

“The war cry in the ancient Mediterranean world.”
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my wife and parents. Your support and sacrifices you have made for me are greatly appreciated. I also dedicate this research to the memory of Salvatore Susino, always remembered.

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Abstract

This project will consider the term battle expression as a suitable replacement for the term war cry as an ancient interaction between military forces in the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world. The battle expression was a means for military forces to interact on many different levels. According to the surviving literary record, military forces from different cultural groups in the Mediterranean world of the Graeco-Roman period (8th century BC-6th century AD) used the battle expression to unite and motivate those who undertook it, but, in contrast, to intimidate and invoke fear in those who experienced (“received”) it. The source tradition refers to the importance of the battle expression for those that utilized it, suggesting it was an integral feature of ancient military life. Yet this ancient military phenomenon has been overlooked and misconstrued by modern scholars and media forms. This research connects with an ancient military phenomenon that appears to have been a fundamental aspect of ancient military life but has since become disconnected from our historical understanding. Importantly literary and archaeological sources reveal that the term war cry no longer satisfies to account for the battlefield customs undertaken by Graeco-Roman armies. Instead, a new term, battle expression, will be used to account for the culturally homogenous undertakings of ancient military forces in the lead up to, during and/or post battle. This thesis provides a typology for the battle expression, categories evident through the practices of different cultural groups of the ancient Graeco-Roman world. Close study of ancient battlefield customs will explore the relationship between this phenomenon and a variety of contemporary historical and socio-cultural features: religious belief and ritual practice; socio-political ideology; military strategy, training regimes and battle preparedness; culture-specific humour; the psychological dimension of battle in antiquity. This project provides a fresh outlook on an ancient military tradition that held significant meaning to those who undertook it and demonstrates sophistication and cohesion that has not been acknowledged.

I, James Gersbach, hereby declare and certify that my thesis, entitled The war cry in the ancient Mediterranean world, has not been submitted for a higher degree to any university or institution other than Macquarie University, Sydney. This thesis is an original piece of research and the work and assistance of others are duly acknowledged where appropriate. Dated this 18th October 2019. James Gersbach.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

What is a war cry?

The modern understanding of the term war cry does not reflect the ancient practice that is presented in ancient Graeco-Roman literary works and archaeological remains. The 4th edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD)*¹ does not have a definition for “war cry.” This is an unexpected omission considering the frequency of war cry references within ancient Graeco-Roman literary works.² The *OCD* does, however, provide a description of the “paean”³ which is associated with the war cry in the ancient Greek world. The *OCD*’s omission of the term “war cry” reflects the broader lack of any substantial study, within modern scholarly works, regarding it.⁴ The *Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, under the headings of “Battle,”⁵ refers in passing to Greek and Roman war cries.⁶ However, even a cursory review of the extant sources referring to the diverse contexts wherein this ancient military phenomenon can be situated indicates the need for a new explanatory paradigm. The war cry from the ancient past is understood by contemporary society as being simple and primitive in noise and purpose. Modern media forms have depicted war cries from the ancient world, as unsophisticated in nature and purpose. From these sources the war cry is portrayed as mass noise with little sophistication, variation or meaning. There is an absence of any substantial scholarly depth study that focuses holistically on this military phenomenon. There has been no acknowledgement that the study of war cries reveals unique cultural identifiers as well as an exhibition of homogeneous practice. This has negatively impacted upon our understanding in the modern era of the nature and purpose of ancient Mediterranean war cries.

¹ *OCD* ed. Hornblower and Spawforth (2012).

² For example, we find twelve references to the war cry in Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, fifty-two citations in Ammianus Marcellinus’ *Res Gestae*, sixteen instances in Arrian’s *Anabasis* and twenty-one references in Caesar’s history of the *Conquest of Gaul* and *Civil Wars*.

³ *OCD* (2012): 1060.

⁴ Authors such as Krentz (1985), Speidel (2004), Rance (2015), Cowan (2007), Hanson (1989), Pritchett (1974) and Baray (2014) have produced work that refers to the “war cry” of specific ancient cultures such as Germanic, Celtic, Roman and Greek, but there is a lack of a holistic study of the ancient “war cry.”

⁵ Sabin & de Souza (2007): 399-460 (*Hellenistic world and the Roman Republic*); Gilliver (2007): 122-157 (*Late Republic and the Principate*); Rance (2007): 342-378 (*later Roman Empire*).

⁶ The lack of depth relating to the war cry is clear to see: Sabin & de Souza (2007): 421 “Even cheers and trumpet calls might be effective against ill-trained pachyderms.” Cf. Gilliver (2007): 132: “Legionaries then drew their swords and charged into close combat, yelling a battle cry intended both to dismay the enemy and encourage themselves (Caes. *B Civ.* 3.92). The shock of the pilum volley and din of the charge may have encouraged some enemies to think of flight very quickly, since ‘close quarters fighting and the battle cry fill the enemy with the greatest terror’ (Caes. *B Hisp.* 31).” Also, Rance (2007): 366: “Immediately prior to engaging, a war cry steeled their collective spirit.”

An entirely different understanding of the ancient war cry needs be formed, which acts in contrast to the modern-day perception of it. Ancient historical literary works, whose authors were eyewitness to or had access to eyewitness accounts concerning military engagements and forces, in conjunction with other ancient literary forms from the Graeco-Roman world, such as ancient play scripts, poems and hymns, suggest that an ancient war cry, in the modern sense, should be viewed in a different light. The literary evidence reveals that the war cry was a means for ancient military forces to express themselves in a variety of ways – to communicate and to express identity, religious and political belief, humour, musical achievement and unit cohesiveness to the enemy and themselves – and the purpose of the expression was significant to different cultural backgrounds.⁷ The manner that military forces from the Graeco-Roman world communicated aspects of their culture to the enemy, and re-affirmed it to themselves, was just as various as the expression itself. A combination, or selection, of vocal noise, bodily movement, music and silence could suffice. The modern understanding of an ancient war cry does not reflect what the expression of a military force in antiquity was nor does it accurately explain how it was communicated. Therefore, to move away from the stereotype of a war cry, understood from the modern perspective as simplistic and unsophisticated noise and movement of a military force before, during and/or after battle, a new definition needs to be applied. For the purposes of the present study, then, this ancient military phenomenon will be disassociated from the general term “war cry” and, as applied to pertinent episodes in the extant sources about the ancient Mediterranean, identified instead within the broader conceptual frame of the *battle expression*.

The definition of a battle expression, adopted for the duration of this study, encompasses any performance, individual or *en masse*, by any member/s of an ancient military force from the Graeco-Roman world. This performance could comprise intentional silence, noise (shouting, singing, clapping, clashing arms together, replicating animal noises) and/or physical action (rhythmic jumping, waving, swaying, shaking). The battle expression aimed to have an overwhelmingly positive impact on those who undertook it and a negative impact on the enemy. Whatever the form of battle expression, Graeco-Roman authors suggest it could be performed spontaneously or rehearsed by the military force that undertook it. Graeco-Roman

⁷ See the ‘Tables’ in Appendix I for an alphabetical list of ancient Graeco-Roman authors and their respective works that contain pertinent extracts that refer to the range of battle expression types. All extracts and evidence referred to in this thesis that relate to the battle expression will be contained within these tables.

authors advocate they could take place before, during and/or after a military engagement, such as a battle or siege, by a military force, often united in noise and/or movement.

The term battle expression evokes a more genuine reflection of what the source material promotes about group cohesion and intimidatory practices of ancient Mediterranean military forces. Moreover, the frame of the battle expression model attempts to recognize the unique and various methods employed by military forces to communicate to the enemy and to themselves – as revealed through the perspectives of Graeco-Roman authors. The significance of the methods used by different military forces are, similarly, not limited through the idea of battle expression. The term war cry, and the modern-day interpretation of it, does not acknowledge that the methods used could be significant to the religious, cultural or political background of a military force. Battle expression allows for a fresh and holistic interpretation and understanding of an ancient military phenomenon that does not have the feature, of massed unsophisticated noise suggested by modern usages of war cry. In fact, many types of battle expression, as will be further discussed, contained little vocal noise, but consisted more of musical and/or united movement performed by military forces. Further, the manifestation of war cry, from a modern-day perspective, is associated with feelings of hostility and aggression, whereas literary evidence suggests ancient military forces expressed sentiments of worship, joy, enthusiasm and other emotions besides anger, hatred and hostility before, during and/or after battle. The term battle expression more suitably reflects an ancient military phenomenon that has otherwise been misinterpreted.

Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott's *A Greek-English Lexicon*⁸ provides evidence that the term battle expression is a more suitable descriptor than war cry. Throughout Liddell and Scott's lexicon there are twelve separate entries which refer to the English term war cry. Within these entries the term war cry is used as a translation for a variety of different actions and emotions that ancient Greek authors used to refer to the methods by which ancient military forces communicated with the enemy and/or themselves. The variety of different terms used in this lexicon to refer to a war cry reveals that the English definition for the term does not relate to the ancient meaning. The war cry is defined in lexicographical terms as a phrase or name shouted to rally troops and the modern representation of this is through unsophisticated noise. However, in this lexicon a war cry is linked to Greek terms that are also defined in the following

⁸ Liddell & Scott. (1940).

ways: to shout the shout of victory, to call on the god of the war cry, loud united noise which is comparable to animal noises, such as a flight of birds, a signal or watchword to begin a battle and emotions linked to dread, pain and joy.⁹ Clearly, the English term for this ancient military phenomenon is too general and simplistic to account for the diversity of this ancient military phenomenon. The term battle expression would better suit as a translation for the various Greek terms used in Liddell and Scott's lexicon that is referred to as a war cry. The definition of battle expression acknowledges that ancient military forces adopted a diverse array of methods for expressing themselves, such as shouts or statements, animal noises and cries based on different emotions. Also, through the term battle expression the significance of what ancient military forces expressed is acknowledged. Religious sentiment is a theme in many battle expression forms from the ancient Mediterranean world and battle expression attempts to recognize that ancient military forces communicated significant cultural features, such as religious belief, on the battlefield. For example, in Liddell and Scott's lexicon a Greek term which evokes the benevolence of a god is listed under the translation of war cry.

According to Graeco-Roman literary sources, the nature and purpose of battle expression types, were diverse. Ancient sources ascribe specific characteristics to battle expression performed by different cultural groups throughout the Mediterranean world. Admittedly, these characteristics, or stereotypes, provided by Graeco-Roman authors seem to be based upon the racial attitude of the Greeks or Romans towards themselves and the cultural group referred to in the literary source. Non-Graeco-Roman military forces that are referred to in literary sources serve either as an ally unit within a Greek or Roman military force, or they are the direct opponents. Often these cultural characteristics are politically driven as a means of bias and propaganda to demonstrate the alien customs of foreign people in comparison to the superior or civilized Graeco-Roman culture.¹⁰

⁹ 1. ἄλα^αλ-ἄζω...raise the war-cry...shout the shout of victory, 2. ἄλα^αλαί...exclam. of joy...god of the war-cry, 3. ἄλαλή...loud cry...esp. war-cry...battle, 4. ἄλα^αλητός...shout of victory...war-cry, battle-shout, 5. ἀναβο-ἄω...cry, shout aloud, esp. in sign of grief or astonishment...the war-cry, 6. ἀν-α^αλα^αλάζω...raise a war-cry, 7. ἐλελεῦ...a cry of pain...a war-cry, 8. ἐνοπή...crying, shouting, as of birds...esp. war-cry, battle-shout, 9. ἐπα^αλα^αλάζω...raise the war-cry, 10. σημείον...signal for battle... watchword, war-cry, 11. στονόεις...causing groans or sighs...(war-cry), 12. συνεπ-α^αλα^αλάζω...join in raising the war-cry.

¹⁰ Modern scholars acknowledge the tendency of Graeco-Roman authors to characterize foreigners/barbarians as alien for the purpose of sponsoring their own civilization. This may explain the cultural stereotypes associated with battle expression in the ancient literary sources.

For example, see: Grant (1995): 67-74; Marincola (2009): 17-18 "the Roman historian adopted the viewpoint of the elite with all its attendant prejudices."; Baynham (2009): 290 "Ethnographical excursuses describing the appearance, dress, and customs of other races, with a particular emphasis on their alien nature or remoteness, are common in ancient historiography."; Feldherr (2009): 302 "a "scientific" assertion of a link between physical environment and human temperament: harsh and extreme climates meant harsh and extreme people, and vice

Despite this, it appears that all cultural groups, that Graeco-Roman literary sources refer to, shared common homogeneous traits. As will be discussed further, the sensory (sonic and visual) components of the battle expression aimed to generate a tremendous atmosphere hostile to the enemy yet inspirational to the participant.¹¹ The religious dimension of the battle expression reveals important details about spirituality associated with ancient warfare, invocations of identity (which were often expressed in a culturally unique manner) and spontaneous demonstrations, often aimed at taunting the enemy and strengthening the resolve of the unit were universal traits of all ancient military forces.

The categorization of the cultural groups – inspired from the racial profiling contained within Graeco-Roman literary sources - and their battle expression types, along with universal features consistent with each culture will formulate the following chapters of this dissertation. This approach will attempt to highlight the well-established and sophisticated practice of an ancient military phenomenon.

Graeco-Roman authors distinguish between foreign (African, Asian, Celtic and Germanic), Greek and Roman battle expression types by attributing specific features unique to each of them. On occasion, ancient authors provide more detail regarding the battle expression of culturally foreign groups rather than the battle expression of the authors' own cultural military force. This may have been based on the intended audience's prior knowledge and familiarity with their own cultural battle expression, but not so the battle expression of foreign military forces. Therefore, some authors may have detailed the battle expression of a foreign military force to give cause to the impact this force had on a specific military engagement.¹² Alternatively, the author may have used the foreign battle expression as a tool to emphasize the barbaric or alien customs of a foreign people in comparison to the accepted customs of

versa": 303 "Foreigners' notions of their own history, their land, and the gods who govern it are often integrated into the picture of the cosmos that emerges from Greek myth and science. A place is found for indigenous heroes in the genealogies of Greek myth. Foreign gods, as in Tacitus' *Germania*, are either given Graeco-Roman counterparts, or simply identified by their classical names. Foreigners can thus only be known as they can be translated into the familiar forms and language of Greek thought, and this process inevitably implies a marginalization."

¹¹ There is evidence, too, that ancient Mediterranean military forces exploited the natural landscape and topography of the battlefield to heighten the impact of their battle expression. Amm. 19.2.11-12 (Table 5j); Curt. 4.12.20-4.13.4 (Table 56a); Polyb. 2.29 (sTable 54c).

¹² Such as Amm. 16.12.43 (Table 5f).

Greeks or Romans.¹³ Therefore, Graeco-Roman authors permit the portrayal of foreign groups as inferior or less civilized due to the nature of their battle expression.

The characteristics Graeco-Roman authors attributed to ancient African military forces, such as Carthaginian and Numidian are associated with peculiarity in nature and consist of multi-racial elements. This evokes an image of diversity of language, noise and movement. An example of an ancient African battle expression derives from Livy who describes the actions of a Numidian military force¹⁴ which, to deceive the opposing force performed *en masse*, a comical and incompetent display of horsemanship. Comprising 800 cavalry warriors serving within the ranks of a Roman army the mounted unit was ordered to break through the lines of an enemy force, in this case a Ligurian army (Celtic) which had besieged the Roman army. Rather than attack the enemy lines the Numidians forced the enemy to lose concentration and fall into a false sense of security during the military engagement, in large part because of their battle expression.

The Numidian cavalry attempted to charge the enemy line on several occasions. On each occasion, however, the cavalry took on the appearance of being out of control of their steeds. These charges resulted in the unit not threatening the integrity of the Ligurian battle line where they ultimately retreated to the Roman ranks from where they started. Each time the Numidians charged the enemy line the more out of control and unthreatening they appeared to the Ligurian ranks. The result was that the Ligurian warriors laid down their arms and sat to watch the ridiculous Numidian unit struggling to control their horses. During another attempted ‘attack’ the Numidians, instead of pretending to regain control of their horses and ride back to the Roman lines, charged through the Ligurian lines unopposed and rode into the open countryside where they caused havoc amongst the nearby Ligurian civilian settlement. This forced the Ligurian army to break ranks, thus ending the blockade of the Roman army. The peculiar nature of this Numidian battle expression is characterized as being African. Livy portrays this battle expression as bizarre in nature. Of note is the convincing performance of this feat, suggesting the cavalry force of 800 Numidian warriors were all adept in pretending to not know how to ride or control their horses during a charge. The context of this reference suggests that this was a typical Numidian practice that was pre-planned but unknown to other Mediterranean cultural

¹³ See Amm. 16.12.47 (Table 5g).

¹⁴ Livy. 35. 11 (see Table 30c).

groups particularly Ligurians, who were deceived. Also, Livy's record of this feat suggests its peculiarity and effectiveness from the Roman viewpoint, whereby making the episode worthy of comment.

The battle expressions of Asian¹⁵ military forces in Graeco-Roman accounts reflect flair, extravagance and expansiveness. A reference from Plutarch's *Life of Sulla*¹⁶ detailing the Battle of Chaeronea in 86 BC demonstrates the Graeco-Roman literary characteristic attributed to Asian military forces. What marks this battle expression as different from other cultural battle expression types is the claim that the air was completely full of vocal noise produced by an Asian force. Each ethnic division within the Asian army performed a battle expression unique to their own culture. Plutarch is clearly stating that different nations of Asian peoples produced different shouts and noises to each other. The Asian army gathered before a Roman army and instilled a feeling of uneasiness amongst the Roman soldiers because of the appearance of the Asian force. According to Plutarch, the reason for this was due to the use of colour and armour in the Asian soldiers' attire that created an optical illusion reminiscent of a foreboding flame. This action suggests that the Asian force intentionally used their armour and colourful clothing, besides the obvious uses of clothing and armour in a military context, to generate an extravagant visual effect. Bright flashes of light were achieved through the armour of the soldiers glistening off the sunlight. The use of colourful vests and pants created visual movement and brightness through diversity and intensity of hue that may have accentuated the size of the military force.

“The air could not contain the shouts and clamour of so many nations forming in array. At the same time also the pomp and ostentation of their costly equipment was not without its effect and use in exciting terror; indeed, the flashing of their armour, which was magnificently embellished with gold and silver, and the rich colours of their Median and Scythian vests, intermingled with bronze and flashing steel, presented a flaming and fearful sight as they surged to and fro, so that the Romans huddled together behind their trenches, and Sulla, unable by any reasoning to remove their fear, and unwilling

¹⁵ For the most part Greco-Roman authors refer to Asians as Persian military forces or military units from Asia Minor that may or may not be under the direct control of Persia.

¹⁶ Plut. *Sul.* 16.2-3 (see Table 52b).

to force them into a fight from which they wanted to run away, had to sit still and endure as best he could the sight of the Barbarians insulting him with boasts and laughter.”¹⁷

Plutarch’s description suggests that the movement of troops around the battlefield, prior to the initiation of the battle was a purposeful ploy to create these visual effects to unnerve the enemy, and, according to his account, was successful. What this implies is that prior preparation went into creating such a striking and coordinated visual effect. The co-ordination and training that would have gone into ensuring that the various military units, from different Asian states worked together effectively on the battlefield to create this optical illusion would have been quite a feat. The simultaneous removal of cloaks to reveal armour glistening in the sunlight and soldiers wearing colourful clothing intentionally moving around the battlefield to create the visual effect clearly highlights the sophistication of this battle expression. This battle expression was unique to the Asian force that performed it and exudes the extravagance that was characteristic of ancient Asian battle expression types as put forward by Graeco-Roman authors.

In contrast, Graeco-Roman literary works portray Celtic and Germanic battle expression types as raw, wild and exuberant in nature. Tacitus portrays the battle expression traits of Celtic and Germanic warriors in his narration of the first battle of Cremona between Othonian and Vitellian forces during the Roman civil wars that followed Nero’s death.¹⁸ In this account Tacitus describes the battle expression of German auxiliary troops, who were fighting within the ranks of the Vitellian sponsored Roman army. The German battle expression is portrayed as being wild, exuberant and irresponsible, from Tacitus’ Roman perspective. The German battle expression was claimed to be typical of their culture, which suggests that Germanic military forces were identifiable by their unique battle expression. Tacitus describes the German Vitellian troops as reckless in their approach towards the enemy, mainly since the German warriors were unprotected as they wore very little, if any, clothing or armour. Tacitus states that as the Germans approached the enemy (Othonian Romans) in battle they sang wild songs as they clashed their weapons together and raised their arms to the sky. The purpose of this was to intimidate the onlooker hundreds of metres away from them through the sound of

¹⁷ Plut. *Sul.* 16.2-3.

¹⁸ Tac. *Hist.* 2.22 (see Table 62c).

the battle songs and the large stature the Germans adopted through raising their arms to the sky.¹⁹

“The Othonianists, who could take a more deliberate and certain aim, poured down their javelins on the German cohorts as they recklessly advanced to the attack with fierce war-cries, brandishing their shields above their shoulders after the manner of their country, and leaving their bodies unprotected.”²⁰

This reference indicates how German warriors presented themselves in their natural state, naked or with very little clothing to show off their bodies. The strength, ferocity and volume of their singing, clashing of weapons and raising arms into the air reflected the raw power of nature through loud noise and overbearing stature, typically found in natural weather patterns and animal traits. No doubt the content of the battle songs would have been linked in some way to the Germans attempting to access power from nature through request or demand from spiritual powers within nature.²¹

Tacitus describes the Germanic warriors of the Harii people who used their environment to strike fear into their enemy.²² Tacitus claims that the warriors of this tribe aimed to blend into their surroundings. Tacitus states that German Harii warriors would blacken their shields and dye their bodies and choose pitch-dark nights for their battles. The shadowy, awe-inspiring appearance of such a ghoulish army was intended to inspire mortal panic amongst their enemy, suggesting the Harii believed (rightly, it would seem) that no enemy could endure a sight so strange. The description of the Germans’ appearance, of mud and dirt-covered bodies and shields, who would seemingly materialize before the enemy, demonstrated the raw and wild nature of Germanic battle expression types. These people appear to have understood the power of nature, namely darkness and the thick of night, and must have presented to their enemy in this way in order to replicate its effects. Tacitus states that the Germans understood that defeat in battle always started in the eyes: therefore, Germanic and Celtic battle expression types were full of displays that attempted to replicate natural forces that were all powerful, such as

¹⁹ Speidel (2004): 14. Animal warrior traits, such as the Wolf; 43-44 – Germanic Berserk Warriors adopted animal traits in battle; 69 – Berserkers battle-frenzy involved shape-shifting.

²⁰ Tac. *Hist.* 2.22 (see Table 62c).

²¹ Speidel (2004): 111. Celtic and Germanic warriors sang of mythic heroes so they may attempt to be like them.

²² Tac. *Ger.* 43 (see Table 61d).

darkness and ungoverned meteorological and geological phenomena, recreated on the battlefield by way of physical appearance, overbearing sound and clashing weapons. Germanic and Celtic warriors did this to honour and acknowledge the power found within the natural world. It appears that this type of battle expression was culturally unique to Celtic and Germanic peoples compared to other ancient Mediterranean cultural groups who for the most part lived in cities and urbanized areas, rather than woods, mountains and glens. Despite the tribal divisions within Celtic/Germanic society, the nature and purpose of their battle expression would have culturally united them through this common military practice, identifying them as a people of the ancient Mediterranean world with very particular cultural traditions rooted in their close affiliation with nature.

Graeco-Roman authors present commonalities within Greek battle expression, as Greek armies displayed common features of religious and sociopolitical fervor – despite the ideological and cultural partitions that existed between the ancient Greek city-states. An example of this can be found in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*.²³ A part of this work relates to the origins of music being used in battle and showcases the Spartans and their battle expression. Athenaeus claims that before battle commenced the Spartans would march in step to the sound of the flute and recite, from memory, the poems of Tyrtaeus. The poetry of Tyrtaeus contained the main features of ancient Spartan law and social customs.²⁴ According to Athenaeus, the ancient Spartans had formulated a battle expression comprising sophistication and co-ordination based on socio-political ideology. The incorporation of musical instruments and the singing/chanting of poetry to the tune of these instruments imply that a high level of preparation and training went into ensuring the success of this action. For the Spartans this battle expression was significant as it served many purposes. Undoubtedly it would have intimidated an enemy witnessing it through the noise and mass movement of a well-disciplined force. Also, this would have boosted morale and enthusiasm within the Spartan military force as the musical tune and poetry would have reaffirmed the identity of the Spartan warriors: who they were as a fighting force and what they were fighting for. Athenaeus' detail about the Spartans' preparation in the lead-up to battle suggests the purpose and nature of this battle expression was highly sophisticated. The music and words would have been deeply significant to the Spartan military force as they reaffirmed the political and cultural dogma of their city-state.

²³ Ath. *Dei.* 14.630-631 (see Table 12b).

²⁴ Plut. *Lyc.* 6.5 (see Table 45a); Bayliss (2017).

Similarly, the Greek historian Xenophon suggests the battle expression of a Greek army was based on Greek religious and social custom.²⁵ Xenophon's account of the battle of Cunaxa, between the pretender to the Persian throne, Cyrus, supported by a strong Greek contingent, and the Persian king Artaxerxes III, details the battle expression of the Greek military force within Cyrus' army. Taking place deep within Persian territory, the Greek units fighting in this battle were surrounded by warriors from an array of lands within the Persian Empire. Xenophon clearly differentiates the Greek battle expression from other nationalities there, suggesting inimitability. Xenophon claims that the Greeks sang the *paeon* as they marched towards the enemy.²⁶ Before the Greeks charged into their Persian opponents Xenophon claims that they raised a shout to Ares as was apparently customary. The noise of spears struck against shield and the singing and chanting forced the Persians opposite the Greeks on the battlefield to flee before them. Xenophon's reference supports the notion that Greek battle expressions comprised religious and Hellenic social customs, such as the singing of a religious hymn to Greek deities and a customary invocation to the Greek god of war prior to Greek hoplites charging into the enemy. Xenophon specifically highlights this as a specifically Greek battle expression in the context of a battle featuring a host of foreign military units. Undoubtedly this clear-cut demarcation between Greek and non-Greek would have united the Greek participants culturally, and their coordinated expression of this cultural unity will have served to intimidate a foreign enemy.

In relation to Rome's military praxis, categories of battle expression developed as the Mediterranean world came under the Italian city-state's sphere of dominance. Generally, republican and early imperial Roman armies maintained traditional Roman battle expression types until such time as foreign units were integrated into the legionary ranks, after which, so too, elements of non-Roman battle expression. As was customary, Roman armies incorporated trumpets and vocal noise as typical features of their battlefield expression. Ancient literary sources highlight a clear association between trumpets as a precursor for vocal noise on the battlefield.²⁷

²⁵ Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.16-19 (see Table 68c).

²⁶ Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.18 (see Table 68c).

²⁷ For example, the trumpets initiation of vocal battle expression recurs in Livy's work, see: Livy 10.40.14, 23.16, 25.37, 25.39.3, 30.33.13, 33.9.1-2 (see Tables 28-30).

“Marcellus ordered the trumpets to be sounded and a shout raised”²⁸

Dionysius of Halicarnassus details the Roman battle expression as being initiated by a trumpet blast followed by massed vocal noise:

“Trumpets to sound the charge; and the soldiers, raising their usual battle-cry”²⁹

The implication that trumpeters, which were not rogue elements within the Roman army but were an officer class themselves and directed by the military high command³⁰, signified the undertaking of massed vocal noise (song or chant) reveals that Roman battle expression was encouraged by the military high command. This would account for the sentiments of Caesar regarding the use of the ‘war cry’ detailed during his narration of the battle of Pharsalus.³¹

The integration of non-Roman military units into the Roman army from the early imperial into the late empire contributed to the diversification and adoption of *other* types of battle expression within the Roman military juggernaut. Ammianus Marcellinus’ description of the *barritus* elucidates this point. The *barritus* cry originated from non-Roman military forces, namely Germanic,³² and due to its effectiveness at intimidating the enemy and encouraging the participants to fight with greater spirit became a typical Roman battle expression in the later imperial age:

“For the Cornuti and the Bracchiati, toughened by long experience in fighting, at once intimidated them by their gestures, and raised their mighty battle-cry. This shout in the very heat of combat rises from a low murmur and gradually grows louder, like waves dashing against the cliffs.”³³

²⁸ Livy. 23.16.12 (see Table 28n). *Marcellus signa canere clamoremque tolli ac pedites primum.*

²⁹ D. H. *Ant.* 8.84. στρατιῶται τὸ σύνηθες ἀλαλάξαντες. See also: D. H. *Ant.* 6.10 & 9.11 (for each reference see Table 19).

³⁰ Jos. *BJ.* 3.87-88 (see Table 26b). Polyb. *Hist.* 14.3.5-6 (Table 54h); Veg. *DRM.* 2.7 (Table 67b).

³¹ Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.92 (see Table 14f).

³² Amm. 16.12.43 & 31.7.11 (see Table 5f; 5aa).

³³ Amm. 16.12.43 (see Table 5f).

“The Romans in unison sounded their war-cry, as usual rising from a low to a louder tone, of which the national name is *barritus*, and thus roused themselves to mighty strength.”³⁴

It appears that the Romans adopted and manipulated foreign military battle expression to suit their own needs, much like how the Romans adopted and manipulated other cultural aspects from foreign people for their benefit, such as the conversion of Greek deities into Roman equivalents. The changing ethnic composition of the Roman army and the incorporation of these units’ battle expression provided a host of benefits and helps explain why this shift in military practice occurred.

The battle expression paradigm accounts for the sophistication and inimitability attributed to different cultural military groups from Graeco-Roman literary works. The ancient war cry concept that is understood in the modern-day context, as portrayed in literature and other media forms, does not genuinely reflect what the ancient practice was. Without a new understanding the same erroneous stereotypes and characteristics from the war cry concept may confuse and stigmatize new interpretations. Therefore, the battle expression, and its characteristics, attempts to broaden the criteria for understanding what Graeco-Roman military forces undertook in the lead up to, during and/or after battle. Battle expression acknowledges the diverse nature, sophistication and significance of an ancient military phenomenon that has been misinterpreted by modern media and not given a holistic study by modern scholars.

This, therefore, highlights the need to better understand an ancient military phenomenon that appears to have been an integral aspect of military life around the Mediterranean world. What follows will attempt to unravel some of the mystery and uncertainty that obscures current knowledge about the variety (categories or types) and purposes of the war cry in the ancient Mediterranean world. This study will focus on the use of war cries in the context of the Graeco-Roman world, incorporating battle expression of Greek, Roman *and* non-Graeco-Roman combatants that are referred to in ancient Graeco-Roman literary works. The time-span of this study is quite broad, with references taken from Homer’s *Iliad* (composed in the 8th century BC or earlier) through to the AD 6th century military handbook ascribed to the Byzantine emperor Maurice. Recorded instances of this phenomenon across such a lengthy time-span will

³⁴ Amm. 31.7.11 (see Table 5aa).

go some way towards foregrounding the fact that the battle expression was a prevalent and consistent aspect of ancient military life around the Mediterranean for a long time. Furthermore, the authors of the ancient Graeco-Roman literary sources did not intend, first and foremost, to record battle expression, instead referring to the phenomenon incidentally in side notes or as colour in scene descriptions, reinforcing the impression that this practice was a key element of ancient warfare.

Paradigm

The adoption of the battle expression paradigm has been influenced by the content of ancient literary works and modern equivalents that reflect similar characteristics. Four notable factors underpin the formulation and development of the battle expression. Each factor provided understanding of the purpose, nature and impact of ancient battlefield practices that battle expression encapsulates. Firstly, the numerous types of battle expression references found within the works of Graeco-Roman authors, such as: Arrian; Caesar; Xenophon; Ammianus Marcellinus, highlight culturally homogenous and heterogenous traditions. These practices include: praising and worshipping individual leaders/heroes/deities; expressing the founding sociopolitical origins of a military force; taunting the opposition with insults and jeers. These were expressed by military forces through creating noise and/or movement *en masse*.

Secondly, the battle expression phenomenon has manifested itself in medieval, pre-modern and modern-day contexts. Medieval transcripts and historical works reveal that French military forces would sing the “*Song of Roland*” before battle. This has been associated with the Norman army prior to commencement of the Battle of Hastings in AD 1066.³⁵ Archaeological evidence from the AD 15th century, for example, demonstrates that familial war cries were prevalent centuries after antiquity – that can be applied to the battle expression definition.³⁶ So, too, battle expression were performed by combatants in modern theatres of military conflict, namely the American Civil War (Rebel Yell), the Gallipoli campaign during the First World War (“Heads up to the Warwicks!”) and World War Two Nazi followers exclaiming “Sieg Heil.” Modern day U.S marines universally exclaim “Hoo-rah” as their cry of association. New Zealand sporting teams, particularly its national rugby teams such as the All Blacks, perform the “Haka” before a match. The Haka is a traditional Polynesian battle expression that is not

³⁵ William of Malmesbury. *Gesta regnum Anglorum* Bk 3.

³⁶ Grancsay (1931): 14. “*Io Harr*” (“*I persevere*”) ten times as the family war cry in battle.

solely reserved for the Maori of New Zealand. Haka attempts to unite the group undertaking it – through inspiring them to achieve great feats and reminding those performing it about their identity, people and land. In a competitive / military environment Haka serves to intimidate those that it is directed towards.³⁷ Protest movements have demonstrated elements of the battle expression phenomenon through collective chants of protesters, depending on the movement itself, and may demand the resignation of political leaders, the protection of environments or a moratorium on military action.³⁸

Thirdly, although manifest in a competitive, rather than military, context, the variety and purposes of football chants performed by club supporters,³⁹ especially those aligned to (but not limited to) teams competing in Germany and England, within purpose-built stadiums correlate favorably to the performances of the battle expression described in the ancient sources. The relationship between battle expression from the ancient Mediterranean world and the songs and chants of European football supporters in modern sports stadiums is evident in the German term for football chants or showing support for one's football team. This term is *Schlachtgesänge* which literally translates into English as “battle songs.” In this sense, the tradition of singing, chanting and moving in unison, performed by a body of people or individually, within an agonistic, intensely competitive environment, has continued into modern society from the ancient past to the present day. The themes of the football chants in modern society mirror the themes of the battle expression from the ancient Mediterranean world. Individual football players, both past and present, are honoured just as past and present warriors, such as generals, kings and heroes, both divine and mortal, were honoured in antiquity. Football supporters commonly sing and chant about their socio-political origins; for example, the English football team Queens Park Rangers has the supporters chant “We are QPR, we are QPR”, and we can also note the iconic Liverpool FC anthem of “You’ll Never Walk Alone.” Ancient Mediterranean armies also communicated to their opponents, through

³⁷ See: “Haka Documentary: We Belong Here - Beats By Dre Rugby”

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EgU-RWQ4J7o> Beats by Dre. Published on Oct 16, 2015.

Be mindful that this clip highlights the identity and deep spiritual, social and cultural significance that the Haka represents for Indigenous Maori groups of New Zealand. This cultural meaning is connected to the ancient battle expression phenomenon that this research is focused on. The potential for the reconceptualization of the war cry into battle expression to be applied to other geographical and cultural groups, regions and time periods demonstrates the significance of this research.

³⁸ Examples include, but are not limited to, 2011 Egypt and Libya protests, 2003 Iraq anti-War protests, 2016 anti-Trump protests, 2016 Standing Rock, North Dakota.

³⁹ In this instance football refers to soccer, however, the atmosphere generated by fans consisting of purposeful action (vocally, intentional movement and appearance) can be associated with a host of sports such as NFL, NBA, AFL and NRL to name just a few.

chanting and singing, where they were from and who they were; for example, the Ambrones tribe.⁴⁰

Football supporters of the modern era often taunt their opponents through chants and song that have been used in the past and rehearsed, but taunts can be created and performed spontaneously depending on the circumstances of the football match. Similarly, ancient armies used taunts to unnerve the enemy and distract them from their orders.⁴¹ Ancient references to military performances in a battlefield environment - armies clashing their weapons together and stamping their feet on the ground, as well as jumping rhythmically into the air - resonate with the fanatical performances rehearsed and enacted across European, North, Central and South American, Asian, and Australasian football stadiums of the modern era. Instead of brandishing weapons at opposing groups of supporters (even though weapons are still carried by many football hooligan supporters throughout Italy and Argentina), however, hand clapping is used. The popular and iconic “Viking Clap” performed by Icelandic football supporters in the UEFA Euro 2016 tournament is a notable example. This supporter action has since been adopted by the supporters of other “Viking” affiliated sporting teams around the world since, such as the Canberra Raiders in the NRL and the Minnesota Vikings in the NFL.

Lastly, ancient military battles have been a topic of great interest among historians and the public over many centuries. Media forms, such as literature, artwork and film, have depicted ancient military battles as both gruesome and heroic and have used battles from antiquity to entertain, educate and attract audiences.⁴² Similarly, ancient historical accounts, poems and plays have based their works on battles and wars from their recent past and antiquity for identical purposes.⁴³ Such works include Homer and his account of the Trojan War, Aeschylus and the Persian Wars, Caesar and his commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars, and Tacitus’ biographical *Agricola*, to name a few. The medieval age was an era which passed on works from antiquity through monks copying and preserving ancient texts in monasteries. Medieval

⁴⁰ Plut. *Sul.* 18.3 (See Table 52c).

⁴¹ Caes. *B Civ* 1.69, 3.48 (Table 14). [Caes.] *Spanish Wars* (30-31) (See Table 16b). NB The commentary on the *Spanish Wars* is not thought to have been written by Caesar, but rather (perhaps) by Aulus Hirtius.

⁴² For example, we find the popularity of modern films which contain recreations of ancient battles; “*Gladiator*” (2000) \$187, 705, 427 Box Office takings within the U.S., “*300*” (2007) \$210, 614, 939 Box Office takings within the U.S.

⁴³ For more on this topic see the chapter “*When War Is Performed, What Do Soldiers and Veterans Want to Hear and See and Why?*” From Palaima (2014). Zimmermann (2006) “*Aeschylus*”, in Brill’s New Pauly. Nesselrath (2006) “*Aristophanes*”, in Brill’s New Pauly.

poetry and plays have done likewise, recording and incorporating ancient battles into entertainment, notably the legend of King Arthur and Shakespeare's history plays, such as *Antony and Cleopatra*. Modern day media such as Hollywood blockbuster movies have used the contexts of ancient wars and battles as climatic scenes within the subtexts of the plots to films. Popular movies such as *Spartacus*, *Ben-Hur*, *Alexander*, *Gladiator*, *Centurion*, *King Arthur*, *The Eagle*, *Troy* and *300* have all attempted to incorporate ancient military battles and wars into their productions to attract the masses. Within human nature there appears to be a strange attraction to warfare, particularly from the ancient world. The intrigue of the lost societies of Rome and Greece and their martial nature continue to attract widespread interest amongst the peoples of the modern world.

Because of this popularity, the modern world has created many popular historical works and much research has been undertaken to account for, explain, describe, analyze and evaluate the intricate facets of ancient warfare, particularly with respect to the societies of classical Greece and Rome. Specific authors of such popular modern literature include; *inter alia*, Adrian Goldsworthy, Michael Grant, Peter Connolly and the many titles in the military history series published by Osprey.⁴⁴ Numerous volumes of scholarly journal articles, histories and reference materials have been created that reflects the fascination people have with this ancient human phenomenon.⁴⁵ Aspects of ancient warfare such as tactics and strategies employed, uniforms and armour worn, weapons used, training undertaken, disciplinary codes, recruitment methods, hierarchy and officer classes of the various peoples of the ancient world, to list a mere few, have been published on a large scale. Television documentaries have been created using archaeological inquiry to determine and unravel the true course, and nature, of ancient military battles.⁴⁶

Despite this interest, very little research exists regarding the ancient battle expression as a distinct phenomenon and practice. According to the ancient literary record, that which originates, particularly, from the Graeco-Roman world, the battle expression appears to have been a fundamental part of military life. Julius Caesar in his *Civil Wars* refers to the long-

⁴⁴ Osprey has a large selection of military books based on the ancient world which is divided up into series; Men-at-Arms, Warrior, Elite, Fortress, Campaign and Essential Histories.

⁴⁵ Such as: *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, Vols I and II (2007); Hanson (1989); Macdonald (1992); Pritchett (1974); Pushkin & Elton (1934); Sabin (2000); Worthington (2008); Baray (2014).

⁴⁶ Such as the television series: *Battlefield Detectives*, The History Channel (2003-2006) & *Battlefield Britain*, BBC (2004).

established practice of military forces in antiquity adopting, encouraging and implementing battle expression before, during and after battles:

“Between the two lines just enough space had been left for a charge by each army. But Pompey had instructed his men to absorb Caesar’s charge; they were not to move from their position, but to allow his line to break itself up. People say that he did this on the advice of Gaius Triarius, so that the soldiers’ first powerful charge would be rendered ineffective and Caesar’s line distended, and that his own men in proper formation could attack a scattered enemy. Pompey also hoped that the spears would fall more lightly on soldiers held in place than if they themselves ran into projectiles coming at them, likewise that Caesar’s soldiers would be disheartened by the double run because they would also be undone by exhaustion. But to me at least this action seems to have been taken by Pompey for no valid reason, because there is a certain stirring of the spirit and an eagerness naturally inborn in all men that is kindled by enthusiasm for combat. Commanders should not repress this but augment it. Nor is it a pointless ancient institution that battle signals sound from all sides and every man raises a shout. By these things, they thought, the enemies are terrified and one’s own men incited.”⁴⁷

Caesar identifies here the fundamental nature of the battle expression within the context of the ancient Mediterranean battlefield. As a side note to his historical account of the battle of Pharsalus (48 BC, against the forces of Pompey the Great), Caesar explains that Pompey’s tactical order prior to engagement with the enemy, namely, for his troops to be silent and still, was flawed. Caesar claims that military generals should encourage their troops by any means to extract spirit and keenness for battle. He observes that raising a battle expression puts fear into the enemy’s hearts, but also instils motivation within the men performing the cry. An interesting point raised by Caesar in this same extract is his acknowledgement that the practice of performing battle expression was ancient in his day and had been in use ever since for sound reasons.⁴⁸ Caesar’s statements - made most probably to discredit Pompey for failing to follow simple protocol in battle, or perhaps to reflect poorly, in comparison to his own superior tactics, on Pompey’s approach to this important military engagement - suggest that it was uncommon for armies of the ancient Mediterranean *not* to perform battle expression before, during or after

⁴⁷ Caes. *B Civ.* 3.92 (see Table 14f).

⁴⁸ Caes. *B Civ.* 3.92.5.

military engagements. Therefore, we may understand Caesar's implication that battle expressions were, in fact, typical features of military life as significant support for this study's contention that they represented a continuing facet of military practice (*antiquitus institutum est*). As a result, in-depth research into this topic would shed valuable light on an issue otherwise only considered *en passant* in the scholarship of military history in antiquity.

The importance of the battle expression in the military life of the peoples from the ancient Graeco-Roman world is evident within many ancient works. The question, then, arises as to why so little research into understanding it has been undertaken by modern scholars.⁴⁹ If there is strong and consistent evidence of the battle expression being a fundamental aspect of ancient military life in antiquity and scholars, students and enthusiasts from the modern world are so attracted to the various military practices, aspects and features of ancient military forces, why has this topic been so consistently overlooked and ignored?

Ultimately, the answer to this question resides in the problematic nature of the ancient evidence. The difficulties associated with examining the phenomenon of the battle expression are evident in the ancient authors' lack of detailed recording. The reason for this lack of detail can be divided into several categories. Firstly, the purpose of the ancient authors was not to describe in detail the precise sequence of actions forming the performance of a battle expression. Perhaps the audience the author was writing to did not need to be educated on the phenomenon due to their familiarity with or existing knowledge and experience of the practice, as could very well be the case for the literate members of Graeco-Roman society who traditionally held positions of leadership and importance within their respective military forces.⁵⁰ Alternatively, perhaps most authors did not want to educate their audience in any detail about a phenomenon that, in relation to the typical genre where such encounters were recorded (namely, historical narrative), was nothing more than a colourful way to bring a dramatic battle scenario to climax. Importantly, many ancient authors may not have firsthand experience of a battle expression, and therefore may not have any points of reference for understanding the physical, acoustic, or verbal 'vocabulary' of it. On the other hand, those authors who were present at the military engagements their historical works describe (e.g.

⁴⁹ Sabin (2007): 401. "What has not happened much in recent years is scholarly study of the generic 'face of battle' in the Hellenistic and/or mid-Republican eras, as distinct from specific study of individual engagements." The study of the war cry phenomenon should be considered as a key feature of the "face of battle" mentioned above. For further reading see regarding the "face of battle" see Keegan (1977).

⁵⁰ For a brief overview of Roman historians and their audience see: Marincola, J (2009): 12-15.

Caesar, Xenophon, Ammianus Marcellinus, Josephus) will not always have been able to witness the performance in its totality due to obstructions at the battle. So, too, those authors who were able to provide eyewitness testimony may not have remembered the actual wording, action or sound of the phenomenon because of poor or incomplete memory or length of time passed between the military engagement and the writing process. Naturally, those authors who were not actually present at the military engagements described in their narratives (e.g. Arrian, Tacitus) will not have been able to provide the details of the phenomenon.⁵¹

An example where the ancient author has obstructed clear understanding of a battle expression due to a lack of specific detail is evident in Sallust's *Jugurthine War*. During Sallust's preamble to a military engagement, a Numidian force, consisting of Numidians, Mauretanians and Gaetulans allied to Jugurtha, had surrounded a Roman force on top of two hills. As day turned to night the African force, having surrounded the Romans, began shouting and singing through the night in anticipation of the next day's battle.⁵² Sallust claims this practice was customary of these "barbarians",⁵³ emphasizing the otherness or cultural *difference* of foreign battle expression compared to Roman. From an African perspective the tradition of making loud noise during the night before battle must have been significant and appears to have been a normal feature prior to battle. The songs, hymns, shouts or dances that would have been performed are not mentioned, however, the subject of the songs must have had culturally familiar or resonant religious, mythological, historical or social undertone for the majority, if not all, in the composite African force to participate. According to Sallust, the battle expression of specifically Numidian and broader African military forces, contrary to the Roman perspective, were both geographically and ethnically contextualized *and* sophisticated, suggesting a strong cultural connection or familiarity amongst most of the participants to the battle expression performed.

This evidence is simply too vague to allow us to say much of anything beyond speculative argumentation. Sallust's inability to provide specific details regarding this battle expression

⁵¹ Sabin (2007): 399. "These 'battle pieces' are highly variable in length, quality and reliability. Unlike Xenophon and Caesar, our surviving sources for this era were not present themselves at the battles they describe, and were often writing hundreds of years later. Hence we are at the mercy not only of their varying historical standards and degree of military understanding, but also of the limitations of their own sources."

⁵² Sal. *Jug.* 98.6-7 (see Table 57c).

⁵³ Sal. *Jug.* 98.6.

resides in Sallust not being a contemporary of the conflict he recorded.⁵⁴ Despite Sallust's knowledge of military affairs and his intimate relationship with Africa, the purpose of composing this history was not to highlight the military practices of Romans or Numidians. Sallust aimed to present to the audience both the capabilities of Marius and the incompetence of the traditional Roman elite.⁵⁵

While these factors invariably complicate the validity, reliability, and broader utility of the surviving source material, the lack of detail in the literary record that treats the phenomenon can be mitigated effectively through other patterns of research. The use of archaeological evidence - for instance, *glandes* or sling-bullets used in ancient military engagements - may help alleviate the problematic nature of the contemporary historical sources associated with this phenomenon. The discovery of sling bullets, and other missile objects, used by military forces during battles and sieges appear to have been, on certain occasions, inscribed with messages and/or symbols prior to firing. In most cases *glandes* display inscribed names of military leaders (generals and kings) with honorific titles, such as Cnaeus Magnus Imperator⁵⁶ and King Philip II of Macedon.⁵⁷ Sling bullets also commonly portrayed symbols associated to the act of striking, such as a spear head, scorpion or eagle.⁵⁸ Other sling bullets contained inscribed exclamations that mocked or taunted the enemy with suggestive statements of inflicting pain.⁵⁹ Finally, other *glandes* bear the name of the military force from which the slinger originated, such as the legion number or unit name. These inscriptions on sling bullets could possibly contain specific wording, mottos, noises or actions of battle expression from specific military forces. As a result, inscribed *glandes* comprised a very particular element of battlefield engagement that may be seen to accompany - or, in various contexts, may well have constituted a specific component of - the battle expression of certain military forces.

Iconographic evidence discovered on ancient monuments, such as Trajan's Column and the Arch of Titus, reveal important features of ancient military life that support literary evidence or provide added insight not contained within literary source material. Numismatic evidence,

⁵⁴ Sallust wrote the history of the war against Jugurtha ca. 40BC whilst the war ended towards the end of the 2nd century BC, ca.106 BC.

⁵⁵ <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sallust>

⁵⁶ Ariño (2005): 234.

⁵⁷ Foss (1975): 28.

⁵⁸ Foss (1975): 27.

⁵⁹ Foss (1975): 28. *Glandes* inscriptions generally fall into three different categories. (1) exclamations such as *nika* ('conquer'), *dexai*, *labe* ('take it'), *papai* ('woe'), *haima* ('blood'), *trogalion* ('a candy' or 'almond' or the like); (2) the name of a city or people; (3) personal names, either in the nominative or genitive case.

such as coins minted during Constantine I's reign that depict Roman military standards, shed further light on significant features of the ancient phenomenon beyond the literary sphere.

Literary sources other than strictly historical accounts can shed light on the exact wording, sound and action of a battle expression. Poetry and plays from the Graeco-Roman world contain many references to the phenomenon, including descriptions regarding the performance and wording. Poets and playwrights such as Homer, Aeschylus, and Tyrtaeus specifically refer to wording of battle expression and the actions performed by the participants. For example, Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* describes the sound of the Argives' battle expression as like the sound of eagles screaming.⁶⁰ Similarly, in *Persians* the Greeks are said to have raised a battle expression which struck terror into the enemy forces.⁶¹ So, too, the war songs of Tyrtaeus outline in detail the wording of military elegies which were performed by Spartan hoplites.⁶²

In short, while close, critical examination of a spectrum of extant literary, epigraphic, and material data reveals that armies, particularly those of Greece and Rome, did in fact employ battle expression on a large scale, the phenomenon has a limited presence in current scholarship.⁶³ This is surprising given the number of references in ancient sources. The battle expression, and the constituent elements of collective verbal and physical expression (dance, clapping, stamping, raising arms, clashing weapons) performed by a military force, such as taunts and victory songs, all appear to serve the same purpose. The purpose was to solidify a military force together, to instill fear/intimidation into the enemy, to build up the confidence of the military force performing it, to invoke the spirits of ancestors/deities and to demonstrate origin, or past deeds. Ancient writers who used sources of information from accounts contemporary to, or eyewitness testimony from those present at, the given battles, do provide greater detail into the typology, range and function.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Aesch. *Ag.* 49ff (see Table 2a).

⁶¹ Aesch. *Pers.* 384ff (see Table 3a).

⁶² See: Bayliss (2017) & Banks (1853): 327-343.

⁶³ As mentioned above, authors such as Speidel (2004), Rance (2015), Cowan (2007), Hanson (1989), Krentz (1985) and Pritchett (1974) have produced work that refers to the war cry or its associates such as shouting before battle of specific ancient cultures such as Germanic, Roman and Greek, but there is a lack of any holistic study of the ancient war cry.

⁶⁴ Namely: Ammianus Marcellinus, Arrian, Caesar, Livy, Josephus, Plutarch, Tacitus and Xenophon

The ancient Graeco-Roman battle expression appears to have been taught, rehearsed, trained and practiced on a large scale.⁶⁵ Songs of worship and taunts were fundamental to military life. Naturally any indication of such a typical feature of ancient Mediterranean military practice provides greater insight into social customs, traditions and declarations of intent or purpose associated with the phenomenon. Further, establishing a typology of battle expression reinforces ideas already known from the ancient world regarding religious observance, cultural and racial beliefs and individual/collective psychology in times of military conflict. Alternatively, detailed study of the typology and range unearth otherwise unknown information regarding the importance of music, religion, dance, poetry and/or local custom in military contexts.

Literature Review

Modern scholarly works lack holistic, detailed study of this important military subject. The most common battle expression which modern studies refer is the *Barritus* and the Greek *paeon*.⁶⁶ The *Barritus* has been immortalized through the work of Ammianus Marcellinus.⁶⁷ Ammianus describes in detail the sound and how it was performed. This is probably the most complete reference from an ancient Roman text concerning a battle expression. In saying this, Ammianus does not specify what words/noise were cried by the soldiers performing the *barritus*. Most battle expression references found within Graeco-Roman histories simply refer to a war cry being raised with very few elaborations on wording, sound, action and length pertaining to them. Modern scholarship is similarly underdeveloped regarding the *paeon*⁶⁸ - excluding Pritchett's work, detailed below. The *paeon* was a Greek hymn sung by Greek soldiers after ritual sacrifice and before battle. The singing of the *paeon* aimed to invoke the protection of the military force performing the hymn from the supernatural world.

As mentioned above, there are many modern popular and scholarly works based on the Greek and Roman warfare, but few treat the matter of the battle expression in any great length or depth of study. Of the bibliography relating to Graeco-Roman warfare three books are of significance for this topic. Firstly, W. Kendrick Pritchett's work, *The Greek State at War: Part*

⁶⁵ Amm. 22.4.6 (Table 5p); Jos. *BJ*: 3.70ff (Table 26a).

⁶⁶ For the "Barritus" see: Speidel (2004), Rance (2015) & Cowan (2007). For the Greek Paeon see: Hanson (1989) & Pritchett (1974).

⁶⁷ Cowan (2007): 117; Rance (2015): 1; Elton (1996): 144.

⁶⁸ For scholarly works regarding the paeon see: *OCD* (2012): 1060; Spence (2002): "Paeon"; Ford (2006); Rutherford (1991) & Rutherford (1995).

I, which focuses on features of ancient Greek warfare, discusses the battle expression in chapter VII “The Marching Paian” and chapter VIII “Sacrifice Before Battle”.⁶⁹ The attraction of Pritchett’s work is the manner in which reference charts⁷⁰ are used to record where *paean*s,⁷¹ performed before battle, could be found within ancient Greek historical texts. These charts provide other relevant references in ancient Greek literature, beneficial in guiding the direction of research in the present study in relation to pertinent exempla found in Greek plays and poetry. Despite the many references to ancient Greek texts that mention *paean* hymns or battle expression, Pritchett’s work supports the concept that Greek armies raised their voices in unison in song *before* they engaged in battle.⁷² Pritchett addresses the purpose of the *paean* as a means of deity worship to avert evils,⁷³ to invoke fear and intimidation within the enemy ranks,⁷⁴ and as a means of discipline and normalcy for the troops in the phalanx to keep in step.⁷⁵ Pritchett’s treatment of these matters is brief, as he rightly claims that there is difficulty and ambiguity in understanding the practice of war cries. Nonetheless, his amalgamation of ancient testimony does encourage the theory that battle expression were practiced and performed for unity and intimidation.

The second modern source is Anthony Kellett’s paper, “*The Soldier in Battle: Motivational and Behavioral Aspects of the Combat Experience*.”⁷⁶ Kellett deals with developments in the study of factors that influence human motivation, morale and behaviour in battle.⁷⁷ Despite the fact that Kellett clearly based his study on modern warfare, interviewing or accessing the testimony of soldiers within modern-day military units and using contemporary wars and battles as examples, Kellett’s study is still relevant and can be easily applied to ancient warriors and battles in antiquity.⁷⁸ The factors that Kellett raises in his study, regarding influences in soldier motivation and morale, helps support the development of arguments in this thesis with respect to framing the purpose of ancient battle expression. As mentioned above, this

⁶⁹ Pritchett (1974).

⁷⁰ Pritchett (1974): 105-106.

⁷¹ For a discussion on the terms, and their interpretations, “Paeon” as opposed to “Paian”, see Ford (2006): 277-295.

⁷² Pritchett (1974): 105.

⁷³ Pritchett (1974): 106.

⁷⁴ Pritchett (1974): 108.

⁷⁵ Pritchett (1974): 106-108.

⁷⁶ Part of the collection “*Psychological Dimensions of War*.” Edited by Betty Glad (1990).

⁷⁷ Kellett (1990): 215-16.

⁷⁸ Kellett (1990): 216. Hanson (1989): 96-151 can be used as a case study for the psychological effects of the Greek phalanx warfare.

dissertation aims to demonstrate that ancient armies from the Greco-Roman world performed battle expression for a variety of reasons.

One important reason, which is supported in Kellett's work, relates to enhancement of morale and motivation within the military force performing the battle expression and projection of fear and intimidation onto the enemy witnessing and/or auditing the performance. According to Kellett, a key factor influencing a soldier's motivation and morale in battle is establishing combat preparedness.⁷⁹ For a soldier to be psychologically and physically prepared for battle three factors need to be addressed. Firstly, training is an important factor in preparing a soldier for battle.⁸⁰ The main purpose of military training is to acquaint soldiers to the physical and psychological rigors and demands of battle. That is to say, soldiers need to be familiarized with the noises, sights, danger and confusion of battle.⁸¹ According to Kellett, loud noise can lead soldiers to feel frightened and in danger.⁸² As already indicated, in the same way that a relationship may be plausibly identified between ancient, later pre-modern and modern military, and similarly contested situations (i.e. the football stadium), so it is equally reasonable to suggest that ancient armies of the Mediterranean world incorporated battle expression to unnerve the enemy before battle commenced. Similarly, the practice of war cries by armies during times of training led to the soldiers feeling immune to the intended effects of the enemy's battle expression. Training to perform battle expression and experience them in a battle scenario most probably took place within the annual martial cycle of Roman military life. Romano-Jewish historian Josephus claimed that Roman military drills were bloodless battles, and their battles bloody drills, suggesting Roman training and battle scenarios were very similar.⁸³ Group cohesion is another factor that Kellett sees as influencing a soldier's motivation and morale in battle.⁸⁴ Creating group cohesion and a spirit within the army causes members of the army to become inspired, enthusiastic and devoted to the military force to which they belong, as well as to each other, as they share similar feelings of pride and group ownership.⁸⁵ This factor is significant in relation to ancient war cries as chants and songs - performed in unison by a military force, similar to football supporter chants and songs inside

⁷⁹ Kellett (1990): 216.

⁸⁰ Kellett (1990): 216-17.

⁸¹ Kellett (1990): 216.

⁸² Kellett (1990): 222.

⁸³ Jos. *BJ*. 3.75 (see Table 26a).

⁸⁴ Kellett (1990): 217.

⁸⁵ Kellett (1990): 217.

football stadiums in the modern world - create a sense of camaraderie, belonging and group cohesion which, in turn, heightens individual, as well as group self-esteem and motivation levels. Finally, Kellett refers to mental preparation as being an important factor in acquainting a soldier to the demands of battle.⁸⁶ This factor is particularly important to new recruits who have never experienced battle before and about whom the term “fog of war,”⁸⁷ or the unknown, is adopted.⁸⁸ It seems logical to suppose that, in ancient times, armies would rehearse battle expression as well as other battlefield drills in order to create a sense of normalcy for the soldier once battle begins.

Kellett’s work is significant to the topic of ancient battle expression as it helps to determine the themes they were based upon, such as promoting group identity. Kellett refers to group cohesion as being an important factor that influences a soldier’s motivation level. To motivate soldiers, within a certain military force, unit pride or spirit was created. The battle expression of ancient armies within the Graeco-Roman world were based upon the characteristics, achievements and/or origins of a military force which glorified their unit so as to inspire and boost the spirit within the group. There are many references in Greek and Roman histories that mention the importance of Roman legion names, numbers and standards and of the importance of fighting for the *polis* or king/commander-in-chief in a Greek army. There are also many references to different units within ancient armies of Greece and Rome that strike up their own battle expression in their native tongue.⁸⁹ In regards to Kellett’s factor of mental preparation, as being important for a soldier’s ability to alleviate the fear of the unknown and unpredictability of battle experience (referred to by Kellett as the “fog of war”), a greater understanding of battle expression practices is achieved. For example, battle expression of barbarian groups, such as Celtic and Germanic tribes, who fought against Greek and Roman armies throughout antiquity, terrified Romans and Greeks alike due to the foreign nature of their method. Painted faces, dancing, raised hair, nudity and gesturing were all features that reportedly unnerved many Roman and Greek warriors due to their unfamiliar nature, therefore negating all attempts of soldiers to mentally prepare for battle.⁹⁰ Conversely, Roman and Greek

⁸⁶ Kellett (1990): 217-18.

⁸⁷ In the 19th century Carl von Clausewitz coined the term the 'fog of war', to describe the uncertainty commanders face in battle.

⁸⁸ Kellett (1990): 218.

⁸⁹ Speidel (1994): 113.

⁹⁰ Speidel (1994): 218.

armies reportedly unnerved barbarian military forces through shows of discipline during their battle expression.⁹¹

The third modern source that has significant relevance to this study is Michael Speidel's *Ancient Germanic Warriors: Warrior Styles from Trajan's Column to Icelandic Sagas*.⁹² Speidel's work uses iconographic evidence from Trajan's column, in Rome, as well as tombstones, and other artefacts, such as decorative styles on weapons, which relate to Germanic warrior styles, to support his theory. Speidel claims that Trajan's column reveals much more about Germanic warrior styles than was previously thought.⁹³ From this Speidel attempts to create different types of ancient Germanic warrior styles based upon weapons, dress, beliefs and social status. However, in Speidel's work he unites all the ancient Germanic warrior styles through the practice of chanting before and during battle. Speidel claims that battle expression types were commonly used by Germanic warriors throughout antiquity.⁹⁴ The prevalence of Germanic warriors, depicted on Trajan's column, fighting within the Roman army led to many of their battle expressions being adopted and performed by the Roman army itself.⁹⁵

Speidel's work is also significant as he details many features of Germanic battle expression. Speidel mentions many types of battle expression performed by ancient Germanic warriors and the purpose behind their use.⁹⁶ In particular, much emphasis is given to the notion that many of the various warrior styles within ancient Germanic tribal life originated from natural forces. The existence of what Speidel claims to be animal warriors, frightening warriors and strong men warriors within ancient Germanic military forces all stem from nature and different elements from it. For example, Germanic animal warriors adopted the fighting appearance and spirit of wild beasts such as wolves, bears and bucks. Frightening warriors absorbed the aura and ferociousness of nature such as night-time eeriness, ghosts and the roar power of nature encapsulated within un-restraint. Strong male warriors proved to demonstrate the power of man by wielding massive weapons forged from the land, such as clubs and giant spears.

⁹¹ Arr. Ana. 3.9.7-8 (see Table 11e).

⁹² Speidel (2004).

⁹³ Speidel (2004): 3-4.

⁹⁴ Speidel (2004): 110-111.

⁹⁵ Speidel (2004): 110-111.

⁹⁶ Speidel (2004): 110-111.

The battle expression of these Germanic warrior groups reflected the origins of their fighting spirit and their close cultural connection with their natural surrounds. Depending on which warrior style an ancient German was associated with this influenced the type and the performance of his battle expression. For example, warriors who adopted animal totems or spirits performed battle expression that embraced and reflected the threatening qualities of the chosen wild beast. This may include howling for wolf warriors, gnashing of teeth or snorting for bear warriors, and jumping around or prancing like buck warriors. The impersonation of these animals before battle in full view of the enemy aimed to intimidate the enemy as well as building the warrior group up into a fighting frenzy and lust for battle and blood.⁹⁷ Frightening warriors embraced their warrior inspiration by reflecting its natural spirit. Germanic ghost warriors darkened their bodies using mud or charcoal to reflect night-time forces, alternatively these warriors fought in darkened environments such as forests and woods. Naked berserker warriors portrayed a lack of restraint that epitomized the raw power of nature through not wearing armour, growing their hair long and shaking it, and swinging large weapons. Each of these warrior classes within ancient Germanic society would shout their battle expression in the manner of their fighting spirit.

Battle expression that the Roman army adopted from ancient Germanic warrior classes were chosen with due regard to the impact it had on the warriors performing it, and the impact it had on the enemy. Speidel's work refers to the Roman *barritus* and its performance as having a three-step rhythmic beat and the practice of warriors holding their shield to their mouths when undertaking it to create a louder sound and to feel the power of the cry themselves through their bodies.⁹⁸ Speidel's use of literary and archaeological evidence to establish and support his argument surrounding the different classes of Germanic warrior styles correlates with the aims of this research. The clear racial profiling evident within Graeco-Roman literary works must be considered when determining the reliability and accuracy of battle expression references for non-Graeco-Roman forces. However, when archaeological evidence is discovered that supports the image presented in the literary source material then the literary images become more reliable.

⁹⁷ Speidel (2004): 110-126.

⁹⁸ Speidel (2004): 112.

Methodology

The present study has uncovered the range, type and purpose of battle expression performed in battlefield contexts across the ancient Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world. To study the ancient Mediterranean world *in toto* - which would require examination of Egyptian and Near Eastern cultures - embraces a time span far greater than the already significant time span marking the chronological limits of the Graeco-Roman world. The source material for this research is more manageable when confined to the Graeco-Roman sources, rather than the masses of literature and iconography from the Egyptian, Jewish and Near Eastern cultures. The ability to study these cultures later reveals the potential advances that can be made in this area of research. To achieve this initial goal, a variety of ancient and modern sources that detail battle sequences and military campaigns of Roman, Greek, Asian, African and Celtic/Germanic military forces have been consulted. Graeco-Roman authors of historical works or other literature such as poetry, plays, the inscribed messages displayed on lead sling bullets (*glandes*), as well as pertinent iconographic evidence - located on military monuments such as triumphal arches and dedicatory columns; on funerary reliefs; and on numismatic surfaces - that refer to the battle expression practices of military forces from this period have been documented.

To determine the reliability of the source material, biographical details and stylistic tendencies of authors that provide relevant information from their literary works have been used to contextualize the information about the battle expression they provide. Here, the insights of modern commentaries supplement close, critical reading of pertinent passages. As a rule, writers deemed to have used source material from eyewitness testimony serve as more useful and reliable for this study than those who colour battle sequences in literary works for rhetorical purposes such as audience attraction or the conferral of authorial legitimacy. In sum, texts containing eyewitness accounts and/or composed for an audience familiar with the battle expression phenomenon serve as the foundational sources of evidence for this research.

The location for battle expression references is inconsistent and not formulaic. As a result, evidence derived from a range of literary source material including: poetry, plays, hymns, a battle narrative, military training exercises, religious occasions, crowd protest/acclamation such as inside a circus or amphitheatre, military gathering/parade, a part of a political/legal speech or a commander addressing his troops. References uncovered in the ancient sources

have been tabulated.⁹⁹ The ancient author, title of work, reference to book and chapter from the work and text referring to the battle expression was recorded in separate columns within a reference table. Each ancient source studied was allotted one reference table each (see below and Appendix I). To accompany the English references of the battle expression phenomena another column was added to each table where the original Latin, or Greek, wording for the same text has been recorded. The translation for these texts were obtained from the Loeb Classical Library series, the Perseus Digital Library¹⁰⁰ and other lexicographical and encyclopedic works such as Latin and ancient Greek dictionaries and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Regarding these latter materials, further research was undertaken on the Greek and Latin language used to record the phenomenon. The original language revealed various meanings and functions of the words used in the original text (Latin/Greek) to enhance our understanding of the example. This study helped to clarify the meaning, or context, of specific battle expression recorded, but lost, or amended, through translation. Furthermore, the original word or phrase used to refer to battle expression in ancient sources was examined to determine whether, or the extent to which, it was associated linguistically.

From the tabled evidence collected the references that detail battle expression activity was prioritized for further analysis. The purpose of this was to highlight the nature, range, typology and purpose of the ancient battle expression in the Graeco-Roman world. Hence, all references that were associated with military engagements, such as pitched battles or sieges, were used to determine heterogeneous or homogeneous features amongst the source material. The array of cultures mentioned in the literary sources revealed contrasts in adopted behavior by military forces before, during and/or after battle. The ancient authors' perspectives and potential prejudices against different cultures from the Graeco-Roman world were revealed in the descriptions of foreign military forces and their battle expression. Through these perspectives the references revealed commonalities between military forces of different cultural origins. The study of this literary source material has been instrumental in the progression and development of the ideas and arguments created for the body of this work.

⁹⁹ Tabled evidence appears in Appendix I. These tables record key extracts from Graeco-Roman literary sources that are pertinent to the ideas raised in this dissertation. Graeco-Roman authors, with their works, appear in alphabetical order.

¹⁰⁰ Perseus Digital Library, Gregory R. Crane, Editor-in-chief, Tufts University.
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>
 Loeb Classical Library, founded by James Loeb 1911, Edited by Jeffrey Henderson.
<https://www.loebclassics.com/>

The tables below serve to demonstrate the methodology of recording battle expression references from specific ancient sources: Plutarch, *Life of Sulla* and Appian, *Civil Wars*. These tables have been configured in a similar manner with the English version of the text in the first column followed by the original Greek or Latin text next to it. The English and original language was obtained from the digital resources of Loeb Classical Library and Perseus Digital Library. At the end of each chapter a table that contains references from Graeco-Roman literary works associated to the ideas generated from that chapter is provided. These tables further highlight the range of source material visited during this research. It is important to note that in the process of recording the English and original language into specific literary work table, for some references the entire text of both languages may not have been recorded word for word. Depending on the literary narrative more of one of the languages may have been recorded for the benefits of contextual purposes for the researcher. Whilst reading over some of the examples it becomes clear that the term war cry does not represent the different methods utilised by ancient military forces to generate group cohesion and to intimidate the enemy.

It is evident that when Plutarch and Appian refer to military forces of different cultural origin - whether Roman, Asian or Greek – heterogeneous and homogenous practices become apparent. For example, Plutarch associates Roman battle expression with the use of trumpets followed by massed shouting (*Sulla 14*); Roman gods were invoked, and their likeness brought on the battlefield (*Sulla 19*); Roman cultural wit and humour incorporated into battle expression (*Sulla 18*). Plutarch ascribes Asian military forces as culturally diverse where each cultural group performed a battle expression in their native tongue (*Sulla 16*). Despite the cultural mix of an Asian army cohesive practices, such as choreographed disrobing to display metal armour and weapons was undertaken to present colourful tunics of Median and Scythian origin (*Sulla 16*). According to Plutarch, it was this unique cultural identifier (Median and Scythian) that heightened the Romans' fear.

Appian *Civil Wars*, similarly presents Roman battle expression with the sounding of trumpets, used to inspire the men prior to engagement with the enemy (2.11.78). However, when a Roman army was confronted by another Roman army of similar cultural makeup and training the battle expression, particularly vocal, was replaced with silence (3.9.68). According to Appian, the Roman armies did not expect to terrify each other with their vocal battle expression. This reference supports the notion that some battle expression types were culturally

unique and universally practiced within a common military system elucidating that battle expression types, in the Roman army specifically, were rehearsed for effectiveness. Aside from heterogeneous battle expression types, Plutarch reveals that taunting the enemy, commonly through cultural identifiers, was a homogenous feature of an ancient battle expression irrespective of cultural origin (Sulla 16 and 18).

Plutarch, *Sulla*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Greek text
Sulla 14.	“It was a moment made the more terrible by the blowing of trumpets, the blasts of bugles, and the shouting and yelling of troops...”	περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰσήλαυνε, φρικώδης ὑπὸ τε σάλπιγξι καὶ κέρασι πολλοῖς, ἀλαλαγμῷ καὶ κραυγῇ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐφ’ ἀρπαγὴν καὶ φόνον ἀφειμένης ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ
Sulla 16.	“Meanwhile the air was rent with the din and shouting of so many different races all forming up together in battle order. At the same time the very pride and ostentation of their expensive equipment was far from being useless or ineffective as a means to inspire terror. As their ranks swung and surged to and fro they presented a fearful sight like a flaming fire, what with the flashing of their armour, all magnificently embellished with gold and silver, and the bright colours of their Median and Scythian tunics intermixed with the bronze and shining steel. It was something which made the Romans shrink back inside their entrenchments...with the sight of the native army insulting him with their boasting and derision”	τὴν δὲ κραυγὴν καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸν οὐκ ἔστεγεν ὁ ἀῆρ ἐθνῶν τοσούτων ἅμα καθισταμένων εἰς τάξιν. ἦν δὲ ἅμα καὶ τὸ κομπῶδες καὶ σοβαρὸν αὐτῶν τῆς πολυτελείας οὐκ ἀργὸν οὐδὲ ἄχρηστον εἰς ἔκπληξιν, ἀλλ’ αἱ τε μαρμαρυγαὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἡσκημένων χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ διαπρεπῶς, αἱ τε βαφαὶ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ Σκυθικῶν χιτῶνων ἀναμειγμέναι χαλκῷ καὶ σιδήρῳ λάμποντι πυροειδῇ καὶ φοβεράν ἐν τῷ σαλεύεσθαι καὶ διαφέρεσθαι προσέβαλον ὄψιν, ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τὸν χάρακα συστέλλειν ἑαυτούς, καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μηδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ θάμβος αὐτῶν ἀφελεῖν δυνάμενον, βιάζεσθαι τε ἀποδιδράσκοντας οὐ βουλόμενον, ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν βαρέως ἐφυβρίζοντας ὀρῶντα κομπασμῷ καὶ γέλῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ὥνησε μέντοι τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων αὐτόν,

Sulla 18.	“The first chariots were driven forward slowly and made no serious impact at all. The Romans beat them off and then, laughing and clapping their hands, shouted out, as they do at races in the Circus, ‘Bring on more!’”	άρμάτων ἀργῶς ἐξελαυνόμενα καὶ προσπίπτοντα νωθῶς ἐκκρούσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ κρότου καὶ γέλωτος ἄλλα ἦτουν, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν ταῖς θεατρικαῖς ἵπποδρομίαις.
Sulla 19.	“So on his trophies he had inscribed the names of Mars, Victory, and Venus, believing that that his success in the war was just as much due to good fortune as to good generalship and force of arms.”	διὸ καὶ τοῖς τροπαίοις ἐπέγραψεν Ἄρη καὶ Νίκην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, ὥς οὐχ ἦττον εὐτυχία κατορθώσας ἢ δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει τὸν πόλεμον.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, trans. White, H. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Greek text
2.11.75	There was great clamor and confusion of tongues among Pompey's auxiliaries. Pompey stationed the Macedonians, Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Athenians near the Italian legions, as he approved of their good order and quiet behavior.	πολύθρουν δὲ ἦν τὸ Πομπηίου συμμαχικὸν καὶ πολὺγλωσσον· καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πομπήιος Μακεδόνας μὲν καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ἀποδεξάμενος τῆς εὐταξίας καὶ σιωπῆς
2.11.77	When all was in readiness on both sides they waited for some time in profound silence, hesitating, looking steadfastly at each other, each expecting the other to begin the battle.	Ὡς δὲ σφίσιν ἔτοιμα πάντα ἦν, ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ὥς ἀνέμενον ἐν βαθείᾳ σιωπῇ, μέλλοντες ἔτι καὶ ὀκνοῦντες καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντες, ὁπότερος ἄρξει τῆς μάχης.
2.11.78	When they were waiting and looking at each other the day was advancing. All the Italian troops stood	Μέλλουσι δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέπουσιν ἡ ἡμέρα προύκοπτε. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν ἅπαν εὐσταθῶς ἐφ' ἡσυχίας

	<p>motionless in their places, but when Pompey saw that his allied forces were falling into confusion by reason of the delay he feared lest the disorder should spread from them before the beginning of the battle. So he sounded the signal first and Caesar echoed it back. Straightway the trumpets, of which there were many distributed among the divisions of so great a host, aroused the soldiers with their inspiring blasts, and the standard-bearers and officers put themselves in motion and exhorted their men. They all advanced confidently to the encounter, but with stupor and deepest silence, like men who had had experience in many similar engagements.</p>	<p>ἀκριβοῦς ἀνέμενε· τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτοῦ ταρασσόμενον ὄρων ὑπὸ τῆς μελλήσεως καὶ δείσας, μὴ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀταξίας κατάρξειεν, ὑπεσήμαινε πρῶτος, καὶ ἀντήχησε Καῖσαρ, αὐτίκα δ' αἶ τε σάλπιγγες αὐτοὺς ἐξώτρυνον ὀρθίοις κλαγγαῖς ὥς ἐν τοσῷδε πλήθει πολλαὶ κατὰ μέρη, καὶ οἱ κήρυκες καὶ οἱ ἐπιστάται περιθέοντες ἤπειγον. οἱ δὲ σοβαρῶς ἀλλήλοις ἐπήεσαν μετὰ τε θάμβους καὶ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης ὥς πολλῶν ἀγώνων τοιῶνδε ἐμπειροπόλεμοι.</p>
3.9.68	<p>Being veterans they raised no battle-cry, since they could not expect to terrify each other, nor in the engagement did they utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished. As there could be neither flanking nor charging amid marshes and ditches, they met together in close order, and since neither could dislodge the other they locked together with their swords as in a wrestling match. No blow missed its mark. There were wounds and slaughter but no cries,</p>	<p>οἰκεῖον ἡγούμενοι τόδε ἔργον· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐμπειρίας οὔτε ἡλάλαξαν ὥς οὐκ ἐκπλήζοντες ἀλλήλους, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τις αὐτῶν ἀφῆκε φωνὴν οὔτε νικῶν οὔτε ἡσώμενος. περιόδους δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὔτε δρόμους ὥς ἐν ἔλεσι καὶ τάφροις, ἀραρότως συνίσταντο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοὺς ἐτέρους ὥσασθαι δυνάμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὥς ἐν πάλῃ συνεπλέκοντο. πληγὴ τε οὐδεμία ἦν ἀργός, ἀλλὰ τραύματα καὶ φόνοι καὶ στόνοι μόνον ἀντὶ βοῆς· ὃ τε πίπτων εὐθὺς ὑπεξεφέρετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἀντικαθίστατο. παραινέσεων δὲ ἢ ἐπικελεύσεων οὐκ ἐδέοντο, δι' ἐμπειρίαν</p>

	<p>only groans; and when one fell he was instantly borne away and another took his place. They needed neither admonition nor encouragement, since experience made each one his own general. When they were overcome by fatigue they drew apart from each other for a brief space to take breath, as in gymnastic games, and then rushed again to the encounter. Amazement took possession of the new levies who had come up, as they beheld such deeds done with such precision and in such silence.</p>	<p>ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν. ὅτε δὲ καὶ κάμοιεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἐς ἀναπνοὴν ὀλίγον ἀλλήλων δίσταντο καὶ αὐθις συνεπλέκοντο. θάμβος τε ἦν τοῖς νεήλυσιν ἐπελθοῦσι, τοιάδε ἔργα σὺν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σιωπῇ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶσι.</p>
3.9.70	<p>It was already evening and the victorious Antonians were returning singing hymns of triumph</p>	<p>ἤδη τε ἦν ὥψια δεῖλη, καὶ οἱ νικήσαντες τῶν Ἀντωνίου παιανίζοντες ἐπανήεσαν</p>
4.12.99	<p>They all cried out, “Forward!” and urged him to lead them on immediately. Cassius was delighted with their spirit, and again proclaimed silence and again addressed them, saying: “May the gods who preside over just wars and over good faith reward your zeal, fellow-soldiers.</p>	<p>Ἀναβοησάντων δὲ πάντων “ἴωμεν” καὶ εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἀξιούντων, ἦσθεις ὁ Κάσσιος τῇ προθυμίᾳ κατεκήρυξεν αὐθις σιωπὴν καὶ αὐθις ἔλεγε· “θεοὶ μὲν, ὅσοι πολέμων δικαίων δεσπότηται, τῆς πίστεως ὑμᾶς, ὧ συστρατιῶται,</p>
4.16.122-123	<p>they ceased offering battle in the plain and advanced with shouts to the enemy’s fortifications, and challenged Brutus to fight, reviling and scoffing at him, intending not so much to besiege him as by a mad</p>	<p>παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνέβαινον μετὰ βοῆς καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκάλουν ἐς μάχην, ἐπισκώπτοντες ἅμα καὶ λοιδοροῦντες καὶ ἐγνωκότες οὐ πολιορκίας τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἢ μανιώδει φορᾷ μὴ βουλομένῳ συμπλέκεσθαι.</p>

	<p>assault to force him to an engagement.</p> <p>... His soldiers, however, without reflection, entertained a different opinion. They took it hard that they should be shut up, idle and cowardly, like women, within their fortifications.</p>	<p>ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐχ ὁμοίως εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐδυσφόρουν γυναικῶν τρόπον ἔνδον μετὰ ἀπραξίας καὶ φόβου κατακεκλεισμένοι. ἐδυσχέραινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν</p>
4.16.128	<p>The day was consumed in preparations till the ninth hour,¹ at which time two eagles fell upon each other and fought in the space between the armies, amid the profoundest silence. When the one on the side of Brutus took flight his enemies raised a great shout and battle was joined. The onset was superb and terrible. They had little need of arrows, stones, or javelins, which are customary in war, for they did not resort to the usual manœuvres and tactics of battles, but, coming to close combat with naked swords, they slew and were slain, seeking to break each other's ranks.</p>	<p>Ἦδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐς ἐνάτην ὥραν δεδαπανημένης αἰετοὶ δύο ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν· καὶ ἦν σιγὴ βαθυτάτη. φυγόντος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ Βροῦτον βοή τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὀξεῖα ἡγέρθη καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπῆρτο, καὶ ἔφοδος ἦν σοβαρά τε καὶ ἀπηνής. τοξευμάτων μὲν δὴ καὶ</p>
5.4.37	<p>Then the troops of Octavius joyfully clashed their arms as for a victory, whereupon those of Lucius were roused to anger...</p>	<p>ἡσθέντων δὲ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγησάντων οἷον ἐπὶ νίκη, ἐρεθισθέντες οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου τὰς κλίμακας</p>
5.4.38	<p>In order that the enemy might not make another attempt on his works, Octavius stationed a part of his army,</p>	<p>ἐκθυμοτάτης γενομένης, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ αὐθις ἐπιτολήσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς τείχεσι, τὴν στρατιάν, ὅση</p>

	that was held in reserve, alongside the fortifications, and instructed others in other places to leap upon the wall at the sound of the trumpet. Although no one urged them on, they went through this exercise continually, in order to become familiar with it, and to inspire the enemy with fear.	τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφήδρευε, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἵδρυσε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ κατὰ σύνθημα σάλπιγγος· συνεχῶς τε ἀπεπήδων οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἵνα διδαχὴ τε σφίσι καὶ φόβος εἴη τοῖς πολεμίοις.
5.12.115	When they saw the enemy abandon the water in order not to be exposed to attack on both sides, they shouted for joy with all their strength. When the troops of Laronius shouted in return, they ran and seized the fountain.	ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολιπόντας, ἵνα μὴ γένοιτο ἐχθρῶν ἐν μέσῳ, ἀνέκραγον μὲν ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς, ὅσον ἔσθενον, ἀντιβοήσαντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λαρωνίου δρόμῳ τὴν πηγὴν κατέλαβον.
5.12.121	Then the soldiers of Octavius who were in the ships raised a shout of victory and those on the land gave an answering shout. Those of Pompeius groaned.	καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸς ἐπινίκιον ἠγάλαξεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀντεβόησεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. οἱ Πομπηίου δ' ἀνῶμωξαν,

This research aimed to determine whether the battle expression was homogeneous or heterogeneous amongst the military forces of the Graeco-Roman world. Anthropology has provided insight into the inescapable question of whether the ancient battle expression was; 1. universal amongst the range of ancient cultures found within the ancient literature in nature and purpose or; 2. whether each culture, found within the Graeco-Roman sources, had a unique nature and purpose when undertaking a battle expression before, during and/or after battle.

Experimental archaeology was undertaken using the source material to recreate and compare the ancient phenomenon of the battle expression to other modern-day equivalents. The findings reveal that ancient military engagements of the Graeco-Roman world were highly atmospheric in massed noise, movement and/or visual illusion. This contrasts the modern-day perception of

it. As part of the research for this topic, modern day practices that have similar atmospheric qualities to the ancient battle expression were compared to the ancient evidence. Viewing recordings of crowd behavior at sporting events during televised broadcasts of matches and from Youtube uploads, such as European football stadiums, correlated with the qualities of massed noise, movement and/or visual illusion found in the ancient battle expression. This is more evident in well supported and organized fan bases of English and German football clubs/teams. International football competitions such as the UEFA European Championships and the FIFA World Cups are also exemplifying of crowd behavior that can be compared to the performances of ancient battle expression. In a similar fashion, crowd behavior during public protest movements, namely the chants and visual illusion of colour and banners amongst the protesters portrays, too, the qualities of the ancient battle expression. The crowd behavior in football stadiums and on the streets during protest movements are highly organized in the performance of chants/songs and the attire worn by crowd members. The songs/chants coupled with the attire worn by the supporters of football teams and the protesters suggests effective levels of pre-planning, rehearsal and organization from a leading group within. The sophistication of rehearsed, as well as, spontaneous outbreak of song/chant/movement/attire is reflective of the efforts made by ancient military forces in the Graeco-Roman world to intimidate the enemy and inspire the group participants.

The study of the ancient literature and the use of the comparative study from the modern day (stadiums and protests) further lead to other possibilities of experimental archaeology. The use of modern-day technologies results in the ancient literature finding *life*, such as recreating confirmed battle expression (from ancient literature) using computer-based audio recording technology. From this an accurate sound is generated using the voices of thousands of men which reveals the impact an ancient battle expression from the Graeco-Roman world had on the enemy and its participants.

This research has the potential to recreate the sound of a battle expression used in the ancient world. The ability to recreate a battle expression permits an understanding of the impact it had on a participant in, or witness to, a specific battle. Confirmed battle expression types, as identified through literary and/or archaeological sources, may be reconstructed using modern voices and computer technology into a recreation of the original battle expression. The

computer program “Audacity”¹⁰¹ allows for one, or multiple voices to be recorded and then, using the various attributes of the program, one voice can be multiplied into thousands of voices, generally through copying and pasting existing recordings onto the same file. The other voices can be altered to create a more authentic ‘crowd’ noise by delaying the cries of certain voices and changing the pitch and tone of other voices to accommodate for individual voice differences and delays along a frontline fighting force in antiquity. Other special effects such as adding an ‘echo’ can be applied onto battle expression types that were known to have been used within geographical environments that reflected the sound of the noise off hills, mountains or in valleys.¹⁰² To provide viable *comparanda* extracts from the primary sources will be compared to the sound generated by European football supporters inside stadiums and in other purpose-specific contexts. This process creates a link between the modern atmosphere and sound generated by European football supporters to the sound made by the armies from the ancient Mediterranean world before, during or after battle.

Through the incorporation of traditional literary based research of ancient texts to gather information to generate an accurate sound, and impression, of an ancient battle expression using other mediums, namely audio recording technology, this research project displays clear signs of innovation. This research reveals the impact battle expression types had on the enemy and the military force undertaking it. As such, this study highlights significant, interrelated methodological problems arising from the limitations of the ancient literary record; the paucity of modern scholarship relating to the topic; and, importantly, the theoretical complications involved in identifying, measuring and comparing an aural-oral phenomenon extracted from narrative sources with a quantifiable modern equivalent. By creating a link between the modern ambience generated by European football supporters and the sound made by the armies of the ancient Mediterranean before, during and after battle, this research project demonstrates how a traditional philological approach to data collection can be used in conjunction with other applications (e.g. sociolinguistic analysis, statistical sampling, audio recording technology) to generate an accurate sound-impression of an ancient battle expression.

¹⁰¹ Audacity 1.2.6 ‘A Free Digital Audio Editor’ Build date: Nov 13 2006
Website: <http://audacity.sourceforge.net/>

¹⁰² This effect could be applied, specifically, for the recreation of the ‘din’ generated by Alexander the Great’s army on the Danube. Here Alexander ordered his army to raise their ‘war cry’ and to clash their weapons together against their shields, so that the sound generated from the army and the reflection of nearby mountains put the enemy to flight. Arr. Ana. 1.6ff (see Table 11a).

In short, this research project overturns the lack of knowledge contemporary society has concerning an ancient phenomenon that was an integral feature of ancient Graeco-Roman military life.

Contents

The following chapters create a refreshed outlook of the ancient battle expression. Each formulated chapter from this study has been inspired from the source material which suggests that the modern day understanding of the term is a misrepresentation of an ancient military phenomenon. For example, modern scholars, such as Ross Cowan¹⁰³ and Philip Rance¹⁰⁴, acknowledge the existence and significance of Roman war cries. Cowan and Rance argue that Roman war cries were unique compared to non-Roman military forces that aided or opposed Rome. However, despite this common ground, modern scholarly works regarding the Roman “war cry” fall short in acknowledging the socio-political, religious and cultural significance that Roman military forces exhibited through the concept of battle expression. According to literary and archaeological evidence the battle expression phenomenon contained universal features that appear consistent across cultural groups within the Graeco-Roman world. Ancient military forces rehearsed and prepared their soldiers for the effective execution of battle expression types and to psychologically prepare their men for the enemy’s attempts to intimidate them through the same processes. The aims and purposes of implementing a battle expression on the battlefield were universal, irrespective of culture. Whether this tradition was encouraged from the top down, through sponsorship from the high command, or if it was controlled at the ‘grassroots’ level of the army, geared from the rank and file to influence the high command is debatable. The evidence suggests a predominantly top down influence.

Chapter two will explore the chronological sequence of the Graeco-Roman authors and pertinent archaeological material that relates to the battle expression. Authors who were contemporary to wars and battles that they record generally provide more detail in this field and are, hence, more useful than authors who wrote centuries after the events they described. This does not mean that these latter authors are not useful in studying the battle expression, as their own understanding of the battle expression from their time period is imposed upon the events they ascribe which reveals much about the phenomena. The exploration of the authors

¹⁰³ Cowan (2007).

¹⁰⁴ Rance (2015).

perspectives will highlight that African, Asian, Celt/Germanic, Greek and Roman battle expression types differed and were presented by the authors as unique in their own way. The authors' presentations were based on patriotism, xenophobia, political propaganda and depth of understanding.¹⁰⁵ Chapters three to seven highlight the commonalities that existed between the battle expression types of ancient military forces. Chapter three reveals the role the battle expression played in strengthening the psychological resolve of a military force prior to battle. Military forces used massed movement and/or noise to develop and gauge group cohesion and battle readiness of the men. These practices aimed to boost confidence levels amongst the fighting group and would consist of choreographed or spontaneous performances. Chapter four focuses on the use of the battle expression to psychologically impair the enemy through intimidatory practices that served to erode the enthusiasm levels of the enemy for battle, mainly through taunting. Chapter five details the religious dimension of the battle expression. Military forces and individuals within them often turned to patron deities and religious tradition to find resolve and courage in the lead up to battle. The glorification and invocation of divine forces were common features of religious inspired battle expression types. Chapter six demonstrates that another aspect of battle expression was extolling socio-political and military identity. Military forces took pride in professing the origins of their socio-political identity to the enemy by way of uniformed appearance, praising political leaders and recounting social customs. Similarly, military leaders and units were praised for their fighting qualities and past deeds to prompt the fighting group. Chapter seven explores the custom of oathtaking in a military context on the battlefield, with a focus on Greek and Roman tradition.

¹⁰⁵ For example, see: Grant (1995): 67-74; Marincola (2009): 17-18; Baynham, E (2009): 290; Feldherr (2009): 302-303; Lendon (1999): 275, 280-281 & Gluck (1964): 25.

Chapter 2. Graeco-Roman literary and archaeological sources

A chronological survey of the Graeco-Roman authors used in this dissertation will provide greater understanding and context for the information about the battle expression which they record. In the first instance, authors will be categorized into groupings based on the time period during which they wrote. From this, a general overview of the literary works that refer to battle expression types will be highlighted to determine the relationship the author had with the subject they described; what is known about the intimacy the author had with the events; and if any literary formula or style was in trend during that time period. Secondly, assessing where appropriate the influence on literary texts of the socio-historical and cultural contexts within which the corpus of source material relevant to the battle expression were produced will be an essential component in what follows. Pertinent archaeological source material will be integrated into the relevant time periods in conjunction with the literary authors. In combination, these points of reference will establish the effective limits of the evidentiary foundation on which the arguments presented in this thesis are based.

Before moving forward, it is important to note that the intention of this survey is to profile the backgrounds, descriptive strategies and literary techniques employed by relevant authors only insofar as they frame the validity, reliability, and usefulness of surviving primary and secondary written texts which speak to the phenomenon of the battle expression. In doing so, surveying the time period when authors produced their works will highlight the prevalence of the battle expression paradigm across the Graeco-Roman world. Irrespective of whether authors had a political, moral, or literary agenda when creating their works, what will become clear is that the frequency and diversity of literary references to the battle expression – often found in relation to the creation of a climactic battle narrative – reveals that authors and their audiences were familiar to them. Archaeological remains have been incorporated into this study to supplement the literary source material for evidence relating to battle expression. The study of glandes, or sling bullets, provides valuable insight into the nature of battle expression types as well as understanding the psychological intent of specific military units in battle. The reading of inscriptions and analyzing the images engraved on sling bullets, that have been uncovered at sites of ancient sieges, has revealed important information pertaining to battlefield preparation and custom for associated military units. Iconographical evidence, such as the Alexander mosaic from Pompeii and Trajan's Victory Column in Rome, provide images that signify the appearance ancient armies and military units adopted on the battlefield as a form of

battle expression. The collaboration of the literary and archaeological evidence elucidate that the phenomenon was significant and commonplace in the military life of the Mediterranean world throughout the period in which the select authors lived and wrote.

Authors that pre-date the 5th century BC, including Homer and Tyrtaeus, were generally poets who devised epic and foundational stories for their societies. There is great conjecture amongst modern scholars over their reliability: as they were often not contemporaries to the events they recorded; they tend to sensationalize events and descriptions; they make generic suggestions.¹ For example, Homer in his *Iliad* refers to Trojan military practices, such as battle expression, however, he was not a contemporary. As a result, Homer ascribes the Trojans with known Greek battle expression types such as assigning Greek deities and their characteristics to Trojan ones which may reveal more about the contemporary Greek battle expression than *other* cultural groups.² Despite these shortcomings, early authors collectively record battlefield practices that fall within the battle expression paradigm. Pre-5th century BC works reveal that battle expression existed as a military practice that was prevalent in those societies, particularly in the Greek world from where these authors derived. Battle expression types recorded in these literary works are supported by later Graeco-Roman authors who reaffirm the themes and lyrics of Tyrtaeus' war songs in Sparta.³

Graeco-Roman authors from the 5th-4th centuries BC consisted of Greek historians and playwrights. These authors can be considered quite reliable when studying Greek military practices from their written works as they were experienced in military matters. Thucydides and Xenophon, for example, possessed intimate knowledge of the events they wrote about and military affairs in general. The writing techniques of Thucydides and Herodotus have come under much scrutiny by modern scholars due to Thucydides' invention of speeches and Herodotus' moral lessons that drove his work.⁴ Nevertheless, Herodotus interviewed eyewitnesses to military events he described, and Thucydides had a military career and would have been privy to military customs of his day.

¹ For Homer see: Dallmann (2006) "*Homer*", in Brill's New Pauly; Hölter (2016), in Brill's New Pauly. For Tyrtaeus see: Bowie (2006) "*Tyrtaeus*", in Brill's New Pauly.

² Hom. *Il.* 5.590-597 (Table 23d).

³ Ath. *Dei.* 14.630-631 (Table 12b).

⁴ For Herodotus see: Meister (2006) "*Herodotus*", in Brill's New Pauly. For Thucydides see: HO (2006) "*Thucydides*", in Brill's New Pauly.

When referring to the battle expression, playwrights such as Aeschylus and Aristophanes provide no elaboration surrounding the practice to the audience. This suggests that both author and audience (the citizen body of Athens) would have been familiar with the battlefield customs presented in the plays. It would be an expectation that a playwright detail at length pre and post battle undertakings of an army, such as the singing of the paeon, if author or audience were not familiar with it. This is not the case in Greek plays from this time period, suggesting both playwright and audience understood battlefield processes and customs.⁵ The references would not be integrated within the plays if they were not completely relevant or accurate. On this matter, Aeschylus was a participant in the Persian Wars namely at Marathon and Salamis, and would have been familiar with Athenian military customs.⁶ Aristophanes, on the other hand, did not have a military career but lived and wrote plays during the Peloponnesian War.⁷ The frequency of military engagements throughout this period meant that he was acquainted with military matters through eye-witness testimony from the citizen population. Aristophanes' audience would have contained citizens who had participated in the war and expected references to military custom in plays be relevant and familiar.

4th century BC sling bullets uncovered from Philip II of Macedon's siege of Olynthus provides insight into the intentions and nature of Macedonian battle expression at this siege. The inscriptions discovered on lead sling bullets fired from the Macedonian forces contain statements that evoke their intentions at the siege. Sling bullets used at Olynthus record recurring messages of "conquer" and "blood".⁸ Macedonian battle expression served to instill the units within the army with a sense of determination for victory and the drive to inflict devastation onto the enemy as evident with these sling bullet remains. Besides this, Macedonian sling bullets showcased a sense of humour through the messages they contained, alluding that their battle expression forms were aimed to amuse the units within it through the nature of the custom. Messages of "ouch", "take it", and "a candy"⁹ appear which present a level of entertainment and enjoyment amongst the participants when undertaking these practices.

⁵ For more on this topic see the chapter "*When War Is Performed, What Do Soldiers and Veterans Want to Hear and See and Why?*" From Palaima (2014).

⁶ Zimmermann (2006) "*Aeschylus*", in Brill's New Pauly.

⁷ Nesselrath (2006) "*Aristophanes*", in Brill's New Pauly.

⁸ McDermott (1942): 36-37 & Foss (1975): 28

⁹ McDermott (1942): 36-37 & Foss (1975): 28

Polybius is categorized as a 3rd-2nd century BC author who was self-aware of what history should achieve and the qualities a historian needed to have. He believed that history was didactic and opposed sensationalism. He professed to be concerned only with recording the truth in political and military matters.

“A historical author should not try to thrill his readers by such exaggerated pictures, nor should he, like a tragic poet, try to imagine the probable utterances of his characters or reckon up all the consequences probably incidental to the occurrences with which he deals, but simply record what really happened and what really was said, however commonplace. For the object of tragedy is not the same as that of history but quite the opposite. The tragic poet should thrill and charm his audience for the moment by the verisimilitude of the words he puts into his characters’ mouths, but it is the task of the historian to instruct and convince for all time serious students by the truth of the facts and the speeches he narrates, since in the one case it is the probable that takes precedence, even if it be untrue, the purpose being to create illusion in spectators, in the other it is the truth, the purpose being to confer benefit on learners.”¹⁰

Polybius was intimate with military affairs, he was well-travelled and was present at key military engagements he recorded, such as the final siege of Carthage ca. 149 BC.¹¹

The Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii originates from around the 2nd-1st centuries BC.¹² This mosaic depicts a scene that contains Alexander the Great with some of his Macedonian army in battle against the Persian King Darius III and a group of his men. The dramatic scene presented in the mosaic showcases the moment in battle when Darius began to flee from the field in a chariot out of Alexander’s reach. The mosaic is styled off a 4th-3rd century BC Hellenistic painting and the image converted into mosaic form after Roman forces brought the original painting back to Rome as booty after 2nd century BC military campaigns in the Hellenistic East.¹³ The mosaic reveals the divergent appearance of Macedonian and Persian military forces on the battlefield. Studying the visual appearance of ancient armies has revealed insight into the nature and purpose of battle expression forms, namely the importance

¹⁰ Polyb. 2.56.10-13.

¹¹ Dreyer (2006) “*Polybius*”, in Brill’s New Pauly.

¹² Hoesch (2006) “*Alexander Mosaic*”, in Brill’s New Pauly.

¹³ Hoesch (2006) “*Alexander Mosaic*”, in Brill’s New Pauly.

of identification on the battlefield and association with specific fighting units. In the Alexander mosaic the companion cavalry are depicted with their unique helmet type.

The 1st century BC – AD 1st century has the largest number of Graeco-Roman authors that refer to battle expression types. Some authors from this period wrote about events well before their contemporary society, such as Livy and Plutarch, whilst others recorded events that transpired during the time period and were eye-witness testimonies, such as Caesar and Josephus. The author Varro wrote about the Latin language and within this work instances of battle expression were discovered that highlighted the impact this military phenomenon had within ancient society aside from military contexts.¹⁴ The amount of military oriented texts produced during this time period reflects the militaristic nature of society and the changing political environment of this time – which was accustomed to war and military matters. This was a period of great transition especially in the Roman world as it expanded its influence around the Mediterranean and developed under the rule of Augustus and his successors. Many of these written works record the military exploits of Rome and the achievements of influential and powerful men of these formative centuries.

Roman *glandes* dated to the Perusine War from 41-40 BC provides evidence for the continuity of the military tradition of inscribing images and messages onto sling bullets for use in battle. The recurring messages from the inscriptions demonstrate the intensity and aggression that battle expression forms could adopt in the lead up to and during battle. Evidence of taunting and crude sexual metaphors appear on sling bullets. Often to the detriment of individual figures of an enemy force, military units hoped to inflict pain and suffering on the enemy while being entertained in the process.¹⁵ The discovery of sling bullets from this time period reveals their continued military use from the 4th century BC with the continued practice of inscribing messages and images on them elucidates their importance in understanding the mood and intent of the soldiers who fired them at the time.

Authors from the AD 2nd-3rd centuries had military careers or were privy to source material that originated from military campaigns and eye-witness testimony. Tacitus, Arrian and Dio Cassius were authors from this time period that lived military careers and had access to eye-

¹⁴ Varro. *DL*. 5.73; 6.68; 7.49 (Table 66).

¹⁵ Kelly (2012): 291-294; McDermott (1942): 36-37

witness testimony for the topics they wrote about.¹⁶ Other authors from this time period such as Polyaeus, Suetonius and Athenaeus were not as well acquainted with military life as the aforementioned authors, however, relied on source material that was reliable.¹⁷ The iconographic reliefs visible on Trajan's triumphal column from Rome originate from the AD 2nd century and record Trajan's Dacian military campaign. Scenes presented on this column depict the military appearance, such as uniforms, weapons and armour used by the various military units within the Roman and Dacian armies. The intentional appearance created by military units served, among other things, for identification purposes and were linked to battle expression custom. Like the study of the Alexander mosaic, this artwork was created by contemporary artists that represented different military units based on their appearance.¹⁸ Trajan's monumental column served the purpose of elevating the emperor to the heavens to praise his deeds,¹⁹ in doing so, the depiction of events and those involved, such as the military forces, required accurate representation.

Ammianus Marcellinus and Vegetius are notable authors from the AD 4th-5th centuries. Both wrote about military matters, however, Ammianus was the most experienced of these authors due to his role in the Roman army during the reign of Roman Emperor Julian. Ammianus' participation in Roman campaigns in Germany and Syria are particularly useful in the investigation of the battle expression as he recalled these consistently in his battle narratives.²⁰ Vegetius' work on Roman military affairs was inspired by the racial and military contamination of the Roman army during this period where he saw the need to return to the military ways of previous centuries.²¹ Despite Vegetius' lack of military career, he became an expert in Roman military life from the research he undertook to prepare for his book *Rei Militaris Instituta*.

The Roman Emperor Maurice or another general of his reign has been credited for the writing of the *Strategikon* in the 6th century.²² Whoever the original author the book was composed by

¹⁶ For Tacitus see: Flaig (2006) "*Tacitus*", in Brill's New Pauly.

For Arrian see: Badian (2006) "*Arrianus*", in Brill's New Pauly.

For Dio Cassius see: Birley (2006) "*Cassius*", in Brill's New Pauly.

¹⁷ For Polyaeus see: Meister (2006) "*Polyaeus*", in Brill's New Pauly.

For Suetonius see: Sallmann (2006) "*Suetonius*", in Brill's New Pauly.

For Athenaeus see: Bowie (2006) "*Athenaeus*", in Brill's New Pauly.

¹⁸ Speidel's work "*Ancient Germanic Warriors: Warrior Styles from Trajan's Column to Icelandic Sagas*." London Routledge, 2004, is based on this notion.

¹⁹ Höcker (2006) "*Monumental columns*", in Brill's New Pauly.

²⁰ Rosen (2006) "*Ammianus Marcellinus*", in Brill's New Pauly.

²¹ Brandt (2006) "*Vegetius*", in Brill's New Pauly.

²² Tinnefeld (2006) "*Mauricius*", in Brill's New Pauly.

an experienced military careerist, which gives weight to its reliability and usefulness for its references to the battle expression. Procopius is another notable author from the 6th century who had a significant military career. He accompanied Belisarius on military campaign during this period.²³ Notable historians from this time had great familiarity with military matters. Their literary works demonstrate the continuing presence the battle expression had at this late stage of antiquity.

Graeco-Roman authors impressed cultural characterization onto the battle expression types they recorded. The cultural profiling of ancient armies and their battle expression is a common feature found in the source material that relates to the battle expression. Each military culture in the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world adopted unique forms to transmit their battlefield customs. The cultural background of the military force influenced the nature of battle expression types that exist in literary evidence. Ancient authors focused on the cultural differences between armies to convey the author's political agenda. Vasaly claims that Roman historians, particularly Livy and Caesar, characterized *other* cultural groups in comparison to the Romans for socio-political agenda.²⁴ Ancient authors presented African, Asian, Celt/Germanic, Greek and Roman battle expression types as different and unique in their own way. The authors' presentations were based on patriotism, xenophobia, political propaganda and depth of understanding.²⁵ Below contains an overview of the cultural typecasting that authors linked battle expression with. It is important to be aware of these prejudices and characterizations when analyzing the evidence when deciphering the intentions, nature and impacts of the battle expression irrespective of which culture undertook it.

The battle expression of African military forces, namely Numidian and Carthaginian, are represented by ancient Graeco-Roman authors as quite peculiar in nature and purpose. The evidence reflects the conception of the African continent and its people as a multi-racial entity suggesting a diversity in noise, language and customs amongst the various African peoples. The unique examples of African battle expression, compared to other ancient Mediterranean cultures recorded in Graeco-Roman historical works, derive from the languages of North Africa. The Afroasiatic languages that make up the lands of Africa that border the

²³ Tinnefeld (2006) "*Procopius*", in Brill's New Pauly.

²⁴ Vasaly. (2009): 245-260.

²⁵ For example, see: Grant (1995): 67-74; Marincola (2009): 17-18; Baynham, E (2009): 290; Feldherr (2009): 302-303; Lendon (1999): 275, 280-281 & Gluck (1964): 25.

Mediterranean are just as diverse and inter-mingled with different dialects and influences in the modern world as they would have been in the ancient world.²⁶ The linguistic and habitual diversity of African military forces would have served to generate this characterization of African battle expression found in the historical sources.

The Roman historian Sallust in his work *The Jugurthine War* is one of the more insightful ancient literary sources that details the battle expression of the Numidian culture. Numidia, during the republic, was an ally kingdom of Rome in North Africa. However, as a result of the hostile actions of one of its leaders, Jugurtha, Rome and Numidian forces, led by Jugurtha, became embroiled in a long drawn out war which resulted in Rome's ultimate victory during the late 2nd century BC. The kingdom of Numidia, after this war, was reinstated as an ally kingdom of Rome.

Graeco-Roman literary sources present African military forces battle expression as peculiar in nature. Their inclusion in the historical record, of the Romans in particular (Livy and Sallust) highlights the notion that the African military culture was different and used by authors as interesting anecdotes for their audiences. The African battle expression culture is characterized by attempts to deceive or deter the enemy from their military objectives, such as the Ligurians in Livy.²⁷ Also, African military units aimed to inspire their compatriots through familiar movement and sound that was alien to the author²⁸, particularly evident in Sallust, resulting in the various episodes being included in historical works intended for Graeco-Roman audiences. The characteristics of African battle expression reinforces the notion that their military culture was presented as unique in the Mediterranean world.

Ancient Graeco-Roman literary records characterize Asian battle expression as ostentatious displays that reflected the cultural diversity of the peoples within this geographical region. Asian military forces are presented in the literary record as effectually arrogant, demonstratively flamboyant and psychologically egotistic in their battle expression. This makes the Asian battle expression unique²⁹ when compared to other cultures around the

²⁶ Blench, R. (2006) 'Chapter 4: Afroasiatic' pp: 139-162.

²⁷ Livy. 35.11.6-11 (Table 30c).

²⁸ Sal. *Jug.* 60.3-4 (Table 57a).

²⁹ Hom. *Il.* 2.459-469, 3.1-5, 5.595-597 (Table 23); Hdt. 1.17, 3.151 (Table 22); Xen. *Ana.* 1.7.4, 1.8.11 (Table 68); Xen. *Cy.* 3.2.9-10, 3.3.58-63 (Table 70); Arr. *Ana.* 4.4.2, 4.18.6 (Table 11); Plut. *Sul.* 16 (Table 52b); Plut. *Cras.* 26 (Table 42b); Amm. 19.1.8, 19.2.6, 19.2.11-12, 20.7.5 (Table 5).

Mediterranean world. Trojans, Lydians, Scythians, Persians, Parthians are all categorized for this study as Asian cultures that fought directly against, or within, the confines of Graeco-Roman military units from the ancient Mediterranean world. Evidence for Asian battle expression types are consistently found within Graeco-Roman literary accounts dated across the broad time span of this study. The presence of Asian battle expression are found within Homer, Herodotus, Xenophon, Arrian, Plutarch and Ammianus Marcellinus.³⁰ From the Trojan War (12th-8th century BC) through to the late Roman empire (AD 4th-5th century) a variety of different Asian military forces are presented as undertaking a battle expression which represent the traditional characteristics associated with the Asian military culture. This suggests, primarily, that Asian cultures were stylistically stereotyped by Graeco-Roman authors during this period, but also, were an ever-present military participant in the historical interplay of Greece and Rome in Mediterranean and Eurasian antiquity.

The sole evidence available for the Asia Minor culture of archaic Troy derives from the Greek Poet Homer and his epic poem the *Iliad*. This poem's depiction of Trojan battle expression contains culturally conflicting traits. On the one hand, Homer ascribes distinct individualism to certain forms of Trojan battle expression, separating them from the range of expression characterizing the Greeks' tactical approach to military engagement. Conversely, Homer represents certain forms of Trojan battle expression as very similar in nature to the Greek battle expression performed during the same war. Here, Homer denotes the Trojan battle expression as the army sounding and moving like a flock of birds.³¹ Homer compares the sight and sound of the Trojan army gathering together and presenting themselves on the battlefield as watching a flock of birds – *like* geese, cranes or swans, gathering on an Asian meadow in immense numbers. The sound that the army generated made the earth echo.³² Homer likens the appearance of the mentioned birds as being very bold and the sound of the flock/army crying together as overwhelming.

The battlefield customs of Asian military forces are presented in Graeco-Roman literary sources with unique cultural attributes that separated them from others in the ancient

³⁰ Hom. *Il.* 2.459-469, 3.1-5, 5.595-597 (Table 23); Hdt. 1.17, 3.151 (Table 22); Xen. *Ana.* 1.7.4, 1.8.11 (Table 68); Xen. *Cy.* 3.2.9-10, 3.3.58-63 (Table 70); Arr. *Ana.* 4.4.2, 4.18.6 (Table 11); Plut. *Sul.* 16 (Table 52b); Plut. *Cras.* 26 (Table 42b); Amm. 19.1.8, 19.2.6, 19.2.11-12, 20.7.5 (Table 5).

³¹ Hom. *Il.* 2.459-469 (Table 23b).

³² Hom. *Il.* 2.466 (Table 23b).

Mediterranean world. No doubt Graeco-Roman authors intentionally shaped this image for an audience accustomed to conflict with the powers of the oriental east. Within the manipulated image, the Asian battle expression can be viewed as empowering and meaningful to the participant. The sophistication of sound and action within Asian battlefield custom is acknowledged through the concept of battle expression. Excessive noise and numerical superiority associated with Asian armies inspired flamboyant and arrogant displays. The public acclamation of one man being the king of all kings and the exhibition of slain enemies' heads provides insight into a culture that was presented as highly confident, yet callous. Sonic and visual displays that reflected movement through colour and ostentatious sound aimed to overwhelm the enemy before battle began. This is suggestive of a culture intimate with deception. The incorporation of drums and stringed instruments, within a military context, highlights the wealth and extravagance of the Asian culture.

Graeco-Roman literary sources portray both ancient Celtic and Germanic battle expression as reflective³³ of the natural surrounds that this culture was accustomed to. For the purpose of this study, the military forces of the Celts and Germans will be merged together when focusing on their battle expression. The differences in geographical and political origins among the various Celtic and Germanic tribes referred to in Graeco-Roman literary works are not intended to be overlooked or ignored.³⁴ It is through the nature, range and purpose of Celtic and Germanic battle expression that their cultures are linked. Ancient Celts and Germans were animists.³⁵ The raw power of nature found in water, animals and weather was revered by the ancient Celts/Germans. The physical world of the Celts and Germans was inextricably connected to their spiritual and cultural world that was full of supernatural forces.³⁶ It was their animism that was integrated within their battle expression.³⁷ It is this cultural feature that differentiates Celtic and Germanic tribes from other ancient Mediterranean cultures. The literary sources present Celtic and Germanic military forces as intimidating in appearance and atmospheric in

³³ By "reflective" means the ancient authors descriptions of Celtic and Germanic battle expression demonstrate their animism. The ancient authors did not intend to understand or interpret the cultural connection of the Celts and Germans to nature themselves, their accounts reinforce this understanding.

³⁴ Sometimes it is difficult to determine the differences between Celts and Germans from the ancient Graeco-Roman world. See: Baray (2014) and Rawlinson, C. "On the Ethnography of the Cimbri." *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 6 (1877), pp. 150-158. See Strab. *Geo.* 4.4.2 (Table 58b).

³⁵ Speidel (2002): 276; Luc. *Phar.* 1.450-455 (Table 33a); Tac. *Ger.* 9-10 (Table 61c); Strab. *Geo.* 4.4.4 (Table 58c).

³⁶ Tac. *Ger.* 9-10, 45 (Table 61); Luc. *Phar.* 1.498-501.

³⁷ Speidel (2004): 1, 13, 43, 47, 51, 57 & 81.

noise.³⁸ Through appearance and noise the Celts and Germans sought to extract the raw power of natural forces and assault the senses of the enemy with them. The battle expression of the ancient Celts and Germans testify to the inextricable relationship this culture had with nature and the forces they observed within it that their warriors attempted to mimic on the battlefield.

Ancient Celtic and Germanic battle expression types are recorded in detail by Graeco-Roman authors. This is not surprising given the long history Greek and Roman military forces have been in direct military contact with Celtic and Germanic tribes. The Romans had military contact with Celtic and Germanic tribes since the 4th century BC and continued to fight with, and against, these forces up to the fall of Constantinople in AD 1453. The northern borderlands of both Greek kingdoms/city-states and Roman provinces were occupied and raided by Celtic and Germanic tribes throughout their histories. The northern and western expansion, and later the defense, of the Roman empire from the 2nd century BC through to AD 5th century was focused upon the lands that the Celts and Germans occupied. The detail offered by ancient Graeco-Roman authors, such as Livy, Ammianus Marcellinus, Plutarch and Tacitus,³⁹ regarding the battle expression of the Celts and Germans, was an established writing style and a staple feature of battle narrative when accounting for the military exploits of the barbaric northern tribes.

The appearance of Celt/German warriors before and during battle is described by many Graeco-Roman authors at great length in their histories. The dedication authors give to this subject suggests that their audience took great pleasure in reading these accounts. Of all the cultures that had military contact with the Greeks and the Romans the descriptions of the Celt/German warriors by Graeco-Roman authors excel all others in detail and imagery. This reveals how alien Celt and German culture was to the Graeco-Roman, reflected notably in their battle expression. The appearance of Celtic and Germanic military forces instilled fear and over-awed their opponents. The wild, natural bearing of these warriors sought to intimidate the on-looker. Polybius presents a large Celtic army, during Rome's Cisalpine Gaul campaign against the Celts in the 3rd century BC, unnerving the Roman army sent to destroy it. Polybius claims that the sight of the Celtic battle expression, which involved simultaneous movements of the warriors who were naked and in excellent physical condition struck fear into the

³⁸ Polyb. 2.28 (Table 54c); Livy 38.17ff (Table 31a); Dio. Cass. 38.45.4-5 (Table 17a).

³⁹ Polyb. 2.28 (Table 54c); Livy. 38.17 (Table 31a); Tac. *Ger.* 43 (Table 61d); Amm. 16.12.43 (Table 5f).

Romans.⁴⁰ Many Graeco-Roman authors testify to the bare appearance of Celtic and Germanic warriors. The contrast between Greek/Roman warrior, heavily clad in armour (helmet, breastplate, shield), to the Celt/German, who was naked, except for weapon, shield and potentially a piece of jewelry such as a torque, must have been memorable to the eye-witness. This is potentially the reason for Celt/German warriors being referred to by many different Graeco-Roman authors.⁴¹ The demonstration of tall/large physiques and naked bodies, not only would have been intimidating to Greek/Roman warriors who were not generally as large compared to the Celt/German peoples,⁴² but this practice was potentially a reflection of the Celtic/Germanic animistic culture that embraced natural power. By a Celtic/Germanic military force baring their naked bodies, and emphasizing their naturally large physique, to the foreign Roman/Greek enemies may have served to unite the warriors through cultural identity.⁴³

The purposeful creation of a physical appearance that reflected a natural force/s to intimidate the enemy is a typical cultural military trait unique amongst the ancient Celts/Germans. The ancient literary sources categorize the battle expression of the Celts and Germans with descriptions of nudity, the manipulation of hair, the dying of the body and shields to reflect night/hell, the flashing of teeth, the mimicking of wild animals, leaping into the air *en masse* and displaying of large weapons. These actions each demonstrate the natural force Celts and Germans tried to emulate on the battlefield, strength. These warriors intentionally presented themselves as stronger, or more powerful than their opposition through their natural bearing and their attempts to emulate forces from nature that were more powerful than them.

The evidence from ancient Graeco-Roman literary sources, together with Celtic/Germanic artworks and early middle age literature of Celtic/Germanic warriors in battle dispels the sentiment of ancient battle expression being primitive and barbarous. Through interpreting the sources Celtic/Germanic battle expression types are portrayed as being rooted in meaning, purpose and honour. Animistic displays, such as altering behavior and appearance to mimic animals, natural forces and deities, were deeply religious and culturally important. Ritualistic dancing, the profession of patriotism and character traits of the clan/people evoked

⁴⁰ Polyb. 2.29 (Table 54c).

⁴¹ References for Celt/German warriors' fearsome physique and/or naked appearance in battle include; Tac. *Hist.* 2.22 (Table 62c); Polyb. 2.28-29 (Table 54c); Livy. 38.17 (Table 31a); Caes. *Gal.* 2.30 (Table 15c). For a study on the biological standard of living in Europe, see Koepke and Baten (2005).

⁴² Caes. *Gal.* 2.30 (Table 15c).

⁴³ Speidel (2002): 276.

sophistication and ancestral pride. The nature of Celtic/Germanic battle expression highlights the close affiliation the military had with the culture of these peoples. A new interpretation of the sources suggests that, for the Celts/Germans, war facilitated the worship of their supreme deities and of nature.

Graeco-Roman literary sources present Greek battle expression as reflective of the socio-political customs and religious beliefs of the poleis. In contrast to other ancient Mediterranean cultures, the types of battle expression employed by Greek armies were controlled and cohesive undertakings.⁴⁴ Greek military forces undertook calculated battle expression forms that sought to honour the deities and proudly proclaim socio-political customs. Evidence suggests that all Greek military forces, irrespective of which polis or geographical region the force originated from, consistently adopted and performed the paean⁴⁵ or religious hymn before battle. Literary evidence reveals that the battle expression of armies from different regions in the Hellenistic world, such as Sparta and Macedon, reflected their socio-political identity. Greek military forces displayed these characteristics from the pre-archaic through to the Hellenistic era of the 2nd century BC, an extensive military tradition.

Greek armies customarily undertook battle expression. The paean hymn was universally sung by Greek armies before battle (often in conjunction with blood sacrifice) and after victorious battle.⁴⁶ The pre-battle paean was the traditional precursor to the *eleleu* cry that Greek armies utilized in the opening stages of battle that evoked martial deities; suggesting a religious dimension to the tradition. Archaeological and literary evidence reveals that Greek city states purposefully affirmed their socio-political ideologies on the battlefield to instill resolve amongst the army, whilst the nature of the battle expression aimed to create an atmosphere nerve wracking for the enemy. Spartan armies integrated the war poetry of Tyrtaeus and customs founded by Lycurgus into their battle expression.⁴⁷ Theban armies revealed their connection to Herakles through painted motifs on their shields.⁴⁸ Macedonian armies professed

⁴⁴ Hom. *Il.* 3.1-9 (Table 23c); Ath. *Dei.* 14.624 (Table 12a); Xen. *Hel.* 4.3.17 (Table 71d); Pritchett (1971): 108; Potter (1728): 84.

⁴⁵ *OCD* 4th ed. (2012): 1060 “*Paean*”; Strabo. *Geo.* 9.3.10-12 (Table 58d).

⁴⁶ Pritchett. (1971): 105; Rutherford (1994): 113-116; Haldane (1965): 33 n.5; Potter (1728): 76; Thuc. 1.50, 2.91, 4.43, 4.96, 7.44 (Table 63); Arr. *Ana.* 1.15.7-8 (Table 11d); Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.16-19, 4.3.18-19, 4.3.29, 4.3.31, 4.8.16, 5.2.13-14 (Table 68); Xen. *Hel.* 2.4.17, 4.2.19 (Table 71); Xen. *Cy.* 3.3.58 (Table 70b); Aesch. *Pers.* 384-395 (Table 3a).

⁴⁷ Bayliss (2017); Cartledge (2006): 79; Koiv (2005): 238, 263; Ath. *Dei.* 14.630ff (Table 12b); Plut. *Cleo.* 2.3 (Table 41a); Plut. *Mor.* 959a (Table 48a).

⁴⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.20 (Table 71).

their admiration and loyalty to Philip II through their incorporation of the sarissa into their battlefield customs.⁴⁹ The inscription of Philip's name on lead sling bullets, discovered at Olynthus, reveals the proud connection that the Macedonian military had to their monarchical leaders in a military context.⁵⁰

The literary tradition records the phenomenon of the battle expression (from the republic to the late empire). As we have seen in relation to other ancient military cultures, alterations in form of battle expression developed over time: in this instance, as Rome's dominance extended across the Mediterranean world. While early and mid-republican Rome encompasses a period of significant political and military change, it is also important to note that the term 'Roman' should be understood to encapsulate the peoples of Italy integrated within the Roman military. Evidence suggests that typical forms of Roman battle expression, practiced during the republic and early empire, were still in use during the late empire.⁵¹ The literary record portrays a shift in forms of battle expression during Rome's imperial period reflecting the integration into the Roman army of non-Italian soldiers (as compared to previous periods); and, in consequence, elements of non-Roman battle expression. This shift resulted in the Roman army adopting Germanic and Eurasian forms of battle expression as well as a range of Christian military invocations at the expense of traditional Roman forms that embodied pre-Christian ideology.⁵²

The forms of battle expression employed by the Roman army were traditional and long-established practices. The clashing of weapons against shield and massed vocal noise, that potentially incorporated song or chant, originated from archaic times.⁵³ Significant religious customs influenced battle expression; the *Salii* customs and military triumphs provide insight into the origins and cultural connection religion had with military custom. Roman battle expression embraced unique stimuli that served to inspire friendly troops, yet terrify the enemy. The blasting of trumpets, aside from their practical function of issuing orders, was integrated within the battle expression. Military standards, such as the eagle, were looked upon by Roman troops and the enemy with awe.⁵⁴ Roman sling bullet inscriptions support the unique features

⁴⁹ Arr. *Ana.* 1.6.1-4 (Table 11a).

⁵⁰ McDermott (1942): 36-37 & Foss (1975): 28.

⁵¹ Cowan (2007) & Rance (2015).

⁵² Cowan (2007) & Rance (2015).

⁵³ Caes. *B Civ.* 3.92 (Table 14f); Cowan (2007); Dusanic (2003): 91.

⁵⁴ Livy 28.14.10; Amm. 27.2.6, 28.5.3, 29.5.15 (Table 5); Jos. *BJ.* 3.123 (Table 26c); Tac. *Ann.* 2.17 (Table 60b); Speidel (1984): 17-22.

of the Roman battle expression.⁵⁵ Civil war periods created awkwardness on the battlefield when Roman legions fought against each other. Roman civil war periods highlighted the significant cultural dimension that battle expression embraced. The development and diversification in types of Roman battle expression resulted from the civil war periods. The influence for this change came from the integration of non-Roman units in the army.⁵⁶ The adoption of non-Roman military practices, such as the *barritus* and *draco*, highlight the cultural shift in the nature and customs of the army. Ultimately, Roman religious customs and beliefs were central to their battle expression. It is not surprising that the rising influence of Christianity during the late empire saw Roman armies replace traditional pagan types in favour of Christian equivalents.⁵⁷

Conclusions

The study of the authors and archaeological evidence that relates to the battle expression is necessary to determine the reliability of the source material. It is evident that the authors who were eye-witness or contemporary to military events that they present in their works provide an accurate image concerning battlefield customs. It is apparent that the representation of the battle expression, in terms of the nature and purpose, over the course of centuries remains consistent within the source material. Authors who had eye-witness testimony available to them as source material are equally well versed with understanding their subject. What is clear is that the battle expression has been recorded by Graeco-Roman authors from before the 5th century BC through to AD 6th century. The authors range from historians, playwrights, chroniclers and artists. They all testify to this paradigm. Often the source material highlighted the cultural diversity between ancient armies for political agenda and used the battle expression to reinforce this. Irrespective of the cultural profiling that took place in Graeco-Roman literary and iconographical works, the battle expression is presented as multi-faceted in nature, typology and purpose. The cultural characterization found within the source material reveals an added element to our understanding of the practices of this military phenomenon.

⁵⁵ Kelly (2012): 291-294; McDermott (1942): 36-37

⁵⁶ Amm. 16.12.43 (Table 5f); Dio. Cass. 72.16.1-2 (Table 17e); Tac. *Ger.* 3 (Table 61a); Tac. *Hist.* 2.21, 5.16-17 (Table 62); Speidel (1984): 118-128. For research surrounding recruitment of the Roman army see: Dobson & Mann (1973); Littleton & Thomas (1978): 520 & Wadge (1987): 209. For a study on the Germanic warriors in the Roman army depicted on Trajan's column see: Speidel (2004).

⁵⁷ Cowan (2007) & Rance (2015).

Chapter 3. Group cohesion

The battle expression paradigm captures the complexity of human experience in warfare. It is important, therefore, when formulating a complete understanding of this phenomenon, to consider not only those actions that take place *during* battle, but also the various types of expression prior to the engagement of conflict that could be undertaken in the moments leading up to battle. Our ability to identify particular categories of expression can help us to shed light on the range of needs informing the performance of those expressions whether they be the needs of the state, the community of combatants, or of individual soldiers. In this context, we may speak of broader sociopolitical imperatives such as patriotism or imperialism, or similarly encompassing sociopolitical drives like glory or honour. What seems certain is that the heterogeneous backgrounds of men fighting in a military force inspired, informed, and framed what happened before as much as during violent conflict.

The search for group support and belonging to feel protected, for example, was an instinctual need of men before battle. The methods that men used before and during battle to measure the strength of their culture and their fighting force, as well as the source of their protection, came in various forms. Often these methods were expressed *en masse*: singing, praying, imitating wild animals, the playing of instruments, gesticulations, taunting, appearance and marching. The more cohesive battle expression often resulted in greater enthusiasm developed amongst the fighting ranks. Public demonstrations of a battle expression served to gauge the mental state of the enemy who bore witness to it. The potential for a battle expression to influence the outcome of a battle, by denting the enemy's morale thereby weakening their military effectiveness or preventing bloodshed through forcing the enemy to surrender or withdraw from the battlefield, reveals its military significance. Literary sources suggest that the battle expression was encouraged by the military high command due to its effectiveness to inspire an army and intimidate the enemy.¹ This chapter will focus on the evidence that battle expression was utilized by ancient military forces to gauge and strengthen unit cohesiveness for battle.

¹ Sabin (2007): 403 "More often, the opposing forces were aware of one another's presence [on the battlefield] ..."; 429 "In other infantry clashes, psychology and morale probably played a much more decisive role." For the effects of terror at the beginning of battle see Fron. *Strat.* 2.4.3 "...to order the trumpeters to blow their horns. Then, when the hill-tops re-echoed with the sound, the impression of a huge multitude was borne in upon the enemy, who fled in terror." (see Table 21b).

The psychological dimension of the battle expression

Kellett's study into the motivational and behavioral aspects of the soldier in battle can be applied to the ancient Graeco-Roman battle expression.² The use of modern conflicts as case studies to demonstrate Kellett's argument does not limit its application to ancient warfare.³ It should be reasonably clear, for instance, that at the core of any soldier's mental attitude prior to the engagement of battle is his combat preparedness. According to Kellett, military training is fundamental for a soldier's practical and psychological preparation for battle.⁴ The ability for a soldier to become acquainted with the sights and sounds of battle is integral in creating confidence and preventing the outbreak of fear.⁵ Ancient forces adopted the battle expression to assure that the mindset of the combatants would default to the patterns established with familiarized exposure during their training, and diffuse any problematic concerns associated with the uncertainty and confusion⁶ that the battle experience could bring to inexperienced troops.⁷ According to Kellett, by promoting unit cohesion individual members would become more devoted to the group and, therefore, more enthusiastic to honour the unit in battle.⁸ This provides a useful explanation that may be applied to the numerous instances in the surviving literary record of ancient armies expressing their identity, in their various forms, on the battlefield.⁹ Group cohesion on the battlefield generates a sense of reciprocal obligation to protect all members of that group.¹⁰ The battle expression is therefore a helpful heuristic frame *and* military practice by which to identify different groups on the battlefield and to gauge their cohesive strength through its performance.

² Kellett (1990): 215-235.

³ Hanson (1989): 96-151 can be used as a case study for the psychological effects of the Greek phalanx warfare.

⁴ Kellett (1990): 216.

⁵ For examples of fear that could develop on the battlefield see; Hom. *Il.* 13.279-283 (Table 23g); Ono. 28.1 (Table 36d); Lysias *Mantheos* 16.17 (Table 34a); Plut. *Aem.* 19.1-3 (Table 38a); Poly. *Strat. Iph.* 3.9.8 (Table 35b); Thuc. 5.10.5-7 (Table 63f); Polyb. 4.64.9-10, 18.25.1-2 (Table 54).

⁶ Kellett uses the term "fog of war." This term was first coined by Prussian military analyst Carl von Clausewitz in the 19th century.

⁷ For evidence of battle expression used in training see: Plut. *Lyc.* 21.1 (Table 45b); Ono. *Strat.* 29 "Shouting in the midst of battle" (Table 36e); Amm. 22.4.6 (Table 5p); Jos. *BJ.* 3.70-76 (Table 26a); Poly. *Strat. Pers.* 4.21.1 (Table 53d); Aesch. *Sept.* 270 (Table 4c).

⁸ Kellett (1990): 217, 219 "armies have long sought to promote loyalty to an entity larger than the soldier's immediate group."

⁹ For examples of unit identity see: Hanson (1989): 117-118, 122-124 suggests the confidence within a phalanx grew out of strong bonds of unit cohesiveness. Hoplites gained courage because of capabilities of the general and the men at their side. Shame of playing the coward and living up to the ideal of the brave man were other determining factors in unit identity within a Greek phalanx army. Ono. 24. Men fought best when brother is in rank beside brother, friend beside friend, lover beside lover; Plut. *Mar.* 19.3-5 (see Table 47c).

¹⁰ Kellett (1990): 226.

Another helpful modern perspective to consider in this regard is Lendon's study into the rhetoric of Graeco-Roman combat. Lendon claims that "the Greeks had an old, deep-rooted respect for the terrifying irrationality of the moods of soldiers in battle, a respect manifested in cults to Pan, the god of panic, and sacrifices to Artemis."¹¹ Here, we know that not just Greeks like Xenophon respected the influence psychological factors had on soldiers in battle. According to Xenophon:

"It is neither numbers nor strength which wins victories in war; but whichever of the two sides it be whose troops, by the blessing of the gods, advance to the attack with stouter hearts, against those troops their adversaries generally refuse to stand. And in my own experience, gentlemen, I have observed this other fact, that those who are anxious in war to save their lives in any way they can, are the very men who usually meet with a base and shameful death; while those who have recognized that death is the common and inevitable portion of all mankind and therefore strive to meet death nobly, are precisely those who are somehow more likely to reach old age and who enjoy a happier existence while they do live."¹²

Xenophon claimed that psychology was the most important factor in winning battles.¹³ High levels of visual confidence in one's army could be enough to produce panic in the enemy whilst signs of fear could raise the spirits of the enemy.¹⁴ For Xenophon, the gods could inspire confidence within an army and, just as easily, spread fear and panic.¹⁵ Panic was viewed in Greek warfare as being a contagious effect that could not be easily reversed.¹⁶

Hanson's, *The Western Way of War*, highlights the unique nature of phalanx warfare in the classical Greek world.¹⁷ Hanson effectively describes, from a hoplite's perspective, the experiences of being positioned within a phalanx formation in the lead up to battle.¹⁸ The hoplites' mentality was affected dramatically on the battlefield prior to engagement with the

¹¹ Lendon (1999): 292.

¹² Xen. *Ana.* 3.1.42-44 (see Table 68d).

¹³ Lendon (1999): 291.

¹⁴ Lendon (1999): 291-292.

¹⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.38, 7.1.31, 7.2.21-22 (Table 71); Xen. *Ana.* 3.1.42 (Table 68d) & Lendon (1999): 292.

¹⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.12, 4.8.38, 5.2.42, 5.4.45, 7.5.24 (Table 71); Thuc. 4.96 (Table 63e) & Lendon (1999): 292.

¹⁷ Hanson (1989).

¹⁸ Hanson (1989): 96.

enemy. The time spent facing the enemy from a distance, the knowledge of, or lack thereof, regarding the types of wounds that could potentially be sustained and the experience of being hard pressed all around by friend and foe that resulted from phalanx warfare affected the hoplite's psyche.¹⁹ Hoplites would develop feelings of fear and trepidation for the battle that was to come. Greek phalanx warfare, according to Hanson, was "by agreement"²⁰ whereby opposing Greek military forces would arrange to meet face-to-face on a given day. Military forces would eye each other off anywhere from a few minutes to hours on end.²¹ During this time Greek phalanx armies would attempt to intimidate the other to reverse the onset of fear amongst friendly troops and to accelerate the levels of anxiety within the enemy. Military forces that were successful at this could potentially win the battle before engagement with the enemy, as the latter would break and flee.²² Greek armies institutionalized ritualistic battle expression, such as the *paeon* to achieve this.²³ Aside from the *paeon*, Hanson claims that the Greeks, of which the Athenians are made specific examples of, raised a collective utterance of *eleleleu* - deemed "the ancient equivalent of the rebel yell"²⁴ - on the battlefield before advancing on the enemy. During the "pre battle environment" the yelling and singing of the men in the phalanx aimed to rouse the men for battle.²⁵ Thus, yelling and singing generated a sense of regimental spirit amongst the troops, which Hanson claims, was one reason why Greek hoplites resolved themselves to fight in this brutal manner of warfare.²⁶ The use of song and symbolism that connected the rank and file along nationalistic lines inspired Greek battle expression, so too, did the commander of the phalanx who was used as inspiration for hoplites in the lead up to battle.²⁷

Hanson's acknowledgement that ritual song and vocal noise before battle resulted in psychological benefits for a Greek army (heightened levels of regimental spirit and collectivism) correlates with the battle expression concept. The limitations of the term war cry, when attempting to account for a military phenomenon, such as massed vocal noise before

¹⁹ This idea of the individual hoplite having a chaotic experience during battle is echoed by De Vivo (2014): 163-169.

²⁰ Hanson (1989): 97.

²¹ Hanson (1989): 97.

²² Hanson (1989): 151.

²³ Hanson (1989): 100.

²⁴ Hanson (1989): 149.

²⁵ Hanson (1989): 139.

²⁶ Hanson (1989): 107.

²⁷ Hanson (1989): 107.

engagement with the enemy, is demonstrated as Hanson does not categorize the purposes associated with such actions to war cry. Instead, Hanson uses the nature of phalanx warfare to explain why massed vocal noise was undertaken on the battlefield: to instill resolve within the individual and group for the manner of fighting that would ensue or to potentially prevent it from occurring. Despite this connection with the battle expression concept, Hanson's interpretation fails to acknowledge the social, political and religious significance that types of battle expression may have had for a military force. A battle expression reflected group identity, often based around ethnicity, patriotism or political ideology. Social customs and religious beliefs were revealed through the different types of battle expression. The political disunity within ancient Greece, evident through the *poleis*, highlighted social and political diversity that were reflected in battlefield customs that are not accounted for by Hanson.

Krentz acknowledges that psychology was “perhaps the most important consideration” in the formation of the phalanx.²⁸ The depth of a phalanx formation gave the hoplites a psychological lift and exerted a psychological pressure on the enemy with the sight of an unbreakable phalanx. Krentz claims that the Spartans created a psychological advantage for themselves in battle as they did not run and shout into battle to keep up their courage but remained calm, measured, and quiet as they advanced to the sound of flute.²⁹ This argument is important for the battle expression paradigm as a feature of it is the psychological dimension of the practice as a positive morale boosting exercise and undertakings that sought to intimidate the enemy onlookers. Krentz mentions shouting as a feature of a phalanx army advancing into battle and that the Spartans marched to the sound of the flute. Little is expanded upon from this by way of what was shouted or what tune was played on the flute or the significance these actions may have held socially or culturally for a hoplite phalanx. No mention of war cry, singing of the paean or ritual sacrifice is made by Krentz despite the evidence of these practices in the ancient source material. Krentz's study on “The Nature of Hoplite Battle” fails to give life to an ancient military practice, such as the *paean* and *elelelu*, that appears to have been customary in hoplite battles. This work falls into the category of modern scholars who have overlooked the importance of pre-battle customs of Greek phalanx armies.

²⁸ Krentz (1985): 60.

²⁹ Krentz (1985): 60.

Crowley's study into the combat trauma of classical antiquity compares the historical and societal factors that affected American soldiers in Vietnam to Athenian hoplites. The main argument surrounds the religious background of both societies with their morals and ethics.³⁰ According to Crowley "...it would appear that these historically specific and radically divergent circumstances left the American infantryman critically vulnerable to PTSD/CSI while the Athenian hoplite was effectively immunized against the same risk."³¹ The historically specific factors raised in this study associate the frequency and familiarity with war prevented psychological harm from reaching the Athenian hoplite.³² Crowley's study does not acknowledge the psychological support that being in a phalanx army would have provided a hoplite and the motivation that army would have gained from undertaking massed vocal performances, such as the paean, prior to battle.³³ Crowley's study suggests that Athenian hoplites were not frightened to go into battle, yet there is ancient literary evidence that suggests Greek hoplite armies did suffer from fear and trepidation in the lead up to battle.³⁴ Undertaking battle expression aimed to unite the phalanx and instill the hoplites with calm before violent confrontation with the enemy.³⁵

Recognition of psychological imperatives was not limited to Greek writers, *strategoi*, or combatants; so too, quintessentially Roman military men like Caesar expressed their awareness of such drives, and of how best to apply the lessons learned to the exigencies of battle, whether in training, as part of the customary patterns of activity prior to engagement, or on the field. As Lendon notes, "Caesar gives even greater prominence to the theme of morale than Xenophon: no ancient writer who had actually seen a battle gives psychology a larger role in his battle descriptions than Caesar, and no ancient writer offers as extensive or elaborated a treatment of the phenomena."³⁶

³⁰ Crowley (2014): 108, 112.

³¹ Crowley (2014): 117.

³² Crowley (2014): 116.

³³ Crowley does acknowledge the psychological support provided by the phalanx in his earlier monograph *The Psychology of the Athenian Hoplite* (2012).

³⁴ See Poly. *Strat. Iphicrates*. 3.9.8 (Table 53b); Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.12, 4.8.38, 5.2.42, 5.4.45, 7.1.31, 7.2.21-22, 7.5.24 (Table 71); Xen. *Ana.* 3.1.42 (Table 68d); Thuc. 4.96 (Table 63e); Lendon (1999): 292.

³⁵ Poly. *Strat. Solon*. 1.20.1 (Table 53a); Thuc. 5.69-70 (Table 63g).

³⁶ Lendon (1999): 296.

The *animus* of soldiers, for Caesar, is easily alarmed by any surprise or anything unfamiliar.³⁷ Inexperienced soldiers are especially vulnerable to panic, while soldiers who were experienced with the battlefield environment grew immune to fearful situations.³⁸ Lendon's view of Caesar's generalship suggests that Caesar always attended closely to the relative *animus* of his own and the enemy's army, since it governed their fighting quality. When Caesar refused battle he hoped that the psychological dominance of his army would be so great that the enemy would surrender without any bloodshed.³⁹ Lendon claims in the lead up to battle the *animus* prescribed suggestions to the general to deploy and maneuver for psychological reasons, to hurt the *animus* of his foes and to increase that of his own soldiers.⁴⁰ This is demonstrated in Caesar's recommendation to allow an army to undertake a battle expression and his subsequent criticism of Pompey at Pharsalus for not permitting his army to do so.⁴¹

Kellett and Lendon's exposure of the psychological dimension of warfare contributes greatly to the study of the battle expression. Coupled with Graeco-Roman literary source material,⁴² this perspective suggests that those belonging to the highest echelons of command in the Greek and Roman military influenced, shaped, and embedded the battle expression in state-sanctioned codes of doctrine and training, and ensured that those facets of this expression deemed integral to military success were designed for mass participation to maximize effective communication, acquisition, and application. Caesar's claims are at the heart of this.⁴³ The vested interest the military commanders had in encouraging their army to partake in a range of battle expression served multiple purposes. Initially, it helped the high command gauge the level of commitment for battle from the enemy as well as their own army. From this the high command could devise and achieve military objectives. The high command promoted the use of intimidating acts on the battlefield as a tactic to avoid bloodshed and achieve victory over an enemy. Battle expression forms were encouraged by the high command to strengthen the resolve and instill camaraderie within their army. Military commanders would not have begrudged their men the

³⁷ Caes. *Gal.* 6.39, 7.28 (Table 15); Plut. *Ant.* 39.4 (Table 40a); Livy. 6.29 (Table 28e); Poly. *Strat. Croe.* 7.8.1 (Table 53f) & Lendon (1999): 296.

³⁸ Caes. *Gal.* 6.39 (Table 15e); Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.84 (Table 14d); Livy. 21.46.6 (Table 28j) & Lendon (1999): 296.

³⁹ Lendon (1999): 297 & Livy 21.46, 38.29 (Table 28j and 31b).

⁴⁰ Lendon (1999): 298 & Livy. 9.32 Table 28g); Caes. *Gal.* 1.39 (Table 15a).

⁴¹ Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.92 (Table 14f).

⁴² Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.92 (Table 14f); Plut. *Lyc.* 21.1 (Table 45b); Ono. *Strat.* 29 "Shouting in the midst of battle" Table 36e); Amm. 16.12.20, 22.4.6 (Table 5); Jos. *BJ.* 3.70-76 (Table 26a); Poly. *Strat. Pers.* 4.21.1 (Table 53d); Maur. *Strat.* 2.18, 3.15, 7.15-16, 8.2, 12B.24 (Table 35).

⁴³ Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.92 (Table 14f).

means to become motivated through socio-cultural beliefs and practices that inspired men to endanger their lives.⁴⁴

The notion that the high command was instrumental in promoting the battle expression is evident in Onosander's military handbook, where a section is dedicated to the recommendation of sending men into battle shouting:

“One should send the army into battle shouting, and sometimes on the run, because their appearance and shouts and the clash of arms confound the hearts of the enemy. The dense bands of soldiers should spread out in the attack before coming to close quarters, often waving their swords high above their heads toward the sun. The polished spear-points and flashing swords, shining in thick array and reflecting the light of the sun, send ahead a terrible lightning-flash of war. If the enemy should also do this, it is necessary to frighten them in turn, but if not, one should frighten them first.”⁴⁵

Graeco-Roman military handbooks produced by Vegetius and Maurice reveal the integral role the military high command had in relation to the integration of battle expression within the army.⁴⁶ Within the Roman army, nothing in relation to battlefield custom appears to have been undertaken without the high command's knowledge and support. Josephus claims that nothing in the Roman army is done without a word of command.⁴⁷ Ammianus, in his referral to a decline in Roman military discipline, suggests that the practice of battle expression types was commonplace in military training:

“To these conditions, shameful as they were, were added serious defects in military discipline. In place of the war song the soldiers practiced effeminate ditties”⁴⁸

Tacitus' reference to Percennius, a ring-leader of a military mutiny at the end of Augustus' reign and the dawn of Tiberius', may suggest the intentional recruitment and use of specialized initiators of battle expression within the fighting ranks of the Roman army:

⁴⁴ For example: Plut. *Lyc.* 21.1 (Table 45b).

⁴⁵ Ono. *Strat.* 29 (Table 36e).

⁴⁶ Veg. *DRM.* 2.14, 2.16, 3.12 (Table 67); Maur. *Strat.* 2.18, 3.15, 7.2.15-16, 8.2, 12B.24 (Table 35).

⁴⁷ Jos. *BJ.* 3.87 (Table 26b).

⁴⁸ Amm. 22.4.6 (Table 5p).

“In the camp there was a man by the name of Percennius, in his early days the leader of a *claque* at the theatres, then a private soldier with an abusive tongue, whose experience of stage rivalries had taught him the art of inflaming an audience.”⁴⁹

In the context of ridiculing Junius Blaesus (commander of three legions stationed together in summer quarters) for the degeneration of discipline amongst the troops, Tacitus may unintentionally highlight a key element of the Roman battle expression. Theatrical *claque* leaders had experience in raising the levels of enthusiasm of a crowd in support, or opposition, of a pantomime actor.⁵⁰ Perhaps these qualities were utilized in the Roman army to instigate traditional and spontaneous forms of battle expression to galvanize the fighting ranks of the troops that they were embedded. Given the association theatrical *claque* leaders had “with an abusive tongue,” this would have been suited for initiating taunts on the enemy. The *claque* leader’s skill in seizing the moment – by exploiting a crowded and volatile atmosphere (on the battlefield) using satirical wit – may shed further understanding on the *revocare* episode mentioned later in the chapter.⁵¹

The tradition of the Roman army taunting and stimulating an atmosphere using massed vocal demonstration is evident in the military triumph.⁵² The organization and effectiveness of the ritual singing and chanting undertaken by Roman soldiers, as they marched through the streets of Rome celebrating, often at the expense of their commanding general’s reputation, reveals a certain level of leadership and training within the fighting ranks. The sphere of Roman military life – in training, on the battlefield and during triumphal processions – suggests that there was a need for the services and attributes of theatre *claque* leaders. These men were adept in the formulation of relevant material for taunting, they could exploit specific situations and knew how to prompt the men into vocal action. Suetonius and Tacitus reveal a clear military association with theatre *clagues* during Nero’s reign.⁵³ These references suggest that theatrical *claque* leaders were known to the military high command (the emperor and his associates) and that soldiers were acquainted with crowd protocol in the theatre. Speidel’s interpretation of

⁴⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.16 (Table 60a).

⁵⁰ Suet. *Nero.* 16.2, 26.2 (Table 59); Tac. *Ann.* 13.25 (Table 60c).

⁵¹ Plut. *Sul.* 18.3 (Table 52c).

⁵² See chapter 6 related to “Socio-political and military identity.”

⁵³ Suet. *Nero.* 25 (Table 59f); Tac. *Ann.* 13.25 (Table 60c).

Maurice's *Strategikon* (2.19) suggests that the Roman army had an officer class of singers.⁵⁴ Translated from the Latin word *cantator* to mean an officer class called "Heralds," the word should be understood as arch chanter or lead singer. If this is the case, the Roman high command intentionally ensured the effective undertaking of vocal battle expression types through the employment of a specialized officer class, perhaps with the skillset of a theatre claque leader such as Percennius.

The theory that the military high command of armies from the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world endorsed and saw benefit in the use of battle expression types is supported through literary references that demonstrate the systematic nature of their initiation on the battlefield.⁵⁵ Ancient literary sources explicitly state that the battle expression was ordered directly by the military high command and customarily initiated the start of battle.⁵⁶ A clear example of this is evident at the battle of Gaugamela where Alexander the Great ordered his army to maintain strict discipline and cohesion during the battle so that their small numbers, in comparison to Darius' larger army, may still have an effectual impact on the battle, particularly by way of battle expression.

"To keep perfect silence when that was necessary in the advance, and by contrast to give a ringing shout when it was right to shout, and a howl to inspire the greatest terror when the moment came to howl; they themselves were to obey orders sharply and to pass them on sharply to their regiments, and every man should recall that neglect of his own duty brought the whole cause into common danger, while energetic attention to it contributed to the common success."⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Speidel (2004): 110.

⁵⁵ This notion is supported by Sabin (2007): 406. "...since battlefield communications were so primitive and ancient armies so unwieldy, most forces could do little more in battle than to put into practice what had been planned and ordered beforehand..." The massed undertaking of battle expression types must be considered a feature of this.

⁵⁶ D. H. *Ant.* 7.4; 9.11 (Table 19); Livy. 10.40, 23.16 (Table 28); 33.9.1-2 (Table 30b); Arr. *Ana.* 3.9.7-8 (Table 11e); App. *BC.* 2.11.78 (Table 6a); Amm. 24.6.11 (Table 5s).

Conversely there is an element of surprise on behalf of the authors at the lack of battle expression, that would otherwise be customary: App. *BC.* 2.11.78 "They all advanced confidently to the encounter, but with stupor and deepest silence" & Livy 28.14 "From neither side was there a charge, or a missile hurled, or any raising of a shout." (Table 6a).

⁵⁷ Arr. *Ana.* 3.9.7-8 (Table 11e).

The ancient literary source material presents the battle expression as a means for military forces to instill group cohesion and resoluteness within their fighting ranks for the battle at hand. It was customary for different military forces to undertake similar types of practices in the lead up to or during battle to strengthen the psychological resolve of the troops. Pre-battle customs performed by large numbers of fighting men testify to the significance these customs held in focusing the emotional state of those about to commit to violent confrontation. Ancient authors refer to a diverse array of actions that many cultural groups adopted for this purpose including long bouts of singing, drinking and / or choreographed movement such as dancing in the hours leading up to battle. Often, ancient authors did not acknowledge the cultural meaning of these practices, instead merely referring to their existence. Whether these military practices held socio-religious significance is not communicated. These cross-cultural practices were communal in nature, suggesting they were familiar and inclusive actions that catered for many participants. The pre-battle timeframe battle expressions were performed reveals their purpose to prepare those who were about to fight. The authors portray these battle expression types with the primary intention of inspiring the participants rather than intimidating the enemy.

For example, Herodotus refers to a battle expression performed by a Lydian military force during the reign of king Alyattes (ca.619-560 BC). This Lydian force had invaded the lands of Miletus to besiege the city. Herodotus claims that Alyattes ordered his army to invade Miletus, marching to the sound of pipes, stringed instruments,⁵⁸ bass and treble flutes.⁵⁹ How & Wells in their commentary on Herodotus claims the use of this episode was to stress how easy and un-resisted Lydian raids were.⁶⁰ This reference does not specify whether the musicians playing these instruments were actually members of the military force or musicians who accompanied the troops out of Lydian land. It is likely that the Lydians did have musicians within the ranks of the army, just as the Greek and Roman forces contained flute players and trumpeters. The practicality of flutes and pipe instruments being used during battle is probable. However, the reference to stringed instruments in this account suggests that at least these musicians were ceremonial courtiers rather than military personnel and did not partake in military affairs, such

⁵⁸ Homer uses the word *πηκτίς* for stringed instrument.

⁵⁹ Hdt. 1.17 (Table 22a).

⁶⁰ How & Wells (2008): 74. For a more modern commentary that How and Wells' 1912 study see Asheri's chapter on Book I in "*A commentary on Herodotus books I-IV.*" David Asheri, Alan Lloyd, Aldo Corcella ; edited by Oswyn Murray and Alfonso Moreno; with a contribution by Maria Brosius ; translated by Barbara Graziosi ... [et al.]. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

as a siege. The acknowledgement of these stringed musicians highlights the difference in Lydian military culture when compared to other ancient Mediterranean cultures, such as that of Africa, Greece and Rome. The opulence of a combined retinue of musicians that consisted of not only pipes and a diversity of flutes, but stringed instruments is distinctive of Lydian custom. From Herodotus, the ancient Lydians used musical instruments, and undoubtedly common tunes, for military affairs. The invasion of a foreign land and possibly the entry into enemy territory, where battle could occur at any stage, resulted in the Lydians employing the services of musicians to inspire and unite their military along cultural lines.

It is evident that the battle expression of African military forces recorded in the surviving annals of historical narrative followed a scope and sequence which were consistent amongst other cultural groups across the Graeco-Roman world.⁶¹ For instance, Polybius refers in his *Histories* to two separate Carthaginian military forces that praise their military leader in an attempt to initiate engagement with the enemy. Each military force did this through united loud vocal noise. The first example relates to the popular feeling and trust amongst the Carthaginian army displayed towards their Spartan leader Xanthippus.⁶² Due to the Carthaginian army's training and organization under Xanthippus' leadership in the course of preparations for battle against the Romans, Polybius claims that the Carthaginian soldiers, within specific groups, sporadically shouted out *en masse* the name of Xanthippus. The purpose of this loud massed yet coherent noise was to encourage Xanthippus to lead the Carthaginian army into battle against the Romans, who were by this stage confident in their military training and organization, effectively, battle-ready because of him. The interesting feature about this reference is that Polybius specifically refers to the Carthaginians crying out in groups the name of Xanthippus, which could suggest two things. Firstly, these groups could have been formed along different ethnic or cultural lines within a Carthaginian army that consisted of a variety of cultures and tribes. This could possibly suggest that prior planning went into the performance of this battle expression amongst the different contingents of a multinational force and when they were going to exclaim the name of their popular military leader. Alternatively, these groups could suggest a spontaneous act, where the warriors within this Carthaginian army shouted out in groups from different parts of the camp after they were inspired to do so, after a group initiated the chant. The second reference relates to the outbreak of a loud coherent

⁶¹ Tac. *Hist.* 1.18 (Table 62a); Caes. *B. Hisp.* 25 (Table 16a); Thuc. 4.34.1-2 (Table 63c).

⁶² Polyb. 1.32-33. (Table 54a).

shout from a Carthaginian army for their leader, Himilco, to lead them into battle.⁶³ Polybius claims that this shout occurred after Himilco gave a motivational speech to the army as they were being besieged by a Roman army. Despite the fact the enemy probably could not hear this battle expression, it must still be regarded as one due to the motivation it instilled within the troops it was addressed to. Polybius claims that after Himilco gave his speech the troops applauded him as one and there were loud shouts for him to lead them out against the enemy.

Sallust's history of Rome's war against Jugurtha's Numidian forces contains references to different types of Numidian battle expression that aimed to strengthen the resolve of friendly troops. Of interest, the foreign nature of the Numidian battle expression, from a Roman perspective, is made evident in Sallust's account of the siege at Zama ca.109 BC. According to Sallust, two separate military engagements took place during the siege. The first military engagement involved Roman military units attacking the walls of Zama itself and the Numidian forces inside attempting to repel them.⁶⁴ The second engagement took place around the Roman military camp situated on the plains outside the walls of Zama.⁶⁵ Sallust claims that Jugurtha led Numidian cavalry from Zama to attack the Roman camp outside in an attempt to force the Romans to withdraw from the walls of Zama. It was during this stage of the battle that Sallust refers to a Numidian battle expression, which correlates to other references later in Sallust's history of this war.⁶⁶

The Roman general, Marius, while leading the Roman attack against the walls of Zama, noticed that whenever there was a break in fighting on the walls the Numidian forces stationed there would eagerly turn to watch, in the distance, the fighting that was taking place around the Roman camp where Jugurtha had led his cavalry. It was during one of these lulls in fighting on the walls that Sallust claims the Numidians broke out into a battle expression aimed at encouraging the far-off Numidian cavalry.⁶⁷ The purpose of this Numidian battle expression was to motivate fellow Numidian warriors on the other side of the battlefield. This suggests the Numidians stationed on the walls could be seen and heard by the other Numidian force. This notion is in stark contrast to the modern understanding of a war cry which, generally,

⁶³ Polyb. 1.45.4. (Table 54b).

⁶⁴ Sal. *Jug.* 60 (Table 57a).

⁶⁵ Sal. *Jug.* 60 (Table 57a).

⁶⁶ Sal. *Jug.* 60.3-4; 98.6-7 (Table 57).

⁶⁷ Sal. *Jug.* 60.3-4 (Table 57a).

gives the impression that military forces aimed to encourage fellow warriors in a common battle-line or to strike fear into the enemy force directly opposing them. This instance goes beyond the traditional conceptual framework. According to Sallust, the nature of this Numidian battle expression involved Numidian warriors shouting and moving their bodies in what seemed to be a common fashion.⁶⁸ The expression comprised of shouts, verbalizing words of warning or encouragement, along with hand gestures and the swaying of bodies, as if the defenders of Zama were attempting to avoid fire from darts.⁶⁹ Frustratingly, Sallust does not mention anything more regarding this particular battle expression:

“But whenever the besiegers relaxed their assault ever so little, the defenders of the walls became intent spectators of the cavalry battle. As Jugurtha’s fortunes shifted, you might have seen them now joyful, now alarmed; and acting as if their countrymen could see or hear them, some shouted warnings, others shouted encouragement or gesticulated with their hands or strained with their bodies, moving both this way and that as if dodging or hurling weapons.”⁷⁰

Clearly, Sallust recorded this episode due to its peculiarity from a Roman perspective. The idiosyncrasies of the expression might explain why the historian does not qualify the meaning or purpose - whether religious, cultural or strategic - explaining the gesticulations or body movements performed *en masse* by Numidian soldiers stationed on the walls at Zama. When this battle expression is viewed from a Numidian perspective it is evident that the gesticulation or hand movements made by the warriors on the wall would be recognizable to the Numidian cavalry in the field outside the walls. Even though it is not known what form or appearance these hand gestures or gesticulations took it is evident that the Numidians were privy to their

⁶⁸ Sal. *Jug.* 60.3-4. This reference reflects a similar episode in Thucydides’ account of the Athenians at Syracuse (7.71) in their failed attempt to capture the city. Here Thucydides has the Athenian army on land swaying their bodies in torment as well as expressing united cries of success and despair as the army watched its naval forces battle on the sea. The purpose of Sallust recording the African battle expression at Zama is twofold. Firstly, Sallust would have viewed Thucydides version of events at Syracuse as similar in nature to his. By recording similar events to Thucydides Sallust’s historiographical ambition to position himself in relation to the well-respected military historian and literary stylist is fulfilled. Secondly, Sallust appears to be recording an extraordinary action committed by a foreign enemy to Rome that helps to not only set the scene but provides insight into Sallust’s Roman audience the nature of the enemy in Africa. From a ‘modern’ 21st century perspective Thucydides’ scene aims to generate empathy from his Greek audience towards the Athenian subjects at Syracuse. Thucydides’ account of the failed Athenian invasion of Sicily is full of literary creation and as such the historical reliability of this account should be questioned in comparison to the purpose and historical sources available to Sallust in his recording of the Zama engagement.

⁶⁹ Sal. *Jug.* 60.4 (Table 57a).

⁷⁰ Sal. *Jug.* 60.3-4 (Table 57a).

appearance and meaning, otherwise hundreds to thousands of warriors would not have made them to communicate to a similar aggregation of men engaged on the other side of a battlefield. Interestingly, this battle expression appears to be unique to the Numidians. While Sallust does not mention the appearance of the gesticulations, he does compare the body movements to that of men trying to avoid being struck with darts hurled by the attacking force. This would logically imply a good deal of ducking, weaving from side to side and jumping. The common understanding among the Numidians regarding the combination of gesticulations and body movements enacted on the battlefield - or, in this instance, related arenas of conflict across a battle environment - further suggests that these were culturally specific and may well have been performed and practiced by Numidian warriors. The precise nature of the relationship between this composite battle expression and Numidian culture must remain highly speculative.

Sallust's account of the siege of Zama provides additional information regarding another type of Numidian battle expression that aimed to unite the military force the night before battle. In the preamble to a military engagement, a Numidian force, consisting of Numidians, Mauretanians and Gaetulans allied to Jugurtha, had surrounded a Roman force on top of two hills. As day turned to night the African force, having surrounded the Romans, began shouting and singing through the night in anticipation of the next day's battle.⁷¹ This reference, like the earlier narrative episode provides some insight into the spectrum of battle expression associated with African warriors. Sallust claims this practice was customary of these "barbarians",⁷² emphasizing the otherness or cultural *difference* of foreign battle expression compared to Roman. From an African perspective the tradition of making loud noise during the night before battle must have been significant and appears to have been a normal feature prior to battle. The songs, hymns, shouts or dances that would have been performed are not mentioned, however, the subject of the songs must have had culturally familiar or resonant religious, mythological, historical or social undertone for the majority, if not all, in the composite African force to participate. According to Sallust, the battle expression of specifically Numidian and broader African military forces, contrary to the Roman perspective, were both geographically and ethnically contextualized *and* sophisticated, suggesting a strong cultural connection or familiarity amongst most of the participants to the battle expression performed.

⁷¹ Sal. *Jug.* 98.6-7 (Table 57c).

⁷² Sal. *Jug.* 98.6.

Plutarch's *Life of Sulla*⁷³ details the battle expression characteristics of republic and early imperial military forces as being culturally Roman. In this extract Plutarch describes the battle of Chaeronea from ca.86 BC. In the initial stages of this battle the chariots of Mithridates' Asian force had launched an attack on the Roman front line. The attack against the Roman line had little effect due to the chariots not having enough open space to build up momentum for their attack. The chariots had made little impact on the Roman force opposing them and Plutarch claims that their attack was quite sluggish and feeble. The Romans, who had easily beat off the chariot attack, spontaneously let out a battle expression which was inspired by the recent events.

Plutarch claims that the Romans *en masse* applauded the chariots, sarcastically, and laughed at their poor attempt to break through their ranks. The Romans then began to shout out to the enemy together, no doubt inspired by one or two individuals who initiated the taunt, to start again or have another go. The interesting aspect to this taunt is that Plutarch adds that the call made by the Roman soldiers to their enemy to start over or bring on some more chariots was the same call spectators in the circus would shout out *en masse* during the Roman chariot races.⁷⁴

In Latin, the language presumably spoken by the Roman soldiers, the verb *revocare* means to recall. In Ovid's work *Amores*⁷⁵ he states that during a race he was watching with his, would be, girlfriend the crowd shouted out *revocare* to re-start the race after a poor start impacted on the quality of the race. This was a common occurrence at Roman circus meets.⁷⁶ Therefore, Plutarch, who wrote in Greek but was familiar with both popular Roman customs and idiomatic expressions in Latin, is most likely alluding to Roman humour being exhibited in this Roman battle expression. The soldier's spontaneous taunt during this battle expressed sarcasm towards the enemy for their chariots to begin their attack afresh:

“For these are of most avail after a long course, which gives them velocity and impetus for breaking through an opposing line, but short starts are ineffectual and feeble, as in the case of missiles which do not get full propulsion. And this proved true now in the

⁷³ Plut. *Sul.* 18.3 (Table 52c).

⁷⁴ Plut. *Sul.* 18.3. ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν ταῖς θεατρικαῖς ἵπποδρομίαις (Table 52c).

⁷⁵ Ov. *Am.* 3.2.73 (Table 37a).

⁷⁶ Shelton (1988): 354 n.266.

case of the Barbarians. The first of their chariots were driven along feebly and engaged sluggishly, so that the Romans, after repulsing them, clapped their hands and laughed and called for more, as they are wont to do at the races in the circus”⁷⁷

The battle expression detailed in Plutarch’s work is clearly sophisticated in nature, through united and spontaneous clapping and chanting, and purpose, which was to denote Roman military superiority, uniting the Roman troops together against an enemy force and lifting morale. The massed vocal battle expression at Chaeronea served to reaffirm the soldiers’ identity against a non-Roman enemy.

Roman military practice likewise incorporated battle expression that increased the cohesiveness and effectiveness of the army. Caesar in his work *Civil War*⁷⁸ explains, as a side note to his historical account of the battle of Pharsalus, that Pompey’s tactic to order his troops to be silent and still prior to engagement with the enemy was flawed. Caesar claims in this passage that military generals should encourage the means to extract spirit and keenness for battle amongst their troops – that is through allowing and encouraging battle expression to be used. Caesar goes on to say that raising a battle expression puts both fear into the enemy’s hearts, but also instills motivation within the men associated with the cry. In this same extract Caesar acknowledges that the practice of war cries was ancient in his day and had been in use ever since for sound reasons. This suggests that it was uncommon for Roman armies not to initiate a battle expression before, during or after military engagements. Therefore, Caesar claims that performing a battle expression was a typical feature of military life that had been a continuing facet of military practice since earlier times, or former times to his day, which he states as: “*antiquitus institutum est.*”

Similarly, a feature of Celtic/Germanic battle expression was to motivate the warriors before battle through the involvement of the whole community gathered at a battle. Tacitus and Caesar refer to battles in which the Celt/German army had brought with them their womenfolk to the battle.⁷⁹ According to these sources, women were brought to the battlefield to inspire the males to fight more vigorously to prevent the symbol of family (women), from falling into the hands of the enemy should the men be unsuccessful in battle. The presence and employment of

⁷⁷ Plut. *Sul.* 18.3 (Table 52c).

⁷⁸ Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.92 (Table 14f).

⁷⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 14.36 (Table 60d); Tac. *Ger.* 7 (Table 61b); Caes. *Gal.* 1.51 (Table 15b).

women and children (the family) in Celtic/Germanic battle expression⁸⁰ is a unique feature rarely seen in any other ancient culture within the Graeco-Roman world. Caesar details the nature of a German battle expression that included the womenfolk. As the Romans formed up on the battlefield the Germanic army along with their women cut off any hope of retreat for the German warriors by positioning their wagons at their rear.⁸¹ As the German males formed on the battlefield the German women implored the men, through shrieks, disheveled looks and tears, not to allow them to fall into Roman slavery. The creation of a physical barrier and the motivation of the women highlights how important German/Celtic society viewed the natural world – which was, in turn, featured on the battlefield. The womenfolk, the symbol of family, and the barriers made of wagons, replicating a natural obstacle difficult to penetrate was used to motivate the German warriors to defend their families. The impact on the Romans, too, would have been to highlight the determination of the Germans to fight more stubbornly.

In another instance, Tacitus and Livy highlight culturally unique characteristics of Celtic/Germanic battle expression that psychologically readied the men for battle. Both authors refer to the Celts/Germans as performing actions and/or songs that were solely associated with their culture. Livy describes the actions and songs performed by the Celts before battle as following some ancestral custom – *in patrium quendam modum*.⁸² The songs that the Celts sung, the way in which they displayed themselves, such as their long flowing hair, tall physique, large shields and weapons, and the actions they adopted, such as leaping into the air, battering their shields together and howling like animals, was to Livy, a traditional practice that entailed deep meaning and significance. For Livy to make note of this suggests an element of respect and sophistication in the processes undertaken by the Celtic warriors, despite the alien nature of it. Tacitus refers to the songs German military forces sang in the lead up to battle. According to Tacitus, Hercules/Heraclēs was a hero that visited many peoples and places, however, it was the Germans who primarily sang songs about him before battle.⁸³ Whether Tacitus is accurate with the name of this hero, or whether it is a hero or god, such as Wodin or Beowulf (or other) with similar traits as Hercules remains to be seen. What is clear is that the Germans before battle sang to and about heroes of their mythological and/or

⁸⁰ All ancient Mediterranean cultures held family as their central component. However, not all ancient Mediterranean cultures brought their families or womenfolk to battle, this appears to be a practice employed by Celts and Germans.

⁸¹ Caes. *Gal.* 1.51 (Table 15b).

⁸² Livy. 38.17.3-5 (Table 31a).

⁸³ Tac. *Ger.* 3 (Table 61a).

historical past. Battle expression types were not based on primitive noise and lack of coordination, but on the contrary were spiritually meaningful presentations that aimed to culturally unite the military force. This feature consistently appears within Graeco-Roman literary works and is common among the cultures from the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world.

The Persian army of AD 4th century adopted battle expression that gauged the cohesiveness of their troops. Persian insurrection into Rome's eastern borders under Sapor II resulted in the Persians, and their allies, besieging the Roman held city of Amida in Mesopotamia in 359 AD. Ammianus describes a variety of battle expression types undertaken by the Persian army during this siege that prepared them for battle. The initial stages of the siege revolved around the death of a notable Persian prince, the son of Grumbates king of Chionitae and ally of the Persian king Sapor. According to Ammianus, Grumbates was sent forward, by Sapor, under the walls of Amida to negotiate the terms of surrender for the city. As Grumbates came forward a Roman marksman stationed on top of the walls of Amida fired a shot at Grumbates and hit his son next to him. The bolt fired pierced the armour of the prince who died. Several tribes within the Persian army became so outraged at this loss (no doubt the tribes from the kingdom where this prince originated) that it roused these tribes into instigating a battle expression. The battle expression consisted of harsh cries and was unique to them.⁸⁴ The use of harsh cries to depict this Asian battle expression suggests that the theme was full of anger and hate which would have reflected the emotions the tribes within the Persian army felt after the death of their prince. Ammianus most probably did not understand the lyrics or recognize the tune to the unified massed noise which was performed in native dialects. Despite not knowing the actual wording of the battle expression, the context of it being initiated suggests the tribes aimed to invoke vengeful forces known to the Asian tribes to be set upon the enemy and/or to install pride and honour into those still living and able to seek retribution for the fallen. Shortly after the Persian army initiated a full-frontal attack on the defences of Amida by the entire Persian force. Ammianus describes that the entire Persian army clashed their weapons together, to generate an enormous sound, as they charged at the city walls.⁸⁵ Ammianus does not detail the length of time the Persians clashed their weapons for or the pace to which it was set. The act of clashing weapons together reveals that the noise generated by thousands of men would have

⁸⁴ Amm. 19.1.8 (Table 5h).

⁸⁵ Amm. 19.2.6 (Table 5i).

lasted quite a considerable length of time. Whether this battle expression was traditional or spontaneous, the participation in such a performance would have encouraged the participants to maintain a certain level of noise that would have been morale boosting. The impact of tens of thousands of Persian soldiers, located at different areas around a large settlement, spontaneously or purposefully clashing their weapons together⁸⁶ would have generated an awesome atmosphere that would have affected both sides quite differently.

Spontaneity of the battle expression

Battle expression types could be both pre-planned and spontaneous in their creation. The events that transpired during a battle could, at times, inspire the undertaking of a battle expression to strengthen the resolve of a fighting force or capitalize upon the enemy's misfortune to further boost unit morale. The act of exploiting given circumstances on the battlefield that could expose the enemy for ridicule, or serve to motivate a military force, was yet another way of affecting the psychology of men in battle. As will be explored below, spontaneous taunting of the enemy was a common feature of a battle expression. However, other forms of spontaneous expression could develop as events on the battlefield unfolded.

Xenophon demonstrates that military forces could choose from a spectrum of possible expressions during the initial stages of battle that aimed to enthuse and unite the army that performed it. For example, Xenophon describes the actions of Cyrus in the opening stages of a battle fought between Persian and Assyrian forces during the king's invasion of Assyria.⁸⁷ After the traditional pre-planned battle expression was performed, Xenophon refers to the formulation of two spontaneous types of battle expression that both began as a result of individual cries and resulted in the majority of Cyrus' army taking part. The first of these spontaneous battle expressions broke out immediately after the completion of the traditional paean, where individual soldiers within the front ranks of Cyrus' army cried out to neighbouring soldiers' words of encouragement. The individual cries led to many others taking up the same cry until a battle expression developed whereby different sections of the army

⁸⁶ One could assume for a considerable length of time when you consider: 1. The area of ground between the Persians and the walls of Amida, as Ammianus states that the clashing of weapons took place as the Persians charged at the walls. 2. If this action was spontaneous it would have taken a few minutes, at least, for the entire Persian force to participate after a minority of the troops would have initiated the act. 3. Spontaneous or planned the Persian troops would have savored the atmosphere and participation of such an impressive logistical feat that was not negative towards them, but would have only served to rouse their spirits for action.

⁸⁷ Xen. Cy. 3.3.58-66 (Table 70b).

communicated to each other through chanting the words, initially instigated by one or more individuals. According to Xenophon, the frontline ranks, united in voice, urged the rear ranks to move forward bravely with them. In response the rear ranks, united in voice, chanted for the forward ranks to lead them in doing so.⁸⁸

This type of battle expression from the ancient world has parallels in the modern day within European football stadiums. Amongst common supporter groups, during a football match, who are seated in different sections around a stadium; one section, or grandstand, prompt the other sections to respond through chants. A famous version of this practice derives from England where supporters identify themselves to each other based on that *side* of the opposing team's supporters they are located, opposing supporters are usually segregated to one small section of an *away* stadium.⁸⁹ Another version of this type of practice originates from Serbian football supporters who, when the national team is playing in a stadium, cry out the word "*Serbia*" in a sequence around the ground that is comparable to the process used to undertake the popular Mexican Wave. Xenophon claims the effect that traditional and spontaneous battle expression types had on the Persian army, during the preliminary stages of this battle, was substantially positive due to the army's buoyant attitude.

The second spontaneous battle expression broke out as soon as the Persian army came within ballistic range of the enemy. Xenophon claims that Cyrus himself initiated this battle expression by shouting out repeatedly to those around him as he charged towards the enemy "Who will follow? Who is brave?"⁹⁰ The result of this, according to Xenophon, was that the whole of the Persian army took up the same shout together as they charged towards the enemy. This reference is quite significant as it sheds valuable insight into the types of expression that were used by ancient military forces throughout the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world: that is, a battle expression could be either traditional or spontaneous in nature and popular in performance.

⁸⁸ Xen. Cy. 3.3.59 (Table 70b).

⁸⁹ For the segregation of home and away supporters in European football stadiums see *UEFA Safety and Security Regulations 2019 Edition*: Articles 17.01; 27.01.

⁹⁰ Xen. Cy. 3.3.62 (Table 70b).

Conclusions

Military forces of the Graeco-Roman world universally adopted common battle expression types to unite the rank-in-file. Enthusiasm for battle could be measured through massed demonstrations of movement and/or sound. Military forces expressed these common types in their own cultural manner, making them appear unique. Evidence reveals that battle expression types could be traditional, rehearsed undertakings or spontaneous vocal and gesticular displays that were inspired by the battlefield circumstance. Taunting the enemy for morale boosting satisfaction was a common form of battle expression adopted by all military cultures. The psychological ramifications greatly differed depending on which army was on the receiving end of the taunt. All taunts served to inspire the taunters, whilst attempt to reconfigure the enemy's military preparedness and intent. The manner that an army intentionally presented itself on the battlefield to the enemy should be acknowledged as a common battle expression type integrated within all cultural groups of the Graeco-Roman world. The purpose behind the implementation of the battle expression must be seen from a psychological dimension. Fear and panic could prove contagious and paralyzing to an army. The great lengths that armies attempted to instill cohesion and resolve amongst the men to prevent fear and panic from spreading contributes greatly to our understanding of the purpose and nature of battle expression types. The sponsorship of the battle expression by the military high command reveals its military significance in a battlefield environment. The range of battle expression types available to ancient armies and the rehearsal of them beyond the battlefield suggests they were employed as a military tactic that could influence the outcome of battle. Ultimately, there was an array of battle expression types inherent within every military force of the Graeco-Roman world and were used as an extension of military strategy.

Chapter 4. Intimidating the enemy

Ancient literary and archaeological evidence reveals that military forces from the Graeco-Roman world intentionally employed a range of battle expression types that aimed to adversely affect the psychological state of the enemy on the battlefield. Characteristic of intimidatory battle expressions were large scale choreographed demonstrations of massed movement and/or noise as well as taunting that could be inspired from events that transpired on the battlefield. The adoption of intimidatory practices on the battlefield appears consistently in the evidence and universally amongst cultural groups, suggesting it was a typical feature of ancient military life. The purpose of gaining a psychological edge over the enemy by deflating the enemy's mental wellbeing had real military outcomes and should be considered as an extension to military strategy. The sophistication and humour that ancient armies exhibited on the battlefield in their attempts to intimidate or distract the enemy justifies the adoption of the battle expression as a replacement for war cry when accounting for the sonic and visual displays of military forces on the battlefield that could transpire before and during military engagement in antiquity.

Evidence reveals that military forces, irrespective of ethnic composition, throughout the Graeco-Roman world adopted tactics that aimed to intimidate the enemy prior to and / or during battle. What follows are references to battle expression types that employed methods to alter the mindset of the enemy. These examples serve to account for each of the predominant cultures of the Graeco-Roman world that appear within the literary and archaeological record that prescribe to this intimidatory practice. The universal nature of this practice demonstrates it was a well-established feature of ancient military life.

Xenophon provides an eye-witness account of an Asian battle expression dated from the late 5th to the early 4th century BC. As a member of the Ten Thousand strong Greek military force that subsequently had to flee central Persia, Xenophon was forced to march through the north-western satrapies of the Persian empire to reach safety on the friendly coastline of the Black Sea. In the early stages of the *Anabasis*, Xenophon portrays Persian battle expression as quite loud due to the sheer number of soldiers that were present in the Asian army.¹ Xenophon claims

¹ Xen. *Ana.* 1.7.4; 1.8.11 (Table 68).

In this case a Persian army in the sense it was commanded by a Persian, but the army was represented by soldiers from Persia and other friendly Asian nations.

that the Persians performed an uncharacteristic battle expression, in contrast to what he and the Greeks were led to believe would occur from an Asian force. Prior to the battle of Cunaxa, Cyrus warned the Greeks and the rest of his Asian contingent that the Persian battle expression of his brother's force would be, typically, loud due to the numbers in the royal army and not to be shaken by it. The overly large numbers that made up a Persian royal army exemplified the flamboyant qualities of Asian military custom, namely Persian, on the battlefield. However, Xenophon states (undoubtedly to his own surprise and that of the other Asians in the Cyrus led army) that the army was deceived by this presumption and the Persian army opposing them did not perform a loud battle expression as predicted but rather a silent, slow march undertaken in disciplined step:²

“For they came on, not with shouting, but in the utmost silence and quietness, with equal step and slowly.”³

This unexpected presentation negatively affected the psyche of Cyrus' army who were unable to recover from this unforeseen dilemma. The dynamic and deceptive Asian military force of the Persian king adopted, prepared and executed a different battle expression for use against their opposing force. Xenophon suggests the aim of the Persian royal army's adoption of an entirely silent battle expression contrary to common belief was devised to unnerve an enemy expecting something different. In the lead up to a vital military engagement it appears that slight alterations in tactic, such as the battle expression, could unbalance an opponent and their preconceived notion of the engagement sufficiently that would have surely affected their prepared response – in this instance, the mindset of Cyrus' predominantly Asian force. According to Xenophon, the Greek contingent within Cyrus' Asian army was surprised at the silent battle expression of the Persian royal army, to such an extent that Xenophon deemed it worthy of recording the episode in his history. The degree of close discipline and training required to produce the effect Xenophon describes suggests this battle expression was rehearsed extensively prior to battle. Xenophon's reference demonstrates in this instance that battle expression types were employed to alter the mindset of the enemy and that to achieve success in this dimension of battle required high levels of military planning and preparation from the high command down to the rank and file.

² Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.11 (Table 68b).

³ Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.11 (Table 68b).

Xenophon refers to the gruesome battle expression performed by a people from northern Asia Minor, the Chalybes. During the march of the Ten Thousand throughout the north-western satrapies of the Persian Empire the Greeks encountered various Asian peoples and cultural practices. Xenophon recorded the military customs of the peoples that were encountered, such as those of the Chalybes. Chalybean warriors would cut the throats of the enemies killed and then decapitate them. The Chalybes would then carry the heads of their defeated enemies away with them as a trophy. Xenophon claims that the Chalybes would always sing and dance whenever the enemy was likely to see them.⁴ The Chalybean battle expression of singing and dancing in front of their enemy appears to have been practiced whenever the enemy could bear witness to it. However, as the reference implies, the Chalybes could not have boasted over their spoils of war (decapitated heads) before the battle began, unless Chalybean warriors kept old trophies with them. Likely, it appears more probable that the battle expression mentioned by Xenophon was reserved for occasions either mid and/or post-battle as the heads of the slain were obtained and a lull in battle may have occurred. In the context of this practice, there may have existed a socio-religious undertone whereby Chalybean warriors defined themselves - their warrior style, military customs and religious obligations to their deities as having to fulfill specific actions, song and dance rituals. Anthropological study reveals that gestures, dancing and song ensures the survival of traditional cultural practice within communities.⁵ The Chalybes were demonstratively egotistic in their battle expression, which potentially served to honour their traditional cultural practice at the same time as offending and demoralizing the onlooking enemy with the sights of fallen comrades' severed heads.

A similar battle expression to that of the Chalybes is referred to by Xenophon and sheds greater insight into this practice. Xenophon refers to the Mossynoeci people of northern Asia Minor as being allied to the Ten Thousand Greeks fleeing Persian territory. The Greek force and Mossynoeci warriors allied together to engage in battle with a hostile Asian force. During the fighting that followed Xenophon records that as the Mossynoeci moved forward to attack the enemy one of the warriors went forward, presumably a leader of some sort, and then all the rest followed him while they sang a specific tune. After the battle the Mossynoeci warriors cut the heads off those they had killed and held them aloft to show their allies, the Greeks, and the enemy they had just fought. The display of defeated foes and their heads served to demonstrate

⁴ Xen. *Ana.* 4.7.15-16 (Table 68e).

⁵ Ingold (2002): 698-700

the deadly capacity of these warriors to their allies but more importantly their enemies. The intention of this practice aimed to instill trepidation in the mindset of the enemy who bore witness to such sights. Xenophon claims that after showing off the heads of the slain the Mossynoeci warriors all broke into song and dance at the same time to a specific kind of tune.⁶ The unfamiliar nature of this battle expression prevented Xenophon from detailing anything more. The similarities between the battle expression of two separate Asian peoples, the Chalybes and Mossynoeci, reveal that this was a practice associated with peoples of the northern Asia Minor region – in this case flamboyant and egotistic in practice, but which may have held a spiritual undertone – the significance of which was known to the participants. The foreign nature of this battle expression inspired Xenophon to record it for his Greek audience.

Xenophon claims that battle expression types were exclusive in nature to the cultural group that performed them.⁷ In this instance the culturally defined battle expression type highlights the significant role intimidation universally had on military forces. Xenophon refers to a military engagement that saw a Chaldaean military force confront an Armenian force where both sides attempted to seize control over an elevated area of land. The Armenian force moved towards the area of land which was the issue of contention. The Chaldaean force, which had arrived on the field before the Armenians, had formed up in battle order and awaited the arrival of the Armenians. Prior to battle the Chaldaeans performed a battle expression “as they were accustomed.”⁸ This statement reflects the developing sense in the source tradition that battle expression was culturally specific, in purpose and nature, to the military force which performed it. Frustratingly, Xenophon does not provide additional detail about this battle expression, but we could assume that its theme was related to the social, religious and/or political customs of the Chaldaeans. It should be borne in mind, however, that the author’s intention would appear to be, more than anything else, to provoke ridicule. In recording this feature of the battle, Xenophon creates, by means of juxtaposition, a humorous impression of the military forces involved. Simply put, he refers to the Chaldaeans at first raising the customary battle expression and then charging the Armenians who, according to *their* custom, failed to sustain their ranks when the charge came.⁹ This reference reveals that through intimidatory practices military

⁶ Xen. *Ana.* 5.4.14-17 (Table 68f).

⁷ Xen. *Cy.* 3.2.9 (Table 70a).

⁸ Xen. *Cy.* 3.2.9 (Table 70a).

⁹ Xen. *Cy.* 3.2.9-10 (Table 70a).

forces could achieve real military outcomes, namely forcing the withdrawal of an enemy force from the field of battle.

The history of the Second Punic War provides insight into the negative psychological affects that battle expression had on military forces who were not familiar with the customs of their enemy resulting in their intimidation. Hannibal's invasion of Italy resulted in Roman armies, often consisting of fresh conscripts and raw recruits, being sent against an enemy that had been hardened by war and confident in nature. According to Livy, Roman forces were psychologically intimidated by Hannibal's Carthaginian forces which highlight the Roman soldiers lack of disciplined battlefield experience. Carthaginian battle expression types are depicted as being wholly foreign and diverse in comparison to those employed by the Romans. Livy does not delve into detail regarding the nature of Carthaginian battle expression, such as movement and sound, however, the impact it had on the Roman army is telling. In Rome's first military engagement with Hannibal in Italy, near the Ticinus River, Livy states that after the Carthaginian force had raised their battle expression Scipio's spearmen broke ranks and fled.¹⁰ This reference suggests the noise and movement produced by the Carthaginians in the early stages of this battle must have been so psychologically impairing for the Roman army, due to its culturally foreign and tactically unfamiliar nature, that a certain section within the army could not remain in position. The Romans practiced their own battle expression and simulated their own battle scenarios in preparation for battle.¹¹ As a result, therefore, for sections of a Roman army to flee in the face of an enemy's battle expression must imply that the Carthaginian custom was something the Romans had not expected or encountered previously. Similarly, during the subsequent battle of Lake Trasimene, Livy claims that the Roman army knew they had been surrounded and trapped by the Carthaginian force due to the noise and clarity of the battle expression raised.¹² The Roman soldiers in total confusion and fear turned in different directions to face the enemy that had surrounded them based on which direction the noise of the battle expression was heard.¹³ This episode supports the notion that the military high command utilized battle expression to achieve desired military outcomes. At Lake Trasimene the Carthaginian force sounded their battle expression to inform the Romans of their

¹⁰ Livy. 21.46.6 (Table 28j).

¹¹ Jos. *BJ.* 3.70-76 (Table 26a); Amm. 22.4.6 (Table 5p).

¹² Livy. 22.4.7 (Table 28k).

¹³ Livy. 22.5.1-2 (Table 28l).

being surrounded. The noise coupled with the reality of their military predicament confused the Roman army and undermined their previous military strategy.

Livy refers to two other separate occasions in his account of Hannibal's invasion of Italy when Roman military forces broke ranks and fled as a result of the Carthaginian army's battle expression.¹⁴ In both situations, the Roman army had been outmaneuvered by Hannibal's military strategy. Livy claims that it was the sound of the Carthaginian battle expression that notified the Romans of – indeed, guided them to – their dire situation. The last episode in Livy¹⁵ that refers to the Carthaginian battle expression suggests one reason why Rome's military experienced such difficulties when they heard the enemy on the battlefield. During the early stages of the Battle of Zama (ca.202 BC), the Carthaginian battle expression consisted of different languages and peoples originating from different lands. On this occasion, however, the Carthaginian battle expression was weak and not cohesive in comparison to the Roman, suggesting why the Romans ended the day victorious. Livy provides detail of the ethnic composition of the Carthaginian army at Zama. The multicultural nature of Carthaginian military forces was nothing unusual and was the case when Hannibal first invaded Italy. Taken together, Livy's references demonstrate that Carthaginian battle expression had an intimidating impact on Roman military forces, *except at Zama* when the battle expression lacked cohesion.¹⁶ The reason for this intimidation, then, would appear to reside in the interplay of two related factors: on the one hand, that the Roman forces were not accustomed to such a diverse combination of noise, movement and culture in their preparation or experience in battle; on the other, that, to be effective, this combination of sight, sound and action demanded cohesive performance, derived (one suspects) from diligent training and cumulative field experience. When these factors coincided the culturally foreign and tactically unfamiliar Carthaginian battle expression, which consisted of multi-national language, song, dance and/or noise, appears to have been too disconcerting for some Roman military forces.

Plutarch refers to several battle expression types through his coverage of notable Roman generals' lives and their military campaigns against the Parthians that unnerved the Roman army. These references reveal the intimate understanding ancient cultures, notably the Asian, had with sonic and visual media available to them and their integration into military custom

¹⁴ Livy. 25.21.9; 27.1.11 (Table 29).

¹⁵ Livy. 30.34.1 (Table 29k).

¹⁶ Livy. 30.34.1 (Table 29k). *gentium multarum discrepantibus linguis*.

for the purpose of overawing enemy forces opposite them on a battlefield. Plutarch's *Life of Sulla* highlights a Parthian army's intentional use of colour deliberately configured to provide an optical illusion that unnerved men in the Roman ranks on the battlefield. The Parthians are portrayed as ostentatiously displaying their clothing and armour to the enemy in their battle expression.¹⁷ Besides the typical boasting and insults hurled at the Roman army by the Parthians, which Plutarch does not detail at any great length, the main battle expression performed was a display of massed movement. The sheer size in numbers of the Parthian army when combined with the colourful clothing and armour of the soldiers inspired terror within the Roman ranks. According to Plutarch, the Parthians took full advantage of the glittering armour and brightly coloured clothing of their military host by creating an optical illusion which was likened to a flaming fire. The various units within the army surged to and fro in turn which generated a movement of colour that overawed the Roman onlookers. This battle expression appears to have been a rehearsed and pre-planned performance due to the logistics involved regarding the massed movement along the Parthian battlefield and the realization that the multi-coloured patterns on dress and armour generated the illusion of added movement to an onlooker.

The nature and impact of various Parthian battle expression types are referred to in Plutarch's account of the battle of Carrhae in 53 BC.¹⁸ The first reference highlights the sensory overload the Romans experienced as a result of a brazen and flamboyant Parthian pre-planned battle expression. According to Plutarch, the Parthian military leader at Carrhae, Surena, purposefully concealed the bulk of his army behind his front ranks and he had ordered them to cover themselves with animal skins to hide their armour from the Romans across the battlefield. This act reportedly surprised the Romans as they had expected a more formidable enemy. As the Parthians neared the Romans Surena gave the signal for the drums, which were intermingled throughout the Parthian line and had bronze bells attached to them, to sound. Plutarch details that the Parthians unlike the Romans used drums rather than trumpets to sound an attack. The sound that the Parthian drums generated was eerie and terrifying to the auditory senses. Plutarch commended the Parthians in his writing for their understanding of tapping into what affects human emotions. Before the Romans could recover from this first sensory assault the Parthians removed their animal skin cloaks and revealed *en masse* the full array of the army

¹⁷ Plut. *Sul.* 16.2-3 (Table 52b).

¹⁸ Plut. *Cras.* 26 (Table 42b).

and their glittering armour. The nature of this battle expression which consisted of the playing of drums and removal of cloaks on a given signal suggests high levels of organization and discipline. Once again, the Parthian understanding of the effect their colourful armour and clothing would have on their enemy was fully exploited in the lead up to this battle and served to demoralize the onlookers. The use of drums and bells, no doubt played to a rhythm, aimed to attack the senses of the enemy, yet the familiarity of the sound to the Parthians would have served to instill confidence within their ranks. As the battle raged Crassus' son was killed and was decapitated and used to instigate another battle expression. According to Plutarch, as the Parthians launched another attack on the Roman lines, they struck up a traditional battle expression¹⁹ and the drums roared again. The ostentatious and brazen displays within Parthian battle expression towards Roman military forces correlate with the overriding characteristics of intimidation tactics aimed at altering the mindset of the enemy.

Celtic and Germanic military forces utilized their physical nature and surroundings to intimidate their enemies. The description of the Germanic/Celtic psyche and physical appearance before and during battle suggests that the character traits of these people were comparable to an untamed beast that is the product of its natural environment. The close affiliation the Germans and Celts had with nature was reflected through the battle expression that they adopted in the lead up to battle. Moreover, the foreign behavior of the Celts/Germans was viewed as a curiosity by Greeks and Romans, such as Ammianus and as such highlighted in his historical work.

Livy states that the Celts rank highest in reputation for war due to their purposeful creation of their appearance aimed to generate terror into their opponent before battle commenced.²⁰ The Celts' tall physique,²¹ their long flowing hair,²² their large shields and large weapons, their leaping and impersonations of wild animals are listed by Livy as the reason for their military

¹⁹ Plut. *Cras.* 26 (Table 42b).

²⁰ Livy. 38.17 (Table 31a).

²¹ Celts/Germans were typically larger in stature than Romans. This is made note of in Caesar *Gallic War* 2.30. "they [Gauls] at first began to mock the Romans from their wall, and to taunt them with the following speeches. "For what purpose was so vast a machine constructed at so great a distance? With what hands," or "with what strength did they, especially [as they were] men of such very small stature" (for our shortness of stature, in comparison to the great size of their bodies, is generally a subject of much contempt to the men of Gaul)."

²² Lobell and Samir (2010): 29. As presented on "Bog Bodies" (2006) BBC documentary. Aside from long flowing hair Celtic males would raise their hair to heighten their stature in society, especially on the battlefield. This is evident in the study of Irish bog body Clonycavan Man by Dr Joann Fletcher, where it was revealed that this Iron Age Celt used a plant resin substance, like a modern 'hair gel,' imported from France or Spain to erect his hair to enhance his moderate stature.

reputation.²³ Tacitus, in his account of Germanic warriors of the Harii tribe, details the appearance of this tribe's military forces and their technique to dominate their opponents. Tacitus states that the Harii in battle blackened their shields, dyed their bodies and selected dark nights and environments to fight their battles in. The result of this battle expression created the appearance of an army that caused their opponents to flee. Tacitus concluded his description by stating that defeat in battle always started with the eyes.²⁴ Tacitus' reference to the Harii tribe as a ghost-like army has been used, amongst modern scholars, as evidence for the existence of religiously motivated bands of Germanic warriors who worshipped Odin/Woden in antiquity.²⁵ These warrior groups were members of a Woden cult that inspired young men to replicate the *Einherjar*, or dead warriors who entered Valhalla and were chosen to fight in the last battle, Ragnarok. These warriors had an ecstatic relationship with Woden and may have originated to bring reality to Germanic myth.²⁶ The appearance of the Harii, as a result of this interpretation, suggests they aimed to replicate dead warriors who were still in the land of the living. Alternatively, other modern scholars note that the Tacitus description of a ghostly army was mere literary embellishment.²⁷ If this description was removed the Harii would be forest warriors exploiting their native lands for military gain against foreign invaders.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in his experience fighting within the ranks of the Roman military gives a first-hand account of Germanic battle expressions.²⁸ These references demonstrate the inspiration that Germanic military forces took out of their animistic culture. Ammianus details the battle of Strasbourg (or Argentoratum) in which the Western Empire's Caesar, Julian, was attempting to repulse an Alamanni invasion from the Roman province of Gaul. During the opening stages of this battle narrative Ammianus presents an image to the reader of the German force, gathered before the Roman force, as embracing natural ferocity, as if animalistic. Ammianus makes reference to the Alamannic tribesmen displaying eagerness for battle by grinding their teeth together while clashing their weapons against their shields.²⁹ This reference is prefaced by the statement that the Germans were alien to the Romans as a result of their wild

²³ Livy. 38.17 (Table 31a).

²⁴ Tac. *Ger.* 43 (Table 61d).

²⁵ Simek (2007): 71.

²⁶ Lindow (2001):104-105; Speidel (2002): 268-69.

²⁷ Rives (1999): 308.

²⁸ Amm. 15.5.22; 31.16.9 (Table 5).

²⁹ Amm. 16.12.13 (Table 5d).

and barbarous nature that made them prone to readily fall into a mad lust for battle.³⁰ During the battle narrative Ammianus compares the German and Roman military forces:

“For in a way the combatants were evenly matched; the Alamanni were stronger and taller, our soldiers disciplined by long practice; they were savage and uncontrollable, our men quiet and wary, these relying on their courage, while the Germans presumed upon their huge size.”³¹

Ammianus and Tacitus are the literary authorities regarding Germanic battle expression, the *barritus*.³² The nature of the *barritus* is detailed by Ammianus and Tacitus and as a result a near complete understanding of this battle expression has been gained. The only omission from these authors was the actual sound, difficult to reproduce in a literary work. It was a vocal noise made *en masse* which did not use any known word or phrase but was a sound. The *barritus* began very softly and over a long duration increased to the point where it strengthened into a sound that was compared to an explosion, such as a wave crashing against a cliff.³³ In Latin *barritus* refers to the cry of the elephant³⁴ and in Ammianus’ work he details the sound that it made and the impact that it had on those who heard it. According to Ammianus, it was so effective at intimidating the enemy through its imposing sound that it was later adopted by the Roman army and used in battle by troops within the Roman ranks.³⁵

The *barritus* was originally employed during a battle where the outcome was yet to be decided. It was used by Germanic forces to swing the battle in their own favour through unnerving the enemy by this mighty sound. Tacitus claims that it was undertaken by German military forces to determine, as if through augury, the outcome of the battle by assessing the conviction of the German troops by the sound they could transmit while undertaking the *barritus*. Tacitus states that the Germans would feel inspired (by the effective noise generated) or alarmed (at the weakness of the noise) through the performance of it.³⁶ To determine the strength of the noise produced by the fighting force, Tacitus claims that the warriors would raise their shields close

³⁰ Amm. 16.12.2 (Table 5c).

³¹ Amm. 16.12.47 (Table 5g).

³² Amm. 16.12.43 (Table 5f); Tac. Ger. 3 (Table 61a).

³³ Amm. 16.12.43 (Table 5f).

³⁴ Lewis & Short (1879).

³⁵ Amm. 31.7.11 (Table 5aa).

³⁶ Tac. Ger. 3 (Table 61a).

to their mouths and create the vocal sound required. The sound would reverberate from the shield and back into the warrior and based upon that assessment the warriors felt inspired or alarmed. The association of the *barritus* to an elephant cry and waves crashing against a cliff, from the Graeco-Roman perspective, propagates the animistic elements within the battle expression of Germanic military forces. Despite the Germanic and Celtic cultures being presented by hostile authors as wild or barbaric, the foresight, rehearsal and meaning of such practices that embraced and attempted to harness the forces of nature that were all mighty exemplifies the intimidatory aspect of battle expression.

Incompetent, comical display

The psychological dimension of the battle expression could take on different aspects aside from intimidation. Literary evidence reveals that ancient armies could utilize battle expression types to alter the mindset of an enemy not through intimidatory practices but through intentional displays of incompetence. Through the display of ‘inferiority’ to an enemy on the battlefield the enemy’s psyche would alter to one of a relaxed state resulting in complacency and distraction away from pre-established military orders. Livy provides a reference to a Numidian battle expression.³⁷ This battle expression does not use words, dancing or hand gestures, as described above. Instead, eight-hundred Numidian cavalry contrive, successfully as it transpires, to cause the enemy, a Ligurian army, to lose concentration and be lulled into a false sense of security immediately before engagement as a result of their battle expression. The Numidian cavalry, fighting within the ranks of a Roman army in north-western Italy, were tasked with breaking through a blockade made by a Ligurian military force against the Roman army. The Numidian cavalry purposefully feigned riding up to the Ligurian battle line, as if out of control of their steeds, and then retreated to the Roman ranks. The more the Numidians “charged,” the more out of control and non-threatening they appeared to the Ligurian ranks. The result was that, according to Livy, the Ligurian warriors laid down their arms and sat to watch the ridiculous Numidian cavalry struggling to control their steeds. At the most opportune moment, presumably when many Ligurian warriors had laid down their weapons and broken formation, the Numidians, instead of pretending to regain control of their horses and ride back to the Roman lines, charged through the enemy lines unopposed and rode into the open countryside. Here they wreaked havoc amongst the nearby civilian settlement, which in turn prompted the Ligurian army to break ranks, thus ending the blockade of the Roman army.

³⁷ Livy. 35.11.6-11 (see Table 30c).

This battle expression is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, the manner by which the large contingent of Numidian cavalry deceived the Ligurian ranks into believing they were not so much threatening, as a source of amusement and contempt is highly suggestive: namely, that this was a Numidian tactic which, given such a large body of cavalry, required a great deal of skill and training in order for it to succeed. Secondly, this battle expression alerts us to the fact that military forces in the ancient Mediterranean world used non-threatening methods, in this case methods regarded as comical and inspiring ridicule, to distract enemy forces from their military objectives, reflective of sophistication and cunning.

Taunting

The purposeful taunting of enemies on the battlefield was a universal military practice undertaken by each culture in the Graeco-Roman world.³⁸ The nature of the taunting ranged from spontaneous to pre-planned endeavors that aimed to adversely affect the discipline and mindset of enemy forces. Taunting served to strengthen unit morale within the military force partaking in the heckling, by demeaning an inferior, promoting a sense of superiority and confidence in battle.

Literary evidence

Herodotus refers to the battle expression of a Babylonian military force attempting to stave off the threat of a Persian siege against their city. The Persian king Darius I had led his army to the walls of Babylon and, according to Herodotus, was frequently insulted by the enemy force from on top of the city walls. Here, Herodotus claims that the Babylonians would frequently hurl verbal abuse and direct offensive hand gestures towards the Persian lines.³⁹ He asserts that these taunts and insults reflected Babylonian arrogance and their belief that the Persians would not be successful in their endeavor to capture the city. Herodotus provides an example of one such insult that one Babylonian was recorded to have cried out to the Persians. “Why loiter there, Persians, and not go away? You will take us when mules give birth.”⁴⁰ In other words, the Babylonian was questioning both the capacity and the intentionality of the Persian army to pursue its avowed course of action.⁴¹

³⁸ Sal. *Jug.* 94 (Table 57b); Livy. 37.20 (Table 30d); Caes. *Gal.* 2.30 (Table 15c), Tac *Hist.* 2.21 (Table 62b).

³⁹ Hdt. 3.151 (Table 22b).

⁴⁰ Hdt. 3.151.2 (Table 22b).

⁴¹ It is a common belief that mules in general have difficulty in producing young successfully. Herodotus made special mention of this insult as he questioned whether mules could in fact give birth. Later in Herodotus' work

Thucydides' narrative of the Athenian siege of Syracuse from ca.413 BC refers to a Syracusan taunt aimed at the besieging Athenians. According to Thucydides:

“Mounted Syracusan scouts constantly rode up to the Athenian army and amongst other insults asked them: “Are you come to settle yourselves here with us, on land that belongs to other people, instead of resettling the Leontines on their own?”⁴²

The taunt in this reference relies on a rhetorical question based on the legitimacy of Athens' hostility towards Syracuse. The Syracusan scouts suggest that the purpose of Athens' presence in Sicily was to aid the Leontini, a Greek people,⁴³ in establishing autonomy for them in their 'homeland.' Yet, as the scouts insinuate, the Athenians were attacking Syracuse that was not Leontini land and propose Athenian imperialism was the factor motivating the action.

Taunting on the battlefield was not solely reserved for the enemy, but, as Xenophon details, was also used by a military force to admonish friendly troops for motivational purposes. A Spartan led army contained units from Mantinea whose infantry had recently been driven off the field by enemy peltasts. Most probably to generate greater spirit and fighting fervour amongst their allies, the Spartans taunted them claiming that they feared peltasts in a similar fashion to children who feared Mormo:⁴⁴

“Lacedaemonians were even so unkind as to make game of their allies, saying that they feared the peltasts just as children fear hobgoblins.”⁴⁵

The original Greek word used to characterize the reaction of the Mantinean peltasts, for that the translator interposes “hobgoblins,” is μορμόνας (from μορμώ, hideous she-monster, i.e. Mormo). To frighten children into good behavior, adults used Mormo. Mormo's ugly face and

(7.52.7) he claimed that a mule did in fact give birth at Sardis with a set of both male and female genitalia. Herodotus used this as an ominous precursor to Xerxes' planned invasion of Greece.

⁴² Thuc. 6.63 (Table 63h). ἱππῆς τε προσελαύνοντες αἰεὶ κατάσκοποι τῶν Συρακοσίων πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐφύβριζον ἄλλα τε καὶ εἰ ξυνοικήσοντες σφίσιν αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον ἤκοιεν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἢ Λεοντίνους ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν κατοικιοῦντες.

⁴³ For a general history of the Leontini in Sicily see: Thuc. 6.3-6.

⁴⁴ For reference to Mormo or Μορμολύκη see Strab. 1.2.8 (Table 58a).

⁴⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.17 (Table 71g). ὥστε οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐπισκώπτειν ἐτόλμων ὥς οἱ σύμμαχοι φοβοῖντο τοὺς πελταστὰς ὥσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια.

fearful appearance, coupled with an association to eat children, explains her affiliation with goblins.⁴⁶ Perhaps the reminder of prior military failures, from their well-respected Spartan allies, served to strengthen the fighting determination of the Mantineans to ensure such disgrace would not befall them in the future.

Arrian refers to a taunting battle expression from a military force that opposed Alexander the Great's army during his conquest of the Persian Empire. A Scythian force, hostile to Alexander's army, is recorded as calling out in their barbarous fashion insulting remarks to Alexander. What is frustrating, however, is that Arrian (albeit because of his sources) does not specify the nature of how the insults were communicated. The fact that the enemy could clearly make out the insult, most probably through translation, via guides or allies, suggests the insults were loud and performed *en masse*. The insult offered up to Alexander was a brazen challenge that he would not dare lay a finger on the Scythian host gathered. The Scythians proudly added that if Alexander were to attack them, he would find them more superior in fighting skill and bravery than to the other Asian forces he had already encountered.⁴⁷ No doubt this taunt aimed to boost the confidence of those who performed it.

Another example found in Arrian's *Anabasis* relates to Alexander's siege of the Sogdian Rock. The impressive scale and height of this natural fortress, situated in modern Uzbekistan, prompted the native Sogdians to take refuge on it in their rebellion against the invading Macedonian army. According to Arrian, the Sogdians were confident of the defensive capabilities of this fortress that they taunted Alexander and his men when Alexander's herald offered terms for the Sogdian surrender of the rock. Arrian claims that all the men on the wall facing the herald burst into unified laughter and communicated to Alexander in their native language to find soldiers with wings as no other soldiers could capture the rock.⁴⁸ Arrian states that many Sogdians – who took up the cry shortly after Alexander's herald demanded the surrender of the Sogdians inside – undertook the taunt. The Sogdian forces inside the fortress would have realized how difficult it would have been for any attacking force to capture such a difficult geographical location. The Sogdians kept women and children in the fortress, testifying to the confidence the Sogdians had in the rock. The Sogdians most likely did not only take refuge here during the invasion of Alexander but had more than likely taken refuge

⁴⁶ Strabo. 1.2.8 (Table 58a); Aristoph. *Peace*. 474 (Table 10a); Aristoph. *Achar*. 582ff (Table 7a).

⁴⁷ Arr. *Ana*. 4.4.2 (Table 11g).

⁴⁸ Arr. *Ana*. 4.18.6 (Table 11h).

at this location during times of military conflict for generations. Alexander's forces were probably not the only foreign military force who had attempted to gain control of this fortress. Therefore, the reply given by the Sogdians had more than likely been a reply given to the enemies of the Sogdians throughout their history. The fact that the Sogdians gave this taunt in their native language indicates the cultural significance of this battle expression, as not only did this taunt aim to send a message to the enemy, who would have needed a translation, but would have served to motivate and instill steadfastness within the ranks of the Sogdians who were fighting for their homeland. Ultimately, this Sogdian battle expression can be likened to a traditional response to a demand for surrender of their mountain stronghold, that would have been familiar to these people.

Livy details the wars that plagued Greece and Turkey during the early 2nd century BC, in his account of Pergamon's war against the forces of Antiochus III ca.190 BC. Due to the relatively small numbers that had been sent out from the city to fight, Antiochus' forces scorned Pergamon's.⁴⁹ The belittlement of numerically inferior forces through vocal taunting, and potentially cat-calling, aimed not only to enthruse the numerically superior force with added confidence of an easy victory, but also to degrade the enemy's legitimacy as a credible presence on the battlefield. The volatile nature of this atmosphere would have served to psychologically disable the small force or, conversely, increase its fighting spirit and determination to prove themselves in the eyes of those that would underestimate them. In the case of this battle sequence, the carelessness of Antiochus' army and their overconfidence resulted in a stunning victory for the force of Pergamon.

In the case of 3rd century BC Italian conflicts,⁵⁰ prior military engagements were recalled for the purpose of taunting the enemy. Livy claims that military commanders on both sides initiated taunting of the enemy, that no doubt would have filtered through the ranks and used to authorize amongst friendly troops inspiration to ridicule the enemy. According to Livy, the Romans were reminded of the many times the Bruttians and Lucanians had been defeated and subdued by their ancestors. While the Bruttians and Lucanians reminded the Romans of the Roman slaves that had been acquired by Carthage, particularly of their soldiery:

⁴⁹ Livy. 37.20 (Table 30d). Another example of a small numerical force being subjugated to taunting from a numerically superior force, see: Poly. Strat. Caes. 8.23.11 (Table 53e).

⁵⁰ Rome fought against the combined forces of Bruttians and Lucanians c.214 BC.

“While the commanders on both sides heaped abuse, the Roman on the Bruttians and Lucanians, so many times defeated and subdued by their ancestors, the Carthaginian on the Roman slaves and prison-house soldiers”⁵¹

The impact of this exchange in taunts boosted the resolve of the Roman army that according to Livy:

“Those words at last so fired their courage that, as though they were suddenly different men, they raised a shout again and charged the enemy”⁵²

The sting of enemy taunting was undoubtedly made the more effective when the forces engaged had previous military and social history with each other. As seen above, the relationship between the Greek *poleis* and the Italian peoples, who frequently interacted with each other militarily, politically and socially, had intimate knowledge of the shortcomings of their rivals and exploited these on the battlefield. This is comparable to the modern world where football supporters during local derby matches between inter-city or regional rivals; who love to hate each other and know exactly what ‘buttons’ to press, metaphorically, to intimidate and ‘rattle’ psychologically the opposition players and their supporters. The competitive and volatile atmosphere generated by derby/rival matches in football stadiums would have rivalled the atmosphere of hatred and tension on the battlefield in antiquity between geographical and socio-political rivals.

Roman historian Sallust refers to two separate occasions where a Numidian or composite African (Mauretanian-Gaetulan) military force taunted and insulted a Roman army. Sallust claims that, during the Jugurthine War, a Roman army that was besieging a Jugurthine stronghold was victim to Numidian warriors insulting them.⁵³ During the day and night Sallust claims that Numidian warriors patrolling the walls would insult the Romans below by calling the Roman commander, Marius, a madman and threatening all the Roman soldiers that they would soon become the slaves of Jugurtha, the Numidian rebel leader. This reference suggests that the Numidian warriors understood Latin, the language of the Romans, or at least the Latin required to shout out the taunt. The Roman soldiers outside the walls would have found it

⁵¹ Livy. 24.15.7-8 (Table 29a).

⁵² Livy. 24.16.1 (Table 29b).

⁵³ Sal. Jug. 94 (Table 57b).

difficult to understand what the taunt was if it was not expressed in Latin. This reference suggests that great lengths, particularly by Numidian warriors, were taken to ensure a taunt was understood by an enemy when it was directed towards them. The second reference from Sallust refers to the leader of the Numidian force against the Romans during the Jugurthine War, where Jugurtha taunts a body of Roman troops before battle.⁵⁴ Of note, Jugurtha's experience of Roman military action serving under P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus at the siege of Numantia 134-133 BC⁵⁵ should be considered when assessing his use of taunting. Jugurtha's knowledge of the Latin language and Roman military custom on the battlefield indicates this battle expression intended to emulate Roman practice on the battlefield, and no doubt, unnerve the Roman army he was fighting against. The Roman soldiers within earshot of Jugurtha would have been surprised at Jugurtha's familiarity with the Latin language. In this reference Jugurtha is represented as crying aloud to the Roman soldiers, in Latin, that he had just killed Marius, their leader, with his own hand. According to Sallust this boosted the morale of the Numidian force, which attacked the Romans with greater fury while the Roman troops entered the fray suffering a significant blow to their collective will because of Jugurtha's news. In fact, the Roman leader Marius had not been killed but was alive. This reveals that ancient peoples were not (as modern interpretations suggest)⁵⁶ primitive (tactically or strategically) with respect to the use of their battle expression, but rather should be viewed as adaptive, adept and experienced in utilizing a range of expressions as an integral component of their panoply of military tactics.

The physical appearance of military forces, aside from numerical size, was also targeted and used on the battlefield to psychologically destabilize the enemy. According to Caesar, Celtic and Germanic warriors had genetically larger physiques than their Roman counterparts; this subject was customarily used on the battlefield by the Celts to taunt the Romans.⁵⁷ In this reference, a Roman army besieged a Gallic stronghold, Caesar records the taunts made by the Gauls stationed on the walls to the Romans outside. The Gauls laughed at the creation of a large siege engine so far from the strongholds walls.⁵⁸ What appears to have amused the Gauls

⁵⁴ Sal. *Jug.* 101 (Table 57e).

⁵⁵ App. *Hisp.* 14.89.

⁵⁶ Such as Whately (2016); Cowan (2007); Rance (2015) who do not acknowledge that spontaneous battle expression was inspired from battlefield scenarios. Modern films including "Gladiator", "Centurion", "Spartacus"; television series such as "Rome" do not present the battle expression, or 'war cry', as sophisticated. See introduction.

⁵⁷ Caes. *Gal.* 2.30 (Table 15c).

⁵⁸ Caes. *Gal.* 2.30.

most, that they vocalized to the Roman lines, was not only the distance that such a great engine had been made from the walls, but the idea that such small warriors were going to have to relocate the engine up to the walls – the Gauls insinuated the Romans could not do based on their weak appearance in comparison to their own.⁵⁹ Whether this taunt was communicated in Latin or the local Gallic dialect remains to be seen. Indeed, it would not have been difficult to employ hand gestures to convey these ideas to a foreign enemy. Whatever the language used in this scenario, the presence of cross-cultural wit and humour in this taunt highlight's clear levels of sophistication present within the ancient battle expression, a concept not embraced with the term war cry.

Plutarch details a taunt made by Teutones warriors towards a Roman army under the command of Marius.⁶⁰ Similar to the example above, this Celtic/Germanic force found humour in mocking the Roman army. According to Plutarch, the prospect of invading Roman lands inspired the Teutones to inquire of the Romans, rhetorically, whether they had any messages for their wives and loved ones, as they would soon be with them.⁶¹ This suggestive and provocative question, by way of battle expression, no doubt aimed to draw the Roman army out of their camp into the field for battle. The Roman tactic to construct fortifications and hold up the movements of the invading Celtic/Germanic host frustrated the Teutones, who had previously attempted to attack the Roman camp without success. The belief that the Romans would not dare confront the Teutones in a pitched battle led to the Teutones marching past the Roman camp towards Italy taunting as they went by.

The access to food supplies, especially during siege situations, formed the motivation for taunting the enemy who lacked enough resources. In Caesar's account of the siege of Dyrrachium ca.48 BC, during the civil war he fought against Pompey, an episode of exchange in taunts took place between soldiers on both sides. Despite Pompey's forces being besieged by Caesar's, it was in fact Caesar's forces that were struggling with resources, particularly grain. The discovery and use of an ersatz ingredient made the making of bread loaves for Caesar's forces possible.⁶² During the military stalemate situation of the siege, soldiers on both sides used their turn on frontline duty to taunt the opposition. Pompey's soldiers, who believed

⁵⁹ *Caes. Gal.* 2.30 (Table 15c).

⁶⁰ *Plut. Mar.* 18 (Table 47b).

⁶¹ ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐγγύς, πυνθανόμενοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ γέλωτος εἴ τι πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπιστέλλοιεν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι ταχέως παρ' αὐταῖς.

⁶² *Caes. B. Civ.* 3.48 (Table 14c).

the Caesarian forces to be in a predicament of limited grain supplies, taunted the enemy suffering from famine.⁶³ In response, Caesarian troops threw bread, made using the ersatz ingredients, towards the Pompeian frontline demonstrating the abundance of bread at their disposal, negating the Pompeian claims.⁶⁴

In a similar siege situation during the Jewish War, Josephus described Roman soldiers taunting their starving Jewish enemy during the 70 AD siege of Jerusalem.⁶⁵ Roman soldiers, fully aware of the dire food circumstances within the rebel occupied city of Jerusalem, are claimed to have approached the walls that Jewish rebels patrolled and showcased their abundant supply of food. Whether the Roman soldiers simply held aloft in the air an assortment of food and waved it provocatively towards the Jewish rebels, or whether the Romans simply ate large quantities of food in front of the onlooking enemy is not clear.⁶⁶ What is clear, in both passages, were the attempts of the taunters to attack, through satirical means, the misfortune and deprivation of an enemy force. The contemplation and thought process involved, by soldiers within a military force, to target an assumed weakness within the enemy that could potentially alter the enemy's psyche, and the entertainment factor this provided the taunters, was undertaken through the creation of a battle expression.

Types of battle expression that involved taunting could focus on the public belittlement and condemnation of key individuals within an enemy force, such as the commander. The public ridicule of a military leader by an enemy force on the battlefield could potentially result in the army, or the leader himself, wishing to defend the reputation that was under attack. Alternatively, these taunts could serve to drive a wedge between commander and soldiers if their viewpoints on how to respond to these verbal assaults differed. For example, the army may wish to defend the reputation of their commander by engaging with the enemy in response to ridicule, however, the commander may choose to ignore the heckling and instead pursue an alternative timeframe for battle. This divergence in how to respond to the taunting may result in the army losing confidence in their commander.⁶⁷ The repercussions of potential discord between the army and the high command, or off setting prearranged tactics/strategy, may prove

⁶³ Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.48 (Table 14c). *cum in colloquiis Pompeiani famem nostris obiectarent.*

⁶⁴ Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.48 (Table 14c). *vulgo in eos iaciebant ut spem eorum minuerent.*

⁶⁵ Jos. *BJ.* 5.521 (Table 26f).

⁶⁶ Jos. *BJ.* 5.521 (Table 26f).

⁶⁷ Or vice versa, the commander may wish to engage with the enemy, but the army may not be prepared to do so.

beneficial to the army that initiated the taunt as they were able to successfully force the hand of their enemy into military action they may not have taken had the taunt not occurred.⁶⁸ In the course of the siege of Jerusalem, during the Jewish War, Josephus records Titus' attempts to offer of peace with the Jews should they surrender the remaining part of Jerusalem that they occupied.⁶⁹ The taunts that were given in response by the Jewish rebels to terms of peace and surrender were scathing. According to Josephus, the Jewish rebels verbally abused the Jews within the Roman army, who brought the message before the walls, along with Titus and his father Vespasian. The Jewish rebels claimed that they did not want peace but wanted to incur suffering on the Romans before their ultimate demise:

“To this message the Jews retorted by heaping abuse and retorts of the Jewish leaders. from the ramparts upon Caesar himself, and his father, crying out that they scorned death, that they honourably preferred to slavery, that they would do Romans every injury in their power while they had breath in their bodies”⁷⁰

The response of the Jewish rebels to condemn verbally those in the Roman high command, Titus and Vespasian, along with the Jews who served as the mediators between Rome and the Jewish rebels, supports the above notion. The Jewish rebels wished to force the Romans to act contrary to what they had wanted to transpire. Titus' offer for a peaceful resolution did not comply with what the Jewish rebels wanted, namely death and suffering to all Romans. By responding to the Roman offer of peace; with verbal abuse directed at the men in charge of the Roman army and the men who translated the rebel response to Roman high command, the Rebels hoped to enact rage upon the Romans, and those that delivered the response, to ensure no peaceful resolution would be contemplated. In this way the Jewish rebels hoped the Romans would not want peace anymore but war (that is what the Jewish rebels aimed to achieve) thereby affecting the Roman military timeframe.

In Tacitus' *Histories* details of taunting between opposing Roman armies are recorded. The taunts, similarly, aimed to slander the reputation of the military leaders on the battlefield, while also heckling the composition of the enemy through stereotyping. According to Tacitus:

⁶⁸ For example, see Fron. *Strat.* 1.11.1 (Table 21a). “the consuls on their side feigned a policy of delay, until the soldiers, wrought upon by the taunts of the enemy, demanded battle and swore to return from it victorious.”

⁶⁹ Jos. *BJ.* 5.457-458 (Table 26e).

⁷⁰ Jos. *BJ.* 5.458.

“Different exhortations were heard...The Vitellians assailed their opponents as lazy and indolent, soldiers corrupted by the circus and the theatre; those within the town attacked the Vitellians as foreigners and barbarians. At the same time, while they thus lauded or blamed Otho and Vitellius, their mutual insults were more productive of enthusiasm than their praise.”⁷¹

The appearance, ethnicity and social status of the soldiers in opposing forces were highlighted and ridiculed, while the commanders were hailed by their respective armies and denounced by their enemy. These taunts aimed to alter the mindset of the enemy, Tacitus claims this created enthusiasm for battle and must have been quite atmospheric with noise, laughter and volatility. Both sides attempted to force the other into undertaking a military action that may have proved disastrous or counterproductive to their overall strategy.

Ammianus details a Persian battle expression that consisted of threatening the enemy. The siege of Bezabde in AD 360 saw the Persians, led by king Sapor II, besiege the Roman held city. According to Ammianus, during this siege the Persian forces attacked the city walls and as they did so loudly threatened the defenders.⁷² As mentioned above, taunts and threats were a typical feature of battle expression from all cultures around the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world. However, this reference suggests that the Persian threat to the Romans stationed inside Bezabde was so loud and cruel in nature that Ammianus, who was not present at this siege, recorded it. This means that the second-hand written source or eyewitness account Ammianus used to describe this siege noted it due to its effectiveness. While Ammianus did not record the threat word for word, the comprehension of the Romans inside the walls that the Persians were threatening them verbally suggests that most of the Persian soldiers must have participated in this battle expression. The Persian vigour in threatening the Romans must have been exceptional for it to be noteworthy. As a result, the manner that the Persians taunted their enemy leads to the assumption that this action was pre-planned or rehearsed in order for the atmosphere it generated to be so memorable in Ammianus’ source material.

⁷¹ Tac. *Hist.* 2.21 (Table 62b).

⁷² Amm. 20.7.5 (Table 5k).

That verbal taunting and gesticulations were employed by ancient military forces to gain a psychological edge over the enemy is supported by Glück.⁷³ Glück claims that the exchange of abuse and taunting between opposing armies is a strange phenomenon evident in ancient Graeco-Roman literature. Glück's argument aims to demonstrate that reviling and monomachy⁷⁴ were preludes to battles in primitive warfare and were characteristic of societies in an early or arrested stage of civilization, marked by a total lack of military discipline.⁷⁵ Armies not wishing to engage with the enemy, concealed their apprehensions by launching abuse, scorn and curses at each other. The taunting of the opponent might have had a psychological effect on both parties as it aroused the abuser and agitated the abused.⁷⁶ According to Glück, the taunting could consist of ridicule, cursing and intimidation.⁷⁷

Many of these ideas regarding taunting and its prevalence in ancient literature correlate with the present study. In contradistinction to Glück's viewpoint, however, taunting/reviling should *not* be regarded as a feature of primitive warfare involving a lack of military discipline. The suggestion that taunting as a typical military practice should be confined to about the first half of the first millennium BC may also be challenged. It is accepted that the combination of reviling *with* monomachy (atmospheric competition between the forces drawn up on the battlefield), or the pursuit of monomachy (producing a competitive atmosphere) through reviling the enemy falls within these above claims. However, Glück should be aware that taunting continued to be a strange military phenomenon evident in Graeco-Roman literature through to the later Roman imperial age. As explored above, the sophistication that ancient military forces exhibited when they taunted their enemies, through wit and humour in specific military situations, does not comply with a lack of discipline and training proffered by Glück.

⁷³ Glück (1964): 25.

⁷⁴ Glück uses monomachy, or duel, to mean single combat between representatives of hostile forces on the battlefield. For the purpose of the battle expression study, monomachy, or duel, will be adopted to describe the competitive attempts made by opposing armies on the battlefield to control the atmosphere of the battlefield through undertaking battle expression types. This can be likened to the attempts made by opposing football supporters inside stadiums to drown out their rivals through such actions as: singing, chanting, clapping and movement for atmospheric dominance.

⁷⁵ Glück (1964): 26.

⁷⁶ Glück (1964): 28.

⁷⁷ Glück (1964): 29.

Archaeological evidence

Lead sling bullets, otherwise known as *glandes/glandes plumbae*, reveal archaeological evidence for the use of taunting undertaken by a variety of cultures on the battlefield within the Graeco-Roman world.⁷⁸ The archaeological discovery of inscribed slingshot bullets on ancient battlegrounds further supports the tradition of battle expression used during battle. McDermott likens the practice of inscribing words, phrases and images onto ancient sling bullets as similar to the painted messages on bombs from the modern era.⁷⁹ Sling bullet inscriptions can be categorized, similar to battle expression, into different categories based on their epigraphical content.⁸⁰ Generally, sling bullets contained inscriptions that highlighted; a personal name: of the inscriber, the slinger or military commander; the name of a people or a geographical location; a message, normally a taunt, intended for the enemy usually in the form of an exclamation. Each of these categories corresponds with the types of battle expression that could be undertaken by a military force in the Graeco-Roman world. For the purpose of the present discussion about taunting, a focus on those sling bullets that contain messages intended for the enemy, typically by way of exclamations, will follow.

According to Kelly, taunting messages on inscribed lead sling bullets can be considered as a black comedic release of tension and a sense of supremacy from the military force firing these missiles.⁸¹ The feeling of inferiority was, therefore, intended to be felt by the enemy on the receiving end. Examples supporting this notion derive from translated sling bullet inscriptions and some with accompanying images. Foss and McDermott record the messages of sling bullets from Olynthus, that the Macedonian forces of Philip II besieged in the 4th century BC.⁸² Of these recurring messages inscribed in Greek include; *nika* (conquer); *papai* (ouch); *dexai, labe* (take it); woe, *haima* (blood); *trogalion* (a candy or almond or the like). Other examples translated include; "an unpleasant gift"; "a sweetmeat"; "eat this"; "hold this too"; "take this" (with a thunderbolt on the reverse)⁸³ and "seize this." Roman inscriptions, provided by McDermott,⁸⁴ involve messages for the people of, or from, a settlement during a siege operation; "a gift for the people of Asculum"; "strike the Picenes" (of Picenum); "runaways,

⁷⁸ Evidence from the Asian, Greek and Roman cultures are widespread, as will be shown. See: McDermott (1942): 36, Foss (1975): 30; "It is not necessary, however, to suppose that the use of lead bullets would have been confined to Greeks.", Ariño (2005): 233-235 & Kelly (2012): 294-295

⁷⁹ McDermott (1942): 35

⁸⁰ McDermott (1942): 36, Foss (1975): 28 & Kelly (2012): 290,

⁸¹ Kelly (2012): 290, 295

⁸² McDermott (1942): 36-37 & Foss (1975): 28

⁸³ Kelly (2012): 291

⁸⁴ McDermott (1942): 36-37

you are doomed"; "an evil to you who are evil"; "our persistence will destroy you utterly" (addressed to the besieged); "strike Pompeius" (addressed from the besieged to the leader of the besieging force).⁸⁵ Sexual metaphors are common themes found in inscribed lead sling bullets.⁸⁶ The reference to sling bullets causing childbirth pain and urging the sling bullet to "be lodged well" (with a scorpion image on the reverse) or "impregnate yourself on this" are typical requests found on sling bullets.⁸⁷ Sexual superiority are also themes commonly discovered on sling bullets suggesting triumph; *Tet[o] Octavia [ni] culum* (directive to Octavian's backside) reinforce this idea.⁸⁸

The evidence suggests that taunting was specifically designed to respond to a given situation that may have resulted on the battlefield. Mostly, taunting served to provoke or degrade the enemy in order to gain a psychological edge over them that may result in a reaction that may not be in the interests of the affected force. For example, taunting; aimed to lure an enemy out into a pitched battle when it did not suit them. Taunts instilled anger and frustration in an enemy that may have caused the force to disobey/change orders, such as a besieged/besieging force to lose patience in maintaining their strategy. The provocation of individuals and groups on the battlefield, through public ridicule aimed to destabilize an army. Taunting the enemy on the battlefield boosted the morale amongst the taunters. Ridiculing a perceived inferior force served to instill greater levels of confidence within the perceived superior force. The calming influence of feeling superior in a military context would have negated any prior apprehension that troops may have had for battle. The imagination and sophistication evident within the different forms of taunting reflects cultural traits and humour not otherwise obtained in a military context. References to taunting are found amongst all military cultures of the Graeco-Roman world and reveals that battles could be influenced through demeaning verbal and gestural displays.

Conclusions

Ancient literary and archaeological evidence reveals that the battle expression served as an extension of military strategy to weaken the psychological state of the enemy. The lack of concentration, the spread of fear and uncertainty that could engulf military forces as a direct

⁸⁵ McDermott (1942): 36-37

⁸⁶ Kelly (2012): 291-294

⁸⁷ Kelly (2012): 293

⁸⁸ Kelly (2012): 291-294

result of an enemy's sonic and visual battlefield displays was a clear function and use of battle expression in the ancient world. Spontaneous and choreographed demonstrations that aimed to intimidate and unnerve the enemy were utilized across cultural groups in the Graeco-Roman world. The evidence suggests that on occasion these practices did contribute to desired military outcomes and victory, such as driving an enemy from a battlefield and breaking through enemy lines. The adoption of taunting enemy forces was a common military practice that functioned on two level: to destabilize the mindset of the enemy and to boost the feeling of superiority amongst friendly troops. The study of ancient lead sling bullets emphasizes the psychological dimension and impact that battle expression had on forces on both sides of a battlefield. The preparation levels that went into effective massed sonic and visual displays and the wit exhibited from military forces that exploited events that transpired on the battlefield in the creation demonstrates the high levels of sophistication that went into battle expression types and the military importance they had on the battlefield.

Chapter 5. The religious dimension of battle in antiquity

Religion inspired battle expression types cross-culturally around the Graeco-Roman world. Individuals and military forces invoked cultural deities and undertook religious custom to prepare themselves for battle. Battle expression types revolved around religious practice such as glorifying deities, invoking the power and wrath of gods associated with war and steeling men in the moments leading up to battle. Ancient literary evidence reveals that religion played a significant role cross-culturally in military life, especially on the battlefield, to the extent that religion and battle expression had an inextricable connection. Through the performance of prayer, hymn, ritual action and/or the imitation of spiritual forces, individuals and armies prepared for battle while expressing their religious belief and identity. The religious dimension of battle expression further contributes to our understanding of the psychological nature of warfare.

Graeco-Roman authors refer to religious themed battle expression types performed on battlefields by military forces that span from the archaic period to late antiquity. References to individuals and armies worshipping deities that have military association in the lead up to battle is a frequent phenomenon that sheds light on the mental state and temperament of men in their last moments before violent conflict. While war cries have been characterized in modern day media forms, such as film,¹ as aggressive incoherent yells and screams the term battle expression presents battlefield customs in a different light. This paradigm accepts that military undertakings prior to battle did not have to be aggressive or intimidating in nature but rather inspiring and spiritual. The singing of religious hymns by hundreds or thousands of men would have been daunting to witness yet inspirational to be a part of. The advent of Christianity in late antiquity did not lead to the end of religion inspired battle expression. Instead, Christianity was integrated into the ancient military tradition of battle expression, testifying that ancient armies took inspiration from religious invocation.

¹ Modern scholarly works such as Whately (2016); Cowan (2007); Rance (2015) who do not acknowledge the features that encompass the battle expression definition. Modern films including “Gladiator”, “Centurion”, “Spartacus”; television series such as “Rome” do not present the battle expression, or ‘war cry’, as diverse. See introduction.

Homer refers to the Trojan leader, Hector, with whom a specific religious battle expression is linked.² The Trojan king's son is referred to as having a great and loud "war-cry."³ There are two occasions where Homer provides added detail about the battle expression of Hector and his forces. The first instance suggests that Hector was strongly supported in both military strength and noise generated by the shouts of his Trojan battalion he led into battle. Homer claims that the universal shouting noise of the Trojans made Diomedes (Greek warrior-king of Argos) shudder.⁴ Homer explains the strength of the Trojan battle expression was due to the Trojans being supported by the Greek warrior deities, Ares and Queen Enyo.⁵ Homer states specifically that Enyo was responsible for the noise that was generated in the lead up to battle. This added detail may reveal the footprint of the Trojan battle expression; namely, invocation of and praise to the war goddess Enyo, or the Trojan equivalent. A later reference to Hector describes him calling upon his fellow Trojans during battle to perform their battle expression. According to Homer, a Trojan force, led by Hector, attacked the Greek encampment on the shoreline where the Greeks had moored their ships. A fierce battle raged between the Trojans and Greeks around the Greek camp. The Trojans managed to fight their way through to the Greek ships on the shoreline, where Homer claims, Hector called upon his fellow warriors to initiate their battle expression. Hector urged the Trojans within earshot to raise their battle expression with one united voice which Hector hoped would spur on the Trojans to continue their onslaught against the Greeks.⁶ Hector claimed that Zeus had permitted the Trojans to be in the situation where they could possibly defeat the Greeks who had invaded their lands. The reference to Zeus while Hector incited the Trojans to unite in one voice may suggest that the Trojan battle expression was in some way linked to the supreme god of the Trojan faith. As Homer and/or his audience did not know who this supreme Trojan deity was by name, Homer used the Greek equivalent instead to accommodate for his Greek audience.⁷

² It should be noted here that, at best, Homer's depiction of warfare may tell us something about contemporary expectations of battle. On this occasion the influence religion had on battle expression. Indeed, Homer as a source for Hector urging on the Trojans as evidence for a Trojan battle expression is ludicrous.

³ Hom. *Il.* 5.590-592; 15.671; 15.716-720 (Table 23).

⁴ Hom. *Il.* 5.595-597 (Table 23d).

⁵ Hom. *Il.* 5.590-595 (Table 23d).

⁶ Hom. *Il.* 15.716-720 (Table 23i). "But Hector, when he had grasped the ship by the stern, would not loose his hold, but kept the stern post in his hands, and called to the Trojans: "Bring fire, and at the same time raise the war cry all with one voice; now has Zeus granted us a day that is recompense for everything"

⁷ Homer is our only source for Trojan beliefs, and it is, of course, possible that the Greeks and Trojans shared a common pantheon of gods. With that in mind, it is also important to remember the fictive nature of Homer's epic and this perspective can only remain speculative.

Michael Speidel focuses on the different warrior types found in ancient Germanic military forces.⁸ Speidel categorizes Germanic warriors into specific warrior groups that were based on totem animals or natural forces that warriors aimed to replicate in themselves on the battlefield. These included warriors who imitated wolves, bears, bucks, naked berserks, ghosts and strong men wielding heavy weapons. These warriors changed their appearance, shape and mentality to instill fear within the enemy.⁹ These stylized warriors wore the skins, or likeness, of their warrior style and roused themselves and their fighting group into a fighting frenzy or madness before battle. Germanic warriors used prescribed and united chanting, dancing, singing and/or mimicking animal noises¹⁰ (depending on what style of warrior they were) to motivate the fighting group into a berserk rage. The lyrical content of the chants and songs performed by Germanic warriors before and during battle is not detailed in Speidel's work. However, his work gives insight into the possible themes that comprised the various songs, chants, and dances of German military forces in battle. Prevalent features found within Speidel's characterization of Germanic warriors consist of the religious worship of the Germanic god Woden/Odin, recounting the deeds of past heroes and the desire to imitate and embody certain animals/natural powers.¹¹ An example of a themed battle expression that was used by Germanic warriors in antiquity during battle was the *barritus* chant. In Speidel's work the *barritus* is likened to the onset of a storm and its subsequent arrival or the surge of a wave and its final crash against a cliff face.¹² Despite the absence of detail relating to movement or lyrics regarding the *barritus* the theme of generating a natural phenomenon, like the arrival storm or a crashing wave, provides significant understanding to what inspired German battle expressions.

The evidence used to support Speidel's categorization of Germanic warrior styles is focused on literary and iconographic sources. The literary sources consulted date from antiquity to the early middle ages. These sources include Roman historians, most commonly Tacitus and Ammianus, along with Dark Age and early Middle Ages Viking and Irish legends and sagas, such as Beowulf. Central to this argument, iconographic evidence forms the basis of depicting ancient Germanic warrior styles. Representations of Germanic warriors survived from antiquity and the early Middle Ages on items such as scabbards, shields, helmets, buckles, rock

⁸ Speidel (2004).

⁹ Speidel (2004): 45, 69, 82, 110 and 111. See also, note 40 above.

¹⁰ Speidel (2004): 45, 69 and chapter 10 entitled "Chanting."

¹¹ Speidel (2004): 14, 15, 31, 43, 44, 45, 69, 70, 73, 94, 110-112.

¹² Speidel (2004): 110-112.

drawings, gravestones and weapons. Important to Speidel's reading of the evidence is Trajan's column in Rome, which represents the variety of Germanic warrior styles. Some of the sources used by Speidel are also relevant to the study of Germanic and Celtic battle expression, namely providing understanding to their nature and purpose.

Iconographic sources used in Speidel's assessment of ancient Germanic warrior styles depict examples of Germanic battle expression. The *barritus*, mentioned above, is depicted on a bronze foil from a helmet excavated from a Germanic warrior's grave.¹³ In this image two warriors are standing side by side in battle line. Both wear armour and hold the same weapons, spear and shield. They wear helmets worked into the shape of a bird-headed dragon. Significant to this image is the identical position in which both warriors are presented. Each man's shield is held up near the mouth, while his spears are pointed towards the ground. Their arms are bent noticeably demonstrating the purposeful act of holding their shield towards their mouth. Speidel claims that these warriors are performing the *barritus* and, as reported by Tacitus, are attempting to heighten the volume of their chant by shouting into the shield. The uniform nature of the *barritus* depicted in this bronze foil demonstrates that German battle expressions were performed *en masse* to generate high levels of noise to intimidate the enemy.¹⁴

Similarly, representations of Germanic war dances reveal the religious nature and purpose of these battle expression types. Three examples of Germanic war dances are found within Speidel's work on Germanic warrior styles. These images include a rock drawing from Sweden depicting a spear dancer, a bracteate medallion from Denmark showing a war-god dancing, and a belt buckle from England depicting a weapon dancer.¹⁵ Comparable to the *barritus* image, each dancing warrior from these sources wears a bird-headed dragon shaped helmet. Speidel claims that these helmets are symbolic of the Germanic war-god Woden and he is either the warrior presented in each image or the warrior is a devotee to Woden and aims to worship him by dancing in his honour before battle.¹⁶ Each dancing warrior is portrayed with arms and legs bent as if in a moving/dancing state. Whether these warriors are in battle line is unclear as they are sole figures in their respective images, unlike the bronze foil depicting the *barritus* where there are two warriors' side by side as if in battle line. Each figure is clearly holding a

¹³ Speidel, (2004): 112 fig. 10.1.

¹⁴ Speidel, (2004): 112 fig. 10.1.

¹⁵ Speidel, (2004): 118, 119 and 121. Figs. 11.1, 11.2 and 11.3.

¹⁶ Speidel, (2004): 112.

weapon and appears to be ready for military combat. These sources do not show German warriors dancing *en masse*; however, these sources do indicate that the god Woden was significant to German warriors in a battle environment. From these sources it is evident that dancing in a battle scenario was an acceptable form of worship to Woden. The dancing prowess of each warrior aimed to win the favour of Woden and demonstrated their fighting capabilities. The dancing warriors depicted as leaping and jumping in the air while dancing may be compared to the Greco-Roman literary sources that detail rhythmic leaping and jumping of Germanic warriors before battle.

Speidel's acknowledgement that Germanic warriors undertook a variety of unique battlefield ritual action that could take the form of song, dance and movement embraces the principles conveyed through the concept of battle expression. Speidel frequently uses the term "war cry" in his attempts to explain the vocal battlefield customs of ancient Germanic warriors. This includes accounting for singing, chanting and the *barritus* cry.¹⁷ However, Speidel details a variety of battlefield customs unique to the Germanic culture such as: chanting, dancing, berserk¹⁸ behavior and the adoption of animal and natural traits for specific warrior styles are used. As such, since using the term "war cry" to fully capture the diversity of ancient battlefield customs available to different cultural groups is limited when confronted by military practices that exhibit diverse elements, the present study has argued that "battle expression" better serves to embrace all the warrior rituals that may be characterized as similar in military and cultural purpose and meaning. Therefore, if we accept (as Speidel posits) that the practices of German warriors represented cultural beliefs that held socio-religious importance,¹⁹ then it is reasonable to view practices like these as exemplary of what this study of the battle expression in the Graeco-Roman world claims.

In this regard, while beyond the chronological confines of the present discussion, it is interesting to note that Germanic tribes that invaded and settled in the lands of the former Western Roman Empire adopted Christianity as their religion and incorporated Christian sentiment for use in battle expressions. The Norman poet Wace in his *Roman de Rou* wrote a

¹⁷ Speidel (2004): 110-113 chapter 10 on "Chanting."

¹⁸ Berserk refers to the manipulation of mind and body to prepare it for violent confrontation that created an adrenalin fuelled state of rage and fearlessness that has been associated with Germanic and Viking warriors.

¹⁹ Speidel (2004): 126 "It follows that in battles the gods Iso brandished their shields and yelled the war cry. The shield-swinging *barritus* war dance, then, like other warrior rituals, was god-sprung. Dancing it meant doing what the gods had done in the beginning."

chronicle of the Norman invasion and conquest of England under William the Conqueror. This work was composed in AD 12th century and details the wording of Norman and Saxon battle expression in the opening phase of the battle of Hastings. From Wace's writings the Saxon and Norman military forces both aimed to conjure the aid of the Christian God in their fight. The Saxons unanimously cried together "God almighty"²⁰ while the Normans cried together *Dex Aie* or "God help."²¹ The Saxons vocalized their intentions for their battle against the invading Normans by crying together "Out!." The public and unanimous invocation of divine powers in battle remained a consistent feature of Celtic and Germanic military forces from antiquity into the medieval period.

Paean

The singing of the *paean*²² by ancient Greek military forces, before and after battle, was universally practiced throughout the Greek world.²³ Central to Greek laws regarding warfare related to religious observance. According to Lanni, Ancient Greek religion differed from most modern religions in that it was not associated with a creed or fixed belief system. The gods demanded recognition through sacrifice and other ritual acts. The laws of war arising from religious customs involved protecting the property of the gods and ensuring that rites and sacrifices proceeded without interruption.²⁴ Ancient Greek armies, therefore, undertook battle with a religious orientation, explaining the customary practice of reciting the paean prior to battle. Literary evidence emphasizes the pious nature of Greek armies when it came to battlefield custom.²⁵ Homer refers to the inspiration and resolve Greek troops gained from the gods before battle.²⁶ The paean hymns that were offered up to Greek deities, Ares before battle and Apollo after a successful battle,²⁷ were aimed to invoke the intercession of the deities adhered to.

²⁰ Wace. Rom. 19.

²¹ Wace. Rom. 20.

²² For a discussion on the terms, and their interpretations, "Paean" as opposed to "Paian" see Ford (2006): 277-295.

²³ Pritchett. (1971): 105; Rutherford (1994): 113-116; Haldane (1965): 33 n.5; Potter (1728): 76; Thuc. 1.50, 2.91, 4.43, 4.96, 7.44 (Table 63); Arr. *Ana.* 1.15.7-8 (Table 11d); Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.16-19, 4.3.18-19, 4.3.29, 4.3.31, 4.8.16, 5.2.13-14 (Table 68); Xen. *Hel.* 2.4.17, 4.2.19 (Table 71); Xen. *Cy.* 3.3.58 (Table 70b); Aesch. *Pers.* 384-395 (Table 3a).

²⁴ Lanni, A. (2008): 476.

²⁵ Thuc. 6.69 (Table 63i); Hom. *Il.* 11.10-16 (Table 23f); Arr. *Ana.* 1.15.7-8 (Table 11d); Poly. *Strat. Alex.* 4.3.5ff (Table 53c); Curt. 8.11.22-25 (Table 56b); Xen. *Ana.* 4.3.18-19 (Table 68e); Pritchett (1971): 109.

²⁶ Hom. *Il.* 11.10-16 (see Table 6).

²⁷ Potter (1728): 76; Poly. *Strat. Solon* 1.20; *Iphicrates* 2.9.7 (Table 53); Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.16-19, 5.2.13-14 (Table 68); Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.17, 4.3.21 (Table 71); Arr. *Ana.* 1.14.7 (Table 11c).

Evidence reveals that the paean differed, in sound and lyrics, depending on the geographical origin of the army performing it. For example, Thucydides details a battle fought during Athens' failed attempt to capture Syracuse in 415-413 BC between the invading Athenian force and the Syracusans. During this military engagement the enemy and contingents of allies within the Athenian army sang a similar paean hymn that surprised and unnerved the Athenian army. The surprised and unnerving reaction of the Athenian force reveals that the Athenians were not prepared for this eventuality and may have questioned the loyalty and intention of their allied contingents within their own ranks. The Athenians clearly sang a different paean to other Greek states and this difference in paean could jeopardize the fighting preparedness of a force that was unaccustomed to it. The unexpected outbreak of an unfamiliar paean, coupled with the loud noise that would have been generated on the battlefield by both the enemy and allied contingents gives understanding for Athens' military failure:

“But that which put the Athenians at the greatest disadvantage and did them most harm was the singing of the paean; for the song of both armies was very similar and caused perplexity. Whenever, that is, the Argives or the Corcyraeans or any Dorian contingent of the Athenian army would raise the paean, the Athenians were just as much terrified thereby as when the enemy sang.”²⁸

According to Pritchett, Dorian Greeks adopted and implemented a common type of *paean*, which is exemplified in the above extract from Thucydides, whereby the flute and other like woodwind instruments were used to accompany the sound of the men singing.²⁹

Through Pritchett's study of the Greek military *paean* he has formulated in sequential order of actions indicating how the Greek marching *paean* on the battlefield may have unfolded:

“The commander-in-chief, whether general or king, gave the command to advance by beginning the paian. The trumpeter sounded the call. The soldiers joined in the song...the paian was a sort of hymn or chant...Once the battle was joined, the marching paian might be replaced by the war cry.”³⁰

²⁸ Thuc. 7.44.6 (Table 63j).

²⁹ Pritchett (1971): 107.

³⁰ Pritchett. 1971: 107. Pritchett uses Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.18 to support this idea.

It is to be observed that there is a distinction made between the religiously inspired *paeon* and the war cry. Haldane claims that *paeans* were commonly followed on the battlefield by wordless chants such as *ἐλελεῦ*.³¹ These chants can be regarded as shouts of joy or confident cries aimed at invoking the gods.³² Haldane's acknowledgement that wordless chants contained religious sentiment can be thematically linked to the religiously inspired *paeon* hymn. The *paeon* hymn and the wordless chant *ἐλελεῦ* are two different vocal undertakings. However, they are both used primarily to inspire the men performing them with the belief that certain deities would support their military endeavors. In the same instance, these vocal actions served to create a cohesive fighting force. On another level both the *paeon* and wordless chant served a secondary role: to intimidate the enemy through the creation of loud atmospheric noise and appear before the enemy as a formidable fighting force. This reveals that the war cry concept does not acknowledge the *paeon* hymn as having a role in motivating an army for battle or being intimidatory for the enemy. The misinterpretation of the *paeon* as not being a feature comparable to a war cry highlights the limitations of the term, and the arguments that surround it, to account for sonic and visual battlefield customs.

Xenophon said that the singing of the *paeon* and raising the war cry were recited prior to battle, elucidating that both are part of a typically Greek battle expression:

“At length the opposing lines were not three or four stadia apart, and then the Greeks struck up the *paeon* and began to advance against the enemy. And when, as they proceeded, a part of the phalanx billowed out, those who were thus left behind began to run; at the same moment they all set up the sort of war-cry which they raise to Enyalios, and all alike began running. It is also reported that some of them clashed their shields against their spears, thereby frightening the enemy's horses. And before an arrow reached them, the barbarians broke and fled.”³³

³¹ Haldane (1965): 33 & 35 n.17.

³² Aesch. *Pers.* 384-395 (Table 3a).

³³ Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.17-18 (Table 68c). Xenophon's description in the *Anabasis* of the Greek mercenaries scaring/impressing the 'barbarians' with their professional display of ritual drill (rather like a karate expert impressing novices with a display of kata) is of interest and reveals the familiarity the troops had with this battle expression.

The above extract refers to the Greeks raising the *paeon* as *ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες*. The reference to the Greek war cry is *οἶον τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι*. The war cry reference can be reinterpreted through the translation of the original text. Xenophon states that the Greeks all cried out *ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες*.³⁴ Xenophon used the verb for a chorus singing together, but in this context may be better understood to refer to the production of massed noise, and so does not have to be interpreted as harmonious singing or chanting. Xenophon follows with the raising of a cry “like the kind they shout to Enyalios” (Enyalios being ‘the Warlike’ i.e. Ares). The verb here is an onomatopoeic one (*ἐλελίζουσι*), suggesting the cry *έλελεδ*. Based on this summary it can be deduced that the Greeks shouted loudly, and this was like the sort of wild shouting done when crying out to Enyalios. This is not singing or a hymn or chant as such. It appears that in the period of preparation before the commencement of battle at Cunaxa in 401 BC, where Greek military units fought within the ranks of a non-Greek army. The Hellenes utilized two types of battle expression - most likely both dedicated to Ares: the *paeon* in the first instance, dedicated to Ares;³⁵ and the second being a massed vocal cry likened to the cry offered up to Ares during worship. This *eleleleu* cry is also mentioned in Aristophanes’ *Birds*.³⁶

What should be understood from Xenophon’s reference is that the separation of *paeon* and war cry as being different, which is echoed through Pritchett, should be challenged. Both the *paeon* and war cry, in this instance, were similar in religious nature and purpose and should be embraced within the concept of battle expression. The two types of battle expression noted by Xenophon served to unite and inspire the Greek contingent fighting in the battle along ethnic and nationalistic lines, by focusing on the supreme war god of their collective faith, Ares. By approaching this extract through the concept of battle expression the Greek *paeon* and war cry are not seen as separate entities but are both categorized as pre, during and/or after battle phenomena that held intrinsic meaning to those that participated in it. War cries used by Greek armies could be inspired by religious sentiment and the *paeon* should be considered in the same light.³⁷

³⁴ Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.18 (Table 68c).

³⁵ Potter (1728): 76; Poly. *Strat. Solon* 1.20; *Iphicrates* 2.9.7 (Table 53); Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.16-19, 5.2.13-14 (Table 68); Xen. *Hel.* 2.4.17 (Table 71a); Arr. *Ana.* 1.14.7 (Table 11c).

³⁶ Aristoph. *Av.* 364 (Table 8a).

³⁷ For more on religious ritual in Greek warfare see: *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Warfare*

The singing of religious hymns sought to focus Greek hoplites for battle.³⁸ Athenaeus claims that the singing of *paean* hymns exhibited manly vigour, of magnificent bearing that sobered and intensified the individual or group.³⁹ Thucydides, as seen above, refers to opposing *poleis* singing the same *paean* before battle, demonstrating their significance and universal use amongst Greek hoplite armies.⁴⁰ The familiarity hoplite soldiers had with singing *paean* hymns, in the theatre and religious ritual outside of military contexts,⁴¹ would have made them an effective form of battle expression by way of sound generated and atmosphere created. According to Pritchett, “the Greeks raised their voices in song at a time when we are told that the enemy would have been taken unprepared if the phalanx had advanced in silence.”⁴² This is interesting given Pritchett suggests that the *paean* and war cry were different. The *paean* had a tremendous effect on the participants singing and the enemy bearing witness to it, criteria by which, technically at least, a war cry should be categorized.

The singing of the *paean* was not solely reserved for battle scenarios but also held an important function in social gatherings and religious ritual within Greek society.⁴³ It was customary for Greek military forces in camp before or after meal times to offer up sacrifices and libations to the gods followed by the singing of the *paean*. Xenophon details a feast the Ten Thousand shared with Thracian tribes. The Greek contingent made the customary libations to the gods and followed up with the singing of the *paean*.⁴⁴ Xenophon likewise refers to the singing of the *paean* after the pouring out and offering of libations before sentries were posted in the camp and the army went to sleep.⁴⁵ Athenaeus details the practice of the Spartan army competing with each other after dinner through the singing of hymns and recital of poetry.⁴⁶ *Paeans* were performed in Greek plays and found within poetry too.⁴⁷ *Paeans* were frequently rehearsed and practiced outside of battlefield scenarios. Literary evidence reveals that Greek hoplites were well acquainted with the practice of singing *paean* hymns. The effect that the singing of the

³⁸ Rutherford (1994): 113-116.

³⁹ Ath. *Dei.* 14.624 (Table 12a).

⁴⁰ Thuc. 7.44ff (Table 63j).

⁴¹ OCD 3rd ed. (1997): 1060 “*Paean*”; Rutherford (1994): 113-115.

⁴² Pritchett. 1971: 105.

⁴³ OCD (2012): 1060 “*Paean*”; Aeschin. *Emb.* 2.163 (Table 1a); Aristoph. *Kn.* 1317-18 (Table 9a). For prayer and sacrifice to Apollo for military purposes see: Hom. *Il.* 1.443-458 (Table 23a).

⁴⁴ Xen. *Ana.* 6.1.5 (Table 68l).

⁴⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.23 (Table 71n).

⁴⁶ Ath. *Dei.* 14.630-631 (Table 12b). The poetry recited were verses from Tyrtaeus. See Bayliss (2017) for further reading.

⁴⁷ Aeschin. *Emb.* 2.163 (Table 1a); Aristoph. *Kn.* 1317-18 (Table 9a); Aesch. *Pers.* 384-395 (Table 3a).

paeon had on the battlefield would have created an inspiring – for the participants – yet solemn – for the enemy – collocation through sight and sound of military unison and commitment. The Greek military custom of singing the *paeon* before battle had an adverse effect on non-Greek military forces, which suggests these non-Greeks were unaccustomed to this type of battle expression. Xenophon refers to Asian military forces taking flight in repeated battles after the Greek forces opposing them had sung the *paeon*.⁴⁸ The evidence suggests that the *paeon* sung by a Greek army in battle was a cohesive and effective performance that derived from the familiarity hoplites had with it, unique to the Greek *poleis*.

According to Rutherford, *paeans* were sung to avert danger or disaster, often in a sacred context, to accompany sacrifice.⁴⁹ It is known that Greek armies universally offered sacrifice before battle as the *paeon* was sung. In the case of Spartan armies a she-goat was customarily sacrificed before battle.⁵⁰ As opposed to *paeans* recited in a non-military context, where singing and dancing would take place, Rutherford claims that, in the absence of dancing in the period of preparation prior to battle, a soloist or leader would sing the *paeon* song, while the refrain, or chorus, was sung by the rest of the rank and file.⁵¹ In summarizing the Spartan use of Tyrtaeus' poetry prior to battle, Bayliss accepts the concept that communal singing was a part of the fabric of Greek military life.⁵² Rutherford and Bayliss' acknowledgement that the *paeon* should be regarded as a significant battlefield custom correlates with the paradigm of the battle expression. The adoption of a socially familiar custom, such as singing the *paeon*, and implemented, with alterations, for effective military purposes supports this argument.

The *paeon* was a short prayer to Apollo which commemorated Apollo's fight with the Delphic dragon when Apollo was encouraged to shoot it using a bow and arrow.⁵³ Apollo's connection with men, particularly young men, through education of the arts, physical training for the military and their initiation into adulthood⁵⁴ denotes the reason why this deity was used by hoplites throughout the Greek world as a means for inspiration and intercession before battle.

⁴⁸ Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.16-19, 4.3.31, 6.5.25-26, 6.5.29 (Table 68).

⁴⁹ Rutherford (1994): 113; Pritchett (1971): 106; Plut. *Inst.* 16 (Table 44a).

⁵⁰ Plut. *Lyc.* 22.2-3 (Table 45c).

⁵¹ A modern-day comparison of this continuing type of singing is evident in European football stadiums where repetition of question and answer songs are common. For example, "Everywhere we go, people ought to know, who we are and where we come from" or "Oh when the [insert team here] go marching in."

⁵² Bayliss (2017): 64-66.

⁵³ Rutherford (1991): 1 and Strab. *Geo.* 9.3.10 (Table 58d).

⁵⁴ Harris & Platzner (2001): 205; Rutherford (1994): 114-115.

The *paeon* cry to Apollo was generally reserved for the aftermath of a battle that resulted in victory; however, when its origins are placed in their original context, Apollo's *paeon* may just have as much relevance for a pre-battle custom, due to his association with battling dragons.

It appears the importance of singing the *paeon* in the lead up to battle and in victorious aftermath for Greek armies was profound. *Paeans* were used for two main reasons: to seek the intercession of the gods by honoring them and recalling notable exploits and deeds, such as Apollo's slaying of the Delphic dragon; and in conjunction with the offering of a blood sacrifice before battle. Ritual action would have served to kindle resolve and courage in the hoplites preparing for battle. Likewise, the unity and effectiveness created through singing together as a military force by way of atmosphere generated, whether pious/reverent or resounding in noise, would have filled the hoplites participating with motivation. Rutherford states "such performances are also useful training exercises for hoplite warfare – itself a performance scenario for the *paeon*."⁵⁵ Rutherford's understanding of the military dimension of the Greek *paeon* correlates with the principles of the battle expression. The use of the *paeon* by Greek military forces in the lead up to battle aimed to remind hoplites of the music, dance and movements exposed to in training. This would have helped to create a general sense of order in the battle line and focus the mindset of the hoplites on the battle at hand.⁵⁶ Finally, in relation to the *paeon* reserved for Apollo, Rutherford argues that during the classical period the cult of Apollo, particularly, played a special role in the life of the *polis* all throughout the Greek world.⁵⁷ Within the *polis* there were groups dedicated to Apollo and/or the recitation of Apollo inspired *paeans*, often associated with male initiation. Therefore, the relationship citizens, within the military, had with Apollo outside of the military context reminded them of the *polis* community and their socio-political orientation. The reminiscence of home and the *polis* community further served to galvanize the men within the rank and file to fight for the protection of their land and people before and after battle.

The lyrics of the Homeric *Hymn to Pythian Apollo* reinforce the ritual obligations and military traits that Apollo encapsulated, and which would have been an attractive source of inspiration

⁵⁵ Rutherford (1995): 115; Plut. *Inst.* 16 (Table 44a).

⁵⁶ Rutherford (1995): 115.

⁵⁷ Rutherford (1995): 115-116.

for a Greek army on a battlefield.⁵⁸ Apollo is presented as a skilled hunter and restorer of justice and peace:

“Nearby is the fair-flowing spring where the lord, the son of Zeus, shot the serpent from his mighty bow, a great bloated creature, a fierce prodigy that caused much harm to people in the land—much to them, and much to their long-shanked flocks, for she was a bloody affliction.”⁵⁹

The hymn details the ritual actions required to invoke the benevolence of Apollo, specifically the singing of the *paean*.⁶⁰

The Homeric *Hymn to Ares* gives insight into the sentiment that *paean* hymns, dedicated to Ares, may have contained and why they were used on the battlefield. The lyrics of this hymn clearly attest to the portrayal of Ares as a supreme war deity:

“Ares haughty in spirit, heavy on chariot, golden-helmed; grim-hearted, shieldbearer, city-saviour, bronze-armoured; tough of arm, untiring, spear-strong, bulwark of Olympus; father of Victory in the good fight, ally of Law; oppressor of the rebellious, leader of the righteous; sceptred king of manliness.”⁶¹

The affiliation Ares has with confidence, manliness, strength, resolve and victory for the just in the Homeric hymn exemplifies the connection Ares has with battlefield endeavors. Unexpectedly, in the same hymn Ares is presented as a deity that is associated with peace and the avoidance of violence.⁶² Perhaps the *paean* hymn to Ares similarly served to invoke the deity to prevent violent confrontation on the battlefield, attributes not widely associated to him in popular culture.

⁵⁸ HH.3.525 (Table 24d). “their hearts were stirred within them.”

⁵⁹ HH.3.300-304 (Table 24a).

⁶⁰ HH.3.500 (Table 24b) ἔρχεσθαί θ’ ἄμ’ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἡπαιήον’ αἰδεῖν. HH.3.517-518 (Table 24c). καὶ ἡπαιήον’ αἰεῖδον.

⁶¹ HH. 8.1-6 (Table 25a).

⁶² HH. 8.15-17 (Table 25b).

Tompkins in his chapter on *Greek Rituals of War*⁶³ highlights the role religious ritual played in Greek warfare. Relying heavily on Pritchett's *The Greek State at War*, Greek military ritual is argued as having followed routine stages that can be categorized as communal and cohesive in nature; sacrificial; and was culturally distinctive within the Hellenic population.⁶⁴ Tompkins addresses the *paeon* briefly stating that the singing of it deprived the element of a surprise attack and is only associated with the Spartans and Dorians. What this suggests is that the *paeon* had a defined cultural origin initially associated to the Dorians and later to other Greek *poleis* such as Athens. The singing of the *paeon*, therefore, was an accepted and exclusive Greek military ritual.

Rome

The notion that Roman armies customarily utilized religious inspired battle expression is evident in Plutarch's *Life of Numa*,⁶⁵ which details the foundation and customs of the *Salii* priests of the early republic.⁶⁶ Plutarch records the lyrics of a hymn that the *Salii* are claimed to have sung as they performed their annual war-dance through the streets of Rome. A subject within the hymn is the craftsman Veturius Mamurius, who helped forge the ancile. Plutarch challenges the lyrics of the hymn by suggesting that the reference to Veturius Mamuirus may be inaccurate. Rather the lyrics may have instead mentioned *veterem memoriam*, which is claimed to mean ancient remembrance.⁶⁷ The notion of maintaining ancient customs in a military context, evident in the lyrics of the Salian hymn, is consistent with Caesar's claims of war cries being an ancient military phenomenon. Our understanding of the Roman battle expression, and its various forms, must recognize that traditional customs were visible and commonplace on a Roman battlefield.

Forms of battle expression used during the republican⁶⁸ period through to the late empire, reflect a range of Roman traditions. Practices designed to unite soldiers on the battlefield and intimidate the enemy opposing them appear to have had origins from Rome's early

⁶³ Tompkins (2013) located in "Oxford Handbook of Warfare in the Classical World."

⁶⁴ Tompkins (2013): 527.

⁶⁵ Plut. *Numa*. 13 (Table 50a).

⁶⁶ The *Salii* will be elaborated upon later in this chapter.

⁶⁷ Plutarch used Marcus Terentius Varro and his *De Lingua Latina* here. Varro. *DLL*. 6.49 (see Table 66c).

⁶⁸ Republican Roman history is admittedly vast and there are clear divisions between the early and late republican periods. For the purpose of consistency and succinctness of argument be mindful of the definition for the 'Republican' Roman military forces as mentioned in the opening paragraph of this chapter.

foundations. Evidence for the precise origins of those practices, which Caesar refers to as ancient institutions, is difficult to find prior to the 1st century BC.⁶⁹ Archaic practices that are relevant to the development of particular forms of battle expression that contain a uniquely Roman cultural tradition include, divine invocations (e.g. to Bellona); the Salian hymn which encompasses Salian customs; chants and songs and Christian traditions.

Bellona

The Roman war goddess, Bellona, was closely connected to Roman military religious life and battle expression.⁷⁰ According to Lloyd-Morgan, inscriptions containing reference to Bellona within military contexts, particularly in conjunction with Mars and *virtus*, have been unearthed in Britain, North Africa, France and Germany.⁷¹ Varro claims that the Latin word for war, *bellum*, has close ties with the Roman war goddess Bellona,⁷² attesting to her military significance within the Roman culture. The origins of Bellona worship are unclear and appear to reside in the early republic. What is known is that Bellona assimilated with Cybele and Magna Mater in early imperial times.⁷³ Livy records that in ca. 340 BC a state pontiff within the ranks of the Roman army called upon a host of Roman war gods publicly, including Bellona, to support their endeavors which resulted in the rise in morale of the army influencing their victory.⁷⁴ Of note, this reference refers to M. Valerius, a public priest, being purposefully called upon by the consul Decius to invoke the Roman gods. The presence of a public priest in the forward ranks of the army for the purpose of calling upon the cultural deities suggests a long-standing connection between Roman army, state religion and battle expression:

“In the confusion of this movement Decius the consul called out to Marcus Valerius in a loud voice: “We have need of Heaven’s help, Marcus Valerius. Come therefore, state pontiff of the Roman People, dictate the words, that I may devote myself to save the legions.” The pontiff bade him don the purple-bordered toga, and with veiled head and one hand thrust out from the toga and touching his chin, stand upon a spear that was

⁶⁹ The earliest literary record surviving that refers to these traditional Roman battle expressions can be found in the works of Polybius (2nd century BC), Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st centuries BC-AD).

⁷⁰ Varro. *DLL*. 5.73, 7.49 (Table 66); Lloyd-Morgan (1996): 125-126; Keith (2002): 110; Wiseman (1982): 58-59; Williams (1965): 252 & Dusanic (2003): 91.

⁷¹ Lloyd-Morgan (1996): 125-126.

⁷² Varro. *DLL*. 5.73, 7.49 (Table 66). Varro’s etymology is probably not correct, though it may tell us something about Roman attitudes in the second century BC.

⁷³ Dusanic (2003): 91.

⁷⁴ Livy. 8.9.4-14 (Table 28f).

laid under his feet, and say as follows: “Janus, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, divine Novensiles, divine Indigites, ye gods in whose power are both we and our enemies, and you, divine Manes,—I invoke and worship you, I beseech and crave your favour, that you prosper the might and the victory of the Roman People of the Quirites, and visit the foes of the Roman People of the Quirites with fear, shuddering, and death. As I have pronounced the words, even so in behalf of the republic of the Roman People of the Quirites, and of the army, the legions, the auxiliaries of the Roman People of the Quirites, do I devote the legions and auxiliaries of the enemy, together with myself, to the divine Manes and to Earth.”...At the same time the Romans—their spirits relieved of religious fears—pressed on as though the signal had just then for the first time been given, and delivered a fresh attack.”⁷⁵

The dedication of the temple of Bellona in Rome in ca.296 BC can be categorized as a battle expression by way of oath made to the goddess on the battlefield. Livy claims that in a battle against the Etruscans and Samnites Appius, the Roman commander, raised his hands in prayer beyond the standards in front of the army. He publicly vowed to construct a temple to Bellona should the Romans be victorious in the upcoming battle.⁷⁶ Through the course of the battle the Romans were highly successful driving their enemies from the field. As Appius led his men forward Livy claims that he called from time to time on Bellona, goddess of victory. With the cry of Bellona, goddess of victory the soldiers’ enthusiasm grew.⁷⁷ The use of Bellona as a subject for battle expression reveals the confidence Roman soldiers gained from their belief in her benefaction.

Mars and the Genii

The Roman army sought the intervention of certain deities that were specifically associated with military features and were culturally Roman.⁷⁸ What appears to be consistent in the Graeco-Roman literary record is the importance of the war god Mars and the *Genii* in military culture. Roman military forces, pre-Christian dominance of the late empire, were closely attached to Mars and the *Genii* and served as great inspiration for their battle expression. The Roman connection to the gods is evident in the institutions established by Romulus who:

⁷⁵ Livy. 8.9.4-14 (Table 28f).

⁷⁶ Livy. 10.19.17-22 (Table 28h).

⁷⁷ Livy. 10.19.21. *Appius Bellonam victricem identidem celebrans accenderet militum animos* (Table 28h).

⁷⁸ Pythian Apollo, Jupiter Feretrius and Juno Sospita are some specific examples.

“Recognized that good laws and the emulation of worthy pursuits render a State pious, temperate, devoted to justice, and brave in war. He [Romulus] took great care, therefore, to encourage these, beginning with the worship of the gods and genii. He established temples, sacred precincts and altars, arranged for the setting up of statues, determined the representations and symbols of the gods, and declared their powers, the beneficent gifts which they have made to mankind, the particular festivals that should be celebrated in honour of each god or genius, the sacrifices with which they delight to be honoured by men, as well as the holidays, festal assemblies, days of rest, and everything alike of that nature.”⁷⁹

Romans believed that Romulus and Remus were the sons of Mars, therefore, establishing a foundational connection between Mars and the Roman culture.⁸⁰ Mars was associated with Roman military life and presided over battles:

“The Sabines and the Romans...give to Enyalios the name of Quirinus, without being able to affirm for certain whether he is Mars or some other god who enjoys the same honours as Mars. For some think that both these names are used of one and the same god who presides over martial combats; others, that the names are applied to two different gods of war.”⁸¹

That Mars had a close connection with Roman military practice is clear. Augustus received captured standards from the Parthians, which had been won in battle decades previously. The diplomatic success of this event was comparable to a military victory. Indeed, in honour of this success Augustus commanded that sacrifices be decreed and, likewise, a temple to Mars Ultor be dedicated on the Capitol, in imitation to that of Jupiter Feretrius, in which to offer the standards; and he himself carried out both decrees.⁸² Likewise, the dedication to Mars of a Roman commander’s sceptre and crown, worn after a military triumphal procession through the streets of Rome, reveals the association Mars had with the Roman military; in this case

⁷⁹ D. H. *Ant* 2.18 (Table 19b).

⁸⁰ D. H. *Ant*. 2.2 (Table 19a).

⁸¹ D. H. *Ant*. 2.48 (Table 19d).

⁸² Dio Cass. 54.8 (Table 17c).

post-battle.⁸³ The military association with Mars continued into AD 4th century as Mars worship within a battle atmosphere was practiced.⁸⁴

The religious dimension of Roman battle expression can further be understood through the research undertaken by Speidel in regard to the cult of the *Genius* in the army.⁸⁵ According to Speidel, the origins of the cult of the *Genius* are archaic and there is little doubt that the *Genius* was one of the oldest features of Roman religion, its derivation from the words *gignere* and *gens* attests to this. The army, according to Speidel, was at the fore of the *Genius* of the Emperors cult - no other manifestation of Roman life left more remains of the cult of the *Genii* than the army.⁸⁶ *Genii* worship was embedded within the army, all units in the army had their own *Genii*.⁸⁷ Archaeologically, the largest number of chapels, altars and statues unearthed in a Roman military context, are dedicated to the *Genius centuriae* in the legions and praetorian guard.⁸⁸ According to Speidel, this is the case due to the soldiers' strong attachment to their *centuriae* which instilled them with a feeling of identity and belonging.⁸⁹ The discovery of religious dedications to the *Genii* inside and outside military camps suggests that the worship of *Genii* may have been a typical feature of Roman battle expression on the field of battle. It could not be remiss to envisage in the lead up to battle different military units, such as the *centuriae*, offering up prayer and dedication to their *Genii*, or from the legion as whole. This is reminiscent of an episode from Caesar's *The African War*, where a soldier proudly professed his origins as a veteran of the tenth legion; *sed de legione X. veteranus*.⁹⁰ Similarly, the words of encouragement prior to battle from Cerialis, during AD 1st century Roman civil wars, aimed at provoking the pride and spirit of the legions under his command:

“He applied the proper spur to each of the legions, calling the Fourteenth the “Conquerors of Britain,” reminding the Sixth that it was by their influence that Galba had been made emperor, and telling the Second that in the battle that day they would dedicate their new standards, and their new eagle. Then he rode toward the German

⁸³ Dio Cass. 55.10 (Table 17d).

⁸⁴ Amm. 24.6.17 (Table 5t).

⁸⁵ Speidel (1984): 353-358.

⁸⁶ Speidel (1984): 354.

⁸⁷ Speidel (1984): 355.

⁸⁸ Speidel (1984): 357.

⁸⁹ Speidel (1984): 357.

⁹⁰ Caes. *B. Afr.* 16 (Table 13a).

army, and stretching out his hands begged these troops to recover their own river-bank and their camp at the expense of the enemy's blood. An enthusiastic shout arose from all"⁹¹

That the *Genii* were intrinsically associated with battle expression is clear with Speidel's assertion that; the Roman war gods had their *Genii* too, even the military standards had their *Genii* oath of service worshipped as a deity by soldiers.⁹² Roman battle expression embraced the worshipping of origin (name, number, symbol, honour, decoration) of a legion or unit within it. The evidence suggests the *Genii* were key motivators of Roman armies on the battlefield. This sentiment is echoed by Ammianus, who in the late empire, referred to the *Genii* as being present on the battlefield with men as they fought and were perceived to have been the forces that protected due to the link between the *Genii* and men's souls:

"it was not the gods of heaven that spoke with brave men, and stood by them or aided them as they fought, but that guardian spirits attended them...these spirits are linked with men's souls, and taking them to their bosoms, as it were, protect them"⁹³

The significance of Mars and the *Genii* to the military from the republic to the late empire is clear. The belief that the outcome of battles could be decided upon by the intervention of these spiritual forces is reflected in the forms battle expression could take. Literary and archaeological sources suggest that the worship and invocation of Mars and the *Genii* was a long-established military practice.

The Salii

The Salian priests of Rome should also be considered when dealing with Roman battle expression. The origins of this order of priests is believed to have occurred during the reign of King Numa ca.715-673 BC. The *Salii* were renowned for their dancing and singing of hymns in praise of the gods of war. Their role, besides, was to house and care for the holy relics or ancilia (small shields) in which one fell from heaven as a gift to the Romans for protection.⁹⁴ The craftsman Veturius Mamurius fashioned multiple other shields that were identical in

⁹¹ Tac. *Hist.* 5.16 (Table 62g).

⁹² Speidel (1984): 358

⁹³ Amm. 21.14.5 (see Table 5o).

⁹⁴ D. H. *Ant.* 2.70-71 (Table 19e); Varro. *DLL* 5.85 (Table 66b); Plut. *Numa.* 13 (Table 50a).

appearance to the one that fell from heaven, as Numa was keen to avoid the original being stolen. The priests every March would gather together armed with spear, dagger and shield and journey through the streets of Rome dancing, by way of rhythmic leaping:

“For they execute their movements in arms, keeping time to a flute, sometimes all together, sometimes by turns, and while dancing sing certain traditional hymns. But this dance and exercise performed by armed men and the noise they make by striking their bucklers with their daggers, if we may base any conjectures on the ancient accounts, was originated by the Curetes. I need not mention the legend which is related concerning them, since almost everybody is acquainted with it... This dancing after the manner of the Curetes was a native institution among the Romans and was held in great honour by them”⁹⁵

The connection of the dancing *Salii* to the *Curetes* is steeped in Graeco-Roman mythology.⁹⁶ Of note, in the extract above, is the reference to traditional hymns and the noise made when the *Salii* struck their shields with their weapons. The lyrics of the Salian hymn have partially survived antiquity through the work of Marcus Terentius Varro in his work *The Latin Language*. Despite being incomplete the surviving lyrics reveal a close affinity to culturally Roman deities, namely Janus:⁹⁷

“In the Hymn of the Salians: O Planter God, arise. Everything indeed have I committed unto (thee as) the Opener. Now art thou the Doorkeeper, thou art the Good Creator, the Good God of Beginnings. Thou’lt come especially, thou the superior of these kingship... Sing ye to the Father of the Gods, entreat the God of Gods.”⁹⁸

The archaic origins of the *Salii* and their customs reinforce the notion that forms of battle expression were culturally significant and were inspired by uniquely Roman religious dimensions. Janus being the main subject in the lyrics to the Hymn of the Salians supports this. Whether this hymn was sung on the battlefield is doubtful given the lack of evidence to prove

⁹⁵ D. H. *Ant.* 2.70-71 (Table 19e).

⁹⁶ For further information regarding the Curetes see: Hom. *Il.* 9.529ff; Strab. *Geog.* 10.3.1 and D. H. *Ant.* 1.17.

⁹⁷ Hempl, George. “*The Salian Hymn to Janus*” Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. 31 (1900), pp. 182-188.

⁹⁸ Varro. *DLL.* 7.26-27 (Table 66e).

it, however, the Roman ‘war cry’ as referred to by modern scholars and translators of Graeco-Roman literary works, may very well have incorporated elements of this religious tradition. What is certain is that a typical battle expression used on the battlefield prior to engagement with the enemy was the clashing of weapons against shields. This practice can be directly linked to the *Salii* whereby they danced through the streets of Rome clashing their weapons against their ancilia. As will be presented, the clashing of weapons against shields was a means to invoke the gods, potentially Janus individually and/or the Roman war gods - including, but not solely, Mars.

In his narrative of the battle of Zama, Polybius states that a typical military practice prior to battle was reminiscent of Salian custom. The battle expression involved soldiers creating massed vocal noise in unison while clashing their swords against their shields.⁹⁹ What is significant in this reference is the *Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια* which alludes to this practice being traditional of the Roman army. Unfortunately, the detail regarding the lyrics or vocal noise that was made by the Romans is not provided by Polybius. However, the clear description of weapons being struck against shields can be linked directly to the religiously inspired and military contextualized custom of the *Salii* who honored the gods of war by the same action. Massed vocal noise coupled with the clashing of weapons against shields is recorded as being typical during the early republican period, centuries before the battle of Zama.¹⁰⁰ In a battle narrative described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the author claims that the Roman army anticipated a night attack on their entrenchments by their enemy, the Hernici. Imagining noise made in the darkness was the Hernican army, the Romans:

“...took up their arms once more, and forming a circle about their entrenchments, for fear some attack might be made upon them in the night, they would now make a din by all clashing their weapons together at the same time and now raise their war cry repeatedly as if they were going into battle.”¹⁰¹

Another example of this type of battle expression derives from the early republic where the Roman army fought against the Volsci. The Volscian army were claimed to have been thrown

⁹⁹ Polyb. 15.12.8 (Table 54i).

¹⁰⁰ D. H. *Ant.* 8.66.2 (Table 19k).

¹⁰¹ D. H. *Ant.* 8.66.2 (Table 19k). *τοτε μὲν ὅπλων κτύπον ἐποίουν ἄθροοι, τοτε δ’ ὥσπερ εἰς μάχην ὀρμώμενοι θαμινὰ ἐπηλάλαζον.*

into confusion at the first onset of the Romans and were unable to endure either the massed vocal noise or the clash of their arms.¹⁰² Plutarch, in his *Life of Antony*, refers to a military engagement against the Parthians. In the opening sequence of this battle the Romans cried out and clashed their weapons together.¹⁰³ The result of this forced the Parthians to flee the battlefield before coming to grips with the Romans.

Cowan claims that Roman military forces traditionally clashed their weapons against their shields (pilum against scuta).¹⁰⁴ This was a typical feature of Roman military action prior to battle during the republican period. Cowan argues that Roman war cries embraced foreign custom, such as the *barritus*, as the Roman empire expanded and absorbed different cultures within the military. However, the traditional war cry of clashing weapons against shield remained into the early and later imperial age.¹⁰⁵ The late empire's incorporation of Christian invocations into pre battle custom did not result in the negligence of the archaic religious practice of clashing weapons against shields. Perhaps the military advantages gained as a result of this tradition superseded the potential heresy that may have been associated with this ancient cultural practice.

Cowan admits that Roman armies went into battle noisily or silently, based on the circumstances of the battle.¹⁰⁶ This understanding does correlate with the battle expression paradigm that suggests there was a range of battlefield customs available to a military force within the Graeco-Roman world. However, Cowan refers to war cries being undertaken by Roman armies and individual soldiers in battle, yet the only mention of purpose or significance resides in attempts in “frightening to the enemy and emboldened the Roman soldiers making it.”¹⁰⁷ Cowan's work aims to critique Goldsworthy's claim that Roman armies of the mid-republic advanced into battle clashing weapons against shields was replaced with a silent advance into battle, before engagement with the enemy and then undertaking a war cry, of the late republic.¹⁰⁸ As a result, Cowan accounts for reference material that relates to silent

¹⁰² D. H. *Ant.* 9.70 (Table 19p). See Livy 10.40.12 for another example of Roman clashing arms and raising a ‘cheer’ (Table 28i).

¹⁰³ Plut. *Ant.* 39.4 (Table 40a). ἅμα βοῇ καὶ πατάγῳ τῶν ὅπλων.

¹⁰⁴ Cowan (2007).

¹⁰⁵ Cowan (2007): 115-16.

¹⁰⁶ Cowan (2007): 114-115 & 117.

¹⁰⁷ Cowan (2007): 117.

¹⁰⁸ Cowan (2007): 114.

advances as opposed to clashing of weapons against shields. There is little acknowledgement of what the clashing of weapons against shield may have been significant for aside from the purpose of frightening the enemy and inspiring fellow troops. A brief contemplation on the role Germanic troops played in the continuing Roman tradition of performing war cries and clashing weapons against shields in battle is undertaken, for a similar reason.¹⁰⁹ According to Cowan, the purpose of silent advances lay in discipline and strategy.¹¹⁰ The reference to other war cries does not go beyond the acknowledgement that there were war cries undertaken by Roman armies. This research, in contrast, aims to detail the range of battle expression types that Roman¹¹¹ armies employed and provide insight as to the purpose and significance of these traditions in a more comprehensive manner.

The clashing of weapons against shield simultaneously with some type of massed vocal chant/cry/shout (of which the lyrics and tune are not known) was a culturally Roman battle expression. This military practice had direct links to the establishment and customs of the Roman *Salii*. Different authors writing about separate military engagements across alternate periods of time describe similar battle expression. In each reference, details of lyrics, or noise, generated by the Romans as they clashed their weapons are not provided. However, the act of clashing weapons against shields reveals a clear institutionalized military practice that had been used by different Roman military forces spanning centuries. The cultural ownership of this form of battle expression, that was different to their non-Roman enemies, demonstrates the limitations of the modern understanding of the term war cry and the need for its re-conceptualization through the notion of battle expression.

During the late empire the rise in Christian influence in Roman society assimilated into military custom.¹¹² Maurice's *Strategikon* refers to Christian battle expression *Deus nobiscum*¹¹³ (God is/be with us) and *Adiuta, Deus*¹¹⁴ (God, help us) that were in official use during the late empire. The shift in battle expression is exemplified when dealing with the cavalry units,¹¹⁵ Maurice recommended that the battle cry, *Nobiscum*, should be avoided due to the disruption and

¹⁰⁹ Cowan (2007): 116.

¹¹⁰ Cowan (2007): 114-115 & 117.

¹¹¹ As well as other cultural groups in the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world.

¹¹² Rance (2015): 1.

¹¹³ Maur. *Strat.* 7.16 (Table 35d).

¹¹⁴ Maur. *Strat.* 12B.16, 12B.24 (Table 35).

¹¹⁵ Maur. *Strat.* 2.18. Sub-heading "The Battle Cry Sometimes Used" (Table 35a).

unevenness it may cause the cavalry battle line. Instead, Maurice urged the completion of prayer in camp on the day of the battle, and for all in the army, led by general, priests and officers, to recite numerous times the *kyrie eleison* (Lord have mercy) in unison. Silence was recommended on the battlefield, for clear and effective issuing of orders and maintenance of formation. Only as the frontline closed with the enemy, it was suggested, for the rear ranks to let out a cheer or shout, to unnerve the enemy and bolster the confidence of the troops. During battle, Maurice suggests that the second line, not committed to battle, should let out two or three rousing cheers to encourage their fellow troops and intimidate the enemy.¹¹⁶ Despite the spread of Christian ideology and practice in the Roman army it appears that elements of the *barritus* cry was still in use. The mid-battle rising noise of the *barritus* cry is similar in nature and purpose to the instruction given to the troops in the second battle line, evidence that the tradition of maintaining a bygone battle expression was still employed in AD 6th century.

Conclusions

Graeco-Roman military forces sought religious inspiration prior to the onset of combat and battle expression types reflected this. Military units and entire military forces adopted religious traditions such as hymn-related and ritual action to invoke divine benefaction and spiritual resolve before battle. The fusion of religion and military practice is evident within the Germanic, Greek and Roman battle expression types. These cultures consistently oriented battlefield customs along religious lines that served military functions such as venerating deities associated with protection, military prowess and raw power.

¹¹⁶ Maur. *Strat.* 3.15. Under sub-heading: “Instructions for the Troops in the Second Line” (Table 35b).

Chapter 6. Socio-political and military identity

Ancient military forces commonly presented themselves on the battlefield with intent to express to the enemy and reaffirm unto themselves their socio-political identity. Armies undertook this to disassociate their force from the enemy; to generate otherness and difference from the enemy; and to nationalize their force through compliance of what their collective group represented. Associating an army with a powerful element – symbol, custom or name of influential leader – with a socio-political ideology aimed to inspire and instill a sense of superiority over the enemy. Armies expressed their identity on the battlefield in a variety of ways which included: the adoption of an intentional uniformed appearance; the veneration of military equipment such as standards and trumpets; the use of sonic and visual techniques such as painted images and designs on the front of shields; singing or chanting words/tunes that were associated to the army's socio-political background.

Appearance

Investigation into the way ancient military forces presented themselves on the battlefield reveals significant information regarding their socio-political and military identity. The intentional sonic and visual methods adopted by armies to communicate to the enemy and impress upon their own military force their identity is another feature of the battle expression. The manner that units within a military force and whole armies comported themselves in the lead up to battle is incorporated within this paradigm. Armies from the Graeco-Roman world universally presented themselves according to an intentional image that sought to intimidate their opponents and inspire their own military units, often along cultural lines.¹ The adoption of uniformed military dress, military equipment and personal presentation, such as grooming, adopted by the rank and file embraces the notion of appearance. The psychological ramifications that an army's appearance had on the enemy could directly influence the outcome of a battle.²

¹ Obviously, uniformed appearance held multiple purposes including for identification on the battlefield to distinguish friend from foe.

² Sabin (2007): 421. In reference to the appearance and function of exotic weapons, Sabin stresses the psychological impact that terrifying sights, smells and sounds had in spreading terror within an unprepared enemy army on the battlefield.

Herodotus refers to the appearance of Arabian and Ethiopian warriors in terms of their clothing:

“The Arabians wore mantles girded up, and carried at their right side long bows curving backwards. The Ethiopians were wrapped in skins of leopards and lions, and carried bows made of palmwood strips, no less than four cubits long, and short arrows pointed not with iron but with a sharpened stone that they use to carve seals; furthermore, they had spears pointed with a gazelle's horn sharpened like a lance, and also studded clubs. When they went into battle they painted half their bodies with gypsum and the other half with vermilion [red and white].”³

Despite the functionality of the Arabian cloaks being worn on their right side, presumably for the purpose of utilizing their bows, the appearance of this attire was deemed worthy of record by Herodotus for his audience, due to its peculiarity. The wearing of native, predatory animal skins (leopard and lion) coupled with the painting of the body using bright colours ensured Ethiopian warriors stood out on the battlefield. Whether there was any cultural meaning associated with the artistic style warriors painted their bodies or the colours chosen remains to be seen. What is evident in this passage are the clear attempts made by Ethiopian warriors to be seen on the battlefield and to display themselves in association with predatory animals. Perhaps the warriors wore the skins of animals that they had hunted and killed, or perhaps the physical capabilities attributed to the animals, whose skins were worn, aimed to reflect the warrior in some religious, military or cultural capacity.

Spartan hoplites, too, used clothing and grooming very particularly to present themselves on the battlefield.

“In the equipment that he [Lycurgus] devised for the troops in battle he included a red cloak, because he believed this garment to have least resemblance to women's clothing and to be most suitable for war, and a brass shield, because it is very soon polished and tarnishes very slowly. He also permitted men who were past their first youth to wear

³ Hd. 7.69 (Table 22e).

long hair, believing that it would make them look taller, more dignified and more terrifying.”⁴

Spartan armies customarily adopted an image of preparedness and satisfaction in the lead up to battle.⁵

“Once the enemy can see what is happening, a she-goat is sacrificed, and the law is that all the pipers present should play and every Spartan wear a garland; an order to polish weapons is also given. Young men may enter battle with their hair groomed ... and with a joyful, distinguished appearance.”⁶

Alexander the Great intentionally wore a helmet into battle to mark himself as visually distinct in comparison to other troops in his army. According to Plutarch, the shield that Alexander carried into battle, coupled with his helmet crest that held two large and bright white feathers on either side, illuminated him on the battlefield.⁷ While this appearance served to highlight where Alexander was located and to permit his movements during battle to be tracked,⁸ as often as not allowing the enemy to target him on the battlefield, much of the time the sight of Alexander leading his army from the front in the midst of battle both inspired enemy dread, due to the courage displayed fighting in the thick of the enemy, the splendor of his armour and weapons, and the enthusiasm exhibited by himself and the men that surrounded him to engage with the enemy. This compelled his men to greater exploits.⁹

The uniformed appearance of the Roman army was an intentional image designed to impose fear over the enemy and familiarity amongst friendly troops. During the republic, plumes on soldiers’ helmets served to intentionally heighten their appearance on the battlefield:

“Finally, the hastate wear as an ornament a plume of three purple or black feathers standing upright about a foot and a half in height. These are placed on

⁴ Xen. *Const. Lae.* 11.3 (Table 69a).

⁵ For opponents of Spartan armies being reluctant to fight see: Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.18; 4.4.16, 4.6.11 (Table 71); Plut. *Lyc.* 22.2-3 (Table 45c).

⁶ Xen. *Const. Lae.* 13.8-9 (Table 69c).

⁷ Plut. *Alex.* 16.4 (Table 39a); Arr. *Ana.* 1.14.4 (Table 11b).

⁸ Arr. *Ana.* 3.13.1-2 (Table 11f).

⁹ Arr. *Ana.* 1.14.4 (Table 11b). To see dread on enemy faces at the sight of Alexander leading his army into the thick of battle see the Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun Pompeii.

the helmet, and the general effect combined with the rest of the armour is to make each man look about twice his real height, and gives him an appearance that strikes terror into the enemy.”¹⁰

Roman military handbooks specifically encouraged the creation of a set image for Roman armies. The direction to maintain the cleanliness of weapons served to create an image of splendor that was deemed to strike terror into the enemy on the battlefield.¹¹ The purpose of Roman officers in covering their helmets with skins of wild, predatory animals was an intentional method to inspire fear in the enemy, but also to be more identifiable on the battlefield amongst friendly troops.¹² Roman military high command were fully aware that ethnically foreign enemies may appear different on the battlefield. That appearance could lead to the unsettling of the army. To stamp out the potential for Roman armies to succumb to fear from the peculiarities of other cultural groups, Roman commanders were encouraged to familiarize their armies with the appearance of the enemy before engaging in battle with them. Methods adopted by the Roman high command that aimed to reduce the negative impacts that could develop when a Roman army confronted an unknown force on the battlefield included: forming the army up in battle array in the presence of a hostile force while on campaign; through imitating the customs and appearance of a culturally diverse enemy, in a controlled training scenario (with friendly units playing the role of the enemy).¹³

“It is natural for the men in general to be affected with some sensations of fear at the beginning of an engagement, but there are without doubt some of a more timorous disposition who are disordered by the very sight of the enemy. To diminish these apprehensions before you venture on action, draw up your army frequently in order of battle in some safe situation, so that your men may be accustomed to the sight and appearance of the enemy...

Thus, they will become acquainted with their customs, arms and horses. And the objects with which we were once familiarized are no longer capable of inspiring us with

¹⁰ Polyb. 6.23 (Table 54f).

¹¹ Veg. *DRM.* 2.14 (Table 67c); Maur. *Strat.* 7.2.15 (Table 35c).

¹² Veg. *DRM.* 2.16 (Table 67d).

¹³ As was the case for the Marius led Romans against the Teutons and Ambrones, see Plut. *Mar.* 15-16 (Table 47a).

terror.”¹⁴

While distinct from Graeco-Roman military display, the appearance of Celt/Germanic warriors shared the common purpose of invoking fear in the enemy yet being identifiable to friendly troops. Livy claims that Gallic warriors intentionally designed their battlefield appearance to strike terror into their enemies.¹⁵

“Tall bodies, long reddish hair, huge shields, very long swords; in addition, songs as they go into battle and yells and leapings and the dreadful din of arms as they clash shields according to some ancestral custom—all these are deliberately used to terrify their foes.”¹⁶

Certain mosaics and sculptures preserve the desired image of different cultural groups on the battlefield, highlighting the cultural divergence of military styles, weapons and uniforms found within the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world. Despite differences, these depictions reflect the pattern identified in literary descriptions: namely, despite variation in presentation prior to engagement, there existed a desire to create an explicit battlefield appearance intended to impact in very particular ways on one’s own forces and on the enemy.

The Alexander Mosaic (Fig.2) highlights the intentional image created by different cultural groups present on the battlefield. The disparity seen between the weapons wielded by both armies, the difference in military uniform and armour creates distinctive Macedonian and Persian images of identification. These identifiers served the purpose of distinguishing friend from foe in the heat of battle, but also to present the enemy with a spectacle that communicated their military culture and origins. The mosaic found in a house in Pompeii was originally a painting from the Hellenistic world produced by painters that aimed to commemorate the military achievements of Alexander to an audience who would have been familiar with the military image in the mosaic. The Macedonian force are presented as unique compared to the Persian fighters as the infantry carry the *sarissa* and the Companion cavalry have their stylized metal helmet. The Persians, on the other hand, are presented with a cultural head piece made from textile fabric.

¹⁴ Veg. *DRM*. 3.12 (Table 67e).

¹⁵ Livy. 38.17.5 (Table 31a).

¹⁶ Livy. 38.17.3-5 (Table 31a). See also Plut. Mar. 15-16 (Table 47a).



Fig.2. The Alexander Mosaic (House of the Faun, Pompeii).

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alexander_Mosaic_\(6000_x_3730\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alexander_Mosaic_(6000_x_3730).jpg)

The sculptures found on Trajan's column in Rome serve to elucidate intentional military appearances adopted as a battle expression by Roman, with integrated Germanic troops, and Dacian military forces. The sculptural figures on this column offer clear distinctions in appearance between different cultural groups in a military context yet reaffirm how military forces used display to present themselves on the battlefield in specific ways. As evident in Fig 3 below, Roman soldiers are depicted as being clad in helmet and breastplate, carrying *scuta*, *pila* and *gladii*. In stark contrast, a Germanic warrior, serving within the ranks of the Roman army, is presented as shirtless, without armour or helmet, with facial hair and wielding a wooden club. Dacian warriors are portrayed bearing shields but otherwise without armour, sporting long hair and beards, and wearing pants with a tunic or cloak. The military appearance of each culture is different by way of weapons used and clothing/armour worn. Despite their difference in appearance the common battle expression undertaken was to appear in a specific way that reflected native military culture to intimidate enemies and be identifiable amongst friendly troops on the battlefield.



Fig.3. Sketch drawing of a panel from Trajan's column showing the Roman army in battle against a Dacian force.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:A_history_of_all_nations_from_the_earliest_times;_being_a_universal_historical_library_\(1905\)_ \(14756865536\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:A_history_of_all_nations_from_the_earliest_times;_being_a_universal_historical_library_(1905)_ (14756865536).jpg)

Conversely, aside from intimidatory visual displays on the battlefield, armies could utilize massed sound to accentuate their appearance. To compensate for a smaller numerical force, or should the military high command feel that their army's low confidence level may render their battle expression audibly weaker to the enemy's, camp followers could be employed to strengthen an army's sonic and visual appearance. According to Livy:

“Marcus Marcellus on one occasion, fearing that a feeble battle cry would reveal the small number of his forces, commanded that sutlers, servants, and camp-followers of every sort should join in the cry. He thus threw the enemy into panic by giving the appearance of having a large army.”¹⁷

The supplementation of non-combatants into the fighting ranks of an army, for the purpose of enhancing the sound and appearance of a battle expression, demonstrates the military importance of the practice.

¹⁷ Livy. 23.16.14-15 (Table 28o).

Plutarch's biography of Gaius Marius describes the battle expression of the Celtic tribe 'Ambrones.' Plutarch states that the Ambrones' military force were hideous to look at, due to menacing gestures they made to the Romans and the size of their army. The noises they made from their speech and the bestial sounds they mimicked were unlike anything the Romans had witnessed before.¹⁸ Marius forced his terrified Roman troops to avoid engaging the Celts until they had grown accustomed to their manner. After a short period of time the Romans grew to fear the enemy less.¹⁹ In time the Romans took to the field against the Ambrones force. Before the battle commenced the battle expression of the Ambrones was undertaken and was described as traditional, rehearsed and reflective of natural noise and power typical of Celtic/Germanic culture. Despite the Ambrones being heavily intoxicated and gorged with food, the warriors were not disorderly with their performance of a traditional battle expression. This took the form of rhythmic clashing of weapons together, massed leaping into the air simultaneously and shouting in unison their tribal name numerous times, 'Ambrones!, Ambrones!.'²⁰

The appearance of thousands of Celtic warriors displaying their weapons and clashing them together *en masse*, coupled with the rhythmic leaping into the air and the corresponding impact of these men landing back on the ground, would have made this battle expression an awe-inspiring spectacle. Plutarch's reference suggests that this was a performance familiar to this cultural group as he refers to a military unit fighting on the Roman side, the Ligurians, who also shared ancestral lineage to the Ambrones. Plutarch claims that the Ligurians, too, began performing the same battle expression as the enemy. The Ambrones and Ligurians audibly duelled with each other, in an attempt to gain atmospheric superiority over the battlefield by creating the most amount of noise through rhythmic jumping, clashing of arms and chanting "Ambrones!, Ambrones!" The noise of the battle expression swung from one side of the battlefield to the other as each group took it in turns to perform, which served to heighten the fighting spirit of the combatants.²¹ The atmosphere created by this exchange of noise would have been impressive. Plutarch's reference suggests that Celtic/Germanic battle expression types were based on proclaiming tribal ancestral origin.

¹⁸ Plut. *Mar.* 15-16 (Table 47a).

¹⁹ Plut. *Mar.* 15-16 (Table 47a).

²⁰ Plut. *Mar.* 19 (Table 47c).

²¹ Plut. *Mar.* 19 (Table 47c).

Consistent with other cultures from around the ancient Mediterranean, Celtic and Germanic military forces had their own traditional and compulsory battle expression types that were performed before, during and/or after battle.²² The difference between Celtic and Germanic battle expression to their ancient Greek or Roman equivalents is that the Celts and Germans continued their practice into the dark age and the early middle age by peoples' from the same culture. The Celtic/Germanic tribes that were not completely conquered by Rome, along with the Germanic tribes that flooded south to occupy, or raid, the lands of the former western Roman empire during the dark ages continued to perform battle expression types that were similar, if not identical, versions of their ancient predecessors. Surviving Celtic/Germanic legends, sagas and histories from the middle ages record the battle expression of Irish, Scottish, Norman, Saxon and Frankish military forces. These sources give insight into what the nature of ancient battle expression performed by earlier Celtic/Germanic military forces would have been like. These sources allow for a greater understanding of Celtic/Germanic battle expression to be obtained, in comparison to other ancient Mediterranean cultures, as these practices did not fade away with the fall of Hellenistic and Roman influence around the Mediterranean world.

The Irish mythological tale of Cuchulain may be used as an example to demonstrate the nature of Celtic/Germanic warrior transformation into animal-like warriors before battle. Speidel²³ argues that Celtic/Germanic warriors could adopt animalistic traits that were significant to their warrior style. The transformation of human warrior into animal warrior (bear, stag, wolf) may have involved taking on the physical appearance of the so-called 'warp-spasm' of Cuchulain. Preluding to the outbreak of the *berserk* rage, Celt/German warriors took on the appearance of physically transforming their bodies which is detailed below:

"The first warp-spasm seized Cúchulainn, and made him into a monstrous thing, hideous and shapeless, unheard of. His shanks and his joints, every knuckle and angle and organ from head to foot, shook like a tree in the flood or a reed in the stream. His body made a furious twist inside his skin, so that his feet and shins switched to the rear and his heels and calves switched to the front... On his head the temple-sinews stretched to the nape of his neck, each mighty, immense, measureless knob as big as the head of

²² For example, the Greeks with their Paeon and the Romans with their trumpets, Plut. *Lyc.* 22.2-3 (Table 45c); Sal. *Jug.* 99 (Table 57d).

²³ Speidel (2004).

a month-old child....he sucked one eye so deep into his head that a wild crane couldn't probe it onto his cheek out of the depths of his skull; the other eye fell out along his cheek. His mouth weirdly distorted: his cheek peeled back from his jaws until the gullet appeared, his lungs and his liver flapped in his mouth and throat, his lower jaw struck the upper a lion-killing blow, and fiery flakes large as a ram's fleece reached his mouth from his throat....The hair of his head twisted like the tangle of a red thornbush stuck in a gap; if a royal apple tree with all its kingly fruit were shaken above him, scarce an apple would reach the ground but each would be spiked on a bristle of his hair as it stood up on his scalp with rage.”²⁴

According to the myth, Cuchulain was visited by his father, Lug, an Irish Celtic God, which may give insight into the religious significance of the transformation process of the warrior's body and mind.

The battle expression of Gaelic clans of Ireland can be compared to those of the Celtic and Germanic military forces of antiquity.²⁵ Again, the Germanic and Celtic cultures in Ireland survived the fall of the Hellenistic and Roman Empires and were thus not destroyed but continued into the Dark Ages and Medieval periods. Literary evidence of the battle expressions of dark age and medieval Celt and German military forces provide us with an echo of what ancient military practices were like. While many ancient Gallic, German and British tribes succumbed to the might of Rome and assimilated into the empire, or ceased to exist, Irish Celtic tribes were not subjugated in antiquity to Roman control. As a result, Irish tribes maintained their ancient military practices into the medieval age,²⁶ particularly the practice of united crying of statements and significant words which had direct links to their clan. The united cries of Irish clans have been compared to the practice of the ancient Picts and later English 'Red Coat' soldiers who both used colour to distinguish themselves on the battlefield to their enemy.²⁷ The Irish clans did not, necessarily, integrate colour into their battle expression, however: it was through their united cries of specific statements or words that differentiated themselves from their enemies on the battlefield.

²⁴ Trans. Thomas Kinsella, *The Táin*, Oxford University Press, (1969): 150–153.

²⁵ War-Cries of Irish Septs. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, Vol. 3 (1855): 203-206.

²⁶ Speidel (2002): 269 & 272.

²⁷ War-Cries of Irish Septs. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, Vol. 3 (1855): 206.

Ammianus details a Persian battle expression performed during the siege of Amida. As the fighting raged Ammianus claims that the hills surrounding the city echoed and re-echoed the sounds of the battle expression of both the Romans and the Persians:

“The hills re-echoed with the shouts which rose on either hand. Our men extolled the prowess of Constantius Caesar, ‘lord of all things and of the world’, while the Persians hailed Sapor as Saanshah and Peroz, titles which signify ‘king of kings’ and ‘conqueror of war’”²⁸

While the hills around Amida accentuated the vocal component of both combatant forces’ battle expressions, it should be clear that the volume of noise created by the unified voices of tens of thousands of soldiers on both sides would have been immense regardless of topography. According to Ammianus, both the Romans and the Persians extolled the prowess of their supreme leaders. The Romans honored their emperor while the Persians glorified their king Sapor. According to Ammianus’ description, it appears that both sides performed their battle expression due to custom, but also as a means to counter or drown out each other’s vocal cries. The tune to which the Persians glorified their king is not made known by Ammianus, however, the lyrics are recorded. Ammianus states that the Persians hailed their king Sapor as ‘*Saanshah*’ and ‘*Peroz*’, which Ammianus translates as meaning ‘king of kings’, for the former, and ‘conqueror of war’, for the latter.²⁹ The title given to the Persian king, ‘king of kings’, reinforces the concept of traditional Asian battle expression characteristics presented through Graeco-Roman historical works. That being said, Asian military forces were presented in the Graeco-Roman historical record as being effectively arrogant and psychologically egotistic towards their enemies, reflective in the title for their king.

Sparta

Plutarch’s *Life of Lycurgus* and *Instituta Laconica* are useful sources when dealing with the Spartan battle expression. In these works, details are provided regarding Sparta’s use of music and poetry in military contexts that highlight Spartan religious, socio-political and military customs. According to Plutarch:

²⁸ Amm. 19.2.11 (Table 5j).

²⁹ Amm. 19.2.11-12 (Table 5j).

“Their [Sparta’s] very songs had a stimulus that roused the spirit and awoke enthusiastic and effectual effort; the style of them was simple and unaffected, and their themes were serious and edifying. They were for the most part praises of men who had died for Sparta, calling them blessed and happy; censure of men who had played the coward....In short, if one studies the poetry of Sparta, of which some specimens were still extant in my time, and makes himself familiar with the marching songs which they used, to the accompaniment of the flute, when charging upon their foes....For just before their battles, the king sacrificed to the Muses, reminding his warriors, as it would seem, of their training, and of the firm decisions they had made, in order that they might be prompt to face the dread issue, and might perform such martial deeds as would be worthy of some record.”³⁰

“And when at last they were drawn up in battle array and the enemy was at hand, the king sacrificed the customary she-goat, commanded all the warriors to set garlands upon their heads, and ordered the pipers to pipe the strains of the hymn to Castor; then he himself led off in a marching paean, and it was a sight equally grand and terrifying when they marched in step with the rhythm of the flute, without any gap in their line of battle, and with no confusion in their souls, but calmly and cheerfully moving with the strains of their hymn into the deadly fight. Neither fear nor excessive fury is likely to possess men so disposed, but rather a firm purpose full of hope and courage, believing as they do that Heaven is their ally.”³¹

These references reveal that Spartan battle expression was a systematic process that held significant meaning. Spartan social custom is acknowledged in the praise of men who died on the battlefield and the condemnation of cowards. Religious sentiment is evident with the sacrifice to the Muses of a she-goat; the wearing of garlands on hoplites heads; the tune to the hymn of Castor played on the flutes; the recital of the paean (presumably to Ares); the hope and courage the army exhibited believing that the gods were with them. Spartan military training is revealed through references to rehearsed and predisposed processes that aimed to trigger specific action and mindset. For example, hoplites were exposed to marching songs in accompaniment with the flute as the army marched together to engage with the enemy. The

³⁰ Plut. *Lyc.* 21.1-4 (Table 45b).

³¹ Plut. *Lyc.* 22.2-3 (Table 4c).

sacrifice to the Muses geared the soldiers' mindset upon the training and effort required for the upcoming battle. The disciplined and methodological approach to battle the Spartans were described as displaying further supports the notion that battle expression was significant and meaningful. It was the battle expression that reminded soldiers of their training and orientated their psyche on the task at hand. The use of poetry in the above extracts refers to the impact that 7th century BC elegiac poet, Tyrtaeus, had on Spartan military custom.³² Plutarch claims that Tyrtaeus' poetry, essentially, resulted in Spartan soldiers craving death,³³ due to the enthusiasm it evoked within them.

The poetry of Tyrtaeus and the laws of Lycurgus inspired Spartan battle expression types.³⁴ According to Athenaeus, Spartan marching songs, *enoplia* (meaning under arms or martial rhythm), were sung when marching to battle. The lyrics of these songs consisted of the poetry of Tyrtaeus, which the Spartans recited from memory. According to Athenaeus, after the Spartans had defeated the Messenians through Tyrtaeus' leadership the Spartan military initiated the custom of competitive singing. To ensure the lyrics of Tyrtaeus' poetry was remembered amongst the army while on campaign, after meals were consumed and the paean was sung in thanksgiving Spartan warriors would compete over who could best sing Tyrtaeus' poetry. The competition would be presided over by the commander of the army where a piece of meat was awarded to the victor:

“The Spartans dedicate themselves to war, and their sons memorize their marching-songs, known as *enoplia*. So too the Spartans themselves recite Tyrtaeus' poems during their wars and move in time with them. Philochorus says that after the Spartans defeated the Messenians because of Tyrtaeus' generalship, they made it a custom during their campaigns that, after they have dinner and sing a paean, they take turns singing Tyrtaeus' poems; the polemarch judges among them and awards the winner a piece of meat as a prize.”³⁵

This reference highlights key features of the Spartan battle expression. The Spartan army used the poetry of Tyrtaeus customarily in the period before battle commenced. The memory of

³² For more detail on the impact Tyrtaeus had on Spartan military custom and society see Bayliss (2017).

³³ Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 16 (Table 44a); Bayliss (2017): 63.

³⁴ Ath. *Dei.* 14.630 (Table 12b).

³⁵ Ath. *Dei.* 14.630 (Table 12b).

Tyrtaeus' successful generalship over the Messenians, through the singing of his poetry, was used as a means for Spartan warriors to remember their hero of old and past military achievements of the Spartan state. The lyrics of Tyrtaeus' poetry aimed to instill within the reciter and the witness the qualities of Spartan soldiers and the doctrines of the Spartan state.

Singing *en masse* the poetry of Tyrtaeus aimed to instill steadfastness and unity within the army in the lead up to battle. As the war songs of Tyrtaeus were used as marching songs this may suggest that the primary aim of singing them was not to intimidate the enemy, but rather to inspire the men singing them. As a summary of the different war songs, the lyrics were designed to remove fear from the minds of the soldiers about to enter into battle and remind the soldiers of their role and obligations to their society.³⁶ The main recurring ideas that are found within Tyrtaeus' poetry are threefold; the qualities a Spartan warrior should display; the qualities a Spartan warrior should not exhibit; the significance of Sparta's homeland.

According to Tyrtaeus, excellence was gauged not by athleticism, strength, speed, personal appearance, wealth or singing ability, but by a man's ability to face the bloody slaughter of battle standing beside his compatriot.³⁷ Men who were able to achieve this were of more benefit to his city and people than those who could not. These men brought glory and renown to their homeland and their family was honoured and remembered because of the sacrifice made. The poetry of Tyrtaeus aimed to encourage Spartan citizens to strive for the qualities of respect, honour and excellence. These were characteristics that Spartan citizens aimed to achieve through their actions on the battlefield. In order to receive respect and honour Spartan warriors had to fight and die courageously in the frontline facing the enemy. While fighting in battle, Spartan warriors were advised to demonstrate their skill in arms, valour, steadfastness and ferocity.

The concept of death in battle is portrayed in Tyrtaeus' war songs as being an inescapable feature of life that should not be feared: however, should a man die in his prime of life, gloriously fighting in protection of his family and his homeland without shirking, then, respect and honour would be guaranteed. The Spartan sentiment towards achieving respect and honour by dying on the battlefield is reminiscent, and comparable, to the concept of martyrdom for

³⁶ See Bayliss (2017) & Banks, J. (1853) pp: 327-343.

³⁷ Tyr. 3 (Table 64a).

religion and state, particularly demonstrated in literature during the Iran-Iraq war during the 1980s.³⁸ Moosavi claims that during the war martyrdom became one of the most prominent themes in the official state discourses of both sides.³⁹ It attributed specific religious and nationalist meanings to those that were killed that continues to resonate in both countries' public discourse and collective memory of the war.⁴⁰ Wartime literature written about the conflict in Iraq glorified martyrdom and presented life as inferior to death.⁴¹ "To die as a martyr was an achievement, an honorable act, enviable by those unable to make a similar sacrifice."⁴² Families of martyrs were socially and financially rewarded inspiring soldiers to readily die in combat.⁴³ According to Moosavi, "Death at war meant martyrdom for the sake of the nation and Islam. To become a martyr was not a loss, but a step towards the realization of a higher cause."⁴⁴ The enviable benefits of dying in battle at a young age found in Tyrtaeus' poetry and in the literature produced during the Iran-Iraq war include the glorification of the deceased amongst their people forevermore.

Tyrtaeus' war songs, contrastingly, discouraged Spartan warriors from exhibiting character flaws that would be considered shameful. A Spartan who abandoned his homeland in favour of vagrancy and a peaceful existence with his family was considered dishonourable.⁴⁵ Being an active member of Spartan society strengthened the bonds of fraternity and community. Should a man voluntarily abandon his society, particularly during times of war, Tyrtaeus presents this as shameful. However, should a man fight for Sparta the expectation was he never flee the battlefield, hide or display fear. Tyrtaeus notes that those who die in the midst of running, hiding or in a frightened state should be considered shamed.⁴⁶

Tyrtaeus identifies the origins and experiences of the Spartan people as integral points of reference when inspiring Spartan warriors to fight and die for their homeland. Tyrtaeus' war songs reference the Spartan people being descended from Herakles. It appears the upholding

³⁸ Moosavi (2015) provides a good outline of literature types produced during wartime that sponsored the concept of martyrdom in a military context for the benefit of religion, nation and culture.

³⁹ Moosavi (2015): 9.

⁴⁰ Moosavi (2015): 9.

⁴¹ Moosavi (2015): 10.

⁴² Moosavi (2015): 10.

⁴³ Moosavi (2015): 11-13.

⁴⁴ Moosavi (2015): 16.

⁴⁵ Tyr. 1 (Table 64a).

⁴⁶ Tyr. 1-3 (Table 64a).

of Herakles' courageous reputation and the honouring of ancestral lines was a significant feature in motivating Spartan warriors before battle and helped remove any apprehension Spartan hoplites may have had. Due to Zeus being the father of Herakles, the notion that Zeus favoured Sparta as a result of this is revealed in the poetry of Tyrtaeus, with the suggestion that Zeus gave the land to the Spartans because of their relationship with his son, Herakles.⁴⁷ Tyrtaeus presents Spartan society as being one that had endured a host of experiences that made it worthy of its citizen body to defend and sacrifice themselves for it. The acknowledgement of the Spartan state's familiarity with war, in all its forms, including victory, defeat and hardship were used to inspire resolve amongst the fighting force prior to battle.⁴⁸

Sparta's use of Tyrtaeus' war poetry in the lead up to battle is undeniable.⁴⁹ Bayliss highlights three main traditions found within Graeco-Roman literary works regarding the poetry of Tyrtaeus.⁵⁰ Firstly, Tyrtaeus' war songs were recited on military campaign before, during and after battle. Secondly, Tyrtaeus composed marching songs and, finally, the Spartan army integrated Tyrtaeus' works into their pre-battle custom to enhance the levels of courage amongst the troops. According to Bayliss, the recital of Tyrtaeus' war poetry and war songs by hoplites reinforced the core socio-political values of Sparta within their military ranks. These core values are evident within the surviving extracts of Tyrtaeus' poetry, which is summarised neatly by Bayliss, "the imperative to fight bravely, the importance of collective responsibility, their own entitlement to rule the Peloponnese, and, perhaps most importantly, the inferiority of the helots."⁵¹ According to Bayliss, there are only a small number of surviving Tyrtaeus fragments from antiquity. Given this, it has been argued that it was these verses that survived, particularly, that were overly consumed and used during classical times by Sparta's military, "Repetition of a relatively small number of Tyrtaeus' verses that Classical-period Spartans deemed most appropriate would have been ideal for teaching Spartan youths core Spartan values."⁵² These few verses memorised by Spartan hoplites and rehearsed in contexts away

⁴⁷ Tyr. 6 (Table 64b). The pious nature of Spartan military practice, such as the singing of the paean, customary sacrifices of the she-goat and the playing of the hymn to Castor on the flute, helped the Spartan warriors believe that heaven was on their side. See Plut. *Lyc.* 22.3 (Table 45c).

⁴⁸ Tyr. 2 (Table 64a).

⁴⁹ Bayliss (2017); Cartledge (2006): 79; Koiv (2005): 238, 263; Ath. *Dei.* 14.630ff (Table 12b); Plut. *Cleo.* 2 (Table 41a); Plut. *Mor.* 959a (Table 48a).

⁵⁰ Bayliss (2017): 53-54.

⁵¹ Bayliss (2017): 79.

⁵² Bayliss (2017): 63-65.

from the battlefield would have made their rendition more effective in front of an enemy force due to the familiarity males had with the verses.

Bayliss' study on Tyrtaeus' war poetry and its affiliation with Sparta's military complies with the concept of the battle expression. Bayliss suggests that Tyrtaeus' poetry held significant meaning to Spartan hoplites and its recital was embedded within the sphere of military life. Bayliss does not associate the military use of Tyrtaeus' poetry to the term war cry. This is due to the idea that Tyrtaeus' poetry was considered more than a battlefield custom but a key feature of Spartan military tradition. The term war cry does not allow for these ideas to be considered and gives weight to the argument that the notion of the war cry does not satisfy an ancient military phenomenon that held cultural meaning to the military force that used it.

Thucydides details a Spartan battle expression during the Peloponnesian War as reflective of the ideas that were presented in Tyrtaeus' poetry. During a battle narrative between the Argives, and their allies, against Sparta, Thucydides presents the Spartan army as being in full voice of encouragement for each soldier to be brave and to remember what they all knew so well. This reference relates to the notions inspired from Tyrtaeus' war songs.⁵³ Tyrtaeus' poetry reminded the Spartans of their duty to the state and urged courage, bravery and excellence in battle. Thucydides dubbed Sparta's war songs as *πολεμικῶν νόμων* - literally *war laws*. This term suggests Tyrtaeus' poetry was well integrated within pre-battle custom.

The formulation of a stylized martial image that was impressive to behold was characteristic of Spartan battle expression.⁵⁴ This image was initiated by Lycurgus into Spartan military practice and consisted of wearing a red cloak and carrying a bronze shield. The purposeful inclusion of the red cloak for use in battle was deemed to be the most warlike of colours, devoid of peaceful connotations, and more foreboding on the enemy.⁵⁵ Xenophon claims that Lycurgus chose the colour red as it was in contrast with female clothing. The adoption of bronze as the preferred metal for Spartan hoplite shields was, similarly, selected due to its impressive appearance once polished and practicality, as it was slow to tarnish. Spartan warriors, too, were permitted, and indeed encouraged,⁵⁶ to grow their hair long from adulthood for martial

⁵³ Thuc. 5.69 (Table 63g)

⁵⁴ Xen. *Const. Lac.* 11.3 (Table 69a).

⁵⁵ Plut. *Inst.* 24 (Table 44b). The red cloak served to camouflage wounds sustained on the battlefield.

⁵⁶ Xen. *Const. Lac.* 13.8-9 (Table 69c).

purposes. The Spartans believed that long, well groomed, hair would add to their commanding presence on the battlefield in the eyes of the enemy.⁵⁷

Spartan awareness and purposeful creation of a warlike image in battle was legislated.⁵⁸ Xenophon claims that Spartan hoplites were required by Spartan law to regularly maintain gymnastic training with the intention of sculpting their bodies to appear impressive in their own eyes and superior to their enemies. The notion and practice of creating an image of superiority in front of the enemy is further detailed by Xenophon who claims Spartan armies purposefully waited until the enemy could bear witness to their image of discipline and belligerence.⁵⁹

Spartan hoplites habitually created a warlike appearance which embodied calmness and discipline prior to engagement with the enemy in battle. This stylised appearance aimed to collectively focus the hoplites for battle and to overawe the enemy. The image is described in the opening sequences of battle between the Argives against Sparta during the Peloponnesian War. The Argives are detailed as advancing with haste and fury, while the Spartans advanced slowly and in step to the sound of many flute players playing a particular tune.⁶⁰ Plutarch claims that the tune in question was the hymn to Castor.⁶¹ Thucydides mentions that Sparta's slow and disciplined advance was customary of their military practice, so that the battle line may keep its shape and prevent the development of gaps, which often resulted with a fast paced advance. Plutarch echoes this idea claiming the Spartan slow disciplined advance into battle marching in step to the tune of the flute with no gap, or confusion, in their line generated calmness and clarity of purpose in the Spartan army, but shock and awe amongst the on looking enemy.⁶²

Sparta's disciplined battle expression was evident at the battle of Plataea during the Persian Wars.⁶³ Herodotus provides insight into the reaction of Spartan troops to adverse conditions that had developed during the opening stages of battle. The Spartans were required to complete religious obligations, namely receiving favorable omens from pre-battle sacrifice. The

⁵⁷ Xen. *Const. Lac.* 12.5 & 13.8-9 (see Table 69).

⁵⁸ Xen. *Const. Lac.* 12.5 & 13.8-9.

⁵⁹ Xen. *Const. Lac.* 12.5 & 13.8-9.

⁶⁰ Thuc. 5.70 (Table 63g).

⁶¹ Plut. *Lyc.* 22.2 (Table 45c).

⁶² Plut. *Lyc.* 22.3 (Table 45c).

⁶³ Hdt. 9.61-62 (Table 22d).

favorable omens sought after were not forthcoming. While the army waited for divine favour, the Persians opposite them launched their attack on the Spartan frontline using archers. The Spartan army, despite sustaining many casualties, remained resolute in waiting for a successful sacrifice before being ordered to advance against the enemy. Herodotus claims that favorable omens were eventually received, and the order was given to engage with the enemy. The discipline demonstrated by the Spartans highlights the enduring image they wished to create for themselves as devout religious adherents, who were willing to die for their religious observance, making them worthy recipients of the gods favour. The utter contempt shown by the Sparta's army towards the enemy and their attack reveals the courage, disciplined training and resolve contained in Spartan pre-battle tradition.

For the Spartans, the demonstration of discipline and marching in step to the sound of the flute in the lead up to battle was a determinant of courage. In Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, Agesilaus responds to the question: why the Spartans marched into battle to the sound of flutes? Agesilaus is claimed to have retorted, that marching in step to flutes distinguishes who is brave and who is a coward.⁶⁴ Spartan hoplites who were able to march in time to music were deemed to be collectively focused on the battle at hand rather than being preoccupied with thoughts of fear or personal safety. Plutarch's reference supports the notion that the image of bravery and sacrifice of self for state as found in Tyrtaeus' war songs and poetry were customary of Spartan battle expression.

The Spartan battle expression was a process. It involved the army marching to battle and waiting for the enemy while singing their war-songs inspired from Tyrtaeus' poetry. This instilled resolve and courage within the army to honour themselves and their polis. Once the enemy was within sight a she-goat would be sacrificed, in conjunction with flute players striking up a tune, as each Spartan wore a garland in their hair. The respectful adherence to religious ritual demonstrated piety to the enemy. While the omens were interpreted Spartan hoplites would polish their shields and comb their hair to create an image of discipline and commitment in front of the enemy. Once the hoplites were prepared the appearance of massed polished bronze shields, red cloaks and long hair from underneath helmets would have confronted the enemy across the battlefield. Upon receiving favorable omens from the

⁶⁴ Plut. *Ages.* 36.

sacrifice, the Spartan army would begin to march in step to the sound of flutes in a disciplined formation, a formidable sight.

Spartan battle expression demonstrates unique characteristics not found within other ancient Greek military forces. Lycurgus' refinement of military practice, such as the adoption of red cloak, bronze shield and long hair, suggests military insight and contemplation. The use of flutes and song to recall Spartan social and military custom highlights nationalistic motivations. Through legislating features of battle expression, namely the growth of hair for male Spartan citizens, the Spartan government endorsed this tradition. The offering of blood libation, animal sacrifice and augury before battle suggests the close affiliation Spartan battle expression had with religious belief structure, particularly the recital of religious hymns and the playing of flutes.

Greek shield *semata*

The designs and motifs (*semata*) displayed upon Greek hoplite shields was a method adopted by Greek armies to express their identity on the battlefield. The emblems and designs used by Greek armies are presented in Graeco-Roman literature and iconographical sources such as vases. In battle the exterior of hoplite shields faced the enemy across the battlefield. The shield designs served to express the socio-political identity of the army, if the design was consistent throughout the whole phalanx, or the identity of the individual hoplite. According to Spier, the earliest evidence for Greek shield devices comes from Late Geometric and Protoattic vases.⁶⁵ These early shield designs contained geometric patterns and animal motifs including: gorgon's head, lion's head, bull's head, boar, and flying birds and eagles. Spier claims that the origins of Greek *semata* on hoplite shields could be interpreted by modern students as having psychological or ritual origins, but the evidence would be difficult to find.⁶⁶ Rusch supports this notion as lead votive figurines dated from the 6th century BC found in Sparta portray Spartan hoplite shields with geometric patterns and images of fierce animals and legendary figures.⁶⁷ For these early shield designs not to be viewed as a clear attempt to evoke intimidatory feeling upon the enemy across the battlefield, irrespective of individual designs on shields, seems strange. For fierce animals and legendary figures from Greek mythology, with violent and powerful connotations (such as gorgon) to be painted on the front of shields

⁶⁵ Spier, J. (1990): 114.

⁶⁶ Spier, J. (1990): 127.

⁶⁷ Rusch, S. (2011): 207.

clearly demonstrates intent to instill a sense of awe upon the enemy in the recollection of the image on the shield. References to Greek *semata* in literary works that range from the 5th-4th centuries BC present a context that suggests shield devices were, in fact, employed for psychological and ritual function. The expression of uniformed identity was central to the use of *semata* on shields during this period.

The Greek military tradition of painting designs on the front of hoplite shields, to display to the enemy, for the purpose of identification and attempts to intimidate those across the battlefield, is evident in Graeco-Roman literature.⁶⁸ Theban battle expression consisted of promoting the club of Herakles on the shields of their hoplites. Xenophon's account of the battle of Mantinea in 362 BC⁶⁹ exemplifies the tradition of Theban hoplites displaying the club of Herakles on their shields before battle to display to the enemy. The club of Herakles served to identify Theban warriors from others on the battlefield, as well as to identify the polis of Thebes as having a special relationship with the Greek demi-god, Herakles. By displaying this symbol Theban warriors aimed to replicate his strength on the battlefield and intimidate their opponents in the process. In Greek mythology Herakles was the son of the god Zeus and mortal woman Alcmene and was famed throughout the Graeco-Roman world for his feats of strength, honour and victory. Theban military forces' association with Herakles in battle attests to their individuality compared to other Greek *poleis*. Greek city states aimed to profess their historical origins, levels of piety and perceived military traits on the battlefield through clear visual demonstrations.

Literary evidence reveals that Spartan hoplites adopted a common *semata* on their shields that represented their military identity on the battlefield. According to ancient literary texts the *lambdas* design was used by Spartan military forces during the 5th and 4th centuries BC. There is a reference from Eupolis' *Testimonia and Fragments* that mentions the lambdas as a symbol of fear.⁷⁰ This fear was aroused due to its military association with Spartan hoplite armies. Rusch claims that during the 5th and 4th centuries BC Spartan armies took on a uniform appearance with one key element being the letter lambda for *Lakedaimon* displayed on the

⁶⁸ Aesch. *Sept.* 87-90, 380-399, 425-434, 486-498 (Table 4); Polyb. 4.64.6 (Table 54d).

⁶⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.20 (Table 71o). This reference details Arcadian warriors duplicating the Theban club on their shields before battle.

⁷⁰ Eupolis. 394. "Seeing the flashing Lambdas he was terrified." ἐξεπλάγη γὰρ ἰδὼν στίλβοντα τὰ λάβδα.

front of their hoplite shields.⁷¹ It is evident that other Greek states adopted the use of letters as a feature of uniform shield designs during this period too. Xenophon refers to a 4th century BC Spartan military force swapping shields with the Sicyonians which bear a sigma design.⁷²

“But Pasimachus, the Lacedaemonian commander of horse, at the head of a few horsemen, when he saw the Sicyonians hard pressed, tied his horses to trees, took from the Sicyonians their shields, and advanced with a volunteer force against the Argives. The Argives, however, seeing the Sigmas upon the shields, did not fear these opponents at all, thinking that they were Sicyonians. Then, as the story goes, Pasimachus said: “By the twin gods, Argives, these Sigmas will deceive you,” and came to close quarters with them; and fighting thus with a few against many he was slain, and likewise others of his party.”

The appearance of the sigma shields in Xenophon’s reference demonstrates the paradigm that is battle expression. The intentional uniformed appearance of a military force served identification purposes on the battlefield. The Sicyonian appearance in this instance did not inspire trepidation on the enemy as was intended the enemy did not view the sigma shields with any real threat. Despite this, the preparation levels and military thinking that would have been involved with the universal appearance of Greek hoplite armies, particularly during the 5th and 4th centuries BC, reflects the battle expression model which the term war cry fails to acknowledge.

Macedon

The kingdom of Macedon, likewise, used battle expression to differentiate themselves from other Greek states on the battlefield. Arrian reveals that the Macedonian battle expression complied with the Greek cultural traits of discipline and piety, as mentioned above, however, embraced unique elements that served to represent Macedonian military individuality. The Macedonian spear, the *sarissa*, was developed during the military reforms of Philip II.⁷³

⁷¹ Rusch, S. (2011): 31.

⁷² Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.10. Πασίμαχος δὲ ὁ ἵππαρμωστής, ἔχων ἱππέας οὐ πολλούς, ὡς ἐώρα τοὺς Σικωνίους πιεζομένους, καταδήσας ἀπὸ δένδρων τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ ἀφελόμενος τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτῶν, μετὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων ἦει ἐναντίον τοῖς Ἀργείοις. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὀρῶντες τὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων, ὡς Σικωνίους οὐδὲν ἐφοβοῦντο. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται εἰπὼν ὁ Πασίμαχος· Ναὶ τὸν σιῶ, ὦ Ἀργεῖοι, ψευσεῖ ὑμὲ τὰ σίγμα ταῦτα, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε· καὶ οὕτω μάχομενος μετ’ ὀλίγων πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀποθνήσκει καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν περὶ αὐτόν.

⁷³ Dio. Sic. 16.3.1-3 (Table 18a).

The *sarissa* gave the Macedonian phalanx a distinct advantage on the battlefield over its rivals, as it measured almost double the length of the spear used by the Greek hoplites and almost three times as long as the Persian spear. The intense training and discipline of the infantry with the *sarissa* under Philip II was continued into the reign of Philip's successor, Alexander.⁷⁴ The discipline and training of the Macedonian infantry with their *sarissa* inspired its use as a battle expression in the lead up to battle.

Alexander's early reign saw him invade Illyria to crush insurrection there. During his actions to overcome the Taulantians, Alexander's force had found themselves in a precarious situation of vulnerability. The Taulantians held a distinct military advantage by holding higher ground that restricted the movement of Alexander's forces. According to Arrian, Alexander ordered his heavy infantry, with their *sarissas*, to form together into a deep phalanx this formation would serve to accentuate the massed spears. From this position Alexander ordered complete silence while the phalanx was put through a series of drills which displayed to the onlooking enemy the discipline, training and foreboding appearance of the Macedonian *sarissa*. Arrian states the infantry were ordered to erect their spears, then lower them as if in attack formation. From this formation Alexander ordered his men, in unison, to swing their spears around in various directions to demonstrate their superior training and effectiveness as a fighting force. This Macedonian battle expression intimidated and unnerved the Taulantians to such a degree that they withdrew from their advantageous position:

“Alexander drew up the main body of his infantry in mass formation 120 deep...with instructions to make no noise, and to obey orders smartly. Then he gave the order for the heavy infantry first to erect their spears, and afterwards, at the word of command, to lower the massed points for attack, swinging them, again at the word of command, now to the right, now to the left. The whole phalanx he then moved smartly forward, and, wheeling it this way and that, caused it to execute various intricate movements. Having thus put his troops with great rapidity through a number of different formations, he ordered his left to form a wedge and advanced to the attack. The enemy, already shaken by the smartness and discipline of these manoeuvres, abandoned their position on the lower slopes of the hills...Alexander called on his men to raise the war-cry and

⁷⁴ Arr. *Ana.* 7.12.2 (Table 11i).

clash their spears upon their shields, with the result that the din was altogether too much for the Taulantians”⁷⁵

Arrian claims that the Macedonians raised a cry and clashed their spears against their shields.⁷⁶ This is a different practice to any that has been mentioned before regarding Greek battle expression. Greek armies universally sang *paeon* hymns in battle and, generally, there was a cry unleashed in honour of Ares (*Ἐνναλίῳ ἀλαλάζοντας*).⁷⁷ The Spartans recited extracts of Tyrtaeus’ poetry and Greeks states, such as Thebes, displayed their identity through adorning their shields with symbols. The use of the *sarissa* by the Macedonian army to generate a roar of noise when clashed against a shield presents a unique aspect to the Greek battle expression. The Macedonian military forces of Alexander the Great employed the *sarissa* to intimidate the enemy in the lead up to battle, through massed coordinated movements and by generating noise when struck against shields.

Polyaenus refers to a Macedonian battle expression that demonstrated the conviction of Alexander the Great’s army in their aim to overthrow Darius III of Persia.⁷⁸ In the lead up to battle of Issus in 333 BC, Polyaenus records Alexander’s order to his troops to fall to their knees in prayer, before engaging the Persian battle line. Polyaenus claims the Macedonians undertook this gesture to appear reverent in the eyes of the enemy and, therefore, soften the hearts of the enemy and lure them into a false sense of security towards them. Darius is believed to have thought this was an act of supplication to him and that a battle was not going to be fought. On the sound of the trumpet blast the Macedonian army, as one, rose up from their knees and charged the enemy with such ferocity and conviction that the Persian centre collapsed under the weight of the attack. The characteristic Greek religious reverence presented in this reference reveals the spiritual dimension that Greek battle tradition took.

Archaeological discoveries of inscribed lead sling bullets may reveal aspects of Macedonian battle expression during the reign of Philip II. Foss claims that inscribed lead sling bullets can be categorized into three classes based on the nature of the inscription found on them.⁷⁹ The

⁷⁵ Arr. *Ana.* 1.6.1-4 (Table 11a).

⁷⁶ *ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τοδώρασι δουπῆσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας.*

⁷⁷ Arr. *Ana.* 1.14.7 (Table 11c); Xen. *Ana.* 1.8.18 (Table 68c).

⁷⁸ Poly. *Strat. Alex.* 4.3.5 (Table 53c).

⁷⁹ Foss (1975): 27-28.

first class contains exclamations such as “conquer”, “take it”, “woe”, “blood” and “candy”. The second-class names a settlement or a people. The third class, which is most interesting for Macedonian battle expressions, contains personal names, which Foss suggests are the generals of armies which the slingers are members of. At Olynthus, a settlement that Philip II of Macedon captured in ca.348 BC, numerous lead sling bullets have been unearthed which bear the inscribed name of King Philip.⁸⁰ Of 500 lead sling bullets discovered at Olynthus, 100 are inscribed and many of these bear the reference to King Philip II of Macedon.⁸¹ The study of lead sling bullets and their inscriptions may give rise to further understanding of battle expression within the Graeco-Roman world. In the case of Macedonian battle expression, the presence of King Philip II of Macedon’s name on lead sling bullets suggests that the praising of the commander identified the socio-political tradition of Macedon. The action of engraving the name of the king onto a lead sling bullet and firing it into the enemy highlights significant meaning. There appears to be a genuine importance for slingers to identify themselves, their trade within the military (slinging) and their want for the enemy to literally feel that identity through injury, death or reading a misfired bullet by inscribing the name of their king and military commander on their tool of trade. Whether ancient Macedonian warriors typically made a point to acknowledge the name of their king in battle, beyond the inscribed lead sling bullet, can only be suggested. What is interesting about the study of lead sling bullets is that it was important for soldiers within the army to express their socio-political origin by publicly acknowledging King Philip on weaponry.

Roman military triumphs

The study of the Roman military triumph may provide valuable insight into understanding the forms and significance of the battle expression based on socio-political identification. The military triumph should not be classified as a battle expression. Central to this understanding is that a battle that the triumphal procession may have commemorated ended days, weeks, or many months before the celebration, often in a different part of the Roman world.⁸²

⁸⁰ Foss (1975): 28.

⁸¹ Kelly (2012): 282.

⁸² Roman military triumphs generally commemorated single military engagements, such as a siege that lasted many months or a battle that lasted a few hours. The main criteria involved a victory that resulted in the deaths of five thousand of the enemy (Val. Max. 2.8.1 – see Table 65a). A triumph could commemorate a military campaign, with particular focus on one or a number of key battles. For example, the triumph of Titus and Vespasian after the Jewish War in AD first century - which has been immortalized with the Arch of Titus in Roman Forum complex specifically focused on the AD 70 siege of Jerusalem, however, was also used to acknowledge the role of Vespasian, who led the campaign during Nero’s reign, however, after the death of Nero and the rise of Vespasian

Additionally, the purpose of the battle expression was to unite by way of inspiring a military force, as well as, attempting to intimidate the enemy gathered on the field. With the battle well and truly completed and the location distant from Rome this purpose no longer existed. However, the triumph does contain elements of the battle expression that was unique to the socio-political traditions of Rome and attached to their military culture. These customs helped forge Rome's military identity and transitioned onto the battlefield through the army's appearance. These include; the archaic practices found within the triumph and the religious significance the triumph held to those involved which appear consistent with Graeco-Roman literary sources.

Modern study on the triumph suggests Etruscan and Hellenistic roots, which has been likened to the mythological Dionysian procession the Greek word *thriambos* directly stems from this idea and clearly has a religious dimension.⁸³ Beard argues that archaeological evidence dating from the 6th century BC, particularly the site of where the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, holds the key to its foundation that is beyond recovery.⁸⁴ The origins of the military triumph are steeped in the distant past of Rome's history. Dionysius of Halicarnassus claims that Romulus celebrated a triumph. The triumph of Romulus, it appears, institutionalized what was to become standard Roman practice:

“He [Romulus] led his army home, carrying with him the spoils of those who had been slain in battle and the choicest part of the booty as an offering to the gods; and he offered many sacrifices besides. Romulus himself came last in the procession, clad in a purple robe and wearing a crown of laurel upon his head, and, that he might maintain the royal dignity, he rode in a chariot drawn by four horses. The rest of the army, both foot and horse, followed, ranged in their several divisions, praising the gods in songs of their country and extolling their general in improvised verses.... Such was the victorious procession, marked by the carrying of trophies and concluding with a sacrifice, which the Romans call a triumph, as it was first instituted by Romulus. But in our day the

as emperor the triumph Titus and Vespasian undertook embraced a number of social, political and military factors that aimed to solidify the Flavian rule over the Roman world.

⁸³ Beard (2007): 306; Eder (2006); Varro *DLL*. 6.68 (Table 66d).

See also Warren (1970): 49-66; Erskine (2013): 37-55 and Armstrong (2013): 7-21 for a more detailed overview of the origins of the Roman triumph.

⁸⁴ Beard (2007): 314-318.

triumph has become a very costly and ostentatious pageant....and it has departed in every respect from its ancient simplicity.”⁸⁵

The above extract is highly useful in understanding the religious dimension of the battle expression. The connection between religious belief and military practice is evident. Ritual sacrifice and the praising of the gods in song, encompasses the deep spiritual meaning evident in the battle expression concept. The singing of traditional and improvised songs during triumphal processions demonstrates that the Roman military were accustomed to such practices and this may well have been a custom on the battlefield.

Roman deities invoked during triumphal processions were also the deities worshipped on the battlefield in battle expression. Oaths made to specific gods on the battlefield were often fulfilled at the culmination of the triumphal procession.⁸⁶ The offering of spoils to the gods as a covenant for victory was satisfied during the triumph, suggesting a link to the practices on the battlefield. During Marcellus’ triumph the soldiers honoured Jupiter Feretrius in song, this may not be surprising considering all triumphs culminated at the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline.⁸⁷ However, the oath taken by Marcellus on the battlefield was the dedication of *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius. The fulfilment of battlefield oaths could be undertaken during a military triumph. That certain Roman gods could be used as a source of inspiration on the battlefield is evident in the trophies of war that Sulla offered up to the gods at the conclusion of his triumph to Mars, Victory, and Venus.⁸⁸ According to Plutarch, Sulla claimed that success in war was due just as much to the gods and good fortune than good generalship and the strength of the army. To gain the favour of divine benefaction the Romans incorporated religion into military contexts to supplement their military might on the battlefield.

The reference to songs, performed by victorious soldiers in a military triumph, highlights an institutionalized practice within the Roman army.⁸⁹ The singing *en masse* of traditional, as well as, improvised songs during a triumph suggests that these customs were inherent within the army and may well have been a feature on the battlefield. The hailing of a military commander

⁸⁵ D. H. *Ant.* 2.34 (Table 19c).

⁸⁶ For more on battlefield oaths see Chapter 7.

⁸⁷ Plut. *Marc.* 8 (Table 46a). Livy 4.20 also refers to Jupiter Feretrius being worshipped during a military triumph (Table 28b).

⁸⁸ Plut. *Sul.* 19 (Table 52d).

⁸⁹ see: Brilliant (1999): 225; Warren (1970): 65; Armstrong (2013): 11 & Eder (2006).

as *imperator* on the battlefield after a victory is evident within Graeco-Roman literary sources and, according to Beard, may have been the first step in being awarded a military triumph through the streets of Rome.⁹⁰ Varro explains that the soldiers who marched in the triumph characteristically chanted *Io triumphe* as they journeyed with their general through the city and up to the Capitol. This chant was claimed by Varro to have a connection to Bacchus.⁹¹ Beard has likened this chant to an archaic hymn which may have aimed to evoke the archaic religious world - in an appeal for divine epiphany and support for the idea that the triumphing general in some way represented a god.⁹² Livy refers to Roman soldiers parading through Rome invoking the spirit of Triumph by name, as well as singing their own praises and those of their general.⁹³ Not only were these songs in praise of the general but it was customary to ridicule and embarrass the triumphant general.⁹⁴

Crude songs, *carmina incondita*, that soldiers sang as they triumphed are claimed to have been created by the soldiers for the purpose of performing during the procession.⁹⁵ According to Beard, the singing directed at the general, part in praise, part in ribaldry has usually been explained by reference to the deepest prehistory and primitive meaning of the ceremony.⁹⁶ The cultural humour evident within these songs can be used as examples in understanding the types of battle expression that could be employed on the battlefield. Through the study of Roman soldiers' songs performed during a triumph important understanding about battle expression may be gained. For instance, soldiers could sing both traditional songs, which were religious in nature and purpose, and the *carmina incondita* highlights spontaneity and imagination on the part of the soldiers, which were generally not religious in nature. These crude songs aimed to embarrass the military high command and bring humour to the spectacle for the enjoyment of the soldiers and, no doubt, the audience. The participation of the rank and file in singing these tunes would have created an awe-inspiring atmosphere and would have reflected the collective spirit of the military force. The battle expression was similar in type; traditional and

⁹⁰ Beard (2007): 243. For examples of commanders being hailed "imperator" see; Polyb. 10.40 (Table 54g); Livy. 45.38.12 (Table 32a); Plut. *Cras.* 17.2 (Table 42a); Plut. *Pom.* 12 (Table 51a); Jos. *BJ.* 6.316 (Table 26g).

⁹¹ Varro. *DLL.* 6.68 (Table 66d).

⁹² Beard (2007): 244-245. See also Armstrong (2013): 11-13.

⁹³ Livy. 45.38.12 (Table 32a) & Beard (2007): 246.

⁹⁴ Livy. 4.53.11-13. *militari licentia iactati... prope sollemnis militum lascivia.* (Table 28c).

⁹⁵ Livy. 4.20.2 (Table 28b); Beard (2007): 247.

⁹⁶ Beard (2007): 244-245.

spontaneous, and purpose; generating an inspiring atmosphere to increase the collective spirit of the troops.

Beard claims the *carmina incondita* were apotropaic songs that aimed to ward off the evil eye, reminiscent of the satiric rite of reversal, typical in Roman society.⁹⁷ Livy refers to the triumph of dictator Camillus in ca.390 BC “between the rough jests uttered by the soldiers [*inconditos iaciunt*], was hailed in no unmeaning terms of praise as a Romulus and Father of his Country and a second Founder of the City.”⁹⁸ Livy details that the triumph contained songs of triumph and customary jokes sung by the soldiers - *carmine triumphali et sollemnibus iocis*.⁹⁹ During Caesar’s Gallic triumph, Suetonius records a song that his soldiers sung (*inter cetera carmina, qualia currum prosequentes ioculariter canunt*)¹⁰⁰ as they marched through the streets of Rome:

“The Gallic lands did Caesar master; Nicomedes mastered Caesar. Look! now Caesar rides in triumph, the one who mastered Gallic lands. Nicomedes does not triumph, the one who mastered Caesar.”¹⁰¹

The combination of eleven key words makes for the lyrics of this song to be easily remembered. Despite the tune of the song being unknown the repetition of keywords would have made it memorable. Another song is recorded by Suetonius from Caesar’s Gallic triumph:

“Men of Rome, protect your wives; we are bringing in the bald adulterer. You Fucked away in Gaul the gold you borrowed here in Rome”¹⁰²

Both the songs above focus on the sexual promiscuity and orientation of the commander-in-chief. The lyrics and nature of the soldiers’ songs exemplify the cultural wit that went into their creation. It appears that ethnicity and culture served to unite soldiers into bonds of unity in the

⁹⁷ Beard (2007): 248-249. See n.86 p.249.

⁹⁸ Livy. 5.49.7 (Table 28d).

⁹⁹ Livy. 3.29.5 (Table 28a).

¹⁰⁰ Suet. *Jul.* 49.4 (Table 59c).

¹⁰¹ Suet. *Jul.* 49.4. *Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem: Ecce Caesar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias, Nicomedes non triumphat qui subegit Caesarem.*

¹⁰² Suet. *Jul.* 51 *Urbani, servate uxores: moechum calvom adducimus. Aurum in Gallia effutuisti, hic sumpsisti mutuum.* (Table 59d).

triumph and on the battlefield. The evidence of soldiers singing during triumphal processions reveals that this was a typical feature of Roman military life that extended onto the battlefield too. Military triumphs should be used as a comparative study to the battle expression, as important archaic religious and cultural practices evident in the triumph reflect similar battlefield customs. The worship of significant war gods through oaths and hymns, as well as, singing songs that were reflective of cultural wit are fundamental features of Roman military practice.

Beard's study on the Roman military triumph¹⁰³ is significant as it provides context for the archaic traditions of the Roman military. Studying the recorded chants/songs of soldiers as they marched through the streets of Rome reveals that the Roman army was accustomed to prearranged, cohesive massed vocal noise. The connection Beard makes between the army's singing and Roman religious ritual highlights the intimate relationship religion played in Roman military affairs. Ultimately, Beard's study of the military triumph supports the argument that Roman cultural customs (often archaic) were used by the military and customarily integrated into military contexts as a way to appear Roman on the battlefield. As a result, it is evident that massed vocal noise based on traditional religious sentiment was a common feature of Roman military life. Knowledge obtained from the study of the military triumph, used in conjunction with battle accounts from Graeco-Roman literary sources, demonstrates that Roman battle expression contained elements of the nature (massed vocal noise) and significance (socio-religious) of triumphal processions.

Military standards

Military standards and trumpets played an important role in Roman battle expression. The military standards (*signum*) including the golden Roman eagle (*aquila*) held tremendous socio-religious and military importance to the army.¹⁰⁴ Roman soldiers took a military oath to never desert their standards in battle as they were viewed as important religious paraphernalia comparable to statues of the gods.¹⁰⁵ The punishment for failing to fulfil the military oath to the standards involved death by way of decimation.¹⁰⁶ Military standards, such as the eagle,

¹⁰³ Along with the work of: Warren (1970); Brilliant (1999); Armstrong (2013); Erskine (2013) & Eder (2006).

¹⁰⁴ Tac. *Hist.* 2.43; 3.9 (Table 62); D. H. *Ant.* 11.43 (Table 19t); Jos. *BJ.* 3.123 (Table 26c); Tac. *Ann.* 2.17 (Table 60b); Suet. *Cal.* 14 (Table 59a); Caes. *Gal.* 4.25 (Table 15d).

¹⁰⁵ D. H. *Ant.* 6.45, 10.16 (Table 19). Jos. *BJ.* 6.316 also refers to the religious significance of the Roman standards (see Table 26g).

¹⁰⁶ D. H. *Ant.* 9.31, 9.50, 11.43 (Table 19).

were used as religious inspiration for the army. Tacitus claims that Roman soldiers prayed to the standards and the gods of war.¹⁰⁷ Josephus, in his account of the Jewish War, refers to the Romans using their military standards as cult equipment central for post-battle ritual. In one instance, the Romans were recorded as erecting their military standards on top of a captured tower and while clapping their hands sang a song of victory, likened to a religious hymn.¹⁰⁸ On another occasion, after the capture of the Temple in Jerusalem the Romans carried their military standards into the Temple complex and erected them before offering sacrifice to them.¹⁰⁹

The significance of the military standards, particularly the eagle, to the army is detailed by Speidel in his *Roman Army Studies*.¹¹⁰ The eagle's association with Jupiter is emphasized as being instrumental in its role within the military.¹¹¹ This idea is evident in the writings of Josephus, who claims the eagle, at the head of the Roman army, was viewed as the king and strongest of the birds, Tacitus confirms this notion claiming the eagle was referred to as the symbol of the true deities of the legions.¹¹² That military standards held prominence within Roman military religious life is overwhelming. For example, chapels were erected in every Roman military camp to store the standards; watch was kept to guard the standards; men were assigned to carry the standards into battle; standard bearers were treated with great respect within the army;¹¹³ on festive days the standards were subject to sacred rites, such as anointing rituals.¹¹⁴ In the lead up to battle the standards were looked upon for omens that could express or alter the mood of the men.¹¹⁵ According to Josephus, the eagle was seen as a symbol of successful conquest over all whom the army advanced against and symbolized the honour of the Roman military.¹¹⁶

Speidel's use of archaeological evidence, to highlight the function and significance of Roman military standards, provides an extra dimension to the literary evidence that suggests these

¹⁰⁷ Tac. *Hist.* 3.9 (Table 62e).

¹⁰⁸ Jos. *BJ.* 6.403 (Table 26h).

¹⁰⁹ Jos. *BJ.* 6.316 (Table 26g).

¹¹⁰ Speidel (1984): 17-22.

¹¹¹ Speidel (1984): 17-18.

¹¹² Jos. *BJ.* 3.123 (Table 26c); Tac. *Ann.* 2.17 (Table 60b).

¹¹³ D. H. *Ant.* 10.36 for an example of the respect afforded to those that carried the eagle (Table 19r). See also, OCD 3rd ed. (1997): 1395-1396.

¹¹⁴ Speidel (1984): 22.

¹¹⁵ Suet. *Claud.* 13 (Table 59b); Speidel (1984): 17, 20-22.

¹¹⁶ Jos. *BJ.* 3.123 (Table 26c); Tac. *Ann.* 2.17 (Table 60b); Speidel (1984): 20-21.

military tools featured predominantly in Roman battle expression forms. Speidel does not specifically argue military standards were used in this way. Instead, Speidel attempts to emphasize the close association religious tradition played in Roman military life, an idea central to the battle expression. Therefore, Speidel's work on military standards indirectly supports the concepts raised in this project.

The sight of military standards in the battle line had a rousing effect on the army in the lead up to battle. The mere reference to the standards in the lead up to battle from the high command galvanized the army to engage with the enemy:

“Then (with God's leave be it spoken) let us advance our triumphant eagles and victorious standards. The soldiers did not allow him to finish what he was saying, but gnashed and ground their teeth and showed their eagerness for battle by striking their spears and shields together, and besought him that they might be led against an enemy who was already in sight”¹¹⁷

Military standards had fixed roles and positions on the battlefield.¹¹⁸ It was in these positions that standards influenced actions the army would undertake¹¹⁹ such as the advance to engage the enemy. It was during the advance against the enemy that those in the army undertook battle expression forms, such as swearing oaths; invoking the gods; clashing weapons against shields *et al.* The respect afforded to the standards makes them a key element in understanding the Roman battle expression. This is demonstrated by the influence they had over the actions of the army, particularly in the opening stages of a battle.

According to Graeco-Roman authors, the effect military standards had on the enemy across the battlefield was profound. The image of gleaming standards inflicting fear and intimidation upon Rome's enemies in battle is evident in the writings of Livy and Ammianus Marcellinus, specifically. In Livy's account of Scipio's campaign against Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general is presented as being taken aback along with his men by the sight of Rome's gleaming

¹¹⁷ Amm. 16.12.12-13 (Table 5d).

¹¹⁸ Amm. 27.10.9 (Table 5w). *Signis ilico fixis ex more.*

¹¹⁹ Amm. 27.10.9 (Table 5w). *Vexillum opperiens extollendum.*

standards and multitude of men.¹²⁰ The image of the foreboding gleaming military standards reoccurs in Ammianus where Germanic tribal armies lose heart at the sight of the standards:

“And so, when the signal had been given by the trumpet and they began to engage at close quarters, the Germans stood amazed, terrified by the fearful sight of the gleaming standards.”¹²¹

Ammianus claims that during a Saxon intrusion into Roman lands in Gaul, the generals Nannenus and Severus:

“So terrified and confused the arrogant barbarians before the struggle began, that they did not oppose him in strife, but, dazzled by the gleam of the standards and eagles, begged for pardon and peace.”¹²²

Evidence suggests that Roman armies used their military standards as a form of battle expression. As the references above suggest, Roman soldiers took inspiration and guidance from their eagles and other standards. The standards were deemed sacred objects in the religious life of the army and were venerated on and off the battlefield. The significance of the standards to Roman soldiers on the battlefield is obvious. Aside from the resolve that soldiers took from their standards, the enemies of Rome viewed the gleaming standards with fear and trepidation. Surely the Romans observed this on the battlefield and as such used their standards in another facet of intimidating and unnerving the enemy before battle. As Ammianus claims above, the standards of Rome’s army could essentially win a battle without bloodshed. Perhaps this was the potential influence the army aimed to capitalize upon, to utilize the imposing appearance of their standards to gain victory without bloodshed.

Trumpets

The use of trumpets¹²³ in battle can be categorized as a Roman battle expression and an identifier of a Roman army’s appearance, compared to other military forces of the Graeco-

¹²⁰ Livy 28.14.10 (Table 29i). *procul signa legionum fulgentia*.

¹²¹ Amm. 27.2.6 (Table 5v). *vexillorum splendentium facie terri, stetero Germani*.

¹²² Amm. 28.5.3 (Table 5y). See also Amm. 29.5.15 (Table 5z).

¹²³ For the different variety of trumpets and bronze instruments see: Veg. *DRM*. 2.7 (Table 67b) & Gleason (2008): 231-232.

Roman world. Roman military forces used trumpets to give orders on the battlefield and in camp.¹²⁴ Aside from orders issued via trumpet for action such as; duties; meals; military manoeuvres; striking camp; preparing for march, trumpets were used to initiate battle expression and were used as a form of battle expression. The trumpet served to unite and inspire Roman soldiers and instill fear within the enemy. Graeco-Roman authors refer to trumpets, associated with battle expression, from the early republic through to the late empire. The prevalence of references in the literary record, to inspire Roman soldiers and instill terror within the enemy on the battlefield, demonstrates the significant role these instruments played for the Roman army over a broad period.

Roman trumpet sounds on the battlefield were typically associated with the raising of a massed vocal shout/song/noise, connecting the trumpet to the battle expression.¹²⁵ The trumpets' initiation of vocal battle expression recurs in Livy's work,¹²⁶ for example:

“Marcellus ordered the trumpets to be sounded and a shout raised”¹²⁷

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, likewise, details the battle expression as being initiated by the trumpet blast followed by massed vocal noise.¹²⁸ Caesar, in his *Civil War*, reverses the process found in Livy and Dionysius as he roused his men through rhetoric to the point of vocal battle expression which resulted in the trumpets being sounded for battle:

“After this speech, when the soldiers were clamoring and blazing with enthusiasm for battle, he let the signal sound.”¹²⁹

Sallust in his history of the war against Jugurtha, details a tactic Marius employed, who aimed to surprise his enemy by maintaining strict silence before unleashing their battle expression;

¹²⁴ For examples of Roman trumpet use for issuing orders not related to battle expression see; Plut. *Pomp.* 70 (Table 51b); Plut. *Sul.* 29 (Table 52e); App. *BC.* 5.4.38 (Table 6c); Livy. 27.15.14 (Table 29g); Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.46 (Table 14b); Amm. 20.11.8 (Table 51); Jos. *BJ.* 3.86-91 (Table 26b).

¹²⁵ The literary sources do not detail the lyrics or noise associated with these massed vocal sounds initiated by trumpet, but are often translated as shouts or cries. Given the limitations of the term war cry/battle cry these vocal noises could very well be song.

¹²⁶ Livy. 10.40.14, 23.16 (Table 28); Livy. 25.37, 25.39.3, 30.33.13 (Table 29); Livy. 33.9.1-2 (Table 30b).

¹²⁷ Livy. 23.16.12. *Marcellus signa canere clamoremque tolli ac pedites primum* (Table 28n).

¹²⁸ D. H. *Ant.* 8.84. “Trumpets to sound the charge; and the soldiers, raising their usual battle-cry” (Table 19l). See also: D. H. *Ant.* 6.10.2 & 9.11.1 (Table 19).

¹²⁹ Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.90 (Table 14e).

the trumpet and massed vocal noise.¹³⁰ A type of battle expression consisted of all the trumpeters in the legion simultaneously sounding their instruments from which the troops undertook a massed vocal noise.¹³¹ The combination of trumpet and massed vocal noise as a battle expression appears typical of Roman custom.¹³² In the late empire, Roman armies continued with a similar, if not identical, battle expression. Ammianus Marcellinus refers to Roman trumpets initiating massed vocal cries during separate battle narratives.¹³³

The lack of details regarding the tune played by the trumpets and the lyrics makes it difficult to piece together the complete battle expression that combined both sonic elements. Greater clarity can be made of the impact this type of battle expression had on the Romans and their enemy in the lead up to battle. Polybius, in his summary of the battle of Zama in ca. 202 BC, claims that the sound of the Roman battle expression caused the elephants, within the ranks of the Carthaginian army, to take fright and turn on friendly troops. When the trumpets and bugles sounded from all sides, some of the animals took fright and at once turned tail and rushed back upon the Numidians who had come up to help the Carthaginians.¹³⁴

Graeco-Roman authors testify to the great and terrible noise that the trumpets and vocal noise created and the fear that overtook the enemy that bore witness to it.¹³⁵ Of note is the description made by Sallust when detailing the successful Marian surprise attack on Jugurtha's forces. After the enemy had excessively celebrated the night previously, thinking they had trapped Marius' Roman force. Marius waited to attack the enemy army in the morning he ordered strict silence upon his troops to ensure the noise of the battle expression would be optimal. As the order for trumpet and massed vocals was given, Sallust claims that:

¹³⁰ Sal. *Jug.* 99. "Marius...ordered the watchmen and likewise the horn blowers of the cohorts, of the cavalry squadrons and of the legions to sound simultaneously, and without warning, all their signals, and the soldiers to raise a shout" (Table 57d).

¹³¹ Jos. *BJ.* 3.265 (Table 26d).

¹³² Plut. *Sul.* 14.3. "Blasts of many trumpets and bugles, and by the cries and yells of the soldiery" (Table 52a). See also: Plut. *M. Cato.* 13.7. "with bray of trumpet and battle-cry" (Table 43a).

¹³³ Amm. 21.12.5. "The sound of the trumpets roused them to slay one another, and raising a shout they rushed to battle" (Table 5m). See also: Amm. 24.4.15 "the trumpets sounded their martial note, both sides raised a loud shout" (Table 5q) & Amm. 31.13.1. "On every side armour and weapons clashed, and Bellona, raging with more than usual madness for the destruction of the Romans, blew her lamentable war-trumpets; our soldiers who were giving way rallied, exchanging many encouraging shouts" (Table 5ab).

¹³⁴ Polyb. 15.12.8 (Table 54i). Also referred to in Livy 30.33.13. *tubae cornuaque ab Romanis cecinerunt, tantusque clamor ortus ut elephantum in suos* (Table 29j).

¹³⁵ For examples see: Livy. 25.37.10-12; 33.9.1-2 (Table 29); Plut. *Sul.* 14.3 (Table 52a); Sal. *Jug.* 99 (Table 57d).

“The Moors and Gaetulians, having been suddenly awakened by the strange and terrible sound, could not flee, arm themselves, or do or provide for anything at all; thus had terror, like a frenzy, seized everyone of them as a result of the clash of arms, the shouting, the lack of help, the charge of our men, and the confusion. In a word, they were all routed and put to flight, most of their arms and military standards were taken”¹³⁶

The impact the sound of the trumpets had on the Romans was juxtaposed with the impact it had on enemy forces. Speidel claims that horns, particularly the *bucina*, were blown before battle so that the fighting fever would grip the men.¹³⁷ Appian claims that the trumpets aroused the soldiers with their inspiring blasts¹³⁸ Ammianus provides a similar description, citing the trumpet blasts that aroused the army.¹³⁹ It appears that confidence spread amongst the Roman army because of the trumpet battle expression.¹⁴⁰

The combination of musical instruments and massed vocal noise on the battlefield reveals that high levels of rehearsal and coordination took place off the battlefield in preparation. The organization that would need to take place for an effectual impact on the battlefield suggests sophistication, cohesion and coordination on the part of the army.

Massed vocal noise

Recent scholarly work acknowledges that Romans did use war cries to frighten the enemy and to raise morale amongst the army, and that Roman military forces traditionally practiced two types of war/battle cries.¹⁴¹ Rance claims that a strict observance of intentional silence *en masse* was characteristic of the prelude to Roman battles against enemies.¹⁴² The need to hear orders and maintain formation was vital in the opening stages of a military engagement. With that in mind, what modern scholars fail to acknowledge are the other types of battle expression that

¹³⁶ Sal. Jug. 99. *Mauri atque Gaetuli, ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere neque arma capere neque omnino facere aut providere quicquam poterant; ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, formido [terrore] quasi vecordia ceperat.* (Table 57d).

¹³⁷ Speidel (1984): 33.

¹³⁸ App. BC. 2.11.78 (Table 6a).

¹³⁹ Amm. 24.5.9 (Table 5r).

¹⁴⁰ Amm. 27.10.12. “Urged on by the menacing blare of trumpets they advanced to the attack with bold confidence.” (Table 5x).

¹⁴¹ Cowan (2007); Rance (2015).

¹⁴² Rance (2015): 1.

were at the disposal of the Roman army. The lack of recognition for the cultural uniqueness and significance that the battle expression held for the soldiers on the battlefield is not directly present in modern work. Rance uses evidence from Cassius Dio for Rome's early imperial period and Vegetius and other writers for the later imperial period to support this.¹⁴³ Despite Rance's focus on silence prior to battle, he does acknowledge that Roman military forces performed "battle cries" immediately prior to, or upon, engagement with the enemy at close quarters. According to Rance, this practice intensified the psychological impact on the enemy. As Vegetius notes:

"The war shout should not be begun till both armies have joined, for it is a mark of ignorance or cowardice to give it at a distance. The effect is much greater on the enemy when they find themselves struck at the same instant with the horror of the noise and the points of the weapons."¹⁴⁴

Rance's acknowledgement that Roman armies traditionally employed a range of battlefield customs throughout its history, which diversified as their conquest of the Mediterranean world did, supports the battle expression concept. However, Rance does not detail the significance such actions had on the soldiers undertaking them and the socio-religious importance these traditions held within the Roman culture. Nor does Rance detail the military intent of these customs and the potential effects they could have on the enemy. When compared to the study of the Roman battle expression Rance's list is limited to silence, clashing of weapons against shields, the *barritus* and Christian inspired acclamation. There is no reference to other traditionally 'Roman' customs, such as the use of brass instruments and military insignia, or no mention of Roman deities (except for the Christian God). The problems associated with Roman civil war periods is overlooked and the adoption of non-Roman customs is restricted to the *barritus* and Christian invocations. Rance's study is reflective of modern scholarly understanding of the war cry; i.e. acknowledgement that there were battlefield practices adopted by specific cultural groups within the Graeco-Roman world. However, their understanding of the practice is limited in scope relating to the range of battle expression types and does not acknowledge their sophisticated nature or the significance these customs held for military forces.

¹⁴³ Dio. Cass. 49.9 (Table 17b); Veg. *DRM*. 3.18 (Table 67f); Amm. 16.12.43; 21.13.15 (Table 5); Procop. *Wars*. 4.11.36 (Table 55a).

¹⁴⁴ Veg. *DRM*. 3.18 (Table 67f).

The lyrics of massed vocal noise are not detailed with great clarity in the literary sources. Whether these authors felt no obligation to write down the lyrics due to the audience's familiarity with the songs/chants/cries is unclear. Perhaps the sources of information that authors used, or in the case of eye-witness accounts the inability to hear, or remember, may be a likely explanation.¹⁴⁵ Whatever the case may be it is clear that Romans did have a tradition of singing/chanting *en masse* in a battle context. The nature of these vocal arrangements was inspired by religious beliefs, socio-cultural factors or spontaneity given the situation at hand. The practice of Roman armies going into battle, during battle and/or after battle committing to massed vocal noise is prevalent in literary sources that range from the 1st century BC through to AD 4th century, and can, therefore, be categorized as a military phenomenon. Aside from Caesar's acknowledgement that Romans, indeed, practiced battle expression,¹⁴⁶ particularly vocal, evidence from Rome's early republic suggests Caesar's claims that the act of undertaking a battle expression was an ancient institution (*antiquitus institutum est*) is made apparent.

The reference to vocal battle expression is recorded by Graeco-Roman authors as being typically Roman alluding to a distinction between different military forces on the battlefield. Roman vocal battle expression is deemed unique to them, "the soldiers, raising their usual battle cry."¹⁴⁷ The translation associates the Roman battle expression as their own.¹⁴⁸ On the occasion when the early republican army, and their non-Roman enemy, both raise a battle expression it is stated that "they raised their war cries."¹⁴⁹ Whether the Roman military custom of clashing weapons against shield and the customs of the *Salii* connection can be, in a similar manner, applied to the vocal noise generated by the Roman army (especially during the early republic) remains to be seen. It could be inferred that the Salian hymns were transferred onto the battlefield and used by the military forces *veterem memoriam*.

Massed vocal noise was raised when the Romans forced the enemy to retreat. According to Plutarch's account of Marcellus' dedication of spolia opima to Jupiter Feretrius, the Roman

¹⁴⁵ Cowan (2007): 114-115; see also Chapter 2 of this thesis.

¹⁴⁶ Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.92 (Table 14f).

¹⁴⁷ D. H. *Ant.* 8.84 (Table 19l). σύνηθες ἀλαλάξαντες.

¹⁴⁸ D. H. *Ant.* 8.66, 9.70, 10.21, 10.46.5 (Table 19).

¹⁴⁹ D. H. *Ant.* 9.11 (Table 19o). ἔθενον ἀλαλάξαντες ὁμόσας.

exhortation to each other on the battlefield when in pursuit of a fleeing enemy to *feri* or “strike” was made known.¹⁵⁰ The fact that this reference was made in association with the origins of the epithet of Jupiter and not detailed in a battle narrative where the Romans had forced the enemy to flee is interesting. This may give weight to the idea that the audience of Graeco-Roman historical works were acquainted with the vocal noises from the battlefield and had no need of detail during battle narrative.

The impact that the vocal battle expression had on the army, and the enemy, of the early republic attests to its significance. Reference to the army repeatedly performing a massed vocal battle expression in preparation for an attack portrays it as a morale boosting exercise.¹⁵¹ The repeated performance presents the audience with an image of soldiers attempting to generate camaraderie and resolve for the battle to come. The effectiveness of this undertaking created an atmosphere that was inspiring to the participants, due to the continual performance of the vocal noise.¹⁵² The impact the battle expression had on the enemy was immense, as they withdrew from the battlefield before engagement. The avoidance of bloodshed through the implementation of massed vocal noise reveals that this form of battle expression could influence the outcome of a battle. This is evident during the opening stages of a battle between a Roman army and the Vosci, the ramification of an effective vocal battle expression left the Volscian confused and unable to remain on the battlefield.¹⁵³ The result was that the Volscian army fled to find refuge behind their settlement walls.

Military handbooks from AD 1st century highlight the nature, prevalence and purpose of massed vocal battle expressions. Onosander, in his *Strategikos*, recommends that generals send their army into battle making massed vocal noise (ἀλαλαγμῶ). In accompaniment with the clashing of weapons, the enemy would be adversely affected psychologically.¹⁵⁴ The collection of military principles and teachings detailed in Onosander’s handbook, was obtained from Roman practices.¹⁵⁵ Therefore, the referral to massed vocal noise, for the purpose of intimidating the enemy on the battlefield, was an established cultural tradition within the

¹⁵⁰ Plut. *Marc.* 8 (Table 46a).

¹⁵¹ D. H. *Ant.* 8.66 (Table 19k).

¹⁵² Had the battle expression not been successful or lacked enthusiasm, surely the efforts of the men to continue to attempt it would have faded out.

¹⁵³ D. H. *Ant.* 9.70 (Table 19p).

¹⁵⁴ Ono. *Strat.* 29 (Table 36e).

¹⁵⁵ Ono. *Strat.* Pr.8 (Table 36b).

Roman military. It was recorded, by Onosander, for contemporary military commanders and for posterity, so that Roman generals would continue the practice.

Evidence reveals that Roman armies continued to utilize massed vocal noise to culturally identify themselves on the battlefield during the late empire. Ammianus Marcellinus records that the army lyrically praised the socio-political leader of the Roman world, the emperor, in a battle expression. Ammianus records the events surrounding the siege of Amida, AD 359, between Roman and Persian forces:

“The hills re-echoed from the shouts which rose from both sides. Our men praised the prowess of Constantius Caesar, ‘lord of all things and of the world’, while the Persians hailed Sapor as Shahanshah and Peroz, titles which signify ‘king of kings’ and ‘conqueror of war’”¹⁵⁶

The battle expression detailed by Ammianus, reveals that the army honoured individuals based on their leadership within the Roman world. It was through a massed harmonious chant that the army praised the superiority of their Emperor and commander-in-chief, although he was not present at the siege. Before battle the army acknowledged Constantius Caesar as the “lord of all things and of the world.” The Persians, on the other hand, praised their commander-in-chief and king, “*Shahanshah*” and “*Peroz*.” From the perspective of the audience, this exchange of battle expression between powerful military opponents seems quite competitive. Of significance is the back and forth nature of the battle expression vocalized by each army. This seems reminiscent of football supporters inside a stadium competing with rival supporters to outcheer the other for supremacy of the atmosphere and to gain a psychological edge over the opposition. Football supporter groups, too, impose their identity on the opposing supporter group and the team. The reminder of identity is used to enthuse the players of the supported team to perform to the best of their ability. Ammianus’ reference contributes to the reader’s understanding of the tension and rivalry that these forces felt towards one another prior to battle. However, for the rank and file present on the battlefield the Latin battle expression of the Romans would have been difficult to understand for the common Persian soldier, likewise too, for those in the Roman force to understand the statements made by the Persian force.

¹⁵⁶ Amm 19.2.11 (Table 5j).

Whether Ammianus devised this exchange between the military forces gathered to heighten the narrative of the battle sequence he was describing and place the battle in the perspective of international military and political importance, or whether this was an actual recording of events as they transpired is of interest. As will be detailed later, Ammianus' description of the "*Barritus*" battle expression: which is referred to in scholarly works that relate to "Roman war cries"¹⁵⁷ is understood to be reliable, and so there are grounds for this battle expression to be viewed in the same light. Due to the author being present at this siege and being witness to the events. Of significance in this reference is Ammianus' claim that the noise generated by both military forces was heightened by the terrain, namely the hills, which would have made the statements made by both sets of forces more definite and audible. This may be used to support the credibility of the claims made in this reference.

Ammianus' reference suggests that Roman and Persian forces typically praised their political leader as a battle expression, not to topically intimidate and undermine the enemy and their commander-in-chief whether present or not, but to reaffirm the military prowess of their own political leaders and social system. The manner that the opposing forces chanted or shouted *en masse* the statements about their leaders in the presence of foreign speakers was used to intimidate, psychologically, the enemy. Ammianus' statement reinforces the argument that Roman military forces incorporated typically cultural characteristics into their massed vocal battle expression. In this reference the army extolled their political orientation through their acknowledgement and praise of the head of state, even though the emperor was not present at the siege. In the modern day, a comparison of this practice can be applied to "God save the Queen" in England.¹⁵⁸

This battle expression reflects Roman culture embraced the practice of addressing social superiors (political/military/religious) with titles.¹⁵⁹ The title awarded to the emperor, proclaimed by the army, would have been reminiscent of the standard imperial court etiquette of Constantius.¹⁶⁰ Constantius was referred to on the battlefield with a title he, and other emperors before him, would have been addressed with formally by their subjects. This notion

¹⁵⁷ Such as Whately (2016); Cowan (2007); Rance (2015); Speidel (2004).

¹⁵⁸ Along with other typically 'English' tunes sung by travelling supporters of English sporting teams such as the English cricket and football teams.

¹⁵⁹ This practice should also be applied to the Persian social tradition too. The Roman practice of clients addressing patrons as *Dominus* supports this idea.

¹⁶⁰ Or Sapor.

can be compared to the honorific titles awarded any socio-political leader of the modern world such as, your majesty (or grace) of English monarchs and Mr President, for the President of the United States. The vocal battle expression from Ammianus suggests that the social customs of the Romans inspired their battle expression during the imperial age.

Archaeological evidence

Rome's absorption of Hellenistic slingers into their army brought with it the tradition of inscribing sling bullets with taunts and acclamations of identity.¹⁶¹ Roman sling bullets have been excavated that bear inscriptions that contained the names of generals, legions and military units. Other versions contain images, such as lightning bolts and phalluses.¹⁶² The inscriptions found on sling bullets may provide significant insight into the nature and purpose of Roman battle expression. Proclamation of identity (commanding general, legion and unit name) on sling bullets complies with the literary evidence that refers to Roman armies taking pride in their legion number / name expressed on the battlefield through massed vocal noise and standards. The images of lightning and phalluses on sling bullets may reveal elements of Roman religious tradition and the power contained within symbols representative of those beliefs. Lightning was synonymous with Jupiter, and the connection between Jupiter Feretrius and Roman military practice is evident in the literary source material. The phallus was symbolic of the Roman god Priapus but may well have been inscribed on sling bullets to signify the penetrative qualities that a sling bullet had similar to a phallus. For slingers within the Roman army to impose religious customs onto the enemy, through inscribed sling bullets - physically, correlates with what has already been revealed regarding the connection between battle expression and Roman religion.

The intimidatory nature of battle expression types is displayed through inscribed sling bullets. The study of inscribed sling bullets adds an extra dimension to the purpose and significance the battle expression held militarily. The military intent of the battle expression and sling bullets was to impose Roman sentiment (identity, religious belief and cultural wit) over the enemy, for the purpose of inflicting serious psychological and physical injury on the enemy.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ See: Weiß (2006), in Brill's New Pauly. Roman slingers were integrated within the army no later than the middle of the 2nd century BC.

¹⁶² Weiß (2006).

¹⁶³ Sling bullets, naturally, focused on physically harming the enemy. The battle expression aimed to destroy the confidence levels of the enemy. This psychological advantage over the enemy sought after hoped to affect the military capabilities of the enemy with the purpose of influencing their retreat from the battlefield before the

Roman sling bullets unearthed at Perugia, from the Perusine War ca.41 BC, contain coarse sexual statements in the context of phallus imagery.¹⁶⁴ The wit and humour intended through these sling bullets, in particular, highlights unique features of Roman culture.¹⁶⁵ When compared with other examples from literary sources that encapsulates Roman cultural wit and humour it becomes apparent that battle expression types were inspired from cultural background. Roman armies insulted enemy forces using derogatory terms, often in a sexual context suggesting inferiority. According to Hallett, during the Perusine War between the forces of Antony¹⁶⁶ and Octavian both Roman armies utilized sling bullets to insult prominent individuals associated with the army, namely Fulvia and Octavian.¹⁶⁷ The culturally Roman nature of sling bullet inscriptions correlate with the battle expression and should be used as archaeological evidence to represent intentional attempts made by Roman armies to intimidate the enemy through uniquely Roman language and sentiment. The suggestion has been made that Roman sling bullets held religious significance with the god Priapus further highlights this argument.¹⁶⁸

The connection between sling bullet inscriptions, military triumphs and Roman religious tradition in a military context is clear. When used in conjunction Roman battle expression types can be categorized as containing ribald humour in a military context, intentional actions that reflects sophisticated organization on the part of the military high command and meaningful to the Roman religious tradition. Hallett's study of inscribed Roman sling bullets from the Perusine War contributes significantly to the study of the battle expression as it testifies to the culturally unique nature and significance of battle expression types.

advance to engage, or with the hope of generating an atmosphere where the enemy would be destroyed upon violent engagement.

¹⁶⁴ Weiß (2006) Octavia(ni) culum peto "*I am aiming at Octavian's backside*"

Fulviae [la]ndicam peto "*I am aiming at Fulvia's clitoris*"

For more information regarding sling bullets unearthed from the Perusine War see: Hallett (1977).

¹⁶⁵ By way of language used in a military context and intent to inflict physical damage on the enemy using disrespectful, derogatory sentiments. See: Hallett (1977): 151-154.

¹⁶⁶ Specifically, Antony's brother and his wife Fulvia on his behalf.

¹⁶⁷ Hallett (1977): 154 "the sling-bullets level insults at both opposing sides, and do so in much the same manner. Whether the words directed at Octavian were meant by way of retort to those aimed at Fulvia and Lucius Antonius, or vice versa, would seem impossible to ascertain. One can, however, feel confident that the sling-bullets were designed not only as the instruments of their addressees' comeuppance, but also as testimony to the disrepute in which these addressees were held. Other, literary, evidence suggests that contemporary Romans would have deemed this, linguistic and physical, style of attack thoroughly humiliating, that they would have reckoned the words on the gaudes, in tone and in purpose, not simply obscene, but downright derisive and degrading to the parties concerned."

¹⁶⁸ Hallett (1977): 155.

Roman civil war periods and the integration of non-Roman forms of battle expression

The Roman battle expression during periods of civil war emphasized the unique cultural nature it took. Battles that took place during Roman civil war periods resulted in the cessation of traditional battle expression forms, or the alteration and development into different practices. The lyrics acclaimed, the movement carried out, the clashing of weapons against shield and the blast of trumpets, customary of traditional Roman battle expression, that aimed to culturally unite soldiers against non-Roman enemies in battle, proved problematic during civil war periods. The outbreak of civil war during the late republic and early imperial age pitted Roman army against itself. The morale boosting and intimidatory practices, that were effective against non-Roman enemies, did not have the same effect on these occasions.

Appian details the siege of Mutina from 43 BC between the Roman forces controlled by Octavian and Antony. In this battle scenario the Roman armies opposing each other purposefully did not perform a battle expression. The reasoning behind this tactic, according to Appian, was that it would not serve to benefit either force; due to the familiarity each side had with the Roman battle expression.

“Being veterans they raised no battle-cry, since they could not expect to terrify each other, nor in the engagement did they utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished.”¹⁶⁹

Of significance, the army assumed they did not have a battle expression available that would have surprised or served to gain a psychological advantage over their compatriots. This may suggest the Romans primarily used culturally specific battle expression forms when fighting an enemy. The attempts to frighten the enemy through the manner of the battle expression seems obvious: however, the battle expression served to culturally unite the soldiers against non-Roman enemies. Roman civil war periods proved, as demonstrated through Appian, problematic in relation to the battle expression. Civil war periods created confusion and ineffectiveness for the battle expression as described by Tacitus:

“Throughout the night the battle raged in many forms, indecisive and fierce, destructive, first to one side, then to the other. Courage, strength, even the eye with its

¹⁶⁹ App. *BC.* 3.9.68 (Table 6b).

keenest sight, were of no avail. Both armies fought with the same weapons; the watchword, continually asked, became known; the colours were confused together, as parties of combatants snatched them from the enemy, and hurried them in this or that direction.”¹⁷⁰

It was during the devastating AD 68-70 civil wars that the battle expression shifted to gain an advantage over a similar enemy. Stressing the identity and reputation of an individual legion was one method employed during the civil war to galvanize potentially unwilling armies to fight against compatriots. Tacitus details a key battle during the Batavian Rebellion (AD 69-70), legion fought against legion and their commanders, familiar with Roman military practice, aimed to evoke the spirit of individual divisions within their armies. Even though this rebellion aimed at liberating the tribes of Batavia from Roman rule and the military forces of Civilis contained many Germanic warriors, the Germanic tribes had long been enrolled in military service for Rome. The ethnicity of the Civilian army focused on the removal of any friendly association with Rome. Opposing Civilis was Cerialis’ army (predominantly Roman in ethnicity). His focus on legion identity and honour while emphasizing a stable empire was used to overcome this difficult military encounter:

“Cerialis recalled the ancient glories of the Roman name, their victories old and new; he urged them to destroy forever these treacherous and cowardly foes whom they had already beaten; it was vengeance rather than battle that was needed. “You have recently fought against superior numbers, and yet you routed the Germans, and their picked troops at that: those who survive carry terror in their hearts and wounds on their backs.” He applied the proper spur to each of the legions, calling the Fourteenth the “Conquerors of Britain,” reminding the Sixth that it was by their influence that Galba had been made emperor, and telling the Second that in the battle that day they would dedicate their new standards, and their new eagle. Then he rode toward the German army, and stretching out his hands begged these troops to recover their own river-bank and their camp at the expense of the enemy’s blood. An enthusiastic shout arose from all.

Nor did Civilis form his lines in silence, but called on the place of battle to bear witness to his soldiers’ bravery: he reminded the Germans and Batavians that they were

¹⁷⁰ Tac. *Hist.* 3.22 (Table 62f).

standing on the field of glory, that they were trampling underfoot the bones and ashes of Roman legions. “Wherever the Roman turns his eyes,” he cried, “captivity, disaster, and dire omens confront him. You must not be alarmed by the adverse result of your battle with the Treviri: there their very victory hampered the Germans, for they dropped their arms and filled their hands with booty: but everything since has gone favourably for us and against the Romans. Every provision has been made that a wise general should make: the fields are flooded, but we know them well; the marshes are fatal to our foes. Before you are the Rhine and the gods of Germany: engage under their divine favour, remembering your wives, parents, and fatherland: this day shall crown the glories of our sires or be counted the deepest disgrace by our descendants!” When the Germans had applauded these words with clashing arms and wild dancing according to their custom.”¹⁷¹

Admittedly, the speeches recorded by Tacitus are fictional and inspired by his own literary tradition, however, the sentiment found within them may not necessarily be far from the truth. Of significance, in the speeches, by AD 69-70 the composition of the army was heavily influenced by non-Roman warriors. The emphasis on avenging Rome and legion identity, by Cerialis, suggests the composition of his forces may not have necessarily been ethnically Roman. The agenda to remove Roman association from Civilis’ army, but instead focusing on German customs highlights the complex and racial mixture that the Roman army had already found itself during the early imperial period.

The competition and rivalry between the legions, driven by their honour, reputation and spirit/*Genii* may help explain the determination of Roman armies fighting against each other during the civil war between Otho and Vitellius in AD 69. Tacitus makes a clear distinction between legions in his battle narrative between the forces of Otho and Vitellius. The specific details provided regarding the successes and failures of legions suggests that the types of battle expression adopted by these armies were inspired by unit/legion identity:

“On that of Otho was the 1st, called *Adjutrix*, which had never before been brought into the field, but was high-spirited, and eager to gain its first triumph. The men of the 1st, overthrowing the foremost ranks of the 21st, carried off the eagle. The 21st, infuriated

¹⁷¹ Tac. *Hist.* 5.16-17 (Table 62g).

by this loss, not only repulsed the 1st, and slew the legate, Orfidius Benignus, but captured many colours and standards from the enemy.”¹⁷²

The above extract details the achievements of individual legions within the Roman armies that fought against each other in the recorded battle. The identification of the Roman legions as the “1st” called “*Adjutrix*” and the “21st” and not simply a Roman legion relates to the problem Roman civil war periods had on the identity of the Roman army. This extract suggests that the focus on individual legion names and numbers within the Roman army took on a different form of importance for group identity during civil war periods. To generate the feeling of otherness from the enemy who were essentially the same, this extract suggests that Roman legions took on greater pride and identity from the legion they were integrated than simply being a soldier in a Roman army. The care of the author to take note of the “1st” called “*Adjutrix*”, which was fighting its very first engagement, and the “21st” could very well reveal that the battle expression performed by these forces in the recorded battle were based on their unit name and number. For example, massed vocal noise expressing before battle ‘we are the men of the 1st the *Adjutrix*!’ In response the 21st could have replied ‘we are the 21st’ The extract details what each legion did to the other during the battle – the 1st stole the eagle from the 21st and then the 21st to repair that disgrace slew the legate and captured many of the standards of the 1st – through recording these details the author has acknowledged evidence of taunting over the course of the battle between these two rival legions. The taunting was based on what legion did what to another Roman legion as a way of professing the fighting qualities of their military force to boost the morale of their own men as well as to affect the psyche of their enemy.

Civil war periods, with the devastation and general unwillingness of legions to fight against other legions, saw the Roman battle expression descend into insulting compatriots and proclaiming the proud origins of legion identity. According to Tacitus, massed vocal battle expression, both spontaneous and traditional, were performed by opposing legions during the AD 69 war between Otho and Vitellius. Legion and commander glorification, coupled with the denunciation of opposing legions and their commander, served to successfully generate a volatile and intimidatory atmosphere that stimulated enthusiasm amongst the combatants for battle:

¹⁷² Tac. *Hist.* 2.43 (Table 62d).

“On both sides was a feeling of shame; on both an ambition for glory. Different exhortations were heard: one side exalted the strength of the legions and the army from Germany, while the other praised the high renown of the town soldiery and the praetorian cohorts. The Vitellians assailed their opponents as lazy and indolent, soldiers corrupted by the circus and the theatre; those within the town attacked the Vitellians as foreigners and barbarians. At the same time, while they thus lauded or blamed Otho and Vitellius, their mutual insults were more productive of enthusiasm than their praise.”¹⁷³

In the case of the civil war between Constantine and Maxentius in early AD 4th century, religious symbology adopted by Constantine’s forces differed from that of Maxentius’ legions. Constantine’s amendments to the military standards¹⁷⁴ and soldiers’ shields,¹⁷⁵ within his army at the battle of Milvian Bridge, permitted his forces to appear different from their counterparts. According to Lactantius, Constantine’s adoption of the *Chi Rho* symbol reflected a religious invocation to a God Constantine viewed as the bringer of victory. The willingness of Constantine’s troops to alter their traditional shield design, suggests several factors. Primarily, the loyalty of the army to Constantine was evident; the troops potentially viewed the changed appearance of their shields to be beneficial in battle, so as not to be confused with the enemy; the potential support of a powerful deity/spiritual force that was believed to bring victory was viewed as attractive by the troops, who were accustomed to divine invocation and benevolence.

Civil war periods clearly brought with it a host of military problems. One of these was the sterilization of psychological warfare which aimed to inspire Roman troops and terrify non-Roman enemies. The familiar nature of battle expression meant that traditional military practice would not benefit either army gathered for battle. Significantly, civil war periods demonstrate that the Roman battle expression was culturally unique compared to other military forces of the Graeco-Roman world, whereby common military practices were used across the empire by every legion. Alternatives were sought after and found by way of honouring legion and/or military commander identity, both of which united friendly soldiers against opposing forces. The denunciation of the enemy by way of ethnic/social composition of the legion

¹⁷³ Tac. *Hist* 2.21 (Table 62b).

¹⁷⁴ Eus. *VC*. 1.28-31 (Table 20a); Bruun (1997): 41-42

¹⁷⁵ Lac. *DM*. 44.5 (Table 27a).

opposite, inspired from geographical origin of formation or service, and the belittlement of opposing military commanders, served to overcome the limitations of the battle expression.

Graeco-Roman literary sources reveal that the Romans adopted and manipulated non-Roman military battle expressions to suit their own needs, much like how the Romans adopted and manipulated other cultural aspects from foreign peoples for their own benefit, such as the conversion of Greek deities into Roman equivalents. Rance, supports this argument claiming the Roman war cry of Germanic origin, the *barritus*, imitated the martial custom prevalent among *auxilia palatina* from east of the Rhine.¹⁷⁶ Battle expression of the late empire incorporated Christian invocations, which Rance highlights.

As the empire grew from the early imperial period into the late empire the integration of non-Roman military units into the army typified the battle expression of the military juggernaut.¹⁷⁷ As seen above, civil war periods of the late republic and early empire witnessed non-Roman units within the army adopt traditional customs to differentiate themselves on the battlefield.¹⁷⁸ Speidel claims that the progressive barbarization of the army, especially during the 3rd century is an undeniable fact.¹⁷⁹ Tribal or regional contingents that, during AD 2nd century, had become permanent and almost-regular army units within the army, served far away from their traditional lands in distant corners of the empire, garrisoning their assigned frontier districts for over a century. These non-Roman units may have continued to worship their native gods while serving in the army and were encouraged by the High Command to continue to excel in their native fighting skills. Despite elements of Romanization in these units, barbarian elite units contributed to the reformation of the traditional Roman army.¹⁸⁰ Speidel suggests that the integration of non-Roman units represented the nucleus of the nascent field army.¹⁸¹

Archaeology reveals that temples, tombstone images and inscriptions testify to the retention of barbarian influence on the Roman army. The Mauri from North Africa served in Dacia and

¹⁷⁶ Rance (2015): 1.

¹⁷⁷ For a comprehensive examination of the Roman *auxilia* between the reigns of Augustus and Alexander Severus see: Haynes (2013).

¹⁷⁸ This is particularly the case with the Batavian Rebellion of 69-70 and the reference; Tac. *Hist.* 5.16-17 (Table 62g).

¹⁷⁹ Speidel (1984): 118. For research surrounding recruitment of the Roman army see: Dobson & Mann (1973).

¹⁸⁰ Speidel (1984): 118-123.

¹⁸¹ Speidel (1984): 128.

Hadrian's Wall.¹⁸² The enrollment of Sarmatian cavalry into the army for service in Britain,¹⁸³ and incorporation of Germanic warriors within Trajan's army for his Dacian campaign,¹⁸⁴ from AD second century, reinforces the trend of the imperial period to integrate non-Roman units into the army. Ammianus Marcellinus describes the *Draco*, or dragon headed military standard, that was adopted by the army from the Sarmatians:

“And behind the manifold others that preceded him he was surrounded by dragons, woven out of purple thread and bound to the golden and jewelled tops of spears, with wide mouths open to the breeze and hence hissing as if roused by anger, and leaving their tails winding in the wind.”¹⁸⁵

The noise generated by the *draco* standard would have been eerie and may help explain why it was integrated into the army. The importance that the Sarmatian *draco* standard held in the army is revealed by Vegetius who claims that those who carried this standard into battle were from a significant officer class, entitled *Draconarii*.¹⁸⁶

The development of the battle expression, as a result of the integration of non-Roman customs within the army, is elucidated in Ammianus' description of the *barritus*. Due to its effectiveness, in intimidating the enemy and encouraging the participants to fight with greater spirit, became a typical battle expression of the Roman army during the late empire.¹⁸⁷ Modern scholars, such as Rance, supports this argument claiming the *barritus* imitated the martial custom prevalent among *auxilia palatina* from east of the Rhine.¹⁸⁸ The effect this noise had on the enemy was profound. The overpowering sound and energy that came from the Roman army forced the enemy to flee.¹⁸⁹ Speidel uses a bronze foil from a Germanic helmet (Fig.1) unearthed in Denmark to demonstrate the nature of the *barritus* cry.¹⁹⁰ From this image Speidel claims that warriors who undertook it held aloft their shields close to their mouths as they cried aloud. The enhanced sound generated by this contributed to an imposing atmosphere. The

¹⁸² Speidel (1984): 124-125.

¹⁸³ Dio. Cass. 72.16.1-2 (Table 17e). See also: Littleton & Thomas (1978): 520 & Wadge (1987): 209.

¹⁸⁴ For a study on the Germanic warriors depicted on Trajan's column see: Speidel (2004).

¹⁸⁵ Amm 16.10.7 (Table 5b).

¹⁸⁶ Veg. *DRM*. 2.7 (Table 67b).

¹⁸⁷ Amm. 26.7.17 (Table 5u). See also: Amm. 16.12.43; 21.13.15; 31.7.11 (Table 5); Speidel (2004): 110-111.

¹⁸⁸ Rance (2015): 1.

¹⁸⁹ Amm. 21.13.15 (Table 5n).

¹⁹⁰ Speidel (2004): 112. Figure 10.1 (Helmet from grave VII, Valsgärde, Uppland, Denmark).

reverberations caused by the vocal noise into the shield allowed individuals to determine the strength of their cry, and hence the likelihood of victory.¹⁹¹



Fig.1. Bronze foil depicting warriors undertaking the *barritus* from the helmet in grave VII at Valsgärde, Uppland, Denmark.

The Roman army's shift in traditional battle expression types of the early and late empire can be attributed to the problems experienced on the battlefield during periods of civil war. Rome's expansion around the Mediterranean world led to its exposure to non-Roman cultures. Effective elements of non-Roman military units and their battlefield customs, such as the *barritus* and *draco* standard, were integrated into the army. As Rome's socio-political status changed with its territorial expansion, namely the power of the emperor and the rise of the Christian faith, battlefield practices reflected this changing culture. With all these changes, the Roman army was still able to subtly retain traditional battle expression in the process, such as standards: trumpets and massed vocal noise, albeit in consideration of socio-political ideology at the time.

Conclusions

The intentional appearance of ancient military forces is a feature of the battle expression. This military practice was universally adopted by every culture within the confines of the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world. The appearances forged by armies and warriors often reflected

¹⁹¹ Speidel (2004): 111. "Romans too believed that when armies met, the strength of their respective war cries foreshadowed the outcome of battle: a weak war cry betrayed fear, a strong one showed strength and eagerness."

cultural traits of the military force, such as the types of clothing and armour worn, the weapons and equipment carried and hairstyles. The intentional image that ancient armies and warriors presented on the battlefield served to unnerve the enemy, and it attempted to hinder their military potential. For friendly troops, the sight and sound of familiarity aimed to distinguish friend from foe in the heat of battle as well as to instill a sense of confidence and belonging, countering any notion of isolation or weakness in the lead up to and during battle. Evidence suggests that the armies of Sparta, Macedon and Rome had unique identifiers associated with their typical battlefield appearance. These identifiers had links to socio-political and religious traditions that were incorporated into military custom.

Chapter 7. Battlefield oaths

Military oaths recited by individuals, military units or entire armies on the battlefield is another dimension of the ancient Graeco-Roman battle expression. Oaths were covenants made between two or more parties which sought to generate benevolence for each party associated. In the military context, battlefield oaths served to ensure victory and preserve the honour for the oath taker/s while guaranteeing the fulfilment of a material promise made to the party (often a deity) that facilitated the oath taker/s victorious endeavors. Graeco-Roman literary evidence reveals that Greek battlefield oaths were commonly socio-religious in nature where oath takers publicly made a pact with patron deities to bear witness to pledges made that actions promised will be fulfilled, such as defeating the enemy unto death or to continue fighting until death. Roman battlefield oaths generally contrasted with their Greek counterparts. Roman battlefield oaths aimed to invoke the benevolence of targeted deities to guarantee victory for the oath takers. In recompense for victorious support, oath takers would pledge to glorify the deity in question with the dedication of a religious sanctuary (temple, shrine) or initiate commemorative ritual for the worship of the subjected deity.

The Spartans are claimed to have recited the oath of the “sworn bands” from the late 6th century BC onwards.¹ There are clear links between this oath and the so-called “Oath at Plataea” that was said to have been sworn at the Isthmus prior to the Battle of Plataea in 479 BC.² The Spartan sworn band was a squad of forty soldiers bound together by a solemn oath. According to Van Wees, there are clear elements of the Oath of Plataea that originated from the oath of the sworn bands.³ These include the promise to fight to the death for the freedom of Sparta, a pledge of loyalty to the officer class and fellow soldier in life and death, and a promise to provide dead comrades with proper burial rites. Each of these elements were rooted in the writings of Tyrtaeus.⁴

The oath sworn by the “Seven” in Aeschylus’ *Seven Against Thebes* generally complies with the understanding of ancient battlefield oaths. That is deities were used as witnesses to a pledge made. The oath itself is not based on acquiring the deities’ support in achieving victory, but

¹ Van Wees (2006): 135.

² See: Diodorus. 11.29.2-4; Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 81; Van Wees (2006).

³ Van Wees (2006): 135.

⁴ Van Wees (2006): 151-153.

rather using them as witnesses to the promise that victory will be achieved, or the seven oath takers would die attempting to achieve the pledge:

“Seven men, bold leaders of companies, slaughtered a bull, let its blood run into a black-rimmed shield, and touching the bull’s blood with their hands swore an oath by Ares, Enyo, and blood-loving Terror, that they would either bring destruction on the city, sacking the town of the Cadmeans by force, or perish and mix their blood into the soil of this land; and with their own hands, shedding tears, they were adorning the chariot of Adrastus with mementoes of themselves to take home to their parents.”⁵

Torrance claims that this type of oath recorded in Aeschylus’ play is both recognisable yet uncanny in nature.⁶ The oath takers slaughter a bull over a black-rimmed shield, touching the animal blood with their hands. They invoke Ares and Enyo and blood-loving Terror and swear that they will destroy the city and sack the town of the Cadmeans by force or die making the earth a paste with their blood. They send mementoes home to their parents, presumably locks of their hair shedding tears in the process. According to Torrance, the nature of this battlefield oath is unprecedented. Many features of the Seven’s oath are recognisable in non-military related oath taking such as law-court oath processes and male initiation into adulthood (ephebic oath). However, for oath takers to invoke a triad of exclusively militaristic deities – Ares, Enyo and Phobos (Terror) – and the physical contact with the oath victim’s blood is unique.⁷ It is not surprising that these militaristic gods are associated with the battlefield oath of the Seven, as these gods are invoked in other types of Greek battle expression, such as the paean.

Roman generals and armies prior to battle made oaths and dedications to their deities in exchange for victory. Public oaths dedicated to the gods galvanized the army to fulfil covenants made. Graeco-Roman literary sources suggest there was a process in the creation of a military oath. An oath was usually initiated by the commander of the army, who would invoke a god - whether the god selected was designated due to the time of year; the situation at hand; the commander’s knowledge of deities and their roles, remains to be seen. The pledge made by the commander to the god would be pronounced publicly: the dedication of a temple structure; the development of a priestly order; a promise to be loyal/to defeat the enemy/to never surrender;

⁵ Aesch. *Sept.* 42-51 (Table 4a).

⁶ Torrance, I. (2015): 282.

⁷ Torrance, I. (2015): 282.

the dedication of booty, was then made and supported, almost in a choreographed sequence, by the army via some kind of united massed vocal acclamation in support of the selection of god and covenant made. Onosander's *Strategikos* dedicates a chapter to "Propitiation of the divine power by the general before leading the army into battle." This military handbook clearly instructed Roman generals that religious obligation to the gods based on what the law dictated was a necessary requirement for gaining the influence of the gods for any military enterprise.⁸

The piety shown by Roman military forces through this form of battle expression reveals a level of spiritual meaning and sophistication by way of the selection process of deity and dedication promised. One such example is connected to Brutus' oath made to overthrow and defeat the tyrannical reign of the Tarquinii:

"He swore by Mars and all the other gods that he would do everything in his power to overthrow the dominion of the Tarquinii and that he would neither be reconciled to the tyrants himself nor tolerate any who should be reconciled to them, but would look upon every man who thought otherwise as an enemy and till his death would pursue with unrelenting hatred both the tyranny and its abettors; and if he should violate his oath, he prayed that he and his children might meet with the same end as Lucretia.

Having said this, he called upon all the rest also to take the same oath; and they, no longer hesitating, rose up, and receiving the dagger from one another, swore."⁹

Brutus' oath, despite not being on a field of battle, but in the house where Lucretia had committed suicide, marks the prelude to the uprising against the last king of Rome. Its military context is evident, and this oath may have served as inspiration for later Roman armies when confronted with similar tyrannical military opponents.

During the early republic, the typical military oath was to stand by and remain loyal to the standards and the commander.¹⁰ The nature of oath taking involved the oath maker holding aloft their sword, or primary weapon, and swearing to specific gods by name and detailing the

⁸ Ono. *Strat.* 5 (Table 36a).

⁹ D.H. *Ant.* 4.70-71 (Table 19f).

¹⁰ D. H. *Ant.* 6.45 (Table 19i); Livy. 22.38.2-3 (Table 28m). This is supported by Campbell (2006), in Brill's New Pauly.

covenant that would be made between them. One example of such a process is of the oath taken by Flavoleius:

“he held up his sword and took the oath traditional among the Romans and regarded by them as the mightiest of all, swearing by his own good faith that he would return to Rome victorious over the enemy, or not at all.”¹¹

What is interesting in this extract is that the oath made by Flavoleius is referred to as traditional among the Romans (*ἐπιχώριόν τε Ρωμαίοις*), suggesting that this oath was commonly used in military contexts during the early republic. There were other types of oaths made in military contexts by the Romans. The Flavoleius oath, to return to Rome victorious or not at all, is dubbed as “the mightiest of all” (*κράτιστον ὄρκον*), suggesting there were a variety of military oaths that could be made before the onset of battle. Of note, in this reference, the oath maker is not the commander-in-chief of the army, but rather a *primipilus*, or senior centurion of a legion.¹² Flavoleius was a well-respected man within the rank and file of the military and after he had made this vow inspired the rest of the military force to do likewise which caused great inspiration to fill the Roman army:

“After Flavoleius had taken this oath there was great applause from all; and immediately both the consuls did the same, as did also the subordinate officers, both tribunes and centurions, and last of all the rank and file. When this had been done, great cheerfulness came upon them all and great affection for one another and also confidence and ardour.”¹³

Following from the oath inspired by Flavoleius, the consuls, who were in command of the army, further invoked the support of the gods by “vows, sacrifices, and prayers to be their guides as they marched out, led the army out of the camp in regular order and formation.”¹⁴

The order of the *Salii* was developed during the reign of King Hostilius in the 7th century BC in accordance with a vow made in a war against the Sabines. The role of the *Salii* were to dance

¹¹ D. H. *Ant.* 9.10.4 (Table 19n).

¹² D. H. *Ant.* 9.10.2 (Table 19m).

¹³ D. H. *Ant.* 9.10.4-5 (Table 19n).

¹⁴ D. H. *Ant.* 9.10.6 (Table 19n).

and sing to hymns in praise of the gods of war.¹⁵ From this narrative it is understood that an oath or invocation of war gods was made, presumably in the lead up to battle between the Romans (led by King Hostilius) and the Sabines. The covenant made between King Hostilius and the war gods of Rome was the extension of the *Salii* order, in which a key feature was for the *Salii* to dance and sing hymns in honour of the war gods in commemoration of their military victory over the Sabines.

The promise to construct a temple dedicated to a specific deity was another form of military oath made by Roman commanders. Aside from the public building to be constructed, these types of oaths provide information on which gods were viewed as Roman war gods. Livy details an oath made by consul C. Cornelius Cethegus in ca.197 BC in the lead up to battle against the Insubres. In this oath the consul pledged:

“a temple to Juno Sospita if the enemy should be routed and put to flight that day; the soldiers raised a shout affirming that they would ensure the fulfillment of the consul’s prayer, and the attack on the enemy began.”¹⁶

The promise to erect a temple dedicated to the goddess Juno, who, with the epithet ‘*Sospita*’ was deemed to be a ‘saviour’ within a military context. In this capacity Juno *Sospita* was a war goddess. The Roman army, by raising a shout that affirmed the consul’s pledge suggests that they were supportive of the oath made and of the deity invoked.

Another form of Roman military oath was the practice of promising to offer up an enemy suit of armour to the gods as a means of gaining their benefaction. According to Plutarch, before battle against the Gauls, led by their king Viridomarus, Marcellus vowed that he would consecrate to Jupiter Feretrius the most beautiful suit of armour among the Gallic host.¹⁷ Plutarch explains that Jupiter may have been given the epithet, *Feretrius*, due to the Latin word *ferire*, which means to smite - in reference to Jupiter’s thunder wielding capabilities. The epithet, according to Plutarch, may also originate from the Roman exhortation to each other on the battlefield when in pursuit of a fleeing enemy to *feri* or “strike.”¹⁸ During the ensuing battle

¹⁵ D. H. *Ant.* 2.70 (Table 19).

¹⁶ Livy. 32.30.10 (Table 30a).

¹⁷ Plut. *Marc.* 6-8 (Table 46a).

¹⁸ Plut. *Marc.* 8 (Table 46a).

narrative Plutarch claims that the Gallic king (Viridomarus) challenged Marcellus to single combat in which Marcellus determined that the armour worn by this king was the finest within the enemy army and accepted combat. After defeating the enemy king Marcellus leapt from his horse:

“Laying his hands upon the armour of the dead, he looked towards heaven and said: “O Jupiter Feretrius, who beholdest the great deeds and exploits of generals and commanders in wars and fightings, I call thee to witness that I have overpowered and slain this man with my own hand, being the third Roman ruler and general so to slay a ruler and king, and that I dedicate to thee the first and most beautiful of the spoils. Do thou therefore grant us a like fortune as we prosecute the rest of the war.”¹⁹

Of note, Plutarch details the fulfilment of the oath of Marcellus whereby during the triumph held in Rome to commemorate the victory in battle over the Gauls, the suit of armour was displayed and deposited in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.²⁰ Through the personification of Jupiter and his epithet Feretrius, Roman commanders were able to discern amicable Roman deities against foreign enemies on the battlefield to use for inspiration and benefaction.²¹

Further evidence to support the notion that Romans in the lead up to battle sought the positive intervention from the gods by way of oath taking is revealed through Plutarch’s *Life of Sulla*.²² According to Plutarch:

“Sulla had a little golden image of Apollo from Delphi which he always carried in his bosom when he was in battle, but that on this occasion he took it out and kissed it affectionately, saying: “O Pythian Apollo, now that thou hast in so many struggles raised the fortunate Cornelius Sulla to glory and greatness, can it be that thou hast brought him to the gates of his native city only to cast him down there, to perish most shamefully with his fellow-countrymen?” Thus, invoking the god, they say, he

¹⁹ Plut. *Marc.* 7 (Table 46a).

²⁰ Plut. *Marc.* 8 (Table 46a).

²¹ Despite Polybius not referring to this episode in his earlier recording of this battle - which may suggest Plutarch’s embellishment of the exact circumstances - it is still a useful source when focusing on the use of oaths, the deities’ Roman military forces sought support from, and the types of covenants made on the battlefield as a Roman battle expression.

²² Plut. *Sul.* 29 (Table 52e).

entreated some of his men, threatened others, and laid hands on others still; but at last his left wing was completely shattered”²³

In this extract, rather than Sulla making a covenant with Apollo for victory, Sulla attempted to, in public view of his soldiers, invoke the god - or at least be seen to be invoking the god - by reminding those within earshot of his past military success, due to the aid of the deity in question. Sulla aimed to strengthen the fighting determination of his distressed left wing by appearing to invoke Pythian Apollo. Unfortunately for Sulla, his attempt to stir his men into successful action did not work. Indeed, what is clear from this extract is that Roman soldiers could carry on their person amulets or statuettes of deities into battle. Furthermore, Roman soldiers could use a personal deity as a means for inspiration in the lead up to battle, as Sulla did. It could also be asserted that individual soldiers had the ability to create their own covenants with select divinities and that those soldiers within their immediate section of the battle line may bear witness to these oaths.

The practice of Roman soldiers swearing an oath to Roman gods, as a battle expression, continued into the late empire. Ammianus Marcellinus details the period of hostility between Procopius and Valens.²⁴ On the battlefield, in the lead up to an engagement between two Roman military forces, Ammianus claims that Procopius (leading one of the Roman armies) ventured out into the middle of the battlefield, as if to challenge the enemy. However, instead of single combat Procopius made a gesture of peace with the opposing commander, Vitalianus.²⁵ According to Ammianus, Procopius was so successful in preventing the two Roman armies from fighting each other that they, instead, joined forces under the command of Procopius.²⁶ It was once the armies had joined forces that Ammianus details an example of a military oath. In the celebratory atmosphere on this would be battlefield, Ammianus states that the soldiers:

“Swearing in the soldiers’ manner by Jupiter that Procopius would be invincible.”²⁷

²³ Plut. *Sul.* 29 (Table 52e).

²⁴ Amm. 26.7.15-17 (Table 5u).

²⁵ Amm. 26.7.15-16 (Table 5u).

²⁶ Amm. 26.7.17 (Table 5u).

²⁷ Amm. 26.7.17. *testati more militiae Iovem, invictum Procopium fore.*

The battle expression detailed in this extract relates to the Roman soldiers swearing an oath to Jupiter that their designated commander would be victorious in his upcoming war. Even though this episode did not result in a battle, what is significant, is that Ammianus claims that this oath was customary to Roman soldiers in a battle context; *testati more militiae*.

The late empire saw great alterations to the Roman military, by way of integration of non-Roman units and customs into the army. For example, in the verses that precede the extract above, Ammianus details the arguments put forward by Procopius which convinced the armies not to fight each other. These arguments stressed: the unity of Rome; and war against foreigners.²⁸ Ammianus details that instead of the *barritus*,²⁹ which was an adopted Germanic battle expression reserved for the heat of battle, the soldiers adopted the customary Roman battle expression of taking an oath to Jupiter. As a result of Procopius' arguments, the Roman armies were restored along nationalistic and ethnic cultural lines, which culminated in the undertaking of a typical battle expression, the military oath.

AD 5th century author, Vegetius, demonstrates that the tradition of military oaths continued into the Christian era. In his work, *De Re Militari*, Vegetius records the military oath legionaries took once they enrolled into the army and received the military mark on their hands:

“They swear by God, by Christ and by the Holy Ghost; and by the Majesty of the Emperor who, after God, should be the chief object of the love and veneration of mankind...The soldiers, therefore, swear they will obey the Emperor willingly and implicitly in all his commands, that they will never desert and will always be ready to sacrifice their lives for the Roman Empire.”³⁰

The similarities between the late empire and the republican military oath is clear, revealing a tradition that did not vary greatly. The promise to remain loyal to the commander of the military and to never desert the standards is a clear commonality. The main difference is the political and religious orientation of Rome during the republic and late empire. The political rule of the emperor in the late empire compared to the senatorial system of the republic coupled with the

²⁸ Amm. 26.7.16 (Table 5u). “En” inquit “cana Romanorum exercituum fides et religionibus firmis iuramenta constricta! Placet, fortissimi viri, pro ignotis tot suorum consurrexisse mucrones...”

²⁹ *descivere libentes ad eum, et pro terrifico fremitu, quem barbari dicunt barritum*

³⁰ Veg. *DRM*. 2.5 (Table 67a).

rise of Christianity over the pantheon of Roman war gods of pre-Christian times testify to the change that had infiltrated the Roman army but did not alter the oath tradition.

From the Graeco-Roman literary record, oaths made by Roman armies were a characteristic feature of military life in a battlefield context that continued from the early republic through to the late empire. Publicly making oaths in the lead up to battle demonstrates the close connection Roman religion had to military practice. The unique process that Roman commanders and armies recited oaths separates them from other cultural groups referred to in Graeco-Roman literary sources. The sophistication evident in the creation and recital of military oaths reveals religious observance was important to the army. Also, the high command's ability to interpret a military situation: by selecting which deity would be invoked and what covenant would be made in coordination, through acclamation, with the rank and file of the army denotes sophistication.

Conclusions

Greek and Roman armies were familiar with battlefield oaths. Literary evidence suggests that oaths were employed in a military context to legitimize guarantees made in relation to victory and loyalty to the fighting group. The Greeks and the Romans generally differed in the use of battlefield oaths. Greek oaths invoked the gods to bear witness to ensure the agreements made by word or sacrifice would be honored with only death breaking the pledge. Roman oaths, on the other hand, sought to entice the support of the gods to achieve support military success for the specific god/s to gain greater public acclaim through the dedication of honorific structure or custom.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

The sophistication and cultural meaning exhibited in planned and spontaneous battle expression forms expose the limitations of the term war cry. Only by integrating the information contained within Graeco-Roman literary source material and supporting archaeological remains can we begin to account appropriately and effectively for a far broader ancient military phenomenon. To fully comprehend the purpose, significance, range and typology of battlefield customs available to armies of the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world, a fresh approach needs to be adopted. The term battle expression attempts to re-establish an ancient military phenomenon that has been misunderstood and only partly acknowledged by modern scholarship, and largely misrepresented in modern day media forms.¹

Graeco-Roman authors and ancient artworks written before the 5th century BC through to AD 6th century provide reliable accounts for the battle expression despite the authors' subjective perceptions concerning the cultural uniqueness of battle expression types. African battle expression forms were associated with peculiar action and reflected the multilingual dynamics of that geographical region.² Asian forms were presented as ostentatious affairs which exhibited flair and flamboyance pertaining to size, movement and colour.³ Celtic/Germanic battle expression types were typically linked to their animistic cultural origins.⁴ Greek forms portrayed pious endeavors and proclamations of socio-political ideologies reminiscent of the poleis structure.⁵ Roman battle expression types varied over the course of their influence around the Mediterranean world. Traditional practices, established during Rome's early foundation, developed and diversified in collaboration with their imperial expansion. During the late empire Roman battle expression types embraced non-Roman practice and sentiment reflective of the ethnic composition of the army.⁶

There were homogenous features of the battle expression found amongst the different cultural groups of the Graeco-Roman world. The practice of undertaking battlefield customs was universal across cultural groups. The attempt to unite an army through establishing confidence

¹ See pp: 1-41 of this dissertation for an introduction to and rationale behind the adoption of the term battle expression.

² See pp: 48-49.

³ See pp: 49-51.

⁴ See pp: 51-54.

⁵ See pp: 54-55.

⁶ See pp: 55-56.

and group cohesion using familiar action was a common feature within all battle expression types. The cohesive manner in which battle expression types were performed underpins the collective aim to intimidate and adversely affect the enemy, a consistent feature found amongst all cultural groups.⁷ Spontaneous taunting of the enemy to alter the psyche of those on the battlefield, the intentional attempts to appear distinctive to the enemy, and the military high commands' encouragement to undertake forms of battle expression on the battlefield highlight universal traits found within the battle expression.⁸

It is undeniable that armies from the ancient Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world expressed themselves *en masse* through a variety of forms on the battlefield. Armies aimed to intimidate their enemy and enthuse their own force through inspiring and terrifying vocal, musical and/or gesticular displays. The culturally unique methods that armies adopted to achieve these displays reflected aspects of their society in a military context. Careful study of the battle expression reveals important information about various cultural groups.

Each cultural group within the ancient Graeco-Roman world expressed aspects of their spirituality on the battlefield. A common feature amongst each military force was the attempt to invoke the benevolence and intercession of their military oriented deities on the battle. Jugurthan forces in North Africa undertook peculiar gesticulations during battle to communicate with distant allies.⁹ These movements appear to express significant cultural practice relating to faith in a military context. The intentional appearance of armies on the battlefield similarly captures culturally specific aspects of spiritual belief. Ethiopian warriors adorned themselves in animal skins and painted their bodies.¹⁰ Spartan hoplites wore garlands in their hair and sacrificed a she-goat in full view of the enemy.¹¹ The Macedonian army knelt in prayer before the battle of Issus.¹² Celtic/Germanic warriors associated themselves with specific warrior styles that held spiritual connections to natural forces and beings.¹³ The battlefield customs of military forces drawn from the peoples of Asia reflected their religious diversity. Trojan armies invoked their deities through cries, likened to a flock of migrating

⁷ See Chapter 3 pp: 57-78.

⁸ See Chapter 4 pp: 79-103.

⁹ See pp: 69-71.

¹⁰ See pp: 128-129.

¹¹ See pp: 138-140.

¹² See p. 150-151.

¹³ See pp: 105-108.

birds.¹⁴ Displaying the severed heads of slain enemies to the enemy and friendly forces during battle, in accompaniment with ritualized dancing, was a prominent feature of cultural groups from northern Asia Minor and elsewhere.¹⁵ The singing of religious hymns (the *paeon*) and blood sacrifice were typical of Greek pre-battle custom.¹⁶ The continuance of archaic religious practice, by Roman forces, reveal significant understandings of military associated deities and the close affiliation religious tradition played within the military.¹⁷ The adoption of Christian battle expression types during the late empire highlights the long standing Roman military tradition of employing religiously inspired customs in battlefield contexts.¹⁸

The acclamation of socio-political ideology on the battlefield, by way of praising and acknowledging political/social superiors and recounting fundamental doctrine, were typical features of the battle expression of particular cultural groups. Close examination of literary and archaeological source material reveals that Roman, Greek, Celtic/Germanic and Asian cultures took inspiration from expressing their socio-political orientation on the battlefield.¹⁹ By honouring the eagle and other military insignia, Roman forces encapsulated their pride in their socio-political origins.²⁰ The acknowledgement and praise (or in some cases disrespect in the context of a military triumph) of military commanders reveals key teachings regarding the socio-political features of Rome. Similarly, Asian armies, notably Persian and Parthian, proclaimed the title of their king as *king of kings* (*Shahanshah*), reflective of customary protocols and the imperialistic orientation of their society.²¹ The Macedonian army inscribed the name of their king on lead sling bullets. Whether this was done vocally en masse by the army at large during battle remains to be seen; however, it seems more than likely given the time and effort taken in producing missile weapons adorned with socio-political ideology.²² The significance of identifying with a cultural group and the inspiration taken from it is highlighted through the inscriptions found on lead sling bullets. The battle expression aimed to strike the enemy psychologically and, in the case of lead sling bullets, physically. So, too, we see the battle expression articulating an army's purpose for fighting as an instantiation of its socio-political ideology. *Polis* armies of Greece identified their socio-political origins through

¹⁴ See pp: 50.

¹⁵ See pp. 81-82.

¹⁶ See pp: 109-116.

¹⁷ See pp: 117-123.

¹⁸ For Christian influence on the Roman battle expression see pp: 126, 175.

¹⁹ See Chapter 6 pp: 128-179.

²⁰ See pp: 157-160.

²¹ See pp: 167.

²² See pp: 151-152.

the singing of *paean* hymns and shield motifs.²³ The Spartan army recited poetry and song on the battlefield that emphasized foundational aspects of their militaristic society.²⁴ Celtic/Germanic tribal armies proclaimed kinship groups and ancestral origins on the battlefield through unique battle expression types.²⁵

Armies from the Graeco-Roman world utilized battle expression types as an added dimension to their overall military strategy. The intimidatory and provocative nature of battle expression types aimed to influence the course and, as a result, the outcome of a battle before violent confrontation could occur. Ancient armies adopted vocal and instrumental sound as well as movement and appearance to strike fear and terror into the enemy, with the aim of weakening their fighting capacity.²⁶ Battle expression types that proved successful, at distorting the mindset and strategy of the enemy, could influence whether the enemy fled from the battlefield, resulting in a bloodless victory, or whether the enemy would abandon their preconceived military strategy, leading to unintended action. The encouragement from the military high command to undertake battle expression reveals its multidimensional purpose.²⁷ The performance of a battle expression could influence the tactics adopted by the military high command. A weak battle expression by way of cohesion and noise generated in comparison to a more effective battle expression from the enemy may cause the high command to use precautionary tactics befitting an army low in confidence and reluctant to fight. A loud, cohesive and enthusiastic battle expression compared to the enemy's weak one may alert the military high command to undertake offensive, confident action to capitalize upon the eagerness of their own army and lack of enthusiasm on the part of the enemy.

The cohesive displays of vocal noise, instrumental sound, rhythmic movement and coordinated appearance that Graeco-Roman armies undertook on the battlefield reveals insight into military training regimes and battle preparedness. Prior learning and familiarity of religious hymns, poetry and other lyrical performances on the battlefield suggests that battle expression types were adopted from cultural life and integrated within military practice. Instrumental sound (trumpets, drums, flutes), coordinated movement (rhythmic jumping, gesticulations) and intentional appearance undertaken by large numbers in unison reveals high levels of battle

²³ For Greek shield motifs see pp. 147-149.

²⁴ See pp: 139-144.

²⁵ See pp: 135-136.

²⁶ For the effects of taunting and intimidation see Chapter 4 pp: 79-103.

²⁷ See pp: 149-152; 157-176.

preparation and rehearsal for effective execution. The implementation of battle expression types into battlefield contexts suggests sophisticated battle preparedness on the part of military high command structures across the divergent cultural groups within the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world. This has not been acknowledged by other studies.

Taunting of the enemy and spontaneous battle expression types showcase examples of culturally specific wit and humour used in a military context. Attempts to taunt the enemy and ridicule their behaviour or appearance served to instill greater levels of confidence amongst the agitators. On the battlefield military forces used culturally specific wit and humour to unite along ethnic lines friendly troops and isolate as inferiors the enemy who, often, were culturally and ethnically alien. Through studying battlefield taunting and spontaneous acclamations from the literary record and archaeological sources, such as lead sling bullets, interesting features regarding culturally specific social customs, language use, sarcasm/satire/sadism and sexual connotations are understood.

Through investigating why the battle expression was a typical feature of Graeco-Roman warfare, an understanding of the psychological dimension of battle in antiquity can be achieved.²⁸ From the perspective of those waiting for battle in the front line of an ancient army, whether veteran or novice, it would have been a terrifying experience. The potential to suffer death or serious injury would have rendered many to unfamiliar levels of psychological wellbeing. The inherent instinct to feel protected and confident resulted in the fighting ranks of an army banding together, often along mutual and shared experience. Cohesive battle expression types were employed to positively divert the psychological state of a fighting force ready for combat. Fear and terror could render an army uncontrollable, whereas focused, confident armies were more passive. Pre-planned, rehearsed battle expression types served to familiarize the fighting ranks of their training and orders issued. Spontaneous battle expression types attempted to instill greater confidence within an army and impose thoughts of superiority over the enemy. The psychological state of an army could be gauged by the enthusiasm exhibited through undertaking a battle expression. Pre-battle atmospheric monomachy between opposing armies could determine, or influence, the outcome of a battle. The psychological state of an army could dictate to the high command what military strategy and tactics to be adopted to accommodate for this.

²⁸ For the psychological dimension of battle expression see pp: 58-74.

Besides the positive psychological factors that could be achieved through a battle expression, a key understanding of battlefield psychology is revealed when studying the objective to impose fear and intimidation over the enemy. The generation of an atmosphere hostile to the enemy was a key psychological factor in undertaking battle expression types. Cohesive, aggressive and imposing battle expression types served to inspire terror into the enemy ranks. The unfamiliar cultural traits evident in a battle expression aimed to unsettle the, often, culturally different enemy. Armies aimed to create sonic and visual displays to gain a psychological edge over the enemy before violent engagement took place. The Roman army designed their military training around exposing their soldiers to the alien customs of their enemies to reduce the devastating impacts of the enemy's battle expression. The religious sentiment behind many battle expression types served to focus the psychology of military forces against the potential dangers of terror from an enemy's battle expression.

The potential to associate the principles of the battle expression paradigm and to implement them for a study on *other* military cultures from geographical regions and historical periods outside of the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world, demonstrates its validity. For example, the study of cultural groups from the biblical Near East and the fertile crescent before the classical Graeco-Roman period, as well as, the study of post-Roman and medieval Europe would serve to highlight this. By comparing the sophistication, effectiveness and atmosphere generated by football supporters inside stadiums in Europe the modern world can gain greater insight into the scale and range of an ancient military phenomenon that has since been misunderstood.

The validity of the battle expression paradigm from the Graeco-Roman world can be applied to later time periods and geographical regions. An 1855 study of "*War-Cries of Irish Septs*"²⁹ details what is known about the statements or words that surviving Irish clans cried in unison before, during and/or after battle for centuries. This study lists all known Irish clans whose war cry was recorded to have been heard on battlefields throughout "Tyrone's War"³⁰ otherwise referred to as Tyrone's Rebellion or most commonly the Nine Years War (1594-1603). In this list twenty-seven Irish clans have been named and next to each clan name was the Gaelic term

²⁹ "War-Cries of Irish Septs." *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, Vol. 3 (1855), pp: 203-212. This journal article does not name an author. It is a dated source; however, its contents are significant in supporting the arguments contained within this chapter.

³⁰ War-Cries (1855): 207.

or statement that its warriors cried out in battle.³¹ The remainder of the study attempts to identify other known Irish clans and their respective war cries. The Gaelic terms listed are, on occasion, translated into English. The war cries of the Irish clans referred to different identifiable features that distinguished a clan from another. Specific character traits of the clan and its members were vocalized in battle, for example, the MacGilla Patricks raised the cry *Gear-laidir-aboo* which translates to “the sharp and strong.”³² Geographical landmarks, which describes the location of the clan’s native land were also common, for example, the Toolles clan cried *Fear a-cnoic* “the men of the hill.” The history of a tribe or honouring a former famous member was also common, for example, Clanrickarde’s *Gall-ruadh* remembered the “Red foreigner” or “Red Earl” which may refer to the celebrated general Richard the Earl of Ulster.³³ Making known the clan name was another common feature of Irish clan battle cries, for example the Barry clan would cry *Barragh-aboe* “a man of the Barrys.” The knowledge of Irish battle war cries supports the notion that ancient Celtic/Germanic battle expression took on a similar nature and range. There are comparable examples from the Graeco-Roman literary sources to the Irish war cries. For the most part, the Irish war cries, too, reflected natural elements associated to each clan. For example, the natural traits of clan members, the natural terrain of clan lands and famous individuals from the history of the clan are all reflective of the natural surrounds and substance of the Celtic/Germanic culture.

There is great potential for the battle expression paradigm to be superimposed onto contemporary as well as later time periods to the Graeco-Roman world from alternate geographical regions. Similarly, football supporter groups and the atmosphere they generate inside stadiums in the modern day can reveal insight into the sound, visuals and participation levels that were required in ancient times to create effective displays. Comparison and appreciation for the ancient military battle expression can be gauged by witnessing the atmosphere found in the practices of football supporter groups.

³¹ War-Cries (1855): 207-208.

³² War-Cries (1855): 208 note ‘c.’

³³ War-Cries (1855): 207-208 note ‘a.’

Appendix I: Frequently Used References

Table references to the battle expression

The following tables contain reference material used throughout this dissertation that relate directly to the war cry / battle expression. The tables provide the reader with the extract referenced for added reading and understanding. The tables also demonstrate the scale of reference material that exists for the war cry / battle expression. Each table has been allocated a number – based on the alphabetical order of the Graeco-Roman author’s name. Within each table battle expression references have been assigned a letter based on the order they appear in the literary work – the letter “a” represents the first reference in the table, while letter “d” represents the fourth reference in the table. References to the battle expression are cited in footnotes throughout the dissertation, they will be cited with a number and letter value next to them. The number and letter aim to direct the reader to the specific table the reference is found and the location in each table. For example, when a reference is made to the battle expression of a military oath found in Aeschylus’ *Seven Against Thebes*, the footnote will read: Aesch. Sept. 42-51 (see 4.a). The “4.a” refers to table number 4 (the table designated for Aeschylus’ work *Seven Against Thebes*) and it is the first reference in the table as it has been assigned the letter “a”.

1. Aeschines, *On the Embassy*, trans. Adams, C. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Aeschin. Emb. 2.163.	I joined the other ambassadors in singing the paeon when the god was being magnified	συνῆδον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων τὸν παιᾶνα, ἡνίκα ὁ θεὸς μὲν ἐτιμᾶτο

2. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, trans. Sommerstein, A. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Aesch. Ag. 49-59.	uttering from their hearts a great cry for war, like birds of prey who, crazed by grief for their children, wheel around high above their eyries, rowing with wings for oars, having seen the toil of watching over their nestlings’ beds go for	μεγάλ’ ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἄρη,τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν οἷτ’ ἐκπατίοις ἄλγεσι παίδων ὕπατοι λεχέωνστροφοδινοῦνταιπτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι, δεμνιοτήρηπόνον ὀρταλίων ὀλέσαντες· ⁵⁵ ὕπατος δ’ αἶων ἢ τις

	nothing; and some Apollo on high, or Pan, or Zeus, hearing the loud shrill wailing cries of the birds, exacts belated revenge on behalf of these denizens of his realm by sending a Fury against the transgressors.	Ἀπόλλωνῃ Πᾶν ἢ Ζεὺς οἰωνόθροον γόον ὀξυβόαν τῶνδε μετοίκων ὑστερόποινον πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἑρινύν.
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3. Aeschylus, *Persians*, trans. Sommerstein, A. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Aesch. <i>Pers.</i> 384-395.	first of all there rang out loudly a joyful sound of song from the Greeks, and simultaneously the echo of it resounded back from the cliffs of the island. All we Easterners were terrified, because we had been deceived in our expectation: the Greeks were now raising the holy paean-song, not with a view to taking flight, but in the act of moving out to battle, with cheerful confidence.	καὶ νῦξ ἐχώρει, κοῦ μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς κρυφαῖον ἔκπλουν οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο· ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι λευκόπωλος ἡμέρα πᾶσαν κατέσχε γαῖαν εὐφεγγῆς ιδεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡχῇ κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα μολπηδὸν ἠυφήμεσεν, ὄρθιον δ' ἅμα ἀντηγάλαξε νησιώτιδος πέτρας ἡχώ· φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρῆν γνῶμης ἀποσφαλεῖσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὥς φυγῆ παιῶν· ἐφύμουν σεμνὸν Ἕλληνας τότε, ἀλλ' εἰς μάχην ὀρμῶντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει· σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν.

4. Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes*, trans. Sommerstein, A. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Aesch. Sept. 42- 51	Seven men, bold leaders of companies, slaughtered a bull, let its blood run into a black-rimmed shield, and touching the bull's blood with their hands swore an oath by Ares, Enyo, and blood-loving Terror, that they would either bring destruction on the city, sacking the	ἄνδρες γὰρ ἑπτα, θούριοι λοχαγέται, ταυροσφαγοῦντες εἰς μελάνδετον σάκος καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου Ἄρη τ' Ἐνυὼ καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον ὠρκωμότησαν, ἣ πόλει κατασκαφᾶς θέντες λαπάξιν ἄστὶ Καδμείων βία, ἣ γῆν θανόντες τήνδε φυράσειν φόνῳ μνημεῖά θ'

	town of the Cadmeans by force, or perish and mix their blood into the soil of this land; and with their own hands, shedding tears, they were adorning the chariot of Adrastus with mementoes of themselves to take home to their parents.	αὐτῶν τοῖς τεκοῦσιν εἰς δόμους πρὸς ἄρμ' Ἀδράστου χερσὶν ἔστεφον, δάκρυλείβοντες, οἶκτος δ' οὔτις ἦν διὰ στόμα·
b) Aesch. Sept. 87-90.	Ah, ah, you gods and goddesses, raise your war cry over our walls to drive away the onrushing evil! The army of the white shield, ready for battle, rushes at full speed against the city.	ἰὼ ἰὼ θεοὶ θεαί τ', ὁρόμενον κακὸν ἀλεύσατε. βοᾷ <> ὑπὲρ τειχέων· ὁ λεύκασπις ὄρνυται λαὸς εὐ-πρεπῆς ἐπὶ πόλιν διώκων <πόδα>.
c) Aesch. Sept. 270.	Listen to my prayer, and then utter the sacred, auspicious ululation of triumph, the customary Hellenic cry at sacrifices.	ξυμμάχους εἶναι θεοῦς· κάμῶν ἀκούσας· εὐγμάτων ἔπειτα σὺδὸ λολυγμὸν ἱερὸν εὐμενῇ παιώνισον, Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα θυστιάδος βοῆς.
d) Aesch. Sept. 380-399.	Tydeus, lusting madly for battle, is screaming like a snake hissing at midday, and is belabouring the wise prophet, the son of Oecles, with insults, saying that he is cringeing before death and battle through cowardice. As he utters these cries he shakes three crests casting long shadows, the mane of his helmet, and on the underside of his shield bells of beaten bronze make a terrifying clang. Fashioned upon his shield he bears this proud device: a blazing firmament, full of stars. Conspicuous	Τυδεὺς δὲ μαργῶν καὶ μάχης λελιμμένος μεσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὥς δράκων βοᾷ, θείνει δ' ὄνειδει μάντιν Οἰκλείδην σοφόν, σαίνειν μόρον τε καὶ μάχην ἀψυχία· τοιαῦτ' αὐτῶν τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους σεῖει, κράνους χαίτωμ', ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον· ἔχει δ' ὑπέρφρον σῆμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τόδε, φλέγονθ' ὑπ' ἄστροις οὐρανὸν τετυγμένον· λαμπρὰ δὲ πανσέληνος ἐν μέσῳ σάκει, πρέσβιστον ἄστρον, νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός, πρέπει τοιαῦτ' ἀλύων ταῖς

	<p>in the centre of the shield is a brilliant full moon, the greatest of the stars, the eye of night. Raving thus, in his boastful armour, he screams by the banks of the river, longing for battle, like a horse panting against the force of bit and bridle and impatiently awaiting the sound of the trumpet.</p> <p>Whom will you station to oppose this man? Who can be relied on to stand before Proetus' Gate when its bolts are undrawn?</p> <p>eteocles</p> <p>I would not tremble at the accoutrements of any man; and shield-devices cannot inflict wounds, nor can crests</p>	<p>ὑπερκόμποις σαγαῖςβοᾶ παρ' ὄχθαις ποταμίαις μάχης ἐρῶν, ἵππος χαλινῶν ὥς κατασθμαίνων μένει, ὅστις βοῆν σάλπιγγος ὀρμαίνει μένων. τίν' ἀντιτάξεις τῷδε; τίς Προίτου πυλῶν κλήθρων λυθέντων προστατεῖν φερέγγυος;</p> <p>ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ</p> <p>κόσμον μὲν ἀνδρὸς οὔτιν' ἄν τρέσαιμ' ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἔλκοποιὰ γίνεται τὰ σήματα· λόφοι δὲ κώδων τ' οὐ δάκνουσ' ἄνευ δορός.</p>
e) Aesch. Sept. 425-434.	<p>his boasts show a pride beyond human limits; for he says that he will sack the city, god willing or unwilling, and that not even the weapons of Zeus crashing down to earth will stand in his way or hold him back—he compares the lightnings and thunderbolts to the heat of the noonday sun. As his device he bears a naked man carrying fire: the torch with which he is armed blazes in his hands, and in golden letters he declares "I will burn the city".</p>	<p>λελεγμένου μείζων, ὁ κόμπος δ' οὐ κατ' ἀνθρώπον φρονεῖ. θεοῦ τε γὰρ θέλοντος ἐκπέρσειν πόλιν καὶ μὴ θέλοντός φησιν, οὐδὲ τὴν Διοῦ ἔριν πέδῳ σκῆψασαν ἐμποδὼν σχεθεῖν· τὰς δ' ἀστραπάς τε καὶ κεραυνίους βολὰς μεσημβρινοῖσι θάλπεσιν προσήκασεν. ἔχει δὲ σῆμα γυμνὸν ἄνδρα πυρφόρον, φλέγει δὲ λαμπὰς διὰ χερῶν ὥπλισμένη χρυσοῖς δὲ φωνεῖ γράμμασιν "πρήσω πόλιν".</p>

f) Aesch. Sept. 486-498.	Another, the fourth, assigned to the neighbouring Gate of Athena Onca, is standing near it uttering loud cries, the vast figure and form of Hippomedon. I shuddered, I won't deny it, to see him brandish his great round threshing-floor of a shield. And it can't have been a cheap artist who gave him that device on the shield, Typhon emitting dark smoke, the many-coloured sister of flame, from his fire-breathing lips; the round circle of the hollow-bellied shield is floored with coiling snakes. The man himself raised a great war-cry; he is possessed by Ares, and he rages for a fight like a maenad, with a fearsome look in his eye.	τέταρτος ἄλλος γείτονας πύλας ἔχων Ὀγκας Ἀθάνας ξὺν βοῇ παρίσταται, Ἴππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος· ἄλω δὲ πολλήν, ἀσπίδος κύκλον λέγω, ἔφριξα δινήσαντος, οὐκ ἄλλως ἐρῶ. ὁ σηματουργὸς δ' οὐ τις εὐτελὴς ἄρ' ἦν ὅστις τόδ' ἔργον ᾧ πασεν πρὸς ἀσπίδι, Τυφῶν' ἰέντα πυρπνόον διὰ στόμα λινγὸν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην πυρὸς κάσιν· ὄφεων δὲ πλεκτάναισι περιδρομος κύκλος προσηδάφισται κοιλογάστορος κύτους. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπηλάλαξεν, ἔνθεος δ' Ἀρεῖ βακχᾶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν θυιάς ὥς, φόβον βλέπων.
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5. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, trans. Rolfe, J. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Amm. 15.5.22.	Among these I myself was one, with my colleague Verinianus.	inter quos ego quoque eram cum Veriniano college.
b) Amm. 16.10.7.	And behind the manifold others that preceded him he was surrounded by dragons, woven out of purple thread and bound to the golden and jewelled tops of spears, with wide mouths open to the breeze and hence hissing as if roused by anger, and leaving their tails winding in the wind.	Eumque post antegressos multiplices alios, purpureis subtegminibus texti, circumdedere dracones, hastarum aureis gemmatisque summitatibus illigati, hiatu vasto perflabiles, et ideo velut ira perciti sibilantes, caudarumque volumina relinquentes inventum.
c) Amm. 16.12.2.	while savage ferocity was arousing the frenzy of battle on every side.	barbara feritate certaminum rabiem undique concitante.

d) Amm. 16.12.12-13.	Then (with God's leave be it spoken) let us advance our triumphant eagles and victorious standards. The soldiers did not allow him to finish what he was saying, but gnashed and ground their teeth and showed their eagerness for battle by striking their spears and shields together, and besought him that they might be led against an enemy who was already in sight, trusting in the favour of God in Heaven, in their own self-confidence, and in the tried valour of their lucky general; and (as the event showed) a sort of helpful guardian spirit was urging them to the fray, so long as he could be at hand.	pace dei sit dictum, triumphaturas aquilas et vexilla victricia primo lucis moveamus exordio. Nec finiri perpessi quae dicebantur, stridore dentium infrendentes, ardoremque pugnandi hastis illidendo scuta monstrantes, in hostem se duci iam conspicuum exorabant, caelestis dei favore, fiduciaque sui, et fortunati rectoris expertis virtutibus freti, atque (ut exitus docuit) salutaris quidam genius praesens ad dimicandum eos (dum adesse potuit), incitabat.
e) Amm. 16.12.20.	When our leading officers espied them, now near at hand, taking their places in close wedge-formation, they halted and stood fast, making a solid line, like an impregnable wall, of the vanguard, the standard bearers, and the staff-officers.	Quos cum iam prope densantes semet in cuneos nostrorum conspexere ductores, steterunt vestigiis fixis, antepilanis hastisque et ordinum primis.
f) Amm. 16.12.43.	The Cornuti and Bracchiati, veterans long experienced in war, intimidated the enemy by their bearing and put all their strength into their famous war-cry. This is a shout which they raise when a fight is actually at boiling point; it begins with a low murmur and gradually increases in volume till	Cornuti enim et Bracchiati, usu proeliorum diuturno firmati, eos iam gestu terrentes, barritum ciere vel maximum: qui clamor ipso fervore certaminum, a tenui susurro exoriens, paulatimque adulescens ritu extollitur fluctuum, cautibus illis

	it resounds like the sea dashing against a cliff.	
g) Amm. 16.12.47.	For in a way the combatants were evenly matched; the Alamanni were stronger and taller, our soldiers disciplined by long practice; they were savage and uncontrollable, our men quiet and wary, these relying on their courage, while the Germans presumed upon their huge size.	Pares enim quodam modo coiere cum paribus, Alamanni robusti et celsiores, milites usu nimio dociles; illi feri et turbidi, hi quieti et cauti; animis isti fidentes, grandissimis illi corporibus freti.
h) Amm. 19.1.8.	Upon his fall all his countrymen scattered in flight, but presently returned in well-founded fear that his body might be carried off, and with harsh outcries roused numerous tribes to arms.	Cuius occasu in fugam dilapsi populares eius omnes, moxque ne raperetur, ratione iusta regressi, numerosas gentes ad arma clamoribus dissonis concitarunt.
i) Amm. 19.2.6.	than the army with clashing weapons flew to the walls.	armis exercitus concrepans, involat muros.
j) Amm. 19.2.11-12.	the hills re-echoed with the shouts which rose on either hand. Our men extolled the prowess of Constantius Caesar, 'lord of all things and of the world', while the Persians hailed Sapor as Saanshah and Peroz, titles which signify 'king of kings' and 'conqueror of war'...at a call from the trumpets, the battle was renewed.	resultabant altrinsecus exortis clamoribus colles, nostris virtutes Constanti Caesaris extollentibus, ut domini rerum et mundi, Persis Saporem saansaan appellantibus et pirosen, quod rex regibus imperans, et bellorum victor interpretatur. signo per lituos dato.
k) Amm. 20.7.5.	Persians fiercely attacked the rampart, uttering cruel threats and roaring outcries.	acriter minans ac fremens.
l) Amm. 20.11.8.	Then in close array and urged on by the trumpets the soldiers most vigorously attacked the town on every	Densis itaque ordinibus, cum tubarum incitamentis, latera oppidi cuncta adortus alacrius miles,

	side, and with the legions gathered together into various tortoise-formations and so advancing slowly and safely, they tried to undermine the fortifications; but since every sort of weapon was showered upon them as they came up, the connection of the shields was broken and they gave way, while the trumpets sounded the recall.	legionibus in testudines varias conglobatis paulatim tuto progrediens, subruere moenia conabatur, et quia telorum omne genus in subeuntes effundebatur, nexu clypeorum soluto discessum est, in receptum canentibus signis.
m) Amm. 21.12.5.	at daybreak the sound of the trumpets roused them to slay one another, and raising a shout they rushed.	aurora iam surgente, concrepante sonitu buccinarum, partes accensae in clades mutuas, ferocientes magis quam.
n) Amm. 21.13.15.	they will be so benumbed with terror as to be able to endure neither the flashing light of your eyes nor the first sound of your battle-cry.	ita pavore torpescent, ut nec oculorum vestrorum vibratae lucis ardorem, nec barritus sonum perferant primum.
o) Amm. 21.14.5.	it was not the gods of heaven that spoke with bravemen, and stood by them or aided them as they fought, but that guardian spirits attended them; and through reliance upon their special support, it is said, that Pythagoras. Socrates, and Numa Pompilius ³ became famous; also the earlier Scipio, and (as some believe) Marius and Octavianus, who first had the title of Augustus conferred upon him, and Hermes Trismegistus, Apollonius of Tyana, and Plotinus, who ventured to discourse on this mystic theme, and to	non deos caelestes cum viris fortibus collocutos, nec adfuisse pugnantibus vel iuvisse, sed familiaris genios cum eisdem versatos, quorum adminiculis freti praecipuis, Pythagoras enituisse dicitur et Socrates, Numaque Pompilius, et superior Scipio et (ut quidam existimant) Marius et Octavianus, cui Augusti vocabulum delatum est primo, Hermesque Termaximus, et Tyaneus Apollonius atque Plotinus, ausus quaedam super hac re disserere mystica, alteque monstrare, quibus

	present a profound discussion of the question by what elements these spirits are linked with men's souls, and taking them to their bosoms, as it were, protect them (as long as possible) and give them higher instruction, if they perceive that they are pure and kept from the pollution of sin through association with an immaculate body.	primordiis hi genii animis conexi mortalium eas tamquam gremiis suis susceptas tuentur (quoad licitum est) docentique maiora, si senserint puras et a colluvione peccandi, immaculata corporis societate discretas.
p) Amm. 22.4.6.	In place of the war-song the soldiers practised effeminate ditties.	cum miles cantilenas meditaretur, pro iubilo molliores.
q) Amm. 24.4.15.	And now, as the trumpets sounded their martial note, both sides raised a loud shout.	Iam que clangore Martio sonantibus tubis, strepebant utrimque partes.
r) Amm. 24.5.9.	and our army, aroused by the trumpets' blast, was hastening to the spot with threatening cries, the attacking force retreated in terror, though without loss.	armisque raptis inter tumultum, exercitus cantu concitus buccinarum, cum minaci murmure festinaret, eruptores perterriti reverterunt intacti.
s) Amm. 24.6.11.	And when the battle-cry was raised in the usual manner by both sides and the trumpets' blare increased the ardour of the men.	Et cum undique solito more conclamaretur, virorumque alacritatem sonans classicum iuaret.
t) Amm. 24.6.17.	he prepared to offer many victims to Mars the Avenger... Upon seeing these, Julian in deep indignation cried out, and called Jove to witness, that he would make no more offerings to Mars.	complures hostias Marti parabat ultori... Quibus visis, exclamavit indignatus acriter Iulianus Iovemque testatus est, nulla Marti iam sacra facturum.

<p>u) Amm. 26.7.15- 17.</p>	<p>There the legions were already advancing upon each other, ready for battle, when Procopius rushed alone between them, while they were exchanging volleys, as if he wished to challenge the enemy. And by a stroke of good fortune as if he recognised in the enemy's lines a certain Vitalianus—whether he actually knew him is a matter of doubt—he saluted him courteously in Latin, and called him forward in a friendly fashion. Then he held out his hand to him and kissed him, to the amazement of all on both sides, and cried out:</p> <p>16. “So this is the old loyalty of Roman armies and their oaths bound by firm religious rites! Is this your pleasure, my brave men? All this mass of Roman swords uplifted for strangers! That a base Pannonian should shake and trample upon the world, to gain a throne which he never so much as dared to pray for, we groan over your wounds and ours! No, no—follow rather the house of your own royal line, one who has taken up arms with the greatest justice, not in order to seize what is another's, but to restore himself to the possession of his ancestral majesty.”</p> <p>17. Through these calm words, all the men who had come to fight hotly</p>	<p>Ubi cum legiones iam pugnaturae congredierentur, inter reciprocantes missilia quasi procursatione hostem lacesens, solus prorupit in medium. Et secundioris ductu fortunae, ex contraria acie velut agnitum quendam Vitalianum, quem ei norat ambigitur, Latine salute data blande produxit, eumque porrecta dextera saviatus omnibus hinc inde attonitis.</p> <p>16. “En” inquit “cana Romanorum exercituum fides et religionibus firmis iuramenta constricta! Placet, fortissimi viri, pro ignotis tot suorum consurrexisse mucrones, utque Pannonius degener, labefactans cuncta et proterens, imperio quod ne votis quidem concipere ausus est umquam, potiatur, ingemiscere nos vestris nostrisque vulneribus! Quin potius sequimini culminis summi prosapiam, non ut rapiat aliena, sed in integrum maiestatis avitae restituatur, arma iustissima commoventem.”</p> <p>17. Hac sermonis placiditate molliti omnes, qui acriter venerant pugnaturi, signorum apicibus...et pro terrifico fremitu, quem barbari dicunt barritum, nuncupatum imperatorem, stipatumque de</p>
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	<p>against him were pacified, and willingly went over to his side with the eagles...and in place of terrible shouts that the barbarians call barritus he was hailed as emperor; all crowded about him in the customary manner, and in harmony escorted him back to the camp, swearing, in the soldiers' manner, by Jupiter that Procopius would be invincible.</p>	<p>more, consentientes in unum, reduxerunt ad castra, testati more militiae Iovem, invictum Procopium fore.</p>
<p>v) Amm. 27.2.6.</p>	<p>And so, when the signal had been given by the trumpet and they began to engage at close quarters, the Germans stood amazed, terrified by the fearful sight of the gleaming standards.</p>	<p>vexillorum splendentium facie territi, stetere Germani.</p>
<p>w) Amm. 27.10.9.</p>	<p>At once our standards were planted in the usual manner... waiting for the raising of the banner, which was the signal that it was the fit time to begin the battle.</p>	<p>Signis ilico fixis ex more...vexillum opperiens extollendum: quod erat opportune subeundae indicium pugnae.</p>
<p>x) Amm. 27.10.12.</p>	<p>Urged on by the menacing blare of trumpets they advanced to the attack with bold confidence.</p>	<p>signoque erecto, quod solet ad pugnam hortari, tubarum minacium accendente clangore, fidentissimo impetu acies motas.</p>
<p>y) Amm. 28.5.3.</p>	<p>So terrified and confused the arrogant barbarians before the struggle began, that they did not oppose him in strife, but, dazzled by the gleam of the standards and eagles, begged for pardon and peace.</p>	<p>superbos barbaros ante colluctationem adeo terruit et turbavit, ut nec controversas opponerent manus, sed signorum aquilarumque fulgore praestrici, venialem poscerent pacem.</p>
<p>z) Amm. 29.5.15.</p>	<p>dazzled by the gleaming standards and the fear-inspiring expression of</p>	<p>fulgore signorum et terribili vultu Theodosi praestricus, iumento</p>

	Theodosius, he sprang from his mount, and with bowed neck almost prostrate on the ground blamed with tears his rashness, and begged for pardon.	desiluit, curvataque cervice humi paene affixus, temeritatem suam flebiliter incusabat, pacem .
aa) Amm. 31.7.11.	So, when both armies after advancing cautiously remained unmoved, the opposing warriors stared at each other with savage and sidelong glances. The Romans in unison sounded their war cry, as usual rising from a low to a louder tone, of which the national name is barritus, and thus roused themselves to mighty strength. But the barbarians sounded the glories of their forefathers with, wild shouts, and amid this discordant clamour of different languages skirmishes were first tried.	Ergo ubi utrimque acies cautius incedentes, gressu steterunt immobili, torvitate mutua bellatores luminibus se contuebantur obliquis. Et Romani quidem voce undique Martia concinentes, a minore solita ad maiorem protolli, quam gentilitate appellant barritum, vires validas erigebant. Barbari vero maiorum laudes clamoribus stridebant inconditis, interque varios sermonis dissoni strepitus, leviora proelia temptabantur.
ab) Amm. 31.13.1.	On every side armour and weapons clashed, and Bellona, raging with more than usual madness for the destruction of the Romans, blew her lamentable war-trumpets; our soldiers who were giving way rallied, exchanging many encouraging shouts	Cumque arma ex latere omni concuterentur et tela, lituosque Bellona luctuosos inflaret in clades Romanas solito immanius furens, cedentes nostri multis interclamantibus restiterunt
abc) Amm. 31.16.9.	a former soldier and a Greek, have set forth to the measure of my ability.	Haec ut miles quondam et Graecus.

6. Appian, *Civil Wars*, trans. White, H. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) App. BC.	When they were waiting and looking at each other the day was advancing. All the Italian troops stood motionless in	Μέλλουσι δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέπουσιν ἡ ἡμέρα προύκοπτε. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν ἅπαν εὐσταθῶς

<p>2.11.7 8.</p>	<p>their places, but when Pompey saw that his allied forces were falling into confusion by reason of the delay he feared lest the disorder should spread from them before the beginning of the battle. So he sounded the signal first and Caesar echoed it back. Straightway the trumpets, of which there were many distributed among the divisions of so great a host, aroused the soldiers with their inspiring blasts, and the standard-bearers and officers put themselves in motion and exhorted their men. They all advanced confidently to the encounter, but with stupor and deepest silence, like men who had had experience in many similar engagements.</p>	<p>ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἀκριβοῦς ἀνέμενε· τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτοῦ ταρασσόμενον ὁρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς μελλήσεως καὶ δείσας, μὴ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀταξίας κατάρξειεν, ὑπεσήμεναιε πρῶτος, καὶ ἀντήχησε Καῖσαρ, αὐτίκα δ' αἱ τε σάλπιγγες αὐτοὺς ἐξώτρυνον ὀρθίοις κλαγγαῖς ὥς ἐν τοσῷδε πλήθει πολλαὶ κατὰ μέρη, καὶ οἱ κήρυκες καὶ οἱ ἐπιστάται περιθέοντες ἤπειγον. οἱ δὲ σοβαρῶς ἀλλήλοις ἐπῆσαν μετὰ τε θάμβους καὶ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης ὥς πολλῶν ἀγώνων τοιῶνδε ἐμπειροπόλεμοι.</p>
<p>b) App. BC. 3.9.68.</p>	<p>Being veterans they raised no battle-cry, since they could not expect to terrify each other, nor in the engagement did they utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished. As there could be neither flanking nor charging amid marshes and ditches, they met together in close order, and since neither could dislodge the other they locked together with their swords as in a wrestling match. No blow missed its mark. There were wounds and slaughter but no cries, only groans; and when one fell he was instantly borne away and another took his place. They needed</p>	<p>οἰκεῖον ἡγούμενοι τόδε ἔργον· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐμπειρίας οὔτε ἡλάλαξαν ὥς οὐκ ἐκπλήζοντες ἀλλήλους, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τις αὐτῶν ἀφῆκε φωνὴν οὔτε νικῶν οὔτε ἡσσώμενος. περιόδους δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὔτε δρόμους ὥς ἐν ἔλεσι καὶ τάφροις, ἀραρότως συνίσταντο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοὺς ἐτέρους ὥσασθαι δυνάμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὥς ἐν πάλῃ συνεπλέκοντο. πληγὴ τε οὐδεμία ἦν ἀργός, ἀλλὰ τραύματα καὶ φόνοι καὶ στόνοι μόνον ἀντὶ βοῆς· ὃ τε πίπτων εὐθὺς ὑπεξεφέρετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἀντικαθίστατο. παραινέσεων δὲ ἢ</p>

	<p>neither admonition nor encouragement, since experience made each one his own general. When they were overcome by fatigue they drew apart from each other for a brief space to take breath, as in gymnastic games, and then rushed again to the encounter. Amazement took possession of the new levies who had come up, as they beheld such deeds done with such precision and in such silence.</p>	<p>ἐπικελεύσεων οὐκ ἔδέοντο, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν. ὅτε δὲ καὶ κάμοιεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἐς ἀναπνοὴν ὀλίγον ἀλλήλων δίσταντο καὶ αὖθις συνεπλέκοντο. θάμβος τε ἦν τοῖς νεήλυσιν ἐπελθοῦσι, τοιάδε ἔργα σὺν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σιωπῇ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶσι.</p>
c) App. BC. 5.4.38.	<p>In order that the enemy might not make another attempt on his works, Octavius stationed a part of his army, that was held in reserve, alongside the fortifications, and instructed others in other places to leap upon the wall at the sound of the trumpet. Although no one urged them on, they went through this exercise continually, in order to become familiar with it, and to inspire the enemy with fear.</p>	<p>ἐκθυμοτάτης γενομένης, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ αὖθις ἐπιτολμήσειαν οἱ πολέμοι τοῖς τείχεσι, τὴν στρατιάν, ὅση τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφήδρευε, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἴδρυσε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ κατὰ σύνθημα σάλπιγγος· συνεχῶς τε ἀπεπήδων οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἵνα διδαχὴ τε σφίσι καὶ φόβος εἴη τοῖς πολέμοις.</p>

7. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, trans. Henderson, J. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Aristoph. Achar. 582ff.	(pointing at the Gorgon on Lamachus' shield) Please, take that scare-face away from me!	ἀντιβολῶ σ', ἀπένεγκέ μου τὴν μορμόνα.

8. Aristophanes, *Birds*, trans. Henderson, J. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Aristoph. Av. 364.	Eleleleu! Move out, level your beaks, no hanging back!	ἐλελελεῦ· χώρει, κάθεσ τὸ ρύγχος· οὐ μέλλειν ἐχρῆν.

9. Aristophanes, *Knights*, trans. Henderson, J. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Aristoph. Kn. 1317-18.	let the audience sing a paeon!	παιωνίζειν τὸ θέατρον.

10. Aristophanes, *Peace*, trans. Henderson, J. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Aristoph. Peace. 474.	We want none of your bogy-blazon, sir!	οὐδὲν δεόμεθ', ὦνθρωπε, τῆς σῆς μορμόνος.

11. Arrian, *Anabasis*, trans. Brunt, P. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Arr. Ana. 1.6.1-4.	In the circumstances Alexander drew up his phalanx with a depth of 120 files. On either wing he posted 200 horsemen, bidding them keep silent and smartly obey the word of command; the hoplites were ordered first to raise their spears upright, and then, on the word, to lower them for a charge, swinging their serried points first to the right, then to the left; he moved the phalanx itself smartly forward, and then wheeled it alternately to right and left. Thus he deployed and manoeuvred it in many difficult formations in a brief time, and then making a kind of wedge from his phalanx on the left, he led it to the attack. The enemy, long bewildered both at the smartness and the discipline of the drill, did not await the approach of Alexander's troops, but abandoned the first hills.	Ἐνθα δὲ ἐκτάσσει τὸν στρατὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἕως ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος. ἐπὶ τὸ κέρασ δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν διακοσίους ἱππέας ἐπιτάξας παρήγγελλε σιγῇ ἔχειν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ὁξέως δεχομένους. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐσήμηνεν ὀρθὰ ἀνατεῖναι τὰ δόρατα τοὺς ὀπίστας, ἔπειτα ἀπὸ ξυνηθήματος ἀποτεῖναι ἐς προβολήν, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τὸ δεξιὸν ἐγκλῖναι τῶν δοράτων τὴν σύγκλεισιν, αὐθις δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἕς τε τὸ πρόσω ὁξέως ἐκίνησε καὶ ἑπὶ τὰ κέρατα ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ παρήγαγε. καὶ οὕτω πολλὰς τάξεις τάξας τε καὶ μετακοσμήσας ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον οἶον ἔμβολον ποιήσας τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τὴν τε ὁξύτητα ὀρῶντες καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν δρωμένων· τότε δὲ προσάγοντας ἤδη τοὺς ἀμφὶ

	Alexander ordered the 4 Macedonians to raise their battle-cry and clang their spears upon their shields, and the Taulantians, even more terrified at the noise, hastily withdrew back to the city.	Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, 4 ἀλλὰ λείπουσι τοὺς πρώτους λόφους. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπαλαλάζει ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τοῖς δόρασι δουπῆσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας· οἱ δὲ Ταυλάντιοι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπλαγέντες πρὸς τῆς βοῆς ὡς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανήγαγον σπουδῇ τὸν στρατόν.
b) Arr. Ana. 1.14.4.	Where they observed Alexander himself—he was unmistakable, from the splendour of his equipment and the enthusiasm of the men in attendance round him.	ἦ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν καθεώρων— δῆλος γὰρ ἦν τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν τῇ σὺν ἐκπλήξει θεραπείᾳ.
c) Arr. Ana. 1.14.7.	with bugles sounding, and the battle cry going up to the God of Battles, went into the stream.	αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων τε καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀλαλάζοντας ἐμβαίνει εἰς τὸν πόρον.
d) Arr. Ana. 1.15.7-8.	Then Rhoesaces rode at Alexander, and struck him on the head with his scimitar; though he sheared ⁸ off part of the helmet, still the helmet parried the blow.	Ῥοισάκης μὲν ἐπελαύνει τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ παίει Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ κοπίδι· καὶ τοῦ μὲν κράνους τι ἀπέθραυσε.
e) Arr. Ana. 3.9.7-8.	There was then no need for them to employ long speeches to make their men act with that sense of honour which was born in them, but they were to urge each man in the moment of danger to attend in his own place in the line to the requirements of order, to keep perfect silence when that was necessary in the advance, and by contrast to give a ringing shout when it was right to shout, and a howl to inspire the greatest terror when the	οὔστινας χρὴ ἄρχειν, ἐν τῷ τότε κριθησόμενον. οὔκουν τὴν εἰς τὰ καλὰ ἐξόρμησιν διὰ πολλῶν ἀναγκαίαν αὐτοῖς εἶναι οἴκοθεν τοῦτο ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ κόσμου τε ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὅπως τις καθ’ αὐτὸν ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ σιγῆς ἀκριβοῦς, ὅποτε σιγῶντας ἐπιέναι δέοι, καὶ αὖ λαμπρᾶς τῆς βοῆς, ἵνα ἐμβοῆσαι καλόν, καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ ὡς φοβερωτάτου, ὅποτε ἐπαλαλάξαι καιρός, αὐτοὶ τε ὅπως ὀξέως κατακούοιεν τῶν [τε]

	moment came to howl; they themselves were to obey orders sharply and to pass them on sharply to their regiments, and every man should recall that neglect of his own duty brought the whole cause into common danger, while energetic attention to it contributed to the common success.	παραγγελλομένων καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν αὖ ὅπως ἐς τὰς τάξεις ὁξέως παραδιδῶνται τὰ παραγγέλματα· ἔν τε τῷ καθ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ τὸ πᾶν μεμνησθαι ξυγκινδυνεύον τε ἀμελουμένῳ καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐκπονουμένῳ ξυνορθούμενον.
f) Arr. Ana. 3.13.1-2.	But Alexander moved his men rather in the direction of his right, on which the Persians moved accordingly, their left far outflanking Alexander's army. The Scythian cavalry, riding along Alexander's line, were already in contact with the troops posted in front of it.	κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τεταγμένοι καὶ τὴν ἴλην τὴν βασιλικήν. ἦγε δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος μᾶλλον, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντιπαρήγον, ὑπερφαλαγγοῦντες πολὺ ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν εὐωνύμῳ. ἤδη τε οἱ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππεῖς παριππεύοντες ἤπτοντο τῶν προτεταγμένων τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τάξεως.
g) Arr. Ana. 4.4.2.	and heard calling out, in their barbarous way, insulting remarks to Alexander and boasting that he would never dare to lay a finger upon men like them – or, if he did, that he would soon find out the difference between Scythians and Asiatic savages.	ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐώρα τοὺς Σκύθας ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐωρῶντο οὐ πλατὺν ταύτη ὄντα, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βαρβαρικῶς ἐθρασύναντο, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἄψασθαι Σκυθῶν ἢ μαθόντα ἂν ὅτι περ τὸ διάφορον Σκύθαις τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς βαρβάροις,—ὑπὸ τούτων παροξυνόμενος ἐπενόει διαβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς.
h) Arr. Ana. 4.18.6.	but the answer to the offer was a shout of laughter. Then in their barbaric lingo they told Alexander to	ὅτι σώοις ὑπάρξει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἀπαλλαγῆναι παραδοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλῳτι βαρβαρίζοντες πτηνοὺς

	find soldiers with wings to capture the Rock for him.	ἐκέλευον ζητεῖν στρατιώτας Ἀλέξανδρον, οἵτινες αὐτῷ ἐξαιρήσουσι τὸ ὄρος, ὥς τῶν γε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμίαν ὥραν σφίσιν οὔσαν.
i) Arr. Ana. 7.12.2.	he promised personally to see that they were brought up in the Macedonian way, particularly in military training.	αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥς ἐκτρέφοιντο Μακεδονικῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τὰ πολέμια κοσμούμενοι.

12. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, trans. Gulick, C. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Ath. Dei. 14.624.	the Spartans cling more closely to their ancestral customs than the other Dorians do. The Doric scale, then, expresses masculinity and ostentation, and is not frivolous or light-hearted but fierce and serious, and is neither elaborate nor complex.	Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων Δωριέων τὰ πάτρια διαφυλάττουσιν ἢ μὲν οὖν Δῶριος ἀρμονία τὸ ἀνδρῶδες ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ οὐ διακεχυμένον οὐδ' ἰλαρόν, ἀλλὰ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ σφοδρόν, οὔτε δὲ ποικίλον οὔτε πολύτροπον.
b) Ath. Dei. 14.630- 631.	“[Pyrrichus] The dance by its warlike character reveals its Spartan origin. For the Spartans are given to war, and their sons adopt the marching songs which are called <i>enoplia</i> [under-arms]. The Spartans themselves in their wars recite from memory the poems of Tyrtaeus as they march forward in time to the music...the Spartans...instituted the custom in their military campaigns, when they have finished their dinner and sung the hymn of thanksgiving,	Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ εὔρημα· πολεμικοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Λάκωνες, ὧν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τὰ ἐμβατήρια μέλη ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἅπερ καὶ ἐνόπλια καλεῖται. καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Λάκωνες ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τὰ Τυρταίου ποιήματα ἀπομνημονεύοντες ἔρρυθμον κίνησιν ποιοῦνται. Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσσηνίων διὰ τὴν Τυρταίου στρατηγίαν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι, ἂν δειπνοποιήσωνται καὶ παιωνίσωσιν, ᾄδειν καθ' ἓνα

	of having each one in turn sing something by Tyrtaeus; their commander-in-chief acts as a judge and awards a prize of meat to the victor...among the Spartans alone it still persists [pyrrichus dance] as a preparatory drill for war; further all males in Sparta, from five years of age on, learn thoroughly how to dance the pyrriche.”	<τὰ> Τυρταίου· κρίνειν δὲ τὸν πολέμαρχον καὶ ἄθλον διδόναι τῷ νικῶντι κρέας. ἥ δὲ πυρρίχη παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν οὐκ ἔτι παραμένει· ἐκλιπούσης δὲ αὐτῆς συμβέβηκε καὶ τοὺς πολέμους καταλυθῆναι. παρὰ μόνοις δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις διαμένει προγύμνασμα οὗσα τοῦ πολέμου· ἐκμανθάνουσί τε πάντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ πέντε ἐτῶν πυρριχίζειν.
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13. Caesar, African War, trans. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Caes. B. Afr. 16.	‘I’m not a recruit, Labienus,’ replied one soldier, ‘but a veteran of the Tenth legion.’ To this Labienus retorted: ‘I don’t recognise the standards of the Tenth.’ Then said the soldier: ‘You’ll soon see what I’m made of.’	Tum miles, ‘Non sum,’ inquit, ‘tiro, Labiene, sed de legione X. veteranus.’ Tum Labienus, ‘Non agnosco,’ inquit, ‘signa decumanorum.’ Tum ait miles: ‘Iam me qui sim intelleges’

14. Caesar, *Civil Wars*, trans. Damon, C. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Caes. B Civ 1.69.	Afranius’ men at first ran out of their camp happily to watch, and sent jeering words after us. We were running away, they said, forced to do so by the scarcity of necessary food, and were on our way back to Ilerda.	Ac primo Afraniani milites visendi causa laeti ex castris procurrebant contumeliosisque vocibus prosequabantur nos: necessari victus inopia coactos fugere atque ad Ilerdam reverti.
b) Caes. B. Civ. 3.46.	gave the order for a trumpet signal and a charge at the enemy.	cohortatus tuba signum dari atque in hostes impetum fieri iussit.

c) Caes. <i>B Civ</i> 3.48.	They made loaves from it, and when the Pompeians, in crosstalk, referred mockingly to their hunger, our men generally threw these at them to lessen their hopes.	Ex hoc effectos panes, cum in colloquiis Pompeiani famem nostris obiectarent, vulgo in eos iaciebant ut spem eorum minuerent.
d) Caes. <i>B. Civ.</i> 3.84.	After having arranged his provisioning and put heart into his soldiers Caesar thought that he should find out what Pompey's intention or desire for a fight was, now that enough time had elapsed since the Dyrrachium battles for him to feel that he had sufficiently observed the soldiers' morale. So he led the army out and drew up his line, at first in a spot he controlled, some distance from Pompey's camp, but on the following days advancing further from his own camp and setting his line at the foot of the hills controlled by Pompey. This made his army more confident every day. He maintained the previous arrangement among the cavalry that I mentioned: since he was numerically inferior by a wide margin, he ordered young and unencumbered men from the frontline fighters—soldiers chosen for speed—to do battle in the midst of the cavalry, men who by daily practice were gaining experience of this type of battle, too.	Re frumentaria praeparata confirmatisque militibus et satis longo spatio temporis a Dyrrachinis proeliis intermisso quo satis perspectum habere <Caesar animum> militum videretur, temptandum existimavit quidnam Pompeius propositi aut voluntatis ad dimicandum haberet. Itaque ex castris exercitum eduxit aciemque instruxit primum suis locis pauloque a castris Pompei longius, continentibus vero diebus ut progrederetur a castris suis collibusque Pompeianis aciem subiceret. Quae res in dies confirmationem eius exercitum efficiebat. Superius tamen institutum in equitibus quod demonstravimus servabat, ut quoniam numero multis partibus esset inferior adulescentes atque expeditos ex antesignanis—electos milites ad pernecitatem—armis inter equites proeliari iuberet, qui cotidiana consuetudine usum quoque eius generis proeliorum perciperent.

e) Caes. B. Civ. 3.90.	After this speech, when the soldiers were clamoring and blazing with enthusiasm for battle, he let the signal sound.	Hac habita oratione exposcentibus militibus et studio pugnae ardentibus tuba signum dedit.
f) Caes. B Civ. 3.92.	It appears to us that he did this without sound reason, for there is a certain eagerness of spirit and an innate keenness in everyone which is inflamed by desire for battle. Generals ought to encourage this, not repress it; nor was it for nothing that the practice began in antiquity of giving the signal on both sides and everyone's raising a war-cry; this was believed both to frighten the enemy and to stimulate one's own men.	Clamoremque et lassitudine conficerentur. quod nobis quidem nulla ratione factum a Pompeio videtur, propterea quod est quaedam animi incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus, quae studio pugnae incenditur. hanc non reprimere, sed augere imperatores debent; neque frustra antiquitus institutum est, ut signa undique concinerent clamoremque universi tollerent; quibus rebus et hostes terreri et suos incitari existimaverunt.

15. Caesar, *Gallic War*, trans. Edwards, H. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Caes. Gal. 1.39.	the very expression on their faces and the fierce glance of their eyes were more than they could endure.	atque aciem oculorum dicebant ferre potuisse, tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret.
b) Caes. Gal. 1.51.	the Germans led their own forces out of camp and posted them at equal intervals according to their tribes, Harudes, Marcomani, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusii, Suebi; and their whole line they set about with wagons and carts, to leave no hope in flight. Upon these they set their women, who with	Tum demum necessario Germani suas copias castris eduxerunt generatimque constituerunt paribus intervallis, Harudes, Marcomanos, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusios, Suebos, omnemque aciem suam raedis et carris circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fuga

	tears and outstretched hands entreated the men, as they marched out to fight, not to deliver them into Roman slavery.	relinqueretur. Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae in proelium proficiscentes passis manibus flentes implorabant, ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent.
c) Caes. Gal. 2.30.	When our mantlets had been pushed up and a ramp constructed, and they saw a tower set up in the distance, they first of all laughed at us from the wall, and loudly railed upon us for erecting so great an engine at so great a distance. By what handiwork, said they, by what strength could men, especially of so puny a stature (for, as a rule, our stature, short by comparison with their own huge physique, is despised of the Gauls), hope to set so heavy a tower on the wall?	Vbi vineis actis aggere exstructo turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum irridere ex muro atque increpitare vocibus, quod tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio instrueretur: quibusnam manibus aut quibus viribus praesertim homines tantulae staturae (nam plerumque hominibus Gallis prae magnitudine corporum suorum brevitudo nostra contemptui est) tanti oneris turrim in muro <posse> sese collocare confiderent?
d) Caes. Gal. 4.25.	And then, while our troops still hung back, chiefly on account of the depth of the sea, the eagle-bearer of the Tenth Legion, after a prayer to heaven to bless the legion by his act, cried: "Leap down, soldiers, unless you wish to betray your eagle to the enemy; it shall be told that I at any rate did my duty to my country and my general."	Atque nostris militibus cunctantibus, maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui decimae legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus deos, ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret, "Desilite," inquit, "milites, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero."
e) Caes. Gal. 6.39.	The natives, on the other hand, catching sight of the standards at a distance, desisted from the assault: at first they supposed that the legions had returned.	Nemo est tam fortis quin rei novitate perturbetur. Barbari signa procul conspicati oppugnatione

		desistunt: redisse primo legiones credunt.
f) Caes. Gal. 7.28.	The enemy were panic-stricken by the surprise.	Hostes re nova perterriti muro turribusque deiecti in foro ac locis patentioribus cuneatim constiterunt.

16. Caesar, *Spanish War*, trans. Way, A. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Caes. B. Hisp. 25.	began to indulge in taunts, claiming that there was nobody a match for him on the opposite side.	qui fidens viribus ex adversariis sibi parem esse neminem
b) Caes. B. Hisp. 30-31.	But when it came to the ears of the men that he was doing so, they were bitterly disgusted, as they took it to mean that their chance of deciding the conflict was being hampered. This delay made the enemy keener: it was fear, they thought, that was preventing Caesar's forces from joining battle: and although by displaying themselves they gave our men the opportunity of engaging them on steep ground, yet it was only at great risk that one could approach them. On our side the men of the Tenth legion held their proper post—the right wing; while the men of the Third and Fifth legions together with all the rest of our forces—the auxiliary troops and the cavalry—held the left wing. The shout was raised and the battle joined. Hereupon, although our men were superior in point of valour, their opponents offered a very spirited	Quod cum hominum auribus esset obiectum, moleste et acerbe accipiebant se impediri quo minus proelium conficere possent. Haec mora adversarios alacriores efficiebat: Caesaris copias timore impediri ad committendum proelium. Ita se efferentes iniquo loco sui potestatem faciebant, ut magno tamen periculo accessus eorum haberetur. Hic decumani suum locum, cornum dextrum, tenebant, sinistrum III. et V., itemque cetera auxilia et equitatus. Proelium clamore facto committitur. Hic etsi virtute nostri antecedeabant, adversarii loco superiore se defendebant acerrime, et vehemens fiebat ab utrisque clamor telorumque missu concursus, sic ut prope nostri

	<p>resistance from their higher position; and so furious proved the shouting on both sides, so furious the charging with its attendant volley of missiles, that our men well nigh lost their confidence in victory. In fact, as regards attacking and shouting—the two chief methods of demoralising an enemy—both sides stood on equal terms of comparison.</p>	<p>diffident victoriae. Congressus enim et clamor, quibus rebus maxime hostis conterretur, in collatu pari erat condicione. Ita ex utroque genere pugnae cum parem virtutem ad bellandum contulissent, pilorum missu fixa cumulatur et concidit adversariorum multitudo.</p> <p>Dextrum ut demonstravimus decumanos cornum tenuisse; qui etsi erant pauci, tamen propter virtutem magno adversarios timore eorum opera adficiebant</p>
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17. Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, trans. Cary, E & Foster, H. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Dio. Cass. 38.45. 4-5.	<p>For, to omit other considerations,—our numbers, our age, our experience, our deeds,—who does not know that we have armour over all our body alike, whereas they are for the most part unprotected, and that we employ both reason and organization, whereas they are unorganized and rush at everything impulsively? Do not, then, fear their violence nor yet the magnitude either of their bodies or their shouting. For voice never yet killed any man, and their bodies, having the same hands as ours, can accomplish no more, but will be capable of much greater injury through being both large and unprotected. And though their charge is tremendous and</p>	<p>ἵνα γὰρ τᾶλλα ἐάσω, τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῶν, τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, τὰ ἔργα, ἐκεῖνό γε τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν κατὰ πᾶν ὁμοίως τὸ σῶμα ὠπλίσμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ γυμνοὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰσι, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ λογισμῷ καὶ τάξει χρώμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ θυμῷ πρὸς πάντα ἀσύντακτοι φέρονται; μὴ γάρ τοι μήτε τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτῶν μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ τῶν σωμάτων ἢ τῆς βοῆς φοβηθῆτε.</p> <p>φωνή τε γὰρ οὐδένα πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν δρᾶν μὲν οὐδὲν πλέον, ἅτε τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμῖν χεῖρας ἔχοντα, πάσχειν δὲ πολὺ πλείω, ἅτε καὶ μεγάλα καὶ γυμνὰ ὄντα, δυνήσεται ἢ</p>

	headlong at first, it easily exhausts itself and is effective for but a short while.	τε ὀρμὴ ἄμετρος καὶ προπετὴς τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς οὖσα καὶ ἐκκενοῦται ῥαδίως καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀνθεῖ.
b) Dio. Cass. 49.9.	Accordingly, when the standard was raised and the trumpet gave the signal...Accordingly, in order that they might keep their own gaze fixed upon the action and might not distract those who were taking part in it, they kept silent or indulged in but little shouting. They cheered the men who were fighting and appealed to the gods; they praised those of their own number who were winning and reproached those who were losing; they exchanged many exhortations with their own men, and many shouts with each other, in order that their own men might hear more easily what was said and their opponents might not catch the commands meant for them.	Ὡς οὖν τό τε σημεῖον ἦρθη καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ὑπεσήμηνεν...καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σιωπῇ, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα ἀποβλέπωσι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ μὴ ἀποτρίβωσι, καὶ κραυγῇ μικρᾷ ἐχρῶντο, τοὺς τε ναυμαχοῦντας ἀνακαλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβοώμενοι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κρατοῦντάς σφων ἐπαινοῦντες, τοὺς δ' ἡττωμένους λοιδοροῦντες, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνοις ἀντιπαρακελεύόμενοι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιβοῶντες, τοῦ τε τοὺς σφετέρους ῥᾶον τὰ λεγόμενα ἀκούειν καὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἥττον τῶν οἰκείων ἐπαΐειν.
c) Dio. Cass. 54.8.	Meanwhile Phraates, fearing that Augustus would lead an expedition against him because he had not yet performed any of his engagements, sent back to him the standards and all the captives, with the exception of a few who in shame had destroyed themselves or, eluding detection, remained in the country. Augustus received them as if he had conquered the Parthian in a war; for he took great pride in the achievement, declaring that he had	Κὰν τούτῳ ὁ Φραάτης φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ οἱ, ὅτι μηδέπω τῶν συγκειμένων ἐπεποιήκει τι, τὰ τε σημεῖα αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πλὴν ὀλίγων οἱ ὑπ' αἰσχύνῃς σφᾶς ἔφθειραν ἢ καὶ κατὰ χώραν λαθόντες ἔμειναν, ἀπέπεμψε. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὥς καὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νενικηκῶς ἔλαβε· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφρόνει μέγα, λέγων ὅτι τὰ πρότερόν ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολόμενα ἀκονιτὶ ἐκεκόμιστο.

	<p>recovered without a struggle what had formerly been lost in battle. Indeed, in honour of this success he commanded that sacrifices be decreed and likewise a temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitol, in imitation of that of Jupiter Feretrius, in which to dedicate the standards; and he himself carried out both decrees. Moreover he rode into the city on horseback and was honoured with a triumphal arch.</p>	<p>ἀμέλει καὶ θυσίας ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ νεῶν Ἄρεως Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλασε καὶ ἀψίδι τροπαιοφόρῳ ἐτιμήθη.</p>
<p>d) Dio. Cass. 55.10.</p>	<p>. . . to Mars, and that he himself and his grandsons should go there as often as they wished, while those who were passing from the class of boys and were being enrolled among the youths of military age should invariably do so; that those who were sent out to commands abroad should make that their starting-point; that the senate should take its votes there in regard to the granting of triumphs, and that the victors after celebrating them should dedicate to this Mars their sceptre and their crown; that such victors and all others who received triumphal honours should have their statues in bronze erected in the Forum; that in case military standards captured by the enemy were ever recovered they should be placed in the temple; that a festival should be celebrated beside the steps of the temple by the cavalry commanders</p>	<p>. . . Ἄρει, ἑαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους, ὅσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσωσι, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἐξιόντας καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφομένους ἐκεῖσε πάντως ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐκδήμους στελλομένους ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορμᾶσθαι, τὰς τε γνώμας τὰς περὶ τῶν νικητηρίων ἐκεῖ τὴν βουλὴν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς πέμπσαντας αὐτὰ τῷ Ἄρει τούτῳ καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀνατιθέναι, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς λαμβάνοντας ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῦς ἵστασθαι, ἃν τέ ποτε σημεῖα στρατιωτικὰ ἐς πολέμιους ἀλόντα ἀνακομισθῇ, ἐς τὸν ναὸν αὐτὰ τίθεσθαι, καὶ πανήγυριν τινα πρὸς τοῖς ἀναβασμοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ἱλαρχούντων ποιεῖσθαι, ἧλόν τε αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητευσάντων προσπήγνυσθαι, καὶ τὴν τε</p>

	<p>of each year; that a nail should be driven into it by the censors at the close of their terms; and that even senators should have the right of contracting to supply the horses that were to compete in the Circensian games, and also to take</p> <p>general charge of the temple, just as had been provided by law in the case of the temples of Apollo and of Jupiter Capitolinus. These matters settled, Augustus dedicated this temple of Mars, although he had granted to Gaius and Lucius once for all the right to consecrate all such buildings by virtue of a kind of consular authority that they exercised in the time-honoured manner. And they did, in fact, have the management of the Circensian games on this occasion, while their brother Agrippa took part along with the boys of the first families in the equestrian exercise called "Troy." Two hundred and sixty lions were slaughtered in the Circus. There was a gladiatorial combat in the Saepta, and a naval battle between the "Persians" and the "Athenians"... These were the celebrations in honour of Mars.</p>	<p>παράσχεσιν τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν ἀγωνιουμένων καὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ φυλακὴν καὶ βουλευταῖς ἐργολαβεῖν ἐξεῖναι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἐνενομοθέτητο.</p> <p>Ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις τὸ μέγαρον ἐκεῖνο ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐθείωσε, καίτοι τῷ τε Γαίῳ καὶ τῷ Λουκίῳ πάντα καθάπαξ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἱεροῦν ἐπιτρέψας ὑπατικῇ τινὶ ἀρχῇ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν χρωμένοις. καὶ τὴν γε ἵπποδρομίαν αὐτοὶ τότε διέθεσαν, τὴν τε Τροίαν καλουμένην οἱ παῖδες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν ἵππευσαν. καὶ λέοντες ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐσφάγησαν. ὀπλομαχία τε ἐν τοῖς σέπτοις καὶ ναυμαχία ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι σημεῖα τινὰ αὐτῆς δεῖκνυται Περσῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων... Τῷ μὲν οὖν Ἄρει ταῦτ' ἐγένετο.</p>
e) Dio. Cass. 72.16. 1-2.	<p>The Iazyges were defeated and came to terms Zanticus himself appearing as a suppliant before Antoninus. Previously they had imprisoned Banadaspus, their</p>	<p>Ὅτι οἱ Ἰάζυγες κακωθέντες ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἦλθον, αὐτοῦ Ζαντικοῦ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἱκετεύσαντος. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τὸν Βανάδασπον</p>

	<p>second king, for making overtures to him; but now all the chief men came with Zanticus and made the same compact as that to which the Quadi and the Marcomani had agreed, except that they were required to dwell twice as far away from the Ister as those tribes. Indeed, the emperor had wished to exterminate them utterly. For that they were still strong at this time and had done the Romans great harm was evident from the fact that they returned a hundred thousand captives that were still in their hands even after the many who had been sold, had died, or had escaped, and that they promptly furnished as their contribution to the alliance eight thousand cavalry, fifty-five hundred of whom he sent to Britain.</p>	<p>τὸν δεύτερόν σφων βασιλέα ἔδησαν, ὅτι διεκηρυκεύσατο αὐτῷ· τότε δὲ πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τοῦ Ζαντικοῦ ἦλθον, καὶ συνέθεντο τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς Κουάδοις καὶ τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τὸ διπλάσιον αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀποικίσειν ἤμελλον. ὁ γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ ἤθελε μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκκόψαι· ὅτι γὰρ καὶ τότε ἔτι ἔρρωντο καὶ ὅτι μεγάλα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κακὰ ἔδρασαν, ἐξ ἐκείνου κατεφάνη ὅτι τῶν τε αἰχμαλώτων μυριάδας δέκα ἀπέδοσαν, οὓς μετὰ πολλοὺς μὲν πραθέντας πολλοὺς δὲ τελευτήσαντας πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ φυγόντας εἶχον, καὶ ἵππεας εὐθὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐς συμμαχίαν οἱ παρέσχον, ἀφ' ὧν πεντακισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐς Βρεττανίαν ἔπεμψεν.</p>
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18. Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, trans. Oldfather, C. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Dio. Sic. 16.3.1-3.	<p>Philip was not panic-stricken by the magnitude of the expected perils, but, bringing together the Macedonians in a series of assemblies and exhorting them with eloquent speeches to be men, he built up their morale, and, having improved the organization of his forces and equipped the men suitably with weapons of war, he held</p>	<p>Φίλιππος οὐ κατεπλάγη τὸ μέγεθος τῶν προσδοκωμένων δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐν συνεχέσιν ἐκκλησίαις συνέχων καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου δεινότητι προτρεπόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν εὐθαρσεῖς ἐποίησε, τὰς δὲ στρατιωτικὰς τάξεις ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον διορθωσάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὅπλοις</p>

	constant manoeuvres of the men under arms and competitive drills. Indeed he devised the compact order and the equipment of the phalanx, imitating the close order fighting with overlapping shields of the warriors at Troy, and was the first to organize the Macedonian phalanx.	δεόντως κοσμήσας, συνεχεῖς ἐξοπλάσιος καὶ γυμνασίας ἐναγωνίους ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπενόησε δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς φάλαγγος πυκνότητα καὶ κατασκευὴν, μιμησάμενος τὸν ἐν Τροίᾳ τῶν ἡρώων συνασπισμόν, καὶ πρῶτος συνεστήσατο τὴν Μακεδονικὴν φάλαγγα.
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19. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, trans. Cary, E. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) D. H. Ant. 2.2.	The leaders of the colony were twin brothers of the royal family, Romulus being the name of one and Remus of the other. On the mother's side they were descended from Aeneas and were Dardanidae; it is hard to say with certainty who their father was, but the Romans believe them to have been the sons of Mars. However, they did not both continue to be leaders of the colony, since they quarrelled over the command; but after one of them had been slain in the battle that ensued, Romulus, who survived	οἱ δὲ ἀγαγόντες τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀδελφοὶ δίδυμοι τοῦ βασιλείου γένους ἦσαν· Ῥωμύλος αὐτῶν ὄνομα θατέρῳ, τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ Ῥῶμος· τὰ μητρόθεν μὲν ἀπ' Αἰνείου τε καὶ Δαρδανίδαι, πατὴρ δὲ ἀκρίβειαν μὲν οὐ ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν ἐξ ὅτου φύντες, πεπίστευνται δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Ἄρεος υἱοὶ γενέσθαι. οὐ μέντοι διέμεινάν γε ἀμφοτέρω τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνες ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς στασιάσαντες ἀλλ' ὁ περιλειφθεὶς αὐτῶν Ῥωμύλος ἀπολομένου θατέρου
b) D. H. Ant 2.18.	It is not only these institutions of Romulus that I admire, but also those which I am going to relate. He understood that the good government of cities was due to certain causes which all statesmen prate of but few succeed in making effective: first, the favour of the gods, the enjoyment of which gives	Ταῦτά τε δὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄγαμαι καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἃ μέλλω λέγειν, ὅτι τοῦ καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις αἰτίας ὑπολαβόν, ἃς θρυλοῦσι μὲν ἅπαντες οἱ πολιτικοί, κατασκευάζουσι δ' ὀλίγοι, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὖνοιαν, ἧς παρούσης ἅπαντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

<p>success to men's every enterprise; next, moderation and justice, as a result of which the citizens, being less disposed to injure one another, are more harmonious, and make honour, rather than the most shameful pleasures, the measure of their happiness; and, lastly, bravery in war, which renders the other virtues also useful to their possessors. And he thought that none of these advantages is the effect of chance, but recognized that good laws and the emulation of worthy pursuits render a State pious, temperate, devoted to justice, and brave in war. He took great care, therefore, to encourage these, beginning with the worship of the gods and genii. He established temples, sacred precincts and altars, arranged for the setting up of statues, determined the representations and symbols of the gods, and declared their powers, the beneficent gifts which they have made to mankind, the particular festivals that should be celebrated in honour of each god or genius, the sacrifices with which they delight to be honoured by men, as well as the holidays, festal assemblies, days of rest, and everything alike of that nature, in all of which he followed the best customs in use among the Greeks. But he rejected all the traditional myths concerning the gods that contain</p>	<p>ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω συμφέρεται, ἔπειτα τὴν σωφροσύνην τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην, δι' ἧς ἤττον ἀλλήλους βλάπτοντες μᾶλλον ὁμονοοῦσι καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὐ ταῖς αἰσχίσταις μετροῦσιν ἡδοναῖς ἀλλὰ τῷ καλῷ, τελευταίαν δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γενναιότητα τὴν παρασκευάζουσαν εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὠφελίμους, οὐκ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου παραγίνεσθαι τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλ' ἔγνω διότι νόμοι σπουδαῖοι καὶ καλῶν ζῆλος ἐπιτηδεύματων εὐσεβῆ καὶ σώφρονα καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἀσκοῦσαν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθὴν ἐξεργάζονται πόλιν· ὧν πολλὴν ἔσχε πρόνοιαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ δαιμόνια σεβασμῶν. ἱερὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τεμένη καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ξοάνων ἰδρύσεις μορφάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ σύμβολα καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ δωρεάς, αἷς τὸ γένος ἡμῶν εὐηργέτησαν, ἑορτάς τε ὁποίας τινὰς ἐκάστῳ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων ἄγεσθαι προσήκει καὶ θυσίας, αἷς χαίρουσι γεραιρόμενοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἐκεχειρίας τε αὖ καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ πόνων ἀναπαύλας καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁμοίως κατεστήσατο τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι νομίμων· τοὺς δὲ παραδεδομένους περὶ αὐτῶν μύθους,</p>
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	<p>blasphemies or calumnies against them, looking upon these as wicked, useless and indecent, and unworthy, not only of the gods, but even of good men; and he accustomed people both to think and to speak the best of the gods and to attribute to them no conduct unworthy of their blessed nature.</p>	<p>ἐν οἷς βλασφημίαι τινὲς ἔνεισι κατ' αὐτῶν ἢ κακηγορίαι, πονηροὺς καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ ἀσχήμονας ὑπολαβὼν εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ὅτι θεῶν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν ἀξίους, ἅπαντας ἐξέβαλε καὶ παρεσκεύασε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ κράτιστα περὶ θεῶν λέγειν τε καὶ φρονεῖν μηδὲν αὐτοῖς προσάπτοντας ἀνάξιον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως.</p>
<p>c) D. H. Ant. 2.34.</p>	<p>the spoils of those who had been slain in battle and the choicest part of the booty as an offering to the gods; and he offered many sacrifices besides. Romulus himself came last in the procession, clad in a purple robe and wearing a crown of laurel upon his head, and, that he might maintain the royal dignity, he rode in a chariot drawn by four horses. The rest of the army, both foot and horse, followed, ranged in their several divisions, praising the gods in songs of their country and extolling their general in improvised verses. They were met by the citizens with their wives and children, who, ranging themselves on each side of the road, congratulated them upon their victory and expressed their welcome in every other way. When the army entered the city, they found mixing bowls filled to the brim with wine and tables loaded down with all sorts of viands, which</p>	<p>τε ἀπὸ τῶν πεπτωκότων κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ ἀκροθίνια λαφύρων θεοῖς, καὶ πολλὰς ἅμα τούτοις θυσίας ἐποιήσατο. τελευταῖος δὲ τῆς πομπῆς αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐσθῆτα μὲν ἡμφιεσμένος ἀλουργῇ, δάφνη δὲ κατεστεμμένος τὰς κόμας καὶ ἵνα τὸ βασίλειον ἀξίωμα σώζη, τεθρίπῳ παρεμβεβηκώς. ἢ δ' ἄλλη δύναμις αὐτῷ παρηκολούθει πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων κεκοσμημένη κατὰ τέλη θεοὺς τε ὑμνοῦσα πατρίοις ᾠδαῖς καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα κυδαίνουσα ποιήμασιν αὐτοσχεδίοις. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὴντων αὐτοῖς ἅμα γυναιξί τε καὶ τέκνοις παρ' ἄμφω τὰ μέρη τῆς ὁδοῦ τῇ τε νίκῃ συνηδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι φιλοφροσύνην. ὥς δὲ παρῆλθεν ἡ δύναμις εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρατῆρσί τε ἐπετύγχανεν οἶνῳ κεκραμένοις καὶ τραπέζαις τροφῆς παντοίας γεμούσαις, αἱ παρὰ τὰς</p>

	<p>were placed before the most distinguished houses in order that all who pleased might take their fill. Such was the victorious procession, marked by the carrying of trophies and concluding with a sacrifice, which the Romans call a triumph, as it was first instituted by Romulus. But in our day the triumph has become a very costly and ostentatious pageant, being attended with a theatrical pomp that is designed rather as a display of wealth than as the approbation of valour, and it has departed in every respect from its ancient simplicity. After the procession and the sacrifice Romulus built a small temple on the summit of the Capitoline hill to Jupiter whom the Romans call Feretrius; indeed, the ancient traces of it still remain, of which the longest sides are less than fifteen feet. In this temple he consecrated the spoils of the king of the Caeninenses, whom he had slain with his own hand. As for Jupiter Feretrius, to whom Romulus dedicated these arms, one will not err from the truth whether one wishes to call him Tropaiouchos, or Skylophoros, as some will have it, or, since he excels all things and comprehends universal nature and motion, Hyperphretês.</p>	<p>ἐπιφανεστάτας τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔκειντο, ἵνα ἐμφορεῖσθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἦ. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπινίκιός τε καὶ τροπαιοφόρος πομπὴ καὶ θυσία, ἣν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι θρίαμβον, ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου πρώτου κατασταθεῖσα τοιαύτη τις ἦν ἐν δὲ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ πολυτελὲς γέγονε καὶ ἀλαζῶν εἰς πλούτου μᾶλλον ἐπίδειξιν ἢ δόκησιν ἀρετῆς ἐπιτραγωδουμένη καὶ καθ' ἅπασαν ἰδέαν ἐκβέβηκε τὴν ἀρχαίαν εὐτέλειαν. μετὰ δὲ τῇ πομπῇ τε καὶ θυσίᾳ νεῶν κατασκευάσας ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου Διός, ὃν ἐπικαλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Φερέτριον, οὐ μέγαν (ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ σώζεται τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἵχνος ἐλάττονας ἢ πέντε ποδῶν καὶ δέκα τὰς μεῖζους πλευρὰς ἔχον), ἐν τούτῳ καθιέρωσε τὰ σκῦλα τοῦ Καινινιτῶν βασιλέως, ὃν αὐτοχειρίᾳ κατειργάσατο. τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν Φερέτριον, ᾧ τὰ ὄπλα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀνέθηκεν, εἴτε βούλεται τις Τροπαιοῦχον εἴτε Σκυλοφόρον καλεῖν ὡς ἀξιοῦσίν τινες εἶθ' ὅτι πάντων ὑπερέχει καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιεῖληφε τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν τε καὶ κίνησιν, Ὑπερφερέτην, οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεται τῆς ἀληθείας.</p>
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<p>d) D. H. Ant. 2.48.</p>	<p>Concerning the city of Cures from which Tatius and his followers came (for the course of my narrative requires that I should speak of them also, and say who they were and whence), we have received the following account. In the territory of Reate, when the Aborigines were in possession of it, a certain maiden of that country, who was of the highest birth, went into the temple of Enyalios to dance. The Sabines and the Romans, who have learned it from them, give to Enyalios the name of Quirinus, without being able to affirm for certain whether he is Mars or some other god who enjoys the same honours as Mars. For some think that both these names are used of one and the same god who presides over martial combats; others, that the names are applied to two different gods of war. Be that as it may, this maiden, while she was dancing in the temple, was on a sudden seized with divine inspiration, and quitting the dance, ran into the inner sanctuary of the god; after which, being with child by this divinity, as everybody believed, she brought forth a son named Modius, with the surname Fabidius, who, being arrived at manhood, had not a human but a divine form and was renowned above all others for his warlike deeds. And</p>	<p>Περὶ δὲ τῆς Κυριτῶν πόλεως, ἐξ ἧς οἱ περὶ τὸν Τάτιον ἦσαν (ἀπαιτεῖ γὰρ ἡ διήγησις καὶ περὶ τούτων, οἵτινές τε καὶ ὁπόθεν ἦσαν, εἰπεῖν) τοσαῦτα παρελάβομεν. ἐν τῇ Ῥεατίνων χώρα καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀβοριγῖνες αὐτὴν κατεῖχον παρθένος τις ἐπιχωρία τοῦ πρώτου γένους εἰς ἱερὸν ἦλθεν Ἐνυαλίου χορεύουσα τὸν δ' Ἐνυάλιον οἱ Σαβῖνοι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μαθόντες Κυρῖνον ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἴτε Ἄρης ἐστὶν εἴτε ἕτερός τις ὁμοίας Ἄρει τιμᾶς ἔχων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἑνὸς οἴονται θεοῦ πολεμικῶν ἀγῶνων ἡγεμόνος ἐκάτερον τῶν ὀνομάτων κατηγορεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ κατὰ δύο τάττεσθαι δαιμόνων πολεμιστῶν τὰ ὀνόματα. ἐν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ τεμένει χορεύουσα ἡ παῖς ἔνθεος ἄφνω γίνεται καὶ καταλιποῦσα τὸν χορὸν εἰς τὸν σηκὸν εἰστρέχει τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔπειτα ἐγκύμων ἐκ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὥς ἅπασιν ἐδόκει, γενομένη τίττει παῖδα Μόδιον ὄνομα, Φαβίδιον ἐπὶ κλησιν, ὃς ἀνδρωθεὶς μορφὴν τε οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον ἴσχει, καὶ τὰ πολέμια πάντων γίνεται λαμπρότατος· καὶ αὐτὸν εἰσέρχεται πόθος οἰκίσαι πόλιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ συναγαγὼν δὴ χεῖρα πολλὴν τῶν</p>
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	conceiving a desire to found a city on his own account, he gathered together a great number of people of the neighbourhood and in a very short time built the city called Cures: he gave it this name, as some say, from the divinity whose son he was reputed to be, or, as others state, from a spear, since the Sabines call spears cures. This is the account given by Terentius Varro.	περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία οἰκούντων ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάνυ χρόνῳ κτίζει τὰς καλουμένας Κύρεις, ὡς μὲν τινες ἱστοροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, ἐξ οὗ γενέσθαι λόγος αὐτὸν εἶχε, τοῦνομα τῇ πόλει θέμενος, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι γράφουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰχμῆς· κύρεις γὰρ οἱ Σαβῖνοι τὰς αἰχμὰς καλοῦσιν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων γράφει.
e) D. H. Ant. 2.70-71.	The sixth division of his religious institutions was devoted to those the Romans call Salii. whom Numa himself appointed out of the patricians, choosing twelve young men of the most graceful appearance. These are the Salii whose holy things are deposited on the Palatine hill and who are themselves called the (Salii) Palatini; for the (Salii) Agonales, by some called the Salii Collini, the repository of whose holy things is on the Quirinal hill, were appointed after Numa's time by King Hostilius, in pursuance of a vow he had made in the war against the Sabines. All these Salii are a kind of dancers and singers of hymns in praise of the gods of war. Their festival falls about the time of the Panathenaea, in the month which they call March, and is celebrated at the public expense for many days, during which they proceed	Ἑκτη δὲ μοῖρα τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα νομοθεσίας ἦν ἡ προσνεμηθεῖσα τοῖς καλουμένοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Σάλιοις, οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ Νόμας ἀπέδειξεν ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων δώδεκα τοὺς εὐπρεπεστάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος νέους, ὧν ἐν Παλατίῳ κεῖται τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ καλοῦνται Παλατῖνοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγωναλεῖς, ὑπὸ δέ τινων Κολλῖνοι καλούμενοι Σάλιοι, ὧν τὸ ἱεροφυλάκιόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρινίου λόφου, μετὰ Νόμαν ἀπεδείχθησαν ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ὅστιλίου κατ' εὐχὴν, ἣν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Σαβίνους εὔξατο πολέμῳ. οὗτοι πάντες οἱ Σάλιοι χορευταὶ τινές εἰσι καὶ ὕμνηται τῶν ἐνόπλων θεῶν. ἑορτὴ δ' αὐτῶν ἐστι περὶ τὰ Παναθήναια τῷ καλουμένῳ Μαρτίῳ μηνὶ δημοτελεῖς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀγομένη, ἐν αἷς διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄγουσι τοὺς χοροὺς εἰς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ

<p>through the city with their dances to the Forum and to the Capitol and to many other places both private and public. They wear embroidered tunics girt about with wide girdles of bronze, and over these are fastened, with brooches, robes striped with scarlet and bordered with purple, which they call trabeae; this garment is peculiar to the Romans and a mark of the greatest honour. On their heads they wear apices, as they are called, that is, high caps contracted into the shape of a cone, which the Greeks call kyrbasiai. They have each of them a sword hanging at their girdle and in their right hand they hold a spear or a staff or something else of the sort, and on their left arm a Thracian buckler, which resembles a lozenge-shaped shield with its sides drawn in, such as those are said to carry who among the Greeks perform the sacred rites of the Curetes. And, in my opinion at least, the Salii, if the word be translated into Greek, are Curetes, whom, because they are kouroi or “young men,” we call by that name from their age, whereas the Romans call them Salii from their lively motions. For to leap and skip is by them called satire; and for the same reason they call all other dancers saltatores, deriving their name from the Salii,</p>	<p>πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἰδίους τε καὶ δημοσίους τόπους, χιτῶνας ποικίλους χαλκαῖς μίτραις κατεζωσμένοι καὶ τηβέννας ἐμπεπορημένοι περιπορφύρους φοινικοπαρύφους, ὧς καλοῦσι τραβέας (ἔστι δ’ ἐπιχώριος αὕτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐσθῆς ἐν τοῖς πάνυ τιμία) καὶ τὰς καλουμένας ἄπικας ἐπικείμενοι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, πῖλους ὑψηλοὺς εἰς σχῆμα συναγομένους κωνοειδές, ὧς Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύουσι κυρβασίας. παρέζωσται δ’ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ξίφος καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ λόγχην ἢ ῥάβδον ἢ τι τοιοῦθ’ ἕτερον κρατεῖ, τῇ δ’ εὐωνύμῳ κατέχει πέλτην Θρακίαν· ἢ δ’ ἐστὶ ῥομβοειδεῖ θυρεῷ στενωτέρας ἔχοντι τὰς λαγόνas ἐμφερής, οἷας λέγονται φέρειν οἱ τὰ Κουρήτων παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιτελοῦντες ἱερά. καὶ εἰσιν οἱ Σάλιοι κατὰ γοῶν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην Ἑλληνικῷ μεθερμηνευθέντες ὀνόματι Κουρήτες, ὑφ’ ἡμῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας οὕτως ὠνομασμένοι παρὰ τοὺς κούρους, ὑπὸ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῆς συντόνου κινήσεως. τὸ γὰρ ἐξάλλεσθαί τε καὶ πηδᾶν σαλῖρε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν λέγεται. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὀρχηστάς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτοις πολὺ τὸ</p>
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	<p>because their dancing also is attended by much leaping and capering. Whether I have been well advised or not in giving them this appellation, anyone who pleases may gather from their actions. For they execute their movements in arms, keeping time to a flute, sometimes all together, sometimes by turns, and while dancing sing certain traditional hymns. But this dance and exercise performed by armed men and the noise they make by striking their bucklers with their daggers, if we may base any conjectures on the ancient accounts... Among the vast number of bucklers which both the Saliithemselves bear and some of their servants carry suspended from rods, they say there is one that fell from heaven and was found in the palace of Numa, though no one had brought it thither and no buckler of that shape had ever before been known among the Italians; and that for both these reasons the Romans concluded that this buckler had been sent by the gods. They add that Numa, desiring that it should be honoured by being carried through the city on holy days by the most distinguished young men and that annual sacrifices should be offered to it, but at the same time being fearful both of the plots of his</p>	<p>ἄλμα καὶ σκίρτημα ἔνεστι, παράγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν Σαλίων τοῦνομα σαλτάτωρας καλοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς ὑπέιληφα ταύτην αὐτοῖς τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀποδιδούς ἐκ τῶν γιγνομένων ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὁ βουλόμενος συμβαλεῖ. κινοῦνται γὰρ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐν ῥυθμῷ τὰς ἐνοπλίους κινήσεις τοτὲ μὲν ὁμοῦ, τοτὲ δὲ παραλλάξ, καὶ πατρίους τινὰς ὕμνους ᾄδουσιν ἅμα ταῖς χορείαις. χορείαν δὲ καὶ κίνησιν ἐνόπλιον καὶ τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀποτελούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχειριδίων ψόφον, εἴ τι δεῖ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις... Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πέλταις, ἃς οἱ τε Σάλιοι φοροῦσι καὶ ἃς ὑπηρεταὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἡρτημένας ἀπὸ κανόνων κομίζουσι, πολλὰς πάνυ οὔσαις μίαν εἶναι λέγουσι διοπετῆ, εὐρεθῆναι δ’ αὐτὴν φασιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς Νόμα, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων εἰσενέγκαντος μηδ’ ἐγνωσμένου πρότερον ἐν Ἰταλοῖς τοιοῦτου σχήματος, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ὑπολαβεῖν Ῥωμαίους θεόπεμπτον εἶναι τὸ ὄπλον. βουλευθέντα δὲ τὸν Νόμαν τιμᾶσθαι τε αὐτὸ φερόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κρατίστων νέων ἐν ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ θυσίων ἐπετείων τυγχάνειν, δεδοικότα δὲ ἐπιβουλὰς τε τὰς ἀπ’ ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀφανισμόν αὐτοῦ κλοπαῖον, ὅπλα λέγουσι πολλὰ κατασκευάσασθαι τῷ</p>
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	<p>enemies and of its disappearance by theft, caused many other bucklers to be made resembling the one which fell from heaven, Mamurius, an artificer, having undertaken the work; so that, as a result of the perfect resemblance of the man-made imitations, the shape of the buckler sent by the gods was rendered inconspicuous and difficult to be distinguished by those who might plot to possess themselves of it. This dancing after the manner of the Curetes was a native institution among the Romans and was held in great honour by them, as I gather from many other indications and especially from what takes place in their processions both in the Circus and in the theatres. For in all of them young men clad in handsome tunics, with helmets, swords and bucklers, march in file. These are the leaders of the procession and are called by the Romans, from a game of which the Lydians seem to have been the inventors, ludiones; they show merely a certain resemblance, in my opinion, to the Salii, since they do not, like the Salii, do any of the things characteristic of the Curetes, either in their hymns or dancing.</p>	<p>διοπετεῖ παραπλήσια, Μαμορίου τινὸς δημιουργοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἀναδεξαμένου, ὥστε ἄσημον γενέσθαι καὶ δυσδιάγνωστον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπιβουλεύειν τὴν τοῦ θεοπέμπτου φύσιν διὰ τὴν ἀπαράλλακτον τῶν ἀνθρωπειῶν ἔργων ὁμοιότητα. ἐπιχώριον δὲ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πάνυ τίμιον ὁ κουρητισμός, ὥς ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, μάλιστα δ' ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς πομπὰς τάς τε ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις γινομένας· ἐν ἀπάσαις γὰρ ταύταις¹ πρόσηβοι κόροι χιτωνίσκους ἐνδεδυκότες ἐκπρεπεῖς κράνη καὶ ξίφη καὶ πάρμας ἔχοντες στοιχηδὸν πορεύονται, καὶ εἰσιν οὗτοι τῆς πομπῆς ἡγεμόνες καλούμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς παιδιᾶς τῆς ὑπὸ Λυδῶν ἐξευρηθῆαι δοκούσης λυδίῳνες, εἰκόνες ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῶν Σαλίων, ἐπεὶ τῶν γε Κουρητικῶν οὐδὲν ὥσπερ οἱ Σάλιοι δρῶσιν οὔτ' ἐν ὕμνοις οὔτ' ἐν ὀρχήσει.</p>
f) D. H. Ant.	<p>he swore by Mars and all the other gods that he would do everything in his power to overthrow the dominion</p>	<p>ὥμοσε τὸν τ' Ἄρη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πᾶν ὅσον δύναται πράξειν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς Ταρκυνίων</p>

<p>4.70-71.</p>	<p>of the Tarquini and that he would neither be reconciled to the tyrants himself nor tolerate any who should be reconciled to them, but would look upon every man who thought otherwise as an enemy and till his death would pursue with unrelenting hatred both the tyranny and its abettors; and if he should violate his oath, he prayed that he and his children might meet with the same end as Lucretia.</p> <p>LXXI. Having said this, he called upon all the rest also to take the same oath; and they, no longer hesitating, rose up, and receiving the dagger from one another, swore. After they had taken the oath they at once considered in what manner they should go about their undertaking. And Brutus advised them as follows.</p>	<p>δυναστείας, καὶ οὐτ' αὐτὸς διαλλαγῆσεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους οὔτε τοῖς διαλλαττομένοις ἐπιτρέψειν, ἀλλ' ἐχθρὸν ἡγήσεσθαι τὸν μὴ ταῦτα βουλόμενον καὶ μέχρι θανάτου τῇ τυραννίδι καὶ τοῖς συναγωνιζομένοις αὐτῇ διεχθρεύσειν. εἰ δὲ παραβαίῃ τὸν ὄρκον, τοιαύτην αὐτῷ τελευτήν ἡράσατο τοῦ βίου γενέσθαι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν οἷας ἔτυχεν ἢ γυνή.</p> <p>LXXI. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκάλει καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον· οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιάσαντες ἀνίσταντο καὶ τὸ ξίφος δεχόμενοι παρ' ἀλλήλων ὤμνουν. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὀρκωμοσιῶν μετὰ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἐζήτουν τίς ὁ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἔσται τρόπος. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς ὑποτίθεται τοιάδε·</p>
<p>g) D. H. Ant. 6.10.</p>	<p>While he was still speaking these words to spur them to valour, a kind of confidence inspired by Heaven seized the army and they all, as if with a single soul, cried out together, "Be of good courage and lead us on." Postumius commended their alacrity and made a vow to the gods that if the battle were attended with a happy and glorious outcome, he would offer great and expensive sacrifices and institute costly games to be celebrated annually by the</p>	<p>"Ἐτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος τὰ εἰς τὸ γενναῖον ἐπαγωγὰ θάρσος τι δαιμόνιον ἐμπίπτει τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ψυχῆς ἅπαντες ἀνεβόησαν ἅμα· "Θάρσει τε καὶ ἄγε." καὶ ὁ Ποστόμιος ἐπαινέσας τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐξάμενος, ἐὰν εὐτυχὲς καὶ καλὸν τέλος ἀκολουθήσῃ τῇ μάχῃ, θυσίας τε μεγάλας ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιτελέσειν χρημάτων καὶ ἀγῶνας καταστήσεσθαι πολυτελεῖς, οὓς ἄξει</p>

	Roman people; after which he dismissed his men to their ranks. And when they had received the watchword from their commanders and the trumpets had sounded the charge, they gave a shout.	ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις. ὥς δὲ τὸ σύνθημα τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων παρέλαβον καὶ τὰ παρακλητικὰ κλητικὰ τῆς μάχης αἱ σάλπιγγες ἐνεκελεύσαντο, ἐχώρουν ἀλαλάζαντες ὁμόσε.
h) D. H. Ant. 6.10.2.	While he was still speaking these words to spur them to valour, a kind of confidence inspired by Heaven seized the army and they all, as if with a single soul, cried out together, “Be of good courage and lead us on.” Postumius commended their alacrity and made a vow to the gods that if the battle were attended with a happy and glorious outcome, he would offer great and expensive sacrifices and institute costly games to be celebrated annually by the Roman people; after which he dismissed his men to their ranks. And when they had received the watchword from their commanders and the trumpets had sounded the charge, they gave a shout.	Ἦτι δ’ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος τὰ εἰς τὸ γενναῖον ἐπαγωγὰ θάρσος τι δαιμόνιον ἐμπίπτει τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς ψυχῆς ἅπαντες ἀνεβόησαν ἅμα· “Θάρσει τε καὶ ἄγε.” καὶ ὁ Ποστόμιος ἐπαινέσας τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐξάμενος, ἐὰν εὐτυχὲς καὶ καλὸν τέλος ἀκολουθήσῃ τῇ μάχῃ, θυσίας τε μεγάλας ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιτελέσειν χρημάτων καὶ ἀγῶνας καταστήσεσθαι ³ πολυτελεῖς, οὓς ἄξει ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις. ὥς δὲ τὸ σύνθημα τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων παρέλαβον καὶ τὰ παρακλητικὰ κλητικὰ τῆς μάχης αἱ σάλπιγγες ἐνεκελεύσαντο, ἐχώρουν ἀλαλάζαντες ὁμόσε.
i) D. H. Ant. 6.45.	For each consul still had command of his three legions, which were restrained by their military oaths, and none of the soldiers cared to desert their standards, so far did the fear of violating their oaths prevail with all of them. The pretext contrived for leading	τῶν γὰρ τριῶν ταγμάτων ἑκάτερος ³ ἔτι κύριος ἦν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὅρκοις κατειργομένων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν σημείων ἡξίου· τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ὁ τῶν ὀρκῶν ἐν ἑκάστῳ φόβος. πρόφασις δὲ κατεσκευάσθη τῆς

	<p>out the forces was that the Aequians and Sabines had joined together to make war upon the Romans. After the consuls had marched out of the city with their forces and pitched their camps near one another, the soldiers all assembled together, having in their possession both the arms and the standards, and at the instigation of one Sicinius Bellutus they seized the standards and revolted from the consuls (these standards are held in the greatest honour by the Romans on a campaign and like statues of the gods are accounted holy).</p>	<p>στρατείας ὡς Αἰκανῶν καὶ Σαβίνων συνεληλυθότων εἰς ἓν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πολέμῳ. ὡς δὲ προῆλθον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως οἱ ὑπατοὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς παρεμβολὰς οὐ πρόσω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἔθεντο, συνελθόντες οἱ στρατιῶται εἰς ἓν ἅπαντες, ὅπλων τε καὶ σημείων ὄντες κύριοι, Σικιννίου τινὸς Βελλούτου⁴ παροξύναντος αὐτοὺς ἀφίστανται τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρπάσαντες τὰ σημεῖα· τιμιώτατα γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτα ἐπὶ στρατείας καὶ ὥσπερ ἰδρύματα θεῶν ἱερὰ νομίζεται·</p>
j) D. H. Ant. 7.4.	<p>When the barbarians learned that they were ready to fight, they uttered their war-cry and came to close quarters, in the barbarian fashion, without any order.</p>	<p>Ὡς δὲ κατέμαθον αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι μάχεσθαι παρεσκευασμένους, ἀλαλάξαντες ἐχώρουν ὁμόσε τὸν βάρβαρον τρόπον ἄνευ κόσμου πεζοί.</p>
k) D. H. Ant. 8.66.2.	<p>imagined that this shouting and tumult had been occasioned by the arrival of those reinforcements, and they accordingly took up their arms once more, and forming a circle about their entrenchments, for fear some attack might be made upon them in the night, they would now make a din by all clashing their weapons together at the same time and now raise their war-cry repeatedly as if they were going into battle. The Hernicans were greatly alarmed at this also, and believing</p>	<p>καὶ τὴν βοήν τε καὶ ταραχὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἀφίξει γεγονέναι νομίζοντες, τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀνέλαβον καὶ τὸν χάρακα περιστεφανώσαντες, μή τις ἔφοδος αὐτοῖς γένοιτο νύκτωρ, τοτὲ μὲν ὅπλων κτύπον ἐποιοῦν ἄθροοι, τοτὲ δ' ὥσπερ εἰς μάχην ὀρμώμενοι θαμινὰ ἐπηλάλαζον. τοῖς δ' Ἑρνικὶ καὶ ταῦτα δέος μέγα παρείχε, καὶ ὡς διωκόμενοι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων σποράδες ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἔθεον. ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς</p>

	<p>themselves pursued by the enemy, dispersed and fled, some by one road and some by another. When day came and the horse sent out to reconnoitre had reported to the Romans that not only was there no fresh force coming to the enemy's assistance, but that even those who had been arrayed in battle the day before had fled, Aquilius marched out with his army and seized the enemy's camp, which was full of beasts of burden, provisions, and arms, and also took captive their wounded, not fewer in number than those who had fled; and sending the horse in pursuit of such as were scattered along the roads and in the woods, he captured many of them. Thereafter he overran the Hernicans' territory and laid it waste with impunity, no one any longer daring to encounter him. These were the exploits of Aquilius.</p>	<p>οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν ἵππεῖς ὥς οὔτε δύναμις ἑτέρα παρήει σύμμαχος τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἳ τε τῇ προτέρᾳ παραταξάμενοι μάχῃ πεφεύγασιν, ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ἀκύλλιος τὸν τε χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων αἶρεῖ μεστὸν ὄντα ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ ὄπλων, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας τῶν πεφευγόντων λαμβάνει, τὴν τε ἵππον ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσκεδασμένους ἀνὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς τε καὶ τὰς ὕλας πολλῶν γίνεται σωμάτων ἐγκρατὴς· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη τὴν Ἑρνίκων γῆν ἐπήει λεηλατῶν ἀδεῶς, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ὑπομένοντος εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀκύλλιος ἔδρασεν.</p>
l) D. H. Ant. 8.84.	<p>Before they engaged, he exhorted and encouraged his troops at length, and then ordered the trumpets to sound the charge; and the soldiers, raising their usual battle-cry, attacked in close array both by cohorts and by centuries.</p>	<p>χρησάμενος, ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν τὸ πολεμικόν· καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ σύνθητες ἀλαλάξαντες ἀθρόοι κατὰ σπείρας τε καὶ κατὰ λόχους συνέβαλλον.</p>
m) D. H. Ant. 9.10.2.	<p>As soon as he had done speaking, there came forward from the throng a man named Marcus Flavoleius, a plebeian and small farmer, though not one of the rabble but one celebrated for his merits</p>	<p>ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπαύσατο, προέρχεται τις ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, Μάρκος Φλαβολήιος ὄνομα, ἀνὴρ δημοτικὸς μὲν καὶ αὐτουργός, οὐ μὴν τῶν ἀπερριμμένων τις, ἀλλὰ τῶν</p>

	and valiant in war and on both these accounts honoured with the most conspicuous command in one of the legions—a command which the sixty centuries are enjoined by the law to follow and obey. These officers the Romans call in their own tongue primipili.	ἐπαινουμένων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄλκιμος, καὶ δι' ἄμφω ταῦτα ἐνὸς τῶν ταγμάτων τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ ἀρχῇ κεκοσμημένος, ἧ τὰς ἐξήκοντα ἑκατονταρχίας ἐπεσθαί τε καὶ τὸ κελεύόμενον ὑπηρετεῖν κελεύει ὁ νόμος. τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῇ πατρίῳ γλώττῃ πριμοπίλους καλοῦσιν.
n) D. H. Ant. 9.10.4-6.	Having said this, he held up his sword and took the oath traditional among the Romans and regarded by them as the mightiest of all, swearing by his own good faith that he would return to Rome victorious over the enemy, or not at all. After Flavoleius had taken this oath there was great applause from all; and immediately both the consuls did the same, as did also the subordinate officers, both tribunes and centurions, and last of all the rank and file. When this had been done, great cheerfulness came upon them all and great affection for one another and also confidence and ardour. And going from the assembly, some bridled their horses, others sharpened their swords and spears, and still others cleaned their defensive arms; and in a short time the whole army was ready for the combat. The consuls, after invoking the gods by vows, sacrifices, and prayers to be their guides as they marched out, led the	ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀνατείνας ὥμοσε τὸν ἐπιχώριόν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κράτιστον ὄρκον, τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν, νικήσας τοὺς πολέμους ἥξειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλως δ' οὐ. τοῦτον ὁμόσαντος τοῦ Φλαβοληίου τὸν ὄρκον πολλὸς ἐξ ἀπάντων ἔπαινος ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ τε ὕπατοι ἀμφοτέρω τὸ αὐτὸ ἔδρων καὶ οἱ τὰς ἐλάττους ἔχοντες στρατηγίας χιλίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοί, τελευτῶσα δ' ἡ πληθὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, πολλὴ μὲν εὐθυμία πᾶσιν ἐνέπεσε, πολλὴ δὲ φιλότης ἀλλήλων, θάρσος τε αὖ καὶ μένος· καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἱ μὲν ἵπποις χαλινοὺς ἐνέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ξίφη καὶ λόγχας ἔθηγον, οἱ δὲ τὰ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ὅπλων ἐξέματτον· καὶ δι' ὀλίγου πᾶσα ἦν ἔτοιμος εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἢ στρατιά. οἱ δ' ὕπατοι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχαῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις καὶ λιταῖς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τῆς ἐξόδου

	army out of the camp in regular order and formation.	σφίσι γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνας, ἐξῆγον ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ τὸν στρατόν.
o) D. H. Ant. 9.11.1.	When both armies had come into the plain and the trumpets had sounded the charge, they raised their war-cries and ran to close quarters; and engaging, horse with horse and foot with foot, they fought there, and great was the slaughter on both sides.	Ὡς δ' εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἀμφοτέροι κατέστησαν καὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμηναν αἱ σάλπιγγες, ἔθεον ἀλαλάζαντες ὁμόσε· καὶ συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἵππεῖς τε ⁴ ἵππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὶ πεζοῖς ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πολλὸς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐγίνετο φόνος.
p) D. H. Ant. 9.70.	But, as usually happens with an army of fresh levies composed of a crowd of both townsmen and farmers got together for the occasion, of which many are not only unarmed but also unacquainted with danger, the Volscian army dared not so much as encounter the enemy; but the greater part of them, thrown into confusion at the first onset of the Romans and unable to endure either their war-cry or the clash of their arms, fled precipitately inside the walls, with the result that many of them perished when overtaken in the narrow parts of the roads and many more when they were crowding about the gates as the cavalry pursued them.	οἷα δὲ φιλεῖ πάσχειν στρατιὰ νεοσύλλεκτος ἔκ τε πολιτικοῦ καὶ γεωργικοῦ πρὸς καιρὸν συνελθόντος ὄχλου συναχθεῖσα, ἐν ἧ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ἄνοπλον ἦν καὶ κινδύνων ἄπειρον, οὐδ' εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐθάρσησεν· ἀλλ' ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφόδῳ διαταραχθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ οὔτε ἀλαλαγμὸν οὔθ' ὅπλων κτύπον ἀνασχόμενοι, προτροπάδην ἔφευγον εἰς τὰ τεῖχη· ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς στενοχωρίαις τῶν ὁδῶν καταληφθέντας ἀποθανεῖν, πολλῶ δὲ πλείους παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὠθουμένους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιδιωκόντων.
q) D. H. Ant. 10.21,	After Fabius had restored the city to the Tusculans, he broke camp in the late afternoon and marched with all possible speed against the enemy, upon	Ἀποδοὺς δὲ τοῖς Τυσκλανοῖς τὴν πόλιν Φάβιος περὶ δεῖλιν ὀψίαν ἀνίστησι τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ ὥς εἶχε τάχους ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,

	<p>hearing that the combined forces of the Volscians and the Aequians lay near the town of Algidum. And having made a forced march all that night, he appeared before the enemy at early dawn, as they lay encamped in a plain without either a ditch or a palisade to defend them, inasmuch as they were in their own country and were contemptuous of their foe. Then, exhorting his troops to acquit themselves as brave men should, he was the first to charge into the enemy's camp at the head of the horse, and the foot, uttering their war-cry, followed.</p>	<p>ἀκούων περὶ πόλιν Ἀλγιδὸν ἀθρόας εἶναι τὰς τε Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν δυνάμεις. ποιησάμενος δὲ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς σύντονον ὁδὸν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολέμοις ἐστρατοπεδευκόσιν ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ οὔτε τάφρον περιβεβλημένοις οὔτε χάρακα, ὥς ἐν οἰκείᾳ τε γῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει 2τοῦ ἀντιπάλου. παρακελευσάμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι γίνεσθαι πρῶτος εἰσελαύνει μετὰ τῶν ἰπέων εἰς τὴν τῶν πολέμιων παρεμβολήν, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ συναλαλάξαντες εἶποντο· τῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἔτι κοιμώμενοι ἐφονεύοντο</p>
<p>r) D. H. Ant. 10.36.</p>	<p>Lucius Siccus, surnamed Dentatus, who related very many great exploits of his own. He was a man of remarkable appearance, was in the very prime of life, being fifty-eight years old, capable of conceiving practical measures and also, for a soldier, eloquent in expressing them. This man, then, came forward and said:... the conduct of the war against the Volscians. I was then twenty-seven years of age and in rank I was still under a centurion. When a severe battle occurred and a rout, the commander of the cohort had fallen, and the standards were in the hands of the enemy, I alone, exposing myself in</p>	<p>Λεύκιος Σίκκιος, Δεντᾶτος ἐπικαλούμενος, πολλὰς πάνυ καὶ μεγάλας ἑαυτοῦ πράξεις διεξελθὼν. ἦν δ' ὀφθῆναί τε θαυμαστὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ δεῖν δέοντα ἐξήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη καὶ φρονῆσαι τὰ δέοντα ἱκανὸς εἰπεῖν τε ὥς στρατιώτης οὐκ ἀδύνατος. ἔφη δ' οὖν παρελθὼν· ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ τὸν κατὰ Οὐολούσκων πόλεμον. ἦμην γὰρ τότε ἑπτακαιεικοσέτης, ἐταττόμην δ' ἔτι ὑπὸ λοχαγῷ. γενομένης δὲ μάχης καρτερᾶς καὶ τροπῆς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἡγεμόνος τῆς σπείρας πεπτωκότος, τῶν δὲ σημείων κρατουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, μόνος ἐγὼ τὸν ὑπὲρ</p>

	<p>behalf of all, recovered the standards for the cohort, repulsed the enemy, and was clearly the one who saved the centurions from incurring everlasting disgrace—which would have rendered the rest of their lives more bitter than death—as both they themselves acknowledged, by crowning me with a golden crown, and Siccus the consul bore witness, by appointing me commander of the cohort. And in another battle that we had, in which it happened that the primipilus of the legion was thrown to the ground and the eagle fell into the enemy's hands, I fought in the same manner in defence of the whole legion, recovered the eagle and saved the primipilus. In return for the assistance I then gave him he wished to resign his command of the legion in my favour and to give me the eagle.</p>	<p>ἀπάντων κίνδυνον ἀράμενος τά τε σημεία διέσωσα τῇ σπεύρα² καὶ τοὺς πολέμιους ἀνέστειλα καὶ τοῦ μὴ περιπεσεῖν αἰσχύνῃ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αἰωνίῳ, δι' ἣν θανάτου κακίων ὁ λοιπὸς ἂν αὐτοῖς βίος ἦν, αἴτιος ἐγενόμην φανερώς, ὥς αὐτοὶ τε⁴ ὁμολόγουν χρυσῷ με ἀναδήσαντες στεφάνῳ καὶ ὁ ὕπατος Σίκκιος ἐμαρτύρησεν ἡγεμόνα τῆς σπείρας ἀποδείξας. ἑτέρου τε πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀγῶνος ἐνστάντος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν τε στρατοπεδάρχην τοῦ τάγματος ἡμῶν συνέβη πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ὑπὸ⁵ τοῖς πολέμοις γενέσθαι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπὲρ ὅλου τοῦ τάγματος ἀγωνισάμενος τὸν τ' ἀετὸν ἀνεκομισάμην καὶ τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην ἔσωσα· ὃς ἐμοὶ τῆς τότε βοηθείας χάριν ἀποδιδούς τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῦ τάγματος ἀφίστατό μοι καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ἐδίδου.</p>
s) D. H. Ant. 10.46. 5.	<p>Then, uttering their war-cry, they attacked them on the run.</p>	<p>ἔπειτ' ἀλαλάξαντες ἔθεον ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδα δεινοῦ ἐκταραχθέντες καὶ οὐ τοσοῦτους εἶναι δόξαντες</p>
t) D. H. Ant. 11.43.	<p>all the centurions to take up the standards and lead the army home. But most of them were still afraid to remove the sacred standards, and, again, did not think it either right or safe at all to desert their commanders and generals. For not only does the</p>	<p>τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἅπασιν ἀραμένους τὰ σημεία οἴκαδε ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιάν. ὀρρωδούντων δ' ἔτι τῶν πολλῶν τὰ ἱερὰ σημεία κινεῖν, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καταλιπεῖν οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτ' ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι παντάπασιν νομιζόντων (ὃ τε</p>

	<p>military oath, which the Romans observe most strictly of all oaths, bid the soldiers follow their generals wherever they may lead, but also the law has given the commanders authority to put to death without a trial all who are disobedient or desert their standards.</p>	<p>γὰρ ὁρκος ὁ στρατιωτικός, ὃν ἀπάντων μάλιστα ἐμπεδοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν κελεύει τοὺς στρατευομένους ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἄγωσιν, ὃ τε νόμος ἀποκτείνειν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἢ τὰ σημεῖα καταλιπόντας ἀκρίτως)</p>
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20. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. Cameron, A. & Hall, S. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1999).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Eus. VC. 1.28- 31.	<p>This God he began to invoke in prayer, beseeching and imploring him to show him who he was, and to stretch out his right hand to assist him in his plans. As he made these prayers and earnest supplications there appeared to the Emperor a most If someone else had reported it, it would perhaps not be easy to accept; but since the victorious Emperor himself told the story to the present writer a long while after, when I was privileged with his acquaintance and company, and confirmed it with oaths, who could hesitate to believe the account, especially when the time which followed provided evidence for the truth of what he said? About the time of the midday sun, when day was just turning, he said he saw with his own eyes, up in the sky and resting over the sun, a crossshaped trophy formed from light, and a text attached to it which said, 'By this conquer'. Amazement at the spectacle seized both him and the whole company of soldiers which was then accompanying him on a campaign he was conducting somewhere, and witnessed the miracle.</p> <p>He was, he said, wondering to himself what the manifestation might mean; then, while he meditated, and</p>	<p><i>Could not produce a legible digital copy of the Greek text.</i></p>

	<p>thought long and hard, night overtook him. Thereupon, as he slept, the Christ of God appeared to him with the sign which had appeared in the sky, and urged him to make himself a copy of the sign which had appeared in the sky, and to use this as protection against the attacks of the enemy. When day came he arose and recounted the mysterious communication to his friends. Then he summoned goldsmiths and jewellers, sat down among them, and explained the shape of the sign, and gave them instructions about copying it in gold and precious stones. This was something which the Emperor himself once sawfit to let me also set eyes on, God vouchsafing even this. It was constructed to the following design. A tall pole plated with gold had a transverse bar forming the shape of a cross. Up at the extreme top a wreath woven of precious stones and gold had been fastened. On it two letters, intimating by its first characters the name `Christ', formed the monogram of the Saviour's title, rho being intersected in the middle by chi. These letters the Emperor also used to wear upon his helmet in later times. From the transverse bar, which was bisected by the pole, hung suspended a cloth, an imperial tapestry covered with a pattern of precious stones fastened together, which glittered with shafts of light, and interwoven with much gold, producing an impression of indescribable beauty on those who saw it. This banner then, attached to the bar, was given equal dimensions of length and breadth. But the upright pole, which extended upwards a long way from its lower end, below the trophy of the cross and near the top of the tapestry delineated, carried the golden head-and-shoulders portrait of the Godbeloved Emperor, and likewise of his sons. This saving sign was always used by the Emperor for</p>	
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	protection against every opposing and hostile force, and he commanded replicas of it to lead all his armies.	
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21. Frontinus, *Strategems*, trans. Bennett, C. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Fron. Strat. 1.11.1.	the consuls on their side feigned a policy of delay, until the soldiers, wrought upon by the taunts of the enemy, demanded battle and swore to return from it victorious.	M. Fabius et Cn. Manlius consules adversus Etruscos propter seditiones detractante proelium exercitu ultro simulaverunt cunctationem, donec milites probris hostium coacti pugnam deposcerent iurarentque se ex ea victores redituros.
b) Fron. Strat. 2.4.3.	to order the trumpeters to blow their horns. Then, when the hill-tops re-echoed with the sound, the impression of a huge multitude was borne in upon the enemy, who fled in terror.	iuberetque concinere aeneatores; resonantibus montium iugis species ingentis multitudinis offusa est hostibus, qua perterriti dedere terga.
c) Fron. Strat. 2.8.	The consul Furius Agrippa, when on one occasion his flank gave way, snatched a military standard from a standard-bearer and hurled it into the hostile ranks of the Hernici and Aequi.	Furius Agrippa consul cedente cornu signum militare ereptum signifero in hostes Hernicos et Aequos misit. Quo facto eius proelium restitutum.

22. Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, trans. Godley, A. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Hdt. 1.17.	This was the manner in which he attacked and laid siege to Miletus: he sent his invading army, marching to the sound of pipes and harps and flutes bass and treble, when the crops in the land were ripe	ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπον τοιῷδε· ὅπως μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν· ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικείου τε καὶ ἀνδρῆιου.
b) Hdt. 3.151.	They came up on to the bastions of the wall, and mocked Darius and his	ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχεῶνας τοῦ τείχεος οἱ

	<p>army with gesture and word; and this saying came from one of them: “Why sit you there, Persians, instead of departing? You will take our city when mules bear offspring.” This said the Babylonian, supposing that no mule would ever bear offspring.</p>	<p>Βαβυλώνιοι κατωρχέοντο καὶ κατέσκωπτον Δαρεῖον καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τις αὐτῶν εἶπε τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος. “Τί κάτησθε ὦ Πέρσαι ἐνθαῦτα, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἰρήσετε ἡμέας, ἐπεὰν ἡμίονοι τέκωσι.” τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων ἄν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν.</p>
<p>c) Hdt. 7.69.</p>	<p>The Arabians wore mantles girded up, and carried at their right side long bows curving backwards. The Ethiopians were wrapped in skins of leopards and lions, and carried bows made of palmwood strips, no less than four cubits long, and short arrows pointed not with iron but with a sharpened stone that they use to carve seals; furthermore, they had spears pointed with a gazelle's horn sharpened like a lance, and also studded clubs. When they went into battle they painted half their bodies with gypsum and the other half with vermilion [red and white].”</p>	<p>Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειράς ὑπεζωσμένοι ἦσαν, τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπηγέων οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίνους οἰστοὺς μικροὺς· ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὶ λίθος ὅξυς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι· πρὸς δὲ αἰχμὰς εἶχον, ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶ ὅξυ πεποιημένον τρόπον λόγχης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ρόπαλα τυλωτά. τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψῳ ἰόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἥμισυ μίλτῳ.</p>
<p>d) Hdt. 9.61-62.</p>	<p>But as they could get no favourable omen from their sacrifices, and in the meanwhile many of them were slain and by far more wounded (for the Persians set up their shields for a fence, and shot showers of arrows innumerable), it was so, that,</p>	<p>καὶ οὐ γὰρ σφί ἐγένετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἔπιπτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὥστε πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ</p>

	<p>the Spartans being hard pressed and their sacrifices of no avail, Pausanias lifted up his eyes to the temple of Here at Plataeae and called on the goddess, praying that they might nowise be disappointed of their hope.</p> <p>62. While he yet prayed, the men of Tegea leapt out before the rest and charged the foreigners; and immediately after Pausanias' prayer the sacrifices of the Lacedaemonians grew to be favourable; which being at last vouchsafed to them, they too charged the Persians</p>	<p>τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Πausανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἑραιὸν τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρηρίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.</p> <p>62. Ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλομένου προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Πausανίεω ἐγένετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά· ὥς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο</p>
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23. Homer, *Iliad*, trans. Murray, A. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Hom. II. 1.443-458.	<p>and to offer to Phoebus a holy hecatomb on behalf of the Danaans, so that with it we may propitiate the lord Apollo, who has now brought on the Argives woes and lamentation.”</p> <p>So saying he placed her in his arms, and he joyfully took his dear child; but they quickly set in array for the god the holy hecatomb around the well-built altar, and then washed their hands and took up the barley grains. Then Chryses lifted up his hands, and prayed aloud for them: “Hear me, god of the silver bow, you who have Chryse and sacred Cilla under your protection, and rule mightily over Tenedos. Just as you heard me when</p>	<p>Φοῖβῳ θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην ῥέξαι ὑπὲρ Δαναῶν, ὅφρ' ἱλασόμεσθα ἄνακτα, ὃς νῦν Ἀργείοισι πολύστονα κήδε' ἐφῆκεν.”</p> <p>Ὡς εἰπὼν ἐν χερσὶ τίθει, ὃ δὲ δέξατο χαίρων παῖδα φίλην· τοὶ δ' ὤκα θεῶ ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην ἐξείης ἔστησαν ἐύδητον περὶ βωμόν, χερνίσαντο δ' ἔπειτα καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο. τοῖσιν δὲ Χρύσης μεγάλ' εὐχετο χεῖρας ἀνασχών· “κλῦθί μεν, ἀργυρότοξ', ὃς Χρύσῃν ἀμφιβέβηκας Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην Τενέδοιό τε Ἴφι ἀνάσσεις· ἥδη μὲν ποτ' ἐμεῦ πάρος ἔκλυες εὐξαμένοιο, τίμησας μὲν ἐμέ, μέγα δ' ἵψαιο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν· ἥδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μοι</p>

	<p>I prayed before—you honored me, and mightily struck the army of the Achaeans—so now also fulfill for me this wish: now ward off the loathsome destruction from the Danaans.”</p> <p>So he spoke in prayer, and Phoebus Apollo heard him.</p>	<p>τόδ’ ἐπικρήνηνον ἐέλωρ· ἤδη νῦν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἄμυνον.”</p> <p>Ἦς ἔφατ’ εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ’ ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλ-λων. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ’ εὗξαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο, αὐέρυσαν μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἔσφαζαν καὶ ἔδειραν</p>
<p>b) Hom. Il. 2.459-469.</p>	<p>And as the many tribes of winged birds, wild geese or cranes or long-necked swans on the Asian meadow by the streams of Caÿstrius, fly here and there, glorying in their strength of wing, and with loud cries settle ever onwards, and the meadow resounds, so their many tribes poured out of the ships and huts into the plain of Scamander, and the earth resounded terribly beneath the tread of men and horses. And they stood in the flowery meadow of Scamander, countless, as are the leaves and flowers in their season.</p>	<p>Τῶν δ’, ὥς τ’ ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλά, χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων, Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι, Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ρέεθρα, ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσι, κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμῶν, ὥς τῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ νεῶν ἅπο καὶ κλισιάων ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο Σκαμάνδριον· αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ χθὼνσμερδαλέον κονάβιζε ποδῶν αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. ἔσαν δ’ ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμόεντι μυρίοι, ὅσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὥρη.</p> <p>Ἦύτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλὰ</p>
<p>c) Hom. Il. 3.1-9.</p>	<p>Now when they were marshaled, the several companies with their leaders, the Trojans came on with clamor and a cry, like birds, like the clamor of cranes that arises before the face of heaven when they flee from wintry storms and boundless rain, and with clamor fly toward the streams of Ocean, bringing slaughter and death</p>	<p>Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἄμ’ ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι, Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ’ ἐνοπῇ τ’ ἴσαν, ὄρνιθες ὥς, ἢ τε περ κλαγγῇ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό, αἳ τ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον, κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ’ Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων, ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι· ἡέριαι δ’ ἄρα ταί γε</p>

	to Pygmy men, and in the early dawn they offer evil strife. But the Achaeans came on in silence, breathing fury, eager at heart to come and assist each other.	κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρονται.οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί, ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.
d) Hom. II. 5.590-597.	But Hector caught sight of them across the ranks, and rushed at them shouting aloud, and with him followed the mighty battalions of the Trojans; and Ares led them, and queen Enyo, bringing ruthless Din of War, while Ares wielded in his hands a huge spear, and ranged now in front of Hector and now behind him. At sight of him Diomedes, good at the war cry, shuddered	Τοὺς δ' Ἔκτωρ ἐνόησε κατὰ στίχας, ὥρτο δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κεκλήγων· ἅμα δὲ Τρώων εἶποντο φάλαγγες καρτεραί· ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν Ἄρης καὶ πότνι· Ἐνυώ, ἣ μὲν ἔχουσα Κυδοιμὸν ἀναιδέα δηιοτήτος, Ἄρης δ' ἐν παλάμῃσι πελώριον ἔγχος ἐνώμα, φοῖτα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν πρόσθ' Ἔκτορος, ἄλλοτ' ὀπίσθε. Τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ῥίγησε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης. ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ἀπάλαμνος
e) Hom. II. 9.529ff.	The Curetes once were fighting and the Aetolians firm in fight around the city of Calydon, and were slaying one another, the Aetolians defending lovely Calydon and the Curetes eager to waste it utterly in war.	Κουρήτές τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενεχάρμαι ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καλυδῶνα καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐνάριζον, Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι Καλυδῶνος ἐραννῆς, Κουρήτες δὲ διαπραθέειν μεμαῶτες Ἄρηι.
f) Hom. II. 11.10-16.	There the goddess stood and uttered a great and terrible shout, a shrill cry of war, and in the heart of each man of the Achaeans she roused strength to war and to battle without ceasing. And to them at once war became sweeter than to return in their hollow ships to their dear native land. The son of Atreus shouted aloud, and commanded the Argives to array themselves for battle.	ἐνθα στᾶσ' ἦυσε θεὰ μέγα τε δεινὸν τεῶρθι, Ἀχαιοῖσιν δὲ μέγα σθένος ἔμβाल' ἐκάστω καρδίῃ, ἄλληκτον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι. τοῖσι δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένητ' ἠὲ νέεσθαι ¹ ἐν νηυσὶ γλαφυρῇσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν. Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἐβόησεν ἰδὲ ζώννυσθαι ἄνωγεν Ἀργεῖους· ἐν δ' αὐτὸς ἐδύσετο νώροπα χαλκόν.

g) Hom. Il. 13.279- 283.	but he shifts from knee to knee and rests on either foot, and his heart beats loudly in his breast as he imagines death, and his teeth chatter; but the color of the brave man changes not.	τοῦ μὲν γάρ τε κακοῦ τρέπεται χρῶς ἄλλυδις ἄλλη, οὐδέ οἱ ἀτρέμας ἦσθαι ἐρητύετ' ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός, ἀλλὰ μετοκλάζει καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους πόδας ἵζει, ἐν δέ τέ οἱ κραδίη μεγάλη στέρνοισι πατάσσει κῆρας ὀιομένῳ, πάταγος δέ τε γίγνεται ὀδόντων·
h) Hom. Il. 15.671.	And all observed Hector, good at the war cry	Ἴκτορα δὲ φράσσαντο βοὴν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἑταίρους
i) Hom. Il. 15.716- 720.	But Hector, when he had grasped the ship by the stern, would not loose his hold, but kept the stern post in his hands, and called to the Trojans: "Bring fire, and at the same time raise the war cry all with one voice; now has Zeus granted us a day that is recompense for everything.	Ἴκτωρ δὲ πρύμνηθεν ἐπεὶ λάβεν οὐχὶ μεθίει, ἄφλαστον μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων, Τρῳσὶν δὲ κέλευεν· "οἴσετε πῦρ, ἅμα δ' αὐτοὶ ἀολλέες ὄρνυτ' αὐτήν· νῦν ἡμῖν πάντων Ζεὺς ἄξιον ἦμαρ ἔδωκε, νῆας ἐλεῖν.

24. Homeric Hymns 3. *To Apollo*, trans. West, M. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) HH. 3.300- 304.	Nearby is the fair-flowing spring where the lord, the son of Zeus, shot the serpent from his mighty bow, a great bloated creature, a fierce prodigy that caused much harm to people in the land—much to them, and much to their long-shanked flocks, for she was a bloody affliction.	ἀγχοῦ δὲ κρήνη καλλίρροος, ἔνθα δράκαιναν κτεῖνεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς ἀπὸ κρατεροῖο βιοῖο ζατρεφέα μεγάλην, τέρας ἄγριον, ἧ κακὰ πολλὰ ἀνθρώπους ἔρδεσκεν ἐπὶ χθονί, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῦς, πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα ταναύποδ', ἐπεὶ πέλε πῆμα δαφοινόν.
b) HH. 3.500.	come with me, singing Ie Paieon.	ἔρχεσθαί θ' ἅμ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἱπαιήον' ἀείδειν.

c) HH.3.517-518.	dancing in time, and singing Ie Paieon.	καὶ ἠηπαῖον' ᾄδον.
d) HH. 3.525.	their hearts were stirred within them.	τῶν δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν· τὸν καὶ ἀνειρόμενος

25. Homeric Hymns 8. *To Ares*, trans. West, M. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) HH. 8.1-6.	Ares haughty in spirit, heavy on chariot, golden-helmed; grim-hearted, shieldbearer, city-savior, bronze-armored; tough of arm, untiring, spear-strong, bulwark of Olympus; father of Victory in the good fight, ally of Law; oppressor of the rebellious, leader of the righteous; sceptred king of manliness.	Ἄρες ὑπερμενέτα, βρισάρματε, χρυσεοπήληξ, ὀβριμόθυμε, φέραςπι, πολισσόε, χαλκοκορυστά, καρτερόχειρ, ἀμόγητε, δορισθενές, ἔρκος Ὀλύμπου, Νίκης εὐπολέμοιο πάτερ, συναρωγὲ Θέμιστος, ἀντιβίοισι τύραννε, δικαιοτάτων ἀγὲ φωτῶν, ἡνορέης σκηπτοῦχε.
b) HH.8.15-17.	Blessed one, grant me courage to abide by the innocuous principles of peace, escaping battle with my enemies and the perils of violence.	μάκαρ, εἰρήνης τε μένειν ἐν ἀπήμοσι θεσμοῖς, δυσμενέων προφυγόντα μόθον κῆράς τε βιαίους.

26. Josephus, *Jewish War*, trans. Thackeray, H. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Jos. BJ. 3.70-76.	One cannot but admire the forethought shown in this particular by the Romans, in making their servant class useful to them not only for the ministrations of ordinary life but also for war. If one goes on to study the organization of their army as a whole, it will be seen that this vast	Κὰν τούτῳ μὲν οὖν θαυμάσαι τις ἂν Ῥωμαίων τὸ προμηθές, κατασκευαζομένων ἑαυτοῖς τὸ οἰκετικὸν οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰς τοῦ βίου διακονίας ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους χρήσιμον. εἰ δέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην σύνταξιν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπίδοι, γνώσεται τὴν τοσὴνδε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοὺς ἀρετῆς

	<p>empire of theirs has come to them as the prize of valour, and not as a gift of fortune.</p> <p>For their nation does not wait for the outbreak of war to give men their first lesson in arms; they do not sit with folded hands in peace time only to put them in motion in the hour of need. On the contrary, as though they had been born with weapons in hand, they never have a truce from training, never wait for emergencies to arise.</p> <p>Moreover, their peace manœuvres are no less strenuous than veritable warfare; each soldier daily throws all his energy into his drill, as though he were in action. Hence that perfect ease with which they sustain the shock of battle: no confusion breaks their customary formation, no panic paralyses, no fatigue exhausts them; and as their opponents cannot match these qualities, victory is the invariable and certain consequence. Indeed, it would not be wrong to describe their manœuvres as bloodless combats and their combats as sanguinary manœuvres.</p>	<p>κτῆμα ἔχοντας, οὐ δῶρον τύχης. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅπλων [ὁ] πόλεμος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μόνας τὰς χρείας τὸ χεῖρε κινοῦσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ προηρηγνότες, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ συμπεφυκότες τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐδέποτε τῆς ἀσκήσεως λαμβάνουσιν ἐκεχειρίαν οὐδὲ ἀναμένουσιν τοὺς καιρούς. αἱ μελέται δ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τῆς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν εὐτονίας ἀποδέουσιν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ὅσημέραι στρατιώτης πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ γυμνάζεται. διὸ κουφότατα τὰς μάχας διαφέρουσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀταξία διασκίδνησιν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν ἔθει συντάξεως, οὔτε δέος ἐξίστησιν, οὔτε δαπανᾷ πόνοτος, ἔπεται δὲ τὸ κρατεῖν ἀεὶ κατὰ τῶν οὐχ ὁμοίων βέβαιον. καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις εἰπὼν τὰς μὲν μελέτας αὐτῶν χωρὶς αἵματος παρατάξεις, τὰς παρατάξεις δὲ μεθ' αἵματος μελέτας.</p>
b) Jos. BJ. 3.86-91	<p>The hours for sleep, sentinel-duty, and rising, are announced by the sound of the trumpet; nothing is</p>	<p>τούς τε ὕπνους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξεγέρσεις σάλπιγγες προσημαίνουσιν,</p>

	<p>done without a word of command. At daybreak the rank and file report themselves to their respective centurions, the centurions go to salute the tribunes, the tribunes with all the officers then wait on the commander-in-chief, and he gives them, according to custom, the watchword and other orders to be communicated to the lower ranks. The same precision is maintained on the battle-field: the troops wheel smartly round in the requisite direction, and, whether advancing to the attack or retreating, all move as a unit at the word of command.</p> <p>When the camp is to be broken up, the trumpet sounds a first call; at that none remain idle: instantly, at this signal, they strike the tents and make all ready for departure. The trumpets sound a second call to prepare for the march: at once they pile their baggage on the mules and other beasts of burden and stand ready to start, like runners breasting the cord on the race-course. They then set fire to the encampment, both because they can easily construct another [on the spot], and to</p>	<p>οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅ τι γίνεται δίχα παραγγέλματος. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑω τὸ στρατιωτικὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχας ἕκαστοι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς χιλιάρχους οὗτοι συνίασιν ἄσπασόμενοι, μεθ' ὧν πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων οἱ ταξίαρχοι πάντες· ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς τό τε ἐξ ἔθους σημεῖον καὶ τᾶλλα παραγγέλματα διαδίδωσιν διαφέρειν εἰς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους. ὁ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τάξεως πράττοντες ἐπιστρέφονται [τε] ταχέως, ἵνα² δέοι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐφόδους αὐτοῖς³ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀνακλήσεις ὑποχωροῦσιν ἄθροοι.</p> <p>Ἐξίεναι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δέον ὑποσημαίνει μὲν ἡ σάλπιγξ, ἡρεμεῖ δ' οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἅμα νεύματι τὰς μὲν σκηνὰς ἀναιροῦσιν, πάντα δ' ἐξαρτύνονται πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον. καὶ πάλιν αἱ σάλπιγγες ὑποσημαίνουσιν παρεσκευάσθαι. οἱ δ' ἐν τάχει τοῖς τε ὀρεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιθέντες τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἐστᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐφ' ὕσπληγος ἐξορμᾶν ἔτοιμοι, ὑποπιμπρᾶσίν τε ἤδη τὴν παρεμβολήν, ὥς αὐτοῖς μὲν ὄν ῥάδιον ἐκεῖ πάλιν τειχίσασθαι, μὴ γένοιτο δ' ἐκεῖνό ποτε τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήσιμον. καὶ τρίτον δ' ὁμοίως αἱ σάλπιγγες προσημαίνουσιν τὴν ἔξοδον, ἐπισπέρχουσαι τοὺς δι'</p>
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	prevent the enemy from ever making use of it. A third time the trumpets give a similar signal for departure, to hasten the movements of stragglers, whatever the reason for their delay, and to ensure that none is out of his place in the ranks.	αἰτίαν τινὰ βραδύναντας, ὥς μή τις ἀπολειφθεῖη [τῆς] τάξεως.
c) Jos. BJ. 3.123	Next the ensigns surrounding the eagle, which in the Roman army precedes every legion, because it is the king and the bravest of all the birds: it is regarded by them as the symbol of empire, and, whoever may be their adversaries, an omen of victory. These sacred emblems were followed by the trumpeters, and behind them came the solid column, marching six abreast.	ἐπιλέκτους περὶ σφᾶς στρατιώτας ἔχοντες· ἔπειτα αἱ σημαῖαι περισχουσai τὸν ἀετόν, ὃς παντὸς ἄρχει Ῥωμαίοις τάγματος, βασιλεύς τε οἰωνῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἀλκιμώτατος ὢν· ὃ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς καὶ κληδών, ἐφ' οὓς ἂν ἴωσιν, τοῦ κρατήσῃν δοκεῖ. τοῖς δὲ ἱεροῖς ἠκολούθουν οἱ σαλπικταί,
d) Jos. BJ. 3.265	And now the trumpeters of all the legions simultaneously sounded, the troops raised a terrific shout, and at a given signal arrows poured from all quarters, intercepting the light.	Ὅμοῦ δ' οἱ τε σαλπικταὶ τῶν ταγμάτων ἀπάντων συνήχησαν καὶ δεινὸν ἐπηλάλαξεν ἡ στρατιά, καὶ πάντοθεν ἀφιεμένων ἀπὸ συνθήματος τῶν βελῶν τὸ φῶς ὑπετέμνετο.
e) Jos. BJ. 5.457-458.	To this message the Jews retorted by heaping abuse from the ramparts upon Caesar himself, and his father, crying out that they scorned death, which they honourably preferred to slavery; that they would do Romans every injury in their power while they	ὥς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀκολουθήσων ἔργοις τῷ λόγῳ. πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτόν τ' ἐβλασφήμουν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν θανάτου καταφρονεῖν ἐβόων, ἡρῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸ δουλείας καλῶς, ἐργάσεσθαι δ' ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται κακὰ

	had breath in their bodies; that men so soon, as he himself said, to perish, were unconcerned for their native place, and that the world was a better temple for God than this one.	Ῥωμαίους ἕως ἐμπνέωσι, πατρίδος δ' οὐ μέλειν τοῖς ὡς αὐτός φησιν ἀπολουμένοις, καὶ ναὸν ² ἀμείνω τούτου τῷ θεῷ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι.
f) Jos. BJ. 5.521.	many of them would approach the ramparts and, displaying masses of victuals, inflame by their superabundance the pangs of the enemy's hunger.	ἰστάμενοι δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ τείχους πλησίον καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν ἐδωδύμων ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τῷ κατὰ σφᾶς κόρῳ τὸν λιμὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐξέκαιον.
g) Jos. BJ. 6.316.	The Romans, now that the rebels had fled to the city, and the sanctuary itself and all around it were in flames, carried their standards into the temple court and, setting them up opposite the eastern gate, there sacrificed to them, ^a and with rousing acclamations hailed Titus as emperor.	Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν μὲν στασιαστῶν καταπεφευγόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καιομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἀπάντων, κομίσαντες τὰς σημαίας εἰς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ θέμενοι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς πύλης ἄντικρυς ἔθυσάν τε αὐταῖς αὐτόθι καὶ τὸν Τίτον μετὰ μεγίστων εὐφημιῶν ἀπέφηναν αὐτοκράτορα.
h) Jos. BJ. 6.403.	The Romans, now masters of the walls, planted their standards on the towers, and with clapping of hands and jubilation raised a paean in honour of their victory.	“Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν τειχῶν κρατήσαντες τὰς τε σημαίας ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καὶ μετὰ κρότου καὶ χαρᾶς ἐπαιάνιζον ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ.”

27. Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, trans. LLT-A, (LLT-A, 2017).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Lac. DM. 44.5.	When warned is in the quiet of Constantine and Theodosius, as the celestial of the signal of God, to entrust one's way to write in their shields, and marching out to battle.	Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut caeleste signum dei notaret in scutis atque ita proelium committeret.

	His orders to the letter and the beam 10, the top of the circumflex Christ with shields stamps.	Fecit ut iussus est et transversa X littera, summo capite circumflexo, Christum in scutis notat.
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28. Livy, *History of Rome: Books 3-23*, trans. Foster, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Livy. 3.29.5.	It is said that tables were spread before all the houses, and the troops, feasting as they marched, with songs of triumph and the customary jokes, followed the chariot like revellers.	Epulae instructae dicuntur fuisse ante omnium domus, epulantesque cum carmine triumphali et sollemnibus iocis comisantium modo currum secuti sunt.
b) Livy. 4.20.2.	while the soldiers sang rude verses about him, comparing him to Romulus.	In eum milites carmina incondita aequantes eum Romulo canere.
c) Livy. 4.53.1 1-13.	the soldiers, with military freedom, shouted out rude verses now abusing the consul and now praising Menenius, while at every mention of the tribune's name the enthusiasm of the attendant populace vied with the voices of the men in cheers and applause. This circumstance caused the patricians more anxiety than the sauciness of the soldiers towards the consul, which was virtually an established custom	alternis inconditi versus militari licentia iactati, quibus consul increpitus, Meneni celebre nomen laudibus fuit, cum ad omnem mentionem tribuni favor circumstantis populi plausuque et adsensu cum vocibus militum certaret. Plusque ea res quam prope sollemnis militum lascivia in consulem curae patribus iniecit
d) Livy. 5.49.7.	The dictator, having recovered his country from her enemies, returned in triumph to the city; and between the rough jests uttered by the soldiers, was hailed in no unmeaning terms of praise as a Romulus and Father of his Country and a second Founder of the City.	Dictator recuperata ex hostibus patria triumphans in urbem redit, interque iocos militares, quos inconditos iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur.

e) Livy 6.29.	As they came within sight of the enemy, drawn up and eager for the fray, the dictator addressed Sempronius. “Do you see,” he said, “how they have made their stand at the Allia, putting their trust in the fortune of the place? We shall find the immortal gods have given them no surer grounds for confidence nor any more substantial help. But do you confide in arms and valour, and charge their centre at the gallop; I, with the legions, will attack them when they are in disorder and confusion. Be with us, gods of the treaty, and exact the penalties due to you for the injury you have suffered and to us for the deception put upon us in your holy name!” The men of Praeneste could cope with neither horse nor foot. Their ranks were broken at the first shout and charge; then, as their line yielded at every point, they turned and fled, and in their confusion were carried even beyond their own camp; neither did they check their headlong flight until they had come within sight of Praeneste.	Dictator Romanus, postquam in conspectu hostes erant instructi intentique, “videsne tu” inquit, “A. Semproni, loci fortuna illos fretos ad Alliam constitisse? Nec illis di immortales certioris quicquam fiduciae maiorisve quod sit auxilii dederint. At tu, fretus armis animisque, concitatis equis invade mediam aciem; ego cum legionibus in turbatos trepidantesque inferam signa. Adeste, di testes foederis, et expetite poenas debitas simul vobis violatis nobisque per vestrum numen deceptis.” Non equitem, non peditem sustinere Praenestini. Primo impetu ac clamore dissipati ordines sunt; dein, postquam nullo loco constabat acies, terga vertunt consternatique et praeter castra etiam sua pavore praelati non prius se ab effuso cursu sistunt, quam in conspectu Praeneste fuit.
f) Livy. 8.9.4- 14.	In the confusion of this movement Decius the consul called out to Marcus Valerius in a loud voice: “We have need of Heaven’s help, Marcus Valerius. Come therefore, state pontiff of the Roman People, dictate the words,	In hac trepidatione Decius consul M. Valerium magna voce inclamat: “Deorum” inquit “ope, M. Valeri, opus est; agedum, pontifex publicus populi Romani, praei verba quibus me pro legionibus

	<p>that I may devote myself to save the legions.” The pontiff bade him don the purple-bordered toga, and with veiled head and one hand thrust out from the toga and touching his chin, stand upon a spear that was laid under his feet, and say as follows: “Janus, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, divine Novensiles, divine Indigites, ye gods in whose power are both we and our enemies, and you, divine Manes,—I invoke and worship you, I beseech and crave your favour, that you prosper the might and the victory of the Roman People of the Quirites, and visit the foes of the Roman People of the Quirites with fear, shuddering, and death. As I have pronounced the words, even so in behalf of the republic of the Roman People of the Quirites, and of the army, the legions, the auxiliaries of the Roman People of the Quirites, do I devote the legions and auxiliaries of the enemy, together with myself, to the divine Manes and to Earth.”</p> <p>Having uttered this prayer he bade the lictors go to Titus Manlius and lose no time in announcing to his colleague that he had devoted himself for the good of the army. He then girded himself with the Gabinian cincture, and vaulting, armed, upon his horse, plunged into the thick of the enemy, a conspicuous</p>	<p>devoveam.” Pontifex eum togam praetextam sumere iussit et velato capite, manu subter togam ad mentum exserta, super telum subiectum pedibus stantem sic dicere: “Iane Iuppiter Mars pater Quirine Bellona Lares Divi Novensiles Di Indigetes Divi quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque Dique Manes, vos precor veneror veniam peto oroque uti populo Romano Quiritium vim victoriam prosperetis, hostesque populi Romani Quiritium terrore formidine morteque adficiatis. Sicut verbis nuncupavi, ita pro re publica populi Romani Quiritium, exercitu legionibus auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium, legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum Deis Manibus Tellurique devoveo.”</p> <p>Haec ita precatus lictores ire ad T. Manlium iubet matureque collegae se devotum pro exercitu nuntiare. Ipse incinctus cinctu Gabino, armatus in equum insiluit ac se in medios hostes immisit, conspectus ab utraque acie, aliquanto augustior humano visu, sicut caelo missus piaculum omnis deorum irae, qui pestem ab suis aversam in hostes ferret. Ita omnis terror pavorque cum illo latus signa prima Latinorum</p>
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	<p>object from either army and of an aspect more august than a man's, as though sent from heaven to expiate all anger of the gods, and to turn aside destruction from his people and bring it on their adversaries. Thus every terror and dread attended him, and throwing the Latin front into disarray, spread afterwards throughout their entire host. This was most clearly seen in that, wherever he rode, men cowered as though blasted by some baleful star; but when he fell beneath a rain of missiles, from that instant there was no more doubt of the consternation of the Latin cohorts, which everywhere abandoned the field in flight. At the same time the Romans—their spirits relieved of religious fears—pressed on as though the signal had just then for the first time been given, and delivered a fresh attack; for the rorarii were running out between the antepilani and were joining their strength to that of the hastati and the principes, and the triarii, kneeling on the right knee, were waiting till the consul signed to them to rise.</p>	<p>turbavit, deinde in totam penitus aciem pervasit. Evidentissimum id fuit, quod, quacumque equo invectus est, ibi haud secus quam pestifero sidere icti pavebant; ubi vero corruit obrutus telis, inde iam haud dubie consternatae cohortes Latinorum fugam ac vastitatem late fecerunt. Simul et Romani exsolutis religione animis velut tum primum signo dato coorti pugnam integram ediderunt; nam et rorarii procurrebant inter antepilanos addebantque vires hastatis ac principibus, et triarii genu dextro innixi nutum consulis ad consurgendum exspectabant.</p>
g) Livy. 9.32.	<p>The two armies rushed together with great fury, the enemy having a superiority in numbers, the Romans in bravery. Victory hung in the balance and many perished on both sides, including all the bravest, and the event</p>	<p>Concurrunt infensis animis; numero hostis, virtute, Romanus superat; anceps proelium multos utrimque et fortissimum quemque absumit, nec prius inclinata res est quam secunda acies Romana ad prima</p>

	<p>was not decided until the Roman second line came up with undiminished vigour to relieve their exhausted comrades in the first; and the Etruscans, whose fighting line was supported by no fresh reserves, all fell in front of their standards and around them. There would never in any battle have been more bloodshed or less running away, but when the Etruscans were resolved to die, the darkness shielded them, so that the victors gave over fighting before the vanquished.</p>	<p>signa,⁹ integri fessis, successerunt, Etrusci, quia nullis recentibus subsidiis fulta prima acies fuit, ante signa circaque omnes ceciderunt. Nullo unquam proelio fugae minus nec plus eaedis fuisset, ni obstinatos mori Tuscos nox texisset, ita ut victores prius quam victi pugnandi finem facerent.</p>
<p>h) Livy. 10.19. 17-22.</p>	<p>It is said that when the conflict was at its hottest, Appius was seen to lift up his hands² in the very forefront of the standards and utter this petition: "Bellona, if to-day thou grant us the victory, then do I vow thee a temple." Having pronounced this prayer, as though the goddess were inspiring him, he kept pace with the courage of his colleague and the army kept pace with his. And now the generals were quitting themselves like true commanders, and the soldiers were striving that victory might not come first on the other wing. They therefore routed and put to flight the enemy, who found it no easy task to withstand a greater force than they had been wont to engage with. Pressing hard upon them when they faltered and pursuing where they fled, the Romans</p>	<p>Dicitur Appius in medio pugnae discrimine, ita ut inter prima signa manibus ad caelum sublatis conspiceretur, ita precatus esse: "Bellona, si hodie nobis victoriam duis, ast ego tibi templum voveo." Haec precatus, velut instigante dea, et ipse collegae et exercitus virtutem aequavit ducis. Iam et duces imperatoria opera exsequuntur, et milites ne ab altera parte prius victoria incipiat adnuntur. Ergo fundunt fugantque hostes, maiorem molem haud facile sustinentes quam cum qua manus conserere adsueta fuerant. Urgendo cedentes insequendoque effusos compulere ad castra. Ibi interventu Gelli cohortiumque Sabellarum paulisper recrudit pugna. Iis quoque</p>

	drove them to their camp. There, on the appearance of Gellius and the Sabellian cohorts, the battle was renewed for a little while; but presently, when these too had been dispersed, the conquering troops assailed the camp, and while Volumnius himself led a charge against the gate, and Appius, calling from time to time on Bellona, goddess of victory, inspirited his soldiers, they burst through the trenches and the rampart. The camp was taken and pillaged, and the vast booty found there was given over to the soldiers. Seven thousand eight hundred of the enemy were slain, two thousand one hundred and twenty taken prisoners.	mox fuis iam a victoribus castra oppugnabantur; et cum Volumnius ipse portae signa inferret, Appius Bellonam victricem identidem celebrans accenderet militum animos, per vallum, per fossas inruperunt. Castra capta direptaque; praeda ingens parta et militi concessa est. Septem milia octingenti hostium occisi, duo milia et centum viginti capti.
i) Livy. 10.40. 12-14.	He then ordered the centurions to station the keepers of the chickens in the front rank. The Samnites, too, advanced their standards, which were followed by the battle-line in gorgeous armour—a splendid spectacle, though composed of enemies. Before the first shout and the clash of arms, a random javelin struck the chicken-keeper and he fell before the standards. The consul, on being told of this, exclaimed, “The gods are present in the battle; the guilty wretch has paid the penalty!” In front of the consul a raven, just as he spoke, uttered a clear cry, and Papirius, rejoiced with the augury, and declaring	religionem recipit: mihi quidem tripudium nuntiatum; populo Romano exercituique egregium auspicium est.” Centurionibus deinde imperavit uti pullarios inter prima signa constituerent. Promovent et Samnites signa; insequitur acies ornata armata-que, ut hostium quoque magnificum spectaculum esset. Priusquam clamor tolleretur concurreretur-que, emissio temere pilo ictus pullarius ante signa cecidit. Quod ubi consuli nuntiatum est, “Di in proelio sunt” inquit; “habet poenam noxium caput!” Ante consulem haec

	that never had the gods been more instant to intervene in human affairs, bade sound the trumpets and give a cheer.	dicentem corvus voce clara occinuit; quo laetus augurio consul, adfirmans nunquam humanis rebus magis praesentes interfuisse deos, signa canere et clamorem tolli iussit.
j) Livy. 21.46. 6.	Hardly had the battle-cry been raised, when the darters fled through their supports to the second line.	Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem.
k) Livy. 22.4.7.	From the shouting that arose on every side the Romans learned, before they could clearly see, that they were surrounded; and they were already engaged on their front and flank before they could properly form up or get out their arms and draw their swords.	Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.
l) Livy. 22.5.1- 2.	Amidst the general consternation the consul himself displayed—if allowance be made for the terrifying circumstances—considerable coolness. He brought such order as time and place permitted out of the confusion in the ranks, where the men were all turning different ways to face the various shouts; and wherever he could go and make himself heard, he tried to encourage them and bade them stand and fight. Their position, he said, was one from which vows and supplications to the gods could not extricate them.	Consul percussis omnibus ipse satis, ut in re trepida, impavidus turbatos ordines vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et quacumque adire audirique potest adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deum.
m) Livy. 22.38. 2-3.	An oath was then administered to the soldiers by their tribunes.	Tum, quod nunquam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis militum adacti milites.

n) Livy. 23.16. 12.	Marcellus ordered the trumpets to be sounded and a shout raised.	Marcellus signa canere clamoremque tolli ac pedites primum.
o) Livy. 23.16. 14-15.	Sutlers and camp-servants raised another shout, as did the rest of the crowd stationed to guard the baggage so that the shouting gave the sudden impression of a very large army to the Carthaginians, who particularly despised their small numbers.	Addidere clamorem lixae calonesque et alia turba custodiae inpedimentorum adposita, ut paucitatem maxime spernentibus Poenis ingentis repente exercitus speciem fecerit.

29. Livy, *History of Rome: Books 24-30*, trans. Moore, F. (Loeb Classical Library, 2017).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Livy 24.15.7- 8.	While the commanders on both sides heaped abuse, the Roman on the Bruttians and Lucanians, so many times defeated and subdued by their ancestors, the Carthaginian on the Roman slaves and prison-house soldiers	Cum utrimque duces, Romanus Bruttium Lucanumque totiens a maioribus suis victos subactosque, Poenus mancipia Romana et ex ergastulo militem verbis obtereret.
b) Livy 24.16.1.	Those words at last so fired their courage that, as though they were suddenly different men, they raised a shout again and charged the enemy.	Ea demum vox ita animos accendit ut renovato clamore, velut alii repente facti, tanta vi se in hostem intulerint.
c) Livy. 25.21.9.	Consequently the Romans did not withstand even their shout and the first onset.	Ergo ne clamorem quidem atque impetum primum eorum Romani sustinuere.
d) Livy. 25.37.10- 12.	although the centurions tried to arouse the men of their maniples and Marcius himself to calm them and upbraided them for having given themselves up to womanish and useless weeping, instead of whetting their courage to defend themselves	poterat excitantibus centurioni bus manipulares et ipso mulcente et increpante Marcio, quod in muliebris et inutiles se proiecissent fletus potius quam ad tutandos semet ipsos et rem publicam secum acuerent animos, et ne inultos imperatores suos iacere

	<p>and with them the state, and begged them not to let their commanders lie unavenged, when suddenly—for the enemy were now near the earthwork—a shout and the sound of trumpets were heard. Upon that, their grief instantly changing to anger, they scatter to arms, and as if fired by frenzy, to the different gates, and dash into the enemy coming on carelessly and in disorder. At once the unexpected act inspired alarm among the Carthaginians, and they wondered whence so many enemies had suddenly appeared after the army had been almost wiped out, whence came such boldness and self-confidence so great in men beaten and put to flight, what commander had arisen after the two Scipios had been slain, who was in command of the camp, who had given the signal for battle.</p>	<p>sinerent, cum subito clamor tubarumque sonus—iam enim prope vallum hostes erant—exauditur. Inde verso repente in iram luctu discurrunt ad arma ac velut accensi rabie discurrunt ad portas et in hostem neglegenter atque incomposite venientem incurrunt. Extemplo improvisa res pavorem incutit Poenis, mirabundique unde tot hostes subito exorti prope deleto exercitu forent, unde tanta audacia, tanta fiducia sui victis ac fugatis, quis imperator duobus Scipionibus caesis exstisset, quis castris praeesset, quis signum dedisset pugnae.</p>
e) Livy. 25.39.3.	Then the trumpets sound and a shout is raised.	Inde signa canunt et tollitur clamor.
f) Livy 27.1.11.	the wild charge of the cavalry was heard in the rear, and at the same time the shouts of the enemy from the camp. This routed first the sixth legion, which was posted in the second line and was the first to be thrown into disorder by the Numidians; and then it routed the	starent tamen ordines signaque, equestris tumultus a tergo, simul a castris clamor hostilis auditus sextam ante legionem, quae in secunda acie posita prior ab Numidis turbata est, quintam deinde atque eos qui ad prima signa erant avertit.

	fifth legion and the men who were with the front-line standards.	
g) Livy. 27.15.14.	Then trumpets sounded at the same time from the citadel and from the harbour, and from the ships which had approached from the open sea, and from all sides shouting and great uproar were purposely raised where there was the least danger.	Canere inde tubae simul ab arce simul a portu et ab navibus quae ab aperto mari adpulsae erant, clamorque undique cum ingenti tumultu unde minimum periculi erat de industria ortus.
h) Livy 28.14.3-4.	From neither side was there a charge, or a missile hurled, or any raising of a shout.	ab neutra parte procursum telumve missum aut vox ulla orta.
i) Livy. 28.14.10.	the gleaming standards of the legions	procul signa legionum fulgentia
j) Livy. 30.33.13.	when from the Roman side the horns and trumpets blared out, and so tremendous a cheer was raised that the elephants panicked and turned against their own men.	tubae cornuaque ab Romanis cecinerunt, tantusque clamor ortus ut elephanti in suos, sinistrum maxime cornu, verterentur.
k) Livy. 30.34.1.	but at the same time were highly important in the battle: a harmony in the shouting of the Romans, which consequently was greater in volume and more terrifying; on the other side discordant voices, as was natural from many nations with a confusion of tongues.	magna eadem in re gerenda momenta: congruens clamor ab Romanis eoque maior et terribilior, dissonae illis, ut gentium multarum discrepantibus linguis, voces.

30. Livy, *History of Rome: Books 32-37*, trans. Yardley, J. (Loeb Classical Library, 2017).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Livy. 32.30.10.	At the start of the battle the consul made a vow of a temple to Juno Sospita should the enemy be defeated and routed on that day. A shout went up from his men, who	Consul principio pugnae vovit aedem Sospitae Iunoni si eo die hostes fusi fugatique fuissent: a militibus clamor sublatus

	declared that they would oblige him to discharge the vow, and the assault was then launched on the enemy.	compotem voti consulem se facturos, et impetus in hostes est factus.
b) Livy. 33.9.1-2.	Quinctius gave the signal on the trumpet. Rarely, it is said, has there been so loud a war cry raised at the start of a battle; for as chance would have it both armies shouted at the same time	Quinctius, iis qui in proelio fuerant inter signa et ordines acceptis, tuba dat signum. 2raro alias tantus clamor dicitur in principio pugnae exortus; nam forte utraque acies simul conclamavere
c) Livy. 35. 11.6-11.	The Numidians mounted their horses and started to ride toward the enemy outposts, but without attacking anyone. At first there could not have been a sorrier sight. Horses and men were puny and scrawny; the riders wore only a tunic and had no weapons apart from the javelins they carried; the horses had no bridles, and their very gallop was unsightly, running along as they did with necks stiff and heads outstretched. The Numidians, purposely enhancing the enemy's derision, would fall from their mounts and make themselves look ridiculous. The result was that the men in the outposts, at first attentive and prepared for any attack, were now for mostly sitting around unarmed watching the show. The Numidians would ride forward and then fall back, but little by little they were approaching the mouth of the pass, looking like men carried off unwillingly by mounts that they could not control. Finally they put in the spurs,	Numidae equos conscendunt et obequitare stationibus hostium, neminem lacessentes, coeperunt. nihil primo adspectu contemptius: equi hominesque paululi et graciles, discinctus et inermis eques, praeterquam quod iacula secum portat, equi sine frenis, deformis ipse cursus rigida cervice et extento capite currentium. hunc contemptum de industria augentes labi ex equis et per ludibrium spectaculo esse. itaque qui primo intenti paratique si lacesserentur in stationibus fuerant, iam inermes sedentesque pars maxima spectabant. Numidae adequitare, dein refugere, sed propius saltum paulatim evehi, velut quos impotentes regendi equi invitos efferrent. postremo subditis calcaribus per medias stationes hostium erupere, et in agrum

	broke through the midst of the enemy outposts and, riding out into more open country, set all the buildings bordering the road on fire.	latiorem evecti omnia propinqua viae tecta incendunt. proximo deinde vico inferunt ignem ferro flammaque omnia pervastant.
d) Livy 37.20.	seeing no movement, made no alteration to their usual carelessness and, in fact, even jeered at their meager numbers.	insuper etiam eludentes paucitatem, mutarunt.

31. Livy, *History of Rome: Books 38*, trans. Sage, E. (Loeb Classical Library, 2017).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Livy 38.17.3-5.	Among peoples of the most unwarlike sort this fierce tribe, travelling up and down in war, has almost made the world its residence. Tall bodies, long reddish hair, huge shields, very long swords; in addition, songs as they go into battle and yells and leapings and the dreadful din of arms as they clash shields according to some ancestral custom—all these are deliberately used to terrify their foes.	Inter mitissimum genus hominum ferox natio pervagata bello prope orbem terrarum sedem cepit. Procera corpora, promissae et rutilatae comae, vasta scuta, praelongi gladii; ad hoc cantus ineuntium proelium et ululatus et tripudia, et quatientium scuta in patrium quendam modum. horrendus armorum crepitus, omnia de industria composita ad terrorem.
b) Livy 38.29.	In consequence they use this weapon at longer range, with greater accuracy and with more powerful effect than the Balearic slinger. Moreover, the sling is not composed of a single strap, like those of the Balears and other peoples, but the bullet-carrier is triple, strengthened with numerous seams, that the missile may not fly out at random, from the pliancy of the strap at the moment of discharge, but, seated firmly while being whirled,	Itaque longius certiusque et validiore ictu quam Baliaris funditor eo telo 6usi sunt. Et est non simplicis habenae, ut Baliarica aliarumque gentium funda, sed triplex scutale, crebris suturis duratum, ne fluxa habena volutetur in iactu glans, sed librata cum sederit, velut nervo missa excutiat. Coronas modici circuli magno ex intervallo loci adsueti traicere non capita solum hostium

	<p>may be shot out as if from a bow-string.¹ Having been trained to shoot through rings of moderate circumference from long distances, they would wound not merely the heads of their enemies but any part of the face at which they might have aimed. These slings prevented the Sameans from making sallies so frequently or so boldly, to such an extent that from the walls they begged the Achaeans² to withdraw for a while and in quiet to watch them fighting with the Roman outguards.</p>	<p>vulnerabant, sed quem locum destinassent oris. Hae fundae Samaeos cohibuerunt, ne tam crebro neve tam audacter erumperent, adeo ut precarentur ex muris Achaeos ut parumper abscederent et se cum Romanis stationibus pugnantes quiete spectarent.</p>
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32. Livy, *History of Rome: Books 45*, trans. Schlesinger, C. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

a) Livy 45.38.12.	<p>Soldiers indeed are directly interested in the matter, for they too are crowned with laurel, while each man is adorned with the decorations he has been given; they parade through the city invoking the spirit of Triumph by name and singing their own praises and those of their general.</p>	<p>militum quidem propria est causa, qui et ipsi laureati et quisque donis, quibus donati sunt, insignes triumphum nomine cunctas suasque et imperatoris laudes canentes per urbem incedunt.</p>
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33. Lucan, *Pharsalia (The Civil War)*, trans. Duff, J. D. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Luc. Phar. 1.450-455.	<p>And the Druids, laying down their arms, went back to the barbarous rites and weird ceremonies of their worship. (To them alone is granted knowledge—or ignorance, it may be—of gods and celestial powers;</p>	<p>Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum Sacrorum, Dryadae, positae repetitis ab armis. Solis nosse deos et caeli numina vobis Aut solis nescire datum; nemora alta remotis Incolitis lucis;</p>

	they dwell in deep forests with sequestered groves; they teach that the soul does not descend to the silent land of Erebus and the sunless realm of Dis below, but that the same breath still governs the limbs in a different scene.	vobis auctoribus umbrae Non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisque profundi Pallida regna petunt.
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34. Lysias, *In Defence of Mantitheus*, trans. Lamb, W. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Lysias Mantheos 16.17.	but I was also forward to face danger. I acted in this way, not because I did not think it a serious thing to do battle with the Lacedaemonians.	καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν οὐχ ὥς οὐ δεινὸν ἡγούμενος εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις μάχεσθαι,

35. Maurice, *Strategikon*, trans. Dennis, G. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Maur. Strat. 2.18.	The battle cry, "Nobiscum," which it was customary to shout when beginning the charge is, in our opinion, extremely dangerous and harmful. Shouting it at that moment may cause the ranks to break up...Instead of the shout, prayers should be said in camp on the actual day of battle before anyone goes out the gate. All, led by the priests, the general, and the other officers, should recite the "Kyrie eleison" (Lord have mercy) for some time in unison. Then, in hopes of success, each meros should shout the "Nobiscum Deus" (God is us) three times as it marches out of camp. As	<i>Unable to insert a legible digital original text for Maurice.</i>

	soon as the army leaves the camp to form for battle, absolute silence should prevail...But when the army closes with the enemy, it is not a bad idea for the men to shout and cheer, especially the rear ranks, to unnerve the enemy and stir up our own troops.	
b) Maur. Strat. 3.15.	Now, if the battle is in doubt as far as the first line is concerned...then the second line is to wait and see how things turn out, letting out two or three rousing cheers to encourage our troops and discourage the enemy.	<i>Unable to insert a legible digital original text for Maurice.</i>
c) Maur. Strat. 7.2.15-16.	We find that the Romans and almost all other peoples when observing each other's battle lines from a distance generally pick out the gloomy-looking line as more likely to win the battle than the one in gleaming armour...men should be trained not to wear their helmets but to carry them in their hands until very close to the enemy...cloaks should be thrown back over the shoulder pieces of the mail coat until the proper time...In this way, then, from a distance our army will not shine at all...by presenting such an appearance, something our foes also make use of, they will be impressed and even before the battle, will lose confidence.	<i>Unable to insert a legible digital original text for Maurice.</i>
d) Maur. Strat. 7.16.	The "Nobiscum" should not be shouted during the charge, but only	<i>Unable to insert a legible digital original text for Maurice.</i>

	while moving up to the line of battle. As the charge begins, the troops, particularly those in the rear, should cheer and shout, and no other noise is needed.	
e) Maur. Strat. 8.2.	Never lead soldiers into combat before having made sufficient trial of their courage.	<i>Unable to insert a legible digital original text for Maurice.</i>
f) Maur. Strat. 12B.16.	When ranks have been properly closed, and the line is about one bowshot from the enemy, and the fighting is just about to begin, the command is given: "Ready." Right after this another officer shouts: "Help us." In unison everyone responds loudly and clearly: "O God."	<i>Unable to insert a legible digital original text for Maurice.</i>
g) Maur. Srtat. 12B.24.	They should simulate single combat, sometimes with staffs, sometimes with naked swords. One man shouts: "Help us," and all respond in unison: "O God."	<i>Unable to insert a legible digital original text for Maurice.</i>

36. Onosander, *Strategikos*, trans. Illinois Greek Club. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Ono. Strat. 5.	Before the general leads out his army he must see that it is purified, by such rites as either the laws or soothsayers direct, and must avert whatever taint there is in the state or in any citizen, by expiatory sacrifices.	Ἐξαγέτω δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ὁ στρατηγὸς καθαρὰς ἢ οἷς νόμοι ἱεροὶ ἢ οἷς μάντις ὑφηγοῦνται καθαρσίῳ, πᾶσαν, εἴ τις ἢ δημοσίᾳ κηλὶς ἢ ἰδίου μολύσματος ² ἐκάστῳ σύνεστιν, ἀποδιοπομπούμενος.
b) Ono. Strat. Pr.8.	For this treatise presents no impromptu invention of an unwarlike and youthful mind, but all the principles are taken	οὐθὲν γὰρ ἐσχεδιασμένον ἀπολέμῳ καὶ νεωτέρῳ γνώμῃ τόδε περιέχει τὸ σύνταγμα, ἀλλὰ πάντα διὰ πράξεων

	from authentic exploits and battles, especially of the Romans.	καὶ ἀληθινῶν ἀγώνων κεχωρηκότα μάλιστα μὲν Ῥωμαίοις·
c) Ono. Strat. 24.	It is the part of a wise general to station brothers in rank beside brothers, friends beside friends, and lovers beside their favourites. For whenever that which is in danger near by is more than ordinarily dear the lover necessarily fights more recklessly for the man beside him. And of course one is ashamed not to return a favour that he has received, and is dishonoured if he abandons his benefactor and is the first to flee.	Φρονίμου δὲ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ τάττειν ἀδελφοὺς παρ' ἀδελφοῖς, φίλους παρὰ φίλοις, ἐραστὰς παρὰ παιδικοῖς· ὅταν γὰρ ᾗ τὸ κινδυνεῦον τὸ πλησίον προσφιλέστερον, ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀγαπῶντα φιλοκινδυνότερον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πέλας ἀγωνίζεσθαι· καὶ δὴ τις αἰδούμενος μὴ ἀποδοῦναι χάριν ὧν εὖ πέπονθεν αἰσχύνεται καταλιπὼν τὸν εὐεργετήσαντα πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἄρξαι φυγῆς.
d) Ono. Strat. 28.1.	The general should make it a point to draw up his line of battle resplendent in armour—an easy matter, AENM (by conjecture). requiring only a command to sharpen swords and to clean helmets and breast-plates. For the advancing companies appear more dangerous by the gleam of weapons, and the terrible sight brings fear and confusion to the hearts of the enemy.	Μεμελημένον δ' ἔστω τῷ στρατηγῷ λαμπρὸν ἐκτάττειν τὸ στράτευμα τοῖς ὅπλοις, ῥαδία δ' ἢ φροντὶς αὕτη παρακαλέσαντι τὰ ξίφη θήγειν καὶ τὰς κόρυθας καὶ τοὺς θώρακας σμήχειν· δεινότεροι γὰρ οἱ ἐπιόντες φαίνονται λόχοι τοῖς τῶν ὅπλων αἰθύγμασι, καὶ πολλὰ τὰ δι' ὄψεως δεῖματα προεμπίπτοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς τaráττει τὸ ἀντιπόλεμον.
e) Ono. Strat. 29.	One should send the army into battle shouting, and sometimes on the run, because their appearance and shouts and the clash of arms confound the hearts of the enemy. The dense bands of soldiers should spread out in the attack before coming to close quarters, often waving their swords high above	Ἐπαγέτω δὲ τὸ στράτευμα καὶ σὺν ² ἀλαλαγμῷ, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ σὺν δρόμῳ· καὶ γὰρ ὄψις καὶ βοή καὶ πάταγος ὅπλων ἐξίστησι τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων διανοίας. ἀνατεινόντων δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐφόδους ἄθροοι, πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ὑπὲρ τὰς κεφαλὰς μετέωρα τὰ ξίφη πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον

	<p>their heads toward the sun. The polished spear-points and flashing swords, shining in thick array and reflecting the light of the sun, send ahead a terrible lightning-flash of war. If the enemy should also do this, it is necessary to frighten them in turn, but if not, one should frighten them first.</p> <p>It is sometimes advantageous before a critical battle for the general not to be the first to form a line of battle but to wait within the camp for a time until he observes the battle array of the enemy, its character, arrangement, and position.</p>	<p>θαμὰ παρεγκλίνοντες· ἐσμηγμέναι γὰρ αἶχμαὶ καὶ λαμπρὰ ξίφη καὶ ἐπάλληλα παραμαρμαίροντα πρὸς ἀνταύγειαν ἡλίου δεινὴν ἀστραπὴν πολέμου προεκπέμπει· καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν εἰ γίγνοιτο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀντικαταπλήττειν ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ δὲ μή, προεκπλήττειν.</p> <p>Ἐνίστε δὲ ποτε χρήσιμον ἐν καιρῷ μὴ φθάνειν ἐκτάπτοντα τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τέως ἐντὸς τοῦ χάρακος κατέχειν, ἄχρι ἂν κατοπτεύσῃ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν, ὅποια τίς ἐστι καὶ ὡς τέτακται καὶ ἐφ' οἷων ἴσταται χωρίων.</p>
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37. Ovid, *Amores*, trans. Showerman, G. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Ov. Am. 3.2.73.	We are favouring a good-for-naught— but call them back, Quirites	favimus ignavo—sed enim revocate, Quirites,

38. Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

a) Plut. Aem. 19.1-3.	<p>And when he saw that the rest of the Macedonian troops also were drawing their targets from their shoulders round in front of them, and with long spears set at one level were withstanding his shield-bearing troops, and saw too the strength of their interlocked shields and the fierceness of their onset, amazement and fear took possession of him, and he felt that he had never seen a sight more fearful; often in after times</p>	<p>ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων τάς τε πέλτας ἐξ ὧμου περισπασάντων καὶ ταῖς σαρίσαις ἀφ' ἑνὸς συνθήματος κλιθείσαις ὑποστάντων τοὺς θυρεοφόρους εἶδε τὴν τε ῥώμην τοῦ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς προβολῆς, ἑκπληξὺς αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ δέος, ὡς οὐδὲν ἰδόντα πώποτε θέαμα φοβερώτερον· καὶ πολλάκις ὕστερον</p>
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	he used to speak of his emotions at that time and of what he saw.	ἐμέμνητο τοῦ πάθους ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς ὀψεως.
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39. Plutarch, *Alexander*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

a) Plut. Alex. 16.4.	For the enemy pressed upon them with loud shouts, and matching horse with horse, plied their lances, and their swords when their lances were shattered. Many rushed upon Alexander, for he was conspicuous by his buckler and by his helmet's crest, on either side of which was fixed a plume of wonderful size and whiteness.	ἐνέκειντο γὰρ κραυγῇ, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραβάλλοντες τοῖς ἵπποις ἐχρῶντο δόρασι, καὶ ξίφεσι τῶν δοράτων συντριβέντων. ὠσαμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν (ἦν δὲ τῇ πέλτῃ καὶ τοῦ κράνους τῇ χαίτῃ διαπρεπής, ἧς ἐκατέρωθεν εἰστήκει πτερόν λευκότητι καὶ μεγέθει θαυμαστόν)
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40. Plutarch, *Antony*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. Ant. 39.4.	But when the signal was given, and the Roman horsemen wheeled about and rode down upon them with loud shouts, they did indeed receive their onset and repel them, although their foes were at once too close for them to use their arrows, when, however, the legionaries joined in the charge, with shouts and clashing of weapons, the horses of the Parthians took fright and gave way, and the Parthians fled without coming to close quarters.	ὥς δὲ τὸ σημεῖον ἦρθη καὶ προσεφέροντο μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ ἵππεῖς, τούτους μὲν ἡμύνοντο δεξάμενοι, καίπερ εὐθὺς ἐντὸς τοξεύματος γενομένων, τῶν δὲ ὀπλιτῶν συναπτόντων ἅμα βοῇ καὶ πατάγῳ τῶν ὄπλων, οἳ τε ἵπποι τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐξίσταντο тарβοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν ἔφευγον.

41. Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. Cleo. 2.3.	For Leonidas of old, as we are told, when asked what manner of poet he thought Tyrtaeus to be, replied; 'A	Λεωνίδαν μὲν γὰρ τὸν παλαιὸν λέγουσιν, ἐπερωτηθέντα ποιός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ποιητὴς γεγονέναι

	good one to inflame the souls of young men.’ And indeed they were filled with divine inspiration by his poems, and in battle were sparing of their lives.	Τυρταῖος, εἶπεῖν ‘γαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς κακκανῆν.’ ἐμπιπλάμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐνθουσιασμοῦ παρὰ τὰς μάχας ἠφείδουν ἑαυτῶν.
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42. Plutarch, *Crassus*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. Cras. 17.2.	The Galatian laughed and said: “But you yourself, Imperator, as I see, are not marching very early in the day against the Parthians.”	γελάσας δ’ ὁ Γαλάτης· “Ἄλλ’ οὐδ’ αὐτός,” εἶπεν, “ὦ αὐτόκρατορ, ὥς ὀρῶ.
b) Plut. Cras. 26.	At this point, however, the enemy came up with clamour and battle cries which made them more fearful than ever, and again many of their drums began bellowing about the Romans, who awaited the beginning of a second battle. Besides, those of the enemy who carried the head of Publius fixed high upon a spear, rode close up and displayed it, scornfully asking after his parents and family, for surely, they said, it was not meet that Crassus, most base and cowardly of men, should be the father of a son so noble and of such splendid valour. This spectacle shattered and unstrung the spirits of the Romans more than all the rest of their terrible experiences, and they were all filled, not with a passion for revenge, as was to have been expected, but with shuddering and trembling.	Ἐν τούτῳ δ’ οἱ πολέμιοι προσεφέροντο κλαγγῇ καὶ παιᾶνι φοβερώτεροι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τυμπάνων αὖθις περιεμυκᾶτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐτέρας μάχης ἀρχὴν προσδοκῶντας. οἱ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ποπλίου κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ αἰχμῆς ἀναπεπηγυῖαν ἐγγὺς προσελάσαντες ἀνέδειξαν, ὕβρει πυνθανόμενοι τοκέας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρέπειν γε Κράσσου πατρὸς ἀνανδροτάτου καὶ κακίστου γενναῖον οὕτω παῖδα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀρετῇ γενέσθαι. τοῦτο τὸ θέαμα Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα τᾶλλα δεινὰ τὰς ψυχὰς κατέκλασε καὶ παρέλυσεν, οὐ θυμοῦ πρὸς ἄμυναν, ὥσπερ ἦν εἰκός, ἀλλὰ φρίκης καὶ τρόμου πᾶσιν ἐγγενομένου.

43. Plutarch, *M. Cato*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. M. Cato. 13.7.	with bray of trumpet and battle-cry.	καὶ τῆς ὀλιγορίας εὐθὺς ἐπῆγεν ἅμα σάλπιγξι καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ.

44. Plutarch, *Instituta Laconica*, trans. Babbitt, F. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. Inst. Lac. 16.	Moreover, the rhythmic movement of their marching songs was such as to excite courage and boldness, and contempt for death; and these they used both in dancing, and also to the accompaniment of the flute when advancing upon the enemy. In fact, Lycurgus coupled fondness for music with military drill, so that the over-assertive warlike spirit, by being combined with melody, might have concord and harmony. It was for this reason that in time of battle the king offered sacrifice to the Muses before the conflict, so that those who fought should make their deeds worthy to be told and to be remembered with honour.	Καὶ οἱ ἐμβατήριοι δὲ ῥυθμοὶ παρορμητικοὶ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ θαρραλεότητα καὶ ὑπερφρόνησιν θανάτου, οἷς ἐχρῶντο ἔν τε χοροῖς καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἐπάγοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ γὰρ Λυκοῦργος παρέξευξε τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀσκήσει τὴν φιλομουσίαν, ὅπως τὸ ἄγαν πολεμικὸν τῷ ἐμμελεῖ κερασθὲν συμφωνίαν καὶ ἁρμονίαν ἔχη· διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προεθύετο ταῖς Μούσαις ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἵνα λόγου ἀξίας παρέχωσι τὰς πράξεις οἱ μαχόμενοι καὶ μνήμης εὐκλεοῦς.
b) Plut. Inst. Lac. 24.	In wars they used red garments for two reasons: first, the colour they thought was a manly colour, and second, the blood-red hue causes more terror in the minds of inexperienced. Also, if anyone of them receive a wound, it is advantageous that it be not easily discovered by the enemy, but be	Ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις φοινικίσιν ἐχρῶντο· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ ἡ χροὰ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀνδρική εἶναι, ἅμα δὲ τὸ αἱματῶδες τοῦ χρώματος πλείονα τοῖς ἀπείροις φόβον παρέχει ³ · καὶ τὸ μὴ εὐπερίφωρον δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι, ἐάν τις αὐτῶν πληγῇ, ἀλλὰ διαλανθάνειν διὰ τὸ ὁμόχρουν χρήσιμον.

	unperceived by reason of the identity of colour.	
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45. Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. Lyc. 6.5.	And they were actually able to persuade the city that the god authorized this addition to the rhetra, as Tyrtaeus reminds us in these verses:— “Phoebus Apollo’s the mandate was which theybrought from Pytho,Voicing the will of the god, nor were his wordsunfulfilled:Sway in the council and honours divine belong tothe princesUnder whose care has been set Sparta’s city ofcharm; Second to them are the elders, and next come themen of the people Duly confirming by vote unperverted decrees.”	ἔπεισαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα προστάσσοντος, ὥς που Τυρταῖος ἐπιμέμνηται διὰ τούτων· Φοῖβου ἀκούσαντες Πυθωνόθεν οἴκαδ’ ἔνεικανμαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ’ ἔπεα ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας, οἷσι μέλει Σπάρτας ἡμερόεσσα πόλις,πρεσβύτας τε γέροντας, ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας, εὐθείαις ῥήτραις ἅντα παμειβομένους.
b) Plut. Lyc. 21.1-4.	Nor was their training in music and poetry any less serious a concern than the emulous purity of their speech, nay, their very songs had a stimulus that roused the spirit and awoke enthusiastic and effectual effort; the style of them was simple and unaffected, and their themes were serious and edifying. They were for the most part praises of men who had died for Sparta, calling them blessed and happy; censure of men who had played the coward, picturing their grievous and ill-starred life; and such promises	Ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰς ψᾶδας καὶ τὰ μέλη παιδείεσις οὐχ ἥττον ἐσπουδάζετο τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις εὐζηλίας καὶ καθαριότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μέλη κέντρον εἶχεν ἐγερτικὸν θυμοῦ καὶ παραστατικὸν ὁρμῆς ἐνθουσιώδους καὶ πραγματικῆς, καὶ ἡ λέξις ἦν ἀφελὴς καὶ ἄθρυπτος ἐπὶ πράγμασι σεμνοῖς καὶ ἡθοποιοῖς. ἔπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονιζομένων, καὶ ψόγοι τῶν τρεσάντων, ὡς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ κακοδαίμονα βιούντων βίον, ἐπαγγελία τε καὶ μεγαλαυχία πρὸς

<p>and boasts of valour as befitted the different ages. Of the last, it may not be amiss to cite one, by way of illustration. They had three choirs at their festivals, corresponding to the three ages, and the choir of old men would sing first:—</p> <p>“We once did deeds of prowess and were strong young men.”</p> <p>Then the choir of young men would respond:—</p> <p>“We are so now, and if you wish, behold and see.”</p> <p>And then the third choir, that of the boys, would sing:—</p> <p>“We shall be sometime mightier men by far than both.”</p> <p>In short, if one studies the poetry of Sparta, of which some specimens were still extant in my time, and makes himself familiar with the marching songs which they used, to the accompaniment of the flute, when charging upon their foes, he will conclude that Terpander and Pindar were right in associating valour with music. The former writes thus of the Lacedaemonians:—</p> <p>“Flourish there both the spear of the brave and the Muse’s clear message, Justice, too, walks the broad streets——.”</p> <p>And Pindar says:—¹</p>	<p>ἀρετὴν πρέπουσα ταῖς ἡλικίαις· ὧν ἕνεκα δείγματος οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστιν ἓν τι προενέγκασθαι. τριῶν γὰρ χορῶν κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡλικίας συνισταμένων ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς, ὁ μὲν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχόμενος ἦδεν·</p> <p>Ἄμμες πόκ’ ἦμες ἄλκιμοι νεανῖαι. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀμειβόμενος ἔλεγεν·</p> <p>Ἄμμες δέ γ’ εἰμέν· αἱ δὲ λῆς, αὐγάσδεο. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὁ τῶν παίδων·</p> <p>Ἄμμες δέ γ’ ἐσόμεσθα πολλῶ κάρρονες.</p> <p>Ὅλως δὲ ἂν τις ἐπιστήσας τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ποιήμασιν, ὧν ἔτι καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἔνια διεσώζετο, καὶ τοὺς ἐμβατηρίους ῥυθμοὺς ἀναλαβὼν, οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐπάγοντες τοῖς πολέμοις, οὐ κακῶς ἡγήσαιτο καὶ τὸν Τέρπανδρον καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῇ μουσικῇ συνάπτειν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως πεποίηκε περὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων·</p> <p>Ἐνθ’ αἰχμὰ τε νέων θάλλει καὶ μοῦσα λίγεια καὶ δίκη εὐρυάγνια — — Πίνδαρος δέ φησιν·</p> <p>Ἐνθα βουλαὶ γερόντων καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύοντι αἰχμαῖ καὶ χοροὶ καὶ Μοῦσα καὶ ἀγλαΐα. Μουσικωτάτους γὰρ ἅμα καὶ πολεμικωτάτους ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτούς·</p>
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	<p>“There are councils of Elders,And young men’s conquering spears,And dances, the Muse, and joyousness.”</p> <p>The Spartans are thus shown to be at the same time most musical and most warlike;</p> <p>“In equal poise to match the sword hangs the sweetart of the harpist,” as their poet says. For just before their battles, the king sacrificed to the Muses, reminding his warriors, as it would seem, of their training, and of the firm decisions they had made, in order that they might be prompt to face the dread issue, and might perform such martial deeds as would be worthy of some record.</p>	<p>Ῥέπει² γὰρ ἅντα τῷ σιδάρῳ τὸ καλῶς κιθαρίσδεν,</p> <p>ὥς ὁ Λακωνικὸς ποιητὴς εἴρηκε. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προεθύετο ταῖς Μούσαις ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀναμνησκων, ὥς ἔοικε, τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῶν κρίσεων, ἵνα ὧσι πρόχειροι παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ λόγου τινὸς ἀξίας παρέχωσι τὰς πράξεις τῶν μαχομένων.</p>
c) Plut. Lyc. 22.2-3.	<p>saying of Lycurgus, that a fine head of hair made the handsome more comely still, and the ugly more terrible. Their bodily exercises, too, were less rigorous during their campaigns, and in other ways their young warriors were allowed a regimen which was less curtailed and rigid, so that they were the only men in the world with whom war brought a respite in the training for war. And when at last they were drawn up in battle array and the enemy was at hand, the king sacrificed the customary she-goat, commanded all the warriors to set garlands upon their heads, and</p>	<p>ἀπομνημονεύοντές τινα καὶ Λυκούργου λόγον περὶ τῆς κόμης, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς εὐπρεπεστέρους ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους. ἐχρῶντο δὲ καὶ γυμνασίοις μαλακωτέροις παρὰ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διαίταν οὐχ οὕτω κεκολασμένην οὐδ’ ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς νέοις παρεῖχον, ὥστε μόνοις ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνοις τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκήσεως ἀνάπαισιν εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἤδη δὲ συντεταγμένης τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παρόντων, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅμα τὴν τε χίμαιραν ἐσφαγιάζετο καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι παρήγγελλε πᾶσι καὶ</p>

	<p>ordered the pipers to pipe the strains of the hymn to Castor; then he himself led off in a marching paean, and it was a sight equally grand and terrifying when they marched in step with the rhythm of the flute, without any gap in their line of battle, and with no confusion in their souls, but calmly and cheerfully moving with the strains of their hymn into the deadly fight. Neither fear nor excessive fury is likely to possess men so disposed, but rather a firm purpose full of hope and courage, believing as they do that Heaven is their ally.</p>	<p>τοὺς αὐλητὰς αὐλεῖν ἐκέλευε τὸ Καστόρειον μέλος· ἅμα δ' ἐξῆρχεν ἐμβατηρίου παιᾶνος, ὥστε σεμνὴν ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν τὴν ὄψιν εἶναι, ῥυθμῷ τε πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐμβαινόντων καὶ μήτε διάσπασμα ποιούντων ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι μήτε ταῖς ψυχαῖς θορυβουμένων, ἀλλὰ πρᾶως καὶ ἱλαρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μέλους ἀγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον. οὔτε γὰρ φόβον οὔτε θυμὸν ἐγγίνεσθαι πλεονάζοντα</p>
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46. Plutarch, *Marcellus*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. Marc. 6-8.	<p>while he himself made adoration to the sun, implying that it was not by chance, but for this purpose, that he had wheeled about; for it is the custom with the Romans to turn round in this way when they make adoration to the gods. And in the moment of closing with the enemy he is said to have vowed that he would consecrate to Jupiter Feretrius the most beautiful suit of armour among them.</p> <p>VII. Meanwhile the king of the Gauls espied him, and judging from his insignia that he was the commander, rode far out in front of the rest and confronted him, shouting</p>	<p>τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸς προσεκύνησεν, ὥς δὴ μὴ κατὰ τύχην, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τούτου τῇ περιαγωγῇ χρησάμενος· οὕτω γὰρ ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις προσκυνεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς περιστρεφομένους. καὶ αὐτὸν ἤδη προσμινύντα τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσεύξασθαι τῷ φερετρίῳ Διὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅπλων καθιερώσειν.</p> <p>VII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κατιδὼν ὁ τῶν Γαλατῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τεκμηράμενος ἀπὸ τῶν συμβόλων ἄρχοντα τοῦτον εἶναι, πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελάσας τὸν ἵππον ὑπηγνίασεν, ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ</p>

<p>challenges and brandishing his spear. His stature exceeded that of the other Gauls, and he was conspicuous for a suit of armour which was set off with gold and silver and bright colours and all sorts of broideries; it gleamed like lightning. Accordingly, as Marcellus surveyed the ranks of the enemy, this seemed to him to be the most beautiful armour, and he concluded that it was this which he had vowed to the god. He therefore rushed upon the man, and by a thrust of his spear which pierced his adversary's breastplate, and by the impact of his horse in full career, threw him, still living, upon the ground, where, with a second and third blow, he promptly killed him. Then leaping from his horse and laying his hands upon the armour of the dead, he looked towards heaven and said: "O Jupiter Feretrius, who beholdest the great deeds and exploits of generals and commanders in wars and fightings, I call thee to witness that I have overpowered and slain this man with my own hand, being the third Roman ruler and general so to slay a ruler and king, and that I dedicate to thee the first and most beautiful of the spoils. Do thou therefore grant us a like fortune as we prosecute the rest of the war."</p>	<p>προκλητικὸν ἐπαλαλάζων καὶ τὸ δόρυ κραδαίνων, ἀνὴρ μεγέθει τε σώματος ἔξοχος Γαλατῶν, καὶ πανοπλία ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ βαφαῖς καὶ πᾶσι ποικίλμασιν, ὥσπερ ἀστραπή, διαφέρων στιλβούσῃ. ὡς οὖν ἐπιβλέψαντι τὴν φάλαγγα τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ ταῦτα τῶν ὅπλων ἔδοξε κάλλιστα καὶ κατὰ τούτων ὑπέλαβε πεποιῆσθαι τῷ θεῷ τὴν κατευχήν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τῷ δόρατι διακόψας τὸν θώρακα καὶ συνεπερείσας τῇ ῥύμῃ τοῦ ἵππου ζῶντα μὲν αὐτὸν περιέτρεψε, δευτέραν δὲ καὶ τρίτην πληγὴν ἐνεῖς εὐθὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀποπηδήσας δὲ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῦ νεκροῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐφαψάμενος, πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· “ὦ μεγάλα στρατηγῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἔργα καὶ πράξεις ἐπιβλέπων ἐν πολέμοις καὶ μάχαις φερέτρίε Ζεῦ, μαρτύρομαί σε Ῥωμαίων τρίτος ἄρχων ἄρχοντα καὶ βασιλέα στρατηγὸς ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα κατεργασάμενος καὶ κτείνας σοι καθιεροῦν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν λαφύρων. σὺ δὲ δίδου τύχην ὁμοίαν ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου προτρεπομένοις.”</p> <p>Ἐκ τούτου συνέμισγον οἱ ἵππεῖς οὐ διακεκριμένοις... Ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου μόνῳ Μαρκέλλῳ θρίαμβον, εἰσήλαυνε τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ</p>
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	<p>His prayer ended, the cavalry joined battle, fighting...The senate decreed a triumph to Marcellus alone, and his triumphal procession was seldom equalled in its splendour and wealth and spoils and captives of gigantic size; but besides this, the most agreeable and the rarest spectacle of all was afforded when Marcellus himself carried to the god the armour of the barbarian king. He had cut the trunk of a slender oak, straight and tail, and fashioned it into the shape of a trophy; on this he bound and fastened the spoils, arranging and adjusting each piece in due order. When the procession began to move, he took the trophy himself and mounted the chariot, and thus a trophy-bearing figure more conspicuous and beautiful than any in his day passed in triumph through the city. The army followed, arrayed in most beautiful armour, singing odes composed for the occasion, together with paeans of victory in praise of the god and their general. Thus advancing and entering the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, he set up and consecrated his offering, being the third and last to do so, down to our time. The first was Romulus, who despoiled Acron the Caeninensian; the second was Cornelius Cossus, who despoiled Tolumnius the Tuscan; and</p>	<p>λαμπρότητι καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λαφύροις καὶ σώμασιν ὑπερφυέσιν αἰχμαλώτων ἐν ὀλίγοις θαυμαστός, ἥδιστον δὲ πάντων θέαμα καὶ καινότατον ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτὸν κομίζοντα τῷ θεῷ τὴν τοῦ βαρβάρου πανοπλίαν. δρυὸς γὰρ εὐκτεάνου πρέμνον ὄρθιον καὶ μέγα τεμῶν καὶ ἀσκήσας ὥσπερ τρόπαιον ἀνεδήσατο καὶ κατήρτησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ λάφυρα, κόσμῳ διαθείς καὶ περιαρμόσας ἕκαστον. προΐούσης δὲ τῆς πομπῆς ἄράμενος αὐτὸς ἐπέβη τοῦ τεθρίππου, καὶ τροπαιοφόρον ἄγαλμα τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνου κάλλιστον καὶ διαπρεπέστατον ἐπόμενε διὰ τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς εἶπετο καλλίστοις ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένος, ἄδων ἅμα πεποιημένα μέλη καὶ παιᾶνας ἐπινικίους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν στρατηγόν. οὕτω δὲ προβὰς καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν νεῶν τοῦ φερετρίου Διός, ἀνέστησε καὶ καθιέρωσε, τρίτος καὶ τελευταῖος ἄχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς αἰῶνος. πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἀνήνεγκε σκῦλα Ῥωμύλος ἀπὸ Ἀκρωνος τοῦ Καϊνινήτου, δεύτερος δὲ Κόσσος Κορνήλιος ἀπὸ Τολουμνίου Τυρρηνοῦ, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Μάρκελλος ἀπὸ Βριτομάρτου, βασιλέως Γαλατῶν, μετὰ δὲ Μάρκελλον οὐδὲ εἷς. καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ᾧ</p>
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	<p>after them Marcellus, who despoiled Britomartus, king of the Gauls; but after Marcellus, no man. The god to whom the spoils were dedicated was called Jupiter Feretrius, as some say, because the trophy was carried on a “pheretron,” or car; this is a Greek word, and many such were still mingled at that time with the Latin; according to others, the epithet is given to Jupiter as wielder of the thunder-bolt, the Latin “ferire” meaning to smite. But others say the name is derived from the blow one gives an enemy, since even now in battles, when they are pursuing their enemies, they exhort one another with the word “feti,” which means smite! Spoils in general they call “spolia” and these in particular, “opima.” And yet they say that Numa Pompilius, in his commentaries, makes mention of three kinds of “opima,” prescribing that when the first kind are taken, they shall be consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius, the second to Mars, and the third to Quirinus.</p>	<p>πέμπεται φερέτριος Ζεύς, ὥς μὲν ἔνιοί φασιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ φερετρευομένου τροπαίου, κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνίδα γλῶσσαν ἔτι πολλὴν τότε συμμεμιγμένην τῇ Λατίνων, ὥς δὲ ἕτεροι, Διὸς ἐστὶν ἡ προσωνυμία κεραυνοβολοῦντος. τὸ γὰρ τύπτειν φερῖρε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πολεμίου πληγὴν γεγονέναι τοῦνομα λέγουσι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ὅταν διώκωσι τοὺς πολεμίους, πυκνὸν τὸ φέρι, τουτέστι παῖε, παρεγγυῶσιν ἀλλήλοις. τὰ δὲ σκῦλα σπόλια μὲν κοινῶς, ιδίως δὲ ὀπίμια ὅσα ταῦτα καλοῦσι. καίτοι φασὶν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι Νομᾶν Πομπίλιον καὶ πρώτων ὀπιμίων καὶ δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων μνημονεύειν, τὰ μὲν πρώτα ληφθέντα τῷ φερετρίῳ Διὶ κελεύοντα καθιεροῦν, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ τῷ Ἄρει, τὰ δὲ τρίτα τῷ Κυρίνῳ.</p>
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47. Plutarch, *Marius*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. Mar. 15-16.	Their numbers were limitless, they were hideous in their aspect, and their speech and cries were unlike those of other peoples. They covered a large part of the plain, and after	περιβαλόμενοι δὲ τοῦ πεδίου μέγα μέρος καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντες προῦκαλοῦντο τὸν Μάριον εἰς μάχην.

	<p>pitching their camp challenged Marius to battle.</p> <p>XVI. Marius, however, paid no heed to them, but kept his soldiers inside their fortifications, bitterly rebuking those who would have made a display of their courage, and calling those whose high spirit made them wish to rush forth and give battle traitors to their country. For it was not, he said, triumphs or trophies that should now be the object of their ambition, but how they might ward off so great a cloud and thunder-bolt of war and secure the safety of Italy. This was his language in private to his officers and equals; but he would station his soldiers on the fortifications by detachments, bidding them to observe the enemy, and in this way accustomed them not to fear their shape or dread their cries, which were altogether strange and ferocious; and to make themselves acquainted with their equipment and movements, thus in course of time rendering what was only apparently formidable familiar to their minds from observation. For he considered that their novelty falsely imparts to terrifying objects many qualities which they do not possess, but that with familiarity even those</p>	<p>XVI. Ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ χάρακι τοὺς στρατιώτας συνεῖχε, καὶ καθήπτετο πικρῶς τῶν θρασυνομένων, καὶ τοὺς προπίπτοντας ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ μάχεσθαι βουλομένους προδότας ἀπεκάλει τῆς πατρίδος. οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ θριάμβων τὴν φιλοτιμίαν εἶναι καὶ τροπαίων, ἀλλ' ὅπως νέφος τοσοῦτον πολέμου καὶ σκηπτὸν ὡσάμενοι διασώσουσι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς ὁμοτίμους ἔλεγε, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ χάρακος ἰστάς ἀνὰ μέρος καὶ θεᾶσθαι κελεύων εἰθίζε τὴν μορφήν ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ὑπομένειν ὅλως οὔσαν ἀλλόκοτον καὶ θηριώδη, σκευὴν τε καὶ κίνησιν αὐτῶν καταμανθάνειν, ἅμα τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ φαινόμενα δεινὰ ποιουμένους τῇ διανοίᾳ χειροήθη διὰ τῆς ὄψεως ἡγεῖτο γὰρ πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιψεύδεσθαι τῶν οὐ προσόντων τὴν καινότητα τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἐν δὲ τῇ συνηθείᾳ καὶ τὰ τῇ φύσει δεινὰ 3τὴν ἑκπληξιν ἀποβάλλειν. τῶν δὲ οὐ μόνον ἢ καθ' ἡμέραν ὄψις ἀφήρει τι τοῦ θάμβους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπειλάς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν κόμπον οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ὄντα θυμὸς αὐτοῖς παριστάμενος ἐξεθέρμαινε</p>
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	<p>things which are really dreadful lose their power to affright. And so in the case of his soldiers, not only did the daily sight of the enemy lessen somewhat their amazement at them, but also, when they heard the threats and the intolerable boasting of the Barbarians, their anger rose and warmed and set on fire their spirits; for the enemy were ravaging and plundering all the country round, and besides, often attacked the Roman fortifications with great temerity and shamelessness, so that indignant speeches of his soldiers reached the ears of Marius.</p>	<p>καὶ διέφλεγε τὰς ψυχάς, οὐ μόνον ἀγόντων καὶ φερόντων τὰ περίξ ἅπαντα τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ χάρακι ποιουμένων προσβολὰς μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ θρασύτητος, ὥστε φωνὰς καὶ διαγανακτήσεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὸν Μάριον ἐκφέρεσθαι.</p>
<p>b) Plut. Mar. 18.</p>	<p>And they marched close to the camp, inquiring with laughter whether the Romans had any messages for their wives; “for,” said they, “we shall soon be with them.”</p>	<p>ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐγγύς, πυνθανόμενοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ γέλωτος εἴ τι πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπιστέλλοιεν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι ταχέως παρ’ αὐταῖς.</p>
<p>c) Plut. Mar. 19.3-5.</p>	<p>However, though their bodies were surfeited and weighed down with food and their spirits excited and disordered with strong wine, they did not rush on in a disorderly or frantic course, nor raise an inarticulate battle-cry, but rhythmically clashing their arms and leaping to the sound they would frequently shout out all together their tribal name Ambrones, either to encourage one another, or to terrify their enemies in advance by</p>	<p>τὰ μὲν οὖν σώματα πλησμονῇ βεβαρημένοι, τοῖς δὲ φρονήμασι γαῦροι καὶ διακεχυμένοι πρὸς τὸν ἄκρατον, οὐκ ἀτάκτοις οὐδὲ μανιώδεσι φερόμενοι δρόμοις οὐδὲ ἄναρθρον ἀλαλαγμὸν ἰέντες, ἀλλὰ κρούοντες ῥυθμῷ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ συναλλόμενοι</p> <p>πάντες ἅμα τὴν αὐτῶν ἐφθέγγοντο πολλάκις προσηγορίαν Ἄμβρωνες, εἴτε ἀνακαλούμενοι σφᾶς αὐτούς, εἴτε τοὺς πολεμίους</p>

	<p>the declaration. The first of the Italians to go down against them were the Ligurians, and when they heard and understood what the Barbarians were shouting, they themselves shouted back the word, claiming it as their own ancestral appellation; for the Ligurians call themselves Ambrones by descent. Often, then, did the shout echo and reecho from either side before they came to close quarters; and since the hosts back of each party took up the cry by turns and strove each to outdo the other first in the magnitude of their shout, their cries roused and fired the spirit of the combatants.</p>	<p>τῇ 4προδηλώσει προεκφοβοῦντες. τῶν δὲ Ἰταλικῶν πρῶτοι καταβαίνοντες ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Λίγυες, ὡς ἤκουσαν βοῶντων καὶ συνῆκαν, ἀντεφώνουν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν πάτριον ἐπὶ κλησιν αὐτῶν εἶναι· σφᾶς γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὕτως κατὰ γένος ὀνομάζουσι Λίγυες. πυκνὸν οὖν καὶ παράλληλον ἀντήχει πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας συνελθεῖν τὸ ἀναφώνημα· καὶ τῶν στρατῶν ἑκατέροις ἀνὰ μέρος συναναφθεγγομένων καὶ φιλοτιμουμένων πρῶτον ἀλλήλους τῷ μεγέθει τῆς βοῆς ὑπερβαλέσθαι, παρώξυνε καὶ διηρέθιζε τὸν θυμὸν ἢ κραυγῇ.</p>
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48. Plutarch, *Moralia*, trans. Cherniss & Helmbold. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. Mor. 959a.	<p>When Leonidas was asked what sort of a person he considered Tyrtaeus to be, he replied, “A good poet to whet the souls of young men,”^d on the ground that by means of verses the poet inspired in young men keenness, accompanied by ardour and ambition whereby they sacrificed themselves freely in battle.</p>	<p>Τὸν Τυρταῖον ὁ Λεωνίδας ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖόν τινα νομίζοι, “ἀγαθὸν ποιητὴν” ἔφη “νέων ψυχὰς κακκονῆν” ὥς τοῖς νέοις διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ὁρμὴν ἐμποιοῦντα μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀφειδοῦσιν αὐτῶν.</p>

49. Plutarch, *Moralia, Sayings of Spartans (Apophthegmata Laconica)*, trans. Babbitt, F. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
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a) Plut. Apoph. 210f-211a.	When someone desired to know why Spartans do battle amidst the sound of fifes, he said, “So that, as all keep step to the music, the cowardly and the brave may be plainly seen.	Ἐπιζητοῦντος δέ τινος διὰ τί Σπαρτιαῖται μετ’ αὐλῶν ἀγωνίζονται, ἔφη, “ἴν’, ὅταν πρὸς ῥυθμὸν βαίνωσιν, οἳ τε δειλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀνδρεῖοι φανεροὶ ᾧσιν.”
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50. Plutarch, *Numa*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. Numa. 13.	The priesthood of the Salii Numa is said to have been established for the following reason. In the eighth year of his reign a pestilence, which traversed Italy, distracted Rome also. The story goes that while the people were disheartened by this, a bronze buckler fell from heaven, which came into the hands of Numa, and a wonderful account of it was given by the king, which he learned from Egeria and the Muses. The buckler came, he said, for the salvation of the city, and must be carefully preserved by making eleven others of like fashion, size, and shape, in order that the resemblance between them might make it difficult for a thief to distinguish the one that fell from heaven. He said further that the spot where it fell, and the adjacent meadows, where the Muses usually had converse with him, must be consecrated to them; and that the spring which watered the spot should be declared holy water for the use of the Vestal virgins, who should daily	Τοὺς δὲ Σαλίους ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοιαύτης λέγεται συστήσασθαι προφάσεως. ἔτος ὄγδοον αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος λοιμώδης νόσος περιῖοῦσα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐστρόβησε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἀθυμούντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱστορεῖται χαλκὴν πέλτην ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφερομένην εἰς τὰς Νομᾶ πεσεῖν χειρᾶς. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῇ θαυμάσιόν τινα λόγον λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃν Ἥγερίας 2τε καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν πυθέσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὄπλον ἦκειν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸ φρουρεῖσθαι γενομένων ἄλλων ἔνδεκα καὶ σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος· καὶ μορφήν ἐκείνῳ παραπλησίον, ὅπως ἄπορον εἴη τῷ κλέπτῃ δι’ ὁμοιότητα τοῦ διοπετοῦς ἐπιτυχεῖν· ἐτι δὲ χρῆναι Μούσαις καθιερῶσαι τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ λειμῶνας, ὅπου τὰ πολλὰ φοιτᾶσαι συνδιατρίβουσιν αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ πηγὴν ἣ κατάρδει τὸ χωρίον, ὕδωρ ἱερὸν ἀποδεῖξαι ταῖς Ἑστιάσι παρθένοις, ὅπως λαμβάνουσαι καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀγνίζωσι

<p>sprinkle and purify their temple with it. Moreover, they say that the truth of all this was attested by the immediate cessation of the pestilence. When Numa showed the buckler to the artificers and bade them do their best to make others like it, they all declined, except Veturius Mamurius, a most excellent workman, who was so happy in his imitation of it, and made all the eleven so exactly like it, that not even Numa himself could distinguish them. For the watch and care of these bucklers, then, he appointed the priesthood of the Salii. Now the Salii were so named, not, as some tell the tale, from a man of Samothrace or Mantinea, named Salius, who first taught the dance in armour; but rather from the leaping¹ which characterized the dance itself. This dance they perform when they carry the sacred bucklers through the streets of the city in the month of March, clad in purple tunics, girt with broad belts of bronze, wearing bronze helmets on their heads, and carrying small daggers with which they strike the shields. But the dance is chiefly a matter of step; for they move gracefully, and execute with vigour and agility certain shifting</p>	<p>καὶ ραίνωσι τὸ ἀνάκτορον. τούτοις μὲν οὖν μαρτυρῆσαι λέγουσι καὶ τὰ τῆς νόσου παραχρῆμα παυσάμενα. τὴν δὲ πέλτην προθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κελεύσαντος ἀμιλλᾶσθαι τοὺς τεχνίτας ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμοιότητος, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπειπεῖν, Οὐετούριον δὲ Μαμούριον ἓνα τῶν ἄκρων δημιουργῶν οὕτως ἐφικέσθαι τῆς ἐμφερείας, καὶ κατασκευάσαι πάσας ὁμοίας, ὥστε μὴδ' αὐτὸν ἔτι τὸν Νομᾶν διαγινώσκειν. τούτων οὖν φύλακας καὶ ἀμφιπόλους ἀπέδειξε τοὺς Σαλίους ἱερεῖς. Σάλιοι δὲ ἐκλήθησαν, οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοι μυθολογοῦσι, Σαμόθρακος ἀνδρὸς ἢ Μαντινέως, ὄνομα Σαλίου, πρώτου τὴν ἐνόπλιον ἐκδιδάξαντος ὄρχησιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως αὐτῆς, ἀλτικῆς οὔσης, ἣν ὑπορχοῦνται διαπορευόμενοι τὴν πόλιν, ὅταν τὰς ἱερὰς πέλτας ἀναλάβωσιν ἐν τῷ Μαρτίῳ μηνί, φοινικοῦς μὲν ἐνδεδυμένοι χιτωνίσκους, μίτραις δὲ χαλκαῖς ἐπεζωσμένοι πλατεῖαις καὶ κράνη χαλκᾷ φοροῦντες, ἐγχειριδίῳ 5δὲ μικροῖς τὰ ὅπλα κρούοντες. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη τῆς ὀρχήσεως ποδῶν ἔργον ἐστὶ· κινοῦνται γὰρ ἐπιτερπῶς, ἐλιγμούς τινας καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐν ῥυθμῷ τάχος ἔχοντι καὶ πυκνότητα μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κουφότητος</p>
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	<p>convolutions, in quick and oft-recurring rhythm.</p> <p>The bucklers themselves are called “ancilia,” from their shape; for this is not round, nor yet completely oval, like that of the regular shield, but has a curving indentation, the arms of which are bent back and united with each other at top and bottom; this makes the shape “ancylon,” the Greek for curved. Or, they are named from the elbow on which they are carried, which, in Greek, is “ankon.” This is what Juba says, who is bent on deriving the name from the Greek But the name may come from the Greek “anekathen,” inasmuch as the original shield fell from on high; or from “akesis,” because it healed those who were sick of the plague; or from “auchmon lysis,” because it put an end to the drought; or, further, from “anaschesis,” because it brought a cessation of calamities, just as Castor and Pollux were called Anakes by the Athenians; if, that is, we are bound to derive the name from the Greek.</p> <p>We are told that Mamertius was rewarded for his wonderful art by having his name mentioned in a song which the Salii sing as they perform their war-dance. Some, however, say</p>	<p>ἀποδιδόντες. Αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς πέλτας ἀγκύλια καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ σχῆμα· κύκλος γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ ἀποδίδωσιν, ὡς πέλτη, τὴν περιφέρειαν, ἀλλ’ ἐκτομὴν ἔχει γραμμῆς ἐλικοειδοῦς, ἥς αἱ κεραῖαι καμπὰς ἔχουσαι καὶ συνεπιστρέφουσαι τῇ πυκνότητι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀγκύλον τὸ σχῆμα ποιοῦσιν· ἢ διὰ τὸν ἀγκῶνα περὶ ὃν περιφέρονται. ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ Ἰόβας εἶρηκε γλιχόμενος ἐξελληνίσαι τοῦνομα. δύναιτο δ’ ἂν τῆς ἀνέκαθεν φορᾶς πρῶτον ἐπώνυμον γεγονέναι, καὶ τῆς ἀκέσεως τῶν νοσοῦντων, καὶ τῆς τῶν αὐχμῶν λύσεως, ἔτι δὲ τῆς τῶν δεινῶν ἀνασχέσεως, καθ’ ὃ καὶ τοὺς Διοσκόρους Ἄνακας Ἀθηναῖοι προσηγόρευσαν, εἴ γε δεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ἐξάγειν τοῦνομα.</p> <p>Τῷ δὲ Μамουρίῳ λέγουσι μισθὸν γενέσθαι τῆς τέχνης ἐκείνης μνήμην τινὰ δι’ ᾧδῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Σαλίων ᾄμα τῇ πυρρίχῃ διαπεραινομένης. οἱ δὲ οὐ Οὐετούριον Μамούριον εἶναί φασι τὸν ᾄδόμενον, ἀλλὰ οὐετέρεμ μεμορίαμ, ὅπερ ἐστί, παλαιὰν μνήμην.</p>
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	that the song does not commemorate Veturius Mamurius, but “veterem memoriam,” that is to say, ancient remembrance.	
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51. Plutarch, *Pompey*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. Pom. 12.	Nevertheless, they routed the enemy with great slaughter (it is said that out of twenty thousand only three thousand escaped), and hailed Pompey as Imperator.	Ὡσάμενοι δὲ πολλῶ φόνῳ τοὺς πολεμίους (λέγονται γὰρ ἀπὸ δισμυρίων τρισχίλιοι διαφυγεῖν) αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Πομπήϊον ἡσπάσαντο.
b) Plut. Pom. 70.	And now at last the signal was given on both sides and the trumpet began to call to the conflict.	Ἦδη δὲ συνθήματος διδομένου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἀρχομένης ἐγκελεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν σύστασιν.

52. Plutarch, *Sulla*, trans. Perrin, B. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Plut. Sul. 14.3.	Blasts of many trumpets and bugles, and by the cries and yells of the soldiery.	φρικώδης ὑπὸ τε σάλπιγξι καὶ κέρασι πολλοῖς, ἀλαλαγμῷ καὶ κραυγῇ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐφ’ ἀρπαγὴν.
b) Plut. Sul. 16.2-3	Wherefore the rest of his generals overpowered the objections of Archelaüs and drew up for battle, filling the plain with their horses, chariots, shields, and bucklers. The air could not contain the shouts and clamour of so many nations forming in array. At the same time also the pomp and ostentation of their costly equipment was not without its effect and use in exciting terror; indeed, the flashing of their armour, which was	ὅθεν ἐκβιασάμενοι τὸν Ἀρχέλαον οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ παρατάξαντες τὴν δύναμιν, ἐνέπλησαν ἵππων, ἀρμάτων, ἀσπίδων, θυρεῶν τὸ πεδίον. Τὴν δὲ κραυγὴν καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸν οὐκ ἔστεγεν ὁ ἀήρ ἐθνῶν τοσούτων ἅμα καθισταμένων εἰς τάξιν. ἦν δὲ ἅμα καὶ τὸ κομπῶδες καὶ σοβαρὸν αὐτῶν τῆς πολυτελείας οὐκ ἄργον οὐδὲ ἄχρηστον εἰς ἐκπληξιν, ἀλλ’ αἱ τε μαρμαρυγαὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἡσκημένων

	<p>magnificently embellished with gold and silver, and the rich colours of their Median and Scythian vests, intermingled with bronze and flashing steel, presented a flaming and fearful sight as they surged to and fro, so that the Romans huddled together behind their trenches, and Sulla, unable by any reasoning to remove their fear, and unwilling to force them into a fight from which they wanted to run away, had to sit still and endure as best he could the sight of the Barbarians insulting him with boasts and laughter.</p>	<p>χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ διαπρεπῶς, αἱ τε βαφαὶ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ Σκυθικῶν χιτῶνων ἀναμεμιγμέναι χαλκῷ καὶ σιδήρῳ λάμποντι πυροειδῇ καὶ φοβερὰν ἐν τῷ σαλεύεσθαι καὶ διαφέρεσθαι προσέβαλον ὄψιν, ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τὸν χάρακα συστέλλειν ἑαυτούς, καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μηδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ θάμβος αὐτῶν ἀφελεῖν δυνάμενον, βιάζεσθαί τε ἀποδιδράσκοντας οὐ βουλόμενον, ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν βαρέως ἐφυβρίζοντας ὁρῶντα κομπασμῷ καὶ γέλῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους.</p>
c) Plut. Sul. 18.3.	<p>For these are of most avail after a long course, which gives them velocity and impetus for breaking through an opposing line, but short starts are ineffectual and feeble, as in the case of missiles which do not get full propulsion. And this proved true now in the case of the Barbarians. The first of their chariots were driven along feebly and engaged sluggishly, so that the Romans, after repulsing them, clapped their hands and laughed and called for more, as they are wont to do at the races in the circus.</p>	<p>ἔρρωται γὰρ μάλιστα μήκει δρόμου σφοδρότητα καὶ ρύμην τῇ διεξελάσει διδόντος, αἱ δὲ ἐκ βραχείος ἀφεςεις ἄπρακτοι καὶ ἀμβλεῖαι, καθάπερ βελῶν τάσιν οὐ λαβόντων. ὁ δὲ καὶ τότε τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπήντα· καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἀρμάτων ἀργῶς ἐξελαυνόμενα καὶ προσπίπτοντα νωθρῶς ἐκκρούσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ κρότου καὶ γέλωτος ἄλλα ἤτουν, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν ταῖς θεατρικαῖς ἵπποδρομίαις.</p>
d) Plut. Sul. 19.	<p>inscribed upon his trophies the names of Mars, Victory and Venus,¹ in the belief that his success in the war was</p>	<p>ἐπέγραψεν Ἄρη καὶ Νίκην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, ὥς οὐχ ἥττον εὐτυχία κατορθώσας ἢ δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει τὸν πόλεμον.</p>

	due no less to good fortune than to military skill and strength.	
e) Plut. Sul. 29.	There is also a story that Sulla had a little golden image of Apollo from Delphi which he always carried in his bosom when he was in battle, but that on this occasion he took it out and kissed it affectionately, saying: “O Pythian Apollo, now that thou hast in so many struggles raised the fortunate Cornelius Sulla to glory and greatness, can it be that thou hast brought him to the gates of his native city only to cast him down there, to perish most shamefully with his fellow-countrymen?” Thus invoking the god, they say, he entreated some of his men, threatened others, and laid hands on others still; but at last his left wing was completely shattered.	<p> βλέγεται δὲ ἔχων τι χρυσοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιον ἐκ Δελφῶν αἰεὶ μὲν αὐτὸ κατὰ τὰς μάχας περιφέρειν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῦτο καταφιλεῖν οὕτω δὴ λέγων· “ὦ Πύθιε Ἄπολλον, τὸν εὐτυχῇ Σύλλαν Κορνήλιον ἐν τοσούτοις ἀγῶσιν ἄρας λαμπρὸν καὶ μέγαν ἐνταῦθα ρίψεις ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς πατρίδος ἀγαγών, αἰσχιστα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συναπολούμενον πολίταις;” τοιαῦτά φασι τὸν Σύλλαν θεοκλυτοῦντα τοὺς μὲν ἀντιβολεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπειλεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι· </p>

53. Polyaeus, *Strategems*, trans Shepherd, R. (Kessinger Legacy Reprints, 1793).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Poly. Strat. Solon 1.20.1	This martial poem so aroused the Athenians to war that, inspired by Ares and the Muses, they advanced to battle, singing hymns and shouting. They entirely defeated the Megarians, and regained possession of Salamis. Solon was held in universal admiration, because he had repealed a law by madness, and won a battle by the power of music.	<p> τούτοις ἤγειρεν Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. οἱ δὲ κάτοχοι ἐκ Μουσῶν καὶ Ἄρεως αὐτίκα τε ἀνήγοντο ἄδοντες ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀλαλάζοντες καὶ Μεγαρεῖς κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκων· καὶ πάλιν ἡ Σαλαμὶς Ἀθηναίων κτῆμα ἦν. Σόλων δὲ μάλα ἐθαυμάζετο καὶ τὸν νόμον λύσας τῇ μανίᾳ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον νικήσας τῇ μουσικῇ. </p>

b) Poly. Strat. Iphicrates. 3.9.8.	for when an army is very numerous, they can neither charge, nor sing the Paeon," together; and when I order them to close, I hear more of the chattering of their teeth, than of the clang of their arms.	'συνάψαι μάχην· πολλοὶ γὰρ ὄντες οἱ στρατιῶται οὔτε προβαλέσθαι ὁμοῦ δυνατοὶ ἦσαν οὔτε παιωνίσαι· ἥνικα δὲ παρήγγειλα κλῖναι τὸ δόρυ, πλείων ἐξηκούετο ψόφος τῶν ὀδόντων ἢ τῶν ὅπλων.'
c) Poly. Strat. Alex. 4.3.5.	When Alexander advanced against Darius, he ordered the Macedonians, as soon as they drew near the Persians, to fall down on their hands and knees: and, as soon as ever the trumpet sounded the charge, to rise up and vigorously attack the enemy. They did so: and the Persians, considering it as an act of reverence, abated of their impetuosity, and their minds became softened towards the prostrate foe. Darius too was led to think, he had gained a victory without the hazard of a battle. When on sound of the trumpet, the Macedonians sprung up, and made such an impression on the enemy, that their centre was broken, and the Persians entirely defeated.	Ἀλέξανδρος Δαρεῖω παρατάσσεσθαι μέλλων παράγγελμα τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἔδωκεν· ἦν ἐγγὺς γένησθε τῶν Περσῶν, εἰς γόνυ κλίναντες ταῖν χεροῖν διατρίβετε τὴν γῆν· ἦν δὲ ἡ σάλπιγξ ὑποσημήνη, τότε δὴ ἀναστάντες θυμῷ καὶ ῥύμῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμβάλλετε.' οἱ μὲν δὴ Μακεδόνες οὕτως ἐποίησαν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι σχῆμα προσκυνήσεως ἰδόντες τὴν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὁρμὴν ἐξέλυσαν καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις ἐγένοντο μαλακώτεροι. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐκυδροῦτο καὶ φαιδρὸς ἦν ὡς ἀμαχεὶ κρατῶν. οἱ Μακεδόνες ὑπὸ τῷ συνθήματι τῆς σάλπιγγος ἀναπηδήσαντες ῥυμηδὸν ἐμβάλλουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα ῥήξαντες ἐς φυγὴν ἐτρέψαντο.
d) Poly. Strat. Pers. 4.21.1	to accustom his horses to the formidable appearance of those animals, directed some elephants to be made in wood; in size and colour as nearly as possible resembling the real ones. And to imitate the terrible noise the beast sometimes made, he ordered a trumpeter to enter his	ἵνα μὴ καινὸν καὶ φοβερὸν τοῖς ἵπποις τὸ θηρίον φανείη, προσέταξε τοῖς χειροτέχναις εἰδῶλα ξύλινα κατασκευάζειν ἐλεφάντων ιδέαν καὶ χροάν ἔχοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ κλαγγὴ τοῦ θηρίου μάλιστα δεινὴ, προσέταξεν εἰς τὸ ξύλινον εἰδῶλον ἐμβαίνειν ἄνδρα αὐλὸν ἔχοντα, ὃς διὰ τοῦ

	body, and directing his trumpet through his mouth to sound the loudest, harshest notes he was able. And by this means the Macedonian horses were trained to bear the noise and sight of the elephants without emotion.	στόματος τὸν αὐλὸν ἰθύνων ὁξύν καὶ ἀπηνῆ φθόγγον προίηται. οὕτως ἔμαθον οἱ Μακεδόνων ἵπποι καταφρονεῖν τῆς ἐλεφάντων κλαγγῆς καὶ ὄψεως.
e) Poly. Strat. Caesar. 8.23.11.	and offered them battle: a challenge, which the Barbarians, relying on their numbers, treated with ridicule and contempt. But the detachments appearing in their rear, and advancing with a shout of exultation, struck them with terror and consternation, on seeing their retreat thus cut off: and the greatest carnage ensued, the Gauls till then had ever experienced.	τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς μάχην, ὥστε οἱ βάρβαροι τῷ πλήθει θαρροῦντες γελῶντες ἐδέχοντο. τῶν δὲ κατὰ νότου φανέντων καὶ ἀλαλαζάντων καὶ κυκλουμένων φυγεῖν ἀπογνόντες ἐξεπλάγησαν, ἐταράχθησαν. καὶ τότε πλεῖστος φόνος Γαλατῶν ὁμολογεῖται γεγενῆσθαι.
f) Poly. Strat. Croesus. 7.8.1	Unaccustomed to the arms of Greece, Cyrus's men were at a loss how either to attack, or to guard against them. The clang of the spears upon the shields struck them with terror: and the splendour of the brazen shields so terrified the horses, that they could not be brought to the charge.	τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους καὶ μεγίστους τῶν Λυδῶν Ἑλληνικοῖς ὅπλοις κατεσκεύασεν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Κύρου στρατιῶται τὸ ἄηθες τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ὀπλίσεως κατεπλάγησαν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῶν δοράτων κρουομένων πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας ὁ ψόφος τοὺς Πέρσας ἐτάραττεν· ἢ γε μὴν αὐγὴ τῶν ἐπιχάλκων ἀσπίδων τὰς ὄψεις τῶν Περσικῶν ἵππων ἀπέστρεφεν.

54. Polybius, *The Histories*, trans. Paton, W. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Polyb. 1.32-33.	but on his leading the army out and drawing it up in good order before the city and even beginning to	ὥς δ' ἐξαγαγὼν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὴν δύναμιν ἐν κόσμῳ παρενέβαλε καὶ τι καὶ κινεῖν τῶν μερῶν ἐν τάξει καὶ

	<p>manœuvre some portions of it correctly and give the word of command in the orthodox military terms, the contrast to the incompetency of the former generals was so striking that the soldiery expressed their approval by cheers and were eager to engage the enemy, feeling sure that if Xanthippus was in command no disaster could befall them. Upon this the generals, seeing the extraordinary recovery of courage among the troops, addressed them in words suitable to the occasion and after a few days took the field with their forces. These consisted of twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse and very nearly a hundred elephants.</p> <p>When the Romans saw that the Carthaginians were marching through the flat country and pitching their camps on level ground, they were surprised indeed and somewhat disturbed by this in particular, but yet were anxious on the whole to get into contact with the enemy. On coming into touch they encamped on the first day at a distance of about ten stades from him. On the following day the Carthaginian government held a council to discuss what should be done for the present and the means</p>	<p>παραγγέλλειν κατὰ νόμους ἤρξατο, τηλικαύτην ἐποίει διαφορὰν παρὰ τὴν τῶν πρότερον στρατηγῶν ἀπειρίαν ὥστε μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐπισημαίνεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ σπεύδειν ὡς τάχιστα συμβαλεῖν τοῖς πολέμοις, πεπεισμένους μηδὲν ἂν παθεῖν δεινὸν ἡγουμένου Ξανθίππου. τούτων δὲ γινομένων οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνιδόντες τοὺς ὄχλους ἀνατεθαρρηκότητας παραδόξως ταῖς ψυχαῖς, παρακαλέσαντες αὐτοὺς τὰ πρέποντα τῷ καιρῷ, μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ὥρμησαν ἀναλαβόντες τὴν δύναμιν. αὕτη δ' ἦν πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ τετρακισχίλιοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων πλῆθος ἔγγιστά που τῶν ἑκατόν.</p> <p>33. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι θεωροῦντες τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τάς τε πορείας ποιουμένους διὰ τῶν ὁμαλῶν τόπων καὶ τὰς στρατοπεδεῖας τιθέντας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις τῶν χωρίων, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο ξενιζόμενοι διετρέποντο, τοῖς γε μὴν ὅλοις ἔσπευδον ἐγγίσει τοῖς πολέμοις. συνάψαντες δὲ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ὡς δέκα σταδίους ἀποσχόντες τῶν ὑπεναντίων. τῇ δὲ κατὰ πόδας οἱ μὲν προεστῶτες τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς καὶ τί πρακτέον εἴη κατὰ τὸ παρόν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ</p>
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	thereto. But the troops, eager as they were for a battle, collecting in groups and calling on Xanthippus by name, clearly indicated their opinion that he should lead them forward at once. The generals when they saw the enthusiasm and keenness of the soldiers.	προθύμως ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, συστρεφόμενοι κατὰ μέρη καὶ κατ' ὄνομα τὸν Ξάνθιππον ἀναβοῶντες ἐξάγειν σφᾶς ὥντο δεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τὴν τε τῶν ὄχλων ὀρμὴν καὶ προθυμίαν θεωροῦντες.
b) Polyb. 1.45.4.	On their all applauding him and shouting to him not to delay but to lead them on at once.	ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπισημαινομένων καὶ βοῶντων μὴ μέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἄγειν αὐτούς,
c) Polyb. 2.28-29.	Their wagons and chariots they stationed at the extremity of either wing and collected their booty on one of the neighboring hills with a protecting force round it. This order of the Celtic forces, facing both ways, not only presented a formidable appearance, but was well adapted to the exigencies of the situation. The Insubres and Boii drew up for battle wearing their trousers and light cloaks, but the Gaesatae had discarded these garments owing to their proud confidence in themselves, and stood naked, with nothing but their arms, in front of the whole army, ... The Romans, however, were on the one hand encouraged by having caught the enemy between their two armies, but on the other they were	τὰς δ' ἀμάξας καὶ συνωρίδας ἐκτὸς ἑκατέρου τοῦ κέρατος παρέστησαν, τὴν δὲ λείαν εἰς τι τῶν παρακειμένων ὀρῶν φυλακὴν περιστήσαντες ἥθροίζον. γενομένης δ' ἀμφιστόμου τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν δυνάμεως, οὐ μόνον καταπληκτικὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρακτικὴν εἶναι συνέβαινε τὴν τάξιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰνσομβρες καὶ Βοῖοι τὰς ἀναξυρίδας ἔχοντες καὶ τοὺς εὐπετεῖς τῶν σάγων περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξέταξαν. οἱ δὲ Γαισάται διὰ τε τὴν φιλοδοξίαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος ταῦτ' ἀπορρίψαντες γυμνοὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὅπλων πρῶτοι τῆς δυνάμεως κατέστησαν, ὑπολαβόντες οὕτως ἔσεσθαι πρακτικώτατοι...τούς γε μὴν Ῥωμαίους τὰ μὲν εὐθαρσεῖς ἐποίει τὸ μέσους καὶ πάντοθεν περιειληφέναι τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰ δὲ πάλιν ὁ κόσμος αὐτοὺς καὶ θόρυβος

	terrified by the fine order of the Celtic host and the dreadful din, for there were innumerable horn-blowers and trumpeters, and, as the whole army were shouting their war cries at the same time, there was such a tumult of sound that it seemed that not only the trumpets and the soldiers but all the country round had got a voice and caught up the cry. Very terrifying too were the appearance and the gestures of the naked warriors in front, all in the prime of life, and finely built men, and all in the leading companies richly adorned with gold torques and armlets. The sight of them indeed dismayed the Romans, but at the same time the prospect of winning such spoils made them twice as keen for the fight.	ἐξέπληττε τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν δυνάμεως. ἀναρίθμητον μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ τῶν βυκανητῶν καὶ σαλπικτῶν πλῆθος. οἷς ἅμα τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου συμπαιανίζοντος τηλικαύτην καὶ τοιαύτην συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι κραυγὴν ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὰς σάλπιγγας καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς παρακειμένους τόπους συνηχοῦντας ἐξ αὐτῶν δοκεῖν προῖεσθαι φωνήν. ἐκπληκτικὴ δ' ἦν καὶ τῶν γυμνῶν προεστώτων ἀνδρῶν ἢ τ' ἐπιφάνεια καὶ κίνησις, ὥς ἀνδραγαθῶν ταῖς ἀκμαῖς καὶ τοῖς εἵδεσι. πάντες δ' οἱ τὰς πρώτας κατέχοντες σπείρας χρυσοῖς μανιάκαις ἔκαστοι περιχείριοι ἦσαν κατακεκοσμημένοι. Πρὸς ἃ βλέποντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μὲν ἐξεπλήττοντο, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ λυσitteλοῦς ἐλπίδος ἀγόμενοι διπλασίως παρωξύνοντο πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον.
d) Polyb. 4.64.6.	Macedonians as they came out of the water, the king, perceiving their design.	Μακεδόνας περὶ τὴν ἑκβασιν, συννοήσας αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρήγγειλε τοῖς πελτασταῖς πρώτοις ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν.
e) Polyb. 4.64.9-10.	Aetolians, with all their haughty spirit, kept quiet within the shelter of their walls. Philip crossed with his army, and having pillaged this country too unopposed, advanced on	Αἰτωλῶν φρόνημα συμπεφευγὸς εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἤγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν, ὃ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπιδιαβὰς τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ πορθήσας ἀδεῶς καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἤκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰθωρίαν· τοῦτο

	Ithoria. This is a place absolutely commanding the road through the pass and of singular natural and artificial strength; but on his approach the garrison were terror stricken and abandoned it.	δ' ἐστὶ χωρίον ὃ κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς παρόδου κυρίως, ὁχυρότητι δὲ φυσικῇ καὶ χειροποιήτῳ διαφέρει. συνεγγίζοντος δ' αὐτοῦ καταπλαγέντες οἱ φυλάττοντες ἐξέλιπον τὸν τόπον
f) Polyb. 6.23.	Finally, the hastate wear as an ornament a plume of three purple or black feathers standing upright about a foot and a half in height. These are placed on the helmet, and the general effect combined with the rest of the armour is to make each man look about twice his real height, and gives him an appearance that strikes terror into the enemy.	ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις προσεπικοσμοῦνται πτερίνων στεφάνων καὶ πτεροῖς φοινικοῖς ἢ μέλασιν ὀρθοῖς τρισίν, ὥς πηχυαίοις τὸ μέγεθος, ὧν προστεθέντων κατὰ κορυφὴν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅπλοις ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ φαίνεται διπλάσιος ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἢ δ' ὄψις καλὴ καὶ καταπληκτικὴ τοῖς ἐναντίοις.
g) Polyb. 10.40.	but when after the battle all addressed him as king, the matter gave him pause. He therefore assembled the Iberians and told them that he wished to be called kingly by them and actually to be kingly, but that he did not wish to be king or to be called so by any one. After saying this he ordered them to call him general.	εἰς ἐπίστασιν ἤγαγε τὸν Πόπλιον τὸ γινόμενον. διὸ καὶ συναθροίσας τοὺς Ἰβήρας βασιλικὸς μὲν ἔφη βούλεσθαι καὶ λέγεσθαι παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ὑπάρχειν, βασιλεύς γε μὴν οὔτ' <εἶναι> θέλειν οὔτε λέγεσθαι παρ' οὐδενί. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν παρήγγειλε στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν προσφωνεῖν.
h) Polyb. 14.3.5-6	after the trumpeters had all sounded the retreat as usual. For it is the custom among the Romans at supper time for the trumpeters and buglers to sound their instruments outside the general's tent as a signal that it is	ἐπειδὴν κατὰ τὸν ἔθισμὸν οἱ σαλπικταὶ σημαίνωσιν ἅμα πάντες· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τὸν τοῦ δείπνου καιρὸν τοὺς βυκανητὰς καὶ σαλπικτὰς πάντας σημαίνειν παρὰ τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σκηνήν

	time to set the night-watches at their several stations.	
i) Polyb. 15.12.8.	the Romans fell upon their foes, raising their war cry and clashing their shields with their swords as is their practice,	οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια συναλαλάξαντες καὶ συμπορήσαντες τοῖς ξίφεσι τοὺς θυρεοὺς προσέβαλλον τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις.
j) Polyb. 18.25.1-2.	As the encounter of the two armies was accompanied by deafening shouts and cries, both of them uttering their war cry and those outside the battle also cheering the combatants, the spectacle was such as to inspire terror and acute anxiety.	Γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν συμπτώσεως μετὰ βίας καὶ κραυγῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης, ὥς ἂν ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοῦ συναλαλαζόντων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς μάχης ἐπιβοώντων τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις, ἦν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκπληκτικὸν καὶ παραστατικὸν ἀγωνίας.

55. Procopius, *Wars*, trans. Dewing, H. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Procop. <i>Wars</i> . 4.11.36.	Bearing these things in mind and despising the enemy, observe silence and order; for by taking thought for these things we shall win the victory over the disorder of the barbarians more easily and with less labour.	ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων καταφρονούντες σιγὴν τε καὶ κόσμον ἀσκεῖτε· τούτων γὰρ ἐπιμελούμενοι ῥᾱόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκοσμίας κρατήσομεν.” ταῦτα μὲν Σολόμων εἶπεν.

56. Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander*, trans. Rolfe, J. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Curt. 4.12.20- 4.13.4.	But a mist, which the moist mountains had poured about, did not indeed cut off a general view, but did prevent the different divisions of the army and their arrangement from being made out. Their great number	et inde acies hostium, quae in campo explicabatur, conspici poterat. Sed caligo, quam circa humidi effuderant montes, universae quidem rei faciem non abstulit, ceterum agminum discrimina atque ordinem prohibuit

	<p>had flooded the plains, and the noise made by so many thousands had filled the ears even of those who stood afar off. The king began to waver in his determination, and to weigh his plan and that of Parmenion, although it was now too late; for they had come to a point from which the army could not be withdrawn without disaster, unless it were victorious. Accordingly, concealing his feelings, he ordered the mercenary cavalry from Paeonia to advance.</p> <p>He himself, as was said before, had extended the phalanx into two wings, both of which were protected by cavalry. And now the mist had been dispelled, and the clearer light had revealed the army of the enemy, and the Macedonians, either from eagerness or from the tediousness of waiting, raised a mighty shout, after the manner of those engaged in battle. When this was returned by the Persians and had filled the surrounding forests and valleys with a fearsome sound, the Macedonians could no longer be restrained from hastening against the enemy on the run as well. But the king, thinking it still better to fortify a camp on that same hill, ordered a palisade to be set up, and when the work had been</p>	<p>perspici. Multitudo inundaverat campos, fremitusque tot milium etiam procul stantium aures impleverat. Fluctuari animo rex et modo suum, modo Parmenionis consilium sera aestimatione perpendere; quippe eo ventum erat unde recipi exercitus nisi victor sine clade non posset.</p> <p>Itaque dissimulato animo mercennarium equitem ex Paeonia praecedere iubet. Ipse phalangem, sicut antea dictum est, in duo cornua extenderat; utrumque cornu equites tegebant. Iamque liquidior⁴ lux discussa caligine aciem hostium ostenderat, et Macedones sive alacritate sive taedio expectationis ingentem pugnantium more edidere clamorem. Redditus et a Persis nemora vallesque circumiectas terribili sono impleverat, nec iam contineri Macedones poterant quin cursu quoque ad hostem contenderent. Rex melius adhuc ratus in eodem tumulto castra munire, vallum iaci iussit, strenueque opere perfecto, in tabernaculum, ex quo tota acies hostium conspiciebatur, secessit.</p> <p>XIII. Tum vero universa futuri discriminis facies in oculis erat; armis insignibus equi virique</p>
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	<p>promptly completed, he withdrew to his tent, from which the whole army of the enemy was in sight.</p> <p>XIII. Then verily the entire vision of the coming peril was before his eyes; horses and men shone with splendid arms, and the concern of the generals, as they rode up and down among their lines, showed that on the side of the enemy everything was being made ready with special care, and many trifling things, such as the noise of the men, the neighing of horses, the brilliance of arms shining here and there, had disturbed a mind already on edge with expectation.</p> <p>Therefore, either because he was really in doubt, or to try his officers, he called a council, inquiring what was best to be done. Parmenion, the most skilled among his generals in the art of war, gave it as his opinion that a surprise was better than an open battle. In the dead of night the foe could be overwhelmed; being of discordant customs and languages.</p>	<p>splendebant, et omnia intentiore cura praeparari apud hostem sollicitudo praetorum agmina sua interequitantium ostendebat, ac pleraque inania, sicut fremitus hominum, equorum hinnitus, armorum internitentium fulgor, sollicitam expectatione mentem turbaverant. Igitur sive dubius animi sive, ut suos experiretur, consilium adhibet, quid optimum factu esset exquirens. Parmenio, peritissimus inter duces artium belli, furto, non proelio opus esse censebat.</p> <p>Intempesta nocte opprimi posse hostes; discordis moribus, linguis, ad hoc somno et improvise periculo territotos, quando in nocturna trepidatione coituros? At interdiu primum terribiles occursuras facies Scytharum Bactrianorumque; hirta illis ora et intonsas comas esse, praeterea eximiam vastorum magnitudinem corporum.</p>
b) Curt. 8.11.22-25.	<p>Then, when the signal had been given for all to raise a shout, he struck fear into them as they fled in disorder; and many, as if the enemy were at hand, were killed by throwing themselves over the slippery stones and pathless crags, still more, disabled in some</p>	<p>Tum dato signo ut universi conclamarent, incomposite fugientibus metum incussit; multique, tamquam adesset hostis, per lubrica saxa perque invias cotes praecipitati occiderunt, plures, aliqua membrorum parte mulcati,</p>

	<p>part of their limbs, were deserted by those who escaped injury. The king, although victor rather over the locality than over the enemy, yet made the show of a great triumph by sacrifices and worship of the gods. Altars to Minerva Victoria were set up on the rock.</p>	<p>ab integris deserti sunt. Rex, locorum magis quam hostium victor, tamen magnae victoriae speciem sacrificiis et cultu deum fecit. Arae in petra locatae sunt Minervae Victoriae.</p>
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57. Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, trans. Rolfe, J. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Sal. Jug. 60.3-4.	<p>Concurrently the contest at Zama was being waged with great fury. Wherever each of the deputy commanders or tribunes was in charge, there the struggle was the fiercest, and no one placed hope more in another than in himself. The townspeople showed equal energy; men were fighting or making preparations at all points; each side was more eager to wound the other than to protect itself. There was a din of mingled encouragement, exultation, and groaning; the clash of arms also rose to heaven; missiles flew on both sides. But whenever the besiegers relaxed their assault ever so little, the defenders of the walls became intent spectators of the cavalry battle. As Jugurtha's fortunes shifted, you might have seen them now joyful, now alarmed; and acting as if their countrymen could see or hear them, some shouted warnings, others shouted encouragement or gesticulated with their</p>	<p>Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrume niti, neque alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere; pariterque oppidani agere; oppugnare aut parare omnibus locis, avidius alteri alteros sauciare quam semet tegere; clamor permixtus hortatione, laetitia, gemitu, item strepitus armorum ad caelum ferri; tela utrimque volare. Sed illi qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paulum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti proelium equestre prospectabant. Eos, uti quaeque Iugurthae res erant, laetos modo, modo pavidos animadvorteres, ac, sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare aut niti</p>

	hands or strained with their bodies, moving both this way and that as if dodging or hurling weapons.	corporibus, et ea huc et illuc, quasi vitabundi aut iacientes tela, agitare.
b) Sal. Jug. 94.	he advanced to the wall and simultaneously tried to terrify the enemy at long range with artillery, archers and slingers. But the Numidians, since previously they had often overturned the Romans' mantlets and set fire to them, were not protecting themselves within the fortress walls, but they operated day and night in front of the walls, insulting the Romans, taunting Marius with being a lunatic, threatening our soldiers with slavery at the hands of Jugurtha, and being bold as a result of their successes.	testudine acta succedere et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidae, saepe antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctisque agitare, male dicere Romanis ac Mario vecordiam obiectare, militibus nostris Iugurthae servitium minari, secundis rebus feroces esse.
c) Sal. Jug. 98.6-7.	Then, after kindling many fires, the barbarians, as is their usual habit, spent the greater part of the night in rejoicing, in exultation and in noisy chatter, while even their leaders, who were filled with confidence because the men had not taken to flight, acted as if they were victorious. Now, all this was clearly visible to the Romans from their higher position in the darkness and encouraged them greatly.	Dein, crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari more suo laetari, exultare, strepere vocibus; et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerant, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editoribus locis facilia visu magnoque hortamento erant.
d) Sal. Jug. 99.	Marius, who was particularly heartened by the enemy's lack of experience, ordered the utmost possible silence to be kept and not even the customary signals to be sounded at the end of each watch of the night. Then, when daylight was	Plurimum vero Marius inperitia hostium confirmatus, quam maximum silentium haberi iubet, ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere. Deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis iam hostibus

	<p>drawing near and the enemy having at length become exhausted had just yielded to sleep, he ordered the watchmen and likewise the horn blowers of the cohorts, of the cavalry squadrons and of the legions to sound simultaneously, and without warning, all their signals, and the soldiers to raise a shout and burst forth from the gates of their camp. The Moors and Gaetulians, having been suddenly awakened by the strange and terrible sound, could not flee, arm themselves, or do or provide for anything at all; thus had terror, like a frenzy, seized everyone of them as a result of the clash of arms, the shouting, the lack of help, the charge of our men, and the confusion.</p>	<p>ac paulo ante somno captis, de inproviso vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis erumpere iubet. Mauri atque Gaetuli, ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere neque arma capere neque omnino facere aut providere quicquam poterant; ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, formido [terrore] quasi vecordia ceperat.</p>
e) Sal. Jug. 101.	<p>There, he cried out in Latin (for he had learned to speak it at Numantia) that our men were fighting in vain, that he had killed Marius with his own hand shortly before. At the same time, he displayed a sword smeared with blood, which he had made gory in the battle by slaying energetically enough one of our foot soldiers. When our men heard this, they were shocked more by the dreadful nature of the assertion than by a belief in the report, while at the same time the barbarians were encouraged and charged more fiercely upon the horrified Romans</p>	<p>Ibi Latine—nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat—exclamat nostros frustra pugnare, paulo ante Marium sua manu interfectum. Simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna satis inpigre occiso pedite nostro cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuntii terrentur, simulque barbari animos tollere et in percussos Romanos acrius incedere.</p>

58. Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Jones, H. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
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a) Strab. Geo. 1.2.8.	In the case of children we employ the pleasing myths to spur them on, and the fear-inspiring myths to deter them; for instance, Lamia is a myth, and so are the Gorgon, and Ephialtes, and Mormolyce.	τοῖς τε γὰρ παισὶ προσφέρομεν τοὺς ἡδεῖς μύθους εἰς προτροπὴν, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν δὲ τοὺς φοβερούς. ἢ τε γὰρ Λάμια μῦθός ἐστι καὶ ἡ Γοργὼ καὶ ὁ Ἐφιάλτης καὶ ἡ Μορμολύκη.
b) Strab. Geo. 4.4.2.	For these peoples are not only similar in respect to their nature and their governments, but they are also kinsmen to one another; and, further, they live in country that has a common boundary, since it is divided by the River Rhenus, and the most of its regions are similar (though Germany is more to the north), if the southern regions be judged with reference to the southern and also the northern with reference to the northern. But it is also on account of this trait ¹ that their migrations easily take place, for they move in droves, army and all, or rather they make off, households and all, whenever they are cast out by others stronger than themselves.	καὶ γὰρ τῇ φύσει καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν ἐμφερεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλοις οὗτοι, ὁμορόν τε οἰκοῦσι χώραν, διοριζομένην τῷ Ῥήνῳ ποταμῷ, καὶ παραπλήσια ἔχουσιν τὰ πλεῖστα (ἀρκτικωτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Γερμανία) κρινομένων τῶν τε νοτίων μερῶν πρὸς τὰ νότια καὶ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν πρὸς τὰ ἀρκτικά. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις αὐτῶν ῥαδίως ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, φερομένων ἀγελῆδον καὶ πανστρατιᾷ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πανοικίων ἐξαιρόντων ὅταν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐκβάλλωνται κρειπτόνων.
c) Strab. Geo. 4.4.4.	the Druids, in addition to natural philosophy, study also moral philosophy. The Druids are considered the most just of men.	Δρυῖδαι δὲ πρὸς τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκοῦσι· δικαιοτάτοι δὲ νομίζονται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πιστεύονται τὰς τε ἰδιωτικὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὰς κοινὰς.
d) Strabo. Geo. 9.3.10-12.	As for the contests at Delphi, there was one in early times between citharoedes, who sang a paean in	Ἀγὼν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀρχαῖος ἐν Δελφοῖς κιθαρωδῶν ἐγενήθη, παιᾶνα ᾄδόντων εἰς τὸν θεόν· ἔθηκαν δὲ

	<p>honour of the god; it was instituted by the Delphians. But after the Crisaean war, in the time of Eurylochus, the Amphictyons instituted equestrian and gymnastic contests in which the prize was a crown, and called them Pythian Games. And to the citharoedes¹ they added both flute-players and citharists who played without singing, who were to render a certain melody which is called the Pythian Nome. There are five parts of it: ankrousis, ampeira, katakeleusmos, iambi and dactyli, and syringes. Now the melody was composed by Timosthenes, the admiral of the second Ptolemy, who also compiled The Harbours, a work in ten books; and through this melody he means to celebrate the contest between Apollo and the dragon, setting forth the prelude as anakrousis, the first onset of the contest as ampeira, the contest itself as katakeleusmos, the triumph following the victory as iambus and dactylus, the rhythms being in two measures, one of which, the dactyl, is appropriate to hymns of praise, whereas the other, the iamb, is suited to reproaches (compare the word “iambize”), and the expiration of the dragon as syringes, since</p>	<p>Δελφοί· μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κρισαῖον πόλεμον οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἵππικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπ’ Εὐρυλόχου διέταξαν στεφανίτην καὶ Πύθια ἐκάλεσαν. προσέθεσαν δὲ τοῖς κιθαρωδοῖς αὐλητάς τε καὶ κιθαριστάς χωρὶς ᾠδῆς, ἀποδώσοντάς τι μέλος, ὃ καλεῖται νόμος Πυθικός. πέντε δ’ αὐτοῦ μέρη ἐστίν, ἄγκρουσις, ἄμπειρα, κατακελευσμός, ἱamboi καὶ δάκτυλοι, σύριγγες. ἐμελοποίησε μὲν οὖν Τιμοσθένης, ὁ ναύαρχος τοῦ δευτέρου Πτολεμαίου ὁ καὶ τοὺς λιμένας συντάξας ἐν δέκα βίβλοις. βούλεται δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸν πρὸς τὸν δράκοντα διὰ τοῦ μέλους ὑμνεῖν, ἀνάγκρουν μὲν τὸ προοίμιον δηλῶν, ἄμπειραν δὲ τὴν πρώτην κατάπειραν τοῦ ἀγῶνος, κατακελευσμὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἱαμβὸν δὲ καὶ δάκτυλον τὸν ἐπιπαιανισμὸν τὸν [γινόμενον²] ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ μετὰ τοιούτων ῥυθμῶν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ὕμνοις ἐστὶν οἰκεῖος, ὁ δ’ ἱαμβὸς κακισμοῖς, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἱαμβίζειν, σύριγγας δὲ τὴν ἐκλειψιν τοῦ θηρίου μιμουμένων ὡς ἂν καταστρέφοντος εἰς ἐσχάτους τινὰς συριγμούς.... Πανοπέας Τιτυδὸν καταλῦσαι, ἔχοντα τὸν τόπον, βίαιον ἄνδρα καὶ παράνομον· τοὺς δὲ Παρνασσίους, συμμίζαντας</p>
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	<p>with syringes players imitated the dragon as breathing its last in hissings ...when he arrived at the land of the Panopaeans he destroyed Tityus, a violent and lawless man who ruled there; and that the Parnassians joined him and informed him of another cruel man named Python and known as the Dragon, and that when Apollo shot at him with his arrows the Parnassians shouted “Hie Paean” to encourage him (the origin, Ephorus adds, of the singing of the Paean which has been handed down as a custom for armies just before the clash of battle); and that the tent of Python was burnt by the Delphians at that time, just as they still burn it to this day in remembrance of what took place at that time.</p>	<p>αὐτῷ, καὶ ἄλλον μηνῦσαι χαλεπὸν ἄνδρα, Πύθωνα τοῦνομα, ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ Δράκοντα, κατατοξεύοντος δ’ ἐπικελεύειν ἱε παιάν, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸν παιωνισμὸν οὕτως ἐξ ἔθους παραδοθῆναι τοῖς μέλλουσι συμπίπτειν εἰς παράταξιν· ἐμπρησθῆναι δὲ καὶ σκηνὴν τότε τοῦ Πύθωνος ὑπὸ τῶν Δελφῶν, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι καὶ ἀεὶ ὑπόμνημα ποιουμένων τῶν τότε γενομένων.</p>
<p>e) Strabo. Geog. 10.3.1.</p>	<p>As for the Curetes, some assign them to the Acarnanians, others to the Aetolians; and some assert that the tribe originated in Crete, but others in Euboea; but since Homer mentions them, I should first investigate his account. It is thought that he means that they were Aetolians rather than Acarnanians, if indeed the sons of Porthaon were “Agrius and Melas, and, the third, Oeneus the knight”; “and they lived in Pleuron and steep Calydon.” These are both</p>	<p>Τοὺς δὲ Κουρήτας τῶν μὲν Ἀκαρναῶσι, τῶν δ’ Αἰτωλοῖς προσνεμόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐκ Κρήτης, τῶν δ’ ἐξ Εὐβοίας τὸ γένος εἶναι φασκόντων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος αὐτῶν μέμνηται, τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνου πρῶτον ἐπισκεπτέον. οἴονται δ’ αὐτὸν λέγειν Αἰτωλοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀκαρναῶνας, εἴπερ οἱ Πορθαονίδαι ἦσαν Ἄγριος ἡδὲ Μέλας, τρίτατος δ’ ἦν ἱππότης Οἰνεύς· ὥκεον δ’ ἐν Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι.</p>

	<p>Aetolian cities, and are referred to in the Aetolian catalogue; and therefore, since, even according to the poet, the Curetes obviously lived in Pleuron, they would be Aetolians. Those writers who oppose this view are misled by Homer's mode of expression when he says, "the Curetes were fighting, and the Aetolians steadfast in battle, about the city of Calydon"; for, they add, neither would he have spoken appropriately if he had said, "the Boeotians and the Thebans were fighting against one another"; or "the Argives and the Peloponnesians." But, as I have shown heretofore, this habit of expression not only is Homeric, but is much used by the other poets also. This interpretation, then, is easy to defend; but let those writers explain how the poet could catalogue the Pleuronians among the Aetolians if they were not Aetolians or at least of the same race.</p>	<p>αὗται δ' εἰσὶν Αἰτωλικάι πόλεις ἀμφοτέραι καὶ φέρονται ἐν Αἰτωλικῷ καταλόγῳ, ὥστε, ἐπεὶ τὴν Πλευρῶνα οἰκοῦντες φαίνονται καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν οἱ Κουρήτες, Αἰτωλοὶ ἂν εἶεν. οἱ δ' ἀντιλέγοντες τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς φράσεως παράγονται, ὅταν φῇ, Κουρήτες τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενεχάρμαι ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καλυδῶνα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν κυρίως εἶπεν οὕτως· ἐμάχοντο Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Θηβαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐδ' Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι. ἐδείχθη δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, ὅτι ἐστὶ καὶ Ὀμηρικὸν τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο τῆς φράσεως καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν τετριμμένον· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εὐαπολόγητον. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ λεγέτωσαν πῶς ἂν μὴ ὁμοεθνεῖς ὄντας μὴδ' Αἰτωλοὺς τοὺς Πλευρωνίους ἐν τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς κατέλεγεν.</p>
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59. Suetonius, *Twelve Caesars*, trans. Rolfe, J. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Suet. Cal. 14.	he paid homage to the Roman eagles and standards and to the statues of the Caesars.	aquilas et signa Romana Caesarumque imagines adoravit.
b) Suet. Claud. 13.	but his rebellion was put down within five days, since the legions which had changed their allegiance were turned	verum intra quintum diem oppressus est legionibus, quae sacramentum mutaverant, in paenitentiam

	from their purpose by superstitious fear; for when the order was given to march to their new commander, by some providential chance the eagles could not be adorned nor the standards pulled up and moved.	religione conversis, postquam denuntiato ad novum imperatorem itinere casu quodam ac divinitus neque aquila ornari neque signa convelli moverique potuerunt.
c) Suet. Jul. 49.4.	The Gallic lands did Caesar master; Nicomedes mastered Caesar. Look! now Caesar rides in triumph, the one who mastered Gallic lands. Nicomedes does not triumph, the one who mastered Caesar.	Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem: Ecce Caesar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias, Nicomedes non triumphat qui subegit Caesarem.
d) Suet. Jul. 51.	Men of Rome, protect your wives; we are bringing in the bald adulterer. You Fucked away in Gaul the gold you borrowed here in Rome.	Urbani, servate uxores: moechum calvom adducimus. Aurum in Gallia effutuisti, hic sumpsisti mutuum.
e) Suet. Nero. 16.2.	The pantomimic actors and their partisans were banished from the city.	pantomimorum factiones cum ipsis simul relegatae.
f) Suet. Nero. 25.	In like manner he entered Antium, then Albanum, and finally Rome; but at Rome he rode in the chariot which Augustus had used in his triumphs in days gone by, and wore a purple robe and a Greek cloak adorned with stars of gold, bearing on his head the Olympic crown and in his right hand the Pythian, while the rest were carried before him with inscriptions telling where he had won them and against what competitors, and giving the titles of the songs or the subject of the plays. His car was followed by his claque as by	simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam; sed et Romam eo curru, quo Augustus olim triumphaverat, et in veste purpurea distinctaque stellis aureis chlamyde coronamque capite gerens Olympiacam, dextra manu Pythiam, praeunte pompa ceterarum cum titulis, ubi et quos quo cantionum quove fabularum argumento vicisset; sequentibus currum ovantium ritu plausoribus, Augustianos militesque se triumpho eius clamitantibus

	the escort of a triumphal procession, who shouted that they were the attendants of Augustus and the soldiers of his triumph.	
g) Suet. Nero. 26.2.	Even in the daytime he would be carried privately to the theatre in a sedan chair, and from the upper part of the proscenium would watch the brawls of the pantomimic actors and egg them on; and when they came to blows and fought with stones and broken benches, he himself threw many missiles at the people and even broke a praetor's head.	Interdiu quoque clam gestatoria sella delatus in theatrum seditionibus pantomimorum e parte proscaeni superiore signifer simul ac spectator aderat; et cum ad manus ventum esset lapidibusque et subselliorum fragminibus decerneretur, multa et ipse iecit in populum atque etiam praetoris caput consauciavit.

60. Tacitus, *Annals*, trans. Jackson, J. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Tac. Ann. 1.16.	In the camp there was a man by the name of Percennius, in his early days the leader of a clique at the theatres, then a private soldier with an abusive tongue, whose experience of stage rivalries had taught him the art of inflaming an audience.	Erat in castris Percennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere coetus histrionali studio doctus.
b) Tac. Ann. 2.17.	eight eagles seen aiming for, and entering, the glades. "Forward," he exclaimed, "and follow the birds of Rome, the guardian spirits of the legions!"	octo aquilae petere silvas et intrare visae imperatorem advertere. Exclamat irent, sequerentur Romanas avis, propria legionum numina.
c) Tac. Ann. 13.25.	Nero, however, less venturesome for the future, surrounded himself with soldiers and crowds of gladiators, who were to stand aloof from incipient affrays of modest dimensions and semi-private character: should the	Nero tamen metuentior in posterum milites sibi et plerosque gladiatores circumdedit, qui rixarum initia modica et quasi privata sinerent: si a laesis validius ageretur, arma inferebant. Ludicram quoque

	<p>injured party behave with too much energy, they threw their swords into the scale. Even the licence of the players and of the theatrical clagues he converted into something like pitched battles by waiving penalties, by offering prizes, and by viewing the riots himself, sometimes in secret, very often openly; until, with the populace divided against itself and still graver commotions threatened, no other cure appeared but to expel the actors from Italy and to have the soldiers again take their place in the theatre.</p>	<p>licentiam et fautores histrionum velut in proelia convertit inpunitate et praemiis atque ipse occultus et plerumque coram prospectans, donec discordi populo et gravioris motus terrore non aliud remedium repertum est, quam ut histriones Italia pellerentur milesque theatro rursum adsideret.</p>
<p>d) Tac. Ann. 14.36.</p>	<p>Even Suetonius, in this critical moment, broke silence. In spite of his reliance on the courage of the men, he still blended exhortation and entreaty: “They must treat with contempt the noise and empty menaces of the barbarians: in the ranks opposite, more women than soldiers met the eye. Unwarlike and unarmed, they would break immediately, when, taught by so many defeats, they recognized once more the steel and the valour of their conquerors. Even in a number of legions, it was but a few men who decided the fate of battles; and it would be an additional glory that they, a handful of troops, were gathering the laurels of an entire army. Only, keeping their order close, and, when their</p>	<p>Ne Suetonius quidem in tanto discrimine silebat. Quamquam confideret virtuti, tamen exhortationes et preces miscebat, ut spernerent sonores barbarorum et inanes minas: plus Illic feminarum quam iuventutis aspici. Inbellis inermis cessuros statim, ubi ferrum virtutemque vincentium totiens fusi adgnosissent. Etiam in multis legionibus paucos, qui proelia profligarent: gloriaeque eorum accessurum, quod modica manus universi exercitus famam adipiscerentur. Conferti tantum et pilis emissis, post umbonibus et gladiis stragem caedemque continuarent, praedae inmemores: parta victoria cuncta ipsis cessura. Is</p>

	<p>javelins were discharged, employing shield-boss and sword, let them steadily pile up the dead and forget the thought of plunder: once the victory was gained, all would be their own.”</p> <p>Such was the ardour following the general’s words—with such alacrity had his veteran troops, with their long experience of battle, prepared themselves in a moment to hurl the pilum—that Suetonius, without a doubt of the issue, gave the signal to engage.</p>	<p>ardor verba ducis sequebatur, ita se ad intorquenda pila expedierat vetus miles et multa proeliorum experientia, ut certus eventus Suetonius daret pugnae signum.</p>
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61. Tacitus, *Germania*, trans. Hutton & Peterson. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Tac. Ger. 3.	<p>They further record how Hercules appeared among the Germans, and on the eve of battle the natives hymn “Hercules, the first of brave men.”</p> <p>They have also those cries by the recital of which—“barritus” is the name they use—they inspire courage; and they divine the fortunes of the coming battle from the circumstances of the cry. Intimidation or timidity depends on the intonation of the warriors; it seems to them to mean not so much unison of voices as union of hearts; the object they specially seek is a certain volume of hoarseness, a crashing roar, their shields being brought up to their lips, that the voice may swell to a fuller and deeper note by means of the echo.</p>	<p>Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem baritum vocant, accendunt animos futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur; terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies, nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur. adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox percussu intumescat.</p>

<p>b) Tac. Ger. 7.</p>	<p>They take their kings on the ground of birth, their generals on the basis of courage: the authority of their kings is not unlimited or arbitrary; their generals control the people by example rather than command, and by means of the admiration which attends upon energy and a conspicuous place in front of the line. But anything beyond this—capital punishment, imprisonment, even flogging—is permitted only to the priests, and then not as a penalty or under the general's orders, but as an inspiration from the god whom they suppose to accompany them on campaign: certain totems² also and emblems are fetched from groves and carried into battle. The strongest incentive to courage lies in this, that neither chance nor casual grouping makes the squadron or the wedge, but family and kinship: close at hand, too, are their dearest, whence is heard the wailing voice of woman and the child's cry: here are the witnesses who are in each man's eyes most precious; here the praise he covets most: they take their wounds to mother and wife, who do not shrink from counting the hurts or demanding a sight of them: they minister to the combatants food and exhortation.</p>	<p>Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt. ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincere, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt. effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt; quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores: ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt: nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.</p>
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<p>c) Tac. Ger. 9-10.</p>	<p>Of the gods, they give a special worship to Mercury, to whom on certain days they count even the sacrifice of human life lawful. Hercules and Mars they appease with such animal life as is permissible. A section of the Suebi sacrifices also to Isis... Apart from this they deem it incompatible with the majesty of the heavenly host to confine the gods within walls, or to mould them into any likeness of the human face: they consecrate groves and coppices, and they give the divine names to that mysterious something which is visible only to the eyes of faith... among the Germans divination by consultation of the cries and flight of birds is well known, but their special divination is to make trial of the omens and warnings furnished by horses, in addition to other methods. In the same groves and coppices are fed certain white horses, never soiled by mortal use: these are yoked to a sacred chariot and accompanied by the priest and king, or other chief of the state, who then observe their neighing or snorting. On no other divination is more reliance placed, not merely by the people but also by their leaders and their priests; for the nobles regard</p>	<p>Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. pars Sueborum et Isidi sacrificat...ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora consecrant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident... avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. publice aluntur isdem nemoribus ac lucis candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti;¹ quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. nec ulli auspicio maior fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud procures, apud sacerdotes; se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant.</p>
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	themselves as the servants of the gods, but the horses as their confidants.	
d) Tac. Ger. 43.	The Harii, apart from the strength in which they surpass the peoples just enumerated, are fierce in nature, and trick out this natural ferocity by the help of art and choice of time: they blacken their shields and dye their bodies; they choose pitchy nights for their battles; by sheer panic and shadowy effect they strike terror like an army of ghosts. No enemy can face this novel and, as it were, hellish vision: in every battle after all the feeling of being conquered comes to the eye first.	Ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumerates paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum adspectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.
e) Tac. Ger. 45.	They worship the mother of the gods: as an emblem of that supersitition they wear the figures of wild boars: this boar takes the place of arms or of any human protection, and guarantees to the votary of the goddess a mind at rest even in the midst of foes. They use swords rarely, clubs frequently.	matrem deum venerantur. insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis hominumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat. rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus.

62. Tacitus, *Histories*, trans. Moore, C. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Tac. Hist. 1.18.	Yet the tribunes, centurions, and soldiers nearest him answered in a satisfactory manner;	Tribuni tamen centurionesque et proximi militum grata auditu respondent:
b) Tac. Hist. 2.21	On both sides was a feeling of shame; on both an ambition for glory. Different exhortations were heard: one	Utrimque pudor, utrimque gloria et diversae exhortationes hinc legionum et Germanici exercitus robur, inde

	<p>side exalted the strength of the legions and the army from Germany, while the other praised the high renown of the town soldiery and the praetorian cohorts. The Vitellians assailed their opponents as lazy and indolent, soldiers corrupted by the circus and the theatre; those within the town attacked the Vitellians as foreigners and barbarians. At the same time, while they thus lauded or blamed Otho and Vitellius, their mutual insults were more productive of enthusiasm than their praise.</p>	<p>urbanae militiae et praetoriarum cohortium decus attollentium; illi ut segnem et desidem et circo ac theatri corruptum militem, hi peregrinum et externum increpabant. Simul Othonem ac Vitellium celebrantes culpantesve uberioribus inter se probris quam laudibus stimulabantur.</p>
c) Tac. Hist. 2.22.	<p>the German infantry who approached with little caution, singing their wild songs and brandishing their shields above their shoulders, while their bodies, according to a native custom, were unprotected.</p>	<p>temere subeuntis cohortis Germanorum, cantu truci et more patrio nudis corporibus super umeros scuta quatientium.</p>
d) Tac. Hist. 2.43.	<p>On the side of Vitellius was the Twenty-first, also called the Rapax, a legion long renowned; on Otho's was the First Adjutrix which had never been in an engagement before, but which was enthusiastic and eager to win its first success. The First cut down the front ranks of the Twenty-first and captured their eagle; thereupon shame at this loss so fired the Twenty-first that they drove back the First, killed their commander, Orfidius Benignus, and captured many</p>	<p>pro Vitellio unaetvicensima cui cognomen Rapaci, vetere gloria insignis, e parte Othonis prima Adiutrix, non ante in aciem deducta, sed ferox et novi decoris avida. Primani stratis unaetvicensimanorum principiis aquilam abstulere; quo dolore accensa legio et impulit rursus primanos, interfecto Orfidio Benigno legato, et plurima signa vexillaque ex hostibus rapuit. A parte alia propulsa quintanorum impetu tertia decima</p>

	colours and standards. In another part of the field the Fifth ³ charged and routed the Thirteenth ⁴ legion; the Fourteenth was surrounded by a superior force which attacked it.	legio, circumventi plurium adcurso quartadecimani.
e) Tac. Hist. 3.9.	Caecina now wrote, reproving them for their rashness in taking up arms after defeat. At the same time he praised the valour of the German army, but made only slight and casual reference to Vitellius, with no derogatory mention of Vespasian; and he said nothing that was calculated to win over or frighten his opponents. The chiefs of the Flavian party in reply made no apology for their past misfortunes, but they spoke out boldly for Vespasian; displaying confidence in their cause and faith in the security of their army, they assailed Vitellius as if they were his personal enemies, and gave the tribunes and centurions reason to hope that they might keep the indulgences that Vitellius had granted them. Caecina himself they urged in no ambiguous terms to come over to their side. This correspondence the Flavian leaders read to their soldiers in assembly and thereby inspired their troops with additional confidence; for Caecina had written in humble terms, as if afraid of offending Vespasian, while their generals had written in	Has ad copias nequaquam Vitellianis paris (quippe tres adhuc legiones erant) misit epistulas Caecina, temeritatem victa arma tractantium incusans. Simul virtus Germanici exercitus laudibus attollebatur, Vitellii modica et vulgari mentione, nulla in Vespasianum contumelia: nihil prorsus quod aut corrumpere hostem aut terreret. Flavianarum partium duces omissa prioris fortunae defensione pro Vespasiano magnifice, pro causa fidenter, de exercitu securi, in Vitellium ut inimici praesumpserunt, facta tribunis centurionibusque retinendi quae Vitellius indulsisset spe; atque ipsum Caecinam non obscure ad transitionem hortabantur. Recitatae pro contione epistulae addidere fiduciam, quod submisit Caecina, velut offendere Vespasianum timens, ipsorum duces contemptim tamquam insultantes Vitellio scripsissent.

	scorn and with the evident desire to insult Vitellius.	
f) Tac. Hist. 3.22.	The weapons in both lines were the same, the watchwords for battle became known, for they were constantly asked; the standards were confused as some band or other carried off in this direction or that those they had captured from their foes. The Seventh legion, lately enrolled by Galba, was hardest pressed: it lost six centurions of the first rank; some of its standards were captured; its eagle was finally saved by Atilius Verus, a centurion of the first rank, who in his efforts killed many of the enemy, only finally to fall dying himself.	Eadem utraque acie arma, crebris interrogationibus notum pugnae signum, permixta vexilla, ut quisque globus capta ex hostibus huc vel illuc raptabat. Urguebatur maxime septima legio, nuper a Galba conscripta. Occisi sex primorum ordinum centuriones, abrepta quaedam signa: ipsam aquilam Atilius Verus primi pili centurio multa cum hostium strage et ad extremum moriens servaverat.
g) Tac. Hist. 5.16-17.	The generals did not encourage their troops in formal appeals to the whole body, but they addressed each division as they rode along the line. Cerialis recalled the ancient glories of the Roman name, their victories old and new; he urged them to destroy for ever these treacherous and cowardly foes whom they had already beaten; it was vengeance rather than battle that was needed. "You have recently fought against superior numbers, and yet you routed the Germans, and their picked troops at that: those who survive carry terror in their hearts and wounds on their backs." He applied the proper	Exhortatio ducum non more contionis apud universos, sed ut quosque suorum advehebantur. Cerialis veterem Romani nominis gloriam, antiquas recentisque victorias; ut perfidum ignavum victum hostem in aeternum exciderent, ultione magis quam proelio opus esse. Pauciores nuper cum pluribus certasse, ac tamen fusos Germanos, quod roboris fuerit: superesse qui fugam animis, qui vulnera tergo ferant. Proprios inde stimulos legionibus admovebat, domitores Britanniae quartadecimanos appellans; principem Galbam sextae legionis auctoritate

	<p>spur to each of the legions, calling the Fourteenth the “Conquerors of Britain,” reminding the Sixth that it was by their influence that Galba had been made emperor, and telling the Second that in the battle that day they would dedicate their new standards, and their new eagle. Then he rode toward the German army, and stretching out his hands begged these troops to recover their own river-bank and their camp at the expense of the enemy’s blood. An enthusiastic shout arose from all, for some after their long peace were eager for battle, others weary of war desired peace; and they all hoped for rewards and rest thereafter.</p> <p>XVII. Nor did Civilis form his lines in silence, but called on the place of battle to bear witness to his soldiers’ bravery: he reminded the Germans and Batavians that they were standing on the field of glory, that they were trampling underfoot the bones and ashes of Roman legions. “Wherever the Roman turns his eyes,” he cried, “captivity, disaster, and dire omens confront him. You must not be alarmed by the adverse result of your battle with the Treviri: there their very victory hampered the Germans, for they dropped their arms and filled their</p>	<p>factum; illa primum acie secundanos nova signa novamque aquilam dicaturos. Hinc praevectus ad Germanicum exercitum manus tendebat, ut suam ripam, sua castra sanguine hostium reciperarent. Alacrior omnium clamor, quis vel ex longa pace proelii cupido vel fessis bello pacis amor, praemiaque et quies in posterum sperabantur.</p> <p>XVII. Nec Civilis silens¹ instruxit aciem, locum pugnae testem virtutis ciens: stare Germanos Batavosque super vestigia gloriae, cineres ossaque legionum calcantis. Quocumque oculos Romanus intenderet, captivitatem clademque et dira omnia obversari. Ne terrentur vario Trevirici proelii eventu: suam illic victoriam Germanis obstitisse, dum omissis telis praeda manus impediunt: sed cuncta mox prospera et hosti contraria evenisse. Quae provideri astu ducis oportuerit, providisse, campos madentis et ipsis gnaros, paludes hostibus noxias. Rhenum et Germaniae deos in aspectu: quorum numine capesserent pugnam, coniugum parentum patriae memores: illum diem aut gloriosissimum inter maiores aut ignominiosum apud posteros fore. Ubi sono armorum tripudiisque (ita illis mos) adprobata</p>
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	<p>hands with booty: but everything since has gone favourably for us and against the Romans. Every provision has been made that a wise general should make: the fields are flooded, but we know them well; the marshes are fatal to our foes. Before you are the Rhine and the gods of Germany: engage under their divine favour, remembering your wives, parents, and fatherland: this day shall crown the glories of our sires or be counted the deepest disgrace by our descendants!” When the Germans had applauded these words with clashing arms and wild dancing according to their custom, they opened battle with a volley of stones, leaden balls, and other missiles, and since our soldiers did not enter the marsh, the foe tried to provoke them and so lure them on.</p>	<p>sunt dicta, saxis glandibusque et ceteris missilibus proelium incipitur, neque nostro milite paludem ingrediente et Germanis, ut elicerent, lacescentibus.</p>
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63. Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, trans. Smith, C. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Thuc. 1.50.	It was now late and the paean had been sounded for the onset.	ἤδη δὲ ἦν ὁπσὲ καὶ ἐπεπαιάνιστο αὐτοῖς ὥς ἐς ἐπίπλου.
b) Thuc. 2.91.	When the Peloponnesians came up they were singing the paean as they rowed as if they were victorious already.	οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι ὕστερον ἐπαιάνιζόν τε ἅμα πλέοντες ὥς νενικηκότες.
c) Thuc. 4.34.1-2.	with a shout they charged upon them in a body, hurling at them stones, arrows or javelins, whichever each man had at hand. The shouting with which the Athenians accompanied their charge	καταφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐμβοήσαντες ἀθρόοι ὥρμησαν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔβαλλον λίθοις τε καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις, ὥς ἕκαστός τι πρόχειρον εἶχεν.

	caused consternation among the Lacedaemonians, who were unaccustomed to this manner of fighting.	γενομένης δὲ τῆς βοῆς ἅμα τῇ ἐπιδρομῇ ἑκπληξίς τε ἐνέπεσεν ἀνθρώποις ἀήθεσι τοιαύτης μάχης καὶ ὁ κονιορτὸς τῆς ὕλης νεωστὶ κεκαυμένης ἐχώρει πολὺς ἄνω.
d) Thuc. 4.43.	being on higher ground, and then, raising the paean, charged a second time.	βάλλοντες τοῖς λίθοις καθύπερθεν ὄντες καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπῆσαν αὖθις.
e) Thuc. 4.96.	the Boeotians, after they too had again been briefly harangued by Pagondas, raised the paean and came on from the hill.	οἱ Βοιωτοί, παρακελευσαμένου καὶ σφίσιν ὥς διὰ ταχέων καὶ ἐνταῦθα Παγώνδου, παιανίσαντες ἐπῆσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου.
f) Thuc. 5.10.5-7.	And those stratagems have won the highest credit by which a man most completely deceives the enemy and helps his friends. While, then, the Athenians, still unprepared, are full of confidence and are thinking, so far as I can see, more of withdrawing than of staying where they are, while their tension of mind is relaxed and before they have got their thoughts together, I will take my own troops and if possible surprise them by a dash upon the centre of their army.	πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο· καὶ τὰ κλέμματα ταῦτα καλλίστην δόξαν ἔχει ἃ τὸν πολέμιον μάλιστ' ἂν τις ἀπατήσας τοὺς φίλους μέγιστ' ἂν ὠφελήσειεν. ἕως οὖν ἔτι ἀπαράσκευοι θαρσοῦσι καὶ τοῦ ὑπαπιέναι πλεόν ἢ τοῦ μένοντος, ἐξ ὧν ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν, ἐν τῷ ἀνεμμένῳ αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης καὶ πρὶν ζυνταθῆναι ¹ μᾶλλον τὴν δόξαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἔχων τοὺς μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ φθάσας, ἣν δύνωμαι, προσπεσοῦμαι δρόμῳ κατὰ μέσον τὸ στράτευμα·
g) Thuc. 5.69-70.	the Lacedaemonians, however, exhorted one another man by man, using also their war-songs—as brave men to remember what they had learned, knowing that long-continued actual practice meant	Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καθ' ἐκάστους τε καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἠπίσταντο τὴν παρακέλευσιν τῆς μνήμης ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν ἐποιοῦντο, εἰδότες ἔργων ἐκ πολλοῦ μελέτην πλείω σφύζουσιν

	<p>more for their salvation than any brief admonition, however well spoken.</p> <p>LXX. After this the conflict commenced, the Argives and their allies advancing eagerly and impetuously, but the Lacedaemonians slowly and to the music of many flute-players placed among them according to custom, not with any religious motive, but in order that they might march up with even step and keeping time without breaking their order, as large armies are apt to do in going into battle.</p>	<p>ἢ λόγων δι' ὀλίγου καλῶς ῥηθεῖσαν παραίνεσιν.</p> <p>LXX. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐντόνως καὶ ὀργῇ χωροῦντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδέως καὶ ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν νόμῳ ἐγκαθεστώτων, οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὁμαλῶς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ βαίνοντες προσέλθοιεν καὶ μὴ διασπασθείη αὐτοῖς ἡ τάξις, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ μεγάλα στρατόπεδα ἐν ταῖς προσόδοις ποιεῖν.</p>
h) Thuc. 6.63.	<p>Moreover, mounted Syracusan scouts constantly rode up to the Athenian army and amongst other insults asked them: “Are you come to settle yourselves here with us, on land which belongs to other people, instead of resettling the Leontines on their own?”</p>	<p>ἰππῆς τε προσελαύνοντες αἰεὶ κατάσκοποι τῶν Συρακοσίων πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐφύβριζον ἄλλα τε καὶ εἰ ξυνοικήσοντες σφίσιν αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον ἤκοιεν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἢ Λεοντίνους ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν κατοικιοῦντες.</p>
i) Thuc. 6.69.	<p>Afterwards the soothsayers brought forward the customary sacrifices and trumpeters stirred the hoplites to the charge.</p>	<p>ἀλλήλων ἐποίουν· ἔπειτα δὲ μάντις τε σφάγια προύφερον τὰ νομιζόμενα καὶ σαλπικταὶ ξύνοδον ἐπώτρυνον τοῖς ὀπλίταις.</p>
j) Thuc. 7.44.6.	<p>But that which put the Athenians at the greatest disadvantage and did them most harm was the singing of the paean; for the song of both armies was very similar and caused perplexity. Whenever, that is, the Argives or the Corcyraeans or any Dorian contingent of the Athenian army</p>	<p>μέγιστον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἔβλαψε καὶ ὁ παιανισμός· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων παραπλήσιος ὦν ἀπορίαν παρεῖχεν. οἳ τε γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ ὅσον Δωρικὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἦν ὁπότε παιανίσειαν, φόβον παρεῖχε</p>

	would raise the paeon, the Athenians were just as much terrified thereby as when the enemy sang.	τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οἳ τε πολέμιοι ὁμοίως.
k) Thuc. 7.71.	For since the spectacle they were witnessing was near at hand and not all were looking at the same point at the same time, if one group saw the Athenians prevailing anywhere, they would take heart and fall to invoking the gods not to rob them of their safe return; while those whose eyes fell upon a portion that was being defeated uttered shrieks of lamentation, and by the mere sight of what was going on were more cowed in spirit than the men who were actually fighting. Others, again, whose gaze was fixed on some part of the field where the battle was evenly balanced, on account of the long-drawn uncertainty of the conflict were in a continual state of most distressing suspense, their very bodies swaying, in the extremity of their fear, in accord with their opinion of the battle; for always they were within a hair's breadth of escaping or of perishing. And in the same Athenian army one might hear, so long as the combatants were fighting on equal terms, every kind of cry at the same time—wailing, shouting, “We are winning,” “We are beaten,” and all the divers kinds of cries that a great army in great danger would be constrained to utter. The men also on	δι’ ὀλίγου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς θέας καὶ οὐ πάντων ἅμα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ σκοπούντων, εἰ μὲν τινες ἴδοιέν πῃ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπικρατοῦντας, ἀνεθάρσησάν τε ἂν καὶ πρὸς ἀνάκλησιν θεῶν μὴ στερεῖσθαι σφᾶς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐτρέποντο· οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τι ἡσώμενον βλέψαντες ὀλοφυρμῷ τε ἅμα μετὰ βοῆς ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δρωμένων τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τὴν γνώμην μᾶλλον τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδουλοῦντο· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀντίπαλόν τι τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπιδόντες, διὰ τὸ ἀκρίτως ξυνεχὲς τῆς ἀμίλλης καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοῖς ἴσα τῇ δόξῃ περιδεῶς ξυναπονέοντες ἐν τοῖς χαλεπώτατα διηγόν· αἰεὶ γὰρ παρ’ ὀλίγον ἢ διέφευγον ἢ ἀπώλλυντο. ἦν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ στρατεύματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἕως ἀγχώμαλα ἐναυμάχουν, πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, ὀλοφυρμός, βοή, νικῶντες, κρατούμενοι, ἄλλα ὅσ’ ἂν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ μέγα στρατόπεδον πολυειδῇ ἀναγκάζοιτο φθέγγεσθαι. παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῖς ἔπασχον, πρὶν γε δὴ οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχούσης τῆς ναυμαχίας

	board the Athenian ships were affected in a similar way, until at last the Syracusans and their allies, after the fighting had been maintained a long time, routed the Athenians and pressing on triumphantly, with loud cries and exhortations, pursued them to the land.	ἔτρεψάν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐπικείμενοι λαμπρῶς, πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ διακελευσμῷ χρώμενοι, κατεδίωκον ἐς τὴν γῆν.
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64. Tyrtaeus, *The idylls of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus; and The war-songs of Tyrtaeus*, trans. Banks, J. (London, H. G. Bohn, 1853).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Tyr. 1-3.	Now it is noble for a brave man to die, having fallen opposite the foremost ranks, whilst fighting for his father-land. But most grievous of all is it for a man to be a beggar, having quitted his own city and fertile fields, and wandering with a loved mother and aged father, with little children and wedded wife. For to whomsoever he shall have come, among them will he be hateful, yielding to need and to wretched poverty. He disgraces his race, and belies his fair beauty; and every kind of dishonour and woe follows him. Besides, for a man thus vagrant, look you, there is no care, nor has he respect in time to come. With spirit let us fight for this land, and for our children die, being no longer chary of our lives. Fight then, young men, standing fast one by another, nor be beginners of cowardly flight, or fear. But rouse a great and valiant spirit in your breasts, and love not life, when ye contend with men. And the elders, whose limbs are no longer active, the old, I say, desert not or forsake. For surely this were shameful, that fallen amid the foremost champions, in front of the youths, an older man should lie low, having his head now white and his beard hoary, and breathing out a valiant spirit in the dust; whilst he covers with his hands his gory loins, (which were a shame, and would make one wroth to behold with his eyes :) and is stript as to his person: yet all this befits the young,	<i>Could not create a legible digital record of the original Greek text.</i>

	<p>whilst, I wot, he enjoys the brilliant bloom of youth; to mortal men and women he is lovely to look upon, whilst he lives; and noble when he has fallen in the foremost ranks. Then let every one with firm stride await the foe, having both feet fixed on the ground, biting his lip with his teeth.</p> <p>II. But since ye are the race of invincible Hercules, be ye of good courage; not yet hath. Zeus turned his neck aside from you. Neither fear ye, nor be aifrighted at a host of men, but let hero hold his shield right against the foremost fighters; having counted life hostile, and the dark fates of death dear as the rays of the sun. For ye know that the works of Ares of-many-tears are much-seen, and well have ye learned the temper of troublous war. Ye have been, O young men, with the flying and the pursuing, and have pushed on to a full measure of both. Now of those, who dare, abiding one beside another, to advance to the close fray, and the foremost champions, fewer die, and they save the people in the rear; 'but in men that fear, all excellence is lost. No one could ever in words go through those several ills, which befall a man, if he has been actuated by cowardice. For 'tis grievous to wound in the rear the back of a flying man in hostile war. Shameful too is a corpse lying low in the dust, wounded behind in the back by the point of a spear. Rather let every one with firm stride await the enemy, having both feet fixed on the ground, biting his lip with his teeth, and having covered with the hollow of his broad shield thighs and shins below, and breast and shoulders. But in his right hand let him brandish a heavy lance, and shake above his head a threaten ing crest. Then let him learn war, by doing bold deeds, nor let him stand with his shield out of the range of weapons. But let each, drawing nigh in close fray, hit his foe, wounding him with long lance or sword. And having set foot beside foot, and having fixed shield against shield, and crest on crest, and helmet on helmet, and breast against breast,</p>	
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	<p>struggle in fight with his man, having seized either the hilt of his sword, or his long lance. But do ye, O light-armed soldiers, crouching under your shields, some from one quarter, some from another, make them fall with huge stones, and with polished spears, as ye dart at them, and stand near to the heavy-armed troops.</p> <p>III. Would neither commemorate, nor hold in account a man, either for excellence in running, or for wrestling; no, nor though he should have the bulk and strength of the Cyclopes, and in speed surpass Thracian Boreas. No, nor though he should in personal appearance be more graceful than Tithonus, and should be more rich than Midas or Cinyras. Nor though he should be more kingly than Pelops, son of Tantalus, and have the soft-voiced tongue of Adrastus; nor yet if he should have all glory, save that of resistless valour; for he is not a man brave in war, unless he have the courage to face bloody slaughter, and standing near attack-the foemen. But this is excellence, this the best prize among men, and noblest for a young man to carry off. And this is a common good to a city, and all its people, nameh, whatsoever man standing firm bides unceasingly in the front ranks, and is wholly forgetful of base flight, when he has staked his life, and en during spirit; but has the heart to fall, standing beside his next neighbour. This man is good in war. And quickly does he turn in flight the sturdy phalanxes of foemen, and zealously stem the wave of battle. He too himself having fallen amid the foremost, loses his life, and (at the same time) having brought renown to his city and people and sire: pierced in many places through breast, and round shield, and through his cuirass in the front. Him young alike and old lament, and the whole state is distressed for him with painful regret. His tomb and children are famous among men, ay, his children's children, and his race after him. Never does his fair fame or his name perish,</p>	
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	<p>but though he be on earth, he becomes immortal, whom, bravely bearing himself, standing firm, and fighting for country and for children, impetuous Ares shall have destroyed. But should he have escaped the fate of death that-lays-men-out-at-length; and as victor, have borne off the splendid boast of battle won, all honour him, young and old alike; and after tasting many delights, he comes to Hades. Growing old, he is eminent amid the citizens, nor does any one wish to hurt him in point of respect or justice. And all on the seats, alike young, and those of his age, and they who are still older, give place to him. Let every one now strive in his spirit to reach the summit of excellence like this, not slackening warfare.</p>	
b) Tyr. 6.	<p>VI. For Zeus himself, son of Cronos, husband of beautiful crowned Hera, hath given this city to the Heracleids. Along with whom, having left windy Erinees, we arrived at the broad isle of Pelops.</p>	<p><i>Could not create a legible digital record of the original Greek text.</i></p>

65. Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, trans. Shackleton Bailey, D. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Val. Max. 2.8.1.	<p>Certain generals wished triumphs decreed them for insignificant battles. To oppose them, it was enacted by law that no one should triumph who had not killed five thousand of the enemy in a single engagement. For our ancestors held that the dignity of our city would be heightened not by the number of triumphs but by their glory. And lest so excellent a law be effaced by greed for</p>	<p>Ob levia proelia quidam imperatores triumphos sibi decerni desiderabant. quibus ut occurreretur, lege cautum est ne quis triumpharet nisi qui quinque milia hostium una acie cecidisset: non enim numero sed gloria triumphorum excelsius urbis nostrae futurum decus maiores existimabant. ceterum ne tam praeclara lex cupiditate laureae</p>

	laurels, it was propped up by another law, put through by Tribunes of the Plebs L. Marius and M. Cato. It threatens with a penalty generals who venture in dispatches to report to the senate a false number either of enemies killed in battle or of citizens lost, and requires that as soon as they enter the city they take an oath before the City Quaestors that both numbers have been stated by them to the senate truthfully.	oblitteraretur, legis alterius adiutorio fulta est, quam L. Marius et M. Cato tribuni plebis tulerunt: poenam enim imperatoribus minatur qui aut hostium occisorum in proelio aut amissorum civium falsum numerum litteris senatui ausi essent referre, iubetque eos, cum primum urbem intrassent, apud quaestores urbanos iurare de utroque numero vere ab iis senatui esse scriptum.
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66. Varro, *On the Latin Language*, trans. Kent, R. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Varro DLL. 5.73.	Bellona ‘Goddess of War’ is said now, from bellum ‘war,’ which formerly was Duellona, from duellum. Mars is named from the fact that he commands the mares ‘males’ in war, or that he is called Mamers among the Sabines, with whom he is a favourite. Quirinus is from Quirites. Virtus ‘valour,’ as viritus, is from virilitas ‘manhood.’ Honos ‘honour, office’ is said from onus ‘burden’; therefore honestum ‘honourable’ is said of that which is oneratum ‘loaded with burdens.’	Bellona ab bello nunc, quae Duellona a duello. Mars ab eo quod maribus in bello praeest, aut quod Sabinis acceptus ibi est Mamers. Quirinus a Quiritibus. Virtus ut viritus a virilitate. Honos ab onere: itaque honestum dicitur quod oneratum.
b) Varro. DLL 5.85.	The Salii were named from salitare ‘to dance,’ because they had the custom and the duty of dancing yearly in the assembly-places, in their ceremonies.	Salii ab salitando, quod facere in comitiis in sacris quotannis et solent et debent.

c) Varro. DLL. 6.49.	<p>Meminisse ‘to remember,’ from memoria ‘memory,’ when there is again a motion toward that which remansit ‘has remained’ in the mens ‘mind’: and this may have been said from manere ‘to remain,’ as though manimoria. Therefore the Salii, when they sing</p> <p>O Mamurius Veturius, indicate a memoria vetus ‘memory of olden times.’ From the same is monere ‘to remind,’ because he who monet ‘reminds,’ is just like a memory.</p>	<p>Meminisse a memoria, cum <in> id quod remansit in mente rursus movetur; quae a manendo ut manimoria potest esse dicta. Itaque Salii quod cantant:</p> <p>Mamuri Veturi, significant memoriam veterem. Ab eodem monere, quod is qui monet, proinde sit ac memoria</p>
d) Varro. DLL. 6.68.	<p>So triumphare ‘to triumph’ was said, because the soldiers shout “Oho, triumph!” as they come back with the general through the City and he is going up to the Capitol; this is perhaps derived from θρίαμβος, as a Greek surname of Liber.</p>	<p>Sic triumphare appellatum, quod cum imperatore milites redeuntes clamitant per Urbem in Capitolium eunti “<I>o triumphe”; id a θρίαμβος³ ac Graeco Liberi cognomento potest dictum.</p>
e) Varro. DLL. 7.26-27.	<p>the Hymn of the Salians: O Planter God, arise. Everything indeed have I committed unto (thee as) the Opener. Now art thou the Doorkeeper, thou art the Good Creator, the Good God of Beginnings. Thou’lt come especially, thou the superior of these kings. . . <In the Hymn of the Salians are found such old forms as> foedesum for foederum ‘of treaties,’ plusima for plurima ‘most,’ meliose for meliorem ‘better,’ asenam f</p>	<p>Carmine Saliorum sunt haec: Cozevi oborieso. Omnia vero ad Patulc<i>um>commisse<i>. Ianeus iam es, duonus Cerus es, du<o>nus Ianus. Ven<i>es po<tissimu>m melios cum recum. . . f<o>edesum foederum, plusima plurima, meliose meliorem, asenam arenam, ianitos ianitor. Quare e Casmena Carmena, <e> Carmena R ex trito Camena factum. Ab eadem voce</p>

	<p>or arenam ‘sand,’ ianitosfor ianitor^a ‘do orkeeper.’ Therefore</p> <p>from Casmēna came Carmēna, and from Carmēna, with loss of the R, came Camēna. From the same radical came canite ‘sing ye,’ for which in a Salian verse is written cante, and this is the verse:</p> <p>Sing ye to the Father of the Gods, entreat the God of Gods.</p>	<p>canite, pro quo in Saliari versu scriptum est cante, hoc versu:</p> <p>Divum em pa cante, divum deo supplicate.</p>
f) Varro. DLL. 7.49.	<p>The enemy are called perduelles ‘foes’; as perfecit ‘accomplished’ is formed from per ‘through, thoroughly’ and fecit ‘did,’ so perduellisis formed from per and duellum ‘war’: this word afterward became bellum. From the same reason, Duellona Goddess of War’ became Bellona.</p>	<p>Perduelles dicuntur hostes; ut perfecit, sic perduellis, <a per> et duellum: id postea bellum. Ab eadem causa facta Duellona Bellona.</p>

67. Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, trans. Clarke, J. (Martino Fine Books, 2011).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Veg. DRM. 2.5.	<p>They swear by God, by Christ and by the Holy Ghost; and by the Majesty of the Emperor who, after God, should be the chief object of the love and veneration of mankind....The soldiers, therefore, swear they will obey the Emperor willingly and implicitly in all his commands, that they will never desert and will always be ready to sacrifice their lives for the Roman Empire.</p>	<p>Iurant autem per Deum, & per Chriftum, & per Spiritum fan &tum, & per maieftatem Imperatoris, quae fe cumdum Deum generi humano diligenda eft &c colenda. Nam Imperatori, cum Augufti nomen accepit, tanquam praefenti &ccorporali Deo fi delis eft praefanda devotio, &c impendendus per vigil famulatus. Deo enim vel privatus, vel mi litans fervit, cum fideliter eum diligit, qui Deo regnat auélore. Iurant autem</p>

		<p>milites, omnia ftrenue facturos, quae praeceperit Imperator, nunquam deserturos, nec mortem recusaturos pro Romana Republica.</p>
<p>b) Veg. DRM. 2.7.</p>	<p>The eagle-bearers and the image-bearers are those who carry the eagles and images of the Emperors. The Optiones are subaltern officers, so denominated from their being selected by the option of their superior officers, to do their duty as their substitutes or lieutenants in case of sickness or other accident. The ensign-bearers carry the ensigns and are called Draconarii. The Tesserarii deliver the parole and the orders of the general to the different messes of the soldiers. The Campignei or Antefignani are those whose duty it is to keep the proper exercises and discipline among the troops. The Metatores are ordered before the army to fix on the ground for its encampments. The Beneficiarii are so named from their owing their promotion to the benefit or interest of the Tribunes. The Librarii keep the legionary accounts. The Tubicines, Cornicines, and Buccinatores derive their appellations from the blowing the trumpet, cornet, and buccina.</p>	<p>Aquiliferi, qui Aquilam portant. Imaginarii vel Imaginiferi, qui Imperato ris imagines ferunt. Optiones aboptando appel lati, quod antecedentibus aegritudine praepe ditis, hi, tanquami adoptati eorum atque vica xii, solent univerfa curare. Signiferi, qui figna, portant: quos munc Draconarios vocant. Teffe rarii, qui tefferam per contubernia mihitum nun tiant. Tessera autem dieitur praeceptum ducis, quo vel ad aliquod opus, vel ad bellum move tur exercitus. Campigeni, hoc eft, antefignani, ideo ficnominati, quia eorum opera atque vir tute exercitui vigens vis crefcit in campo. Me tatores, qui praecedentes, locum eligunt castris. Beneficiarii, ab eoappellati, quod promoven tur beneficio tribunorum. Librarii, abeo, quod inlibros referant rationes admilites pertinentes. Tubicines, Cornieines, & Buccinatores, qui tu bavel aere curvo, vel buccina committere proe lium solent,</p>

c) Veg. DRM. 2.14.	The splendor of the arms has no inconsiderable effect in striking terror into an enemy.	Plurimum enim terroris hostibus armorum splendorimportat.
d) Veg. DRM. 2.16.	All the ensigns though, of the infantry, wore cuirasses of a smaller sort and covered their helmets with the shaggy skins of beasts to make themselves appear more terrible to the enemy.	Omnes autem signarii vel signiferi, quamvis pedites, loricas mi mores accipiebant, & galeas ad terrorem hostium urfinis pellibus tectas.
e) Veg. DRM. 3.12.	It is natural for the men in general to be affected with some sensations of fear at the beginning of an engagement, but there are without doubt some of a more timorous disposition who are disordered by the very sight of the enemy. To diminish these apprehensions before you venture on action, draw up your army frequently in order of battle in some safe situation, so that your men may be accustomed to the sight and appearance of the enemy...Thus they will become acquainted with their customs, arms and horses. And the objects with which we were once familiarized are no longer capable of inspiring us with terror.	Animis paene omnium hominum hoc naturali ter evenit, ut trepident, cum adconfliétum ve merint. Sine dubio autem formidolofiores funt, quorum mentes ipfe confundit adfpeétus. Sed hoc remedio formido lenitur, fi, antequam di mices, frequenter exercitum tuum locis tutiori bus ordines, unde &c videre hostem, & agno fcere confuefcant. Interdum audeant aliquid ex occafione, aut fugent, aut interimant inimicos: more adverfariorum, arma, equos recognofcant. Nam quae exufu funt, non timentur.
f) Veg. DRM. 3.18.	The war shout should not be begun till both armies have joined, for it is a mark of ignorance or cowardice to give it at a distance. The effect is much greater on the enemy when they find themselves struck at the same instant	Clamor au. tem (quem barritum vocant) prius non debet attolli, quam acies utraque fe iunxerit. Imperi torum enim, vel ignavorum eft, vociferari de longe; cum hostes magis terreantur, fi cum te lorum iétu clamoris horror accefferit.

	with the horror of the noise and the points of the weapons.	
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68. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, trans. Brownson, C. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Xen. Ana. 1.7.4.	Our enemies have great numbers and they will come on with a great outcry.	τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ καὶ κραυγῇ πολλῇ ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε.
b) Xen. Ana. 1.8.11.	As for the statement, however, which Cyrus made when he called the Greeks together and urged them to hold out against the shouting of the barbarians, he proved to be mistaken in this point; for they came on, not with shouting, but in the utmost silence and quietness, with equal step and slowly.	ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγῇ ἀλλὰ σιγῇ ὡς ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσῆσαν.
c) Xen. Ana. 1.8.16-19.	Cyrus pulled up his horse and bade Xenophon tell everybody that the sacrificial victims and omens were all favourable. While saying this he heard a noise running through the ranks, and asked what the noise was. Xenophon replied that the watchword was now passing along for the second time. And Cyrus wondered who had given it out, and asked what the watchword was. Xenophon replied “Zeus Saviour and Victory.” And upon hearing this Cyrus said, “Well, I accept it, and so let it be.” After he had said these words he rode back to his own position. At length the opposing lines were not three or four stadia apart, and then the	ὁ δ’ ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε πᾶσιν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλά. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων θορύβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο τίς ὁ θόρυβος εἴη. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι τὸ σύνθημα παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἤδη. καὶ ὃς ἐθαύμασε τίς παραγγέλλει καὶ ἤρετο ὅ τι εἴη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ζεὺς σωτὴρ καὶ νίκη. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούσας Ἀλλὰ δέχομαί τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω. ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλυνε. Καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια διειχέτην τῷ φάλαγγε ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ἡνίκα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες 18 καὶ ἤρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὥς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς

	<p>Greeks struck up the paean and began to advance against the enemy. And when, as they proceeded, a part of the phalanx billowed out, those who were thus left behind began to run; at the same moment they all set up the sort of war-cry which they raise to Enyalios, and all alike began running. It is also reported that some of them clashed their shields against their spears, thereby frightening the enemy's horses. And before an arrow reached them, the barbarians broke and fled. Thereupon the Greeks pursued with all their might, but shouted meanwhile to one another not to run at a headlong pace.</p>	<p>φάλαγγος, τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες οἷόνπερ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὡς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ¹⁹ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν</p>
<p>d) Xen. Ana. 3.1.42-44.</p>	<p>If, however, we can turn the current of their minds, so that they shall be thinking, not merely of what they are to suffer, but likewise of what they are going to do, they will be far more cheerful. For you understand, I am sure, that it is neither numbers nor strength which wins victories in war; but whichever of the two sides it be whose troops, by the blessing of the gods, advance to the attack with stouter hearts, against those troops their adversaries generally refuse to stand.</p>	<p>ὡς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται τί πείσονται ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δὴ ὅτι οὔτε πληθὸς ἐστὶν οὔτε ἰσχὺς ἢ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιοῦσα, ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἀντίοι οὐ δέχονται.</p>
<p>e) Xen. Ana.</p>	<p>Meanwhile the soothsayers were offering sacrifice to the river, and the</p>	<p>καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντιες ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι</p>

4.3.18-19.	enemy were shooting arrows and discharging slings, but not yet reaching their mark; and when the sacrifices proved favourable, all the soldiers struck up the paeon and raised the war shout, while the women, everyone of them, joined their cries with the shouting of the men.	ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ἀλλ' οὐπω ἐξικνοῦντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι.
f) Xen. Ana. 4.3.29.	The orders he gave to his own men were, that when slings-tones reached them and shields rang, they were to strike up the paeon and charge upon the enemy, and when the enemy turned to flight and the trumpeter on the river-bank sounded the charge.	τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἐαυτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὴν σφενδόνῃ ἐξικνήται καὶ ἀσπίς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπικτῆς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν.
g) Xen. Ana. 4.3.31.	Then the Greeks struck up the paeon and charged at them on the run.	οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς.
h) Xen. Ana. 4.7.15-16.	From there they marched through the land of the Chalybians seven stages, fifty parasangs. These were the most valiant of all the peoples they passed through, and would come to hand-to-hand encounter. They had corselets of linen reaching down to the groin, with a thick fringe of plaited cords instead of flaps. They had greaves also and helmets, and at the girdle a knife about as long as a Laconian dagger, with which they would slaughter whomever they might be able to vanquish; then they would cut off their heads and carry them along on their march, and	Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων σταθμοὺς ἑπτὰ παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν διηλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν. εἶχον δὲ θώρακας λινοῦς μέχρι τοῦ ἥτρου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερύγων σπάρτα 16 πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημίδας καὶ κράνη καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον ὅσον ξυλήν Λακωνικὴν, ᾧ ἔσφαττον ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιτο, καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ ἦδον καὶ ἐχόρευον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθαι ἔμελλον.

	they would sing and dance whenever they were likely to be seen by the enemy.	
i) Xen. Ana. 4.8.16.	After this the generals passed along the order to offer prayer, and when they had prayed and sung the paean they set forth.	ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐχεσθαι· εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο.
j) Xen. Ana. 5.2.13-14.	When all preparations had been made and the captains, lieutenants, and those among the men who claimed to be not inferior to them in bravery were all grouped together in the line ⁶ and, moreover, watching one another (for the line was crescent-shaped, to conform with the position they were attacking), then they struck up the paean and the trumpet sounded, and then, at the same moment, they raised the war cry to Enyalios, the hoplites charged forward on the run.	Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ὑπολόχαγοι καὶ οἱ ἀξιοῦντες τούτων μὴ χείρους εἶναι πάντες παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλους μὲν δὴ συνεώρων· μηνοειδῆς γὰρ διὰ τὸ χωρίον ἡ τάξις ἦν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἠλέλιξαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ οἱ ὀπλῖται.
k) Xen. Ana. 5.4.14-17.	After they had formed their lines one of them led off, and the rest after him, every man of them, fell into a rhythmic march and song, and passing through the battalions and through the quarters of the Greeks they went straight on against the enemy...and after cutting off the heads of the dead men displayed them to the Greeks and to their own enemies, at the same time dancing to a kind of strain which they sang.	ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆρχε μὲν αὐτῶν εἷς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπορεύοντο ᾄδοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ, καὶ διελθόντες διὰ τῶν τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπορεύοντο εὐθὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ χωρίον ὃ ἐδόκει ἐπιμαχώτατον εἶναι...καὶ ἀποτεμόντες τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεδείκνυσαν τοῖς τε Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίῳις, καὶ ἅμα ἐχόρευον νόμῳ τινὶ ᾄδοντες.

l) Xen. Ana. 6.1.5.	After they had made libations and sung the paean, two Thracians rose up first and began a dance in full armour.	Ἐπεὶ δὲ σπονδαὶ τ' ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν, ἀνέστησαν πρῶτοι μὲν Θρᾷκες καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ὥρχησαντο.
m) Xen. Ana. 6.5.25-26.	And now the watchword was passed along, "Zeus Saviour, Heracles Leader." Meanwhile the enemy were standing their ground, thinking that the position they held was a good one. When the Greeks were drawing near, the peltasts raised the battle-cry and proceeded to charge upon the enemy without waiting for any order.	ἐκ τούτου σύνθημα παρήει Ζεὺς σωτήρ, Ἡρακλῆς ἡγεμών. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὑπέμενον, νομίζοντες καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπλησίαζον, ἀλαλάζαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες πελτασταὶ ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πρὶν τινα κελεύειν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἀντίοι ὥρμησαν.
n) Xen. Ana. 6.5.29.	They accordingly struck up the paean and moved upon them at once; and they stood no longer.	παιανίσαντες οὖν εὐθὺς ἐπέκειντο· οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν.

69. Xenophon, Constitution of the Lacadaemonians, trans.

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Xen. Const. Lac. 11.3.	In the equipment that he devised for the troops ³ in battle he included a red cloak, because he believed this garment to have least resemblance to women's clothing and to be most suitable for war, and a brass shield, because it is very soon polished and tarnishes very slowly. He also permitted men who were past their first youth to wear long hair, believing that it would make them look taller, more dignified and more terrifying.	Εἷς γε μὴν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγῶνα τοιάδ' ἐμηχανήσατο, στολὴν μὲν ἔχειν φοινικίδα καὶ χαλκὴν ἀσπίδα, ταύτην νομίζων ἥκιστα μὲν γυναικεῖα κοινωνεῖν, πολεμικωτάτην δ' εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα λαμπρύνεται καὶ σχολαιότατα ῥυπαίνεται. ἐφῆκε δὲ καὶ κομᾶν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν, νομίζων οὕτω καὶ μείζους ἂν καὶ ἐλευθεριωτέρους καὶ γοργοτέρους φαίνεσθαι.

b) Xen. Const. Lac. 12.5.	Moreover the law requires all Lacedaemonians to practise gymnastics regularly throughout the campaign; and the result is that they take more pride in themselves and have a more dignified appearance than other men.	Καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι δὲ προαγορεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἅπασιν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὥσπερ ἂν στρατεύονται ὥστε μεγαλοπρεπεστέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἐλευθεριωτέρους δὲ τῶν ἄλλων φαίνεσθαι.
c) Xen. Const. Lac. 13.8-9.	When a goat is sacrificed, the enemy being near enough to see, custom ordains that all the fluteplayers present are to play and every Lacedaemonian is to wear a wreath. An order is also given to polish arms. It is also the privilege of the young warrior to comb his hair (?) before entering battle, to look cheerful and earn a good report. Moreover, the men shout words of encouragement ⁹ to the subaltern, for it is impossible for each subaltern to make his voice travel along the whole of his section to the far end. The colonel is responsible for seeing that all is done properly.	ὅταν γὰρ ὁρώντων ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα σφαγιάζεται, αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάνωτον εἶναι· καὶ ὅπλα δὲ λαμπρύνεσθαι προαγορεύεται. ἔξεστι δὲ τῷ νέῳ καὶ κεκριμένῳ ¹ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι καὶ φαιδρὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐδόκιμον. καὶ παρακελεύονται δὲ τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῃ· οὐδ' ἀκούεται γὰρ εἰς ἐκάστην πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἀφ' ἐκάστου ἐνωμοτάρχου ἔξω· ὅπως δὲ καλῶς γίγνηται, πολεμάρχῳ δεῖ μέλειν.

70. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, trans. Miller, W. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Xen. Cy. 3.2.9-10.	So the Armenians led on. And when they came near, the Chaldaeans already there raised the battle cry, according to their custom, and charged upon them. And the Armenians, according to their custom, failed to sustain the charge.	Οὕτω δὴ ἡγοῦντο μὲν οἱ Ἀρμένιοι· τῶν δὲ Χαλδαίων οἱ παρόντες, ὡς ἐπλησίαζον οἱ Ἀρμένιοι, ἀλαλάζαντες ἔθεον, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν εἰς αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ Ἀρμένιοι, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν οὐκ ἐδέχοντο.

<p>b) Xen. Cy. 3.3.58-66</p>	<p>While they were still out of range, Cyrus passed the watchword, Zeus our Helper and our Guide. And when the watchword came back and was delivered again to him, Cyrus himself began the usual paeon, and they all devoutly joined with a loud voice in the singing, for in the performance of such service the God-fearing have less fear of men.</p> <p>59. And when the paeon was ended, the peers marched on cheerily [, well-disciplined], looking toward one another, calling by name to comrades beside them and behind them, and often saying: “On, friends,” “On, brave fellows;” thus they encouraged one another to the charge. And those behind, hearing them, in their turn cheered the front line to lead them bravely on. So Cyrus’s army was filled with enthusiasm, ambition, strength, courage, exhortation, self-control, obedience; and this, I think, is the most formidable thing an enemy has to face. 60. But when the main body of the Persians began to get close to them, those of the Assyrians who dismounted from their chariots and fought in front of their army remounted their chariots and</p>	<p>Ἔως δ’ ἔτι ἔξω βελῶν ἦσαν, παρηγγύα ὁ Κῦρος σύνθημα Ζεὺς σύμμαχος καὶ ἡγεμῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦκε τὸ σύνθημα ἀνταποδιδόμενον, ἐξῆρχεν αὐτὸς ὁ Κῦρος παιᾶνα τὸν νομιζόμενον· οἱ δὲ θεοσεβῶς πάντες συνεπήχησαν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ· ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γὰρ δὴ οἱ δεισιδαίμονες ἦττον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοβοῦνται.</p> <p>59. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ παιὰν ἐγένετο, ἅμα πορευόμενοι οἱ ὁμότιμοι φαιδροὶ [πεπαιδευμένοι]² καὶ παρορῶντες εἰς ἀλλήλους, ὀνομάζοντες παραστάτας, ἐπιστάτας, λέγοντες πολὺ τὸ Ἄγετ’ ἄνδρες φίλοι, Ἄγετ’ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, παρεκάλουν ἀλλήλους ἔπεσθαι. οἱ δ’ ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντες ἀντιπαρεκελεύοντο τοῖς πρώτοις ἡγεῖσθαι ἐρρωμένως. ἦν δὲ μεστὸν τὸ στράτευμα τῷ Κύρῳ προθυμίας, φιλοτιμίας, ῥώμης, θάρρους, παρακελευσμοῦ, σωφροσύνης, πειθοῦς, ὅπερ οἶμαι δεινότατον τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. 60. Τῶν δ’ Ἀσσυρίων οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων προμαχοῦντες, ὥς ἐγγὺς ἦδη προσεμίγνυ τὸ Περσικὸν πλῆθος, ἀνέβαινόν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἄρματα καὶ ὑπεξῆγον πρὸς τὸ ἐαυτῶν πλῆθος· οἱ δὲ τοξόται καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ</p>
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	<p>gradually drew back to their own main body, while the bowmen, spearmen, and slingers let fly their missiles long before they could reach the enemy.</p> <p>61. And when the Persians, charging on, set foot upon the missiles that had been discharged, Cyrus shouted, “Bravest of men, now let each press on and distinguish himself and pass the word to the others to come on faster.” And they passed it on; and under the impulse of their enthusiasm, courage, and eagerness to close with the enemy some broke into a run, and the whole phalanx also followed at a run.</p> <p>62. And even Cyrus himself, forgetting to proceed at a walk, led them on at a run and shouted as he ran: “Who will follow? Who is brave? Who will be the first to lay low his man?”</p> <p>And those who heard him shouted with the same words, and the cry passed through all the ranks as he had started it: “Who will follow? Who is brave?”</p> <p>63. In such spirit the Persians rushed to the They flee into their entrenchments encounter, and the enemy could not longer stand their</p>	<p>σφενδονῆται αὐτῶν ἀφίεσαν τὰ βέλη πολὺ πρὶν ἐξικνεῖσθαι.</p> <p>61. ὥς δ’ ἐπιόντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπέβησαν τῶν ἀφειμένων βελῶν, ἐφθέγξατο δὴ ὁ Κῦρος, Ἄνδρες ἄριστοι, ἤδη θάπτον τις ἰὼν ἐπιδεικνύτω ἑαυτὸν καὶ παρεγγυάτω. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεδίδοσαν· ὑπὸ δὲ προθυμίας καὶ μένους καὶ τοῦ σπεύδειν συμμίζαι δρόμου τινὲς ἤρξαν, συνεφείπετο δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ φάλαγξ δρόμῳ.</p> <p>62. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ βάδην δρόμῳ ἡγεῖτο, καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγετο· Τίς ἔψεται; Τίς ἀγαθός; Τίς πρῶτος ἄνδρα καταβαλεῖ;</p> <p>Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτό τοῦτο ἐφθέγγοντο, καὶ διὰ πάντων δὲ ὥσπερ παρηγγύα οὕτως ἐχώρει· Τίς ἔψεται; Τίς ἀγαθός;</p> <p>63. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαι οὕτως ἔχοντες ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. οἳ γε μὴν πολέμιοι οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο μένειν, ἀλλὰ στραφέντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα.</p> <p>64. οἱ δ’ αὖ Πέρσαι κατὰ τε τὰς εἰσόδους ἐφεπόμενοι ὠθουμένων αὐτῶν πολλοὺς κατεστρώννυσαν, τοὺς δ’ εἰς τὰς τάφρους ἐμπίπτοντας ἐπεισιπιδῶντες ἐφόνευον ἄνδρας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἵππους· ἔνια γὰρ τῶν ἀρμάτων εἰς τὰς</p>
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	<p>ground but turned and fled back into their entrenchments.</p> <p>64. And the Persians on their part, following them up to the gates, mowed many of them down as they were pushing and shoving one another; and upon some who fell into the ditches they leaped down and slew them, both men and horses; for some of the chariots were forced in their flight to plunge into the ditches.</p> <p>65. And when the Median cavalry saw this, they also charged upon the enemy's cavalry; but the latter gave way, like the rest. Then followed a pursuit of horses and men and slaughter of both.</p> <p>66. And those of the Assyrians inside the fort who The panic in the camp stood upon the rampart of the breastworks neither had the presence of mind to shoot arrows or hurl spears at the enemy who were mowing down their ranks, nor had they the strength to do so because of the awful spectacle and their own panic fear.</p>	<p>τάφρους ἡναγκάσθη φεύγοντα ἐμπεσεῖν.</p> <p>65. καὶ οἱ τῶν Μήδων δ' ἱππεῖς ὀρῶντες ταῦτα ἤλαυνον εἰς τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δ' ἐνέκλιναν καὶ αὐτοί. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἵππων διωγμὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ φόνος δὲ ἀμφοτέρων.</p> <p>66. Οἱ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ ἐρύματος τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐστηκότες ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς τάφρου τοξεύειν μὲν ἢ ἀκοντίζειν εἰς τοὺς κατακαίνοντας οὔτε ἐφρόνουν οὔτε ἐδύναντο διὰ τὰ δεινὰ ὀράματα καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον.</p>
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71. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, trans. Brownson, C. (Loeb Classical Library, 2014).

Reference	English translation	Original text
a) Xen. Hell. 2.4.17.	Now, when the right moment comes, I will strike up the paean; and when we call Enyalios ¹ to our aid, then let	ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ἦ παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες

	us all, moved by one spirit, take 404 b.c.vengeance upon these men for the outrages we have suffered.	ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρόμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.
b) Xen. Hell. 4.2.18.	were not in the least eager to join battle.	κατήπειγον τὴν μάχην συνάπτειν·
c) Xen. Hell. 4.2.19.	Now for a time the Lacedaemonians did not perceive that the enemy were advancing; for the place was thickly overgrown; but when the latter struck up the paean, then at length they knew, and immediately gave orders in their turn that all should make ready for battle.	τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ᾔσθάνοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, τότε δὴ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἅπαντας διασκευάζεσθαι ὥς εἰς μάχην.
d) Xen. Hell. 4.3.17.	Now as the opposing armies were coming together, there was deep silence for a time in both lines; but when they were distant from one another about a stadium, the Thebans raised the war-cry and rushed to close quarters on the run.	Συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴ πολλή ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν· ἥνικα δ' ἀπεῖχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάζαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο.
e) Xen. Hell. 4.3.21.	And in the morning Agesilaus gave orders that Gylis, the polemarch, should draw up the army in line of battle and set up a trophy, that all should deck themselves with garlands in honour of the god, and that all the flute-players should play.	πρῶ δὲ Γῦλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τροπαῖον ἵστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν.
f) Xen. Hell. 4.4.12.	For to have a crowd of enemies delivered into their hands, frightened, panic-stricken, presenting their unprotected sides, no one rallying to his own defence, but all rendering all	τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρισθῆναι αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πλῆθος πεφοβημένον, ἐκπεπληγμένον, τὰ γυμνὰ παρέχον, ἐπὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα τρεπόμενον, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀπόλλυσθαι πάντας πάντα

	possible assistance toward their own destruction,—how could one help regarding this as a gift from heaven?	ὑπηρετοῦντας, πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις θεῖον ἡγήσαιτο;
g) Xen. Hell. 4.4.16-17.	for the hoplites of the Arcadians did not come out from their walls at all to meet them; such fear they had conceived of the peltasts. But the peltasts in their turn were so afraid of the Lacedaemonians that they did not approach within a javelin's cast of the hoplites; for it had once happened that the younger men among the Lacedaemonians, pursuing even from so great a distance as that, overtook and killed some of them. But while the Lacedaemonians felt contempt for the peltasts, they felt even greater contempt for their own allies; for once, when the Mantineans went out against peltasts who had sallied forth from the wall that extends to Lechaenum, they had given way under the javelins of the peltasts and some of them had been killed as they fled; so that the Lacedaemonians were even so unkind as to make game of their allies, saying that they feared the peltasts just as children fear hobgoblins.	καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη· ἔξω γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὀπλίται παντάπασι οὐκ ἀντεξῆσαν· οὕτω τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπεφόβηντο. τοὺς μέντοι Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως αὖ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδεδίσαν ὥς ἐντὸς ἀκοντίσματος οὐ προσῆσαν τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἥδη γάρ ποτε καὶ ἐκ τοσούτου διώξαντες οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλόντες ἀπέκτεινάν τινες αὐτῶν. καταφρονοῦντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πελταστῶν, ἔτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἑαυτῶν συμμάχων κατεφρόνουν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Μαντινεῖς βοηθήσαντές ποτε ἐπ' ἐκδραμόντας πελταστὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τείνοντος τείχους, ἀκοντιζόμενοι ἐνέκλιναν τε καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν φεύγοντες· ὥστε οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐπισκώπτειν ἐτόλμων ὥς οἱ σύμμαχοι φοβοῖντο τοὺς πελταστὰς ὥσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια.
h) Xen. Hell. 4.6.11.	But when they were now almost at close quarters with the Lacedaemonian hoplites, they gave	ἐπεὶ μέντοι μικροῦ ἔδεον ἤδη ἐν χερσὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὀπλιτῶν εἶναι, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τριακοσίους.

	way, and there fell on that day about three hundred of them.	
i) Xen. Hell. 4.8.38.	and since he also perceived that all were in a state of terror when they saw the ambush, said to those who were with him.	ὄρων δὲ καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένους ἅπαντας, ὡς εἶδον τὴν ἐνέδραν, εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας·
j) Xen. Hell. 5.2.42.	When the Olynthian horsemen perceived these movements, being seized with fear lest they should be shut out from the gates, they turned about and retired in great haste.	οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἵππεῖς, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖεν τῶν πυλῶν, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν πολλῇ σπουδῇ.
k) Xen. Hell. 5.4.45	So then Phoebidas and two or three with him fell fighting, and when this happened the mercenaries all took to flight. And when as they fled they came to the hoplites of the Thespians, these also, though previously they had been quite proudly confident that they would not give way before the Thebans, took to flight without so much as being pursued at all.	καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Φοιβίδας καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τούτου γενομένου πάντες ἔφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τῶν Θεσπιῶν, κάκεῖνοι, μάλα πρόσθεν μέγα φρονοῦντες μὴ ὑπεῖξεν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἔφυγον, οὐδέν τι πάνυ διωκόμενοι
l) Xen. Hell. 7.1.31.	When these words had been spoken, it is said that from a clear sky there came lightnings and thunderings of favourable omen for him; and it chanced also that on the right wing was a sanctuary and a statue of Heracles. As a result, therefore, of all these things, it is reported that the soldiers were inspired with so much strength and courage that it was a task for their leaders to restrain them as they pushed forward to the front.	τούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων ἐξ αἰθρίας ἀστραπὰς τε καὶ βροντὰς λέγουσιν αἰσίους αὐτῷ φανῆναι· συνέβη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τέμενός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους εἶναι, τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων πάντων οὕτω πολὺ μένος καὶ θάρρος τοῖς στρατιώταις φασὶν ἐμπεσεῖν ὥστ' ἔργον εἶναι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀνείργειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠθουμένους εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν.

m) Xen. Hell. 7.2.21-22.	Chares and the seer met them and said that the sacrifices were favourable. "Wait for us," they said, "for we, too, will set forth at once." And as soon as word had been given by the herald, Chares' mercenaries also speedily rushed out with a kind of heaven-sent eagerness.	ὁ Χάρης καὶ ὁ μάντις, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. Ἀλλὰ περιμένετε, ἔφασαν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔξιμεν. ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐκηρύχθη, θείᾳ τινὶ προθυμίᾳ καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι ταχὺ ἐξέδραμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Χάρης ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι
n) Xen. Hell. 7.2.23.	The latter accordingly made their dinner off these provisions and more which came from home, and after pouring libations in honour of their good fortune, singing a paean, and posting guards, they went to sleep.	κάκεῖνοι μὲν ταῦτα δειπνήσαντες καὶ οἴκοθεν ἄλλα ἐλθόντα, ὥς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ σπείσαντες καὶ παιανίσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι, κατέδραμον.
o) Xen. Hell. 7.5.20.	the hoplites of the Arcadians painted clubs upon their shields, as though they were Thebans, and all alike sharpened their spears and daggers and burnished their shields.	ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὀπλῖται ρόπαλα, ὥς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες, πάντες δὲ ἤκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας.
p) Xen. Hell. 7.5.24.	The Arcadians on their side stood in close order, just as they were, and while inferior in numbers, they were in better spirits by far, since they had attacked a foe who retreated and had killed men. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, were exceedingly despondent, for they saw that Archidamus was wounded and they had heard the names of the dead, who were not only brave men but well nigh their most distinguished.	καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὥσπερ εἶχον, συντεταγμένοι ἕστασαν, καὶ πλήθει μὲν ἐλείποντο, εὐθυμότερον δὲ πολὺ εἶχον, ἐπεληλυθότες ἀποχωροῦσι καὶ ἄνδρας ἀπεκτονότες. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλα ἀθύμως εἶχον, τετρωμένον μὲν ὄρωντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀκηκοότες δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν τεθνηκότων, ἀνδρῶν τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ σχεδὸν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων.

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