leah Kronenberg.

p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-0-521-51726-3 (hardback)

Agriculture in literature.
 Satire, Greek – History and criticism.
 Satire, Latin – History and criticism.
 Agriculture, Ancient – Greece.
 Agriculture, Ancient – Rome.
 Xenophon. Oeconomicus.
 Varro, Marcus Terentius. Rerum rusticarum libri tres.
 Virgil. Georgica.
 Title.

 PA3015.A37K76
 2009

 881'.01 – dc22
 2008055930

ISBN 978-0-521-51726-3 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



#### For Chris

άλλὰ πιαίνειν οἴει αὐτὸν τὰ πρόβατα, καθ' ὅσον ποιμήν ἐστιν, οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῶν προβάτων βέλτιστον βλέποντα ἀλλ', ὥσπερ δαιτυμόνα τινὰ καὶ μέλλοντα ἑστιάσεσθαι, πρὸς τὴν εὐωχίαν, ἢ αὖ πρὸς τὸ ἀποδόσθαι, ὥσπερ χρημαστιστὴν ἀλλ' οὐ ποιμένα. τῆ δὲ ποιμενικῆ οὐ δήπου ἄλλου του μέλει ἢ ἐφ' ῷ τέτακται, ὅπως τούτῳ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐκποριεῖ.

But you think that the shepherd, in his capacity as shepherd, fattens the flock not with a view to what is best for the flock but, as if he were some guest about to feast, with a view to good cheer, or, in turn, with a view to selling them, as if he were a money-maker, not a shepherd. But surely the concern of the shepherding art is nothing other than to provide what is best for its charge.

Socrates to Thrasymachus, Plato's Republic 345c-d

Νή τοὺς θεούς, ἀτεχνῶς γε ἀεὶ σκυτέας τε καὶ κναφέας καὶ μαγείρους λέγων καὶ ἰατροὺς οὐδὲν παύη, ὡς περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν ὄντα τὸν λόγον.

By the Gods, you simply never cease talking about cobblers, clothes-cleaners, cooks, and doctors, as if our discussion were about them.

Callicles to Socrates, Plato's Gorgias 491a



# Contents

Acknowledgments	page 1x
Abbreviations and editions	X
Introduction	I
Menippean satire, ancient and modern	3
Irony in Xenophon, Varro, and Virgil	7
Allegory in Xenophon, Varro, and Virgil	20
Morality and ethics	23
Genre and influence	32
PART I XENOPHON'S OECONOMICUS	
I Socrates and Critobulus (Oec. 1–6)	39
Persian farming	42
Praise of farming	46
2 A philosopher and a gentleman ( <i>Oec.</i> 7–21)	54
Ischomachus' beehive	56
The art of farming	62
Xenophon's Republic?	66
PART II VARRO'S DE RE RUSTICA	
3 The art of farming	76
Scrofa	77
Ratio vs. consuetudo	81
Varro: Satirist or pedant?	85
Cicero and Varro	88
The triumph of nature	90
Books 2 and 3	91

vii



vii	Contents	
4	The morality of farming Genealogy of morals Hypocrites and moralizers	94 94 99
5	The politics of farming Book 1: The foundation of the state Book 2: Guardians and rulers Book 3: The active and contemplative life	108 109 111 116
PA	RT III VIRGIL'S GEORGICS	
6	Virgil's satire on farming The failure of knowledge The amorality of farming The active life	132 132 142 149
7	Farmers and poets Book 1: religio Book 2: ratio Book 3: gloria Book 4: genus immortale	156 157 159 162 166
Bio Inc	ilogue bliography dex of passages cited meral index	185 186 205 216
υt	ILCI CLU VILOUCA	210



# Acknowledgments

I have many people to thank for their help and support in bringing this book to completion. My largest debt of gratitude goes to Richard Thomas, who directed the dissertation from which this book grew, and who has provided constant friendship, advice, and inspiration throughout my college, graduate, and post-graduate years. I am also very grateful to the members of my dissertation committee, Albert Henrichs, Andreola Rossi, and the dearly missed Charles Segal, and to my other friends and colleagues at Harvard University. My current colleagues at Rutgers University have provided invaluable advice and encouragement in the later stages of the work, and I would particularly single out for thanks Corey Brennan, Lowell Edmunds, Tom Figueira and Kathryn Neal.

Completion of this book was made possible by generous research support along the way from the Whiting Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Loeb Classical Library Foundation and Rutgers University.

Many thanks are also due to Michael Sharp, Elizabeth Noden, and Jodie Barnes for their excellent editorial guidance, to Linda Woodward for her meticulous copy-editing, and to the two anonymous readers, whose extremely helpful and detailed comments on my manuscript improved it in numerous ways.

Finally, I am above all grateful for the love and support of my family and especially my husband Chris, to whom this book is dedicated.



## Abbreviations and editions

Abbreviations to ancient authors and works are based on those used in the LSJ and *OLD*. Abbreviations to classical journals are based on those used in the *L'Année Philologique*, with the customary alterations for English usage. In addition, the following abbreviations are used:

DK	Diels, H. ed. (1952) Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. 6th edn., rev.
	W. Kranz, Berlin: Weidmann.

- LSJ Liddell, H. G. and R. Scott, eds. (1940) *A Greek–English Lexicon*. 9th edn., rev. H. S. Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- OCD Hornblower, S. and A. Spawforth, eds. (1996). Oxford Classical Dictionary. 3rd edn. New York: Oxford University Press.
- OLD Glare P. W., ed. (1968–82) Oxford Latin Dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- RE Pauly, A., G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, eds. (1894–1980) Paulys Real-Encylopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler.

The editions used for the major primary texts discussed are as follows. Translations are my own.

B. Mandeville Kaye, F. B., ed. (1924) Bernard Mandeville: The Fable of the Bees, Or Private Vices, Publick Benefits. 2 vols.

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Note: The first numbers for the Mandeville references indicate volume and page number of Kaye's edition, and the number in brackets is Kaye's reference to the original pagination of Mandeville's text.



#### Abbreviations and editions

xi

Varro Flach, D., ed. (2006) Über die Landwirtschaft.

Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Virgil Mynors, R. A. B., ed. (1969) P. Vergili Maronis Opera.

Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Xenophon Marchant, E. C. (1921) Xenophontis opera omnia.

2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.