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‘Acies’ and ‘Arces.’

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With 'Ulixes' cf. I. 168, 'intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo, Nympharum domus.' Similarly, in the well-known passage, VI. 735-46, 'nec tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes corporeae excedunt pestes; penitusque necessest . . . ergo exercentur poenis . . . expendunt . . . infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni . . . exinde per amplum . . . donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe concretam exemit labem.' Here 'concretam' (746) takes up 'multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris' (738). Compare with 'Ulixes—ulla—occultantur,' XII. 279 'agmina contra procurrant Laurentum, hinc densi rursus inundant Troes, Agyllinique, et pictis Arcades armis.' So VI. 14, 'Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna, praepetibus pennis ausus se credere caelo, insuetum per iter gelidos enavit ad Arctos, Chalcidicaque levis tandem super adstitit arce.'

Though sometimes intensified, as in describing a portent, 'regalesque accensa comas, accensa coronam'¹ (see *Aen.* VII. 69-80), such effects as these are somewhat of the nature of a *tour de force*. But the happy quotation with

¹ See also *Aen.* II. 687-700.

which Pitt, as dawn was breaking, wound up the debate on the African slave-trade, must have been doubly effective as delivered by the practised orator, who would instinctively accentuate, with just the right emphasis, the structure of the verse: 'nos ubi primus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis, illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.'

With these principles in his mind, Virgil, when he hit upon the phrase which now concludes the line, would recognise in a flash that *aere ciere viros* was completed by assonance and echo. As a chess-player by practice can visualise a position, so the poet accustomed to polish his verse as a she-wolf licks her cubs into shape would be satisfied at last with:

aere ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu.

'Επίγραμμα.

ἔπεε τις, ὡς πολλῆ κύκνον Διρκαῖον ἀέρει
αἶθρα, τηλόθι γὰρ κραιπνὸν ἐρεσόμενον.
σὴ δ' ἐπέων, κελάδημα ῥοῆς ἀτε καλόν, ὑπηχεῖ
μολπηδὸν συνεχῶς οὖασιν ἁρμονίῃ.

Νύμφαι γὰρ σ' ἐφίλησαν δρειάδες· αἱ δ' ἐγέλασαν
ἦδ' ἄν τι καὶ χαριέν σοι τότε γενομένῳ.
οὖρεα καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐφίλει, τὰ Τρωϊκὰ δ' ὑμνεῖν
Φοῖβος ἔπειθε λύρης κρούσμασιν ἐσπερίης.

C. E. S. HEADLAM.

'ACIES' AND 'ARCES.'

Virgil, *Aeneid* VII. 695 f.:

*Hi Fescenninas acies Aequosque Faliscos,
Hi Soractis habent arces Flaviniacque arva . . .*

PROFESSOR SLATER'S renewed discussion of these lines¹ possesses, in common with the previous treatment of this passage by Dr. Warde Fowler and his reviewer,² the quality of more than usual interest both for the appreciation of Virgil and for the elucidation of ancient Italic topography. If I venture to contribute these additional observations, it is less in the hope of arriving at finality concerning a delicate point of literary criticism which has engaged the attention of past masters of the science than with the purpose of indicating in greater fulness some of

the topographical connotations of the two crucial words, *acies* and *arces*.

First as to *acies*. We must distinguish sharply between two meanings—the sense 'sword-blade,' or, as we should say, 'razor-blade,' which is literally inherent in the word and figuratively is most appropriate to the profile of Soracte, a jagged fragment of tertiary limestone set on edge; and the sense 'sheer rock walls' which has been proposed. This latter meaning would indeed be appropriate as applied to the site of Civita Castellana, the pre-Roman Falerii—a small plateau of tufa, sharply isolated from the surrounding level by deep gorges on three sides, the work of erosion—but would not fit the Roman colony of the same name. This second signification, however, does not appear an obvious one for the Latin word to bear, although the root certainly

¹ *Class. Rev.* XXXIII. 1919, pp. 144 f.

² There cited.

acquired it in some other languages. In respect of correct and vivid topographical description, Dr. Warde Fowler's proposal to read *Soractis . . . acies* on the assumption that the similar words *acies* and *arces* have changed places is highly felicitous; it is more difficult for those familiar with this region to accept the traditional *Fescenninas acies* as a description of a town occupying a characteristic tufa plateau.

Moreover, the former meaning appears to be that assumed by the kindred word *acumen* in the two passages of Ovid cited by Professor Slater:

Met. XII. 337:
ab ancipiti delapsus acumine montis.
Met. XIII. 778 f.:
cuneatus acumine longo
Collis.

In the present context, however, are we warranted in giving to the familiar word *acies* a meaning so remote from that which it was almost certain to evoke in the ancient hearer or reader? It is embedded in a long episode which is permeated with warlike ideas and expressions. The same word *acies* occurs four other times within a hundred and sixty lines:

L. 643: *Complerint campos acies,*
 L. 673: *Et primam ante aciem,*
 L. 703: *Nec quisquam aeratas acies,*
 L. 796: *Et Sacrae acies;*

in each instance, too, as in our line, followed by the caesura. The ear of the listener was thoroughly attuned to the word, and his mind adjusted to its usual meaning. Surely the test of oral reading goes against one's acceptance of the new and striking sense proposed.

This is, of course, not to say that the lines are satisfactory as they stand; but the trouble is deep-rooted, and the whole episode, superb as are many of its details, bears indications of having been left in an incomplete state by the poet, and patched together in a mechanical fashion by his literary executors.

In defence of the traditional reading *Soractis . . . arces* attention has been properly called to the use of *arx* to denote sacred 'high places'; with regard to the possibility of taking the words to

mean merely 'Soracte's heights,' another parallel would be *Aen.* III. 291,

Protinus aeries Phaeacum abscondimus arces,

where I suppose all those who have had the good fortune to traverse the channel of Corfu will think of the sharp peaks which form the most striking feature of the northern end of the island. Again, *Aen.* I. 56,

celsa sedet Aeolus arce,

suggests hardly more than 'lofty eminence.'

Turning aside from Virgil's usage, it may be enquired if there is not evidence in more every-day Latin for the use of the word *arx*, not as denoting a fortified hill within a city, but in the more general sense of 'castle,' or even 'hill-top hamlet or dwelling.' One thinks of several place-names of Central Italy: that *Arx* near Arpinum (*Geogr. Rav.* iv. 33, p. 275 P., *Paul. Diac.* vi. 27) from which the *Arcanum* of Quintus Cicero derived its name; the *Arx Carventana*, which to be sure may have been in origin the citadel of a town Carventum; and the enigmatical *Arx Albana* of Livy VII. xxiv. 8, with its homonym appearing in the titles *Salii Arcis Albanae* and *Virgines Vestales Arcis Albanae*.

It is, perhaps, not to the point to quote Horace, *Sat.* II. vi. 16:

Ergo ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe removi,

for one is reminded of his other line, *Carm.* III. i. 1:

Odi profanum vulgus et arceo,

and of the more modern castle, the 'Englishman's home'; but it is in the sense of 'hill-top villa' or 'château' that I should like to interpret the name given to the villa of Tiberius on Capreae, Pliny, *N.H.* III. 82, and to Domitian's Alban villa, the *Arx Albana* of Juvenal IV. 145 and Tacitus, *Agr.* 45. Some have detected an ironical tone in these passages;¹ and several of the writers on the location of Alba Longa have thought that

¹ Cf. Mayor's note on Juvenal X. 307, for the traditional *arx* of the *tyrannus*; in the passage in Pliny, *Paneg.* 47, it is the idea of seclusion rather than strength that is associated with the *arx* of Domitian.

the name bore witness to the site of the citadel of that early town. The second of these interpretations appears groundless, and the first not altogether necessary, though Dio Cassius, LXVII. i. 12, seems to have taken *arx* in this way. Perhaps a word which as spoken by the Prince and his Court was unobjectionable lent itself to a different turn of meaning when uttered by the Opposition.

Though it is not altogether pertinent to the matter under discussion, I am tempted to add a few words, which may be new, on *Aen.* VI. 774:

Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces.

The site of Collatia is known with practical certainty;¹ and a more

¹ T. Ashby, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I., 1902, pp. 146-148.

striking contrast can hardly be imagined than that between the sonorous line the poet and the insignificant tongue of land now occupied by the farm of Lunghezza; the early importance of the place was due not to loftiness of position, but to its relation to early trade-routes and the military protection afforded by the sweep of the river Anio. The aspect of this spot can have been unfamiliar neither to Virgil nor to his first hearers and readers; it seems probable that he deliberately chose to put the grandiose phrase into the mouth of Anchises in order to produce an effective contrast, and by a suggestion of the *naïveté* of the days of small things to enhance the emotional quality of the prophetic vision.

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A NOTE ON AN OLD GRAMMARIAN, WITH A CORRECTION.

ARE the Latin grammarians worth emending? Though many may doubt it, my own answer is a very positive yes. Late or uncertain as their date may sometimes be, they preserve to us a very conservative tradition, which probably in most cases goes back to the first century, or earlier; and as the following passage not only contains an obvious error which eluded the vigilance of Keil, but also is linked to the earliest phase of Virgilian criticism, I will make no further apology for dealing with it.

The passage in question is from Sergius' commentary on Donatus (Keil IV. p. 433). It is concerned with some remarks of Donatus (*ibid.* p. 377), in which that grammarian speaking of compound words says, first, 'componuntur etiam de compluribus ut inexpugnabilis, imperterritus,' and afterwards 'providendum autem ne ea nomina componamus quae aut composita sunt aut componi omnino non possunt.'

This apparent contradiction puzzled all his commentators, and Sergius' explanation is as follows:

dicit nomina iam composita non debere componi, et idem paulo ante dixit de compluribus posse componi: ne contrarium sit, ita intelligi debet, ut liceat nobis componere bis, sed ita ut prima compositio sensum nominis in

contrarium non vertat, secunda autem vertat, ut territus, imperterritus. Illud enim nobis non licet facere, ut per compositionem primam conversum in contrarium significationem nomen per secundam compositionem valeamus revocare ad primam significationem, ut est doctus indoctus, quando utique nulla ratione dicitur.

Now first of all, for the text. The sense is clearly that double compounding is permissible if the first compounding is not negative, and the second is, but not permissible if the first compounding is negative, and the second, being also negative, restores the affirmative. Evidently, therefore, in the former case, the 'prima compositio' in the example has fallen out, in the latter case the 'secunda compositio.' We must read then 'terrītus <perterrītus> imperterrītus and afterwards 'doctus, indoctus <inindoctus.>' This last odd-looking word is vouched for by a more or less parallel passage in Cledonius (K. V. p. 43), where we find 'felix suum sensum habet: contrarium huic est infelix, quae est prima compositio: secunda esse non potest, id est non facit infelix ne videatur ad primum sensum nominis remeare.'

Hitherto the reader, while doubtless accepting these slight emendations, will probably think this jargon not worth