

NUOVA **ANTOLOGIA**   
**MILITARE**  
RIVISTA INTERDISCIPLINARE DELLA SOCIETÀ ITALIANA DI STORIA MILITARE

N. 2  
2021

Fascicolo 6. Marzo 2021  
**Storia Militare Antica**



*Società Italiana di Storia Militare*

Direttore scientifico Virgilio Ilari  
Vicedirettore scientifico Giovanni Brizzi  
Direttore responsabile Gregory Claude Alegi  
Redazione Viviana Castelli

*Consiglio Scientifico.* Presidente: Massimo De Leonardis.

*Membri stranieri:* Christopher Bassford, Floribert Baudet, Stathis BIRTHACAS, Jeremy Martin Black, Loretana de Libero, Magdalena de Pazzis Pi Corrales, Gregory Hanlon, John Hattendorf, Yann Le Bohec, Aleksei Nikolaevič Lobin, Prof. Armando Marques Guedes, Prof. Dennis Showalter (†). *Membri italiani:* Livio Antonielli, Antonello Folco Biagini, Aldino Bondesan, Franco Cardini, Piero Cimbolli Spagnesi, Piero del Negro, Giuseppe De Vergottini, Carlo Galli, Roberta Ivaldi, Nicola Labanca, Luigi Loreto, Gian Enrico Rusconi, Carla Sodini, Donato Tamblé,

*Comitato consultivo sulle scienze militari e gli studi di strategia, intelligence e geopolitica:* Lucio Caracciolo, Flavio Carbone, Basilio Di Martino, Antulio Joseph Echevarria II, Carlo Jean, Gianfranco Linzi, Edward N. Luttwak, Matteo Paesano, Ferdinando Sanfelice di Monteforte.

*Consulenti di aree scientifiche interdisciplinari:* Donato Tamblé (Archival Sciences), Piero Cimbolli Spagnesi (Architecture and Engineering), Immacolata Eramo (Philology of Military Treatises), Simonetta Conti (Historical Geo-Cartography), Lucio Caracciolo (Geopolitics), Jeremy Martin Black (Global Military History), Elisabetta Focchi Malaspina (History of International Law of War), Gianfranco Linzi (Intelligence), Elena Franchi (Memory Studies and Anthropology of Conflicts), Virgilio Ilari (Military Bibliography), Luigi Loreto (Military Historiography), Basilio Di Martino (Military Technology and Air Studies), John Brewster Hattendorf (Naval History and Maritime Studies), Elina Gugliuzzo (Public History), Vincenzo Lavenia (War and Religion), Angela Teja (War and Sport), Stefano Pisu (War Cinema), Giuseppe Della Torre (War Economics).

#### *Nuova Antologia Militare*

Rivista interdisciplinare della Società Italiana di Storia Militare  
Periodico telematico open-access annuale ([www.nam-sism.org](http://www.nam-sism.org))  
Registrazione del Tribunale Ordinario di Roma n. 06 del 30 Gennaio 2020



Direzione, Via Bosco degli Arvali 24, 00148 Roma  
Contatti: [direzione@nam-sigm.org](mailto:direzione@nam-sigm.org) ; [virgilio.ilari@gmail.com](mailto:virgilio.ilari@gmail.com)

© 2020 Società Italiana di Storia Militare  
([www.societaitalianastoriamilitare@org](http://www.societaitalianastoriamilitare@org))

Grafica: Nadir Media Srl - Via Giuseppe Veronese, 22 - 00146 Roma  
[info@nadirmedia.it](mailto:info@nadirmedia.it)

Gruppo Editoriale Tab Srl - Lungotevere degli Anguillara, 11 - 00153 Roma  
[www.tabedizioni.it](http://www.tabedizioni.it)

ISSN: 2704-9795

ISBN Fascicolo 6: 978-88-9295-139-6

NUOVA **ANTOLOGIA**   
**MILITARE**  
RIVISTA INTERDISCIPLINARE DELLA SOCIETÀ ITALIANA DI STORIA MILITARE

N. 2  
2021

Fascicolo 6. Marzo 2021  
**Storia Militare Antica**



*Società Italiana di Storia Militare*

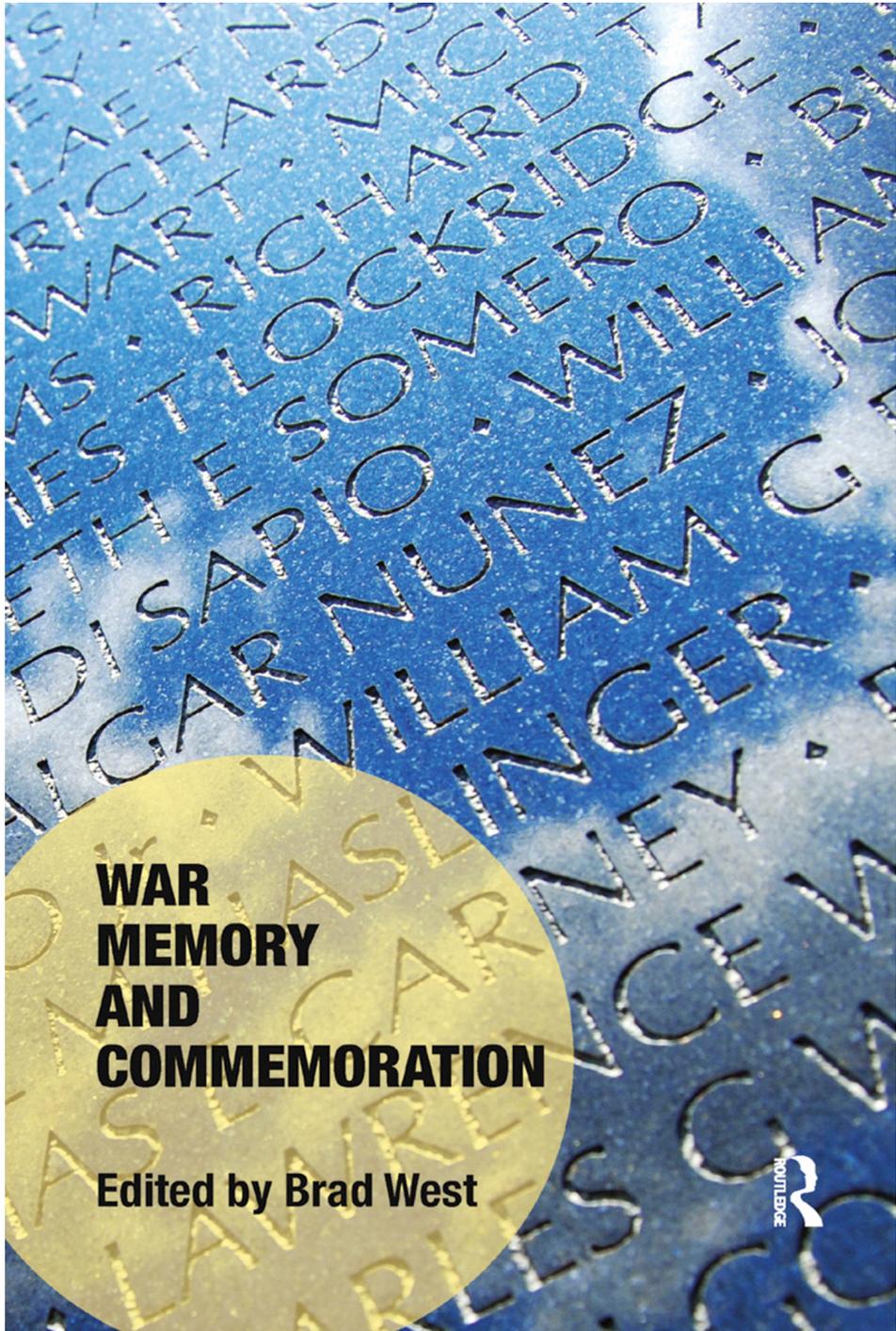


*Scutum* di Dura Europos, unico esemplare pervenuto.

Photo credit: Yale University Art Gallery, licensed in public domain (unrestricted).  
Wikimedia commons

*Memory Studies  
and Anthropology of Conflicts*





*Memory Studies and Anthropology of Conflicts*  
*PhD theses and dissertations (abstracts)*

ed. by ELENA FRANCHI

GEDGAUDAITĖ, Kristina, *Smyrna in Your Pocket: Memory of Asia Minor in Contemporary Greek Culture* (2019).<sup>1</sup>

This thesis turns to a watershed in the history of modern Greece – its defeat in the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) and the population exchange that followed – as remembered in present-day Greece. On the one hand, it describes how family memories find their way into cultural representations and provide a language as well as a form for other reminiscences. On the other hand, it aims to show how those cultural representations participate in wider transformations that occur in the public sphere. Methodological tools developed in the field of cultural memory studies are coupled with insights drawn from history, psychology and anthropology. Within this interdisciplinary framework, the memory of Asia Minor emerges as reflective of present-day ideologies and responsive to contemporary concerns.

The introduction sets the discussion in a wider context, providing historical background of the Greco-Turkish War and outlining the ways in which its memory has been reworked in history and culture from 1922 until the present day. Different mnemonic communities that have assembled around the memory of Asia Minor are discussed in Chapter 2, by drawing on the controversy over a history textbook that ensued in 2006-2007. Chapter 3 uses an example of a graphic novel in order to foreground the aesthetic and memory practices that

---

1 GEDGAUDAITE, KRISTINA ([kg13@princeton.edu](mailto:kg13@princeton.edu)). *Smyrna in Your Pocket: Memory of Asia Minor in Contemporary Greek Culture*. PhD thesis, University of Oxford, Merton College, Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages, 2019; 245 leaves : illustrations ; 31 cm. Supervisor: Professor Dimitris Papanikolaou  
<https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:864a8d4f-0e50-4241-8552-50bef1077f95>

Asia Minor sets in motion when the relay of remembrance reaches the third generation. Chapter 4 discusses the memory of the cosmopolitan Ottoman port of Smyrna on theatre stage and proposes memory as a portable toolkit for bearing witness in the future. Chapter 5 puts this premise to the test in the context of the refugee crisis as it unfolded in Greece in 2015.

LEVIN, Itamar, *The Missing Body: Cenotaphs in Archaic and Classical Greece*, 2019.<sup>2</sup>

Cenotaphs were empty graves erected for those whose body was not available for burial. They were an essential part of the topography and culture of ancient Greece due to the civilization's mobile nature. Since "corpseless" burials are purely symbolic, cenotaphs distill the cultural values of mortuary practices. This study clarifies the social functions of empty graves by focusing on three categories: the Homeric warriors, heroes, and soldiers.

Homeric belief determined that the deceased could not enter Hades without due rites. This belief also had legal ramifications: the funeral confirmed the dedicatee's death and, consequently, changed the kinspersons' legal status. Subsequently, a ceremony had to take place regardless of the remains' location. Likewise, tumuli, even empty ones, celebrated the dedicatee's greatness and could ensure the endurance of their name. Thus, holding two, or even more, grave-markers was a symbol of status.

Towards the dawn of the Archaic period, the practice of hero cult emerged. The cult took place at the deceased's grave. Although the sites' power is traditionally attributed to the inhumated bones, some plots were considered empty. Therefore, the power invested in the *hêrôieon* could stem simply from the association of the plot with a powerful dedicatee. The recurrent motif of acquiring heroes' remains *qua* relics served as an explanation for the introduction of a new cult. Etiologies for cenotaphic *hêrôiea* include: 1) the hero's affiliation with the city, 2) a point of translation, and 3) an oracle.

---

2 LEVIN, Itamar ([itamar\\_levin@brown.edu](mailto:itamar_levin@brown.edu)). *The Missing Body: Cenotaphs in Archaic and Classical Greece*. MA thesis, Tel Aviv University, Department of Classics, 2019. 99 pages. Supervisor: Prof. Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz.

Alongside exceptional mythological and historical warriors, ordinary soldiers could also be commemorated with a cenotaph. War dead were usually buried collectively, and the absentees shared a cenotaphic polyandrion, separately or with their fellows' remains. In addition to the communal grave, families erected private cenotaphs. These markers conveyed political messages, displaying death in war as a token of civic loyalty and individual valor.

CHENQING, AN, *Has War Ever Gone? 'War Memory' in Xenophon's Anabasis* (2021)<sup>3</sup>.

Throughout the history of humanity, the motivation for constructing new versions of memory has never withered away and remains as strong as the desire to remember the past. By undertaking a case study of 'war memory' in Xenophon's book, this essay launches a discussion concerning Greeks' understanding of 'Memory' within the context of Greek historiographical tradition and thus is divided into two parts: Firstly, by focusing on the two functions (as morale enhancer and deterrent) of 'war memory', I investigate in detail how Xenophon, as the *character* (and other figures), used the rhetorical past as a means to cope with different situations they faced during '*the Long March*'; In Part Two, I take a closer look at Xenophon's reflection, as the *narrator*, on the war memory in the form of 'prospective memory' via a specific dialogue between Clearchus and Phalinius (Xen. *Anab.* 2.1.15–23). Compared with Herodotus' criticism of the rhetorical usage of the past, based on Jonas Grethlein's (2010) arguments and the favorable attitude towards future memory (via the cases of Leonidas and Callimachus), I argue that the explicit criticism of prospective memory precepted from Xenophon's narrative actually reveals his deeper reflection on the meaning of memory, which is set within in a broader chronological context.

Overall, through the application of the new concepts of 'prospective memory', we can not only gain a general picture of the ways in which the

---

3 CHENQING, AN, AN ([chenqing.an.20@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:chenqing.an.20@ucl.ac.uk)). *Has War Ever Gone? 'War Memory' in Xenophon's Anabasis*. MA Thesis, University College London, Department of History, 2021. Supervisor: Dr. Nicolette Pavlides.

war memory is used, but also facilitate a new appreciation of the distinctions between Xenophon's dualistic roles as both a character ('He-Xenophon') and a narrator ('I-Xenophon') in the *Anabasis*. Therefore, memory is not utterly divorced from the present time, instead it plays an extremely significant role in the conceptualization of our temporality, which continuously exerts its prospective power on each recipient of the Xenophon's *Anabasis*.



Particolare della c. d. "Tomba di Annibale", moderno cenotafio eretto da Kemal Ataturk a Gebze, l'antica Libyssa in Bitinia, dove avvenne il suicidio del condottiero cartaginese (182 a. C.).  
Foto William Neuheusel (USA), 2012, licensed in public domain (Creative Commons).



Archimede prima di essere ucciso da un soldato romano.

Scanned by Szilas from the book J. M. Roberts:

*Kelet-Ázsia és a klasszikus Görögország (East Asia and Classical Greece).*

Licensed in public domain (Wikimedia Commons).

# Storia militare antica

## Articles

- *The battle mechanics of the Hoplite Phalanx*  
by MANOUSOS E. KAMBOURIS and SPYROS G. BAKAS
  - *I limiti di una Grande Strategia: Considerazioni militari e ambizioni politiche allo scoppio della seconda guerra punica*  
di MICHELE BELLOMO
  - *The Sun of Rome is Set: Memories of the Battle of Cannae and the Anxieties of Ammianus Marcellinus and Claudian*  
by Keenan BACA-WINTERS
  - *The Legions of Cannae. The First Professional Army of the Republic*  
by SAMUEL ROCCA
  - *L'appellativo atipico della Legio IV Scythica,*  
di MAURIZIO COLOMBO
  - *Les décurions de l'armée romaine d'Afrique-Numidie sous le Haut Empire*  
par YANN LE BOHEC
  - *Distribución espacial del reclutamiento romano a mediados del siglo II AD*  
por ANDRÉS SÁEZ GEOFFROY
  - *Los visigodos del reino de Toulouse o como controlar la Prefectura de las Galias con fuerzas mínimas*  
por FERNANDO LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ
  - *Les Foederati dans la Bataille des Champs Catalauniques*  
par GUILLAUME SARTOR
  - *The Onager, according to Ammianus Marcellinus: A critical reconstruction*  
by MARC CHERRETTÉ
  - *L'aphlustre. Simbolo di potenza della nave da guerra nell'antichità*  
di MASSIMO CORRADI e CLAUDIA TACHELLA
- 
- *Memory Studies and Anthropology of Conflicts. PhD theses and dissertations (abstracts),*  
[ELENA FRANCHI]
- 

## Reviews

- YANN LE BOHEC, *Le vie quotidienne des soldats romains à l'apogée de l'Empire. 31 avant J.-C. -235 après J.-C.*  
[CLAUDIO VACANTI]
- YANN LE BOHEC, *La première marine de guerre romaine. Des origines à 241 av. J.-C.*  
[DOMENICO CARRO]
- IMMACOLATA ERAMO, *Exempla per vincere e dove trovarli. Gli Strategemata di Frontino*  
[ANDREA MADONNA]
- GIOVANNI BRIZZI, *Andare per le vie militari Romane*  
[FABRIZIO LUSANI]
- CRISTIANO BETTINI, *Oltre il fiume Oceano. Uomini e navi alla conquista della Britannia*  
[ALESSANDRO CARLI]
- GABRIELE BRUSA,  
• *Le coorti nell'esercito romano di età repubblicana*  
[FRANCESCO ROSSI]
- UMBERTO ROBERTO, *Il secolo dei Vandali*  
[FABIANA ROSACI]
- ROEL KONIJNENDIJK, *Classical Greek Tactics. A Cultural History*  
[VINCENZO MICALETTI]
- MARC G. DESANTIS, *Naval History of the Peloponnesian War*  
[ALESSANDRO CARLI]
- DAVID M. PRITCHARD, *Athenian Democracy at War*  
[ALESSANDRO PERUCCA]
- LEE L. BRICE, *New Approaches to Greek and Roman Warfare*  
[VINCENZO MICALETTI]