perfectly appropriate as a description of the character and intent of the education that Marcellus actually received; that education was a necessary part of Augustus' *laudatio*, which was known to Virgil, and I suggest that Virgil was sufficiently impressed and affected by it to have lifted it out of the formal epicedion to be used, much altered of course, as a transition from Roman heroes in general to the valiant and tragic Claudii Marcelli in particular. Addenda to H. Malcovati's collection of the fragments of Augustus' writings are still emerging: in 1970 L. Koenen published part of his *laudatio* on Agrippa, in a Greek version;[12] I myself found a small and spurious fragment of his table-talk;[13] perhaps we should now contemplate the possibility that we have also a majestically transmuted version of his view of the education of a Roman prince.

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[12] *ZPE* 5 (1970), 217–83; cf. Kierdorf, 71f., Horsfall *BICS* 30 (1983), 89.
[13] *Anc. Soc.* (Macquarie) 17 (1987), 16–18; Ptol. Chennus ap. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 151a27.

PASTORALEM PRAEFIXA CUSPIDE MYRTUM (*AENEID* 7.817)

At the end of the catalogue of Italian troops comes Camilla, the warrior-maid, leading her columns of Volscian cavalry. In a passage reminiscent of *Il.* 20.226ff. (the powers of the horses of Erichthonios) Vergil illustrates her seemingly superhuman speed and lightness of foot, before passing on to the impression she made upon the watching population who have swarmed out of their homes and fields to mark the finery of her appearance and equipment:

> illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus
> turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
> attonitis inhians animis ut regius ostro
> velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem
> auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
> et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum.
>
> (812–17)

The exact nature of the weapon which Vergil elusively describes as the 'pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum' has been a source of disagreement. The oldest interpretation, which is preserved in the commentary of Servius (whence it made its way into the commentaries of Heyne and Page) considers the weapon to be an iron-tipped javelin ('praefixa cuspide myrtus') which is described as 'pastoralis' since javelins of this type were supposedly employed by herdsmen in defence of their flocks (no supporting evidence is provided).[1] A more modern interpretation represents the weapon as a herdsman's staff ('pastoralis myrtus') which has been converted into a javelin by the fixing of an iron head ('praefixa cuspide').[2] Conington considers this possibility.[3] It

[1] Servius Danielis *ad loc.*: 'quia hac pugnare pastores solent', Heyne *ad loc.*: 'de iaculo, quo pastores utuntur', Page *ad loc.*: '"pastoralem" seems to denote that javelins so made of myrtle were commonly used by shepherds'. N. Horsfall, *Aeneid vii, Notes on Selected Passages* (Oxford D.Phil thesis, 1971) *ad loc.* believes that Servius' comment may be an inference drawn from the text.

[2] This interpretation probably developed from an idea in Henry's *Aeneida ad loc.*: '"pastoralem"... because shepherds used to make their crooks of myrtle [on this point, see below note 18]. If they fought with them sometimes, as Statius tells us they did, *Theb.* 4.300: "hi Paphias myrtos a stirpe recurvant, et pastorali meditantur proelia trunco", it was only by accident and the myrtle was equally "pastoralis" whether they did or not.'

[3] *ad loc.*: 'It is not clear whether a pike of myrtle-wood was a pastoral weapon, or whether

is accepted wholeheartedly by Williams in the latest general commentary.[4] It is frequently to be seen in translations and scholarly works,[5] and is presently enjoying a vogue in modern scholarship. But it is an unlikely interpretation. The weapon is undoubtedly a javelin, as the earlier commentators maintained, even though it is described in terms both evocative and rich in association.[6]

The pastoral javelin would appear a perfectly natural weapon to the Roman reader. Since transhumance (the seasonal migration of animals from lowland to highland, necessitated by climatic conditions) was a feature of both Greek and Roman agricultural practice, the herdsman, for part of the year at least, would have to live on his own, or with fellow-herdsmen, in the mountains; a lonely, arduous, and dangerous experience.[7] As a protection against wolves and thieves he would be armed, generally with a javelin or spear.

The Homeric poems provide the earliest evidence for the javelin-bearing herdsman. In these poems the herdsman, who has his steading and tends his flock in the mountains,[8] far from the town[9] is armed with a weapon variously described as the ἄκων, ἔγχος or δόρυ which he hurls at attacking beasts. The employment of the weapon by the herdsmen is seen in a number of similes: *Il.* 5.136ff., 11.548ff., 12.299ff., 17.657ff. (an almost exact repetition of 11.548ff.). There is nothing to distinguish it from the weapon used on the Homeric battlefield. In this respect, as in many others in his presentation of the herdsman's life, Homer reflects the reality of Greek agricultural practice.[10] Though the pastoral javelin is seldom mentioned

the meaning is that the pastoral staff (*Ecl.* 8.16) was pointed with iron for the occasion, to make it available for war.'

[4] *ad loc.*: '"and the shepherd's myrtle staff with iron blade set in its head". This last line brilliantly summarises the ambiguity of Camilla, carrying the myrtle staff from the idyllic pastoral world (cf. *Ecl.* 8.16) converted to military use by its iron point.' For the interpretation, in which the adjective '*pastoralis*' recalls the world of pastoral poetry, compare K. W. Grandsen, *Virgil's Iliad* (Cambridge 1984), p. 87.

[5] Translations: e.g. R. Fitzgerald: 'and shepherd's myrtle staff, pointed with steel', the Penguin translation: 'a shepherd's myrtle staff with a lance's head'. Scholarly works: e.g. Grandsen, op. cit., 'her pastoral myrtle staff converted into an iron-pointed lance'; K. Quinn, *Virgil's Aeneid, A Critical Description* (London, 1968), 188 'a shepherd's staff of myrtle with a spearhead fixed to it'.

[6] Myrtle, as well as being the wood from which javelins were made, also has strong poetic associations with Venus. The adjective 'pastoralis' may suggest the world of pastoral poetry (note 4), a productive agricultural 'Georgics' world, or the harsh world of the contemporary herdsman (note 15). The description of Camilla's weapon as 'pastoralis' also adumbrates the strong pastoral associations of her upbringing as narrated by Diana in *A.* 11.535–94, during which she was trained in the use of the javelin. Her father Metabus, we are told, in exile from his native city of Privernum, fled to 'the solitary mountains of the shepherds' where he lived out his life ('pastorum ... solis exegit montibus aevum', *A.* 11. 569) and where Camilla was brought up (she herself was weaned on the milk of a brood mare (11.571)) and taught the use of javelin, bow and arrow, and sling (*A.* 11.573–5).

[7] For transhumance in ancient Greece and Italy, see J. E. Skydsgaard, 'Transhumance in Ancient Greece', *Cambridge Philological Society*, Suppl., 14 (1988), 75–86, and 'Transhumance in Ancient Italy' *ARID* 7 (1974), 7–36. Informative accounts of transhumant life among a moden pastoral community are to be found in J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage* (Oxford, 1964), chapter 2, C. Hoeg, *Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade grecque* (Paris, 1925). Compare Var. *R.* 2.10 passim.

[8] *Il.* 3.10, 4.455, 8.557, 16.353, *Od.* 9.315, *Il.* 19.376–7 (the isolated mountain steading). The mountain herdsman is commonplace in Greek literature, e.g. *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 491–2, Plato, *Timaeus* 22d8 (cf. *Leg.* 677e9), Eur. *Rh.* 287, *Ba.* 718–19, Theoc. *Id.* 20.35.

[9] *Od.* 17.25, 14.372f., 16.27f. Compare Hesiod, *Scutum* 39ff. (with Paley's note), Soph. *O.T.* 761–2.

[10] Skydsgaard, 'Transhumance in Ancient Greece' (note 7 above), 76–7. The pastoral javelin is not mentioned in our usual sources for agricultural practice among the Greeks, namely

elsewhere in Greek literature, the scattered references to it in *A.P.* 6.263.2, Theoc. *Ep.*2.3., and in a poem by Lycophronides *apud* Athenaeus 15.670e (where it is given the name δόρυ, ἄκων and λόγχη respectively) testify to its existence.

We are on firmer ground when we consider the evidence for the weaponry of the Italian herdsman. Varro, in his *Res Rusticae*, our surest guide to the agricultural practices in Vergil's day, explicitly states that herdsmen carry javelins when he considers the sort of slaves suitable for the occupation: '[homines] qui non solum pecus sequi possint, sed etiam a bestiis ac praedonibus defendere, qui onera extollere in iumenta possint, qui excurrere, qui iaculari' (*R.* 2.10.3, cf. 2.10.1). Columella likewise refers to similar weaponry in a passage concerning the correct method by which the shepherd should drive the sheep: 'in agendis recipiendisque ovibus adclamatione ac baculo minetur: nec umquam telum emittat in eas' (7.3.26). The *telum*, distinct from the staff (*baculum*) is surely a javelin, as the Varronian passage suggests.

The evidence of social history confirms that javelin-bearing herdsmen were familar. This was one factor which made long-distance, large-scale transhumance (as practised by Vergil's contemporary Varro and other *magni pecuarii*) such a threat to peace in the ranching regions. Diodorus Siculus states that in the first slave war in Sicily, where such stock-breeding was practised, herdsmen on the ranches, 'like scattered bands of soldiers' (καθάπερ στρατευμάτων διεσπαρμένων) were armed with javelins and clubs (ῥόπαλα καὶ λόγχας) whereby they were able to waylay travellers and plunder homesteads.[11] Similar problems existed in mainland Italy following the development of this type of stock-breeding in the third century B.C.[12] Sallust comments on Roman over-reaction in times of panic to the possibility of insurrection by slave herdsmen in Apulia, a noted stock-breeding region.[13] It was, of course, because the herdsmen were armed that they represented such a dangerous threat.[14]

We might, at this point, consider pastoral poetry. Why are there no armed herdsmen in Theocritean or Vergilian pastoral poetry, which is where one naturally looks, perhaps too readily,[15] when presented with an adjective such as *pastoralis*? There are good reasons for this. Pastoral poetry suppresses the less desirable aspects of the herdsman's occupation (among which may be included the threat from beasts and thieves) in favour of an idyllic, dream-like world of love and leisure. In this land, the pastoral javelin, reminiscent of the workaday world of 'real' herdsmen, would strike

Hesiod's *Works and Days* and Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, because these authors show next to no interest in animal husbandry *per se*, but concentrate on life on the home farm (ibid. 77–8).

[11] 34/5.2.27–30 cf. 34/5.2.1–4.

[12] Liv. 39.29.8–9 (perhaps reduplicated at 39.41.6), Tac. *Ann.* 12.65, cf. Cic. *Mil.* 26, Tac. *Ann.* 4.27.

[13] Sallust, *Cat.* 30.2: 'id quod in tali re solet, alii... nuntiabant... Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri.' This fear should be considered in the light of the above outbreaks of rebellion and dissent.

[14] Vivid proof of this can be shown by the fact that in Sicily, following the first slave war, the praetor, L. Domitius, with a view to establishing peace and order in the island, took the unprecedented step of forbidding herdsmen the use of weapons (no such law was ever imposed upon the Italian herdsman). Cicero records how the praetor, in strict observance of this injunction, crucified a *pastor* found in possession of a hunting spear (Cic. *Ver.* 5.7). Herdsmen would, of course, be loath to surrender their arms since these represented their primary defence against marauding animals and stock thieves.

[15] 'Pastoralis' probably did not have the same literary connotations as our 'pastoral'. Its general meaning was 'of or connected with animal husbandry' and would be as likely to recall the sordid life of the contemporary herdsman as the idyllic world of pastoral poetry. So D. M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral: The Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (New Haven, 1983), pp. 8–23.

a discordant note, and hence has no place. This is not the case, however, in the more down-to-earth *Georgics*. Vergil here, in one notable passage, shows a casual familiarity with the javelin-bearing herdsman. The passage in question is the account of the farmer's holiday in the 'Praise of Country Life' when the master challenges his herdsmen to a javelin competition: 'pecoris ... magistris/velocis iaculi certamina ponit in ulmo ...' (*G.* 2.529–30). The herdsman's natural proficiency in the employment of this weapon, as the above evidence would suggest, is automatically assumed by Vergil and his readers.

Having established that, to the Roman, there would be nothing untoward in the notion of the pastoral javelin, we may now turn to the terminology with which the weapon is described. This too suggests a javelin, pure and simple.[16] The first point to note is that it is made from myrtle wood which is, as the commentators point out, along with cornel wood, the traditional material from which spears and javelins were made. Vergil himself states this at *G.* 2.447–8 ('at myrtus validis hastilibus et bona bello/cornus').[17] Myrtle was not generally associated with the herdsman's staff.[18]

Secondly the periphrasis itself suggests this weapon. The verb 'praefigo' is the *vox propria* for the attachment of the head to the spear shaft (though it admittedly has more general application).[19] A few examples from the *Aeneid* may illustrate this: 'cornea ... praefixa hastilia ferro', 5.557 (of the spears of the Trojan youth in the 'Game of Troy'), 'ferro praefixum robur acuto', 10.479 (of the spear of Turnus), 'praefixa hastilia ferro', 12.489 (of the spear of Messapus). Indeed, in Statius' *Thebaid*, the identical configuration of words (reminiscent of the Vergilian passage) is used to describe the spear of Mars ('praefixa cuspide pinum', 2.598) and of Capaneus ('cuspide praefixa ... cupressus', 4.177) where the metonymy indicates, with typical epic exaggeration, the huge size of the weapons.[20] This evidence too suggests that a javelin or spear is meant.

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[16] It may be however that the Volscian 'verutum' is specifically to be envisaged (so G. Arrigoni, *Camilla, Amazzone Sacerdotessa di Diana* [Milan, 1982], p. 29). It is described by Festus as follows: 'veruta pila dicuntur quod velut verua habent praefixa' (Paul. ex Fest. p. 375 Müll.). Vergil refers to 'Volscos ... verutos' at *G.* 2.168. It would, of course, be an appropriate weapon for their queen to carry though it does not, as far as I know, have especial pastoral associations.

[17] He also plays upon the use of myrtle wood for shafts (*hastilia*) in his description of the shrub of cornel and myrtle which grew from the grave of Polydorus in *A.* 3.23ff.: 'forte fuit iuxta tumulus, quo cornea summo/virgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.' See the commentary of R. G. Austin *ad loc.*

[18] Olive is the traditional wood for the herdsman's staff. Cf. *Od.* 9.319–20, Theoc. *Id.* 7.18, V. *Ecl.* 8.16. The passage cited by Henry (note 2) is the exception, not the rule.

[19] See *TLL* X.2.634.63ff.

[20] H. M. Mulder, *P. Papinii Statii Thebaidos Liber II commentario exegetico aestheticoque instructus* (Groningen, 1954), *ad* 2.598. Compare Servius on Camilla's weapon (*ad loc.*): 'non hastam myrteam, sed ipsam myrtum.'