

## A “LOCAL MODEL” OF ROMAN COURAGE

Thursday, April 3, 2014

### I. LATIN’S METAPHORS OF COURAGE AND COWARDICE

#### 1. VERTICAL ORIENTATION:

##### A. ‘COURAGE IS UP(RIGHTNESS)’, e.g.:

- (1) *sive libertini ante vos habentur sive servi sive exterarum gentium homines, erigite audacter animos*, “Whether your ancestors were freedmen, or slaves, or foreigners, pluck up your courage” (Sen. *Ben.* 3.28.3);
- (2) *exprobrando hosti Marcellus suorum militum animos erigeret*, “By reviling the enemy, Marcellus inspired the courage of his own men” (Liv. *AUC.* 23.45.5);
- (3) *erexerant omnium animos Scipio et Hannibal uelut ad supremum certamen* “Scipio and Hannibal inspired the courage of all for, as it were, the final combat” (Liv. *AUC.* 30.28.8);
- (4) *pariter senior Phoebeaque uirgo erexere animos*, “Together the aged man and Phoebus’ maiden plucked up their courage” (Stat. *Theb.* 4.489);
- (5) *Parthi clade Crassiana altius animos erexerant*, “The Parthians took courage at Crassus’ demise” (Flor. *Ep.* 2.19);
- (6) *Postumius proelio . . . oblata specie duorum in equis iuuenum animos suorum erexit*, “During the battle, Postumius gave courage to his men by pointing out the appearance of two youths on horseback” (Front. *Strat.* 1.11.8);
- (7) *quotiens mehercule haec vulnera et rorantia hostili cruore arma conspexi, animum . . . erigo*, “As many times, by Hercules, as I gaze upon these wounds and these weapons wet with my enemy’s blood, I take courage” (Quint. *Decl. mai.* 4.8);
- (8) *proeliaque superiora commemorans blandeque appellans animos eorum excitabat*, “Reminding them of earlier battles and flattering them, he gave them courage” (Anon. *Bell. Afr.* 81.2).
- (9) *Teucri clamore sequuntur . . . animosque ad sidera tollunt*, “The Teucrians follow with a shout and take great courage” (Verg. *Aen.* 9.636-7);
- (10) *stupet inscius ipse Tros Anchisiades, animos tamen omine tollit*, “The Trojan, Anchises’ son, stood bewildered, but took courage from the omen” (Verg. *Aen.* 10.240-50);

##### B. ‘COWARDICE IS DOWN(WARDNESS)’, e.g.:

- (11) *ibi minus etiam quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi certaminis fuit*, “As they (sc. the Crustumini) had lost courage for the fight due to the defeat of their neighbors, there was even less resistance there” (Liv. *AUC.* 1.11.3);

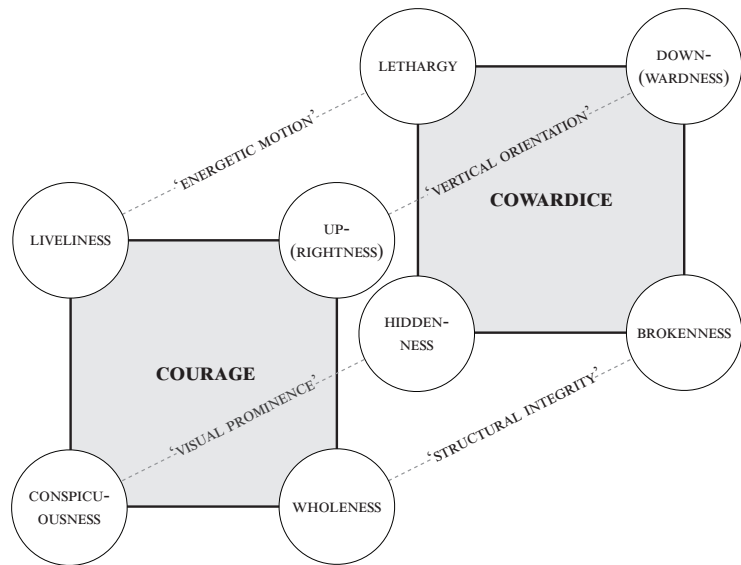


Figure 1: Source domains providing images to the conceptualization of COURAGE and COWARDICE

- (12) *paucos circumsessum dies deditur, nulla oppugnantium noua ui, sed quod iam inde ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant animi*, “After a few days of siege, the place (sc. Antium) was surrendered, not because of any unusual effort by the besiegers, but simply because the enemy had been sapped of courage by fruitless fighting and the loss of their camp” (Liv. *AUC.* 2.65.7);
- (13) *at sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis / deriguit: cecidere animi*, “The blood of my companions thickened, cold from sudden fear, and they lost courage” (Verg. *Aen.* 3.259–60);
- (14) *tela viris animique cadunt*, “Their weapons fell and they lost courage” (Ov. *Fast.* 3.225);
- (15) *litteris perlectis Domitius dissimulans in consilio pronuntiat Pompeium celeriter subsidio venturum hortaturque eos ne animo deficiant*, “Domitius, purusing the despatches, thought proper to dissemble the contents and declares in council that Pompey will speedy come to their assistance and exhorts them not to give up courage” (Caes. *BC.* 1.19.1);
- (16) *his rebus cognitis Marcius Rufus quaestor in castris relictus a Curione cohortatur suos, ne animo deficiant*, “When this disaster was known, Marcius Rufus, the quaestor, whom Curio had left to guard the camp, entreated his men not to lose courage” (Caes. *BC.* 2.43.1);
- (17) *haec dum apud hostes geruntur, Pothinus, cum ad Achillam nuntios mitteret hortareturque, ne negotio desisteret neve animo deficeret . . . a Caesare est interfectus*, “During these transactions, Pothinus, being discovered in a clandestine correspondence with Achilles, whom he exhorted not to cease from their design and not to abandon courage . . . was killed by Caesar” (Caes. *BC.* 3.112.12);
- (18) *re in secunda tollere animos, in mala d<e>mittere*, “To be emboldened when things go well, to lose courage when they go badly” (Luc. *Sat. fr.* 27.9 = Non. 286M);
- (19) *postero die concilio convocato consolatus cohortatusque est, ne se admodum animo demitterent*, “Having convened an assembly on the following day, he (sc. Vercingetorix) consoled and exhorted his men not to lose courage” (Caes. *BG.* 7.29.1);
- (20) *neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus aut magis quam antea demisso animo fuit*, “Marius, in this desperate circumstance, was not any more frightened or lacking of courage than on any previous occasion” (Sal. *Jug.* 98).

## 2. STRUCTURAL INTEGRITY:

### A. ‘COURAGE IS WHOLENESS’, e.g.:

- (1) *firmans animum sic incipit ipsa*, “Taking courage, she (sc. Cyrene) thus begins” (Verg. *Georg.* 4.386);
- (2) *confirmato animo vocari ad sese iubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium itemque Caeparium Terracinensem*, “Emboldened, he (sc. Cicero) orders Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinus, as well as a certain Caeparius of Terracina, to be brought before him” (Sal. *Cat.* 46.3);
- (3) *non parare arma, non adloquio exercitioque militem firmare*, “He (sc. Vitellius) did not ready his arms, nor give courage to his soldiers by speeches or training exercises” (Tac. *Hist.* 3.36);
- (4) *Eumenes <consuli> suadere, ut trans Peneum transferret castra, ut pro munimento amnem haberet, dum percussi milites animos colligerent*, “d” (Liv. *AUC.* 42.60.3).
- (5) *hi iuebunt . . . animum indurare*, “They (sc. Chrysippus and Posidonius) will command you to pluck up your courage” (Sen. *EM.* 104.22);
- (6) *quem levat exceptum Graeis inimicus Apollo / integratque animum*, “Apollo, enemy of the Greeks, lightens him taken away and renews his courage” (Hom. *Lat. Il.* 614–15);
- (7) *qua constantia redintegratis animis suorum vicit*, “He was victorious because of his resolve and the restored courage of his men” (Front. *Strat.* 2.7.11).
- (8) *cuius adventu spe inlata militibus ac redintegrato animo*, “His (sc. Caesar’s) arrival brought hope and renewed courage to his soldiers” (Caes. *BG.* 2.25.3);

### B. ‘COWARDICE IS BROKENNESS’, e.g.:

- (9) *nam illa quidem piget dicere . . . ut vobis animus . . . corruptus sit*, “For it grieves me to relate . . . how you have lost your courage” (Sal. *Jug.* 31);
- (10) *nam exercitu impigre scripto ductoque ad Bolas cum leuibus proeliis Aequorum animos fregisset, postremo in oppidum inrupit*, “For he was energetic in raising an army and leading it to Bolae, where, after robbing the Aequi of their courage in skirmishing, he finally forced an entrance into the town” (Liv. *AUC.* 4.49.9);

- (11) *conspicuum tam triste supplicium fregit animos Campanorum*, “The sight of so merciless a punishment robbed the Capuans of their courage” (Liv. AUC. 26.13.1);
- (12) *nec Boi detrectassent pugnam, ni fama Insubres uictos allata animos fregisset*, “The Boians would not have declined the contest if the news that the Insubres had been defeated had not robbed them of their courage” (Liv. AUC. 32.31.2);
- (13) *non tamen ita infregit animos eorum, ut absisterent imperio*, “Yet he did not cow them so thoroughly that they refrained from exercising their power” (Liv. AUC. 38.16.14);
- (14) *quae vos subito tam foeda senectus / corripuit fregitque animos?* “What so foul old age suddenly deprives you of your courage?” (Val. Flacc. Arg. 6.283–84);
- (15) *Hannibal magis vires Romanorum contudit quam animos fregit*, “Hannibal broke the strength of the Romans more than he robbed them of their courage” (Val. Max. Mem. 3.2.11);
- (16) *frangit et attollit vires in milite causa*, “A soldier’s cause either gives him courage or robs him of it” (Prop. Carm. 5.6.51);
- (17) *murcus*, “coward” (Amm. Marcell. Res Gestae 15.12.3, *aliquando quisquam in Italia munus Martium pertimescens pollicem sibi praecidit, quos iocaliter murcos appellant*) < *mulcare*, “strike, maul, mutilate”? (Fay 1905, 398).

### 3. VISUAL PROMINENCE:

#### A. ‘COURAGE IS CONSPICUOUSNESS’, e.g.:

- (1) *fac animo magno fortique sis*, “Be sure you keep up your courage” (Cic. Fam. 6.14.3);
- (2) *magno animo et erecto est, nec umquam succumbet inimicis, ne fortunae quidem*, “He (sc. Deiotarus) is a man of great courage, and will never succumb to his enemies, nor even to fortune” (Cic. Deiot. 36);
- (3) *praemittit ad Boios qui de suo adventu doceant hortenturque ut . . . hostium impetum magno animo sustineant*, “He (sc. Caesar) sends forth messengers to the Boii to inform them of his arrival and encourage them to . . . resist the attack of the enemy bravely” (Caes. BG. 7.10);
- (4) *igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia prope iam extincta maiorum ignavia, litteris Graecis atque Latinis iuxta eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior*, “Sulla, then, was of patrician descent, but of a family almost sunk in obscurity by the cowardice of his ancestors; he was skilled equally in Greek and Latin literature, and a man of courage, fond of pleasure but fonder of glory” (Sal. Jug. 95.3);
- (5) *tum Magnum concitus aufert / a bello sonipes non tergo tela pauentem / ingentisque animos extrema in fata ferentem*, “Then his swift steed bears Pompey from the battle, not fearing the weapons at his back, and courageous in the face of final doom” (Luc. BC. 7.677–79);
- (6) *o praestans animi iuvenis*, “Oh youth outstanding in courage!” (Verg. Aen. 12.19);
- (7) *ex Macedonia CC erant, quibus Rhascypolis praeerat, excellenti virtute*, “Two hundred (cavalry) were from Macedonia, commanded by Bascipolis, an offer of distinct courage” (Caes. BC. 3.4.4);
- (8) *Caesar existimabat eo proelio excellentissimam virtutem Crastini fuisse*, “Caesar considered the courage of Crastinus to have been outstanding in that battle” (3.99.3);
- (9) *etenim in populum Romanum grave est non posse uti sociis excellenti virtute praeditis*, “It is a grave concern for the Roman people not to be able to rely on allies endowed with great courage” (Cic. Balb. 24);
- (10) *increscunt animi, virescit volnere virtus*, “Men are emboldened and take courage from a wound” (Fur. Ant. Carm. 3);
- (11) *Veii interim non animi tantum in dies sed etiam vires crescebant*, “At Veii, meanwhile, they were gathering not only courage from day to day but also their forces” (Liv. AUC. 5.46.4);
- (12) *veritus ne vanis tot conatibus suorum et hostibus cresceret animus et signior miles fieret*, “he (sc. Scipio) feared that the enemy would be emboldened by his own men’s so many futile attempts” (Liv. AUC. 28.19.16);
- (13) *praesidio legionum addito nostris animus augetur*, “The courage of our men is increased by the additional support of the legions” (Caes. BG. 7.70.3);
- (14) *nuntius deinde et vincentibus Romanis animos auxit*, “The messenger emboldened the Romans even then as they were winning” (Val. Flac. Arg. 4.651);

#### B. ‘COWARDICE IS HIDDENNESS’, e.g.:

- (15) *quid ergo ille ignavissimus / mihi latitabat?* “Why is that coward hiding from me?” (Plaut. Trin. 926–27);

- (16) *utrum inclusum atque abditum latere in occulto atque ignaviam suam tenebrarum ac parietum custodiis tegere?* “Was he to lurk about in the dark, shut in and hidden, concealing his own cowardice with the safeguards of shadows and walls?” (Cic. *Rab.* 21);
- (17) *non in ore vulgi agere, sed umbraculis hortorum abditus, ut ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggeras, iacent torpentque*, “He (sc. Vitellius) did not keep himself before the eyes of the people, but buried in the shades of his gardens, like those cowardly animals which, if you supply them with food, lie motionless and still” (Tac. *Hist.* 3.36);
- (18) Paul. Fest. p. 50, 13 Müller: *cussilirem pro ignavo dicebant antiqui*. Vaniček 1874: 307, “sich deckend, verbergend” < \*skeu- (cf. Lat. *obscurus* “dark, concealed”, Skt. *skunomi* “conceal”).

#### 4. ENERGETIC MOTION:

##### A. ‘COURAGE IS LIVELINESS’, e.g.:

- (1) *multo maior alacritas studiumque pugnandi maius exercitui iniectum est*, “A much greater courage and eagerness for battle was infused into our army” (Caes. *BG.* 1.46.4);
- (2) *est quaedam animi incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus, quae studio pugnae incenditur*, “There is a certain energy and courage innate to every man, which is inflamed by the desire of fighting” (Caes. *BC.* 3.92.4);
- (3) *eorum sectam sequuntur multi mortales / multi alii e Troia strenui viri*, “Many people followed their band out of Troy, many other brave men” (Naev. *Bell. Pun.* fr. 5 Morel);
- (4) *at ex agricolis viri fortissimi et milites strenuissimi gignuntur*, “From farmers come strong men and the bravest soldiers” (Cat. *RR.* pr.4);
- (5) *strenuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis / clarus*, “Philip, brave and strong and famed for pleading cases” (Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.46–47)
- (6) *strenui ignavique in victoria idem audent*, “The brave and the cowardly are equally daring in victory” (Tac. *Hist.* 2.14)
- (7) *neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere malle ubiquid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset*, “Whenever courage and resolution were needed, Hasdrubal never cared to entrust the command to any one else” (Liv. *AUC.* 21.4.4);

##### B. ‘COWARDICE IS LETHARGY’, e.g.:

- (8) *conpertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri*, “I am well aware, soldiers, that words do not bring courage, and that a brave army cannot be made of a cowardly one simply by a speech of its commander” (Sal. *Cat.* 58.2);
- (9) *adeo ignavissimos hostes magis timetis quam Iovem Martemque per quos iurastis?*, “Do you then fear the most cowardly of enemies more than Jupiter and Mars, by whom you swore?” (Liv. *AUC.* 2.46.5);
- (10) *Postumius suis in tutum receptis cum contione aduocata terrorem increparet ac fugam, fusos esse ab ignavissimo ac fugacissimo hoste*, “Postumius having rallied his men in a position of safety, called them together and upbraided them for their fearful retreat, telling them they had been scattered by a most cowardly foe and one prone to flee” (Liv. *AUC.* 5.28.8);
- (11) *indignum esse ab homine ignavissimo virum fortissimum Aiacem necatum*, “It is a scandalous thing that the bravest of men, Ajax, should have been slain by the most cowardly” (Cic. *Inv.* 1.92);
- (12) *nec Turnum segnis retinet mora*, “Nor does any cowardly delay hold Turnus back” (Verg. *Aen.* 10.308);
- (13) *tam sis hostis iners, quam malus hospes eras*, “Be as cowardly an enemy as you were evil a guest!” (Ov. *Ep.* 13.44);

## II. HORATIUS AND SCAEVOLA AS EXEMPLA OF COURAGE?

### A. Cocles < κύκλωψ, “One-Eyed”; Scaevola < *scaevus* “Left-Handed”: ‘COWARDICE IS BROKENNESS’

### B. Horatius hurls himself down into the river: ‘COWARDICE IS DOWN(WARDNESS)’

Liv. *AUC.* 2.10.11, *in Tiberium desiluit*; Plut. *Publ.* 16.8, ἀφείς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν; Sen. *Ep.* 120.7, *iecitque se in praecipit*; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.24.3, καθάλλεται . . . εἰς τὸν ποταμόν; Frontin. *Strat.* 2.13.5, *deiecit se in alveum*; Serv. in *Aen.* 8.649, *se . . . praecipitavit in Tiberim*; *De vir. ill.* 11: *in Tiberim decidit*.

c. Scaevola disguises himself to enter the Etruscan camp: ‘COWARDICE IS HIDDENNESS’

Val. Max. *Mem.* 3.3.1, *cum a Porsenna rege Etruscorum urbem nostram gravi ac diutino bello urgueri aegre ferret, castra eius clam ferro cinctus intravit immolantemque ante altaria conatus occidere est*, “Since he (sc. Mucius) was taking it badly that our city was being oppressed by Porsenna, the Etruscan king, in a long, harsh war, he **secretly** entered Porsenna’s camp, armed with a sword, and tried to kill him while he was sacrificing at an altar”.

Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.27.4, τὸ δ’ ἐγχείρημά μου τοιόνδε ἐστίν. **αὐτομόλου σχῆμα μέλλω λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακατῶν Τυρρηγῶν πορεύεσθαι**, “My intention is this. I propose to go **under the guise of a deserter** to the camp of the Etruscans”.

Plut. *Publ.* 17.2, ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ τὸν Πορσίνναν ἀνελεῖν, παρεισῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, **Τυρρηνίδα φορῶν ἐσθῆτα καὶ φωνῆ χρώμενος ὁμοία**.

Liv. AUC. 2.12.5, *abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur*.

Flor. *Ep.* 1.4.10, *Mucius Scaevola regem per insidias in castris ipsius adgreditur*.

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