

Title Page

**Echoes of the *salpinx*:
the trumpet in ancient Greek culture.**

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Declaration of Authorship

I Carolyn Susan Bowyer hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

**Echoes of the *salpinx*:
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Abstract

The trumpet from the 5th century BC in ancient Greece, the *salpinx*, has been largely ignored in modern scholarship.

My thesis begins with the origins and physical characteristics of the Greek trumpet, comparing trumpets from other ancient cultures. I then analyse the sounds made by the trumpet, and the emotions caused by these sounds, noting the growing sophistication of the language used by Greek authors. In particular, I highlight its distinctively Greek association with the human voice. I discuss the range of signals and instructions given by the trumpet on the battlefield, demonstrating a developing technical vocabulary in Greek historiography. In my final chapter, I examine the role of the trumpet in peacetime, playing its part in athletic competitions, sacrifice, ceremonies, entertainment and ritual.

The thesis re-assesses and illustrates the significant and varied roles played by the trumpet in Greek culture.

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Introduction.

'It is by courtesy that we give attention to the trumpet, as it was not used for musical purposes but only for giving signals, especially for battle and in certain ritual and ceremonial contexts'.¹

West's assertion forms the starting point for my research on the ancient Greek trumpet, the *salpinx*. His informative book on Greek music and instruments gives a wealth of detail about the *kithara* and the *aulos*. He also describes other Greek instruments, but offers very little information about the trumpet. The implication of his words 'by courtesy' is, therefore, that his inclusion of the trumpet is almost an afterthought. In my thesis I aim to correct this "negative" attitude towards the instrument. I explore the many aspects of the trumpet that can be found in ancient Greek culture: the physical characteristics of the instrument; the language used in the descriptions of the sounds it made; the emotions caused by these sounds; the variations in the vocabulary used for the signals made by the instrument; the contexts in which it was played, and those who played it. A mass of ancient source material shows that the trumpet was used for signalling on the battlefield. However, I shall demonstrate other uses in Greek culture, and in addition that, even on the battlefield, its uses were more varied than is often believed.

Ancient evidence

Throughout the thesis I focus on Greek evidence, with some Roman for comparison. My literary sources include historiography, technical treatises and fictional texts. Some difficulties arise in handling some of my ancient source material, because a few writers (for example, Pausanias and Plutarch), appear to base some of their comments simply on hearsay. Despite this, much valuable information can be gleaned about how the trumpet and its sounds were perceived by the Greeks.

For the *salpinx* on the battlefield, the works of Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, and Polybius are key sources. We may note here, however, that Herodotus never and Thucydides rarely mentions the trumpet. Xenophon indeed developed a sophisticated vocabulary for the description of trumpet signals, which is echoed by Diodorus, Polybius, and several centuries later by Procopius. Josephus, who took part in the Jewish War in

¹ West, 1992, 118.

the late 1st century AD, provides insight from a mixed Hellenic and Jewish perspective. Dramatists and poets offer varied examples of the use of the *salpinx* both in peacetime and on the battlefield. Prose biographers and compilers such as Plutarch, Athenaeus, and Pollux add further information regarding the sound of the *salpinx*.

Various material finds provide supporting evidence. Using the *Inscriptiones Graecae* (IG) I have examined a selection of ancient Greek inscriptions from victors' lists found on *stelai*, to gain an insight into the background of the trumpeters. I also discuss vase paintings, sculpture, and mosaics where appropriate. Indeed, my original interest in the subject was fuelled by Landels (1999) who described a fragment of pottery found in 1883 at Eleusis, near Athens [Figs.3.3, 3.4]. Where possible I discuss surviving instruments, although these are rare and not always reliable. They include what is thought to be a Greek *salpinx*, dating from some time between the 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD [Fig.1.24], and a considerably earlier example of a silver trumpet from the tomb of King Tutankhamun [Fig.1.8]. Another informative visual source is found in paintings on shields. These pictorial devices could be simply for decoration, or perhaps designed to inspire terror in the enemy. The various visual images on different types of artefact appear to show us what the *salpinx* actually looked like. However, I shall show that the painter's imagination can sometimes take precedence over realism, and that the representation of a trumpet in some cases may be more decorative than realistic.

Survey of existing scholarship.

Before the 20th century there was some, but not much, interest in the Greek trumpet. In the 18th century, Altenburg wrote his essay *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter- und Paukerkunst*,² which 'can be considered the oldest printed German trumpet study. Altenburg drew together the entire "knowledge" of the art of the trumpet of his time, however, the literature he quotes mainly covers topics in general history, law, and religion',³ and not specifically the Greek *salpinx*.

In the late 19th century the most significant collection of ancient evidence is provided by Pauly-Wissowa, in the *Realencyclopädie*, by the entries on *Salpinx* (Maux) and *der*

² *An Essay on the Introduction to Heroic and Musical Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art*, (Altenburg, trans. Tarr, 1974).

³ *ibid*, 1974, 399-401.

Trompete (tuba, Lammert). An early 20th century Supplement⁴ to this reference book has in fact provided details of naval catalogue lists in inscriptions, suggesting that several triremes in the 4th century BC were named *Salpinx* (see 3.1.12 for my discussion of these named ships).

During the 20th century scholarly interest in the *salpinx* has gradually increased, although West's statement at the head of this Introduction exemplifies the often simplistic or dismissive attitude of modern scholars to the instrument. By contrast, I believe that scholarship has not sufficiently grasped the complexity of the trumpet's roles, so I propose to supply that need. However first I shall survey the scholarship of the last century.

In 1909 Whibley described the findings from an excavation at Sparta in 1908. Amongst these was a small bronze statue of a trumpeter, dating ca.464 BC. Whibley's paper, as with Landels' description of the Eleusis fragment, fired my imagination. In 1931, Ziehen studied an Athenian inscription (*IG I³ 82*) detailing the events at the Hephaisteia, which includes a sacrifice during which the *salpinx* was used to summon each bull to the slaughter. The use of the *salpinx* in this context has not been well recorded, and Haldane only briefly mentions it in her work "Musical Instruments in Greek Worship" (1966). Ziehen and Haldane write extensively about the use of the *aulos* and the *kithara* in connection with the sacrifice, but say little about the *salpinx*, and Nordquist (1990) in his "Instrumental Music in Representations of Greek cult" simply cites these two scholars.

For supporting scholarship on trumpets from alternative cultures I have turned to the works of various scholars. For the Jewish trumpet of ancient Israel I have consulted the Bible, and the very informative study by Braun (trans. Stott, 2002), who discusses the sounds produced by the *shofar* (ram's horn), and the *hasosera* (silver trumpet), from the Old Testament. The Egyptian trumpets found in the tomb of Tutankhamun are discussed by Desroches-Noblecourt (1972), Manniche (1991), and Hawass (2005), and they supersede the works of Gardner Wilkinson (1853, repr. 1996). However, his line-cut drawings of paintings discovered in ancient Egyptian tombs still provide valuable

⁴ *RE*, 1920, 2010.

evidence for the trumpet of nearly thirty-three centuries ago.

Glob (1974) and Lund (1981) provide descriptions of the Scandinavian *lur*, an instrument dating from the Bronze Age and which (like the Egyptian and Etruscan trumpets) therefore considerably pre-dates our evidence for the *salpinx*. The Gaulish trumpet is discussed by Homo-Lechner (1996) and Hunter (2012).

The consensus of modern opinion is that the Romans adopted the Etruscan forms of trumpet and used them for trumpet signals. Powley (1955) refers to the *cornu*, the *lituus*, and the *tuba*, but does not mention the *salpinx*. Wellesz (1957) provides useful source material on the *salpinx* and other forms of trumpet, including the four different Roman trumpets: the *cornu*, *lituus*, *bucina*, and the *tuba*, which most resembles the *salpinx*. I shall demonstrate that evidence suggests that the *salpinx* was considerably pre-dated by the Etruscan forms of instrument.

Sachs (1940) discusses many types of ancient musical instruments, briefly including the *salpinx*. The all-encompassing *Brass Instruments*, by Baines (1976), provides some discussion of the form and sounds of the trumpet through the ages, from the conch shell to modern-day versions. Kaimio (1977) summarises most usefully some of the sounds made by the *salpinx*, and I engage with her text throughout Chapter 2. Compilations, i.e. Leach (1972) and Grun (1991) provide listed information on the many different forms of trumpet across the world and through history, but do not say much about the *salpinx*. Musical dictionaries compiled by Marcuse (1966), Michaelides (1978), and Sadie (1984) also provide basic evidence for the trumpet in various cultures.

The work of several 20th century scholars touches on material evidence for the *salpinx*. I have found these useful for different aspects of the role of the trumpet. Simon (1983) and Rice (1983) have written about festivals of ancient Greece and Egypt, and provide background material for the use of the *salpinx* at such events. Parke (1986) is similarly useful for references to the *salpinx* in festivals, and Burkert (1987) mentions the *salpinx* in connection with the *Anthesteria*, but frustratingly does not always cite his ancient sources. In addition, apart from Kaimio none of these scholars have examined the vocabulary used by Greek authors to describe the sounds made by the instrument.

For the *salpinx* on the battlefield I have consulted Anderson (1965, 1970), Pritchett

(1971) and Krentz (1991). Each provides technical detail about the different types of trumpet signals used in battle. In Hanson (1991), the chapters entitled “The *Salpinx* in Greek Warfare” (Krentz), and “The Killing Zone” (Lazenby), include especially helpful discussions of various signals. However, these authors' works about the trumpet in battle still leave some aspects unappreciated, especially the role of Xenophon in the evolution of the literary discussion of these signals, which my thesis will correct.

The fact that the *salpinx* was sounded during the Panhellenic Games (Olympic, Isthmian, Nemean and Pythian) is widely recorded, but not discussed in detail. Crowther (1994), in “The Role of Heralds and Trumpeters at Greek Athletic Festivals”, focuses on the Olympic Games, yet even here, his title places the herald first. I have expanded upon the combination of the roles of the trumpeter and herald at various points throughout my thesis. Stephanis (1988) has compiled an extensive catalogue of inscriptions, e.g. those found on victors' lists. Amongst these can be found the names of trumpeters (and heralds), together with, in some instances, the competitions at which they played, and (more rarely) the prizes that they won. Yalouris (1994) also sets out this information, but specifically for the Olympic Games from 776 BC.

Whilst these scholars offer helpful collections of data, they do not develop this into the analysis that I will offer. For background information on the Panhellenic Games I have consulted Finley & Pleket (1976); Sweet (1987); Wilson (2003); Miller (2003, 2004^a, 2004^b); Swaddling (2004); and Kyle (1996, 2007). All have contributed to the overall history of the *salpinx* at the various Games, but individually their references to the *salpinx* are minimal.

There are many vase paintings showing the trumpet, although I cannot quantify them, and limitation of space means that I have carefully chosen a selection to include here. Paquette (1984) has collated several black and white images of vase paintings that depict trumpeters from the 5th century BC, which support my discussions about the physical development of the instrument. Bundryck (2005) has compiled an 'easy to read' text on music in classical Athens, which includes some images of the *salpinx* in vase paintings for comparison. I have also used the Beazley archive as a source for vase paintings. Taplin (2007) has given me a different viewpoint on the primitive version

of the trumpet.

My suggested contribution to modern scholarship.

The previous section has shown that during and from the 20th century onwards discussions of the *salpinx* became greater in number, but the depth of analysis was often minimal. My contribution, therefore, is a specialist in-depth analysis not only of the physical characteristics of the *salpinx*, but also of the language used by the writers to describe the instrument, its sounds, and signals, in both war and peacetime.

Chapter 1 explores the origins and physical characteristics of the instrument, starting with the first sea shell trumpet. I provide a history of the trumpet in the ancient world, from myth as well as historical evidence, contrasting its development with other ancient cultures. To this end, I examine evidence describing the Jewish, Egyptian, Scandinavian, Gaulish, Paphlagonian, Persian, Etruscan and Roman trumpets, concluding with the Greek *salpinx*. My work here is supplemented by the inclusion of vase paintings, dating from the 7th to the 4th centuries BC.

Chapter 2 analyses how Greek authors describe the sounds made by the trumpet, and the emotions caused by these sounds. I examine the development in the sophistication of the language used in a variety of ancient sources (historiographers, dramatists and poets).

The trumpet in the ancient Greek world was, as I shall demonstrate in chapter 3, used mainly for giving military instructions, in particular on the battlefield. These instructions signalled orders to attack, or to retreat, both on land and at sea. My evidence comes from a wide range of literary genres. The use of the *salpinx* on the battlefield is the main area on which modern scholarship has tended to concentrate. My contribution is to show how the evidence reveals a growing sophistication in the uses of the trumpet and its signals in battle. I also look closely at the language used to describe the trumpet signals, noting the development of what seems to be a 'technical' vocabulary, in which I shall show that a key role is played by Xenophon.

Chapter 4 shows how the *salpinx* was used in the context of Greek ritual, during sacrificial ceremonies, and at competitive events, especially sporting competitions. Valuable evidence for this chapter comes from inscriptions, often fragmentary, of victors'

lists on *stelai*. Even where a mere fragment of a list remains, these ancient stones bring to life the men who played the *salpinx*. Although so little is known about them, my contribution here will not only consider the trumpeters, but will also show the significance of the prizes they won in these competitions.

My research also draws upon current research by other specialists in the field of ancient music. I have been in touch with Professor Andrew Barker, who has kindly offered me sight of his paper on the writings of Aristonicus, who mentions the six different types of trumpet in his time. I have also been in contact with Dr Peter Holmes, whose PhD thesis, "The Evolution of Aerophones prior to 500 AD" (1978), includes a summary of brass wind instruments in antiquity. Since completing his thesis, Dr Holmes, who is an engineer, has reproduced many ancient brass instruments, including a *salpinx* and a *tuba*. He is currently working on a book about the *salpinx*, in which he focuses on the materials used to make the trumpet and the physical means by which the instruments are made.

My research, therefore, aims to enhance our appreciation of the ancient evidence (literary, linguistic and material) for the varied roles played by the trumpet in ancient Greek culture.

Chapter 1:

The origins and physical characteristics of the ancient trumpet.

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the archaeological and written evidence for the origins and characteristics of the ancient trumpet. For comparison of style and uses I include the trumpet in other cultures, as well as the Greek, and here I have consulted the commentary on *Iliad* 18.219 by Aristonicus (late 1st century BC to early 1st century AD). He lists several types of ancient trumpet: Greek, Egyptian, Gaulish, Paphlagonian, Medes (Persians) and Etruscans. I shall use Aristonicus' comments on the *salpinx*, noting similarities with departures from Greek practice.

In a very brief but simplistic time-line Grun summarises the history of the trumpet as follows:

- there are 'reports of first trumpets being played in Denmark: *lur*, a horn-shaped instrument, 2000-1501 BC' ⁵ (see 1.4);
- 'Hittites have religious dances: instruments include guitar, lyre, trumpet, tambourine:1500-1001 BC';⁶
- 'the main Greek musical instruments were the *aulos*, *kithara*, lyre: 500-451 BC';⁷ I have found the trumpet used in Greek culture from the 5th century BC to the 3rd century AD;
- there were 'trumpet-playing competitions in Greece: 400-351 BC' ⁸ (see 4.3.1).

Since very early times known uses for the trumpet include playing the instrument to summon, instruct, and frighten, as well as a means of offering praise and worship.⁹

The earliest trumpet seems to have been formed from a sea shell. In Biblical society the instrument progressed to the horn of an animal, either a ram or a goat, which was carved into a crescent shape.¹⁰ The ram's horn, or *shofar*, was in a sense still a primitive

⁵ Grun, 1991, 5.

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ *ibid.*, 11.

⁸ *ibid.*, 15.

⁹ Leach (1972, 1127-1129) summarises other uses: the Cheremis use long trumpets of lime-tree bark to expel Satan; in Bali demons are summoned by trumpets or horn blasts; the Aymara Indians blow on cow's-horn trumpets to scare hail away; in ancient Tahiti a large conch shell was used for communications; in the Trinidad Shango cult the conch shell is used to warn the gods of trouble; Tibetan religious ceremonies make use of either the thigh-bone trumpet or the long copper trumpet; Fijian priests used large shall trumpets in their houses of worship; sea gods, moon gods, and rain gods are particularly associated with trumpets; a metal trumpet was used in the worship of Osiris, fertility god of Egypt; the conch was the attribute of the ancient Mexican rain god Tlaloc.

¹⁰ See 1.2.1.

instrument, to which 74 references are found in the Old Testament,¹¹ thought to have been written from c.1445 BC.¹² This date approximately aligns with that of the two Egyptian metal trumpets from the 14th century BC, found in Tutankhamun's tomb (see 1.3). This leap from a primitive instrument to the progression of “formed” trumpets shows a clear technological advance. The ancient Egyptians had the technology to produce silver and copper trumpets in the 14th century BC, but the evidence will suggest that the Greek trumpet was made from a variety of substances, i.e. shell, ivory, wood, bone and hide, as well as metallic forms.

Further than Aristonicus, I include an examination not only of the Jewish trumpet but also the Scandinavian trumpet, because we have here a fairly close geographical area within which to work. I then progress to his Gaulish, Paphlagonian, and Persian instruments, followed by the Etruscan and Roman. These comparisons then set the wider context for my examination of the origins and physical characteristics of the Greek *salpinx*. However, I start now with the earliest form of trumpet.

1.1 The sea shell trumpet.

Nilsson observes that triton shells were often found in tombs and deposits from the Neolithic period, and the Minoan cult also used the shell trumpet [Fig.1.3].¹³ In his detailed study of ancient brass instruments, Baines writes that 'conch blowing has gone on at some time or another almost everywhere.'¹⁴ Sadie also notes that records show that 'conch shell trumpets have been found dating back to Neolithic times'.¹⁵ These pre-historic instruments were formed from a simple sea shell. Marcuse suggests that to call 'the marine-shell trumpet a conch-shell trumpet is a misnomer, as many trumpets in this category are not made of conch'.¹⁶ The term “conch shell” is generally used, however, amongst scholars: Braun writes that the oldest conch trumpets from ancient Israel and Palestine date from one found at Tel Nami (late Bronze Age); one from Tel Qasile (12th to 11th century BC); and one from Hazor (9th century BC).¹⁷

11 Sadie, 1984, 376.

12 RSV1, 1948, ix.

13 Nilsson, 1968, 153.

14 Baines, 1976, 43.

15 Sadie, 1984, 461.

16 Marcuse, 1966, 332.

17 Braun, 2002, 181-182.

The sea shell trumpet was either end-blown (with the point of the shell broken off to form the mouthpiece), or side-blown (with a small hole bored into the side) through which, we are told, the player blew.¹⁸ There is no evidence that this early shell was played with a separate mouthpiece, and it may have been a form of megaphone, as Sachs suggests.¹⁹

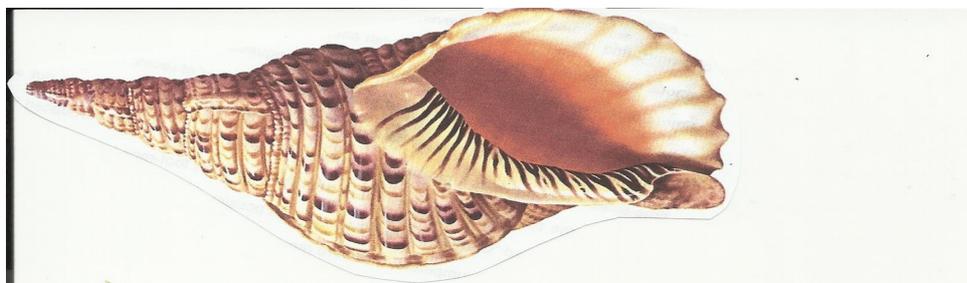


Fig.1.1: Pacific Triton, *charonia tritonis*.

The shell shown at Fig.1.1 is the Pacific Triton, one of the world's larger gastropods.²⁰ It was blown many years ago throughout the Indo-Pacific on important occasions, such as the inauguration of kings and the commencement of battle.²¹ Although it cannot be proved to have been the type of sea shell referred to in the ancient sources, I shall demonstrate a vase painting (in 1.2.2) which shows a very similar shell, possibly used as a trumpet.

Baines informs us that there were three types of shell trumpets known to European peoples both in the past and the present. These were the *triton*, a trumpet shell with a long pointed apex like a giant whelk²²; the *cassis*, a helmet shell, with a thick brim surround²³; and the *strombus*, (στρόμβος, LSJ 1655), the true conch, with a short sharp point encircled by spiky rings.²⁴ Fig.1.2, for comparison, shows a stromb shell, the Queen Conch from the Caribbean, which perhaps not exactly that used in antiquity, nevertheless helps us to envisage the shell trumpet.

18 Sarkissian, 1997, 12.

19 Sachs, 1940, 48: 'In one of the most primitive tribes of New Guinea the king or chieftain always held "a trumpet shell before his mouth when speaking to his people, so his voice had a very hollow sound." ' See also ps. Aristotle 801a re: speaking into a *salpinx* like a microphone or a megaphone, noted in 2.4.

20 Dance, 1971, 122-124.

21 *ibid*, 124.

22 Baines, 1992, 77.

23 *ibid*.

24 Baines, 1976, 42.

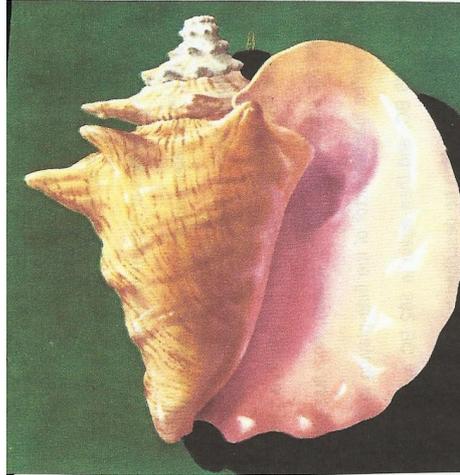


Fig.1.2: Queen conch,

Strombus gigas.

Baines casually notes later that the *strombus* 'has been sounded in Europe since antiquity,'²⁵ but does not cite his sources for this statement. However, Younger writes 'that whether triton shells were indeed used as trumpets in the Aegean Bronze Age has been much debated...there are at least three possible uses for the triton shell: as a ladle, as a funnel or *rhyton*, or as a trumpet; of the many shells found, only a few have their apex sawn and therefore could have functioned as funnels or trumpets.'²⁶ In the next sub-section I shall show that the ancient sources referred not only to the στρόμβος as a shell trumpet, but also the κόχλος (*LSJ* 988, conch).

1.1.1 Drama and poetry.

Athenian dramatists and Hellenistic writers refer to the conch trumpet with no tone of surprise or novelty. A particularly significant example is found in Euripides, where he depicts the κόχλος as a form of trumpet among the semi-barbaric Taurians in his *Iphigenia in Tauris* (ll.302-304):

κάν τῶδε πᾶς τις, ὡς ὄρα βουφόρβια
πίπτοντα καὶ πορθούμεν, ἐξωπλίζετο,
κόχλους τε φυσῶν συλλέγων τ' ἔγχωρίους ·

Euripides deliberately depicts the Taurians as primitive farmers, uneducated in many of the core institutions of Greek civilisation, namely athletics, choral dancing, and military

25 Baines, 1992, 77.

26 Younger, 1998, 35. He also sets out (pp. x-xi) comparisons between "conventional dates" and "recently proposed new dates" (shown in italics): Early Bronze Age: 2800 to 2100 BC, Middle Bronze Age: 1900 (*1950*) to 1700 (*1800*) BC, and Late Bronze Age: 1650 (*1775*) to 1100.

training, so it is highly appropriate for him to characterise them as not knowing the metal trumpet. Platnauer suggests that κόχλος is 'the primitive trumpet'.²⁷ Cropp makes the relevant point that the conch, 'a shell of the purple-bearing *murex*,' makes a 'nicely comic contrast after the suggestion of heroic combat where everyone arms themselves and blew on a shell. The herdsmen's technology turns out to be typically primitive and barbarous.'²⁸

The Greeks' conception of the conch trumpet as distinctively primitive is also clearly demonstrated by Theocritus (3rd century BC). In *The Rustic Singers, Idyll 22* (ll.27-34), Theocritus depicts the subject of the poem, Menalcas, finding a trumpet-shell and using it to attract attention, *τενω δὲ στρόμβω καλόν ὄστρακόν... ὁ δὲ ἐγκαναχησάτο κόχλω*. Theocritus also refers to the shell trumpet in *Hymn to the Dioskoroι* (76-80), where he describes the primitive giant and boxer Amykos, *ἦ ῥ' Ἄμυκος, καὶ κοχλὸν ἑλὼν μυκήσατο κοίλην*. Here we read that Amykos blew on his conch shell to summon his hairy fellow Bebrycians²⁹, a people who, like the Taurians, were also primitive farmers. They too worked near sea-shores, where conch shells naturally appear. We note that Theocritus uses both words, *strombus* and *koklos* for the shell trumpet. This could be construed as a sign that he, a non-technical poet, thought them interchangeable.

We also note the use of the word *στρόμβος* by Aristotle in his *Historia Animalium*. *LSJ* (1655) describe the *στρόμβος* as a trumpet-shell; they cite Aristotle's *H.A.* 492a.17, where we read that 'the natural structure of the interior of the ear is like the spiral-shells': οἱ *στρόμβοι*. Aristotle also refers to another kind of shellfish, which might be used as a trumpet, ὁ κῆρυξ (*LSJ* 949),³⁰ in *H.A.* 4.530a.5-8:

πρόσφυσιν δ' οὐκ ἔχει πρὸς τὰ ὄστρακα ὥσπερ αἱ
πορφύραι καὶ οἱ κήρυκες, ἀλλ' εὐάπολυτόν ἐστιν.

27 Platnauer, 1952, 87.

28 Cropp, 2000, 196.

29 Miller, 2004^b, 34-36.

30 I shall show that the herald, ὁ κῆρυξ, plays an important part alongside the trumpeter (see 4.3).

προμηκέστερα δ' ἔστι τὰ ἐν τοῖς στρόμβοις τῶν ἐν
τοῖς νηρείταις.

'It has no attachment to the shell as the purpuras and the trumpet-shells have, but can be loosened from it quite easily. Specimens found in spiral shells are more elongated than those in the shells of neritae'.

Aristotle continues (12-14):

ὁ δὲ νηρείτης τὸ μὲν ὄστρακον ἔχει λεῖον καὶ
μέγα καὶ στρογγύλον, τὴν δὲ μορφὴν παραπλησίαν
τοῖς κήρυξι.

'The nerites has a large smooth round shell, and its shape is comparable to the trumpet-shell'.

Aristotle, as a scientist, is more interested in the subtle scientific detail, compared with Theocritus, the poet. We may note here that Aristotle also describes the shell as *στρογγύλον*, round, (LSJ 1655) which is the same adjective Aristonicus uses to describe the Egyptian trumpet (see 1.3).

Another Hellenistic poet, Lycophron (early 3rd century BC), in *Alexandra*, 249-50, links the *strombus* with Ares, the war-god:

καὶ δὴ καταίθει γαῖαν ὄρχηστής Ἄρης,
στρόμβῳ τὸν αἱματηρὸν ἐξάρχων νόμον.

'And now Ares, the dancer, fires the land, with his conch leading the musical strain of blood'.

I suggest that Ares has such a crude form of trumpet because it is being used by Lycophron to support his characterisation of the primitive cruelty of war. The phrase *ἐξάρχων νόμον* is usually used for peaceful musical dances, so his image of leading a dance that is 'bloody' is deliberately shocking.³¹

Plutarch (b. before 50 AD, d. after 120 AD), also refers to the *στρόμβος* as an instrument to rouse its listeners in his *Table-Talk* (7.8, 713B):

'Just as cattle do not comprehend speech that has meaning, but the herdsmen rouse them and quiet them again with musical whistlings and calls, or with pipes and conch shells,' ἢ σύριγξιν καὶ στρόμβοις.

31 Roman authors echo the use of the shell trumpet, e.g. Virgil *Aeneid* 6.171ff: the sea god Triton drowns the trumpeter, Misenus, because Triton envied his skill with the *concha*. Misenus' grave is honoured with Aeneas' arms, Misenus' oar and trumpet. Cf. *Aetna* 2.292-294 for the Triton's water organ's trumpet-like (*bucina*) sound.

Nonnus (fl. 450-470 AD³²) has Dionysos blow on a conch shell (*koklo*), which he describes as the loud-thundering, or loud-roaring (*βαρύδουπον*, *LSJ* 307) trumpet of the Tyrrhenian Sea. In *Dionysiaca* 17.93-94 we read:

Τυρσηνῆς βαρύδουπον ἔχων σάλπιγγα θαλάσσης,
πομπὸν Ἐνναλίιο μέλος μυκήσατο κόχλω.

Nonnus describes its sound as likened to the bellowing of oxen (*μῦκαομαι*, *LSJ* 1151), as he gathered his people for battle. Nonnus clearly associates the trumpet here with a military summons, and the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans).³³ I shall discuss further in section 1.6.2 this common ancient association between the trumpet and the Etruscans. The use of the words *strombus* and *koklos* does not seem to follow any set pattern. Euripides (5th century BC) and Nonnus (4th or 5th century AD) both use *koklos*; Lycophron (3rd century BC) and Plutarch (2nd century AD) both use *strombus*. Theocritus (3rd century BC) uses both, and Aristotle (4th century BC) uses *strombus* and *kerux*, an alternative word not used by the others.

1.1.2 Visual evidence for the sea shell trumpet.



Fig.1.3: a gem from the Idaean cave.

Evans writes that the illustration [Fig.1.3] on a gem found in the Idaean cave, depicts 'the worship of a trinity of sacred trees'.³⁴ Both he and Nilsson describe the image as one of a woman 'apparently blowing a triton shell trumpet before an altar with horns of consecration and a sacred bough'.³⁵ Evans concludes that 'the conch-shell trumpet

³² *OCD*, 1048.

³³ Rouse, 1940, 39.

³⁴ Evans, 1901, 141.

³⁵ Evans, 1901, 141; Nilsson, 1968, 153.

performed a ritual function in summoning the divinity'.³⁶ Neither writers suggest a date for this piece of evidence, but the location of the find, thought to be associated with the childhood of Zeus, was used from the end of the Neolithic period to the Roman era.³⁷ The grossly enlarged image of the shell, almost grotesque in its size, is enhanced by the possibility that the figure is a priestess, given the type of artefact and its location. I shall show that the trumpet was predominantly played by men, and that the possibility of a female trumpet player is one that will challenge this concept (see 4.5.5).



Fig.1.4: musician playing a conch shell, c.520-510 BC.

The vase painting fragment [Fig.1.4] is from the Vulci cup, dated c.520-510 BC, by the Nikosthenes Painter. Paquette suggests that the musician depicted is standing 'in the middle of hoplites',³⁸ and we can see that the partial figure on the right is wearing a helmet and carrying a shield. The image of the winged horse (possibly Pegasus) adds a mythical aspect to the picture. The central figure is holding what seems to be a shell to his mouth in his right hand, and the position of his head, with his up-raised arm and the shell indicates an enthusiastic blowing into the object. He is holding a long lance in his left hand, which implies a link to the battlefield.

I admit that it is difficult to establish exactly which type of shell is shown here, as the

36 Evans, 1901, 142.

37 Fitton, 2002, 193.

38 Paquette, 1984, 82.

detail lacks some clarity. With a stretch of the imagination I suggest that the painter intended it to represent the *Charonia tritonis* (the Pacific Triton, see Fig.1.1).

A further example of what I believe is a sea shell trumpet is shown in Fig.1.5 (dated ca.330 BC). Taplin suggests that the painting quite likely reflects 'a Thyestes tragedy, possibly the *Thyestes (at Sikyon)* of Sophocles'.³⁹ It is attributed to the Darius Painter, and depicts amongst other characters Thyestes and the baby Aigisthos. Aigisthos was the adopted son of Pelopeia and Atreus, but was in myth the real son of Thyestes, who had unwittingly raped his own daughter, Pelopeia. She stabbed herself with Thyestes' sword, which she had hidden during the act of rape (see Hyginus 88. 4-6). In the upper row of the painting, second from left, a hairy-legged Pan is shown, holding in his left hand a *lagobolon*.⁴⁰ This object is often linked to Pan and outdoor activities.



Fig.1.5: Apulian calyx-crater, ca. 330 BC.

However, Taplin notes that the figure of Pan is holding a shell,⁴¹ but Pan is not generally

³⁹ Taplin, 2007, 106-107.

⁴⁰ *ibid*, 293. The *lagobolon* varies in appearance and size in paintings; Taplin describes it as 'a stick, usually knobby and sometimes curved at the end, that hunters and rustics would use as a throwing weapon'. *OCD* 1103 attests it as a 'device for catching hares.'

⁴¹ Taplin, 2007, 105.

associated with either a shell or a trumpet. Taplin does not elaborate on the type of shell, but as with Fig.1.4 I suggest that it is a *triton*. Although Pan was the protector of shepherds, he was also 'linked to the world of those soldiers patrolling the rocky, lonely places where he lives.'⁴² The sea shell has clearly been established as a pre-cursor of the original trumpet, so I see nothing odd in Pan holding such a means of primitive or rustic communication, especially if we accept his association with the military. I suggest that the Darius Painter intended to show the figure of Pan holding an appropriate means of summons, so he chose the triton sea shell.

From one "natural" trumpet, in the form of a primitive sea shell, I now turn to an examination of not only another "natural" trumpet, but also different versions of the "man-made" trumpet.

1.2 The Jewish trumpet.

1.2.1 Introduction.

An examination of the Old and New Testaments of the Bible reveals many references to trumpets. The noun 'trumpet' when used in the Old Testament is somewhat misleading, however, as there were in fact at least two known forms of a Hebrew trumpet. One was the h^asōs^erâ,⁴³ *hasosera*, a silver trumpet mentioned 31 times in the Old Testament, and the other was the šôpâr,⁴⁴ *shofar*, or ram's horn, mentioned 74 times.⁴⁵ Indeed, Sadie explains that the *shofar* is continually named by the prophets, most notably Isaiah and Zechariah, as the instrument used for the warning signal of God's judgement.⁴⁶ The *salpinx*, found in the New Testament, is named 22 times. The New Testament was written in Greek, and Montagu notes that the Greek text of the Septuagint was translated by Jewish scholars in Alexandria c.250 BC.⁴⁷ The original Hebrew text of the Old Testament refers to the *shofar*, while both the Greek Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate use words which normally mean metal trumpets, *salpinx* and *bucina*, and not *keras* and

42 *OCD*, 1103.

43 Braun, 2002, 14. Wellesz, 1957, 296, states that it is 'a metal trumpet.' Professor Ahuvia Kahane (Royal Holloway, University of London), advises that the *hasosera* is simply a trumpet, and not necessarily formed from silver.

44 Braun, 2002, 4.

45 Sadie, 1984, 376.

46 *ibid*, 301.

47 Montagu, 1996, 1-2.

cornu, the words for horn.⁴⁸ Although subsequent English translations usually say “the trumpet”, it is the horn which was translated as the *salpinx* in the Septuagint.

In this section I shall draw upon both *The Jewish War* and *The Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus, the scholarship of Sachs, and the very detailed work of Braun, together with different translations of the Bible and two Concordances.⁴⁹ I shall show that the Biblical trumpet differs significantly from the Greek *salpinx*, particularly in its use in Jewish religious ceremonies.

1.2.2 Visual images.

The first depictions of the *shofar* appear during the 18th century BC⁵⁰, and are therefore considerably earlier than the dates that have been put forward for the existence of a trumpet in the Old Testament (see 1.2.3). The mosaic floor from the Hammat Tiberias synagogue [Fig.1.6] depicts amongst other religious objects two *shofar*, curved animal horns, one in the lower right-hand corner, the other to the left of the door.

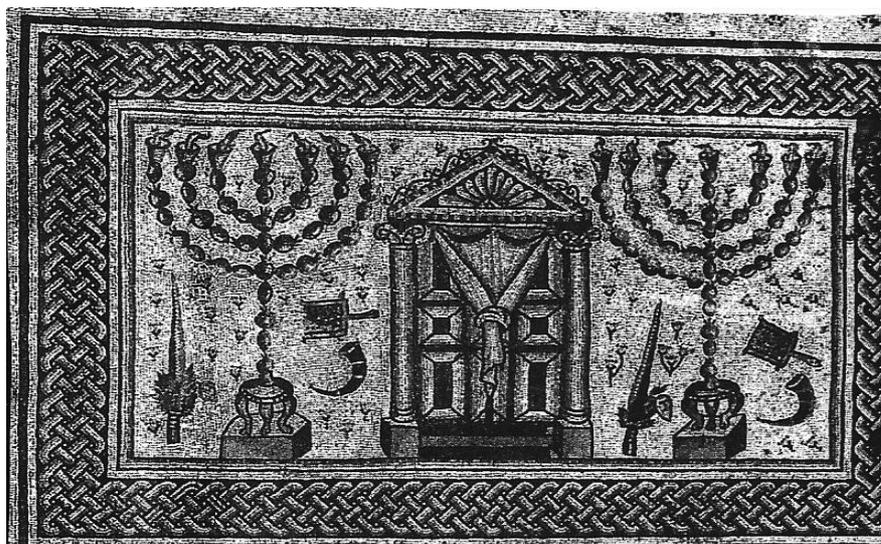


Fig.1.6: mosaic floor, Hammat Tiberias synagogue, 3rd century BC.

The *shofar* must be made from a ritually killed sheep or goat,⁵¹ and as a result is a

48 *ibid*, 7.

49 Bibles: Moffatt, 1948 (*RSV'*); Fant, 1962 (*RSV'*); Alexander, 1979 (*GNB*). Concordances: Moulton and Gedden, 1978; Robinson, 1983. All references from the New Testament are taken from the *GNB*.

50 Sadie, 1984, 301.

51 Baines, 1976, 56. The ancient source material for this is the Mishnah, Rosh Hashanah III 2-3 (cited by Sachs, 1940, 110, and Braun, 2002, 318).

recognised ritual instrument which was not blown except on hallowed days.⁵² Waner cites this image from the synagogue, stating that the *shofar* is 'a sound tool associated with ritual, a distinct symbol of Jewish faith and of ethnic identity...it is a holistic, ethnic and religious symbol that appeared in various artistic forms'.⁵³



Fig.1.7: pottery shard excavated from the Tel of Beth-Shean, c.14th century BC.

From 1989 to 1996 a team from the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania carried out excavations at the Tel of Beth-Shean. Fig.1.7 shows a painted broken pottery shard excavated from the strata of the 18th Dynasty (14th century BC). The fragment of coloured pottery depicts a trumpet, which represents an *hasosera* rather than the *shofar*, being a straight instrument, not curved. It has a cylindrical or slightly conical tube that measures approximately 50 cm in length, with a diameter of between 2 and 3 cm. Braun points out that it corresponds well to the silver trumpet found in the tomb of King Tutankhamun and I agree, although it does not clearly show an engraved section at the end of the tube (see 1.3).⁵⁴ The Beth-Shean area at this time, during the 18th Dynasty, was a 'centre and headquarters of Egyptian rule in Canaan, and the dwelling quarters of the Egyptian garrison'.⁵⁵ It is therefore highly plausible that the

52 My thanks to Professor Kahane for his advice on this subject.

53 Waner, 2014, 286.

54 Braun, 2002, 92-93.

55 *ibid*, 92.

Egyptians took their trumpets with them into Israel.

1.2.3 The Old Testament.

A suggestion for the invention of the silver trumpet in the Bible is noted in the *Book of Numbers*, 10: 1-2. The *Book of Numbers* forms part of the Pentateuch, the first five books of the Old Testament, and there are many who believe that these books were written during the 15th century BC.⁵⁶ In this passage, we read that

‘The Lord said to Moses, “Make two trumpets of hammered silver (*kesep miqšá*⁵⁷) to use for calling the people together and for breaking camp.” ’

Again, we have a potential link with the two trumpets found in the tomb of King Tutankhamun. Josephus discusses the two trumpets of Moses in his *Jewish Antiquities*, 3.291, where he probably draws on the *Book of Numbers* 10. He was a trained Jewish priest, a fighter in the Jewish War, a prisoner of war, and a historian. He was also inclined to exaggerate and to disproportionately give prominence to aspects of stories that may not merit such importance,⁵⁸ but he is a reasonably reliable source for a Greek record of Roman life. Josephus tells us that:

εὔρε δὲ καὶ βυκάνης τρόπον ἐξ ἀργύρον ποιησάμενος, ἔστι δὲ τοιαύτη ·
μῆκος μὲν ἔχει πηχυαῖον ὀλίγω λείπον, στενή δ’ ἔστι σύριγξ αὐλοῦ
βραχεῖ παχυτέρα, παρέχουσα δὲ εὔρος ἀρκούν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι πρὸς
ὑποδοχὴν πνεύματος εἰς κώδωνα ταῖς σάλπιγξι παραπλησίως τελοῦν ·
ἀσώσρα καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν.

‘Moreover Moses was the inventor of the form of their trumpet, which was made of silver. Its description is this; in length it was little less than a cubit. It was composed of a narrow tube, somewhat thicker than a flute, and with so much breadth as was sufficient for admission of the breath of a man’s mouth; it ended in the form of a bell, like the common trumpet. It was called in the Hebrew tongue *Asosra*.’⁵⁹

Whiston suggests that the purpose of the trumpets was as much for sacred activities as

56 Kirby (1947, 43) cites the *Cambridge Ancient History*, “Egypt and Babylonia”, Vol. 2, pp. 692, 694, stating that King Tutankhamun reigned about 1360 BC, a little more than a century before 1240 BC, when the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt occurred. This appears incorrect, as other historians date Tutankhamun’s rule as from 1332 – 1322, when he died ‘before he was even out of his teens’: Wilkinson, 2011, 299. *RSV*¹ suggests the Old Testament was written from c.1445 BC (1948, ix), and *RSV*² 1962 sets *Exodus* c.1290 BC, continuing for 150 years (Notes, p.12). Sebag Montefiore (2011, 17) writes ‘after 430 years, the *Book of Exodus* portrays the Israelites, repressed as slaves building the Pharaoh’s cities, miraculously escaping Egypt with God’s help.’ This Pharaoh was Ramesses II, 1279-1213, (Wilkinson, 2011, xviii), but Gardner Wilkinson (1853, 336) writes ‘as for any exodus of Hebrews in the reign of Ramesses II or later, the ancient Egyptian sources are silent’.

57 Braun, 2002, 207.

58 Williamson, 1970, 23.

59 Translation by Whiston, 1906, 81-82.

for instructing men.⁶⁰ The instruments were sounded to move the tabernacle, and to bring sacrifices up to the altar in order to propitiate their God, as well as making a summons on both the Sabbath and festival days.⁶¹ Josephus first wrote the *Jewish War* in Aramaic, but then translated it into Greek for easier understanding.⁶² Hence his reference in Greek to the *bucina*, the Roman trumpet.

The Old Testament tells us that the silver Hebrew trumpet, *hasosera*, was used for different purposes, depending on the sound made. *Numbers* 10:3 continues with an instruction from God to Moses that in order to call the whole community together, 'long blasts are sounded on both trumpets' (*hasosera*) followed by another instruction, that when only one of the trumpets is sounded, 'then only the leaders of the clans are to gather round you.' This long blast, or *tqīā*, (*tequia*), was 'a powerful, sustained sound used when assembling the camp.'⁶³ A short blast, on the other hand, or *trūā*, (*terua*), was used 'to signal an attack on the enemy, and also in connection with admonishment by God.'⁶⁴

The number seven often has symbolic significance in the Bible. *Leviticus* instructs special trumpet calls in the seventh month (23:23):

'On the first day of the seventh month observe a special day of rest, and come together for worship when the trumpet sounds,'

and then in 25:9 by an instruction for the tenth day of the seventh month, the Day of Atonement, when a man would be sent to 'blow a trumpet throughout the whole land.'

Josephus highlights the relevance of seven days in his *Jewish War* 4.582, where he describes the capture of Jerusalem during the rule of Vespasian:

ἐνθα τῶν ἱερέων εἷς ἐξ ἔθους ἰστάμενος ἐκάστην ἐβδομάδα εἰσιοῦσαν προεσήμεινε σάλπιγγι δείλης καὶ τελεσθεῖσαν αὐθις περὶ ἑσπέραν, ὅτε μὲν ἀνέργειαν τῷ λαῷ καταγγέλλων, ὅτε δ' ἔργων ἔχεσθαι.

'one of the priests gave a signal before-hand, with a trumpet, at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight, as also at the evening when that day was finished, as giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work, and when they were to go back to work again.'

60 *ibid.*

61 *ibid.*

62 *ibid.*, 14.

63 Braun, 2002, 15.

64 *ibid.*

Here we see Josephus using what I shall show to be a typical Greek signalling phrase, *προεσήμαινε σάλπιγγι*,⁶⁵ although here it is in a religious context that is not typically Greek (i.e. the custom of announcing the Sabbath by the sound of the trumpet).

There are many battle orders apparently given by the *shofar*. As I shall show, the Greek trumpet was used on the battlefield for signalling, issuing instructions, and sounding warnings, but the use of a ram's horn for such complex signals would be challenging. The sound of a metal trumpet is more likely to carry any distance than that of an animal horn. I suggest therefore that in this context within the Bible the *shofar*, being a ritual instrument, is used to demonstrate that a recognisable ritualistic sound was required, rather than a mere loud blast.

Many passages in the historical books of the Old Testament link the trumpet to battles. *Joshua* 6:4-20 sets out the familiar story of the walls of Jericho falling down, again showing the symbolism of the figure seven. Seven priests, each of whom has a trumpet, are ordered to stand in front of the Covenant Box. While soldiers march around the city for six days, the priests blow their trumpets. On the seventh day Joshua and his soldiers march again around the city, on this occasion seven times, while the priests play their trumpets and then sound one long note. Josephus describes this story in *Jewish Antiquities* 5.23, emphasizing the fact that the priests play the horns (4-5),⁶⁶

ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ προήεσαν ἑπτὰ κέρασιν αὐτῶν σαλπίζοντες παρεκάλουν
τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ἀλκὴν, περιώδευόν τε τὸ τεῖχος ἐπομένης τῆς γερουσίας,
καὶ σαλπισάντων μόνον τῶν ἱερέων,

in order to give good courage to the soldiers before the day of attack. After the priests sounded the trumpets, they did nothing else at that time, and they returned to the camp.

The verb *παρακαλεῖν*, to encourage (*LSJ* 1312), appears in this passage, with the priests encouraging the soldiers to be strong. The verb is also used by Pollux (*On.* 4.86, see 3.1.1) in the context of the trumpet.

⁶⁵ *LSJ* 1270: *σημαίνω*, 'to show by a sign; especially in war or battle, to give the signal of attack', citing Thucydides 2.84. I shall demonstrate that Euripides was the first Greek dramatist to use the verb (see 2.1).

⁶⁶ Whiston, 1906, 115-116. I explore the few references found in the ancient sources for *keras*, horn, throughout the thesis.

Josephus continues the story (5.27):

περιήεσαν δὲ πάλιν τὴν πόλιν ἡγουμένης τῆς κιβωτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς κέρασιν ἔξοτρυνόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον. καὶ περιελθόντων ἑπτάκις καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἡρεμησάντων κατέπεσε τὸ τεῖχος μήτε μηχανῆς μήτε ἄλλης βίας αὐτῶ προσενεχθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων.

'Again they encompassed the city, the ark leading and the priests with the sounding of their trumpets inciting the troops to action. And when they had encompassed it seven times and been halted for a while, the wall fell down, without either engine or force of any other kind having been applied to it by the Hebrews.

Sadly it seems that the storming of Jericho, whose walls were allegedly crumbled by Joshua's trumpets, is mythical: 'Jericho was more ancient than Jerusalem ... there is no evidence of collapsed walls.'⁶⁷ Braun points out that the Hebrew expression in the Jericho story is *šōperōt hayyōbelīm*, the plural of *šōpār hayyōbēl*, generally accepted as the equivalent of the single word *šōpār, shofar*.⁶⁸ His interpretation of this is that because the *shofar* is a ritual instrument, it was used to emphasise the special significance of the event. I agree, but I believe the use of the trumpets in this unusual scenario adds an extra supernatural dimension.

An intriguing battle story is relayed in *Judges* 6 and 7 (in the *Historical Books*), where we read about Gideon and his battles with the Midianites.

'The spirit of the Lord took control of Gideon, and he blew a *shofar* to call the men of the clan of Abizer to follow him' (*Judges* 6:34).

In order to defeat the Midianites, God tells Gideon (*Judges* 7.6-22) to dispose of some of his men by separating those who scoop water up in their hands to drink, from those who kneel down and lap it up. The three hundred men who remained were those who scooped up their water and thus demonstrated their awareness of self-preservation, and 'kept all the supplies and the trumpets.' God then sends Gideon a message advising him how to win the battle: to divide his three hundred men into three groups and give each

⁶⁷ Sebag Montefiore, 2011, 17ⁿ. *RSV*² (1962, 12) states that the *Book of Joshua* is the account of the conquest of the Promised Land, c. 1250 BC. It is not known when the *Book of Joshua* was written, and had there been any archaeological evidence of fallen walls it would have been possible to investigate an earthquake or another weather-based phenomenon.

⁶⁸ Braun, 2002, 23-27.

man a *shofar*. In his version of the scene (*Jewish Antiquities* 5.223), Josephus vividly imagines that

καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ κριοῦ κέρας· ἐχρῶντο δὲ τούτοις ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος.

'each man had a ram's horn in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet.'

Here Josephus explains for his Greek readers the ram's horn of Old Testament times in terms of the Greek *salpinx* of his own day, and we again note his use of *keras* for the horn. The logistics of the story are staggering – finding three hundred such instruments at short notice – and therefore suspicious. Each man was also given a jar with a torch inside. The men blew their rams' horns and broke their jars, and they held the torches and shouted. As a result, the enemy attacked each other and ran away. If based on an actual event, the sound effect of three hundred horns issuing their warning notes must have had a strong impact on the listeners. In direct contrast, one example of the ram's horn being played to stop the fighting is found in 2 *Samuel* 18:16 by Joab; here too the logistics are difficult to grasp, and so hint at literary exaggeration.

Highly poetic in style, the *Book of Job* records the trumpet used to signal on the battlefield (39:24-25):

'Was it you, Job, who made horses so strong and gave them their flowing manes? Trembling with excitement, the horses race ahead; when the trumpet blows, they can't stand still. At each blast of the trumpet they snort, they can smell a battle before they get near, and they hear the officers shouting commands.'⁶⁹

The trumpet in the Old Testament was also used for praise and worship, and many references link the trumpet (both *hasosera* and *shofar*) with other musical instruments in order to give thanks and praise to God. *I Chronicles* 13:8 records that

'King David and all the people danced with all their might to honour God. They sang and played musical instruments – harps, drums, cymbals, and trumpets.'

Josephus refers to this story in *Jewish Antiquities* 7.81:

'before the Ark went the king and all the people with him, chanting in praise of God and singing all manner of native melodies; thus, with the mingled sounds of stringed instruments and with dancing and singing to the harp, as well as with trumpets and cymbals, σάλπιγγος καὶ κυμβάλων, they escorted the ark to

⁶⁹ For the Greek trumpet signalling horses, see 3.1.11.

Jerusalem.'

The human voice was also used to offer up praise with the trumpet: *Isaiah* 58:1, 'cry aloud, spare not, lift up your voice like a trumpet (*shofar*)'; *2 Samuel* 6:15, 'and so David and all the Israelites took the Covenant Box up to Jerusalem with shouts of joy and the sound of trumpets (*shofar*)'; *2 Chronicles* 15:14, 'they took oath to the Lord with a loud voice and with shouting, and with trumpets (*shofar*)'. *1 Kings* 1.32-34 describes the accession of a 'new monarch, celebrated with ceremonies involving blowing trumpets and shouting of formulae of acclamation' (*shofar*).⁷⁰ Josephus explains this by telling us that the king himself ordered the soldiers to accompany him through the city, blowing horns, τοῖς κέρασιν ἐπισαλπίζοντας, and shouting (literally) 'long live King Solomon' (*Jewish Antiquities* 7.356). In *Jewish Antiquities* 9.269 Josephus writes:

οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἱερεῖς βυκάνας ἔχοντες ἐπεσάλπιζον τοῖς ὕμνωδοῦσι,

'and the other priests blew the trumpets they carried, and accompanied those who sang.'⁷¹

His use of the words *keras* (horn), *bukane* (trumpet) and ἐπεσάλπιζον again show Josephus' familiarity with different types of trumpet. I emphasise here how these texts repeatedly link the trumpet with the human voice, which, as I shall show in the next two chapters, is strikingly similar to Greek usage.

1.2.4 The New Testament.

Given that the New Testament was written in Greek, for readers who knew Greek traditions, all references to the trumpet in the New Testament are to the *salpinx*. There are not as many references to the *salpinx* in the New Testament as there are to the *shofar* and the *hasosera* in the Old Testament. These references relate to the coming of the Lord, death and the resurrection.

The coming of the Lord is mentioned in *Matthew* 24:31, written in Judea c. 60 AD⁷², and *1 Corinthians* 15:151-152, written from Ephesus c. 57 AD⁷³. *1 Thessalonians* 4:16,

70 Wellesz, 1957, 290.

71 Begg (2005, 197) here cross-references the fact that the trumpets (plural) accompany the priests who are singing, just as the trumpeters sound with the singing in *2 Chronicles* 29:26.

72 RSV², 1962, 18.

73 *ibid*, 19.

written from Corinth c.49-54 AD⁷⁴, shows that 'there will be the shout of command, the archangel's voice, the sound of God's *salpinx*, and the Lord himself will come down from heaven'.

The *Book of Revelations to John* was written by the apostle John c. 95 AD whilst he was in exile on the island of Patmos off the west coast of Turkey.⁷⁵ At this time, Christians who refused to worship the Roman emperor Domitian suffered great persecution.⁷⁶ *Revelations* contains dramatic language and symbolism, but throughout the book the one clear message is that through Christ God would defeat his enemies, in particular Satan, and that those who do believe will be rewarded in heaven. The rhetoric used is powerfully and vividly reinforced by the repetitive use of the trumpet.

John writes in *Revelations* 1:10: 'On the Lord's day the Spirit took control of me, and I heard a loud voice, that sounded like a trumpet, speaking behind me.' He repeats this illusion in 4:1, 'and the voice that sounded like a trumpet, which I had heard speaking to me before'. By contrast the only reference in the entire Old Testament to the trumpet as a voice is in *Isaiah* 58:1 (see 1.2.3). *Revelations* 8 and 9 also link the trumpet with the magical and sacred number seven: 'Then I saw the seven angels who stand before God, and they were given seven trumpets' (8:3). 'Each of the angels blew his trumpet, and various super-natural events occurred', culminating in the sixth and seventh angels who blew their trumpets 'and there were loud voices in heaven' (9:13, 11:15).

These references to angels may be connected with the 'army' of heaven, the host of angels representing the military aspect.⁷⁷ All the references in *Revelations* are meant to be truly terrifying, and they all use the power of the trumpet sound to instil fear in its listeners, as well as acting as a summons to the people to listen. As I have shown, fear at the sound of the trumpet is not an Old Testament motif.

Clement of Alexandria (ca.150 to ca.211 AD) notes a link to the passage in *Ephesians* 6.14-17, which starts 'let us gird ourselves with the armour of peace, putting on the

⁷⁴ *ibid*, 20.

⁷⁵ *ibid*, 22, and *GNB*, 1979, 1230.

⁷⁶ *ibid* (*GNB*).

⁷⁷ A degenerate version of this in the modern convention is that angels on Christmas cards tend to be depicted blowing trumpets.

breastplate of righteousness,' where he writes (9.90P):

ἀλλὰ σάλπιγξ μὲν ἢ μεγαλόκλονος ἠχήσασα στρατιώτας συνήγαγεν καὶ πόλεμον κατήγγειλεν,

'but when the thrilling trumpet blows, it assembles the soldiers and proclaims war'.⁷⁸

Clement continues with 'those who heard the rallying call knew that σάλπιγξ ἐστὶ Χριστοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, the trumpet of Christ is his gospel', and in accordance with Greek practice interpreted the signal of the trumpet as an instruction to prepare themselves metaphorically for battle.

Looking at the evidence from the Old and New Testaments together, virtually every mention of the trumpet is connected in some way to battles, to fighting, and to death. It rarely appears as an instrument for music. For its interested readers, the trumpet is therefore clearly an instrument of fear, rather than pleasure, and this motif re-appears in other cultures.

From the Jewish trumpet we now move to the Egyptian trumpet, referred to by Aristonicus in his *Schol. in Il.* 18.219. I shall show this is yet another example of a military and ceremonial instrument.

1.3 The Egyptian trumpet.

1.3.1 Introduction.

The archaeological evidence for the Egyptian trumpet was made considerably more accessible with the discovery by Howard Carter in November 1922 of the tomb of King Tutankhamun, who died in 1322 BC.⁷⁹ Amongst a wealth of artefacts two trumpets were found. One, a silver trumpet, was found in the Burial Chamber, 'before the open door of the outer shrine, perhaps to announce the resurrection'.⁸⁰ Grave-goods were placed in tombs for a purpose, and in this case it is plausible that a trumpet would be the ideal instrument with which to announce the great king coming to life again. The other trumpet, a bronze or copper instrument, was found in a long chest, in one of the Antechambers [Fig.1.8]. Both instruments are decorated with a panel containing 'the

78 Butterworth, 1919, 246-249.

79 Wilkinson, 2011, 299.

80 Desroches-Noblecourt, 1972, 195.

images of Ptah, Amun, and Harakhti, three great gods of Egypt and the patrons of three army corps.⁸¹

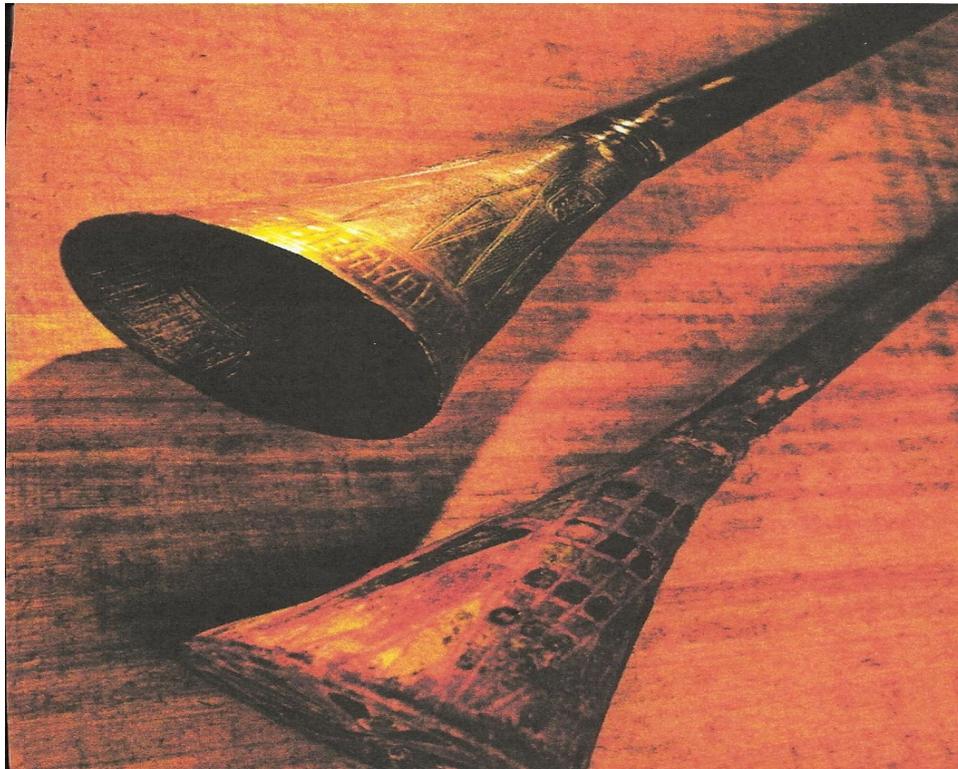


Fig.1.8: the silver trumpet found in the tomb of King Tutankhamun.

The silver trumpet is formed of very fine, thinly beaten silver and has a golden mouthpiece. There is a narrow band of gold leaf at the end, and the bell has been engraved to resemble a stylised lotus blossom. It is 58.2 cm in length; the diameter of the upper end is 1.7 cm, and the end of the bell 8.2 cm.⁸² The bronze or copper trumpet has a gold overlay at either end of the tube, with a middle section of black ebony. The length is 49.4 cm, so slightly shorter than the silver trumpet; the diameter of the upper end is 1.3 cm, and that of the bell 8.4 cm. Dr Peter Holmes, who has provided advice (see 2.1), tells me that the silver instrument was probably used for ritual and religious purposes, whereas the copper version was primarily used for military purposes. We therefore have two separate trumpet identities running concurrently.

The colours on the silver trumpet are still vibrant, even after all this time. Both of the

⁸¹ *ibid*, 48, and Manniche, 1991, 75–76.

⁸² Manniche, 1991, 77–78.

Tutankhamun instruments contain a wooden core. The core in the silver trumpet echoes the decoration of the instrument itself, with blue, red, and green petals of a lotus blossom alternating on its bell.⁸³ As Manniche explains, 'the lotus flower was a powerful symbol of rebirth,'⁸⁴ so presumably why it was chosen to decorate an object which was to be placed in Tutankhamun's tomb. She also suggests that 'the use of a wooden core would mute the instruments and prevent them from giving out unintentional noises to disturb the king.'⁸⁵ Whatever their use, such artefacts demonstrate an intelligent and advanced community that not only had access to gold, silver, and either bronze or copper, but also to the technique of engraving and decorative art-work. In addition, they had the foresight to protect such vulnerable objects by inserting an inner core.⁸⁶

Sachs refers to an inventory of presents offered by King Tushratta to King Amenophis of Egypt, c.1400 BC, which contains a list of 40 horns, all covered with gold and some studded with precious stones.⁸⁷ 17 are expressly called ox horns, and Sachs says that 'as straight trumpets were more often made of gold rather than being covered with the precious metal, the remainder may have been straight trumpets of the usual shape'.⁸⁸ I accept that his expression "of the usual shape" means a slim tube with a flared end, rather than a cup or bell-shaped end.

Sachs does not cite an ancient source for this inventory, but I think it likely that the source is from the so-called Amarna Letters, 'an archive of official correspondence, found amongst the ruins of the 'House of Correspondence of Pharaoh' (the secretariat of the ancient Egyptian foreign ministry)'.⁸⁹ The 380 surviving documents are in the form of baked clay tablets, and many date to the latter years of the reign of Amenhotep III, 1390 to 1353 BC.⁹⁰ This record points to the ability of the ancient Egyptians to work with gold and precious stones in the formation of instruments, even though the artefacts

83 Hawass, 2005, 92.

84 Manniche, 1991, 79.

85 *ibid.*

86 Dr Holmes notes that there was a blue lotus on the two cores, and when they put a core into the trumpet it corresponds with going back into the netherworld, and also with giving back power. My thanks to Dr Holmes for his advice.

87 Sachs, 1940, 73.

88 *ibid.*

89 *ibid.*

90 Wilkinson, 2011, 266, xviii.

themselves have not been found.

From this time we also have records that show that the Egyptians probably had a form of megaphone trumpet. The verb “to speak” is *ḏd*, and from the New Kingdom (1539 to 1069 BC) comes the expression ‘to speak on the trumpet’, *ḏd m šnb*, and the phrase *š m šnb*, caller on the trumpet.⁹¹ Manniche highlights a later inscription, found in the temple of Kawa in Nubia, dated to the 25th Dynasty (728 to 657 BC), where the hieroglyphics indicate the verb *ḏd* shown next to a trumpet.⁹² The inscription and hieroglyphics certainly imply that the Egyptians had access to a form of megaphone trumpet, even possibly before the invention of their metal trumpet. This link between the trumpet and the human voice is one that I shall demonstrate in 2.1.

The fact that the Egyptian trumpet was employed as a ceremonial and a military instrument is discussed by several scholars. Gardner Wilkinson writes that the Egyptians included many instruments within their sacred music, and ‘neither the trumpet, drum, nor clappers, were excluded from the religious processions in which the military were engaged.’⁹³ His description of the Egyptians going into battle contains several similarities to those of the ancient Greeks, which I shall demonstrate in Chapter 3. He writes that the Egyptians offered a sacrifice to the gods when they first arrived at the site of the battle, the trumpet gave a signal, and the troops fell in to position.⁹⁴ Once the troops arrived in the battle area, another signal was sounded by the trumpet and the archers let loose their arrows – thus battle commenced.

The writings of Gardner Wilkinson were in some respects eclipsed by the discovery of the Tutankhamun trumpets. Kirby, who in 1933 had the privilege of playing the instruments, writes that the Egyptian trumpet did not appear before the New Kingdom⁹⁵: prior to this period, ‘troops were levied as they were required, and when war was ended the men returned to their agricultural pursuits.’⁹⁶ He explains that when Egypt was

91 Manniche, 1991, 80.

92 *ibid.*

93 Gardner Wilkinson, 1853, 129.

94 *ibid.*, 404.

95 Kirby, 1947, 35. Wilkinson, 2011, xviii, explains: the New Kingdom spanned the period from 1539 to 1069 BC, the 18th, 19th and 20th Dynasties.

96 Kirby, 1947, 38. He cites Loret, V., “La Trompette”, in *Encyclopedie de la Musique en Dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, Paris, 1913, pp.22-23.

constantly under attack under the New Kingdom, a standing army was introduced and this necessitated clear audible signals⁹⁷; thus the Egyptian trumpet emerged as a metal instrument, capable of making such signals.

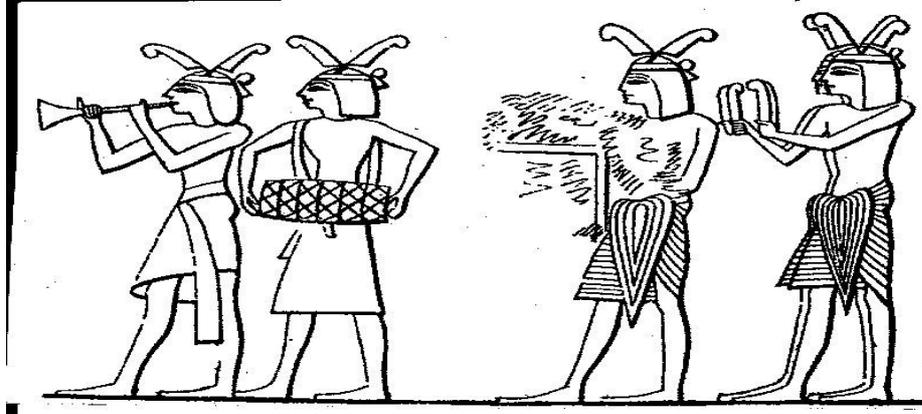


Fig.1.9: a trumpeter from Thebes (no date offered).

Fig.1.9 shows an Egyptian trumpeter together with four other musicians, forming a military band. Gardner Wilkinson does not offer a date for this line-cut drawing,⁹⁸ but Manniche presents a drawing showing musicians wearing similar head-dresses in the procession of the Feast of Opet, from Luxor Temple, at the end of the 18th Dynasty.⁹⁹ The trumpeter is holding his instrument in both hands as a means of support. Alongside the trumpet is a drummer, followed by a musician carrying an indeterminate right-angled piece of wood. Behind him there are two more musicians, each holding a set of clappers which were banged together. In ancient Egypt, some of the instruments in military bands 'differed from those of ordinary musicians: the principal ones appear to have been the trumpet and the drum; the former used to marshal the troops, summon them to the charge, and direct them in their evolutions; the latter were used to regulate and enliven their march'.¹⁰⁰ This aspect certainly differs from the battlefield of the ancient Greeks, where I have found no record of a drum being played alongside the *salpinx*. Gardner Wilkinson also states that trumpeters were represented in the battlefield of

97 Kirby, 1947, 38.

98 Gardner Wilkinson, 1853, 104.

99 Manniche, 1991, 71 and 82 (see 1.3.2).

100 Gardner Wilkinson, 1853, 104.

Thebes either standing still, or in the act of leading them to the charge.¹⁰¹

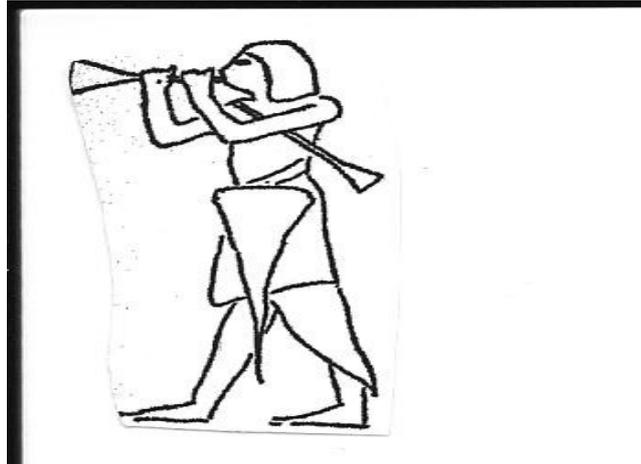


Fig.1.10: trumpeter from Abu Simbel, c.1200 BC.

Fig.1.10 shows a relief of a trumpeter found at Abu Simbel. Baines states that the trumpeter is playing his instrument whilst carrying the wooden core under his arm.¹⁰² I am not so sure: it may be that the trumpeter is carrying a second trumpet, as it seems a surprising image to see him carrying the core under his arm rather than placing it in the holder attached to his waist. The trumpet shown here is a shorter version than that in Fig.1.9. Also, what Baines thinks is the core has a longer tube than would fit inside the instrument. It is in all other respects very similar to the previous drawings, and offers a charming comparative viewpoint of the forms of Egyptian trumpet. The paintings appear to offer an effective comparison in sizes with the two trumpets found in Tutankhamun's tomb, as the length of the instruments in Figs.1.9 and 1.10 appears similar to those of Tutankhamun.

Despite these two solitary images, Sadie informs us that 'Egyptian trumpeters were also often shown in pairs',¹⁰³ and Manniche refers to 'grand battle scenes' of both Ramesses II and III in which trumpeters are shown standing on 'the rooftops of a captured fortress, marshalling a team of horses, or a group of armed soldiers, or saluting the king as he

101 *ibid*, 344.

102 Baines, 1976, 55.

103 Sadie, 1984, 642.

sets forth in his chariot.¹⁰⁴ I am not sure if the two trumpets found in Tutankhamun's tomb support the possibility of two trumpeters, as one instrument was for religious purposes and one for military use, and we do not know if a religious trumpeter could also have been a military player. However, the majority of the pictures of Egyptian trumpeters that I have found show a lone trumpeter in each instance. This may have been for aesthetic reasons, rather than a reflection of actual practice at the time. The variety of uses for the Egyptian trumpet echo those in the Greek tradition, i.e. predominantly on the battlefield, and my proposal here is that the evidence suggests that the Egyptians used the trumpet for this purpose before the Greeks.

1.3.2 Ancient Greek sources.

In this section I examine Greek literary evidence for the Egyptian trumpet. Aristonicus was a distinguished Alexandrian scholar and grammarian who lived during the reigns of both Augustus and Tiberius (late 1st century BC into the early 1st century AD).¹⁰⁵ His commentary on a passage of the *Iliad* includes a list of six trumpets used by people of different nationalities:¹⁰⁶ Greek, Egyptian, Gaulish, Paphlagonian, Median (Persian) and Etruscan. For each, Aristonicus gives details of their shape and size, the materials with which they are formed, the sounds they make¹⁰⁷ and in some cases the names they are given in their own cultures.

His description of the Egyptian trumpet reads as follows:

δευτέρα ἡ στρογγύλη ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων εὐρημένη, ἦν χνοῦν καλοῦσιν.
χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῇ πρὸς θυσίαν καλοῦντες τοὺς ὄχλους δι' αὐτῆς. ἦν εὐρεν
Ὅσιρις.

Specifically, it is curved, στρογγύλη, and is used to call the people to sacrifices. He adds that the Egyptian version was called the χνοῦν, and was invented by the god Osiris. The adjective στρογγύλη is also used by Aristotle (noted in 1.1.1), and by Artemidorus (see later). I find that Aristonicus' use of the word χνοῦν for the Egyptian

104 Manniche, 1991, 80.

105 *OCD*, 163.

106 *Schol. in Il.* 18.219 (Erbse, 1969: text seen in *TLG* at ICS, Senate House, 15/09/2008).

107 For an in-depth study of this passage from the *Iliad* see 2.1 on the sounds made by the trumpet. At this point it is relevant to note that "voice-type compound words" are well identified by Aristonicus, and -φωνος appears several times in his text.

trumpet is intriguing. Gardner Wilkinson does not use the Egyptian name in his text. Marcuse states in her comprehensive dictionary that the '*chnouē* was a metal trumpet of ancient Egypt, with a wide bell, played with a conical mouthpiece. First depicted in 1415 BC in the hands of soldiers, it also served ritual purposes and was sacred to Osiris. *Chnouē* may be the Greek pronunciation of the Egyptian word *shnb* or *šneb*.¹⁰⁸ Manniche also neither uses the word *chnouē* nor *χνοῦν*, but instead refers to the *šnb* (note the different spelling).¹⁰⁹ Wilkinson merely tells us that the trumpet was used in the annual Festival of Opet, where the cult image of Amun was carried from Ipetsut to Luxor.¹¹⁰ *LSJ* do not mention the word *χνοῦν* at all in connection with the trumpet,¹¹¹ so it is possible that we have here an MS variant. Sachs, through almost special pleading, poses mere supposition on *chnouē* being a Greek version of an Egyptian word.¹¹² Aristonicus is therefore the only ancient source to use the word *χνοῦν*.

Another reference to a round trumpet is found in Artemidorus, *On Dreams* 1.56 (3rd century AD):

στρογγύλη δὲ σάλπιγγι σαλπίζειν πονηρόν· οὐ γὰρ ἱερόν τὸ ὄργανον ἀλλὰ πολεμιστήριον.

Blowing into a round trumpet, on the other hand, is ill-omened, for it is not a sacred instrument but an instrument of war.¹¹³

In *Isis and Osiris* 362, Plutarch writes that the sound of the Egyptian trumpet was likened to that of an ass (ὡς ὄνῳ), resulting in the people refusing to entertain its use:

Βουσιρῖται δὲ καὶ Λυκοπολίται σάλπιγγιν οὐ χρῶνται τὸ παράπαν ὡς ὄνῳ φθεγγομέναις ἐμφερές.

The people of Busiris and Lycopolis do not use trumpets at all, because they

108 Marcuse, 1966, 97. Her sources are Sachs, 1940, and Wellesz, 1957.

109 Manniche, 1991, 76.

110 Wilkinson, 2011, 233. Manniche (82) cites the Opet Feast of Tutankhamun, 'commemorated on the walls of the Luxor temple' which 'combined military and sacred musical performances with gymnastic displays.'

111 *LSJ* 1995 refers to ὁ χνοός, in Attic contrasted with χνοῦς. Their definition is offered as 'the foam that gathers at the edge of the sea, the first down or bloom on a peach, or the first down on a chin'. They also show ἡ χνοη, Ion., χνοη, the iron box of a wheel, and they cross-reference this with the σῦριγξ, a different instrument. Plutarch links the *strombus* with the *syrix* (see 1.1.1).

112 Sachs, 1940, 100.

113 πολεμιστήριον, noted as one of the words listed by Pollux in his selection of adjectives describing the *salpinx*, *On*. 4.85, referred to in more depth in 2.1.

make a sound like an ass.

Whether it was the player or the instrument that was at fault we cannot know, nor do we know if Plutarch heard the instrument being played, but he makes no mention here of a 'curved' or 'round' instrument. In appearance, the trumpet in King Tutankhamun's tomb is visually more like the Greek *salpinx*, although I have not found any reference to the Greek trumpet being made of silver. It is quite possible however that the early Greeks were aware of the Egyptian trumpet perhaps simply through trade. I have no evidence to support this, but the Egyptians probably took their instruments into Greece. The *salpinx* is a very similar shape to that shown in the pictures of the Egyptian trumpets shown at Figs.1.9 and 1.10, and therefore may plausibly have developed from the Egyptian trumpet.

In contrast, the Scandinavian bronze trumpet, the *lur*, was used for celebration (see the next section). Aristonicus does not seem to have been aware of this instrument. However, in view of its shape and appearance I believe that it offers a useful comparison with the other trumpets so far examined.

1.4 The Scandinavian trumpet.



Fig.1.11: a picture stone on the north side of the Kivik coffin, pre-1000BC.

The burial arrangements of both the Mound People and the Bog People of Scandinavia were quite different. The Mound People, a Bronze Age people who ruled in Denmark

before 1000 BC, buried their dead in oak coffins, fully clothed.¹¹⁴ The bodies were supplied with ornaments, and weapons of gold and bronze¹¹⁵. Their burial places were burial mounds, hence their name. In contrast, the bodies of the Bog People, who ruled in the subsequent Iron Age¹¹⁶, were placed directly into the bogs, either naked or lightly clad.¹¹⁷ Carvings of horned men, playing the Scandinavian form of trumpet, the *lur*, (plural *lurer*) have been found on the stones that formed the burial area of the Mound people, and Fig.1.11 shows one of these picture stones found in 1748 in Bredarör, near the fishing village of Kivik in Skåne, Sweden. The carved stone found on a chieftain's sarcophagus, shows two men, each blowing a *lur*.

The *lur* is described as being in the shape of a capital G, a conical tube, about 2m in length, formed of two separate parts. The larger length carries a bronze sun disk at the extremity; there is no flare to the tube itself.¹¹⁸ Latham describes the *lur* simply as 'a long bronze horn of the 10th- 6th centuries BC; each *lur* of a pair produces much the same pitch.'¹¹⁹ Baines offers more detail, in particular that 'the *lur* is an old Scandinavian term for a calling horn.'¹²⁰



Fig.1.12: three horned men playing *lurer*.

114 Lund, 1981, 1; c.1500–500 BC.

115 Glob, 1974, 17.

116 Lund, 1; c.500 BC-400 AD.

117 Glob, 1974, 17.

118 Baines, 1976, 58.

119 Latham, 2002, 714.

120 Baines, 1992, 192.

Fig.1.12 shows a close-up image of three horned men, again each blowing a *lur*, together with a carving of a ship. The ship demonstrates the importance for Bronze Age overseas trade. In rock-carvings it expressed a prayer to the gods to protect their often dangerous voyages, as well as being a sign of the respect felt for the dead by the Bronze Age people.¹²¹ This carving was found at Kalleby in Bohuslän (Sweden), and clearly shows the performers playing lustily. The *lur* was a magnificent bronze instrument, used to summon people to the annual festivals, and in ceremonies including chariot races, stallion fights, human sacrifices and processions.¹²² The instruments were possibly consigned to the bogs and burials as sacrifices to the gods.

Glob does not refer to actual examples of a *lur* having been found, but merely to carvings.¹²³ Baines, however, notes that nearly 50 such instruments have been found in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Northern Germany, with the first one found excavated from a bog in Brudevalte Moor, North Zealand, in 1797.¹²⁴ He also writes that the *lurer* were 'always found buried in pairs,'¹²⁵ a similarity previously shown with the instruments found in Tutankhamun's tomb (see 1.3).

In shape, the only trumpet which bears any resemblance to the *lur* is the Roman *cornu* (see 1.6.4), and this is solely in the curve of the instrument. It cannot be said that one instrument directly influenced the other in either case, and the only common aspect with the *salpinx* is their use to summons and alert people. The *salpinx* was not so magnificent visually, being in contrast a straight slim tube with a small flared or cup-shaped end.

I now turn back to Aristonicus' list for a brief discussion of the Gaulish, Paphlagonian and Persian trumpets.

1.5 The Gaulish, Paphlagonian, and Persian trumpets.

In ancient times there were two separate areas of Gaul: Cisalpine Gaul, now recognisable as Northern Italy,¹²⁶ and Transalpine Gaul, encompassing France and

121 Glob, 1974, 146-9.

122 *ibid*, 108-113.

123 *ibid*, 113.

124 Baines, 1976, 58.

125 Baines, 1992, 192.

126 *OCD*, 625-626.

Germany. Both were Celtic, although populated by different Celtic tribes.¹²⁷ Paphlagonia was a territory of Northern Asia Minor,¹²⁸ and there were originally two separate Iranian peoples: the Medes from the north, and the Persians from the south. Both names tended to be used indiscriminately after Cyrus (a Mede) became king of both.

The Gaulish trumpet.

Aristonicus describes the Gaulish trumpet (*Galatike*) as

τρίτη ἡ Γαλατική, χωνευτή, οὐ πάνυ μεγάλη, τὸν κώδωνα θηρίου ἔχουσα, ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰρόμενον αὐλὸν μολύβδινον, εἰς ὃν ἐμφυσῶσιν οἱ σαπιγκταί. ἔστι δὲ ὀξύφωνος, καὶ καλεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν κάρνουξ,

being 'high-pitched', ὀξύφωνος,¹²⁹ and not very big; it is made of a lead pipe (αὐλὸν μολύβδινον) inserted into a bell made of a wild animal's horn, which the Celts call the *karnyx* (κάρνουξ).

Marcuse describes the *karnyx* as a 'long, hooked bronze martial trumpet of the ancient Celts, with a straight tube. It has a bent-back bell formed as an animal's head, with an open mouth, and was played with a lead mouthpiece'.¹³⁰ Alcock adds that 'the animal's head had an open mouth. In this was a wooden tongue, which seems to have vibrated to produce undulating sounds'.¹³¹ An example of a *karnyx*, the "Deskford *karnyx*", reconstructed at the National Museum of Scotland, suggests a date between 100 and 300 AD,¹³² so it is remotely possible that Aristonicus may have seen such an instrument. This reconstruction [Fig.1.13] shows the instrument as having an animal's head as the bell, which differentiates from the other versions of trumpet so far examined. What the *karnyx* does resemble, as I shall demonstrate in 1.6.4, is the Etruscan *lituus*, with its long slim tube and bent-back end.

127 *ibid.*

128 *ibid.*, 1107-1108.

129 *LSJ* 1237: compare ὀξυφθογγος, 'sharp-toned, shrill'.

130 Marcuse, 1966, 81-82.

131 Alcock, 2009, 74.

132 Hunter, 2012, notes that a *karnyx* was found in the North East of Scotland around 1816. It has long been recognised as a masterpiece of Celtic art, shaped to resemble a wild boar with its upturned snout and decoration which mirrors the folds of skin around a boar's face and wrought from sheet bronze and brass. Hunter suggests that this assists with dating it, because the technique of making it is not native to Scotland; it represents recycled Roman metal.

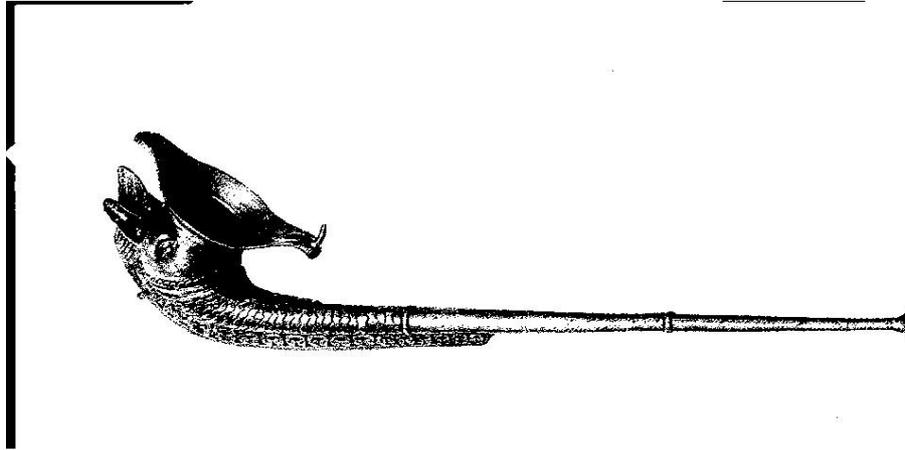


Fig.1.13: the *karnyx*, c.100-300 AD.

LSJ (879) refer to *to karnon*, the Gallic trumpet, which they align with the Latin *cornu*. I find this statement odd, as I consider that the *karnyx* does not resemble the *cornu* at all (see Fig.1.15 of the *cornu*). *LSJ* also cite a reference to the *karnyx* in Diodorus Siculus 5.30, which I think is misleading. Diodorus does take time to describe the Celts in detail in the previous paragraphs in Book 5, from their visual appearance (tall of body, 5.28.1), to their helmets which have horns attached (5.30.2). He then continues in 5:30.3 with

σάλπιγγας δ' ἔχουσιν ἰδιοφυεῖς καὶ βαρβαρικός · ἐμφυσῶσι γὰρ ταύτας
καὶ προβάλλουσιν ἦχον τραχὺν καὶ πολεμικῆς ταραχῆς οἰκεῖον.

'the trumpets of the Gauls are of peculiar nature and such as barbarians use, for when they are blown upon they give forth a harsh sound, appropriate to the trumpet of war.'¹³³

In this passage Diodorus refers to this instrument used by the barbarians as the *salpinx* and does not use the Gaulish word. I suggest that he knew the *karnyx*, and it is easy to see why he would describe it as 'of a peculiar nature', as he clearly recognises that this variety of trumpet differs from the *salpinx* both in appearance and sounds.

In his notes on the Deskford *karnyx*, Hunter observes that 'carnyces were present at the attack on the Greek sanctuary at Delphi in 279 BC', and he cites Polybius as the ancient

¹³³ Paton, 2010, 342.

source for this statement.¹³⁴ If so, this would be of great importance, since evidence showing that the Greeks knew the *karynx* would be hugely useful. I can, however, find no reference to the *karynx* in Polybius' *History*. He certainly mentions the attack at Delphi in 279 BC (*Histories* 1.60 and 2.20), but makes no specific reference to the trumpet at this attack. In his description of the Gaulish invasion of Italy during the Punic war, considerably later than 279 BC, Polybius portrays the trumpet as he knew it from Greek practice; in *Histories* 2.29.6 he writes that

'the Romans were terrified by the fine order of the Celtic host and the dreadful din, for there were innumerable horn-blowers and trumpeters, τῶν βυκανητῶν καὶ σαλπικτῶν, and as the whole army were shouting their war cries, τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου συμπαιανίζοντος at the same time, there was such a tumult of sound that it seemed that not only the trumpets, τὰς σάλπιγγας, and the soldiers but all the country round had got a voice and caught up the cry.'¹³⁵

We also note here the Greek link between the trumpet and the war-cry (συμπαιανίζοντος, see 2.3), in what appears to be a reconstruction from Greek practice.

The Paphlagonian trumpet.

In his description of the Paphlagonian trumpet Aristonicus writes

τετάρτη ἡ Παφλαγονική, ἥτις μείζων μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, τὸν δὲ κώδωνα βοῶς προτομὴν ἔχει. ἔστι δὲ βαρύφωνος καὶ ἀναφυσητή. καλεῖται δὲ βόϊνος,

saying that it is longer than the Greek trumpet, and ends in a bell shaped like a bull's face. It is 'deep-voiced', βαρύφωνος, and ἀναφυσητή; Barker considers that 'the sense of this adjective is unclear, but perhaps it means 'breathy' or 'hoarse'.¹³⁶ *LSJ* 126, however, defines the verb as 'blown upwards'. I consider this an apt description of the method by which a trumpet is played. Barker also notes that it was given the name βόϊνος, but we should note that unlike the others this is obviously a Greek word, referring to the instrument's connection with a bull, and cannot be the name used by the Paphlagonians themselves.¹³⁷ Aristonicus' definition of the Paphlagonian trumpet as

¹³⁴ Hunter, 2012.

¹³⁵ Paton, 2010, 342-435.

¹³⁶ My thanks to Andrew Barker for sight of his notes on this passage.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*

having a bell in the shape of a bull's head is very similar to his description of the *karnyx*. However, his suggestion for the sound of the Paphlagonian trumpet as deep-voiced, does not resemble that of the *karnyx*, high-pitched. I have been unable to find any other reference to this instrument, and the Persian trumpet is even more mysterious.

The Persian trumpet.

In the fifth kind of trumpet, found among the Medes, or Persians, Aristonicus continues,

πέμπτη ἢ Μηδική, τὸν αὐλὸν καλάμινον, τὸν δὲ κώδωνα
βαρύφωνον ἔχουσα, ὀγκόφωνος καλεῖται,

with the pipe, again noted here as the *aulos*, being made of reed, καλάμινον. As with the Paphlagonian version, the bell gives it a 'deep', βαρύφωνος, and 'weighty sound', and it is called ὀγκόφωνος, 'weighty voice'. I shall demonstrate that even Aeschylus (*Persians*) and Xenophon (*Anabasis*) when writing about Persian culture refer to the *salpinx*, rather than by any other name.

1.6 The Etruscan and Roman trumpets.

1.6.1 Introduction.

Many ancient literary sources, written over a wide time frame, link the trumpet with the Etruscans: either by suggesting that the Etruscans invented the instrument, or through use of language to describe the instrument as a Tyrrhenian trumpet. One such invention myth is recorded by both Aristonicus and Pausanias, and mentions a man named Tyrrhenus or Tyrsenus. The Athenian dramatists Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides all link the Tyrrhenians with the trumpet (see 1.6.3).¹³⁸

We may, therefore, ask who were the Etruscans, the Tyrrhenians and Tyrrhenus. The earliest literary reference to the Tyrrhenians is in Hesiod's *Theogony* 1011-1016:

'Circe, daughter of the sun, the son of Hyperion, in shared intimacy with Odysseus the enduring of heart, bore Agrius and Latinus, the excellent and strong, who were lords of all the famous Tyrrhenians far away in a remote part of the Holy Isles'.

Hesiod's depiction of the Tyrrhenians being ruled by a certain Agrius, whose name means a 'savage' or 'wild man',¹³⁹ perhaps offers an image of how the Tyrrhenians were

138 Cf. Pollux *On.* 4.85.

139 Barker and Rasmussen, 1988, 86.

perceived at the time, which is shared by later authors.

In the 5th century BC, Herodotus describes in *Histories* 1.94 the first migration of the Etruscans across the world. The ‘colonization of Tyrrhenia’, as Herodotus puts it, was led by Tyrrhenus and his Lydian travellers, who travelled to Umbria, on the west coast of Italy. Here they settled and named themselves ‘Tyrrhenians,’ after the man who led them. Herodotus’ later compatriot Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Bk.1.26.2, 1.28.1-2) on the other hand ‘refuted the theories that identified the Etruscans with the Lydians.’¹⁴⁰ He believed that they were indigenous to the area, or autochthonous. Dionysius writes that ‘some declare the Tyrrhenians to be natives of Italy, but others call them foreigners’, and he preferred the version he attributes to Xanthus of Lydia, who ‘neither names Tyrrhenus in any part of his history as a ruler of the Lydians nor knows anything of a landing of a colony in Italy; nor does he make the least mention of Tyrrhenia as a Lydian colony’.¹⁴¹ Strabo was probably deliberately echoing Herodotus 1.94 with his comment in *Geography* 5.2.1 that:

οἱ δ’ Ἕλληνες οὕτως ὠνόμασαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος, ὡς φασι, τοῦ στείλαντος ἐκ Λυδίας ἐποίκους δεῦρο.

‘The Greeks, however, so the story goes, named them (the Tyrrheni) thus after Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys, who sent forth “colonists” hither from Lydia’.

The geographical positioning of the Etruscans in the middle of the Mediterranean meant that they were wealthy¹⁴², and wealth by tradition leads to power. This introduces another relevant strand in the aetiological traditions surrounding the Etruscans: they gave symbols of power and authority to the Roman people. These symbols include, according to two ancient sources, the trumpet. Two Greek authors of the 1st century BC, the geographer Strabo and the Sicilian historiographer Diodorus Siculus, both refer to the *salpinx*, and I shall show this in the next sub-section.

1.6.2 Invention myths.

Aristonicus writes about the sixth form of trumpet, the Etruscan version, and suggests that it was invented by the Tyrrhenians:

140 Pallotino, 1975, 64.

141 *ibid.*

142 Bonfante and Swaddling, 2006, 7.

ἔκτη ἢ Τυρσηνική, ὁμοία Φρυγίῳ ἀλῶ, τὸν κώδωνα κεκλασμένον ἔχουσα. ἔστι δὲ λίαν ὀξύφωνος. καλεῖται δὲ λιγύν. ταύτης εἰσὶν εὐρεταὶ Τυρσηνοί, οὐ τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν.

It has a curved bell, κώδωνα κεκλασμένον, and is very high-pitched, ὀξύφωνος (as with the Gaulish trumpet). He adds that it is like the Phrygian *aulos* (Φρυγίῳ ἀλῶ). Marcuse notes the Phrygian *aulos* as '*auloi elymoi*, divergent double pipes of unequal length, the longer one being curved and terminating in a bell originally of animal horn'.¹⁴³ This seems to show that Aristonicus knew both instruments, and thought that the Etruscan trumpet resembled one part of the Phrygian *aulos*. Barker suggests that the part of the text that recorded its name is corrupt, but the word in the MSS, λιγύν, must surely be a corruption of λιτυόν, the Greek form of the Latin *lituus*.¹⁴⁴ He adds that the Greek word *lituon* is attested in Plutarch.¹⁴⁵ It is not clear from where Aristonicus obtained his information. It is unlikely that he travelled that extensively, or was able to see the instruments in their native countries, nor would they feature much in his commentaries on Hesiod and Pindar.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps a clue may lie in his 'Aristarchan recensions of Homer, preserved in our Scholia'.¹⁴⁷

Other earlier sources suggest that the Tyrrhenians were associated with the first trumpet. Strabo (5.2.2) notes:

λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ θριαμβικὸς κόσμος καὶ ὑπατικὸς καὶ ἀπλῶς ὁ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκ Ταρκυνίων δεῦρο μετενεχθῆναι καὶ ῥάβδοι καὶ πελέκεις καὶ σάλπιγγες καὶ ἱεροποιαὶ καὶ μαντικὴ καὶ μουσικὴ ὅση δημοσίᾳ χρῶνται Ῥωμαῖοι.

'it is said that...the triumphal, and consular adornment, and, in a word, that of all the rulers, was transferred to Rome from Tarquinii, as also *fascēs*, axes, trumpets, sacrificial rites, divination, and all music publicly used by the Romans'.

Diodorus' discussion is most comprehensive (5.40.1):

143 Marcuse, 1966, 25.

144 See 2.1 for further discussion.

145 Barker does not expand on this: Plutarch's *Sulla* 19 mentions the *lituus*, but this is more likely to be the symbol of the augurate rather than the trumpet (Crawford, 1974, 359).

146 *OCD* 163.

147 *ibid.* Aristarchus of Samothrace, c. 214–144 BC, styled ὁ γραμματικώτατος, whose work on the Homeric epic poems may have influenced the later Aristonicus.

τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πεζὰς δυνάμεις ἐκπονήσαντες τὴν τε σάλπιγγα λεγομένην ἐξεύρον, εὐχρηστοτάτην μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους, ἀπ' ἐκείνων δ' ὀνομασθεῖσαν Τυρρηγὴν.

'It remains for us now to speak of the Tyrrhenians...they also perfected the organization of land forces, they were the inventors of the *salpinx*, as it is called, a discovery of the greatest usefulness for war and named after them the "Tyrrhenian trumpet." They were also the authors of that dignity which surrounds rulers, providing their rulers with lictors and an ivory stool and a toga with a purple band'.

Both writers associated the introduction of the trumpet with the "incoming" of the Tyrrhenians, together with not only the visual trappings of power, but also its necessity as an instrument for war. The use of the trumpet can be seen as part of a wider Etruscan assimilation of Greek culture, including their language, myth,¹⁴⁸ and 'the essential form of temples, the iconography of the major gods, styles of figurative art and the mythological content of many visual narratives.'¹⁴⁹

Polybius (12.4.2-13) offers a sophisticated yet humorous example of Etruscan trumpet usage with the marshalling of animals on the island of Corsica. He utilises the signals of the *salpinx* to organise the animals, just as in the marshalling of an army. He writes that those who keep animals are not able to follow them as they graze, due to the island being thickly wooded, with rough ground. Therefore, when the herdsmen want to collect their animals, they call them in by a signal on the trumpet, and all the animals respond to their own trumpet call (12.4.2):

κατὰ τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους ἐφιστάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι συγκαλοῦσι τὰ ζῶα, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδιαπτῶτως συντρέχει σάλπιγγα.

When the herds-man sees strangers approaching, he sounds his trumpet,

ὅταν δὲ καὶ συνιδῶν ὁ ποιμὴν τοὺς ἀποβαίνοντας σαλπῖση,

(note the use of the generally military verb *σαλπῖση*), and the animals run headlong to respond to their own sound (12.4.4):

προτροπάδην ἅμα φέρεται καὶ συντρέχε πρὸς τὴν σάλπιγγα.

With many animals needing to be moved from one place to another, Polybius writes that the herds of swine in Italy are very large, especially among the Etruscans and Gauls.

148 Bonfante and Swaddling, 2006, 8.

149 Barker and Rasmussen, 1998, 4.

They therefore invented the horn-call to separate the herds when they get mixed without trouble or fuss:

ἔξ ὧν αὐτοῖς ἐπινενόηται πρὸς τὸ διακρίνειν, ὅταν συμπέσῃ, χωρὶς
κόπου καὶ πραγματείας τὸ κατὰ βυκάνην.

This entertaining story offers a light-hearted view of the trumpet from that of the usual battle histories written by this concise military historian; as an invention myth, I suggest treating it with some circumspection.

The “invention myth” of the conch shell trumpet in the *Fabulae* attributed to Hyginus is a frustratingly undated text (this conceals a scholarly controversy as to the date and authorship of 'Hyginus' *Fabulae*).¹⁵⁰ Taking this into account, it is probably quite late as comparative evidence, but it does link the invention with the Etruscans. I think it safe to accept that the conch trumpets noted by Braun as from between the Bronze Age and the 9th century BC¹⁵¹ considerably pre-date Hyginus' story. In his chapter entitled “Discoverers and Their Discoveries” Hyginus provides the following, in the form of a typical aetiological myth (translation from Scott Smith, 2007):

274.19 *Tyrrhenus Herculis filius tubam primus inuenit hac ratione,*
274.20: *quod cum carne humana comites eius uescerentur, ob*
crudelitatem incolae circa regionem diffugerunt; tunc ille quia
ex eorum decesserat, concha pertusa buccinauit et pagum
convocauit, testatique sunt se mortuum sepulturae dare nec
consumere. unde tuba Tyrrhenum melos dicitur.
274.21: *quod exemplum hodie Romani seruant, et cum aliquis decessit,*
tubicines cantant et amici convocantur testandi gratia eum
neque ueneno neque ferro interiisse. cornicines auteum classici inuenerunt.

274.19 Tyrrhenus son of Hercules invented the trumpet for the following reason. 274.20 Since Tyrrhenus's companions seemed to be eating human flesh, the inhabitants throughout the region fled because of their savagery. Then, because one of his men died, he made a hole in a conch-shell and blew into it, calling the village together, and Tyrrhenus and his men made it clear that they buried the dead man and did not eat him. This is why the trumpet is called the Tyrrhenian song. 274.21 The Romans continue to preserve this precedent, and when someone dies, they play trumpets and friends of the dead assemble to verify that he did not die from poison or the sword. Sailors invented the bugle.

¹⁵²

150 *OCD*, 735.

151 Braun, 2002, 181-182.

152 The final sentence offers one version of the Roman trumpeter, *cornicines*, but no word for 'sailor'. Note also the references to Tyrrhenus in this extract; I shall refer to this many times during the thesis (see 1.6.3 for further).

Hyginus here uses several Latin terms connected with the trumpet, including the conch. The *tuba* is a Roman trumpet, and *buccinauit* has been translated by Scott Smith as the act of blowing into the shell.¹⁵³ This could imply that Hyginus, although specifically referring to the *tuba*, also knew another form of Roman trumpet, the *bucina*. He suggests that Tyrrhenus used the instrument as a form of summons to his men. It would be useful to know what or whom Hyginus used as his source for this story; his reference to the myth alleging that the conch was invented by Tyrrhenus is surely conditioned by earlier sources. Aristonicus suggests that the Tyrrhenians invented the trumpet: perhaps Hyginus used the earlier works of Aristonicus as part of his source material for the Tyrrhenus myth.

Two references in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* link the Etruscans and the trumpet. In 4.184a he writes 'horns and trumpets were invented by the Etruscans', Τυρρηνῶν δ' ἐστὶν εὖρημα κέρατα τε καὶ σάλπιγγες. Then in 4.185a he quotes from Ion's second *Phoenix* (TrGF 19 F 42):

ἐκτύπουν ἄγων βαρὺν
αὐλὸν τρέχοντι ῥυθμῶ,

οὕτω λέγων τῷ Φρυγίῳ · βαρὺς γὰρ οὗτος · παρ' ὃ καὶ τό κέρας αὐτῷ
προσάπτουσιν ἀναλογοῦν τῷ τῶν σαλπίγγων κώδωνι.

"I brought my bass pipes and
was making them resound with a racing rhythm,

referring in this way to the Phrygian pipe, since this is a bass pipe. They accordingly attach the piece of horn to the pipes in much the same way as they do trumpet bells."

The reference to the Phrygian pipe, or horn, is made more relevant when we note that Phrygia was an ancient region of west central Asia Minor, which was eventually absorbed into the kingdom of Lydia in the 6th century BC. Lydia relates back to the migration of the Etruscans noted by Herodotus (see 1.6.1).

Pausanias (2nd century AD) in 2.21.3 records an alternative invention myth which links the *salpinx* with Athena. He cites a popular story about a sanctuary dedicated to Athena *Salpinx*, and founded by Hegeleos, an eponymous hero of the Tyrrhenians.

¹⁵³ *ibid*, 274.20.

Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι Σάλπιγγος ἱερόν φασὶν Ἡγέλεων. Τυρσηνοῦ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἡγέλεων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ γυναικὸς λέγουσι τῆς Λυδῆς, Τυρσηνὸν δὲ σάλπιγγα εὐρεῖν πρῶτον, Ἡγέλεων δὲ τὸν Τυρσηνοῦ διδάξαι τοὺς σὺν Τημένῳ Δωριεᾶς τοῦ ὄργανου τὸν ψόφον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ, Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπονομάσαι Σάλπιγγα.

'A sanctuary of Athena Trumpet they say was founded by Hegeleos. This Hegeleos, according to the story, was the son of Tyrsenus, and Tyrsenus was the son of Herakles and the Lydian woman; Tyrsenus invented the trumpet, and Hegeleos, the son of Tyrsenus, taught the Dorians with Temenus how to play the instrument, and for this reason gave Athena the surname Trumpet.'

Jones notes that 'the epithet perpetuates some detail of a legend'¹⁵⁴, but I in turn note that Pausanias does not say that he saw this sanctuary. This is shown by his use of the words "they say" (φασὶν and λέγουσι), implying that he was relying on hearsay. In addition, he does not specify the location of the sanctuary, thought by later researchers to be in Sparta.¹⁵⁵ What is challenging is that Pausanias is the only ancient source to mention the sanctuary; he may, therefore, not be reliable as a witness. Equally, Pausanias does not date the Hegeleos/Tyrsenus story, but it was recognised as a popular myth in Etruscan antiquity.

1.6.3 The Etruscan trumpet in the Greek literary tradition.

The 5th century BC Athenian dramatists, Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles refer to a Tyrrhenian trumpet, as do the historians Xenophon and Polybius. The dramatists mention the Etruscan, or Tyrrhenian trumpet, in their plays, and often in contexts associated with Athena. Aeschylus refers to the piercing Tyrrhene trumpet (*Eumenides* 568: διάτορος Τυρσηνικῆ σάλπιγγι). Euripides refers to 'the Tyrrhenian trumpet' (*Phoenician Women* 1377: Τυρσηνικῆς σάλπιγγος); while the ps-Euripidean *Rhesus*¹⁵⁶ notes 'the voice of the Tyrrhenian trumpet' (989: Τυρσηνικῆς σάλπιγγος αὐδήν).¹⁵⁷ Collard suggests that although Etruria (a neighbour of Rome) was credited with the trumpet's invention, by the 5th century BC the adjective had almost lost its literal

¹⁵⁴ Jones, 1997, xxv.

¹⁵⁵ Tomlinson, 1972, 206: 'the chief sanctuaries of Athena were away from the area of the lower town, although the *agora* contained a sanctuary of Athena of the Trumpet,' and Serghidou, 2001, 69.

¹⁵⁶ Easterling, 1997, 211n2: *Rhesus* was 'traditionally attributed to Euripides but likely to date from the 4th century.'

¹⁵⁷ See 2.1, 3.3, and 4.3.2

meaning, rather as in 'French horn'.¹⁵⁸

Sophocles' *Ajax* lines 16-17 provides a link between Athena and the Tyrrhenian trumpet: Athena is visible to the audience but not to Odysseus, who appears on stage clearly searching for something. Athena addresses Odysseus, and he replies

ὡς εὐμαθές σου, κἄν ἄποπτος ἦς ὅμως,
φώνημι ᾗ ἀκούω καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενὶ
χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς.

'I cannot see you, and yet how clearly I can catch your words,
like the bronze utterance of an Etruscan trumpet.'¹⁵⁹

For 'trumpet' the text uses κώδων, or bell, which here is both Tyrrhenian and brass or bronze-mouthed (χαλκοστόμου).¹⁶⁰ These extracts from Athenian tragedians give some indication of how they and their audiences perceived the Etruscans, or Tyrrhenians. It seems that their impression was of a people who were in the main war-like, fighting men, whose use of the trumpet as a signalling instrument even at that time was clearly recognised.

Perhaps we should not, however, place too much emphasis on the Tyrrhenian epithet of war-like people, as Theopompus (born 378/377 or 377/376 BC¹⁶¹) writes about them as a "luxury-loving" people. In the 43rd book of his histories (F204, cf. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 517d-518b) Theopompus notes that Tyrrhenian men have their body hair removed by pitch-plasters and razors by craftsmen in shops, to make their bodies smooth. In addition, following the removal of the threat of the Etruscan fleet in the Greek naval victory against the Etruscans off Cumae in 474 BC, the Greeks were keen to establish why the Etruscan naval and land power apparently declined during the 5th and 4th centuries BC.¹⁶² Theopompus (5.40.4-5) writes that this was because 'they (the Tyrrhenians) pass their lives in drinking-bouts and unmanly amusements'.¹⁶³

158 Collard, (Aeschylus) 2002, 215-216.

159 Lloyd-Jones' translation (1994) reads: '...words, that speak as from a Tyrrhenian trumpet spoke with brazen mouth.'

160 Stanford, 1963, 57: he also thinks, as do I, that Sophocles was familiar with the tradition that Athena invented the first trumpet, and Sophocles' writing here provides a splendid simile with Athena's "voice of God" sounding like a trumpet. LSJ (1016): κώδων is explained as τό πλατύ τῆς σάλπιγγος', the mouth of the trumpet.

161 Flower, 1994, 14.

162 *ibid*, 191-192.

163 *ibid*, 191.

1.6.4 The four Roman trumpets.

Historians have ascertained that metal mines in both Italy and on the island of Elba provided work for the Etruscans, and bronze pieces proliferate from graves discovered across the region.¹⁶⁴ Powley notes that 'the unique contribution of Etruscan metallurgy, including the ability to bend a metal tube, led to the development and refinement of several important wind instruments: the *cornu*, *lituus*, and *tuba*',¹⁶⁵ three of the four known Roman trumpets. He notes that 'Roman historians frequently report the sound of the assimilated Etruscan *lituus*, *cornu*, and *tuba* in Roman legions.'¹⁶⁶

In order to illustrate the distinct qualities of the Greek *salpinx*, it is necessary to contrast it with the four different variations of the ancient Roman trumpet: the *tuba*, the *cornu*, the *lituus*, and the *bucina*, discussed by Wellesz (1957), Sadie (1984), and Baines (1976, 1992). There has, as I shall show, been some confusion over the years about the appearance of some of these Etrusco-Roman instruments.

The *tuba*.



Fig.1.14: *tuba*.

Of the *tuba*, [Fig.1.14], Sadie writes that 'the Roman version was directly derived from the Etruscans. This most important Roman brass straight cylinder of bronze or brass (or more infrequently iron or ivory) was approximately 1.2 to 1.5 metres in length.'¹⁶⁷ It was primarily a military instrument, used to accompany marching, sounding the retreat, and it joined the *cornu* in the heat of battle.¹⁶⁸ Wellesz earlier suggests that the length of the instrument was slightly longer than Sadie's calculations, varying from about 1.3 metres to about 2 metres long.¹⁶⁹ If true, this approximate length is amazing, as an instrument of this length would be somewhat difficult to hold, yet alone play (unless resting upon

164 Bonfante and Swaddling, 2006, 74.

165 Powley, 1955, 294.

166 *ibid*, 288. Powley also notes here that the Etruscans played the small transverse flute (similar to the *aulos*?) and the *syrinx*, citing Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1.689-721 with the myth of Pan and the *Syrinx*. See also 2.1 for a comparison with the *syrinx*.

167 Sadie, 1984, 668.

168 *ibid*.

169 Wellesz, 1957, 406.

something, cf the Alpenhorn).

Wellesz says that it could also be made of wood, leather, or iron,¹⁷⁰ and certainly Procopius has written that the *salpinx* was made of leather and very thin wood¹⁷¹, but I have not traced any similar evidence in ancient sources for information about the *tuba*. Both the *tuba* and the *cornu* apparently had a detachable mouthpiece¹⁷² (something that is not evident for the *salpinx*). Baines writes that the *tuba* was one of several brass instruments played by Roman *aeneatores*,¹⁷³ but he also indicates that 'no really representative example has been discovered.'¹⁷⁴ Fig.1.14, drawn in the 18th century AD, shows a close resemblance to the *salpinx*, and as I shall show, the *tuba* was the only Roman version of the trumpet so to do.

For ancient literary evidence mentioning the sound made by the *tuba* we may turn to the Roman poet Ennius (born 239 BC), who wrote (451, *Libro 2*),

At tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit.

Skutsch notes in his commentary that 'the notorious *taratantara* line may have marked the opening of a battle'.¹⁷⁵ His reference to 'an extreme case of onomatopoeia' admirably sums up the line, and the description of the terrible sound of the trumpet's attacking call in such a way echoes the sound of the instrument on the battlefield.

Horace, in his *On the Art of Poetry* (202), writing about the earlier version of the *tibia*, or flute, mentions the contrast of its sound with that of the *tuba*:

*Tibia non, ut nunc, orichalco vincta tubaeque
aemula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco
adspirare et adesse choris erat utilis atque
nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu.*

'At one time the flute – not as now bound with brass and a rival to the trumpet, but simple and delicate in tone and with only a few stops – was of service in giving the note to the Chorus'.

Both texts therefore imply a solid sounding, metal instrument.

The *bucina* and *cornu*.

The *cornu* is described as 'a long bronze tube, curved into a shape resembling the letter

170 *ibid*, 407.

171 In 6.23.23-29, see 1.7.

172 Wellesz, 1957, 407.

173 Baines, 1976, 57-58.

174 Baines, 1992, 349.

175 Skutsch, 1985, 608.

G, and its lower extremity has a large detachable mouthpiece.¹⁷⁶ Sadie adds that it was used for state occasions, and processions.¹⁷⁷ This physical description resembles the Scandinavian *lur*, with its curved shape (see 1.4).

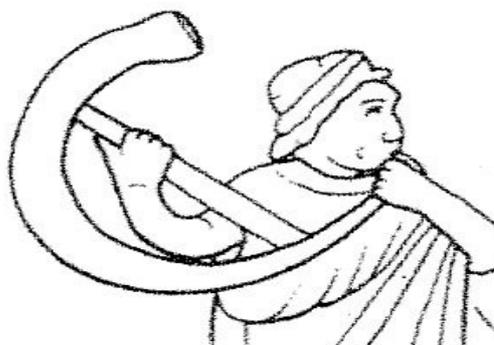


Fig.1.15: *cornu* (detail from Fig.1.17).¹⁷⁸

Landels suggests that the character shown in a painting of various musicians [Fig.1.15], (see Fig.1.17 for the entire image), from the late 1st century AD, is playing a *cornu* or *bucina*¹⁷⁹, but he does not specify which. This is probably because, as Wellesz earlier notes, there was some confusion, even in Roman times, over the difference between the two instruments, and the *bucina* was often confused with the *cornu*.¹⁸⁰ The image in Fig.1.15 is from a painting of a funeral procession.¹⁸¹ Wellesz notes that 'there is no certain representation of the *bucina* in the Roman world', and that it 'was less powerful than the *tuba* or *cornu* and could not be used by itself in the heat of battle'.¹⁸² Baines links the *bucina* with the *cornu*, stating that the *bucina* 'was used in the Roman army at first for camp signals, and then later (from the 1st century AD) as the regular instrument in certain branches of the army, i.e. the cavalry'.¹⁸³

Baines continues with a description of the *cornu* as 'especially a curving bronze horn;

176 Sadie, 1984, 504.

177 *ibid.*

178 Landels (1999, xi) notes in his Preface, 'illustrations posed a problem (due to the damaged vases and vase paintings available)...I therefore decided to use line drawings'. I have used some of his line drawings in this thesis.

179 Landels, 1999, 179.

180 Wellesz, 1957, 406.

181 Baines, 1976, 62.

182 Wellesz, 1957, 407.

183 Baines, 1992, 45.

there were two forms, the smaller being a regular military instrument, curved in over half a circle';¹⁸⁴ and the 'larger and later (well known by examples from Pompeii in the Naples museum) with tubing (some 3.3 metres or 11 feet of tube altogether) prolonged into more than an open circle bringing the bell high above the player's head.'¹⁸⁵ The *cornu* was played by *cornicines*, and being curved rather than straight, was carried high on the shoulder to play.¹⁸⁶ This description is not, however, borne out by Landels' drawing, in which the cross-bar is resting on the upper fore-arm of the player. The supporting cross-bar enabled carrying the instrument, which was made originally of horn, and then subsequently of bronze.¹⁸⁷

The *lituus*.

By contrast, the *lituus* [Fig.1.16] has been linked with the *karnyx*,¹⁸⁸ and Baines also links it with the *cornu*.¹⁸⁹ Aristonicus describes the *lituus* as being 'bent at the extremity, τὸν κώδωνα κεκλασμένον ἔχουσα,' and it does resemble the Celtic *karnyx* (see 1.5).

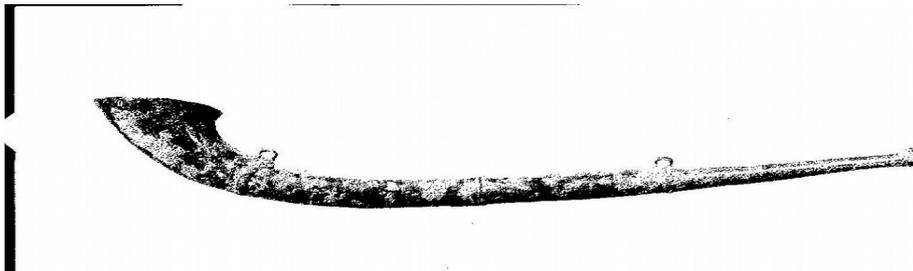


Fig.1.16: the *lituus*.

The *lituus* was made of bronze, and Wellesz notes that an example of a *lituus*, found at Caere and now in the Vatican Museum, was 160cm long.¹⁹⁰ In summary, Sadie tells us that 'the *lituus* was played with the *tuba* and the *cornu* in solemn processions for funerals, civic or religious ceremonies, and military triumphs.'¹⁹¹ Baines agrees, noting

184 *ibid*, 46.

185 *ibid*.

186 Baines, 1976, 60.

187 Wellesz, 1957, 407.

188 See 1.5 earlier.

189 Baines, 1976, 64, citing only Behn, and with no explicit reference.

190 Wellesz, 1957, 407.

191 Sadie, 1984, 668.

that 'the *lituus* was sounded in funeral and other civilian rites until, by the 1st century AD, it had gone out of use and its name became adopted in learned circles for the military oxhorn-shaped *bucina* (Meucci 1989)'.¹⁹²

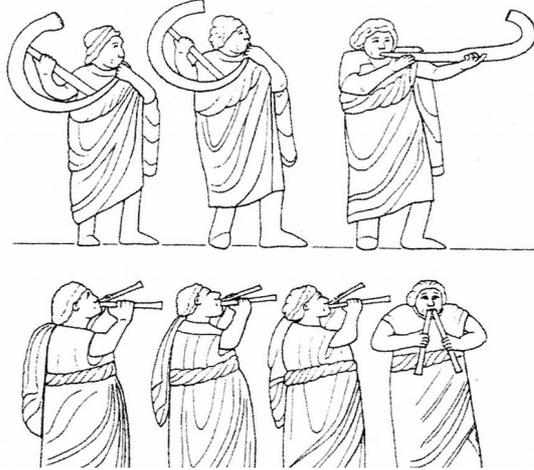


Fig.1.17: trumpeters accompanying an early Roman funeral, late 1st century AD.

The delightful drawing [Fig.1.17] shows both *lituus* and *cornu* in the top line, and the four characters in the lower row are playing the *tibia*, or double flute, an instrument that strongly resembles the Greek *aulos* (but not the Phrygian *aulos* described by Aristonicus).



Fig.1.18: *Tromba e corno*, 4th century BC.

Although Macor has not cited a location for the next drawing shown at Fig.1.18, I think it very likely that it is based upon paintings that have been found in Italian tombs. The

¹⁹² Baines, 1992, 191-192.

picture shows what appears to be a *cornu* on the left, and a *lituus* in the centre. It is interesting to see that Macor's caption¹⁹³ describes the instruments as trumpet and *cornu*, with the *lituus* merely called a trumpet. The painting was found at the Tomb of the Seven Chimneys, the tomb of the Hescana family in Orvieto.¹⁹⁴ Figs.1.15, 1.17 and 1.18 therefore support the argument that the *cornu* and the *lituus* were played at funerals, in direct comparison with the *salpinx* where no such evidence has been found.

Turning to Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* 12 we have a spectacular account of the death of the emperor Claudius. In a conspicuously extravagant description, the text includes different forms of trumpeter. Seneca writes that 'as they passed downwards along the Sacred Way, Mercury asked what was that great concourse of men? Could it be Claudius' funeral?'

Et erat omnium formosissimum et impensa cura, plane ut scires deum efferri: tubicinum, cornicinum, omnis generis aenatorum tanta turba, tantus concentus, ut etiam Claudius audire posset.

'It was certainly the most gorgeous spectacle, got up regardless of expense, clear it was that a god was being borne to the grave; blaring of trumpeters, roaring of horn- players, an immense brass band of all sorts. So great a crowd, so great a concerted din that even Claudius could hear it.'

The instrumentalists referred to by Seneca are *tubicines*, and *cornicines*, i.e. *tuba* and *cornu* players. The reference to so many trumpet players all in one passage is of great interest, and the immense brass band is in direct contrast to the lone trumpeter more often visualised. The "over-the-top" imagery makes the story very enjoyable.

Other variants of trumpet players are listed by Aulus Gellius in his *Attic Nights* (20.2.1-3¹⁹⁵) where he discusses the meaning of the word '*siticenes*, a type of trumpet player, found in a speech of Marcus Cato, entitled *Let not a Former Official retain his power, when his Successor arrives*'.

' "*Siticines*," inquit, "et *liticenes* et *tubicines*"..."*liticines*" *lituo* cantare et "*tubicines*" *tuba*; quid istuc autem sit, quo "*siticines*" cantant, homo *ingenuae veritatis* scire sese negat.'

Gellius notes that

193 Macor, 2002, 22.

194 Cited by Dr Peter Holmes in his lecture at the British Museum on 18/01/2013 entitled "Sounding the *cornu* – music of the Etruscans."

195 Translation from Rolfe, 1927, 428-429.

'Caesellius Vindex, in his *Notes on Early Words*, declares that he knows that *liticenes* played upon the *lituus*, or "clarion", and *tibicenes* on the *tuba*, or "trumpet," but, being a man of conscientious honesty, he says that he does not know what instrument the *siticenes* used. But I have found in the *Miscellanies* of Ateius Capito that these were called *siticenes* who played in the presence of those who were "laid away" (*sitos*), that is, who were dead and buried; and that they had a special kind of trumpet on which they played, *proprium genus tubae, qua canerent, a ceterorum tubicinum differens*, differing from those of the other trumpeters'.

The main point in Gellius' explanation is that the Romans used a different trumpet for different purposes, whereas my research shows that the Greeks had just the one trumpet, the *salpinx*, used for a variety of purposes.

Civic occasions demonstrate a difference between the uses of the Roman trumpet and the Greek *salpinx*. I discuss the occasions where the *salpinx* was played in detail in chapters 3 and 4 in more detail, but there is certainly more ancient source evidence for the playing of the Roman trumpets in civic life than there is for the *salpinx*. My research has shown that the *salpinx* visually appears to be very similar to the *tuba*, but since this is the simplest kind of trumpet, it is hardly in itself evidence of influence on development. Neither the *lituus* nor the *cornu* resemble the *salpinx*, which is only recorded as being a straight tube, although the *cornu* does bear a slight resemblance to the *lur* from Scandinavia. We have seen, however, that the *lituus* and the Celtic *karnyx* are similar in shape and length.

1.7 The Greek *salpinx*.

1.7.1 Introduction.

Four ancient sources provide descriptions of the *salpinx*: Aristonicus (late 1st century BC to early 1st century AD), Pollux (2nd century AD), Artemidorus (3rd century AD), and Procopius (c.500 AD). As we have already seen, Aristonicus lists six different forms of trumpet, and he describes the Greek trumpet first, possibly because it was the most familiar to him and his intended readers, and so a 'norm' against which to compare the other types. He briefly says that it is μακρὰ τὸ σχῆμα, long in shape. Pollux offers a little more detail. In *Onomastikon* 4.85 he says that the trumpet is straight in shape, τὸ σχῆμα εὐθειά, with a crooked staff, καμπύλη: this contradicts the visual image of the

salpinx, and describes the *lituus* perfectly. He also notes ἡ δὲ γλῶττα ὀστίνη, that it has a bone tongue. Krentz suggests that Pollux here describes the instrument as having a bone reed, (*glotta*), something which I find difficult to accept, and he also states that Pollux clearly describes the *salpinx* as a reed instrument.¹⁹⁶ Pollux also notes ἡ δὲ ἕλη χάλκος καὶ σίδηρος. This appears to provide a link to war, with ἡ ἕλη being a band or troop of men, a company of soldiers (*LSJ* 828), as well as the reference to copper and iron.

Krentz cites arguments put forward by Bélis to support Pollux' statement that the trumpet was a reed instrument.¹⁹⁷ Bélis argues that Simplicius (*In. Phys.* 4.8) says that the hydraulic organ used reeds of *salpinges* or *auloi*; a vase painting shows the trumpeter wearing a *phorbeia* (I discuss this in 4.3.1); and excavations in Pompeii found three circular bronze instruments, nearly 14 feet (4.20 cm) long, with ivory bells, of which one had a mouthpiece, but the other two were reed instruments.¹⁹⁸ Krentz writes that Bélis concludes that the Greeks had a *salpinx* with a reed, and one without, but he does not agree, and neither do I. None of my research has shown any evidence of a reed being used with a *salpinx*. I have shown above that Aristonicus notes the Persian trumpet as being made of a reed (as opposed to having one inserted into a mouthpiece). There is also no evidence to show that the *salpinx* had a mouthpiece as we know one from our modern-day instrument. Pollux' use of the expression ἡ γλῶττα ὀστίνη is therefore challenging, as the image of a bone tongue is hard to assimilate.

Pollux' (2nd century AD) description is followed by that of Artemidorus (3rd century AD) to a degree. In his *On Dreams* 1.56 Artemidorus describes the *salpinx* as σύγκειται γὰρ ἐξ ὀστῶν καὶ χαλκοῦ, formed from 'bone and brass', and his description is similar to the Boston trumpet (see Fig.1.24).

The later writer Procopius (ca.500 AD) offers a slightly different description in his *History of the Wars*, where he writes about the Roman army. In a passage which contains a

196 Krentz, 1991, 111.

197 *ibid.*

198 Bélis, 1986, 205-218.

reference to the *salpinx* (6.23.23-29, see 3.1.1 for further discussion), Procopius, in addressing the Emperor Justinian's great general Belisarius, writes a very helpful treatise. This includes the commands made by the *salpinx*, but Procopius also provides rare detail on the composition of the *salpinx*:

σάλπιγξι μὲν ταῖς ἵππικαῖς ἐγκελεύου τοῖς στρατιώταις διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ταῖς δὲ πεζικαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἀνακάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἑκατέρου γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἤχου μὴ οὐχὶ ξυνεῖναι ἀδύνατον, ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ βύρσης τε καὶ ξύλου ὑπεράγαν λεπτοῦ, ὁ δὲ παχέος τινὸς χαλκοῦ πρόεισι.

'With the cavalry, trumpets urge on the soldiers to continue fighting with the enemy, but those of the infantry call the men back to the retreat. For it is impossible to fail to recognise the sound of either one, for in the one case the sound comes forth from leather and very thin wood, and in the other from rather thick brass.'

Procopius does not elaborate as to which was the cavalry trumpet, and which was the infantry. I agree with Wellesz' conclusion: 'cavalry trumpets were lighter, made of leather and thin wood, and sounded the charge; the bronze instrument of the infantry sounded the retreat when a more distinctive sound was required.'¹⁹⁹ My reasoning for this is that riding a horse and carrying and playing an instrument was surely more complex than just standing playing the trumpet, and a lighter version would be more preferable whilst astride a horse.

1.7.2 The war goddess: Athena *Salpinx*.

Fig.1.19 is titled 'Athena'²⁰⁰ and depicts a female figure holding a *salpinx*. I argue that the painting is therefore our earliest visual image connected with the goddess and the trumpet. The painting is on a 5th century BC Attic red-figure *lekythos*, found under a sarcophagus situated south of the Acropolis, outside the walls.²⁰¹ I suggest that the combination of Athena with a trumpet, and the location of the find on the Acropolis with its direct association with Athena offer a strong link between the trumpet and war.

199 Wellesz, 1957, 412.

200 *Arch Delt* 19 (1964); *BCH*, 1966, 741, Fig.1.

201 Serghidou (2001, 74) notes that the original vase is in the Acropolis Museum in Athens, no.2568. This museum closed several years ago; the contents were transferred to the New Acropolis Museum, completed in 2009. I have visited the new museum several times, and have not seen the vase, and I have attempted to contact the curators of the museum to no avail. The photo of the vase shows a huge amount of damage so it may be that the original sadly does not now exist.

Salpinx is, after all, one of the many epithets by which Athena was known.²⁰²



Fig.1.19` : Attic red-figure *lekythos*, second quarter of the 5th century BC.

The viewer's gaze focuses not just on the *salpinx* in the hands of the striking figure of the goddess, but also on the shield at her feet. The shield appears to be leaning against a wall, next to Athena. The decoration is minimal, with the exception of an owl perching on an olive branch. Both the olive branch and the owl are Athena's characteristic symbols, which appear on other artefacts such as Greek coins.²⁰³ What appears to be a lance is shown on the left side of the painting, yet another accoutrement of war.

In this image of Athena, the goddess wears a long, flowing, pleated *himation*. She has bare arms, but wears a large helmet on her head. There are soft curls of hair covering her right ear, perhaps in an attempt to emphasize her femininity but which balances with her masculine war image. Her position seems very formal and clearly "posed". Bundrick suggests that Athena is 'possibly about to raise it to her lips and play',²⁰⁴ but I

202 See 1.6.2 for the Athena *Salpinx* invention myth (Pausanias, 2.21.3).

203 Waterfield, 2005, 36. Kerenyi (1951, 126) notes that 'in ancient pictures the owl often represented Athena herself'. Deacy (2008, 7) describes the owl as Athena's pet or familiar. On the quarrel between Athena and Poseidon over the foundation of Athens, see Apollodorus 3.178-179.

204 Bundrick, 2005, 44.

do not agree with this suggestion. I believe that she is perhaps showing the instrument to someone. I suggest that the painter intended the picture to be a symbol of Athena's authority, with its clear links to warfare, rather than a picture of Athena playing the trumpet. In this interpretation I agree with Serghidou, who regards this vase painting as depicting the goddess represented with 'both of her attributes in a sophisticated symbolic complex...the *salpinx* and a shield bearing an eminently political symbol, an olive branch'.²⁰⁵ The scale is doubtful; the length from the tip to end of the trumpet seems to match that of Athena's right arm. This particular instrument is unlikely to have been played in the midst of battle. We may also consider that according to myth, Athena invented the trumpet, and is not generally known to have actually played one.

Athena's association with the *salpinx* endures long after the 5th century BC and seems to have become traditional. In a demonstration of the *salpinx* epithet, Lycophron (early 3rd century BC) writes in 914-915:

αὐτὴ γὰρ ἄκραν ἄρδιν εὐθυνοῖ χεροῖν
Σάλπιγξ ἀποψάλλουσα Μαιώτην πλόκον,

Salpinx with her own hands shall guide the arrow
straight from a twisted bow-string.

Antipater of Sidon (late 2nd century BC) wrote a poem in the persona of a *salpinx*, which alludes to Athena as the 'Tritonian maid (AP 6.159)':

Ἄ πάρος αἱματόεν πολέμου μέλος ἐν δαΐ σάλπιγξ,
καὶ γλυκὺν εἰρήνας ἐκπροχέουσα νόμον
ἄγκειμαι, Φερένικε, τεὸν Τριτωνίδι κούρα
δῶρον, ἐριβρύχων παυσαμένα κελάδων.

I, the trumpet that once poured forth, what time the fight was arrayed,
War's blood-stained notes, and anon of peace the dulcet strain,
Here hang, Pherenikos, thy gift to the holy Tritonian Maid,
And for aye henceforth from my thunderous music do I refrain.²⁰⁶

I expand on this passage in Chapter 2, but the association here between Athena as a 'Tritonian maid' and the trumpet may be favourably compared with an anonymous poem in the *Greek Anthology* (6.194). Way's notes read 'on a trumpet' - εἰς σάλπιγγα ·

²⁰⁵ Serghidou, 2001, 73.

²⁰⁶ I have used Way's translation which although dated offers a romantic image of the goddess. Compare 2.1 on sounds.

εἴρηται δὲ εἰς μέρος σάλπιστικόν, and we read:

Σῶζε, θεὰ Τριτοῖ, τὰ τεθέντα <τε> τὸν τ'ἀναθέντα,

Tritonian Goddess, deign to save / This offering and him who gave.

This supplication to the war goddess supported with the title 'on a trumpet' provides an evocative image which could explain Fig.1.19.²⁰⁷

1.7.3 Vase paintings and statues.

I discuss here a selection of four vase paintings [Figs.1.20 to 1.23] which show the Greek *salpinx*, and date from the 7th to the 4th centuries BC.²⁰⁸ They demonstrate that the impression given by the painter can be misleading to the viewer, with perspectives often somewhat awry. However, the painting shows the instrument as the painter saw it at that time; he would expect the viewer to recognise it. We may also pose the question: would we expect the painter to misrepresent his subject matter?

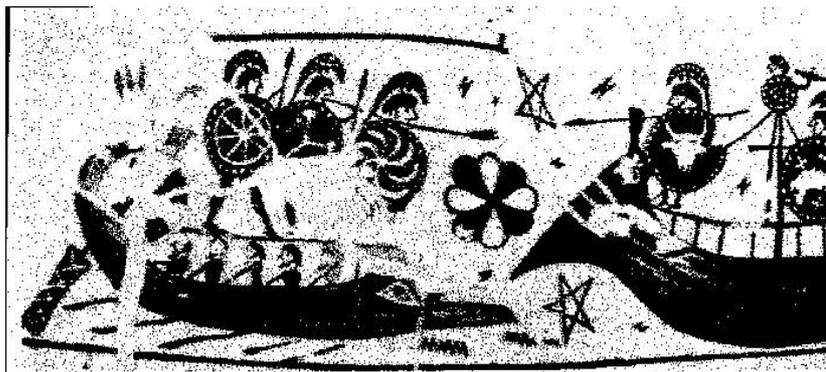


Fig.1.20: the *krater* of Aristonothos, depicting a naval combat.

Fig.1.20 dates from the 7th century BC and is considerably different from later vase paintings. The subject matter is more 'imagined' and decorative, with the stars and patterns contained within it. The characters are simplistic and identical in features, and

207 Kowalzig (2007, 152) amplifies the suggestion of Athena *Salpinx* as the trumpet's inventress with 'an Argive tradition...when the Dorians at Argos are taught the tunes of Athena *Salpinx*' trumpet as if here an old tune was taught to newcomers'.

208 There are many vase paintings showing a trumpeter with instrument, far too many to include in this thesis. If space allowed I would include a painting of a warrior playing a trumpet, on a red-figure amphora from 500-450 BC, attributed to the Tyszkiewicz Painter by Beazley, 1963, 292:33; an Athenian red-figure cup depicting an archer with a trumpet between eyes, from c.530 BC, attributed to the Andocides Painter by Beazley (Beazley Archive).

the length of the *salpinx* is entirely improbable. The *krater* shows on the left a trireme, with rowers, and there are three figures to the left of the centre aboard the ship. They each wear helmets, and are carrying shields showing different shield devices.

When I first examined this image, I was unable to decide whether this shows the middle character of three on the left holding an elongated trumpet, or whether the man to his right as we look at the image is holding a shorter version. After much deliberation, I have decided that the central figure is holding an elongated trumpet, which appears to be resting on his neighbour's right shoulder. The instrument is formed of a long thin tube with a cup-like swelling at the end. The trumpet appears to be much too long to serve any practicable purpose, but the painter seems to have solved the practical problem of the length by balancing it as I suggest. The picture, albeit simple, and almost comical, nevertheless offers the painter's impression of the practice of a *salpinx*-player aboard a trireme.

The fragment shown at Fig.1.21 dates from the last quarter of the 6th century BC, and provides a possible image of a battle scene. There is a figure playing the *salpinx* on the left-hand side of the picture, and a hoplite running out of scene on the right.

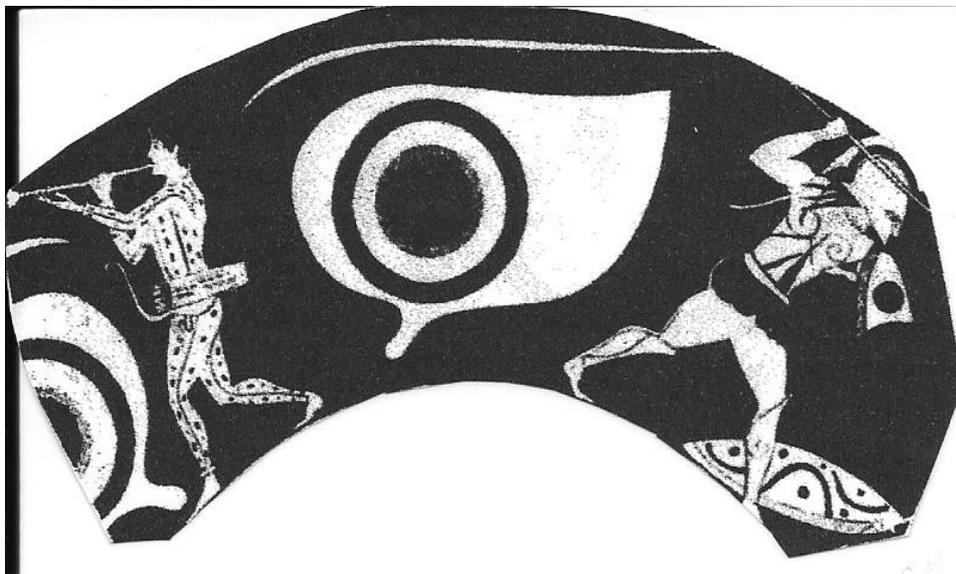


Fig.1.21: an eye cup, by the Andokides Painter, dated to c. 530 – 520 BC.

The main interest here is that the trumpet player is an archer, and is holding his

instrument with both hands. His right hand holds the tube of the *salpinx* mid-way along, while his left hand supports the end of the tube, just behind the bulbous cup-shaped bell. His position on the curve of the cup almost gives the impression that he is running whilst playing his trumpet. The quiver full of arrows is clearly visible hanging over his left shoulder, yet he is holding and playing a trumpet. We may also consider the war symbols depicted in this painting. The painter possibly thought that the balance of the two figures would be improved by showing each carrying symbols of war. The figure on the right has a small shield, carries a javelin, and wears a helmet. There is a larger shield on the ground at his feet. The figure on the left is balanced by holding a quiver full of arrows and the trumpet, the war instrument.

My next image is a fragment of a vase painting from the end of the 6th century BC [Fig.1.22]. The trumpet has a straight slim tube, with a tulip-shaped swelling at the end. Baines notes that the *salpinx*, 'an ancient Greek calling instrument, was especially a long straight trumpet of which no certain example has yet come to light.'²⁰⁹ I shall offer evidence that may contradict this in the next sub-section.



Fig.1.22: *salpinx*, c.510 BC.

The sexually ambiguous figure of the trumpeter²¹⁰ is holding the trumpet in an almost

209 Baines, 1992, 293.

210 See 3.4 for discussions of the potential sexual ambiguity of the figures depicted in Greek vase paintings.

fully outstretched right hand. From this painting we can deduce from the slimness and the length of the tube that the trumpet seems to be metallic in form. The costume of a short tunic is similar to that of a musician playing a conch shell [see Fig.1.4]. Paquette suggests the trumpet player is an Amazon.²¹¹ Mitchell disputes this and captions his version of this painting as 'Man at War'.²¹² I think the suggestion that this depicts an Amazon is only supported by the (apparently) bare breasts of the trumpet player. This could be a fanciful suggestion, as the short hair looks more masculine than feminine, and the figure differs in representation from an Amazon depicted on an *epinetron* in the Eleusis Museum.²¹³ The trumpeter is standing in front of a shield, left hand resting behind the left hip, right hand holding the *salpinx* just behind the bell. The aspect of a trumpeter with a shield presents a visual portrayal of a war trumpeter, but as a fictitious image.



Fig.1.23: Nike and Herakles, third quarter of the 4th century BC.

In his commentary on Aristophanes' *Clouds*,²¹⁴ Dover refers to the vase painting of Nike and Herakles, 4th century BC, [Fig.1.23] as a comparison between the Greek *salpinx* and the trumpet as we know it today. The bulbous end of the instrument differs from the cup

211 Paquette, 1984, 80.

212 Mitchell, 2009, 185.

213 See Fig.3.3 in 3.4 for comparison.

214 Dover, 1968, 116.

shape that we have seen in other vase paintings. Another difference from other paintings are the two bands, or discs, that encircle the tube just above the top of the bell-shaped swelling at the end of the instrument. Paquette considers that these two discs slide along the tube of the instrument, although he does not suggest what their purpose might have been. I too have no idea: they may have been purely for decoration, with the painter offering a comparative image to those of his competitors.

I now move from vase paintings to statues. The only example I have found of a statue depicting a trumpeter is Fig.3.1, which shows a small bronze statue of the trumpeter at Sparta, and which I discuss in more detail in 3.1.10. However, Plutarch refers to what was clearly meant to be a recognisable statue type, ὁ σαλπικτῆς, in his *Precepts of Statecraft* 820:

διὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι γραφομένων τιμῶν ἢ πλαττομένων ἢ χαλκοτυπομένων, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὸ εὐδοκιμοῦν ἀλλότριόν ἐστιν · ἐπαινεῖται γὰρ οὐχ ᾧ γέγονεν ἀλλ' ὑφ' οὗ γέγονεν ὡς ὁ σαλπικτῆς καὶ ὁ δορυφόρος.

'Therefore we have no need of honours painted, modelled, or cast in bronze, in which even that which is admired is really the work of another; for the person who receives praise is not the man for whom the "trumpeter" or the "doryphorus," for example, was made, but the man by whom it was made.'²¹⁵

A near contemporary of Plutarch, Pliny the Elder (AD 23/24 - 79), refers in his *Natural History* to two 'trumpeter' statues, one by Epigonus, and the other by Antidotus. In Book 34.19.88 we find that:

Epigonus omnia fere praedicta imitatus praecessit in tubicine...

'Epigonus, who copied others in almost all the subjects already mentioned, took the lead with his trumpet-player',

and in Book 35.40.130 we read:

Euphranoris autem discipulus Antidotus. Huius est clipeo dimicans Athenis et luctator tubicenque inter pauca laudatus.

'Euphranor's pupil was Antidotus, and works by Antidotus depict a combatant with a shield at Athens and a wrestler, and a trumpeter which has been exceptionally praised'.

A trumpeter who was exceptionally praised: it would be fascinating to be able to trace

215 In his footnote (a) to this passage, North Fowler (1969, 271) says that these were two famous statues; the doryphorus, or spear-bearer, was by Polycleitus. He does not cite any ancient source for ὁ σαλπικτῆς, unfortunately.

these statues, and I wonder why he was so praised? I suspect they have long since been destroyed.

1.7.4 The Boston *salpinx*.

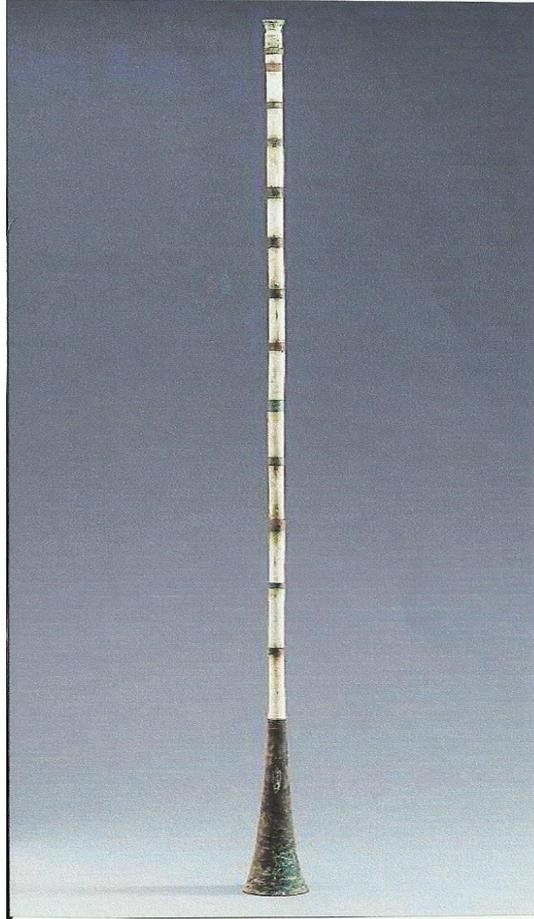


Fig.1.24: *Salpinx*, dated between the 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD.

As noted earlier, Baines does not consider that any 'certain example (of a Greek *salpinx*) has yet come to light'.²¹⁶ Xanthoulis suggests, however, that the Boston instrument [Fig.1.24] 'may well be an example of an ancient Greek *salpinx*'.²¹⁷ He writes that it was purchased by the museum in 1937 from a collector in New York who had bought it from a dealer, who in turn had bought it from a man in Greece who said that it had been "found at Olympia." It is thought to date from some time between the 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD.

This tortuous saga of events may cast doubt on the veracity of the instrument, offering

²¹⁶ Baines, 1992, 293.

²¹⁷ Xanthoulis, 2006, 42–43.

as it does a somewhat “dodgy” provenance. The instrument comprises thirteen sections of bone, joined together, and the measurements are length, 155 cm, and diameter, 7.8 cm. The bell is made of cast bronze, and is 31.8 cm in length and 7.8cm in diameter. In addition, we may note that the carvings on the flared bell resemble those on the somewhat shorter silver trumpet found in the tomb of King Tutankhamun. Even if the instrument is proved not to be from the period stated, it is of interest in view of what it is made of, as well as its length.

Sextus Propertius (54/47 BC-c.2 BC), in his *Elegies* 4.3.19-20 writes of a 'harsh hoarse' sound made by the "querulous bones"; he may be describing a trumpet made of bone:

*occidat, immerita qui carpsit ab arbore vallum
et struxit querulas rauca per ossa tubas.*

This example from Propertius relates a letter from Arethusa to her husband Lycotas, who is away fighting in a war. She is complaining because he has been away for four years, and she curses the inventors of war for the misery caused. In particular she rails against the sounds made by the war trumpet, formed from bone.

Artemidorus offers a tantalising reference to a bone trumpet (*On Dreams*, 1.56):

καὶ τοὺς νοσοῦτας ἀναιρεῖ σύγκειται γὰρ ἐξ ὀστέων καὶ χαλκοῦ δι' ὧν
ἔξεισι μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα, οὐχ ὑποστρέφει.

And it kills the sick, for it is made out of bones and bronze, through which the breath departs but does not return.

This description matches that of the Boston *salpinx*, and, whatever its origin, the Boston *salpinx* offers a material example of a trumpet that may date from as early as the 3rd century BC. It would appear to be perhaps more ceremonial than practical, and when played I can imagine it being handled like the trumpet on the Aristonothos *krater* [Fig.1.20], resting on the shoulder of the man in front.

1.8 Conclusion.

I have shown that the evidence for the sea shell trumpet in its various forms demonstrates a primitive form of trumpet known to cultures dating well before the 5th century BC. Even the references to the ram's horn, or *shofar*, in many of the books of the Old Testament describe an original version of the trumpet as a primarily natural object, used by men to summon, to instruct, and to offer praise. According to myth,

drama and poetry, the conch shell was also known to the ancient Greeks and, as with the *shofar*, was used as an instrument to sound warnings and alert people to some impending danger.

At the same time as the ram's horn was in use, however, I have shown that metal forms of trumpets were known to ancient civilisations. The *shofar* is recorded in the Old Testament alongside the *hasosera*, the silver trumpet. Primarily these trumpets were used in the Old Testament for signals and commands in battle, which is similar to Greek practice. They were also used for many religious purposes, unlike the Greek *salpinx*. The two instruments (one silver, the other copper or bronze) found in the tomb of King Tutankhamun, dating from the 14th century BC, and the *lurer* of Scandinavia, magnificent bronze instruments from an era before 1000 BC, were each deposited as grave goods and so provide further material evidence for the shape and construction of these instruments at that time.

Even the *karnyx*, known to the Iron Age Celts across what is now modern-day Europe, was an instrument that was defined by its characteristic bell; it was possibly written about by Polybius, and described by Diodorus Siculus.

I have demonstrated that there were four Roman trumpets, in contrast with the Greek *salpinx*. Only one of these, the *tuba*, bears any resemblance to the *salpinx*, but as the *tuba* is such a simple form this cannot demonstrate influence on the development of the *salpinx*. All four instruments were used more in Roman civic life than the *salpinx* was in Greek civic life.

Literary references in this chapter to the Greek *salpinx* start with the dramatists of the 5th century BC (earlier source references will be cited in the next chapter), together with the historians Xenophon and Polybius, and are followed by poetic references from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. In cult, the goddess Athena is linked with the trumpet and its invention. Later writers such as Aristonicus, Pollux, Artemidorus, and Procopius provide valuable information about the physical shape of the *salpinx*. Procopius is the only source to suggest that there were two different military types of *salpinx*, and this may indicate a development which had occurred by his time (ca.500 AD).

My selection of vase paintings show that the Greek *salpinx* depicted in each painting is

similar in appearance, despite having been drawn by different painters. They generally show a long slim tube, with a cup or bell-shaped swelling at the end. Whether this could have, or indeed, did, affect the sound made is a matter of conjecture. Logic dictates that an 'open' bell-shaped end would make a clearer sound, whereas an enclosed cup-shaped end, as so many are depicted, for me implies a more constricted sound. There seems to be no good reason why a painter would misrepresent the reality of the *salpinx*, and their interpretations of what they saw provide valuable evidence for the instrument. In addition, the painters often seem to wish to link the instrument as a symbol with other objects connected to warfare. Vase painting evidence for the appearance of the Greek *salpinx* is vital, because so few literary sources describe its appearance. If we accept the instrument allegedly found at Olympia and now on display at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts [Fig.1.24], the Greek *salpinx* appears to have been a long thin tube with a slightly flared end.

The images depicted on the vase paintings show single trumpeters. This may be an artistic commonplace because, as I shall show in chapter 3, military literary sources often refer to more than one trumpeter at a time. I have not found a vase painting showing a group of trumpeters playing the Greek *salpinx*, whereas we are told that depictions of Roman trumpets frequently show more than one player; Egyptian trumpeters are also often shown in pairs, and the Scandinavian carvings of the *lur* certainly show more than one instrument.

From this examination of the physical characteristics of the *salpinx*, it is plausible that the *salpinx* was influenced by the Etruscan *tuba*, which I believe was in turn influenced by the shape of the Egyptian trumpet. The other ancient Roman trumpets (the *cornu*, *lituus*, and *bucina*) were not developed by the ancient Greeks, although the *lituus* does closely resemble the Celtic *karnyx*, and the *cornu* and Scandinavian *lur* are faintly similar. I have demonstrated, and will continue so to do, that following the primitive sea shell trumpet the Greeks of the 5th century BC only had one form of trumpet: the *salpinx*, which they recognised as a long, slim instrument with a cup or bell-shaped end.

Chapter 2:

The language of trumpet sounds and emotions.

2.0 Introduction

The range and depth of language which evokes the sounds made by the trumpet in the Greek literary tradition, in sources which range from historian to dramatist, poet or biographer, is perhaps surprisingly great, and offers a wealth of material for research. I propose to discuss the development, similarities, and differences found across the various genres examined, because I believe they imply shared popular conceptions. Baines writes that 'the shell trumpet was man's first war trumpet for when blown as strongly as possible its normally attractive note becomes harsh and savage'.²¹⁸ I shall demonstrate that 'harsh and savage' appear amongst the variety of words used in the ancient sources to describe the sounds made by the trumpet, and that the characteristics of the trumpet were in balance with some of the literary descriptions of the sounds it produced: sonorous, shrill and piercing, amongst many others. I shall also show the language of the emotions experienced by the listener, not only on the battlefield, but also in peacetime activities.

Kaimio's *Characterisation of Sound in early Greek Literature* (1977) has been extremely helpful. She has researched the expressions used to characterise the different qualities of sound in several ancient Greek sources.²¹⁹ As she so aptly writes, 'no thorough and consistent investigation has been made upon the subject of the characterisation of sounds. The auditory aspect in the works of the Greek authors has in general been overshadowed by the visual aspect.'²²⁰ In my work on sounds and emotions I shall expand upon Kaimio's research, although I do consider that the visual aspect is of great importance, and I have therefore included more vase paintings in the following two chapters.

I also draw upon the usefully informative chapter on "The *Salpinx* in Greek Warfare" (in Hanson, 1991) in which Krentz discusses some of the language used in the ancient

218 Baines, 1976, 44.

219 Kaimio, 1977, 7.

220 *ibid*, 9.

sources; he does not, however, explore this topic in as much depth as I do.²²¹ Krentz's work concentrates on the military uses of the instrument, but he offers a brief reference to the language used in Homeric epic, and by Aeschylus and Pollux, to describe the sounds made. As with Kaimio's work, I shall expand in detail on Krentz's research.

In 1933, Kirby was allowed access to the two trumpets found in King Tutankhamun's tomb, and he produced a 'resounding blast' from each instrument.²²² He said that 'of course, there were no mouth pieces of the kind we use today on brass instruments'.²²³ We may note that it is possible to hear the sounds of a Greek *salpinx* today. Dr Peter Holmes, the trumpet-engineer who was among the first real pioneers in ancient instrument reproduction and exploration, has a deep interest in metallurgy and manufacturing. He combines this with a love of trumpet playing and has opened a new door into ancient music.²²⁴ In his work on ancient Etruscan brass instruments, Dr Holmes has constructed a variety of reproduction instruments, ranging from the Greek *salpinx* to the Roman *tuba* and *cornu*. He has successfully produced sounds from these instruments, which are very basic in comparison with the trumpet of the modern day.

As I noted in my previous chapter, few original ancient trumpets survive, so we are forced to rely chiefly upon the ancient literary sources for descriptions of the sounds made by the *salpinx*. The military connotations of the *salpinx* indicate that the sound of the instrument would have been familiar to the hoplite in the army, as well as in peacetime. The ancient literary sources therefore had to produce a vocabulary with which, in effect, to paint a picture for their audience. This in turn would have prompted audience recognition for something that was familiar, enabling the listener to recall the familiarity rather than the creation of a new, unfamiliar sound.

2.1 Sounds of the trumpet: from epic poems and tragedy.

I find it fascinating that although one might expect to find a reference to the trumpet in the martial world of the *Iliad*, nowhere in the narrative in this epic poem is there any direct reference to the trumpet as an instrument (as opposed to the similes). There is

221 I also refer to Krentz in chapter 3.

222 Manniche, 1991, 77.

223 *ibid.*

224 Holmes, 2013, <http://ancientmusicireland.com>.

also no mention of the trumpet in the *Odyssey* at all. In fact the first intimation of a trumpet in the *Iliad* does not appear until 18.219 (note Aristonicus' commentary at 2.1 earlier re: the six different forms of *salpinx*), and yet here we find that it is not a specific trumpet carrying out a specific task as might be expected. After the tragic death of Patroklos, the goddesses Iris and Athena intervened and transformed Achilles, who stood on the edge of the battle arena and shouted in a loud, shrill voice.

ἀτὰρ Τρῶεσσιν ἐν ἄσπετον ὤρσε κυδοιμόν.
 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀριζήλη φωνή, ὅτε τ' ἴαχε σάλπιγξ
 ἄστυ περιπλομένων δηίων ὑπο θυμοραιοτέων,
 ὡς τότε ἀριζήλη φωνή γένετ' Αἰακίδαο.

The sound is likened in a simile to the *salpinx*, with the phrase ἀριζήλη φωνή, 'a very clear voice' (LSJ 239). This phrase is repeated within and after the simile in a space of three lines, and the adjective ἀριζήλη is the point of comparison between the sound of a human voice and that of the trumpet. Here the trumpet offers a warning to the Greeks, and thus serves the purpose for which it is recognised in later sources, i.e. an instrument of command. Kaimio notes that 'the adjective, ἀριζήλη, is used in Homeric epic of portents. Such a context is just suited for the primary use of an adjective meaning "very clear". The "very clear voice" of the trumpet and of Achilles is thus "clear" in that it gives the hearers the ability to understand that the Achaeans are on their way to victory'.²²⁵ I suggest that this ensures that the extra dimension of sound challenges the listener to react as if with Achilles himself as he shouts, in its comparison of the human voice with the *salpinx*.

Within the simile the use of the word ἴαχε (from the verb ἴαχεω) is striking. This verb is more usually employed for a strong verbal expression 'to shout'.²²⁶ The verb at once 'humanises' the otherwise inanimate *salpinx*. In his commentary on this passage Edwards writes that 'it is not clear if the trumpet is signalling the besiegers to attack or summoning the citizens to the defence'.²²⁷ Certainly the *salpinx* acts both as a source of

²²⁵ Kaimio, 1977, 35.

²²⁶ LSJ 816: 'the sound of an instrument'.

²²⁷ Edwards, 1991, 172.

fear for the Trojans and an encouragement for the Greeks, and I shall discuss these emotions later in the chapter. Kaimio also suggests that Achilles' 'voice of bronze' appears in *Iliad* 18.222,²²⁸ οἱ δ' ὡς οὖν ἄϊον ὄπα χάλκεον Αἰακίδαο. There is no "voice" word in this passage, unlike *Iliad* 5.785 where we find the description of Stentor's 'bronze voice', χαλκεόφωνος. We may assume this refers to the material from which the trumpet was made, but which makes it sound like a megaphone rather than a musical instrument. The linking of such descriptions of metallic substances with the human voice enables the listener to imagine the visual reality of the trumpet.

Hale notes on this passage that 'trumpets first appeared in Greece during the Iron Age. Homer knew the *salpinx* and likened the yelling of Achilles to the alarm sounded by a trumpet. However, the trumpet never appears in Homer's accounts of battles, where it would have been an anachronism'.²²⁹ This is not necessarily the case. It may be that the reason why the Homeric poem so rarely refers to the trumpet, and only in comparisons, is because much of the *Iliad* is about individuals fighting on the battlefield, rather than descriptions of phalanxes with hundreds of hoplites.

Moulton suggests that 'the simile stresses offensive warfare, and the signal flare together with the trumpet note ominously signals the beginning of the struggle of Troy itself'.²³⁰ I therefore believe the simile is a later addition, and so appears in a more familiar battle style to the listener. The *Iliad* certainly talks about battles, but more specifically the named heroes than the unnamed armies. The trumpet would therefore not have been needed as a signalling instrument, unlike later sources that describe the uses of the *salpinx* on the battlefield. So the development of the *salpinx* as a practical battlefield tool is reflected in the way it is used in literature – it only really comes into play in larger force combat. It is difficult to prove that the trumpet was recognised as an instrument of war in archaic Greece. The incontrovertible fact, however, that such an instrument did exist in other ancient cultures is evidenced by the ancient sources for Egypt, Israel, and Rome (see chapter 1).

228 Kaimio, 1977, 36.

229 Hale, 2003, 268.

230 Moulton, 1997, 107.

In the previous line to this passage Achilles, standing alone, utters his first shout across the battle arena, and in response Pallas Athena's cry terrifies the Trojans (18.217-218):

ἔνθα στὰς ἦύσ', ἀπάτεροθε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
φθέγγεσθαι.

The shouts of Achilles and Athena echoing backwards and forwards are subsequently linked as a simile to the sound of the trumpet; this illustrates the power of their voices and that of the trumpet sound. The use of the verb φθέγγεσθαι, (from Φθέγγομαι) here is significant, as it is another verb of vocal expression: 'spoke, uttered',²³¹ and is therefore appropriate for Athena's response.²³² I shall demonstrate that this verb appears frequently in connection with the sound of the *salpinx*. One example of this verb is found in Pollux' *Onomastikon* 3.8, where he describes the functions of the trumpeter and the herald at the beginning of a race in the ancient Games. We read that the trumpeter played the summons, and on each summoning of the competitors the trumpet is sounded:

ἐφ' ἑκάστη δὲ τῆ κλήσει τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν (ἢ σάλπιγξ) ἐπιφθέγγεται.²³³

We find a second reference to a *salpinx* in *Iliad* 21.387-9, where Achilles continues to fight the Trojans. At this time, the battle of the gods (the Theomachy) takes place, with the gods crashing into one another, and 'the huge sky sounded as if with trumpets':

σὺν δ' ἔπεσον μέγαλω πατάγῳ, βράχε δ' εὐρεῖα χθών,
ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανός, ἅε δὲ Ζεὺς
ἦμενος Οὐλύμπῳ.

Firstly, we note the expression μέγαλω πατάγῳ, which describes the clashing together of two objects. Kaimio writes that the adjective μέγας denoting loudness is used in Homeric epic in various expressions for the sounds of objects.²³⁴ There is also a form of echo, with both heaven and earth resounding against each other. Here Kaimio notes that 'generally, with men fighting, only the earth resounds'.²³⁵ I suggest that the

231 *LSJ* 1927.

232 Although Kaimio (1977, 82) notes that φθέγγομαι does not mean merely "to say" but "to emit a sound."

233 I expand upon this passage further in 4.3.1.

234 Kaimio, 1977, 23.

235 *ibid*, 116.

involvement of the fighting gods gives extra potency to the imagery of the 'huge sky', echoing with the sound of trumpets.

Here too the poet offers another example for comparison of the sound of the instrument, as a metaphor for thunder²³⁶, with the noise ostensibly coming from the sky where the gods are fighting with each other. The verb here is *σάλπιγξεν*, 'the heaven trumpeted' (LSJ 1582), rather than someone blowing the instrument, and I shall demonstrate other references for this aspect below. Here heaven becomes the object doing the trumpeting, and the layered composition of the epic poem is complemented with this further later addition. Richardson notes that the verb *σάλπιγξεν* 'does not recur before Xenophon',²³⁷ but I have not seen any other commentaries that have referred specifically to this particular verb. I think that here we have a striking use of this verb, which may have consequences for the study of the composition process of the *Iliad*. Given the otherwise lack of references to the *salpinx* in this poem, and the unique occurrence of this verb, I would suggest that these lines may have been added at a later date by a poet, or writer, who knew the *salpinx* on the battlefield, and who could use this verb which had come into use by his time.²³⁸

Aristides Quintilianus (3rd century AD?) makes reference to this passage from the *Iliad* in his *On Music*, Bk.2.9 (72) with the word *σάλπιγξεν*. He describes the various ways in which the Homeric poet uses language to depict sounds, images, and emotions. In Mathiesen's translation²³⁹ we read

καὶ μὲν ἀλλαχοῦ φήσιν
ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανός,

'Elsewhere, he says:
And round about, great heaven pealed as with a *salpinx*,

τῷ μὲν ἐπιθέτω καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς σάλπιγγος συναύξων μέλος,

236 Leaf, 1902, 412: 'the idea seems to be that the noise of the fighting echoed back from the vault of heaven, not that thunder accents the battle; for Zeus, the thunder is passive.' Kaimio (1977, 89) notes that 'one example of the verbs of sound used metaphorically stands apart from the rest: as Leaf says, the metaphor is tragic rather than epic.'

237 Richardson, 1993, 86.

238 Scott (2009, 186) suggests that effective continuations of the narrative were devised by earlier poets.

239 Mathiesen, 1983, 135-136.

so, by this, lifting *en masse* what pertains to battle and unsuitably using it in heaven, he pursues by the rhetorical methods what is seemly: on the one hand, by epithet exaggerating the *melos* coming from the *salpinx*, and on the other hand, by the addition of a preposition bringing out the sound coming from every part of heaven'.²⁴⁰

Another evocative verb used in *Iliad* 21.385-9 is βράχε, (from βράχειν); amongst the definitions of this verb we find a 'rattle or clash of arms or armour', but it also translates as 'a shout of a command' and perhaps as importantly 'a groan'.²⁴¹ This personal vocal expression, fitting in as it does with the clash of the whole world, from the heavens to the earth beneath, culminates in the 'trumpeting' of the skies in an eye-catching battlefield context. Here earth and sky act as two balancing elements, both described with vivid active verbs.

Plato (c.429-347 BC) uses the sound of the trumpet alongside other sounds, or perhaps a better word to use here is 'noises' rather than sounds. In *Republic* 3.397A-B we find Socrates, Adeimantus, and Glaucon who are discussing the merits of a speaker who adopts in his words the different styles of speech found in Homer. In describing the sounds, the trumpet is unceremoniously placed with a variety of other means by which noise is made. These range from claps of thunder, to the noise of wind, hail, axles, and pulleys:

βροντάς τε καὶ ψόφους ἀνέμων τε καὶ χαλαζῶν καὶ ἀξόνων τε καὶ τροχιλείων καὶ σαλπίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν καὶ συρίγγων καὶ πάντων ὀργάνων φωνάς, καὶ ἔτι κυνῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ ὀρνέων φθόγγους.

Included in this random list are flutes and pan-pipes. However, Plato does use a significant vocabulary to describe the sounds that these various objects make – φωνάς and φθόγγους (*LSJ* 1929); both are words which usually describe human vocal expression.

In the second of the two *Iliad* passages examined earlier, we note that Zeus watched the battle of the gods from Mount Olympus. We have further examples of the association of Zeus with the *salpinx* and thunder in two later epic texts that deliberately appear to recall

²⁴⁰ *ibid.*

²⁴¹ *LSJ* 328.

this passage. Firstly, in Tryphiodorus' *The Taking of Ilios* 325, (3rd or 4th century AD), where the heavenly trumpet of Zeus prophesied the result of the war:

οὐρανίη δὲ
ἐκ Διὸς ἐλκόμενον πόλεμόν μαντεύετο σάλπιγξ.

Secondly, in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (2.557), (end of the 4th century to the beginning of the 5th century AD), the trumpet of Zeus foretells victory with a roll of thunder:

προθεσπίζουσα δὲ νίκην
βρονταίοις πατάγοισι Διὸς μυκήσατο σάλπιγξ.

In both cases the trumpet is linked to words from verbs meaning 'to prophesy', (*μαντεύετο* and *προθεσπίζουσα*, *LSJ* 1280, 1481). Zeus' audible signal was the sound of thunder, so the use of the trumpeting word is clearly linked here with aural portents. We note again *μυκήσατο*, the sound of oxen bellowing, seen associated with the trumpet in 1.1.1 (Dionysos and the conch shell trumpet).

Finally, in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (25.265) the poet almost misleads his reader into believing that Homer did make continuing references to the *salpinx*:

ἐν δὲ κυδομοῖς
Βακχιάδος σύριγγος ἀγέστρατον ἦχον ἀκούσω
καὶ κτύπον οὐ λήγοντα σοφῆς σάλπιγγος Ὀμήρου.

'Let me hear the *syrinx* of Bacchus summon the host to battle, and the ceaseless call of the trumpet in Homer's verse'.²⁴²

This combination of the *syrinx*, an unusual wind instrument, with the *salpinx* is provocative, with both instruments being used here to summon troops to fight.²⁴³ I have already shown that Homeric epic does not repeat references to the trumpet. Therefore I think it likely that by the time Nonnus was writing (possibly eleven or twelve centuries at least after the *Iliad*) his work clearly shows its post-Homeric date, and his apparent assumption that Homer's martial work would include trumpets.

I have already mentioned Aristonicus' careful comments on the different sounds made by the trumpet. For ease of reference here, he describes the Gaulish trumpet as 'high-

242 Translation taken from Rouse, 1940, 39.

243 Plato (*Republic*, 3.399D) reminds us that the familiar use of the *syrinx* is by shepherds in the fields: καὶ αὖ κατ' ἀγροῦς τοῖς νομεῦσι σύριγξ ἄν τις εἴη.

pitched', ὀξύφωνος; and the Paphlagonian version, longer than the Greek *salpinx*, as 'deep-voiced', βαρύφωνος. Kaimio notes 'of the context and scope of βαρύφωνος, quoted by Pollux 4.64, we know nothing,'²⁴⁴ and I have found no other references for this word in connection with the trumpet. The Persian trumpet is also described by Aristonicus as 'deep-voiced', βαρύφωνος, and 'weighty voiced', ὀγκόφωνος.²⁴⁵ In comparison, Aristonicus found that the Etruscan version was 'exceedingly high-pitched', λίαν ὀξύφωνος,²⁴⁶ (similar to the Gaulish trumpet), and had a very clear sweet tone, καλεῖται δὲ λιγύν. I believe this is from the Greek adjective λιγύς, 'sweet-toned', or 'clear-toned'.²⁴⁷ λιγύς "fits" with voices, so we have a link with vocal expression again. Kaimio highlights Bacchylides, whom she says 'most frequently uses as characterisations of sound adjectives belonging to the group λιγύς, in total eight instances',²⁴⁸ and I cite references from Bacchylides later in this section. Kaimio adds that 'in Homer the use of λιγύς is required for a desirable quality of speakers and heralds', i.e. a loud, clear (and by implication if not by specifics) male voice.²⁴⁹

It immediately becomes apparent from the language used by Aristonicus that he employs different adjectives compounded with φωνή, the human voice: ὀξύφωνος, βαρύφωνος, and ὀγκόφωνος. It is almost as if the trumpet becomes part of the human who plays it, or even that the instrument takes on human characteristics. In writing so long after the Homeric epic, perhaps Aristonicus is cleverly demonstrating the versatility and variety of the trumpet sounds in his own day. Although he is careful to choose

244 Kaimio, 1977, 201. Bethe's edition of Pollux 4.64 (p. x) reads: Ἀριστοφάνης (frg 818 Ko) δὲ μελωδὸς καὶ (frg 844 Ko) προσωδὸς εἴρηκε, [καὶ λεπτόφωνος (frg 806 Ko) καὶ βαρύφωνος] (frg 753 Ko).

245 Compare here the modern-day recorder: the smallest version is very high-pitched and squeaky; the bass recorder being much larger in length and size has a much deeper bass note.

246 In view of the war-like aspects of the Etruscans, I strongly feel that a high-pitched sound could penetrate across and above the noise of the battlefield rather better than a deep sound.

247 Consider also λιγαίων, from λιγά, *LSJ* 1047, to cry out with a clear loud voice, especially of heralds (*Iliad* 2.685), which *LSJ* say can also refer to musical sounds, e.g. the harp, φόρμιγγι λιγαίων, to play upon the harp. This reference also adds an extra dimension to the use of the trumpet with its association with heralds (see Chapter 4). Kaimio (1977, 231) tells us that 'λιγύς (λιγύρος) with compounds is one of the favourite adjectives characterising sound in Greek poetry (Homer uses it 49 times)'.

248 *ibid*, 14.

249 *ibid*.

specific adjectives to describe the different versions of trumpet across the known world in his time, these particular adjectives do not appear anywhere else in the Greek literary tradition. Aristonicus' text reveals that by his time an expertise and linguistic specialisation had developed within the field of trumpeting.

As Marcuse notes, after Homeric epic the next time we find a reference to the sound of the trumpet is in the 5th century BC.²⁵⁰ This is in Bacchylides' *Ode* 18, Dithyramb 4, addressed to Theseus by the Chorus. Jebb notes that this *Ode* starts with a Chorus of Athenians who are addressing Aegeus, asking him why a call to arms has just been sounded:²⁵¹

Βασιλεῦ τᾶν ἱερᾶν Ἀθανᾶν,
τῶν ἀβροβίων ἄναξ Ἰώνων,
τί νέον ἔκλαγε χαλκοκάδων
σάλπιγξ πολεμηίαν ἀοιδάν.

I suggest that the poet's striking and perhaps unexpected description of the "song" of the *salpinx* as 'war-like,' πολεμηίαν ἀοιδάν, enhances the imagery of the passage. The poet here has made a conscious choice not to refer to the more expected ἀλαλή, the war cry, or to the παιάν, the hymn to the gods.²⁵² We have here an oxymoron, not only combining 'war' and 'song' in the same context, but also a linking of a usually pleasant-sounding noun and a harsh adjective.

We may compare this with a similar striking combination from Antipater of Sidon, (*AP* 6.159), with his phrase πάρος αίματόεν πολέμου μέλος ἐν δαΐ σάλπιγξ, 'blood-stained' sounds made by the trumpet. The beautiful word μέλος, described here as bloody, offers a poetic paradox, and the use of 'song' is another example of the association of the sound of the trumpet with the human vocal expression, which we shall see develop as a particularly Greek motif. In another vocal and metaphorical link of poet and trumpet Antipater of Sidon describes Pindar in a funerary epigram, 7.34:

Πιερικᾶν σάλπιγγα, τὸν εὐαγέων βαρὺν ὕμνων
χαλκευτάν, κατέχει Πίνδαρον ἄδε κόνις,

250 Marcuse, 1966, 452.

251 Jebb, 1905, 390-391.

252 See 2.3 for the three-way combination of the ἀλαλή, παιάν, and *salpinx*.

which Page (1960) translates as 'this earth holds Pindar, the Pierian trumpet, the heavily smiting smith of well out-lined hymns'. Pieria being the home of the Muses, Pindar is here described as the Muse's trumpet, another vocal link.

Jebb also notes that Bacchylides' use of the word ἀοιδάν is 'an unexampled use of the term in reference to such a sound as that of the trumpet. The meaning of the verb is wider than that of the substantive, so that ἄεισε σάλπιγξ would seem less strange. It was perhaps some reason of euphony that restrained Bacchylides from using the fitter word employed by Aeschylus in *Persians* 395, σάλπιγξ δ' ἀυτῆ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν'.²⁵³ Or perhaps it could even be that ἀοιδάν is a miscopying for ἀυτάν; yet 'song' is quite poetic, and suggests an echo of the sound of the trumpet.

The Bacchylides passage also describes the *salpinx* as χαλκοκῶδων, 'metallic-sounding'. This compound word, from χαλκός, 'copper or brass', and κῶδων, 'bell', supports the image of the *salpinx* with its description of the brass bell-shaped opening at the end of the tube. In his commentary on the Dithyrambs, Maehler compares Bacchylides fr.4.75²⁵⁴, where Bacchylides observes that in peacetime there is no noise of bronze trumpets:

χάλκεᾶν δ' οὐκ ἔστι σαλπίγγων κτύπος.

Pollux (*On.* 4.85) includes the word κτύπος in his catalogue of trumpet sounds as any loud noise, or clash as in thunder (see later in this section),²⁵⁵ we have already seen its use above in Nonnus 25.265. Maehler notes that 'it seems plausible that a trumpet signal could actually have been given to announce the performance of this dithyramb'.²⁵⁶ He does not expand upon this, but I accept his suggestion, bearing in mind that the Ode starts with the question "why has a call to arms just been sounded"? If based on a real event, it would either have been a very early and rare appearance of the *salpinx* in a

253 Jebb, 1905, 391; see later in this section, also 2.3 and 3.3.

254 Maehler, 2004, 70. Maehler (233) notes that 'in Hellenistic epigrams trumpets, like shields and spears, are dedicated in temples after they have outlived their usefulness, cf. *AP* 6.46 by Antipater of Sidon'.

255 Kaimio (1977, 141) writes that 'mainly loudness is certainly implied in fr.4.75', as opposed to deepness of tone.

256 Maehler, 2004, 194.

public performance, or (more likely) the sound of the trumpet from off-stage. Either way the passage clearly links the sound of the trumpet with war.

After Bacchylides, the next extant references to the *salpinx* come from the Athenian dramatists from the 5th century BC, Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles. In Aeschylus' *Eumenides* 568 Athena issues an instruction:

κήρυσσε, κῆρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργαθοῦ,
εἰς οὐρανὸν δε διάτορος Τυρσηνικὴ
σάλπιγξ, βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη,
ὑπέρονον γήρυμα φαινέτω στρατῶ.

'Herald, give the signal and restrain the crowd; and let the piercing Tyrrhene trumpet, filled with human breath, send forth its shrill blare to the folk!' ²⁵⁷

Again we note the relationship between a human and the *salpinx* with the reference to the instrument as filled with βροτείου πνεύματος, 'human breath' (LSJ 331, 1424). The literal meaning of γήρυμα, 'to sing, or speak, or cry' (LSJ 318), provides another link with human vocal expression. This is a vivid image, even if the trumpet did not actually appear on the stage. Aeschylus' use of ὑπέρονος and φαίνω emphasise the loudness of the sounds, where 'ὑπέρονος, lit. "strained to the utmost" must mean a sound exceeding the normal limits, i.e. exceedingly loud, and φαίνω, in this context "to make clearly audible".²⁵⁸ LSJ 416 define διάτορος as 'piercing', and they also translate διάτορος φόβος as 'thrilling fear', an apt description when associated with the sound of the trumpet.

We note Aeschylus' reference to the Tyrrhenians, and Mills' 1901 commentary notes that 'the common invention of the trumpet is ascribed to the Etruscans (Tyrrhenians) who were from early times famous as workers in bronze',²⁵⁹ but he makes no reference to the sound of the instrument. In his 1908 commentary, Verrall emphasises the presence of the herald, and adds that 'the trumpet may be classed with the 'purple carpet' of the *Agamemnon* (line 901) as a supreme example of stage-effect'.²⁶⁰ Verrall

257 See 4.3.2 for more detail on the use of the trumpet in this scene.

258 Kaimio, 1977, 165.

259 Mills, 1901, 82. See 1.6.3 for the Etruscan link.

260 Verrall, 1908, 100-101.

then discusses the scene in detail. He notes of the word Τυρσηνικὴ that it is 'an epithet of the trumpet, it probably marks a particular kind of trumpet, and here that form (whatever it was) was actually employed on the Areopagus'.²⁶¹ This challenges my belief that there are few references to the trumpet being used on or near the Acropolis (see 3.1.5). Podlecki, however, writes that 'the Etruscans allegedly invented the trumpet, or were given it by Athena; it made a shrill, literally piercing sound,'²⁶² and he offers a stage direction that merely reads 'the trumpet sounds' for this passage.²⁶³ Mitchell-Boyask notes in his commentary that 'As the Furies end their song, Athena enters from the right, followed by a herald, trumpeter, and then, after the formal summons, ten or eleven jurors.'²⁶⁴

In *Persians* 395 Aeschylus uses the word ἐπέφλεγεν metaphorically to describe 'the trumpet (that) flamed along their ranks':

σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν.²⁶⁵

With the meaning of ἐπέφλεγεν as to 'inflamm the troops', or to 'excite' them into action (*LSJ* 1944), Aeschylus uses this verb to project an image of a fiery instrument instructing a fiery action, which I believe would have caused patriotic emotions in his audience. Kaimio notes that here this 'synaesthetic metaphor is used for loudness', and this more than adequately suggests that 'the adjective is used in a metaphorical sense of "torch-like," i.e. "bright."'²⁶⁶ Garvie, however, summarises this phrase succinctly: 'the trumpet-blare was so loud that it was almost as though its vibrations could be seen'.²⁶⁷ He adds that 'the metaphor is as much tactile as visual: the trumpet gave the Greeks a 'burning' desire for battle'.²⁶⁸ Kaimio also states that 'the loud call of the herald's trumpet is described powerfully'.²⁶⁹ However, I take issue with her assertion that it is the herald's trumpet, as there is no evidence to suggest that a herald issued instructions by sounding

261 *ibid*, Appendix 1, 182-188. I discuss the presence (or otherwise) of the trumpeter on stage in this passage in 4.3.2.

262 Podlecki, 1989, 174.

263 *ibid*, 99.

264 Mitchell-Boyask, 2009, 72.

265 See also 2.3.

266 Kaimio, 1977, 170.

267 Garvie, 2009, 193.

268 *ibid*.

269 Kaimio, 1977, 164-165.

a trumpet. We may also note the use in line 393 of the adjective *σεμνόν*, defined by *LSJ* (1591) as 'solemn', or 'stately', to describe the *paean* (see 2.3, and I shall also show that Pollux uses it to describe the sound of the trumpet).

A little later in the 5th century BC, Euripides uses the word *ὄρθιος* to describe the sound made by the *salpinx*, as of a high-raised voice, shrill, loud, and clear, in his *Children of Heracles* 830-1. The Messenger re-tells the story of the battle and comments that the Etruscan trumpet sounded a high-pitched attack signal:

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσήμην ὄρθιον Τυρσηνικῆ
σάλπιγγι καὶ συνῆψαν ἀλλήλοις μάχης.

The challenging choice of adjective (*ὄρθιος*) is one which I have not found used by any other source in the context of the trumpet, except Pollux (*On.* 4.85, see later). Kaimio notes that in the 5th century BC the word *ὄρθιος* has its own distinctive range of usage in expressions for sound; mainly connected with public vocal proclamations, i.e. a civic peacetime use.²⁷⁰ Here however it is used by Euripides to issue a signal to start the battle. *LSJ* 1248 note a technical musical meaning: 'of the voice, high-raised, i.e. shrill, loud, clear', and they also cite *νόμος ὄρθιος* as 'an air of loud, stirring tone, like our military music, Hdt. 1.24, and in addition, it is a military term for organising the phalanx'. Herodotus does not mention the trumpet in his *Histories*, but it is relevant to explore here how Herodotus describes the 'military music' attributed by *LSJ*. In Book 1.24 Herodotus uses *νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον* to describe a song sung by Arion the musician:

στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἔδωλίοισι δῖεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον.

How and Wells write that 'it was attributed to Terpander and especially used in the worship of Apollo. Arion's song was an act of worship; it is this religious element in the story that commends it to Herodotus,' and they describe the *ὄρθιος νόμος* as a 'solemn and measured rhythm.'²⁷¹ It would seem to be this meaning that *LSJ* have highlighted, as I think it clearly describes the sound of accompaniment to an army marching into

²⁷⁰ *ibid*, 231.

²⁷¹ How and Wells, 1928, 64.

battle.²⁷² Aristophanes' *Knights* 1278-1280, also cited by How and Wells, mentions τὸν νόμον ὀρθίου, which Sommerstein translates as 'the Orthian melody,' commenting that 'the Orthian was one of the most famous Greek melodies; its composer was the 7th century BC musician Terpander.'²⁷³ Both Euripides and Aristophanes therefore here link the *salpinx* with a familiar military melody, which I find an interesting combination.

A further point of interest in *Children of Heracles* 830-831 is Euripides' use of the verb, σήμαινω, for the attack signal made by the *salpinx*. I shall demonstrate in detail in 3.1.2 that this verb is used for trumpet signals by several Greek historiographers. This instance is the earliest use of the verb σήμαινω with the *salpinx* in Greek literature that I have discovered. I suggest that its appearance here in a fictional text is significant, because it seems that Euripides (and perhaps his audience) was familiar with the language of the military usage of the trumpet.

The passage from *Children of Heracles* refers to the trumpet as Tyrrhenian. The same adjective is also used in *Phoenician Women* 1377:

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφείθη πυρσὸς ὥς Τυρσηνικῆς
σάλπιγγος ἤχη σῆμα φοινίου μάχης,
ἦξαν δράμημα δεινὸν ἀλλήλοις ἔπι.

But when the firebrand was flung, a sign, like the Etruscan trumpet, for the battle to begin, Polyneikes and his brother Eteokles ran upon each other.

Kaimio notes that Euripides uses 'the synaesthetic equation between light and a loud sound with its exhortative message of the Tyrrhenian *salpinx* in the battle being compared to a lighted torch.'²⁷⁴

In another play possibly by Euripides, *Rhesus*, the military subject matter offers a further example of the linking of the sound of the trumpet and the human voice. The play is set in a Trojan outpost near to the Greek camp, and opens with soldiers at the camp. The chorus awaken Hektor telling him that there is activity in the Greek camp; Hektor wants

272 Waterfield's translation of Herodotus (1998) does not mention military music, but instead describes the story of Arion and a dolphin.

273 Sommerstein, 1981, 211.

274 Kaimio, 1977, 189.

to attack straightaway, but the older and wiser Aeneas cautions him against this. Despite its martial context, it is not until line 989 (out of a total of 996 lines) that the *salpinx* appears in the text. Here Hektor addresses the Chorus, and tells them to order the allies to arm themselves quickly and to harness their horses, and to wait with torches in hand, for the sounding of the Etruscan trumpet (Il.986-989):

χωρεῖτε, συμμαχους δ' ὀπλίζεσθαι τάχος
ἄνωχθε πληροῦν τ' ἀυχένας ξυνωρίδων.
πανοῦς δ' ἔχοντας χορὴ μένειν Τυρσηνικῆς
σάλπιγγος αὐδῆν.

Here the sound of the trumpet is described by the noun αὐδή, defined by *LSJ* (275) as 'the human voice, speech, but not so much the words as the tone.' After this command, Hektor leaves the stage, and the play ends four lines later with the Chorus Leader telling the Trojan women to obey Hektor's command. The trumpeter is almost certainly not on stage, but this brief reference again illustrates how the sound of the trumpet is described using the vocabulary of human vocal expression.

In a stirring passage from Sophocles' *Ajax* 17 (noted earlier in 1.6.3) we see a simile likening the voice of the goddess Athena to the sound of the trumpet. Athena is visible to the audience but not to Odysseus, who appears on stage, clearly searching for something. Athena addresses Odysseus, and he replies that her speech is as clear as 'a bronze-mouthed Etruscan trumpet', χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς. The word *salpinx* does not appear, instead the poet uses κώδων, or 'bell', which is here both Τυρσηνικῆς, Tyrrhenian, and χαλκοστόμου, brass or bronze-mouthed.

Stanford notes Aeschylus' use of the word χαλκοστόμος for the bronze-plated prows of ships in *Persians* 415, and suggests that here Sophocles uses it with a meaning closer to Homer's ὄπα χάλκεον.²⁷⁵ This describes the voice of Achilles in *Iliad* 18.222, where the phrase is preceded by a simile from a trumpet as we saw above. Kaimio notes χαλκοστόμος as 'the epithet of a trumpet that refers primarily to the metal, but it may

275 Stanford, 1963, 57. He also refers to the assonance in the 'fine, loftily phrased, resonant line' with the echoing Greek letters 'o' and 'ω'.

also have the connotation of a clear, loud sound'.²⁷⁶ Sophocles' striking use of language provides a splendid image of Athena's "voice of God" which is the only such reference to Athena's voice sounding like a trumpet.

I introduced the Tyrrhenian link with the trumpet in 1.6.1; I now suggest that one striking recurring motif in tragic references to the trumpet by Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides is their use of the adjective 'Tyrrhenian'. The main subject matter of the plays where these references occur is war, which suggests that by the 5th century BC there was a recognition of Tyrrhenians as a war-like people, who developed the trumpet for military use. Another recurring motif is the linking of the trumpet and the goddess Athena. This cannot come as a surprise, bearing in mind her connotations with war.

A text from the early Roman empire provides our most detailed description of the sound of the trumpet. Although as Hagel notes, 'Pollux is not a musical writer. He is only interested in collecting vocabulary applicable to any topic.'²⁷⁷ Pollux offers a range of information about the war trumpet and its signal calls in *On.* 4.85, and I shall examine his list of signals found in *On.* 4.86 in my next chapter. In *On.* 4.85 he lists adjectives that describe the sounds of the trumpet:

εἴποις δ' ἂν τὸ φθέγμα τῆς σάλπιγγος καὶ φωνήν καὶ ἦχον καὶ βόμβον καὶ θόρυβον καὶ κτύπον, ὄρθιον, ἐρρωμένον, ῥωμαλέον, βαρὺ, σεμνόν, σφοδρόν, φρικῶδες, ἐκπληκτικόν, πολεμιστήριον καὶ ἐμπολέμιον, βίαινον, στερεόν, ἐμβριθές, τραχὺ, ταραχῶδες.

For ease of reference I here set out the adjectives and nouns listed by Pollux below, with the *LSJ* references in *italics* alongside each definition.

τὸ φθέγμα τῆς σάλπιγγος	The voice of the trumpet (1927)
φωνήν	the sound of the voice (1967-8)
ἦχον	an echo (780)
βόμβον	a buzzing, humming sound (321)
θόρυβον	a confused, loud noise (803)
κτύπον	any loud noise, clash as in thunder (1003)
ὄρθιον	loud, shrill, clear (of the voice, 1248)

²⁷⁶ Kaimio, 1977, 176.

²⁷⁷ Hagel, 2010, 61.

ἐρρωμένον (from ῥώννυμι)	strong and mighty (692)
ῥωμαλέον	strong (of body) (1578)
βαρύ (from βαρὺς)	heavy, weighty, low (308)
σεμνός	solemn, stately (1591)
σφοδρός	vehement, violent (1741)
φρικῶδες	rough, awful, horrible, frightening (1955)
ἐκπληκτικόν	striking with terror (517)
πολεμιστήριος	war-like, of or belonging to a warrior (1432)
ἐμπολέμιον	in or of war, hostile (547)
βίαινον	forcible, violent (314)
στερέον	hard, firm, solid (1640)
ἐμβριθές (like βαρὺς)	a heavy, dull sound, weighty (540)
τραχύς	harsh, savage; rough of the voice (1807)
ταραχῶδες	confusing, troubling, perplexing (1758)

Krentz notes that Pollux describes the sound of the trumpet as 'shrill, booming, violent, horrible, disordered, and warlike',²⁷⁸ but the table above clearly shows that Pollux used many more descriptive words. Each word, when examined separately, can be seen to have an association with the trumpet sound. However, what is most striking is that Pollux introduces his list by referring to the 'voice', φθέγμα, and we see the word φωνή appears in *Iliad* 18.217-218. I would argue that by Pollux' day this 'humanisation' of the sound of the trumpet had become commonplace. As I shall show in 2.3, Xenophon also uses the verb φθέγομαι as part of the three-way war cry – *paean* - *salpinx* combination.

Kaimio has provided some parallels for a few of Pollux' words. She notes θόρυβος μέγας, used to characterise loudness, as well as a reference to the applause of the audience, in Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 10, 73 (p.155); βόμβος for the noise of bronze instruments like cymbals, struck together in the cult of Cybele (pp.106-107); φρικῶδες in Euripides' *Andromache* 1147, for the supernatural cry heard in the middle of the battle

278 Krentz, 1991, 112.

from the temple of Apollo (p.186); τραχύς as the quality of roughness of sound, from Ps. Aristotle's *de audibilibus* 804a -b (p.225), and finally harshness, as of the roar of the sea, from Aeschylus' *Prometheus Vincetus* 1048f (p.168). We observe, however, that Kaimio does not here expand on the quality of sound with specific reference to the trumpet.

It is apparent from Pollux' list that he associates many of the sounds of the *salpinx* with war, human vocal expression, and with heavy and harsh sounds. It should also be noted that, as with the vocabulary used by Aristonicus, the majority of these words are not found in other ancient literary sources in connection with the sound of the *salpinx*. Exceptions already discussed are φωνή, in epic; ὄρθιος, in Herodotus 1.24 and Euripides' *Children of Heracles* 830-831; κτύπος, in Bacchylides fr.4.75 and Nonnus 25.265. I noted πολεμιστήριος in Artemidorus' *On Dreams* 1.56 (see 1.3). As Kaimio notes, 'ὄρθιος and βαρὺς, together with λιγύς, are used by Aeschylus, mostly in connection with wailing cries'.²⁷⁹ We have also seen the compound word βαρῦφωνος from Aristonicus, and we will meet ἐκπληξίς, from Onasander 42.17.7, and ταραχθήσεται, from Artemidorus 1.56, in 2.5, on the emotions experienced at the sounds of the trumpet, and σφοδρός from Aristides Quintilianus 2.15-16 in 2.4 on volume and power. The two adjectives τραχύς (harsh, savage), and ταραχῶδες (confused, perplexing), are used by Diodorus Siculus in 5.30, where he uses them to describe the sound made by the Gaulish trumpet (see 1.5).

I also suggest that Pollux believed that the *salpinx* appeared more regularly in the context of fear and loud noise, i.e. the battlefield, than in entertainment or pleasure. In fact the only word in Pollux's list which could tentatively be construed as a 'peacetime' word (discounting "voice") is βόμβος, a humming sound. The remainder of his list comprises sounds which sit easily with war-like activities, and I suggest this indicates how the ancient Greeks primarily perceived the *salpinx*. It would, of course, be useful to know from which sources Pollux obtained his material.²⁸⁰ A relevant point to consider

279 Kaimio, 1977, 165.

280 *OCD* 1209 notes that Pollux' work is 'predominantly a thesaurus of terms, not of information.

here is that so many of his listed words do not appear in ancient sources by Pollux' time, so perhaps he coined them himself, bearing in mind his interest in words.

One final text of roughly the same date as Pollux can be added here for completeness.

The Greek satirist Lucian (born c. 120 AD) uses a different word to describe the sound of the war *salpinx* in one of his comic mini-dramas, *Gout* 34-42.

καὶ πρὸς μέλος κεράλου
Φρυγίου κατ' ὄρεα Τμώλου
κῶμον βοῶσι Λυδοί ·
παραπλήγες ἀμφὶ ῥόπτροις
κελαδοῦσι Κρητὶ ῥυθμῶ
νόμον εὐὰν Κορύβαντες.
κλάζει δὲ βριθὺν σάλπιγξ
Ἄρει κρέκουσα Θούρω
πολεμῖαν αὐτήν.

'To the note of Phrygian horn
Along the slopes of Tmolus high
Lydians shout their revelling song,
And Corybants on tambourines
Madly drum with Cretan beat
Their Bacchanalian strain so wild.
Trumpets ring with heavy note
To please the lusty War-god's ear,
Sending out shrill battle cry.'²⁸¹

This verse offers a cacophony of noise, with horn, song and tambourines beating the rhythm. The trumpet then comes in with a heavy, weighted note, linked directly with Ares, the war god. It is possible that Lucian's βριθὺν may echo Pollux' ἐμβριθέες, as Lucian had earlier satirised Pollux in some of his rhetorical works. We may also note the reference to a 'war-like shout,' πολεμῖαν αὐτήν, another striking example of the association of the war trumpet with human vocal expression. I suggest that this could also reflect the Bacchylides text (Ode 18, dithyramb 4) noted earlier.

2.2 Sounds of the trumpet: animals, birds, and other noises.

In this section we move away from the battlefield to the light-hearted, i.e. the fable and comedic drama, with the noises of animals and birds linked to the trumpet. My first two examples show the mosquito, depicted in a fable by Aesop (no. 267), and the gnat in

It is also mainly derivative, but useful to us because the sources no longer survive'.

281 Translation taken from Harmon, 1979, II.34-42. In this passage Lucian also refers to the Phrygian horn: κεράλου Φρυγίου – a compound word of κέρας, horn, and ἀυλός, flute.

Aristophanes' comedy *Clouds*. Anderson suggests that 'it is probable in the field of 'animal wisdom' that we find our most familiar contact with ancient folklore'.²⁸² There are in fact two fables by Aesop which mention the trumpet (I discuss the other, "The Trumpeter," no. 289, in 3.1.2). The fable entitled "The Mosquito and the Lion" (no. 267²⁸³) tells of a mosquito which challenges a lion, telling the lion that it is not afraid of the bigger creature just because it can attack with its claws and its teeth. The mosquito 'made a sound like a trumpet', dived, and began to sting the lion's hairless face:

καὶ σάλπισας ὁ κώνωψ ἐνεπήγετο δάχνων τὰ περὶ τὰς ῥίνας αὐτοῦ
ἄτριχα πρόσωπα.

This caused the lion to itch dreadfully, and he scratched himself very hard, becoming overcome with rage. The mosquito made a sound again 'like a trumpet' at his victory over the lion, then spread its wings and flew away:

ὁ δὲ κώνωψ νιχήσας τὸν λέοντα καὶ σάλπισας καὶ ἐπινίκιον ἄσας
ἔπτατο.

And the moral of this delightful fable? Beating one strong enemy does not prove you are invincible. Here we see the trumpeting verb, *σάλπισας*, used by Aesop to show the war-like attributes of the trumpet, but in a light-hearted way, which in turn implies that in his time it was a recognisable verb connected with a battle context. Although this fable is not set on the battlefield, the mosquito's sounds recall the victory trumpet-call.

In the passage in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (165), the sound of the trumpet is likened to that of a gnat's fart. This more earthy example is set outside the Thinkery (the *Phrontisterion*). Strepsiades is trying to gain entrance, and is having an "intellectual" discussion with a student. The student reverently regales Strepsiades with some of Socrates' sayings, one of which led from a question put to Socrates by Chaerophon of Sphettus:

'did gnats produce their hum by way of the mouth or – the other end?'²⁸⁴

In reply, Socrates says that

²⁸² Anderson, 2006, 92.

²⁸³ Hausrath, 1956, 86.

²⁸⁴ Sommerstein (1973, 168) notes that 'the tube of a Greek trumpet expanded into a broader chamber at the end, remote from the mouthpiece, corresponding to the supposed rectum of the gnat'.

'the intestinal passage of the gnat is very narrow, and consequently the wind is forced to go straight through to the back end. And then the arse, being a hole forming the exit from this narrow passage groans under the force of the wind':

Strepsiades replies 'like a trumpet, you mean.'

σάλπιγξ ὁ πρωκτός ἐστιν ἄρα τῶν ἐμπίδων.²⁸⁵

Both of these passages are humorously descriptive, and there is a comic incongruity here – the gnat's trumpet-call is higher pitched, because the gnat is so much smaller than a trumpet, as is the trumpet-call of the mosquito in Aesop. If we return to Pollux' list of sounds in 2.1, the only possible associated word he has recorded is βόμβος, a humming sound. None of Pollux' other references could describe the sound of a gnat or a mosquito. The same thought applies to Aristophanes' gnat, although of course Aristophanes' satirical humour in likening the gnat's fart and the trumpet in connection with an "intellectual discussion" provides the earthy humour his audience expected. His intention was probably to amuse, as well as demonstrating a general knowledge of military matters familiar to his audience from their military service.

Plutarch notes two similar stories that compare the sound of a *salpinx* with that of an ass, or donkey. We have already noted his *Isis and Osiris* 362 (see 1.3.2), where he unfavourably compares the sound of an Egyptian trumpet to the braying of an ass, ὡς ὄνω. As in the next extract, the comparison is not complimentary. In his *Dinner of Seven Wise Men* 150F, Plutarch again unfavourably compares the sound of the trumpet with the bray of an ass:

“καὶ ὁ Νειλόξενος “ἀμέλει ταῦτ,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς Ναυκρατίταις ἐγκαλοῦσι Βουσιρῖται · χρώμεθα γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς ὄνειοις εἰς τὸν αὐλόν. ἐκείνοις δὲ καὶ σάλπιγγος ἀκούειν ἀθέμιτον, ὡς ὄνω φθεγγομένης ὅμοιον.”

“That, without question,” said Neiloxenus, “is the reason for the complaint which the people of Busiris make against us of Naucratis; for we are already using asses' bones for our flutes. But for them even to hear a trumpet is a sin, because they think it sounds like the bray of an ass.”

The sound of a donkey braying is not a pleasant sound, but the trumpet, when played by

²⁸⁵ Dover (1968, 116) explains that 'the maximum diameter (sic) of the chamber was slightly larger than that of the exit from it'. He cites as an example a vase painting of Nike and Heracles from the 4th century BC, see Fig.1.23.

an unskilled person, could sound like a donkey. Here again we also see the use of the 'vocal' verb φθεγγομένης linked with the sound of the trumpet.

Plutarch also, however, gives an excellent story in *The Cleverness of Animals*, 973B-D, where the sound of the trumpet is imitated by a jay. The story tells of a barber in Rome who bred a jay, ἡ κίττα, which could reproduce by imitation the phrases of human speech, the cries of beasts, and the sound of instruments.²⁸⁶ In this bizarre reference to a Roman ritual, Plutarch writes that a rich man from Rome was buried to the blast of many trumpets, ὑπὸ σάλπιγξι πολλαῖς. As is customary, there was a halt in front of the barber-shop while the trumpeters, who were applauded and encored, played for a long time,

εὐδοκιμοῦντες οἱ σαλπικταὶ καὶ κελευόμενοι πολὺν χρόνον
ἐνδιέτριψαν.

From then on, the jay remained silent, until at a much later date she started to mimic sounds again. This time there were no familiar imitations, but only the music of the trumpets, reproduced with their exact sequences and every change of pitch and rhythm and tone,

ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλη τῶν σαλπίγγων αὐταῖς περιόδοις φθεγγομένη καὶ
μεταβολὰς πάσας καὶ κρουμάτων διεξιοῦσα πάντα ῥυθμούς.

Even if we do not agree with Plutarch's comparison of the sound of the trumpet with that of a donkey, although it can be similar, the story of the jay imitating the trumpet sounds is much more plausible. I also point out Plutarch's use again of φθεγγομένη, in the Greek tradition that the trumpet 'voices' its sounds.

This 'music' of the trumpets, almost an oxymoron in its description (see earlier references in 2.1 to Bacchylides and Antipater of Sidon), likened to the sound of a bird, is expanded in the passage from Aelian *On Animals*, 6.19. He lists other birds and the sounds they produce:

ιδιάζει δὲ ταῖς μιμήσεσι τῶν τοιούτων ὃ τε ἄνθος καλούμενος καὶ ἡ
σάλπιγξ καὶ ἡ ἴυγξ καὶ ὁ κόραξ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄνθος ὑπόκρίνεται

286 Aelian (165/170 to 230/235 AD) notes that 'the jay can imitate all other sounds but especially the human voice'; *On Animals*, 6.19.

χρεμέτισμα ἵππου, τὴν σάλπιγγα δὲ ἢ ὁμώνυμος, καὶ τὸν πλάγιον ἢ ἕγξ
αὐλὸν βούλεται δὲ τῶν ὄμβρων μιμῆσθαι τὰς σταγόνας ὁ κόραξ.

'And the buff-backed heron, as it is called, and the *salpinx* (trumpet), and the wryneck and the raven are peculiarly fitted to imitate the following sounds. The buff-backed heron represents the neighing of a horse; the *salpinx*, the instrument whose name it bears; and the wryneck, the cross-flute; while the raven tries to imitate the sound of raindrops'.

LSJ (1262) offer one translation of *salpinx* as 'the trumpeter-bird, from its trumpet-like note', and they cite Artemidorus (no specific reference) with a cross-reference to τροχίλος, (according to *LSJ* 1448), 'a small land-bird, probably the wren'. Warmington however writes that 'Thompson does not cite this passage in his *Glossary*, s.v. σάλπιγξ which cannot here = ὄρχιλος, a wren.²⁸⁷ Ὀρχίλος (*LSJ* 998) is 'probably the golden-crested wren'; they also mention βασιλίσκος, σάλπιγκτής, a bird of ill-omen at weddings'. I myself have found no other reference to this 'ill-omened bird'. Arnott refers to the ὄρχιλος, 'another of many names for the (Winter) wren. The name certainly suits the wren, whose calls, a rapid series of clear high notes and trills, very loud for so small a bird, might well be compared to an ancient war trumpeter'.²⁸⁸ Although Aristonicus comments that the Etruscan trumpet was high-pitched, ὀξύφωνος, Arnott assumes that the war trumpeter sounds really were high-pitched. A higher-pitched note could reach across a larger area, but taking into account in proportion to its size the trumpet versus the sounds made by a very small bird is an intriguing comparison.

From animals and birds I turn to a somewhat implausible passage in Xenophon's *Anabasis* 7.3.33.²⁸⁹ Here Xenophon writes on the *salpinx* and refers in the same phrase to the sound of the harp, μαγάδις.²⁹⁰ He also differentiates between what we know as a signalling trumpet and one that was made of ox-hide. The incident comes at the end of a meal at which Xenophon was present together with the Thracian Seuthes. The men had been drinking for some time, and as a gesture of friendship Xenophon offered

287 Warmington, 1971, 35 footnote c.

288 Arnott, 2007, 210. Compare D'Arcy Thompson, 1936, 126.

289 Athenaeus several centuries later describes this episode in *Deipnosophistae* 4.151d-e in his section on Thracian dinners.

290 *LSJ* 1070: μαγάδις, -ιδος, ἡ, a three-cornered instrument like a harp.

himself and his men as a support to Seuthes. Seuthes jumped up, drained the drinking horn, and joined Xenophon in sprinkling the last drops on the guests. Musicians then entered, playing on the horns that were used for signalling purposes:

μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασί τε οἷσι σημαίνουσιν, ἀυλοῦντες καὶ σάλπιγξιν ὠμοβοεῖαις, ῥυθμούς τε καὶ οἶον μαγάδιδι σάλπιξοντες.

These musicians also played upon trumpets of raw un-tanned ox-hide (*LSJ* 2033), that not only measured notes but music like that of a harp. The reference to the κέρασι, horns for signalling, is not a common one in the ancient sources, apart from Xenophon and Josephus.²⁹¹ Xenophon here highlights the difference between the two forms of trumpet. His combination of the trumpet and the harp may mean that the trumpets played an arrangement of a harp tune, or perhaps rather than consecutive notes as in a scale they played arpeggios. In addition, Xenophon's reference to ox-hide as the material of the instrument is similar to that from a much later war historian, Procopius (see 1.7), with his description of two different forms of trumpet, leather and very thin wood, and brass.

There is a hint that perhaps Aristotle may have viewed the sound of the trumpet as unmusical. In *Rhetoric* 3.6.7 we read

ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα οἱ ποιηταὶ φέρουσι, τὸ ἄχορδον καὶ τὸ ἄλυρον μέλος · ἐκ τῶν στερησέων γὰρ ἐπιφέρουσιν... οἶον τὸ φάναι τὴν σάλπιγγα εἶναι μέλος ἄλυρον.²⁹²

"Antimachus' technique of describing something on the basis of properties it does not have is also useful...this is the source of words the poets introduce such as *stringless* or *lyreless* music, for they apply privatives. This is popular when expressed in metaphors by analogy; for example, the trumpet is lyreless music".²⁹³

LSJ (73) offers another meaning for ἄλυρον: without the lyre, unaccompanied by it, or un-poetic. It is unlikely that Aristotle regarded the trumpet as un-musical in style, nor also un-poetic, so *LSJ*'s first definition appears more probable.

2.3 The war cry (ἀλαλή), the paeon (παιάν), and the salpinx.

291 *LSJ* cite Xen. *Anab.* 2.2.4 (see 3.1.7): σημαίνειν τῷ κέρατι, and Τυρρηνῶν εὔρημα κέρατα τε καὶ σάλπιγγες. Both Herodotus and Thucydides mention the κέρασ, but purely in its technical definition of the wing of a phalanx of an army.

292 See further Cope and Sandys (1877, 669-670).

293 Kennedy, 1991, 234.

In this section I shall explore further passages where the combination of the human voice and the trumpet appear in the ancient sources. I shall also examine the link between the war-cry (ἀλαλή) and the *raean* (παιάν), which sometimes appears in the ancient source material but which has not been investigated by previous scholars. I have included this section here, rather than in the battlefield chapter, as I feel the aspect of “sounds” is far better placed here (despite the fact that this three-way combination can be seen as a form of signal to the massed forces on the battlefield).

The war cry is part of a long literary tradition. Pindar indeed personifies the war cry with a poem addressed to the goddess of war (fragment 66), which Plutarch includes in his *On the Fame of the Athenians* 7.349C:

κλυθ' Ἀλαλά, Πολέμου θύγατερ,
 ἐγγέων προοίμιον, ἃ θύεται
 ἄνδρες τὸν ἰρόθυτον θάνατον.

Hear me, battle cry (Ἀλαλά), daughter of War
 Prelude of spears, to whom men offer
 A holy sacrifice of death on behalf of their city.

In this passage we see that the war cry comes before the fighting, with these words spoken by Epaminondas as he and his men stood fighting for Thebes. We may compare Pindar's description of the spear-clashing battle-cry (δορίκτυπον ἀλαλάν) in his *Nemean Ode* 3.60, where Achilles stands against this particular battle-cry raised by the Lycians, Phrygians and Dardanians (allies of the Trojans):

ὄφρα θαλασσίαις ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι πεμφθεῖς
 ὑπὸ Τροϊᾶν δορίκτυπον ἀλαλάν Λυκίων
 τε προσμένοι καὶ Φρυγῶν
 Δαρδάνων τε.

The word itself, ἀλ--αλ--ή-, with its repetition of sounds, is suggestive of a cry to the gods, and demonstrates the sound of the human voice signalling intimidation towards the enemy. An example of its link with the trumpet can be found in Xenophon *Anabasis* 4.2.7, where he tells of the Greeks meeting the enemy, having succeeded in approaching unobserved:

ἢ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ ἀλαλάξαντες ἴεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους .

Here the vocal sound of the trumpet (ἐφθέγγξατο) leads to the vocal war cry of the soldiers.

The *paean* also appears in many ancient sources as a shout to the gods, and this action clearly befits the battlefield, where prayers, pleas and *paean*s to the gods prevailed. Waterfield suggests that the *paean* was sacred to the god Apollo in his capacity as protector of man,²⁹⁴ which certainly offers a good reason why the *paean* appears as a verbal offering to the gods from men in exultant mood on the battlefield. An alternative view of the *paean*, offered by Chrissanthos, is that it was a 'religious song to appeal for divine help and to lift their spirits' – a different approach entirely, but one which echoes the action of a dialogue with the gods, all-important in the ancient world.²⁹⁵ I prefer the aspect of the *paean* as a religious vehicle by which the ancient Greeks sought assistance and support from their gods. This was clearly of immense importance on the battlefield, and could have been addressed to any or indeed all of the gods.

There are references in Greek literature to the *paean* alone, without mention of either the battle cry or the trumpet, for example Xenophon's *Hellenica* 2.4.17 or 4.5.11.²⁹⁶ *Hellenica* 7.4.36 also provides an example of the *paean* being sung at the end of a war in 363 BC, where the bulk of the Arcadians, still remaining there in Tegea, feasted and made merry, poured libations and sang *paean*s for the conclusion of peace. Similarly in *Anabasis* 4.8.16, the generals passed along the order to offer prayer, and when they had prayed and sung the *paean* they set forth. Xenophon even shows the *paean* linked with the flute and dancing in *Anabasis* 6.1.11. I think it also worth pointing out here that Xenophon does not refer to the trumpet at all in his *Hellenica* – an interesting omission in its way, bearing in mind the many descriptions of battles that he incorporates into the text. This is in striking contrast to his *Anabasis*, which, as I demonstrate in chapter 3, includes many references to the *salpinx*.

294 Waterfield, 2006, 16.

295 Chrissanthos, 2008, 30.

296 We also see that Xenophon refers to a *paean* to Poseidon in *Hellenica* 4.7.4: πάντες ὕμνησαν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶν παῖδνα, 'all the Lacedaemonians, those in the royal tent taking the lead, struck up the *paean* to Poseidon'. Hall, 1996, 138 (*Persians*) adds that the *paean* 'was a triumphal song, performed after a battle in thanksgiving for victory...but it often refers to the song of soldiers *before* battle. Although properly associated with Apollo, the battle-cry may have been addressed to Ares'. I believe it may also have been addressed to Athena, the goddess of war.

Several ancient writers describe the war cry, *paean* and *salpinx* as separate entities to depict the overbearing noise of the battlefield. There seems to be no set order, but the *paean* variously appears in the text before and after both the *salpinx* and the war cry, as well as alone. Xenophon is the only source who uses the three-way combination of war cry - *paean* - *salpinx* to depict the noise and bustle of the battlefield to good effect in a passage where he shows that the act of signalling was of great importance on the battlefield, where a series of verbal, visible and auditory signals were used to instruct and command the troops. In *Anabasis* 5.2.14 he writes that the peltasts were to move forward with their hands in readiness on the strings of their spears; the stone-throwers were to have their slings ready full of stones and the archers were to have their arrows in place on the bow: all were to await the signal. With a triple combination of noise, enveloping the sound of the *paean* and the *salpinx*, the war-cry was raised to Enyalios, and in a simultaneous action the hoplites charged and the missiles flew:

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, ἄμα τε τῷ Εὐναλίῳ
ἠλέλιξαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ οἱ ὀπλιταί.

Spears, arrows, and stones were all discharged into the enemy accompanied by various noises, and this triple effect of the sounds of war-cry, *paean* and *salpinx* must have echoed around the battlefield.

Xenophon consistently records events from a dramatic viewpoint. In *Anabasis* 6.5.27 we find another example of how the linked sounds of war-cry, *paean*, and *salpinx* can be found to intimidate the enemy:

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑπηντίαζεν ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ταχὺ πορευμένη καὶ ἄμα ἡ
σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ ἐπαιάνιζον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἠλάλαζον καὶ ἄμα
τὰ δόρατα καθίεσαν, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο οἱ πολέμοι, ἀλλὰ
ἔφευγον.

In both of these passages, Xenophon writes “the trumpet has spoken,” ἐφθέγγετο, together with the sounds of the war-cry and the *paean*. This combination of sound signals, trumpet and voice, with the trumpet making a semi-vocal sound, together with visible signals (τὰ δόρατα καθίεσαν, the lowering of the spears), forced the enemy to flee.

Xenophon does not explain in either of the passages containing the war cry - *paean* - *salpinx* combination whether there was a verbal command to sound the *paean*. It is apparent that on many occasions the *paean* and the *salpinx* did sound fully together. Taking into account the likely size of the area covered, the limitations of the trumpet against the concerted voices of the soldiers sounding the war-cry or shouting the *paean* would have been obvious. I think that there would have been a slight time lapse for all of the voices to join together in the *paean*, as the *salpinx* would have been some distance away for most of the hoplites. The war cry, however, prompted by the *paean*, rose majestically into the air across the battlefield, echoed by the *salpinx* and the massed voices.

The link between trumpet and voice that we have seen above in Xenophon is also found in some passages in Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothēke* (see 3.1.2). Diodorus is not particularly helpful concerning the overall volume of sound with which the trumpet had to compete, whether by the human voice, or the general din and hubbub of battle. However, he does provide several descriptions of the noise made by the war-cry combined with the shouts of the soldiers.

In 13.55.6 (409 BC) the trumpets sounded the signal for attack,

ὄμου δὲ αἰ τε σάλπιγγες τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμαινον καὶ πρὸς ἐν
παράγγελμα πᾶν ἐπηλάλαξε τὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατεύμα,

and the Carthaginians sounded the war-cry (ἐπηλάλαξε).

In 13.77.5 (at Mytilene in 407 BC) the crowd raised the *paean*, and the trumpeters sounded the attack:

καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπαιάνισεν, οἱ δὲ σάλπικται τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμησαν.

Here we note a reference to trumpeters in the plural (οἱ σάλπικται).

In 13.98.5-99.1, Diodorus describes a sea battle that took place in 406 BC, which he records as the greatest sea battle on record of Greeks against Greeks. He implies that the trumpets had to compete with the shout raised by a great number of men (as there were four fleets engaged).²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ This passage offers an example to support my disagreement with Krentz's comment about 'small, uncomplicated battles' (see footnote³²⁰ in 3.0 and subsequent sections).

ἄμα δ' οἱ τε ναύαρχοι τοῖς σαλπικταῖς παρεκελεύοντο σημαίνειν καὶ τὸ παρ' ἑκατέροις πλῆθος ἐναλλάξ ἐπαλαλάζον ἐξαίσιον ἐποίει βοήν.

The trumpets were sounded at the same time as the assembled men shouted; when the admirals gave orders to sound the trumpets, the armies on each side made a great shout, raising the war-cry in turn (ἐπαλαλάζον). Here Diodorus again refers to more than one trumpeter (τοῖς σαλπικταῖς); whether it was one trumpet on each ship, or one trumpet on each side is not clear. I myself think it likely that it is the former, as four fleets were involved. This passage also demonstrates that the war-cry was used similarly both in battles on land and at sea.

A similar situation arises in a battle in 371/370 BC between Epaminondas and the Boeotians, with Cleombrotus and Archidamus with the Spartans (15.55.3):

ὡς δ' αἱ τε σάλπιγγες ἐσήμαινον παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ὀρμὴν συνηλάλαξαν αἱ δυνάμεις.

Here Diodorus notes that the two armies sounded the trumpet war signal (αἱ σάλπιγγες ἐσήμαινον...τὸ πολεμικὸν), then simultaneously raised the battle cry, συνηλάλαξαν, with the first charge. In 15.85.3 he tells us that by the very volume of their cries they signalled their victory:

αἱ μὲν σάλπιγγες τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσημαίνον, αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις ἠλάλαξαν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς βοῆς τὴν νίκην ἐσημαίνον.

We note again the phrase αἱ σάλπιγγες τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσημαίνον which seems to be a favourite of Diodorus. We find very similar vocabulary used again to describe a later battle in 335/334 BC (17.11.3), between Thebans and Macedonians,

αἱ μὲν σάλπιγγες ἐσήμαινον τὸ πολεμικὸν, αἱ δὲ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις δυνάμεις ὑφ' ἑνα καιρὸν συνηλάλαξαν καὶ τὰ κοῦφα τῶν βελῶν ἐπι τοὺς πολεμίους ἔβαλον.

Here too the σάλπιγγες sounded the signal to attack, (ἐσήμαινον τὸ πολεμικὸν). After the signal, the troops on both sides raised the battle cry. Diodorus makes the link again between trumpet and voice in a later description of a battle in 17.33.4 that took place some time during 333/332 BC between the Macedonians and the Persians. He notes that during the battle, the Persians aimed at Alexander such a shower of arrows

and spears that they collided with one another in the air with a clashing sound (συγκρουόντων).

τῶν δὲ σαλπικτῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πολεμικὸν σημαινόντων οἱ Μακεδόνες πρῶτοι συναλαλάξαντες βοήν ἐξάισιον ἐποίησαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντιφθεγξαμένων συνήχησε μὲν ἢ σύνεγγυς ὀρεινὴ πᾶσα.

On both sides the trumpeters blew the signal of attack (τὸ πολεμικὸν σημαινόντων). The Macedonians then raised an unearthly shout and war cry, followed by the Persians replying, almost in the form of an echo (ἀντιφθεγξαμένων). Here Diodorus vividly stretches the imagination with the comment that five hundred thousand men shouted with one voice: πεντήκοντα μυριάδων μιᾷ φωνῇ συνηχουσῶν. If true, the trumpet sounds were clearly surpassed by the human voice, in huge numbers. It is interesting to note that Diodorus does not distinguish between the Greek *salpinx* and either the Macedonian or Persian version: he uses the word *salpinx* throughout his work.²⁹⁸ I suggest that he accepted the concept of the *salpinx* as the war trumpet and used it accordingly.

These examples show that the trumpet can stimulate voices into vocal actions such as the war-cry or *paeon* with their intimidating sounds. The logistics of the area to be covered, combined with the capacity of the trumpet, mean that one single instrument would need vocal support in order to ensure that the troops fully understood what was expected next. Diodorus however refers to several instruments, and it is logical to assume that more than one instrument would be needed. One question to pose at this point is whether the writers consciously considered the *salpinx* without the war cry, or without the *paeon*? From the passages I have examined it seems that there is no simple answer. There were occasions when the *salpinx* stimulated the war-cry, and others when the *paeon* followed the *salpinx* call, and all on similar occasions, usually at the first charge. The *salpinx* on all such occasions provides a persuasive “quasi-vocal sound”, a means of encouraging the troops into their massed “voices”, which both intimidated and encouraged both sides of the battlefield.

298 See chapter 1 for trumpets from other cultures.

We even find the *paean* and the trumpet linked in ancient Greek tragedy. In *Persians* 392-395 Aeschylus describes the Greeks singing the sacred *paean* and then rushing into battle at the sound of the trumpet.

οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῇ
παιᾶν ἔφύμνουσιν σεμνὸν Ἕλληνας τότε,
ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὀρμῶντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει.
σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν ἐπέφλεγεν.

For it was not in flight that the Greeks were then singing the sacred *paean*, but rushing into battle with courage and confidence. A trumpet fired their whole fleet on with its sound.

The *salpinx* is used to stimulate the army to stirring battle with its sounds. In this passage we also recognise the association we have already seen earlier between the *paean* and the *salpinx*. The Greeks had fooled Xerxes, who thought that they would attempt to escape, but instead the joyous noise of the *paean* and the *salpinx* rang out. We also note the adjective σεμνὸν, solemn, stately, listed by Pollux and cited earlier. Kaimio notes that 'when Aeschylus speaks of music he emphasises its sacred nature, its ritual correctness.'²⁹⁹ Here we see σεμνὸν associated with the *paean*, but in close proximity with the *salpinx*.

I conclude this section with an extract from chapter 27.3-4 of Aeneas Tacticus' work *Poliorketa* (mid 4th century BC³⁰⁰), entitled "Of Panics" (Πανειῶν), which describes sudden confusions or terrors that can strike an army at any time. I shall expand upon the emotions caused by the sound of the trumpet in 2.5, but this development of the word "*paean*" is a relevant aspect to raise at this point. Aeneas here sums up how a commander should deal with a sudden panic amongst the men. If such a panic occurs, they are instructed to stand in their places and shout "*Paean*," or to tell their neighbours that it is a panic, and this message must be passed along from man to man. However, if a commander can see that any of his men are fearful, then he must give a signal by the *salpinx*, and this will be understood to be a call to arms (27.4).

ἐὰν δέ τι ὁ στρατηγὸς φοβερὸν αἴσθηται, τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν,
τοῦτο δ' ἔστω γνωστὸν ὅτι εἴη τὸ πολέμιον.

²⁹⁹ Kaimio, 1977, 169.

³⁰⁰ OCD, 23.

In this instance the trumpet signal could be construed as a means of encouragement to the troops, rather than a direct order, and the *paean* here is not the salutation or ritual exclamation to which the previous passages relate.

2.4 Volume and power.

Volume of sound and power integrate in both peacetime and war, and a powerful sound is of great importance. I now propose to examine several different texts that describe the different volumes and sounds of the trumpet.

We read in the probably spurious text of ps. Aristotle's *de Audibilibus* two excellent descriptions of the power, or the lack of it, of the *salpinx*.³⁰¹ In section 801a he writes

ὅταν γάρ τις λαβὼν κέραμον ἢ αὐλὸν ἢ σάλπιγγα, προσθεῖς τε ἐτέρῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοήν, διὰ τούτων λαλή, πᾶσαι δοκοῦσιν αἱ φωναὶ παντελῶς εἶναι πλησίον τῆς ἀκοῆς διὰ τὸ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι τὸν ἀέρα φερόμενον.

'when someone takes a jar or an *aulos* or a *salpinx*, points it at another person, up against his ear, and talks through it, all the sounds seem very close in the ear because the air is not dispersed as it travels, and the voice is preserved in the same state by the instrument that surrounds it'.

This passage gives a lively description of a megaphone, with the suggestion of speaking into the *salpinx*, and in section 803a he continues

τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος · διὸ καὶ πάντες, ὅταν κωμάζωσιν, ἀνιᾶσιν ἐν τῇ σάλπιγγι τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος συντονίαν, ὅπως ἄν ποιῶσι τὸν ἦχον ὡς μαλακώτατον.

'if one strains the breath more violently, the voice at once becomes harder because of the force, even if it is quite a soft voice. Much the same holds of the *salpinx*, which is why everyone, even when they are merrymaking, relaxes the tension of the breath in the *salpinx*, to make the sound as soft as possible'.

There are two points to note here. Firstly, the writer's "generalisation" that 'everyone' who plays the trumpet uses this technique to play softly, and secondly, the use of the verb κωμάζωσιν. Smith and Ross' commentary reads 'when they are revelling,' and their footnote to this line states 'perhaps when they are accompanying a hymn of victory'.³⁰² *LSJ* 1017 shows κωμάζω, 'to break in upon the manner of revellers,

301 Translations taken from Barker, 1989, 101-106.

302 Smith and Ross, 1909. They suggest that 'this tract appears to be a fragment of a larger work. It is certainly not Aristotle's, and has been ascribed with some likelihood to Strabo.'

serenade of lovers, generally to burst in'. When they are κωμάζοντες, i.e. crashing other people's parties late at night, obviously one would need to keep the noise down to avoid disturbing the neighbours. The *salpinx* would therefore be used as a quick way of announcing one's arrival, and as a recognisable sound to the recipient.³⁰³

Crinagoras (*A.P.* 6.350) writes about the sounds of the trumpet at Olympia, comparing the sound with that of the Etruscan war trumpet, in the epigram titled "Demosthenes, an Olympic victor". Again we note the 'vocal' verb φθεγξάμενης:

τυρσηνῆς κελάδημα διαπρύσιον σάλπιγγος
πολλάκι Πισαίων στρηνές ὑπέρ πεδίων
φθεγξάμενης, ὁ πρὶν μὲν χρόνός ἐν δύοσι νικαῖς ·
εἰ δὲ σὺ καὶ τρισσοὺς ἤγαγες εἰς στεφάνους
ἄστούς Μιλήτου Δημοσθενεῖ, οὐ ποτε κώδων
χάλκεος ἤχησεν πλειοτέρῳ στόματι.

'Former times could often tell of the Etruscan trumpet's piercing clamour sounding shrill over Pisa's plains for two-fold victory; but when you, Demosthenes, brought the citizens to a threefold crowning, never was brazen bell that rang with louder voice.'³⁰⁴

I have found a record of a successful trumpeter named Demosthenes of Miletus, in Yalouris' lists of Olympic victors. This Demosthenes won the trumpeters' competition in three successive Olympic Games: the 189th, 190th, and 191st Olympiads, in 24 BC, 20 BC, and 16 BC respectively, i.e. in the Roman period.³⁰⁵ These events tie in well with the 'three-fold crowning' in the translation. Crinagoras came from Mytilene on the island of Lesbos,³⁰⁶ and lived from some time during the second half of the 1st century BC into the beginning of the 1st century AD. His epigrams are dated between 45 BC and 11 or 15 AD,³⁰⁷ so it is tempting to believe that he may have actually witnessed these three events.

Pollux gives a good description of the trumpeter Epitades, who could produce a sound

303 Note Alkibiades' crashing a party in Plato's *Symposium* 212c7: suddenly there was a loud banging from the door to the court, as of revellers: ὡς κωμαστῶν.

304 Gow, 1968, 204-206. This is Gow's translation, but literally the sounds made range from loud rushing = κελάδημα, shrill = διαπρύσιον, piercing = στρηνές, and with a full sound = πλειοτέρῳ στόματι.

305 Yalouris, 1994, 294. Stephanis (1988) does not include him in his catalogue of inscriptions from victors' lists.

306 *OCD* 409.

307 *ibid.*

with his instrument that could be heard at a distance of 50 *stades* (*Onomastikon*, 4.88):

καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἐπιτάδην τὸν σάλπιγκτὴν παραφέρειν εἰς πεντήκοντα στάδια τῇ σάλπιγγι δικνούμενον,³⁰⁸ ὥσπερ Μόλοβρον ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος αὐλήσαντα δύο σάλπιγγιν, ἴσως ἕωλον·

Here Epitades is compared with another trumpeter, Molobros, who seemingly played two instruments (compare with Herodorus of Megara, mentioned by Pollux in *Onomastikon*, 4.89, who allegedly could play two instruments, see 3.2 and 4.5.5). Although tempting to accept Pollux' story, perhaps this is a stale story, i.e. one recognised long ago as a fiction. Whether it is likely that there were two trumpeters with the range of sound thus described is unknown. If true, the power of their performance would have astonished their listeners, but it looks as though even Pollux himself did not believe it.

In conclusion, I turn to three texts from later writers: Philostratus, (3rd century AD), and Aristides Quintilianus (possibly from the 3rd century AD). In the mid-3rd century AD Philostratus³⁰⁹, in his *The Lives of the Sophists* (542), likens the style of Polemo's eloquence as passionate, combative, and piercing to the echo, καὶ τορὸν ἠχοῦσα, (another "echo" of Pollux), like the trumpet at the Olympic Games, ὥσπερ ἡ Ολυμπιακὴ σάλπιγγις. In a similar tone, in his *Heroikos* (10.3), Philostratus describes the appearance of Protesilaos,

φθέγγεται δὲ γεγωνότερον ἢ αἱ σάλπιγγες καὶ ἀπὸ μικροῦ γε τοῦ στόματος,

where he writes that Protesilaos' voice is more sonorous than trumpets and comes from a small mouth. Protesilaos is the hero of the story, young (20 years old), blond, with an angular nose (just like that of a statue). He was handsome, well-proportioned, and graceful, like a herm. He would therefore have been unlikely to have had a large mouth, as this would have spoiled the image. Perhaps Philostratus here uses φθέγγεται to describe Protesilaos' voice deliberately to echo its general use for the sound of the

308 This is a distance of about six and a quarter miles, or ten kilometres (Crowther, 1994, 142), a vast distance for sound to carry.

309 L. Flavius Philostratus, 'the Athenian', was a member of an originally Lemnian family, and he died under Philip the Arab, 244 – 9 AD (*Suda*): *OCD* 1171.

trumpet. In both passages from Philostratus the predominant feature is volume.³¹⁰

The musical writer Aristides Quintilianus seemingly considers that the *salpinx* has male qualities.³¹¹ In Bk.2.15-16 (85) we read

Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐμπνευστοῖς ἄρρεν μὲν ἄντις ἀποφύηται τὴν
σάλπιγγα διὰ τὸ σφοδρόν,

'among the wind instruments, we may say, the *salpinx* is male (ἄρρεν), because of its vehemence'.³¹²

Quintilianus here compares the *salpinx*, the male instrument, with the Phrygian aulos, which is 'feminine because it is mournful and threnodic'.³¹³ The traditionally gendered equation of power with masculinity may also recall that our ancient evidence overwhelmingly presents trumpet players as male. One potential paradox here is that ἡ σάλπιγξ is a feminine noun. To describe its sound as 'vehement' may seem unusual, but we are reminded that Pollux (*On.* 4.85) noted σφοδρός in his list of trumpet sounds (see 2.1).

2.5 Emotions caused by the sound of the *salpinx*

At this point we may think about what sort of emotions are likely to have been caused by the sound of the *salpinx*, taking into account what we know about the places and events at which the instrument was played. We may then look at the written evidence in the ancient literary tradition. Indeed, are the emotions that are inspired by the sound of the trumpet a result of the general situation in which the listener finds himself, or of the specific sound itself? The prevalent examples of emotions connected with the sound of the trumpet that I have found recorded by ancient Greek writers are terror, fear and confusion, with fear being the most oft-repeated. Perhaps this is not surprising since the trumpet is widely associated with the battlefield, where acute fear prevailed. "Happier" emotions do not appear as specific experiences, and I suggest that this is because the

310 This compares well with the Roman text of the *Satyricon* by Petronius, 44, in which he describes Safinius, who spoke in the Senate: 'and when he was pleading in the courts, his voice used to swell like a trumpet': *cum ageret porro in foro, sic illius vox crescebat tanquam tuba.*

311 His more detailed discussion (2:62) of the different sounds made by the trumpet in the Roman army, is included in 3.1.2 on the attack signal.

312 Translation taken from Barker, 1989, 487.

313 Mathiesen, 1983, 149.

salpinx is not recognised as a “musical” instrument.

My first example of fear shown on the part of the listeners is one found outside a battlefield context. In Xenophon's *Anabasis* 1.2.17, the historian describes the relationship between Cyrus, the Greek commander, and Epyaxa, the Sicilian queen. Epyaxa asked Cyrus to put on for her an exhibition by his army. Cyrus apparently agreed, and arranged for his troops to line up as if for battle. He pretended to inspect the barbarians first, as if in a real battle situation, and then gave the orders to advance arms. The generals relayed the verbal order and the trumpet sounded:

οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπαν τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλόμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπήσαν...τῶν βαρβάρων φόβος πολὺς... τε καὶ ἢ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν.

Here we note the word φόβος, fear. The singular verb, ἐσάλπιγξε (the trumpet sounded), without a subject, may imply that the reader is to assume that the subject is a lone trumpeter. When the trumpet sounded, the barbarians were terrified, and Epyaxa fled. Xenophon also offers an example of an additional, unexpected indirect emotion, that of Cyrus' mirth, caused as a result of the sight of the Sicilian queen and her followers fleeing at the sound of the trumpet.

We find another example of fear in *Anabasis* 7.4.19.

Σεύθης δὲ ἦκε βοηθῶν σὺν ἑπτὰ ἵππεῦσι τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἔχων τὸν Θράκιον. καὶ ἐπέιπερ ἦσθετο, ὅσονπερ χρόνον ἐβοήθει, τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐφθέγγετο αὐτῷ. ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο φόβον συμπαρέσχε τοῖς πολεμίοις.

In this passage, set in 401 BC, we hear another story about the commander Seuthes, who, together with seven of his men, came to Xenophon's rescue during the battle, and the Thracian trumpeter sounded his instrument, causing terror to the enemy. We may note again the specific mention of φόβος here, and of the 'vocal' verb ἐφθέγγετο.

Diodorus Siculus, in *Histories* 16.84.4, offers another example of the link between trumpet sound and fear. The occupation of the city of Elateia by Philip of Macedon took place in 338/337 BC, and Diodorus wrote that this so surprised the Athenian generals that they instructed the trumpeters to sound an alarm signal throughout the night:

οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς πράξεως καταπλαγέντες τοὺς τε σαλπικτὰς μετεπέμποντο καὶ σημαίνειν προσέταττον δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός.

The time expression δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός (the whole night through) gives a frightening impression with the usual peace of the night being constantly interrupted by the trumpeter. The trumpet here acts as the catalyst for fear: ἡ μὲν πόλις ὄρθη διὰ τὸν φόβον ἦν, 'the city was tense with terror'. The use of the adjective ὄρθη here not only personifies the πόλις (i.e. the city "stands up"), but it creates a vivid image. At the beginning of this section I asked whether it was the situation that caused the fear, or specifically the *salpinx*. In this instance I suggest that it was both: fear at the suggestion that Philip was about to march into Athens, and fear at the unusually repetitive sound of the *salpinx* constantly throughout the night.

This psychological link between trumpet sound and fear also appears in the later work *On Dreams* by Artemidorus 1.56:

στρογγύλη δὲ σάλπιγγι σαλπίζειν πονηρόν· οὐ γὰρ ἱερόν τὸ ὄργανον ἀλλὰ πολεμιστήριον ... οἷψ' δ' ἂν ὄργάνῳ σάλπιζοντός τινός τις ἀκούσῃ, ταραχθήσεται· εἰ δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον ἴδοι σάλπιγγα, κενῶ περιπεσεῖται φόβῳ.

'Blowing into a round trumpet, on the other hand, is ill-omened, since it is an instrument of war rather than a sacred one...if a dreamer actually hears someone blowing on an instrument of this sort, turmoil awaits him. But if he only sees the trumpet, his fears will be groundless'.

Several features of this text are of interest. Firstly we note the adjective στρογγύλη, 'round', to describe the shape of the trumpet. We have previously seen this form of instrument mentioned by Aristonicus where he calls the Egyptian trumpet στρογγύλη (see 1.3.2). We also have two of Pollux' adjectives (*On*. 4.85), πολεμιστήριος, 'warlike', and ταραχῶδες, 'confused, troubled', thus in turmoil (see 2.1). The latter is here paralleled by ταραχθήσεται. Finally we note the connection with φόβος. To emphasise this point, Artemidorus repeats the statement that if the dreamer cannot hear the instrument but is able to actually see it, he will not be afraid.

Another writer also tells us of a war trumpet (πολεμία σάλπιγξ) sounded at night, that frightened its listeners. Onasander (c. AD 49) uses this expression in his work *The General* 42.17.7 in a chapter entitled “The Advantage of Trumpets” (see 3.1.7 for a further reference from Onasander):

Μέγα δ' ἄω ὀνήσειε καί τι τοιόν δε συνεπινοηθέν, εἰ καὶ σαλπικτὰς οἱ φθάσαντες ἐπιβῆναι τοῦ τείχους ἀνιμήσαιεν. ἀκουσθεῖσα γὰρ πολεμία σάλπιγξ ἀπὸ τειχῶν ἐν νυκτὶ πολλὴν ἐκπληξιν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ὡς ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἐαλωκόσιν.

Once again the sound of the war trumpet, πολεμία σάλπιγξ, sounding suddenly in the darkness of the night, brings great terror (πολλὴν ἐκπληξιν) to the people within the city walls.³¹⁴ The noun ἐκπληξις here parallels Pollux' ἐκπληκτικόν, 'striking with terror', even 'astounding' (see 2.1).

Writing later in the same century as Onasander, Josephus depicts an excellent example of the sound of the trumpet causing those who heard it to fear for their lives and run away from the enemy. Josephus' account of the Jewish war against the Romans in AD 70 carries some weight: as he states at the beginning of his account, and as I have noted in 1.2.3, he himself fought in the war so had first-hand experience. In *Jewish War* 6.68-70 Josephus sets the scene with his careful observation of the events that occurred at two in the morning c. 24th July 70 AD. Twenty guards are gathered together outside the fortress of Antonia with a standard bearer from the Fifth Legion, two soldiers from the cavalry, and one trumpeter (σαλπικτὴν ἓνα). The guards ordered the trumpeter to sound the signal, τῷ σαλπικτῆι σημαίνειν ἐκέλευσαν. Here we note not only the dramatic emphasis of explicitly noting just one trumpeter, but also once again the use of the verb σημαίνειν for the signal of attack. The story continues that the guards, who were supposed to be guarding the area,

ὁ τε γὰρ φόβος καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ φαντασίαν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλήθους ἀναβεβηκέαι πόλεμιων παρῆχε,

immediately leapt up and ran away on hearing the *salpinx*, without waiting to see who

314 Onasander too stresses the importance of a lone trumpeter. The passage ends with the comment that because of the effectiveness of the trumpet signal at night, it is possible that one trumpeter, unarmed, could capture a city: perhaps plausible.

was there or how many invaders had entered the area. The combination of emotions with the fear they experienced (φόβος), together with the way the sound of the trumpet played with their imagination (φαντασίαν), resulted in the subsequent abandonment of the area. As a consequence of this event, Caesar was able to invade and capture the fortress of Antonia.

Both Onasander and Josephus seem to refer to one trumpet or one trumpeter only. The noise of several instruments sounded together would, however, have had a greater effect upon those listening. In *Marcellus* 18.4 Plutarch writes about the actions of Marcellus in Sicily during the siege of Syracuse in 213-212 BC. He records that at some point during the siege Marcellus noticed that a tower was being carelessly guarded. Marcellus used this knowledge to implement his decision to move a number of his troops inside the city whilst the Syracusans were celebrating the festival of Artemis,

ἀρχομένων δὲ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ταράττεσθαι τῶν Συρακουσίων πρὸς τὴν αἰσθησιν, ἅμα πανταχόθεν ταῖς σάλπιγξι χρῆσθαι κελεύσας φυγὴν ἐποίησε πολλὴν καὶ φόβον, ὡς οὐδενὸς μέρους ἀναλώτου μένοντος,

and then he arranged for the trumpets to sound as if from all around. By having the trumpets simultaneously sounded on all sides (πανταχόθεν), the residents of Syracuse were thrown into confusion (ταράττεσθαι) and they fled in great terror: φυγὴν ἐποίησε πολλὴν καὶ φόβον. Once again we see the linking of trumpet sound, panic, and fear.

We may also note the use of the “sounding phrase”, ταῖς σάλπιγξι χρῆσθαι. This same expression is used several centuries later by Procopius in his *History of the Wars* (5.10.4). Although much later, Procopius' discussion of the *salpinx* is an important text,³¹⁵ and I include it here because of its relevance to the use and sounds of the *salpinx*. He tells of the general Belisarius who deliberately set out to use the trumpet sound to cause confusion in his attempt to overthrow Ravenna in 540 AD. The passage also indicates that a certain skill was required to be able to play the instrument:

καὶ ἄνδρας δύο ταῖς σάλπιγξι χρῆσθαι ἐπισταμένους ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν του περιβόλου ἐντος γένωνται, τὴν τε πόλιν ξυνταράξαι καὶ τα πρᾶσσόμενα σημήναι σφίσιν οἰοί τε ᾧσιν.

315 See 1.7.1 and 3.1.1 for Procopius' military advice on the use of the *salpinx*.

Here we read that Belisarius arranged for ‘two men who were skilled in the use of the trumpet’, (ἐπισταμένους ταῖς σάλπιγξι χρῆσθαι), to get inside the city walls; from that place they sounded their trumpets whilst Belisarius was laying siege to the city in another place nearby. The city was thrown into confusion, (τήν τε πόλιν ξυνταράξαι), but the trumpet signal also informed Belisarius’ own men of his exact position, what actions he was taking, and also surely acted as an encouragement to them. This episode also provides a rare example of two trumpets in action.

I compare here another extract from Procopius in which he refers to a battle in 349 AD, where an unknown number of trumpets were sounded so loudly that the enemy was routed and the battle won (7.36.12):

ἄνδρας ἐνταῦθα χρῆσθαι ταῖς σάλπιγξιν ἐπισταμένους ἐνθήμενος.

Here Totila placed men who understood how to play the trumpet on two long boats, and instructed them to cross the Tiber and when they got close to the city walls, to make as much noise with their instruments as possible:

οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ὄντες, ἐπεὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄγχι ἐγένοντο, ἐχρῶντο ἤδη κατὰ τὰ σφίσιν ἐπηγγελμένα ταῖς σάλπιγξι.

The Romans were so terrified by this, thinking that the wall was being attacked, that they ran away. We may note the similarities in expression in these two passages from Procopius, with his use of ἐπισταμένους for the ‘skilled’ trumpeters, and the phrase ἐχρῶντο...ταῖς σάλπιγξι.

2.6 Conclusion.

From the loud, shrill voice of Achilles in the *Iliad*, to Xenophon's ἐφθέγγετο, I have shown that in Greek literature a consistent and striking comparison is made between the sound made by the *salpinx* and that of the human voice. The use of elaborate compound words to depict the sounding of the trumpet recorded by Aristonicus is frustrating, as other ancient sources do not seem to use such detailed descriptive words, with the notable exception of Pollux' thesaurus-type list. Pollux' detailed list of the sounds made by the trumpet is extensive, but also frustrating in that we do not know his

sources. The one consistent vocal verb noted throughout this section is φθέγγομαι. This usage ranges from the 8th/7th centuries BC (*Iliad*), through the 5th century BC (Xenophon), Crinagoras (1st century BC to 1st century AD), Plutarch (late 1st century to early 2nd century AD), ending with Pollux' list from the 2nd century AD, and Philostratus (3rd century AD). This indicates its use by poetic and prose authors across many genres. Roman texts concerning similar contexts do not seem to refer to the 'vocal' sound of the trumpet, so this appears to be a particularly striking and long-lasting motif in Greek literature.

Another striking feature is the 'cause and effect' link between the sound of the trumpet and the production of fear (φόβος) and panic (ταράττεσθαι, ἐκπληξιν). This probably derives from the popular conception of the *salpinx* as a predominantly martial signalling instrument. I have also discussed the three-way combination of the war cry, the *paeon*, and the *salpinx*. The singing of the *paeon* on occasions stimulated the shouting of the war cry, and could also act as a warning signal. The *salpinx* in turn stimulated both the *paeon* and the war cry. The war cry has been seen not only as a sound of intimidation, but also as a plea to the gods. The three-way combination of war-cry, *paeon*, and *salpinx* was used as a signal to attack, but only in two dramatic instances recorded by Xenophon. We also note occasional varied references to more than one trumpeter on occasions, rather than a lone trumpeter. I shall explore this aspect in more detail in the following chapter about war.

Chapter 3

The trumpet on the battlefield: signals, commands and symbols

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I shall establish what the ancient sources tell us about the use of the trumpet on the battlefield. I shall show that its main purpose was as a means of signalling commands and instructions, which over time become more and more sophisticated. In the previous chapter I examined the language of the sounds made by the trumpet, and the emotions these caused. Here I shall extend this aspect by focusing on the development of the language detailing military trumpet signals. I shall show that the trumpet became so connected with the military in Greek culture that it is even used as a symbol for war in drama, and can be treated in a humorous manner. This is demonstrated by my analysis of the trumpet in vase paintings, shield devices and sculpture.

For background source material I have consulted the seminal four-volume text of Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* (1971-1985), although clearly his focus is primarily on the technicalities of war with greater emphasis on the actions of the hoplites. This relatively early text is ably supported by contributors to Hanson's *Hoplites: the Classical Greek Battle Experience* (1991). Neither Pritchett nor Hanson, however, offer a substantial contribution to my subject matter. The existing scholarship on the topic of the trumpet and war is insufficient. Scholars, such as Lazenby (1991) and Landels (1999) have commented on the *salpinx* in war contexts, but their contribution is limited. Lazenby for example writes that 'the signal for the advance was often given by the trumpet,' adding that 'at a further signal, down would come the spears', or at least those of the first two or three ranks (of hoplites),³¹⁶ but he does not elucidate further. I shall demonstrate a passage in which Xenophon describes this manoeuvre (*Anabasis* 6.5.27). Landels writes that 'there is some evidence that there were traditionally accepted calls on the *salpinx* to indicate "attack" and "retreat",' ³¹⁷ but he too fails to cite the evidence. I have therefore filled this gap in scholarship, and recorded and analysed

316 Lazenby, 1991, 90.

317 Landels, 1999, 80.

the ancient evidence that demonstrates the use of the *salpinx* as a signalling instrument.

In this chapter I once again draw upon Krentz's useful chapter in Hanson (1991) in which Krentz notes that 'the signal for attack in naval battles was specifically attested for Salamis in 480 BC'.³¹⁸ In writing about when the trumpet was sounded on the battlefield, Krentz suggests that 'the Greeks blew the *salpinx* before and after battles but rarely during a battle itself'.³¹⁹ I remain somewhat sceptical about this statement, and I will show my reasons. He also considers that Greek battles were 'small and uncomplicated so different trumpet signals were not required'.³²⁰ I have carefully scrutinised many passages from the ancient literary sources, from historians, biographers, and dramatists. My belief is that there is insufficient evidence either to accept, or not accept, his reference to 'small and uncomplicated battles'. In addition, I shall demonstrate that these passages emoted a variety of language for the signals made.

Krentz's interest is in the uses of the *salpinx*, in particular its signals, and he also provides some information, albeit scant, on the sounds made. He uses source material from the *Iliad*, one of Bacchylides' dithyrambs, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, and the Greek dramatists of the 5th century BC. I too use this source material, but in greater depth, and I also incorporate other sources, including Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dio Chrysostom, and Onasander, amongst others. We both refer to Pollux (2nd century AD), but use very little evidence after this time. Krentz's most up-to-date reference is to a passage from Aristides Quintilianus' *On Music* (ca. 3rd century AD), whereas mine is to an important passage from the historian Procopius (c. 500 AD to 565 AD), which describes the uses of the *salpinx* on the battlefield. I include Procopius' contribution because I have established that the use of the *salpinx* in war is a developing tradition which by his day has become fairly established, so his text acts as a suitable 'end point' for my discussion.

West realised that the trumpet had special uses and noted that it was not used for musical purposes but only for giving signals, especially for battle and in certain ritual and

318 Krentz, 1991, 111.

319 *ibid*, 110.

320 *ibid*, 118.

ceremonial contexts'.³²¹ However he too does not develop or expand on this. For compilations of musical terms and detail on brass instruments written during the 20th century AD, we may turn to a variety of catalogues and musical dictionaries.³²² None of these give any detail about the range of signals, or the vocabulary used by the ancient sources, so my research also satisfies that deficiency.

We may wish to consider from where the ancient sources obtained their knowledge of the *salpinx*. Aeschylus fought at the battles of Marathon (490 BC) and Salamis (480 BC)³²³ so he may have seen the battlefield *salpinx*. Xenophon joined the expedition of Cyrus in the early spring of 410 BC.³²⁴ His *Cavalry Commander* provides an informed account of tactical aspects of the Athenian cavalry (see 3.1.11), so his own military experience renders his evidence especially valuable. Anderson notes that Xenophon had been a brigadier of mercenaries, and for many years was probably a senior staff officer in the Spartan service.³²⁵ I believe we may therefore accept Xenophon's record as first-hand and reliable.

The Greek historian Polybius accompanied Scipio to Spain (151 BC) and Africa (150 BC), and he witnessed the fall of Carthage in 146 BC.³²⁶ Although not a soldier, it is very likely that Polybius knew of the *salpinx* from his travels; Walbank notes that 'Polybius' detailed description of military matters throughout his *Histories* reveals the technical skill and passionate eye of the professional.³²⁷ Polybius may also have been familiar with Xenophon's work. He had apparently read the historians of his time and preceding generations, such as Timaeus, Phylarchus, Theopompus and Ephorus.³²⁸ Ephorus (4th century BC), although not a soldier either, was, according to Polybius, the first universal historian³²⁹, but Ephorus drew on various sources himself (so was not

321 West, 1992, 118; see Introduction.

322 Sachs (1940), Marcuse (1966), Michaelides (1978), Sadie (1984), Baines (1976, 1992), and Latham (2002).

323 Storey and Allan, 2005, 108-109.

324 Mather and Hewitt, 1962, 24.

325 Anderson, 1970, 11.

326 Walbank, 1967, 4-5.

327 *ibid*, 2.

328 *ibid*. Walbank cites several references from the first three of these historians to support this statement.

329 *ibid*.

necessarily a reliable source): Isocrates, the Oxyrhynchus historian, and Thucydides.³³⁰ Diodorus Siculus (*Bibliothēke*, written c.56 to c.36 BC³³¹) follows Polybius closely, so his use of the *salpinx* could be seen as emulating that of Polybius, although he too was not a soldier. Diodorus also, however, drew upon the historiographer Ephorus.³³²

Several centuries later than Diodorus, the historian Procopius of Caesarea accompanied the general Belisarius on several of his campaigns. These included his Persian (527-531 AD), African (533-536 AD), and Italian campaigns (536-540 AD)³³³. Procopius' native language was Greek, and the Roman army to which he was attached for at least twelve years (and perhaps longer) perhaps comprised a medley of racial groups and tongues.³³⁴ He refers to the *salpinx* rather more than the *bucina* or the *tuba*; I think that this is probably attributed to his familiarity with the Greek language in his writings, as well as the cosmopolitan aspect of the men with whom he associated, who must have known the *salpinx*.

3.1 Signals

3.1.1 Introduction

On the premise that the main use of the *salpinx* on the battlefield was for signalling purposes, I shall start by examining a range of sources, in the main from historiography, in order to establish the different trumpet calls that were used on the battlefield. I begin with two relatively late texts, which catalogue a fairly sophisticated range of different military trumpet signals.

Although his *Onomastikon* dates from the 2nd century AD, Pollux provides quite detailed information about the war trumpet and its signal calls. His list of signals, distinguished by various qualifying adjectives, is of great interest, comparable with his list of the sounds made by the instrument which I examined in chapter 2. I shall also demonstrate that this vocabulary used is found in many other ancient sources (in contrast to his list of words for sounds, most of which do not appear anywhere else (see 2.1). Pollux may therefore reflect the development of a specific kind of military vocabulary for trumpet

330 *OCD* 529.

331 Oldfather, 1952, ix.

332 *ibid.*

333 *OCD*, 1251.

334 Evans, 1972, 31.

signals, which, I argue, originated in the time of Xenophon. As the author of a thesaurus-style text, it is impossible to know who or what were Pollux' sources. To have compiled such a list of facts as he did implies a certain knowledge of several ancient literary historians and authors, but exactly which sources cannot now be identified.

Krentz summarises the two main trumpet signals as τὸ ἀνακλήτικον, sounding the retreat, and τὸ πολέμικον, sounding the charge.³³⁵ He cites a selection of passages from Xenophon's *Anabasis* and Diodorus Siculus' *Histories* to support his comment. This is somewhat simplistic, as when we examine Pollux in detail we find more complexities in the vocabulary used.

In *Onomastikon* 4.86 Pollux sets out the various trumpet calls:

μέρη δὲ τοῦ πολεμιστηρίου σαλπίσματος ἐξορμητικόν, ἐφ' οὗ ἔλεγον τὸ σημῆναι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ ὑπεσήμηναν αἱ σάλπιγγες, ἐξώτρουναν, ἐξήγειραν, ἐξανήγειραν.
καὶ παρακελευστικόν τὸ κατὰ τὴν μάχης συμβολήν, ἀνακλητικόν δὲ, τὸ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀνακαλοῦν, ἀναπαυστήριον δὲ τὸ καταζευγνύντων ἐπίφθεγμα.

From this passage the phrases or words used by Pollux showing signals that are of relevance are as follows:

- τοῦ πολεμιστηρίου σαλπίσματος, the war-like trumpet call;³³⁶ the adjective implies that the author/reader distinguishes the military trumpet sound from those in other contexts;

- ἐξορμητικόν, stirring the soldiers;³³⁷
- τὸ σημῆναι τῇ σάλπιγγι, the signal by the trumpet;
- ἐξώτρουναν, ἐξήγειραν, ἐξανήγειραν, to stir up or excite (see below);
- παρακελευστικόν τὸ κατὰ τὴν μάχης συμβολήν, to encourage an attack; ³³⁸
- ἀνακλητικόν δὲ τὸ ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀνακαλοῦν, to call a retreat;³³⁹

335 Krentz, 1991, 115-116.

336 *LSJ* 1582: σάλπισμα, -ατος, τό; only cites the Pollux reference.

337 *LSJ* 598: ἐξορμητικόν εἰς πόλεμόν, Sch. Pl. R. 400b; from ἐξορμέω, to get someone to do / urge.

338 *LSJ* 1312: 'calling out to, cheering on in battle.'

339 ἀνακαλέω is primarily defined by *LSJ* (107) as 'to call up, to call again and again, to

- ἀναπαυστήριον, from ἀναπαυω, to call a pause;³⁴⁰
- τὸ καταζευγνύτων ἐπίφθεγμα, answering in accordance or to join in with what is said, to rest or encamp.³⁴¹

The three words ἐξώτρυναν, ἐξήγειραν, and ἐξανήγειραν, are from similar verbs with different nuances of meaning.³⁴² None of these definitions offered by *LSJ* refer to the trumpet, however. We have already noted Josephus' use of ἐξοτρυνόντων (*Jewish Antiquities* 5.27) in 1.2.3. We may also note that although Pollux does use ἀνακλητικόν, he does not include τὸ πολέμικον, which I shall examine further in 3.1.2.

My second, smaller, and slightly earlier 'catalogue' comes from Dio Chrysostom's (c. 40/50 AD to after 100 AD) *Second Discourse on Kingship* (29), in which he also records various trumpet signals:

πρὸς σάλπιγγα ἄδεσθαι, μά Δί' οὐ τὴν ἀνακαλοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐποτρύνουσαν καὶ παρακελευομένην.

Here we see Pollux's signals to sound the retreat (ἀνακαλεῖν), and to encourage (παρακελεύεσθαι). We note the verb ἐποτρύνειν, to stir up, or urge on the soldiers to attack (*LSJ* 677). This verb is also used by Thucydides (6.69.2, see 3.1.2).

In his *Roman Antiquities* 4.17.3-4, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (late 1st century BC into early 1st century AD) writes about the men whose business it was to get everything ready in time of war, including

δύο δὲ σαλπιστῶν τε καὶ βυκανιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλοις τισὶν ὄργανοις ἐπισημαινόντων τὰ παρακλητικὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

He describes two groups (λόχους, or 'centuries') of trumpeters and horn-blowers which

summon'. *LSJ* also add 'to call back from battle, ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τῇ σάλπιγγι, citing Xenophon *Anab.* 4.4.2'. ἀνάκλησις is defined as 'a retreat, τῇ σάλπιγγι σημήνας, citing Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus* 12', (*LSJ* 108). Compare ἀνακλητικός, 'a recalling; τὸ ἀνα. σημαίνειν or σάλπιξιεν to sound the retreat', citing Dionysius of Halicarnassus 8.65; Lucillius, 11.136'. I show these passages from ancient sources at various points in this chapter.

340 *LSJ* 115: the sound of a trumpet for halt, as opposed to τὸ ἀνακαλητικόν, the retreat', citing this passage and Pollux *On.* 4.86.

341 *LSJ* 890, 670 respectively.

342 *LSJ* 598: ἐξώτρυναν, from ἐξοτρύνω, 'to stir up, excite'; *LSJ* 593: ἐξήγειραν, from ἐξεγείρω, 'to awaken, to kindle, to arouse'; *LSJ* 585: ἐξανήγειραν, from ἐξανεγείρω, 'to excite'.

were added to the fourth class, and amongst this group were others who sounded the instruction calls on other instruments (ἄλλοις τισὶν ὀργάνοις). This is about the organisation of the *comitia centuriata*, not the army itself (except in so far as the *comitia centuriata* reflected the early military organisation).³⁴³ But there were also five unarmed centuries which consisted of artisans, musicians (trumpeters and horn blowers), *accensi* (body servants of centurions, to be called on for replacements), and finally a single century of the proletariats, men with no property or so little as not worth counting in a census.³⁴⁴

Apart from the records of Pollux on Herodorus, where δύο ὀργανα were apparently used by one man simultaneously³⁴⁵, the only other suggestion that I have discovered of 'other instruments' that called instructions is from Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* 25.265 with his poetic reference of Bacchus' *syrix*, Βακχιιάδος σύρριγγος, calling the troops to battle (see 2.1).

Dionysius describes the attack signal instruction as σημαινόντων τὰ παρακλητικὰ τοῦ πολέμου (4.17.3). As this chapter progresses we shall frequently see the verb σημαίνω used as a verb for 'to give a signal' on the trumpet.³⁴⁶ Some sources use the expression σημαίνω τῇ σάλπιγγι, for example Andocides' *On the Mysteries* 45 (see 3.1.5), and Xenophon *Anab.* 4.2.1 (see 3.1.7).

Although Procopius' *History of the Wars* is a later text (dated approximately 551 AD³⁴⁷), I include here his very detailed discussion of signals (6.23.23-24), because it notes the range of signals we shall see used by earlier writers and, as with the above passage from Pollux, I believe it reflects a developed military vocabulary for such signals.

In this passage Procopius is giving advice to Belisarius about the difficulties encountered when the enemy made a great noise on purpose, so that the Romans would not be able to hear the verbal commands being given:

343 Ross Taylor, 1966, 86.

344 *ibid.*

345 See 3.2 and 4.5.5.

346 *LSJ* 1270. Previously noted in 2.1.

347 *OCD* 1251.

Προκόπιος εἶπεν “οἱ ταῖς σάλπιγξιν, ὧ στρατηγέ, τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ χρώμενοι νόμους τινὰς ἠπίσταντο δύο, ὧν ἄτερος μὲν ἐγκελευομένῳ τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐώκει καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς μάχην ὀρμῶντι, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεκάλει τοὺς μαχομένους, ἠνίκα ταῦτα ἐδόκει τῷ στρατηγῷ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν. ταύτη τε αἰεὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ τὰ καθήκοντα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐκέλευον, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἔργα ἐπιτελεῖν ἴσχυον.”

The advice he gave was that the men who played the trumpets in the Roman army in ancient times knew two different trumpet calls: one seemed to urge the soldiers on (ἐγκελευομένῳ) and to cause them to charge into battle, and the other was used to call the men back to the camp (ἀνεκάλει), whichever was best for the general, because during the battle the human voice is not powerful enough to be able to give clear orders. Procopius further advised Belisarius (6.23.26-28):

ἐπεὶ δὲ τανῦν ἀμαθία τε ἢ τοιαύτη τέχνη ἐξώλισθε καὶ μιᾷ σάλπιγγι ἄμφω δηλῶσαι ἀμήχανον, αὐτὸς οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν ποίει. σάλπιγξι μὲν ταῖς ἵππικαῖς ἐγκελεύου τοῖς στρατιώταις διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ταῖς δὲ πεζικαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἀνακάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἑκατέρου γὰρ αὐτοῦς τοῦ ἤχου μὴ οὐχὶ ξυνεῖναι ἀδύνατον, ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ βύρσης τε καὶ ξύλου ὑπεράγαν λεπτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἐκ παχέος τινὸς χαλκοῦ πρόεισι.

Here we read that there were two different sets of trumpets: the “cavalry trumpets” were to be used to urge the soldiers to carry on fighting (σάλπιγξι μὲν ταῖς ἵππικαῖς ἐγκελεύου), while the “infantry trumpets” were to recall the men (πεζικαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἀνακάλει). I cited this passage earlier in 1.7.1, but I emphasise here that the troops would be able to tell the difference, as one instrument was made of leather (*LSJ* 333, βύρσης) and very thin wood (*LSJ* 1191-2, 1039, ξύλου λεπτοῦ), and the other from thick brass (*LSJ* 1350-1, παχέος χαλκοῦ). The logistics of a trumpet made of leather and wood are difficult to comprehend, and once again we note Procopius' detail of a different trumpet form. This extended discussion illustrates an indication of the signal to attack, in the context of urging men onwards, as well as the signal to retreat. In the sections that follow I shall discuss the different trumpet signals separately, to show that Dio Chrysostom, Pollux, and Procopius capture the end of a gradual development of the sophistication of battlefield signals.

3.1.2 Attack signal

I introduce this section with our earliest surviving source for the attack signal, a fable by Aesop (thought to be from the 6th century BC³⁴⁸), entitled *The Trumpeter*, or Σαλπικτής, (no. 289). I have set out the fable in its entirety, as it exemplifies the actions that resulted from the signals made by the instrument on the battlefield, and in particular the signal of attack.

σαλπικτής στρατὸν ἐπισυνάγων καὶ κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
πόλεμιων ἐβόα · “μὴ κτείνετε με, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰκῆ καὶ μάτην.
οὐδένα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἀπέκτεινα · πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τούτου
οὐδεν ἄλλο κτῶμαι.” οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφασαν · “διὰ τοῦτο
γὰρ μᾶλλον τεθνήξῃ, ὅτι σὺ μὴ δυνάμενος πολεμεῖν τοὺς
πάντας πρὸς μάχην ἐγείρεις.”

'A trumpeter who summoned the assembly of troops was captured by the enemy and called out:

“Do not kill me, comrades, without due consideration and for no reason. For I have not killed any of you and apart from my brass³⁴⁹ I have nothing.”

But someone replied:

“All the more reason for you to die, since, not being able to go to war yourself, you arouse everyone else to combat”.'

This passage describes the moral aspect of war, with the trumpeter and his instrument seen as responsible for the act of killing. Indeed, Anderson notes that 'most Aesopic fables are concerned, then, with a society that still endorses 'might is right' or 'the survival of the fittest'.³⁵⁰ The signal to attack is implied with πρὸς μάχην ἐγείρεις, 'to arouse, awaken, stir' (*LSJ* 469). Although the verb is a word connected with trumpet signals in Pollux (see 3.1.1), it is not one that we see used again in the context of a trumpet signal, although Polybius uses the similar verb διεγείρω (*LSJ* 320, to wake up) in *Histories* 12.26.1 for the reveille signal sounded by the *salpinx* (see 3.1.6).

Thucydides, the author of the (incomplete) *History of the Peloponnesian War* between Athens and Sparta, 431-404 BC, was a general³⁵¹, so one would expect that his evidence for battlefield practice should be reliable. Unlike the professional soldier

348 *OCD*, 29 cites Herodotus 2.134-5, who places him in the 6th century BC as the slave of Ladmon, a Samian later murdered by Delphians.

349 χαλκοῦ, a play on the word which means copper, brass or bronze, but in this instance is clearly used in the colloquial sense of “a brass” object of some sort, like an instrument.

350 Anderson, 2006, 93.

351 *OCD*, 1516.

Xenophon, Thucydides was experienced in great affairs of state, as well as military matters.³⁵² However, Thucydides only refers to the *salpinx* directly twice, and when he does so it is therefore significant. He realised that to penetrate through the noise on the battlefield, the signals made by the trumpeter had to be piercing enough to reach the men furthest from the trumpeter's position. Thucydides depicts the scene during the Athenian victory in 415 BC before Syracuse (6.69.2). Firstly the stone-throwers, slingers, and archers on both sides engaged each other in front of the main lines of battle, with primarily one group and then another having the advantage, as is normal with these light troops.

ἔπειτα δὲ μάντις τε σφάγια προύφερον τὰ νομιζόμενα καὶ σάλπιγκται
ξύνοδον ἐπώτρυνον τοῖς ὀπλίταις.

Then soothsayers brought forward the usual victims for sacrifice. Following this, in what appears to be an example of the trumpet being sounded during a battle³⁵³, the trumpeters (note the plural) sounded the charge to the hoplites. Thucydides' choice of expression, with the Greek word ἐπώτρυνον, is very simple, rather like the fable of Aesop, with no specific 'attack' word, but rather an implied attack signal. This choice of verb differs from the evidence from later historiographers, where this word does not appear, although it is used in the passage from Dio Chrysostom (*Second Discourse on Kingship* 29, see 3.1.1). I also feel that Thucydides' description of the volume of different members of the army involved in particular contradicts Krentz's comments about 'small uncomplicated battles' (see footnote³⁵¹ earlier).

The historiographer Xenophon, a near contemporary of Thucydides, provides an example of the trumpet signal for the attack in *Anabasis* 1.2.17, where he describes the display of the troops of Cyrus, the Greek commander, for Epyaxa, the Sicilian queen, in 403 BC. As a professional soldier, Xenophon's evidence is reliable. I cited this passage in 2.5 to demonstrate fear at the sound of the trumpet: Cyrus arranged for his troops to line up as if for battle, and then gave the orders to advance arms: καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε,

352 Anderson, 1970, 11.

353 I made reference to Krentz's comment earlier in 3.0 (see footnote³²⁰) where he said that the trumpet is rarely sounded during battles: this appears to be an example, and perhaps echoes its religious use in sacrifices, which I discuss in 4.5.2.

προβαλόμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἐπῆσαν. Here the trumpet signal, ἐσάλπιγξε,³⁵⁴ issuing the instruction to attack, albeit in a “pretend” situation as if on the battlefield caused the barbarians and the Sicilian queen to run. There is no specific signal word in this passage, merely the verb σάλπιξιεν, ‘to sound the trumpet, to give a signal by the trumpet’, to demonstrate the meaning. This also provides an example of the trumpet signal used for a dual purpose: to instruct the soldiers to advance arms and to charge.

An example of the attack signal being used at sea is found in Xenophon’s *Hellenica* 5.1.9, where he writes about a naval battle in 388 BC.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔσαν αἱ τοῦ Εὐνόμου πρὸς τῆ γῆ περὶ Σωστῆρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκέλευε τῆ σάλπιγγι ἐπιπλεῖν.

In this battle, Gorgopas gave the order by the sound of the *salpinx* to attack with the verb ἐπιπλεῖν, to “sail against” the ships of the enemy. We may note the use of the verb ἐκέλευε with τῆ σάλπιγγι rather than σημαίνειν as in *Anabasis*. This demonstrates a change of vocabulary stylistically in Xenophon’s work, between the writing of *Hellenica* (approximately 380s to the mid-350s³⁵⁵) and *Anabasis* (date uncertain, but likely to have been after *Hellenica*³⁵⁶). Krentz cites a vase painting as an example of an attack at sea,³⁵⁷ the *krater* attributed to the painter Aristonothos, 7th century BC (see Fig.1.20). The painting shows two fighting boats, with a figure holding a *salpinx* aboard one of them. The presence of triremes, shields and a trumpet in this delightful vase painting seems to confirm the battle aspect.

I shall now examine further extracts from the *Anabasis* in which Xenophon makes different references to both the *salpinx* and the trumpeters. In *Anab.* 3.4.4, Xenophon tells of the fighting of Mithridates under the general Tissaphernes against the Greeks in 401 BC. Having crossed a gorge, whilst on the march, the trumpet sounded the signal, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῆ σάλπιγγι. On hearing the sound, the foot soldiers and the horsemen charged, and the enemy fled. Xenophon does not use a specific word for the

354 Here the verb is singular, a single trumpeter.

355 *OCD* 1629.

356 *ibid.*

357 Krentz, 1991, 116.

attack, but in its place uses the basic 'signal' word, ἐσήμηνε, a dative of means for the *salpinx*, so I think we should assume that the actual sound made the men aware of the specific instruction. We can also here see another dual purpose signal. The foot soldiers, according to Xenophon, already had their orders, and as soon as they heard the call of the *salpinx*, both they and the horsemen charged at the enemy resulting in a success for the Greeks.

Another example of the non-specific signal for attack is found in *Anabasis* 4.3.29 describing an event in 401 BC.

τοῖς δὲ γὰρ παρ' ἑαυτῶ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὴν σφενδόνῃ ἐξικνηῖται καὶ ἄσπις ψοφῆ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σάλπιγκτῆς σημήνη τὸ πόλεμικόν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἠγεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγούς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅτι τάχιστα ἢ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν.

The orders given here were that the *paeon* was to be sounded (παιανίσαντας) and the troops were to charge upon the enemy when the sling-stones were thrown; at this point the enemy would retreat, and the trumpeter would sound the attack. As the sound for attack the trumpet is again the catalyst for action, and here Xenophon uses the phrase ὁ σάλπιγκτῆς σημήνη τὸ πόλεμικόν to signify the signal of attack sounded by the trumpet, issued by a single trumpeter.³⁵⁸ This seems to constitute another general, non-specific meaning for an attack signal, which would have been recognised as such on the battlefield. In addition, σημήνη τὸ πόλεμικόν, as I shall continue to demonstrate, appears to be establishing itself as a technical expression for the attack signal.³⁵⁹ Xenophon's phrase is used by later writers: Theophrastus, *The Coward* (see 3.3); Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheke* 13.45.8 (see later in this section); and Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 1.41.3 (see 3.1.10).

As I noted at the start of this chapter, Lazenby states that the *salpinx* was used by the

358 LSJ 1143: πολέμικός, 'of, or for war'; τὸ πόλεμικόν σημαίνει, 'the signal for battle'. Note also the 'single trumpeter' and his location, which I explore in 3.6

359 Diodorus used the phrase which I have examined in some of the passages in the war cry – *paeon* - *salpinx* (see 2.3) where I illustrate its use. These include the following:

13.77.3: καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπαιάνισεν, οἱ δὲ σάλπιγκται τὸ πόλεμικόν ἐσήμηναν,

15.55.3: ὡς δ' αἱ τε σάλπιγγες ἐσημαίνον παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πολεμικόν,

15.85.3: αἱ μὲν σάλπιγγες τὸ πολεμικόν ἐσημαίνον.

army to sound the advance.³⁶⁰ He writes that the instrument was also apparently used to issue an instruction signal to some of the hoplites (at least) to lower their spears. This manoeuvre appears to be one of intended intimidation towards the opposing army. Our evidence comes from Xenophon *Anab.* 6.5.25:

παρήγγελο δὲ τὰ μὲν δόρατα ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμων ἔχειν, ἕως σημαῖνοι τῇ σάλπιγγι.

He writes that the soldiers were ordered to start marching, keeping their spears on their right shoulder. When the trumpet signal sounded they were to lower their spears, and start the attack slowly, without breaking into a run, which could have alerted the enemy to the attack. On hearing the trumpet sound, the sight of the opposing army slowly lowering its spears would have given the enemy a hint of impending doom.

Diodorus Siculus offers a wealth of detail about the *salpinx* on the battlefield, and his descriptions of the signals used during both land and sea battles are fairly consistent. However, as the following extracts show, Diodorus frequently refers to trumpeters in the plural issuing 'the war signal': οἱ σάλπικται σημαίνειν τὸ πολεμικόν, and he uses the same phrase as Xenophon, whereas Xenophon usually refers to one trumpet or one trumpeter. In chapter 11.22.2, as an example of a logistical conundrum in 411 BC Diodorus notes

ὁμοῦ δὲ ταῖς σάλπιγγιν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐσήμαινον τὸ πολεμικόν.

At the same time in both camps they sounded the signal for battle. Unfortunately, Diodorus does not explain whether the sounds were alike, or dissimilar, nor do we know how the troops were able to distinguish their own signal, but one safe assumption here is that there was at least one trumpet on each side.

In 13.45.8 Diodorus writes of a naval battle at Abydos in 410 BC:

οἱ σαλπικται δὲ ἀφ' ἑνὸς παραγγέλματος ἤρξαντο σημαίνειν τὸ πολεμικόν,

where the trumpeters (plural) at a single command (ἑνὸς) began to sound the attack: once again we note the Xenophonic phrase σημαίνειν τὸ πολεμικόν. We have

³⁶⁰ Lazenby, 1991, 90.

already noted the use of the war cry and the *paeon* to support the *salpinx* in encouraging the troops in 2.3, but for the purposes of this section it is useful to note that Diodorus frequently refers to the attack signal, σημαίνειν τὸ πολεμικόν, in conjunction with the *paeon* and the war cry separately.³⁶¹ The passages referred to in this last footnote all show that for Diodorus the role of the trumpet attack signal was key in his narrative of battles. In many instances the context seems to imply that the war cry was linked with the *salpinx* in the order to attack, as was the *paeon*.

An alternative version of the attack signal is suggested by Dio Chrysostom in *The Second Discourse on Kingship* (29). In this fictitious narrative, Dio imagines Alexander speaking with his father, Philip of Macedon. They converse about the virtues of learning to play a musical instrument with which to accompany hymns in honour of the gods, and Alexander asserts that kings should not sing odes of Sappho or Anacreon, as these are about love, but if they must sing odes, they should sing those by Stesichorus or Pindar. Alexander continues that perhaps Homer was all that one would need for that purpose. Philip responds by asking Alexander if he thinks that any of Homer's lines would sound well with either the *kithara* or the lyre. Alexander's response is that he firmly believes that many of Homer's lines would be appropriate being sung to the sound of the *salpinx*:

ἐγὼ μὲν...οἶμαι πρόπειν πολλὰ τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπῶν πρὸς σάλπιγγα
ἄδεσθαι, μὰ Δι' οὐ τὴν ἀνακαλοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐποτρύνουσαν καὶ
παρακελεομένην, οὐχ ὑπὸ γυναικείου χοροῦ λεγόμενα ἢ παρθένων,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φάλαγγος ἐνόπλου.

Dio highlights Alexander's response with an emphasis on a positive action, that of ordering the signal to attack, παρακελεομένην, rather than what could be construed as a negative action of signalling the retreat, τὴν ἀνακαλοῦσαν. In addition, he emphasises that Homeric epic should not be sung by young women, but by a phalanx armed ready to fight. We also note the use of the verb ἐποτρύνω (ἐποτρύνουσαν), 'to urge on', or 'to stir up'. Again, here the *salpinx* is recognised as the war-like instrument accompanying the sounds of the hoplites going into battle, in its role as an instrument of

361 Note also Diodorus: 13.55.6, events in 409 BC; 13.98.5-99.1, 406 BC; 13.77.3, 407 BC; 17.11.3, 334-334 BC; 17.33.4, 333-332 BC; see 2.3.

command and instruction. I suggest that it is intentionally ironic, however, that Dio Chrysostom felt that Homer's words should be accompanied specifically by the *salpinx*, bearing in mind that the trumpet hardly features in Homeric epic.³⁶² The sound of the trumpet would in any case drown the singing.

To conclude this section on the attack signal, as a means of comparison of the Greek with the Roman tradition, I now include a passage from Aristides Quintilianus. In his *On Music*, Bk.2.6 (62) where he writes about Rome and the Romans³⁶³, he tells us what is unclear to most is that in the battles, Rome often rejects verbal orders,

εἰ τοῖς ὁμοφώνοις τῶν πολεμίων διαγνωσθεῖη, διὰ μουσικῆς δὲ
ποιεῖται τὰ σύμβολα, ὄργανον μὲν ἀρήγιόν τε καὶ καταπληκτικόν
μεταχειριζομένη τὴν σάλπιγγα,

as damaging if they should be discerned by those of the enemy speaking the same language and makes codes through music by playing the *salpinx*, a warlike and terrifying (καταπληκτικόν) instrument, and appointing a special *melos* for each command. recognised by the allies.'³⁶⁴

In his translation, Mathiesen writes that 'it is concluded that the ancients (here clearly Plato) believed it necessary to practice music through life and to establish certain *mele*, which they called *nomoi* (laws)'.³⁶⁵ Quintilianus observes that music has always played an important role in Rome, first helping to educate Romans in the time of Numa (traditionally 715-673 BC), later serving prominently in the military in the form of musical codes that allowed commands to be conveyed secretly.³⁶⁶ In this passage, although Quintilianus is writing about the Roman army, he gives a useful comparison by describing the melodies and tunes specific to attack and retreat signals, something that we have not yet found in the Greek tradition. He emphasises the fact that Rome rejects verbal orders and instead delivers coded signals through music by playing the *salpinx*.

362 See 2.1.

363 I have used Mathiesen's translation, 1983, 125-6. In footnote 95 Mathiesen wrote that 'this country is Rome, and with this wording Quintilianus makes it clear that he is not a Roman'. I assume by this Mathiesen refers to Aristides Quintilianus' use of *salpinx*, rather than the Roman *tuba*, *bucina*, or *cornu*.

364 Mathiesen's footnote 100 here cites Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquit. Rom.* 8.65.6, and Pollux 4.85, for this use of the *salpinx*. I too deal with these passages: Pollux *On.* 4.85 (see 2.1), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (see 3.1.3).

365 Mathiesen, 1983, 30.

366 *ibid.*

3.1.3 Retreat or recall signal

In Xenophon's *Anabasis* 4.3.32, where the trumpeter sounded the signal, we read that at the sound of the trumpet the enemy fled, but the Greeks retreated:

ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σάλπιγκτής· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θᾶπτον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τᾶναντία στρέψαντες ἔσπευδον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα.

The signal here is signposted by σημαίνει alone. Xenophon does not use the vocabulary for a specific 'retreat signal', although in a later reference (*Anabasis* 4.4.88) he does use the verb ἀνακαλεῖσθαι:

καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπῆσαν.

So having sounded the recall with the trumpet they immediately set out on the return journey.

In *Histories* (1.45.14) Polybius describes the specific 'retreat' signal with the use of the same verb:

ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παρήγγειλε τοῖς σαλπισταῖς.³⁶⁷

When we come to Diodorus, we find that he too appears to reflect what is perhaps now becoming conventional vocabulary. In 14.52.5 Diodorus notes that in 397 BC Dionysius sounded the trumpet to recall the troops,

Διονύσιος αἰεὶ πρὸς τῆς ἐσπέραν τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς μαχομένους ἀνακαλούμενος ἔλυε τὴν πολιορκίαν,

so encouraging the Motyans to think that the fighting had finished, and that the siege was over.³⁶⁸ The same verb (ἀνακαλεῖσθαι) appears in 15.34.2, where Diodorus wrote that in 377/376 BC Agesilaüs recalled his soldiers by trumpet to withdraw from the battle:

ὁ Αἰγησίλαος ἀνεκαλέσατο τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης,

and similarly in 15.65.4 (369–368 BC), Epaminondas recalled his men with the war trumpet:

³⁶⁷ Walbank (1967, 109) makes no comment on the *salpinx* in this passage.

³⁶⁸ Explored in more depth in 3.2.

ἀνεκαλέσαντο τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας οἱ περὶ τὸν
Ἐπαμεινώνδαν.

In 15.87.2 (363–362 BC) we read that the trumpeters sounded the recall of their men prior to the death of Epaminondas:

ἀνακαλεσαμένων οὖν τῶν σαλπικτῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἅπαντες τῆς
μάχης ἀπέστησαν.

The signal from the verb ἀνακαλεῖσθαι, τὸ ἀνακλητικόν, also appears in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman History* (8.65.6), linked with the verb σημαίνειν:

σημαίνειν κελεύσας τὸ ἀνακλητικόν κατεβίβασε τοὺς ὁμόσε
χωροῦντας ἄκοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρυμάτων.

The consul ordered the signal for the retreat to be sounded, and the protagonists were brought down. There is no trumpet word in this extract, but I suggest that the use of σημαίνειν τὸ ἀνακλητικόν implies that the *salpinx* was sounded.

We have already noted the same verb and specific signal in the passages of Dio Chrysostom (*Second Discourse on Kingship* 29) and Procopius (6.23.23-4). At about the same time as Dio, Lucillius, (a Greek epigrammatist under Nero, 37-68 AD³⁶⁹) also uses this expression:

σάλπιγξον ταχέως ἀνακλητικόν (*AP* 11.136 line 5).

Plutarch uses a similar expression for the retreat in *Fabius Maximus* 12.4, where we read that Hannibal, together with Fabius, 'put an end to the battle, signalled a retreat on the trumpet, and led the Carthaginians back to their camp'.

ἐπέσχε τὴν μάχην, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημήνας ἀνάκλησιν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὸν
χάρακα τοὺς Καρχηδονίους.

I conclude this section with a reference to a later but non-military text which implies a trumpet signal for retreat. Artemidorus (3rd century AD) in his *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1.56) says that the act of playing on a sacred trumpet in a dream is auspicious:

σαλπίζειν δοκεῖν σάλπιγγι τῇ ἰεραῖ ἄγαθὸν τοῖς βουλμένοις
συγγενέσθαι τισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλεκόσιν ἀνδράποδα ἢ τινὰς τῶν
οἰκετῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ συνάγει τοὺς ἐσκορπισμένους τὸ ὄργανον

369 *OCD*, 888.

τούτο.

Here, he concludes 'for, in a war, this instrument summons the scattered hosts together. But it indicates that secrets will be revealed because of the loud sound it makes'. He does not use a "conventional" verb, but all these passages add weight to my proposition that a technical vocabulary appears to have developed from the time of Xenophon onwards.

3.1.4 The signal to retreat that went wrong

In a chapter about signals that encouraged, instructed and informed, I think it helpful to include one reference to a signal that went wrong, with disastrous consequences. Thucydides tells us that at the battle of Amphipolis in 422 BC the Athenian general Kleon had earlier caused discontent amongst his men (5.10.3-4), and he was put on the spot when the Spartans appeared, ready to attack.³⁷⁰ Kleon did not want to attack until his reinforcements had arrived, so, imagining that he would have time to withdraw, he gave orders for the retreat to be sounded. Kleon's instructions were that a trumpet signal, together with a verbal command were to be given (σημαίνειν τε ἄμα ἐκέλευεν ἀναχώρησιν). The signal was to convey the instruction for retreat (ἀναχώρησιν, *LSJ* 127), while the verbal command explained how it was to be done. The signal and command were issued together:

καὶ ὡς εἶδεν, οὐ βουλόμενος μάχη διαγωνίσασθαι πρὶν οἱ καὶ τοὺς βοηθοὺς ἦκειν καὶ οἰόμενος φθῆσεσθαι ἀπελθὼν, σημαίνειν τε ἄμα ἐκέλευεν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ παρήγγελλε τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, ὥσπερ μόνον οἷόν τῆν, ὑπάγειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ηἰόνος.

The intention was for the army to fall back with the left wing leading the way, whilst Kleon (thinking he had sufficient time) began to lead the right wing away. This however resulted in the right wing exposing its unarmed side to the enemy. The Athenians panicked, and in the ensuing scramble Kleon fled and was killed by a Myrcinian peltast. Gomme suggests that 'if the right had been in the beginning properly posted to cover the start of the march to Eion, neither they nor the left wing would have been so taken by surprise, but Kleon was too impatient and too confident that he would not be attacked'.³⁷¹

³⁷⁰ Anderson, 1965, 1-4.

³⁷¹ Gomme, 1981, 654.

Hornblower suggests that 'Anderson thinks that Kleon's signal was given by trumpet and meant 'Retire!': some of the troops obeyed at once, but others hesitated.'³⁷² Mynott translates it as 'since he had no wish to fight it out before reinforcements reached him and thought he could get away in time, he gave an order to sound the retreat...but as he thought this was all taking too long, he himself started to lead the army away by wheeling the right round and thus exposing their unarmed side'.³⁷³

In my defence of Kleon I think it is important to remember that through the noise and disturbance from so many men the verbal command would have been hard to hear, whereas the clarion call of the trumpet would be clearer and easier to hear. In Thucydides' eyes, however, this does not excuse an experienced commander like Kleon, whose actions brought about Kleon's own downfall.³⁷⁴ Here the trumpet can be seen to have correctly informed and instructed one side of the army (the left, probably furthest away), but at the same time had thrown the right side of the army into disarray. We note that once again the Greek text does not include the word *salpinx*, which Thucydides rarely uses. However, we do see here another example of the use of the verb *σημαίνειν*, which as we have already seen often refers in military historiography to a signal given by a trumpet.

3.1.5 The call to arms signal

Written at some time in either the late 5th century BC, or very early in the 4th century BC, a passage from Andocides' *On the Mysteries* 45³⁷⁵ includes a reference to the trumpet that I suggest is historical. Andocides says that at the end of the Council's meeting, its secret decision to arrest the group thought responsible for the mutilation of the herms was carried out. The group was put in the stocks in prison. The authorities called up the generals and told them to proclaim that Athenians living in town were to go armed to the

372 Hornblower, 2008, 446.

373 Mynott, 2013, 327.

374 Chrissanthos, 2008, 195: 'Thucydides was not an unbiased source: he was exiled in 424BC on Kleon's insistence'.

375 Andocides (c. 440 to c.390 BC) was implicated in 415 BC in the episode of the mutilation of the herms, together with Alkibiades, and Andocides gave evidence against his accomplices. As a result, he was forbidden by decree to enter temples or the Agora at Athens, so in that year he went into exile. He then successfully defended himself several years later in 400 BC against accusations of violating the decree by attending the Eleusinian Mysteries; hence his speech *On the Mysteries* (Macdowell, 1962, 95-98).

Agora. Those in the Long Walls (which ran on either side of the road linking Athens and Piraeus) were to go to the Theseum (a temple of Theseus on the north side of the Acropolis) and those in Piraeus to the Agora of Hippodamus. The authorities issued an instruction that a trumpet signal should be given before daybreak, for the cavalry to come to the Anaceum, a temple of the Dioscuri on the north side of the Acropolis.

τοὺς δὲ ἰππέας ἔτι νυκτὸς σημήναι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἤκειν εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον.

The Council was to go to the Acropolis and sleep there, and the Prytaneis were to sleep in the Tholos (a round building next to the Council-house in the Agora, the office of the Prytaneis). This method of issuing a summons would have been a pertinent point, as the sound would have been recognised by the cavalry as a signal they would have heard on more than one occasion. Macdowell suggests that 'two alternatives seem possible: (1) and they ordered the knights to give a trumpet signal to come..., or (2) and the generals ordered a trumpet signal to be given to the knights to come...'.³⁷⁶ I myself consider that Macdowell's use of the word "come" implies that the trumpet signal is made on and from the Acropolis itself, otherwise if sounded elsewhere it would surely be an instruction to go to the Acropolis. I believe that this passage offers a potential example of the *salpinx* being used on the Acropolis itself, something for which I have found no other evidence. A trumpet signal before day-break, sounded from the Acropolis, which would have alerted the entire neighbourhood, gives the impression that this was an important event. We may note that Andocides uses the phrase σημήναι τῇ σάλπιγγι, which is also used in my next passage (dative of means).

Aeneas Tacticus also refers to this 'call to arms' signal in chapter 9.1 of his *Poliorketa*, writing that when the trumpet signal was sounded at night, men who were of military age and fit for service were to muster and be ready to take arms against the enemy.

καὶ ὅταν νυκτὸς σημάνη τῇ σάλπιγγι, ἐτοίμους εἶναι τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ.

Ps.Aristotle (*On the Cosmos* 6.399b) provides a useful record of what happens when the hoplites hear the type of trumpet signal that is issued within a military camp. In the

³⁷⁶ *ibid*, 95.

paragraphs immediately preceding this passage the author summarizes how all things are carried out in order and are prompted by a certain stimulus. The detailed description that follows indicates the actions that are prompted by the signals from the *salpinx*:

ἔοικε δὲ κομιδῇ τὸ δρώμενον τοῖς ἐν πολέμου καιροῖς μάλιστα
γινόμενοις, ἐπειδὴν ἢ σάλπιγξ σημήνη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ.

At this point each soldier hears the sound, provided by just one trumpet, and gathers his equipment:

πάντα δὲ ὑφ᾽ ἑνα σημάντορα δονεῖται κατὰ προστάξιν τοῦ τὸ κράτος
ἔχοντος ἡγεμόνος. οὕτω χρηὶ καὶ περὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος φρονεῖν.

It is interesting that the Greek text here does not contain the more usual word *σάλπιγκτής* for 'trumpeter': instead, *σημάντορα*, is used, from *σημάντωρ*, which *LSJ* (1593) define as 'one who gives a signal' and which therefore echoes the use of *σημαίνειν* in the text to mean 'give a trumpet signal' (*LSJ* 1592). The trumpeter, we note, is explicitly described as 'one' (ἕνα). As I have shown already and as we shall see again later from Onasander (see 3.2), this is a dramatic device to emphasise how one man can elicit action from many others (note the emphatic word order of *πάντα δὲ ὑφ᾽ ἑνα*).

The use of a trumpet to call soldiers to arms is also found in Apollodorus' *Library of Greek Mythology* 3.13.8³⁷⁷, which tells how Odysseus tricked Achilles, who was on Scyros hiding in female disguise among the daughters of Lycomedes. Odysseus sounded the call to arms on his trumpet, at which sound Achilles tore off his female clothing:

Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ μηνυθέντα παρὰ Λυκομήδει ζητῶν Ἀχιλλέα, σάλπιγγι
χρησάμενος εὔρε.

377 *OCD* 124: Apollodorus of Athens (c.180-after 120 BC) wrote three works: *Chronicle*, *On the Gods*, and a commentary of the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*. *OCD* note that his authority gave rise to forgeries, one of which is the *Bibliotheca*, thought to have been written some time during the 1st or 2nd century AD.

In so doing Achilles revealed himself, and the king's deception was discovered. Apollodorus, who may not be familiar with military terminology, does not use a technical military expressions and simply says *σάλπιγγι χρησάμενος*. As a non-military man, he employs the verb 'to use' the trumpet, but he clearly does not understand the military link.

The story is also told by Hyginus in his *Fabulae* 66, although Hyginus adds an extra dramatic touch not found in Apollodorus with the comment that Achilles grabs his shield and spear:

*subito tubinicum iussit canere armorumque crepitum et clamorem fieri iussit.
Achilles hostem arbitrans adesse uestem muliebrem dilaniauit atque clipeum et
hastam arripuit.*

Libanius also treats the story of the deception of Achilles in his *Oration* 64, but as this deals with the aspect of pantomime, I discuss this alternative version in 4.5.4.

3.1.6 The reveille signal

We come now to the signal that instructs soldiers to get up in the morning: the reveille. Here we can see an interesting comparison between remarks made by Polybius and Plutarch. Polybius (*Histories*, 12.26.1), drawing on the now lost works of Timaeus, writes that Timaeus thought it proper to remind the council that men are aroused in the morning in war time by the trumpets and in peace by the crowing of birds.

*ὅς γε πρῶτον μὲν οἴεται δεῖν ἀναμνησθῆναι τοὺς συνέδρους διότι τοὺς
κοιμωμένους τὸν ὄρθρον ἐν μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ διεγείρουσιν αἱ σάλπιγγες,
κατὰ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ ὄρνιθες.*³⁷⁸

We note Polybius' use of the verb *διεγείρουσιν*, previously shown as a link to the attack signal in Aesop's fable *The Trumpeter* (see 3.1.2). Walbank describes this passage as 'a proverbial antithesis',³⁷⁹ and cites Plutarch's *Nikias* (9.5) who notes a similar story. There is, however, a striking difference in the language used. Polybius is more down-to-earth and basic, whereas Plutarch uses a more poetic style. Plutarch tells us that the Spartans, having withheld hostilities for a year, had been pleased to listen to songs such as "let my spear lie unused for the spider to cover with webs" and gladly called to mind

³⁷⁸ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Murena*, 10.22: 'you are aroused by the call of the cock, he by the call of the trumpet'; *te gallorum, illum bucinarum cantus exsuscitat*.

³⁷⁹ Walbank, 1967, 402.

the saying, “In peace the sleeper is wakened not by the trumpets, but by the cockerels”.

ἡδέως δέ μεμνημένοι τοῦ εἰπόντος ὅτι τοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεύδοντας οὐ
σάλπιγγες, ἀλλ’ ἀλεκτρούνες ἀφυπνίζουσι.³⁸⁰

There is a later reference to the sound of the cockerel being compared to that of the *salpinx* in one of Lucian's comic mini-dramas. Lucian (born c.120 AD) describes the sound of the cock announcing the morning in *Swift-of-Foot* (114):

ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀλέκτωρ ἡμέραν ἐσάλπισεν.

Although this passage does not specifically refer to the battlefield, Lucian's choice of verb (ἐσάλπισεν) comically links it to the reveille in a military context, with the trumpeting sound of the bird's call wakening the sleepers nearby.

3.1.7 Other army signals.

This section discusses signals connected with the army, other than those ordering an attack or a retreat on the battlefield. Xenophon's *Anabasis* 4.2.1 shows the *salpinx* being played early in the morning as a signal of announcement and not specifically a wake-up call to the troops.

καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν
μὲν νύκτα, ἣν λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν.

Xenophon explains that the volunteers were planning to reconnoitre the land ahead, and he reached an agreement with them that if they captured the hill, they were to guard it throughout the night and give a signal at daybreak. Receiving such a signal would have alerted the rearguard group, whose pre-knowledge of the signal made the situation easier to deal with in the event of success. We may note here, however, another instance of Xenophon's tendency to cite the phrase τὸ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν, even in an instance away from the battlefield.

The same verb is used again in *Anabasis* 2.2.4, where Xenophon gives a set of instructions that were issued by the trumpet, although it is interesting to note here that

380 This proverbial attitude to peace versus war is an echo of an earlier reference to the subject in Herodotus (1.87.4) where he writes in sombre mood that:

ο ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ εἰρήνῃ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας, in peace sons bury their fathers, whereas in war fathers bury their sons.

this is only one of three instances I have found where he uses the Greek word κέρασ, horn, in place of the more readily used word *salpinx*.³⁸¹ In a series of instructions issued by Clearchus, he advises that at the first sound of the instrument giving the signal for rest, the men are to pack up: ἐπειδὴν δὲ σημήνη τῷ κέρατι ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε. At the second signal, the baggage must be loaded onto the beasts of burden: ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια. At the third and final signal the men should follow on, keeping the animals close to the river and the hoplites on the outside: ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἔξω.

It is not clear why Xenophon uses the *keras* for the trumpet at this point. I suggest that it may be because he associated the *salpinx* with the battlefield itself, and the events in this passage deal with camp-life, rather than directly on the battlefield. Also, the noise produced by the *keras* would not have been as powerful as the *salpinx*, but needed to be sufficiently loud to penetrate across the camp.

Aeneas Tacticus describes alternative signals in 22.22, where he notes *salpinx* signals, and also the relaying of signals by lanterns. He writes that if the commander on the ground cannot see the signal from the lantern, because of its location, another guard uses his lantern to signal to the commander, who then instructs the trumpeter or dispatch-bearer to transmit the warning:

ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τὸ ἐμφανιζόμενον αὐτῷ τοῖς ἄλλοις φύλαξι δηλούτω
σάλπιγγι ἢ τοῖς δρομοκήρουσιν, ὅποτέρως ἂν συμφέρη.

In *Tactics* 2.9 Asclepiodotus gives a clear explanation of how the signals were decided, using the basics of practicalities depending upon the situation. The first was a spoken order; the second by a visual signal in case the voice could not be heard; and the third by the trumpet, in case the visual signal could not be seen because of the dust:

381 The others are noted in *Anab.* 7.3.33 (see 2.2) and 7.4.19 (see 3.6). We also note *keras* in Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 5.23, 5.27, 5.223, 7.356, and 9.269 (in 1.2.3); also Athenaeus (4.184A, see 1.6.2). Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers to ox-horns (2.8.4, see 4.3.3).

τῆ φωνῇ σημαίνει τὸ προσταττόμενον, τὸν δὲ σημείω, εἰ μὴ φωνῆς κατακούειν ἐνδέχοιτο διὰ θόρυβον, τὸν δὲ τῆ σάλπιγγι, ὅποτε μὴδὲ σημείον βλέποιν διὰ κονιορτόν.

Here we note the verb σημαίνειν is used in this instance on two occasions, firstly with τῆ φωνῇ and then with τῆ σάλπιγγι, illustrating again perhaps how the trumpet was often associated in Greek culture with the human voice.³⁸²

So far, the trumpet signals I have selected have demonstrated the ordering of an action of one sort or another. In the next section I shall demonstrate the *salpinx* signalling an instruction for silence and prayers, prior to action.

3.1.8 The trumpet signals silence

The launching of the Sicilian expedition in 415 BC is described by Thucydides in his *History of the Peloponnesian War* 6.32. In this passage we note his other direct reference to the *salpinx* (see 3.1.2 for his reference from 6.69.2).

ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἱ νῆες πλήρεις ἦσαν καὶ ἐσέκειτο πάντα ἤδη ὅσα ἔχοντες ἔμελλον ἀνάξασθαι, τῆ μὲν σάλπιγγι σιωπὴ ὑπεσημάνθη.

Here the trumpet gives the signal for silence before a voyage leading to a battle, rather than the start of a battle itself. When the ships had been manned and everything put aboard, the trumpeter proclaimed silence, and the customary prayers were offered before putting out to sea, not ship by ship but all together. The triremes and war ships together with the numbers of men involved from hoplites to generals were in vast numbers, and yet the solitary trumpeter succeeded in silencing the array. In his 2008 commentary, Hornblower makes no reference to the trumpet, but does refer to 'one

382 Non-auditory, i.e. visual signals, described by Diodorus, include a purple flag raised on a ship by Alkibiades: τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις Ἀλκιβιάδης μετέωρον ἐποίησεν ἐπίσημον φοινικοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας νεώς (13.46.3); a red banner raised by Konon as his ship neared Mytilene: ὁ Κόνων, ὡς ἦδη τῆς Μιτυλήνης ἤγγιζον, ἦρεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας νεώς φοινικίδα (13.77.5); a spear and ribbon, where the clerk advanced with a spear which had a ribbon attached to it. He signalled the orders from head-quarters; a breeze tore the ribbon from the spear, and this was seen as an omen. ὁ γὰρ γραμματεὺς προῆγεν ἔχων δόρυ καὶ ταινίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ προεσήμαινε τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων (15.52.5). Fire-signals, τοῖς φρυκτωροῦσι (Onasander, *The General*, 25.2). A lighted torch at night: μὲν ἀνασχίσειν πυρσὸν αὐτῷ μεσούσης νυκτός (Plutarch, *Alkibiades* 30.2); and a brazen shield fixed to the mast of the boat to signify the start of a sea-battle: ἀσπίδα χαλκῆν ἐπάρασθαι πρῶραθεν ἐπίπλου σύμβολον (Plutarch *Lysander* 11.1-2).

herald, ὑπὸ κήρυκος, who spoke for all of them'.³⁸³

Another example of the trumpet signalling silence is in Plutarch's *Alkibiades* 30.3. Plutarch describes how Alkibiades captured Selymbria in the spring of 409 BC, although this was not a straightforward event. Alkibiades had agreed with some of the Selymbrians that they would surrender the city to him, at the signal of a lighted torch which was to be displayed at midnight. One of the conspirators, however, grew afraid, and the torch signal was given before the agreed time. Alkibiades and his men were not ready, and as a result he had to rush into the city with 30 of his men. Alkibiades instructed that the signal for silence (σημηῆνας σιωπήν) be given by the *salpinx*, and he then issued a formal proclamation that Selymbria should not take up arms against Athens.

τῇ σάλπιγγι σημηῆνας σιωπήν ἐκέλευσεν ἓνα τῶν παρόντων ἀνειπεῖν
Σηλυβριανοῖς Ἀθηναίους ἐναντία ὄπλα μὴ τίθεσθαι.

This was agreed, partly because the Selymbrians thought that there were more of Alkibiades' men situated within the city walls. The capture of Selymbria therefore succeeded, aided in no small part by the trumpet.

3.1.9 The official role of the trumpeter.

I think we can accept from the following passage from Demosthenes' *On the Crown* 169-170 that the trumpeter was an official, presumably paid by the city, although I have not found any other evidence to support this supposition:

ἔσπερα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατεῖληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τέκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέροισι ἀνεπετάννυσαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σάλπιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις.

'It was evening, and a messenger had come to the Prytanes with the news that Elateia had been taken. Upon this they rose up from supper without delay; some of them (the Prytanes) drove the occupants out of the booths in the market-place and set fire to the wicker-work; others of the Prytanes sent for the generals and ordered the attendance of the trumpeter; and the city was full of commotion.'

The passage does not make clear the role of the trumpeter on this occasion, although

383 Hornblower, 2008, 296. I explore the dual roles of the trumpeter and herald in detail in 4.3.1.

Goodwin notes here that τὸν σάλπιγκτήν ἐκάλουν carries the meaning 'to give signals with his trumpet'.³⁸⁴ It could be assumed that the trumpeter signalled the start of the disturbances, i.e. setting fire to the wickerwork. This in turn may have acted as a signal to the neighbourhood, with the double aspect of a trumpet signal accompanied by a fire-signal. The taking of Elateia was clearly of great importance, and I believe that the sounding of the trumpet was intended to alert the neighbourhood to the events taking place. The reference to the generals also gives weight to the military aspect of the passage, demonstrating the relative importance of the trumpeter to those in authority.

3.1.10 Sparta, the Spartans and an earthquake

Many of the examples I have given so far concern Athenian practice. However, the Spartans too apparently knew the trumpet. After the revolt of Thasos in c.465 BC, the people of Thasos appealed to Sparta for help. Thucydides (1.101) writes that the Spartans 'promised to do so, and would have done so if they had not been prevented by the earthquake which happened then'. Cartledge suggests that this Spartan earthquake of 464 BC 'would have registered high on the Richter scale had the ancients possessed such a measuring device'.³⁸⁵ Thucydides does not provide any detail on the earthquake itself; here I focus on the account in Polyaeus (*Stratagems*, I.41.3), because of its trumpet reference, not mentioned in other sources. Polyaeus' account records that King Archidamus, the ruler of Sparta at that time, was indirectly involved in saving other people by instructing the trumpeter to sound a military call on the *salpinx*. Polyaeus tells us that when the earthquake shook the city, the Spartans were panicked by the tremors, and started running about. Archidamus gave the trumpet signal for an enemy attack, τῇ σάλπιγγι πολεμίων ἔφοδον ἐσήμηνεν. As a result, the Spartans, trained in war-craft from an early age, not only heard, but also believed the signal, and ran to Archidamus as their leader. The result was that the houses fell, but the people were saved. Krentz mentions this disaster under the heading "Summoning men to arms", but

384 Goodwin 1904, 107. Usher (1993) makes no reference to the *salpinx* in his commentary on this passage.

385 Cartledge, 2003, 138. He notes here that Diodorus 'reported Spartan casualties at the huge, and presumably inflated figure of 20,000'.

does not discuss or expand upon the reference.³⁸⁶

The recognition of the sound of the *salpinx* by the Spartans is intriguing, as it is more generally accepted that the Spartans used the *aulos* to accompany their armies. Polybius mentions this in his *Histories* (4.20.6) where he firstly instructs his readers not to suppose, as Ephorus says in the Preface to his *History*, that music was introduced by men for the purpose of deception and delusion. Nor, Polybius continues, should they think that the ancient Cretans and Lacedaemonians acted without planning or purpose, or rashly, in exchanging the 'flute and rhythmic movement' for the trumpet in war:³⁸⁷

οὐδὲ τοὺς παλαιούς Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων αὐλὸν καὶ ῥυθμὸν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος εἰκὴ νομιστέον εἰσαγαγεῖν.

Polybius here implies that the Spartans became familiar with the trumpet after relinquishing the *aulos*.³⁸⁸

Pausanias also makes reference to the Spartans and the flute (3.17.5), where we read that 'on the left of the Lady of the Bronze House they have set up a sanctuary of the Muses, because the Lacedaemonians used to go out to fight, not to the sound of the trumpet, but to the music of the flute and the accompaniment of lyre and *kithara*'.

ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου Μουσῶν ἰδρύσαντο ἱερόν, ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς ἐξόδους ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας οὐ μετὰ σαλπίγγων ἐποιοῦντο ἀλλὰ πρὸς τε αὐλῶν μέλη καὶ ὑπὸ λύρας καὶ κιθάρας κρούσασιν.

This passage provides me with a link back to the earthquake, where the use of the trumpet in this significant event may also have been commemorated in art. The statue shown at Fig.3.1 is referred to in Whibley's article "The Bronze Trumpeter at Sparta and the Earthquake of 464 BC",³⁸⁹ and shows what is clearly a trumpeter, despite there being no instrument in his hands. The statue was found during the excavation of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos, the Bronze House, at Sparta in 1907, and the thrust of Whibley's essay is that the Spartans were not generally associated with the *salpinx* but more with

386 Krentz, 1991, 114.

387 Walbank (1967, 467) notes that 'the *salpinx* was primarily an instrument for giving signals like our bugle, and was unsuited for marching in step'.

388 Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6.1.11 reads: ἦσαν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν αὐλούμενον καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο; '(the Arcadians) arose...and marched in time to the accompaniment of a martial rhythm played on the flute and sang the *paean* and danced, just as the Arcadians do in their festal processions in honour of the gods'.

389 Whibley, 1909, 60-62.

the *aulos*.

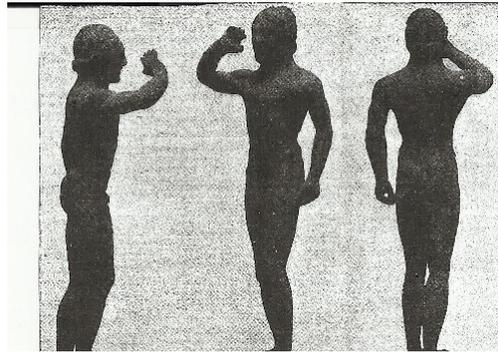


Fig.3.1: the bronze trumpeter of Sparta, mid 5th century BC.

Guy Dickins, one of the archaeologists working on the excavation, whose photograph is used here, writes that 'the figure can be dated without hesitation in the middle of the fifth century BC'³⁹⁰ and it is on this declaration that Whibley bases his own assertion that the statue does indeed depict a trumpeter following the earthquake at Sparta. As the statue was found in the temple of Athena Chalkioikos, an apt location for the discovery of a bronze artefact, this might well imply that it was a religious dedication. This role may also be suggested by its small size – it is only just over five inches high (0.131m). Whibley argues that the artefact dates from the time of the earthquake; however, I suggest that archaic Greek art does not often use bronze in artefacts unless for a specific purpose. From its location and the expensive, rare material used, together with the striking stance of the statue, I think that (perhaps) this object was commissioned following the earthquake to commemorate the event and to give thanks to Athena for saving lives.

3.1.11 Training the army horses with the *salpinx*.

There is evidence of a link between the trumpet and the activities of the army horses and their soldiers in the ancient Greek army, particularly in Xenophon's *Cavalry Commander* and his *On Horsemanship*. An intriguing element of the cavalry exercises was a competition known as the 'Riding opposite' (*ἀνθιππασία*, *anthippasia*³⁹¹), and I

³⁹⁰ Dickins, 1908, 146.

³⁹¹ LSJ 140: *anthippasia*, 'the sham-fight of horse'.

use this extreme and sophisticated example of signalling as the last section in my discussion of specific *salpinx* signals. Xenophon described this form of ceremonial combat in detail in *Cavalry Commander* 3.11-13, where he discusses the role of the cavalry in Athenian festivals:

καλὸν δ', ἐπεὶ αἱ φυλαὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνθιππασίᾳ φεύγουσὶ τε ἀλλήλας καὶ διώκουσι ταχέως, ὅταν οἱ ἵππαρχοὶ ἡγῶνται ταῖς πέντε φυλαῖς, ἑκατέρας διελαύνειν τὰς φυλάς δι' ἀλλήλων. ταύτης γὰρ τῆς θέας τό τε ἀντιμετώπους προσελαύνειν ἀλλήλοις γοργόν, τό τε διελάσαντας τὸν ἵππόδρομον ἀντίους πάλιν στήναι ἀλλήλοις σεμνόν, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σάλπιγγος αὖ τὸ δεύτερον θᾶττον ἐπελαύνειν καλόν. στάντας δὲ ἤδη τὸ τρίτον αὖ ἀπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος χρῆ τάχιστα ἀλλήλοις ἐπελαύνειν, καὶ διελάσαντας εἰς κατάλυσιν ἤδη ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἅπαντας καταστάντας, ὥσπερ εἰώθατε, πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν προσελαύνειν. ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ πολεμικώτερά τε φαίνεσθαι ἂν καὶ καινότερα. τὸ δὲ βραδύτερον μὲν τῶν φυλάρχων ἐλαύνειν, τὸν δ' αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις ἵππεύειν, οὐκ ἄξιον ἵππαρχίας.

The *anthippasia* was clearly a beautiful and spectacular display of horse riding in the Hippodrome. The horsemen both run away from, and pursue each other, by galloping with the cavalry commanders at the head of their squadrons, one riding against the other. In this impressive spectacle the riding is hard, and at each trumpet signal the horsemen ride harder and faster. At the third signal of the trumpet, the horsemen charge against each other in an extended gallop, forming as if in battle, according to their custom, and they finally cross each other ending in sight of the city council (the *Boule*). Xenophon asserts that such a manoeuvre gives him a much greater impression of war and is a novelty.³⁹²

Vanderpool advises that this mock battle started out as a means of display by the cavalry, and that it then became a contest at both the Greater Panathenaia and the Olympieia.³⁹³ Worley provides more detail, with the comment that 'the entire cavalry formed in single formation with a front that stretched across the hippodrome and swept forward, driving the people out of the area.'³⁹⁴ This description I believe makes it easier to imagine Xenophon's description of 'hard riding' in what must have been an 'impressive spectacle' indeed. Worley does not, however, mention the trumpet in

392 Delebecque, 1973, 43-44. See also Parke, 1986², 144.

393 Vanderpool, 1974, 311.

394 Worley, 1994, 81.

connection with the *anthippasia*. Neither does Bugh in his earlier text of 1948, although Bugh provides more detail about cavalry displays (*epideixeis*) that formed part of the *dokimasiai* (specific cavalry tests).³⁹⁵ These took place in other sites as well as the *anthippasia* in the Hippodrome³⁹⁶, but again there is no mention of the role of the trumpet. Dillon's description of 'tribal squadrons on horses, five squadrons at each end of the hippodrome, charging and running through'³⁹⁷ also adds to the atmospheric description of the *anthippasia*.

There are inscriptions celebrating the *anthippasia* on victory monuments, set up by the victors. One found in the Agora in Athens 'records a victory by the tribe Leontis, mid-4th century BC, probably in the *anthippasia*'.³⁹⁸

IG II² 3130³⁹⁹

φυλαρχοῦντες ἐνίκων ἀνθιππασίαι
 Δημαίνετος Δημέο Παιανιεύς.

Vanderpool tells us that this fragmentary inscription includes the names of the winning chief of the tribe, Demainetos, son of Demos of Paianieus.⁴⁰⁰ He adds that this inscription was found on the most famous Bryaxis base, with a sculptured relief representing the horsemen and the prize tripods, and it was discovered behind the Royal Stoa and north of the Stoa of Zeus, near the north-west corner of the Agora in Athens.⁴⁰¹

Worley notes this and other inscriptions: *IG II² 379* (321/320 or 318/317 BC), and *IG II² 3079* (ca. 280/279 BC) which show the popularity of the *anthippasia*:⁴⁰²

IG II² 379⁴⁰³

κ]αὶ φιλοτ[ιμίας ἔνεκα, νικ]-
 [ήσας δὲ] τεῖ ἀνθιππα[σίαι ἐκ πάντων; ἐ]-
 [στεφ] ἀνωσεν τὴν Ἐρε[χθεῖδα φθλήν]

395 Bugh, 1948, 59.

396 *ibid*, 59.

397 Dillon, 1997, 142.

398 Vanderpool, 1974, 311-312.

399 Cornell.

400 Vanderpool, 1974, 311.

401 *ibid*.

402 Worley, 1994, 200¹¹.

403 Cornell.

ἀν[θι]ππασίαι
Ὀλ[υ]μπίαει[α]
ἀνθιππασ[ίαι]
Παναθήνα[ια].

These two fragmentary inscriptions do not show the names of participants, but they both mention the word *anthippasia*, with the second inscription specifically showing the Olympieia and Panathenaia.⁴⁰⁵ The fact that the original scenario was a display, with the inevitable showing-off and manoeuvring, is fascinating when we consider that it then turned into a contest, with prizes awarded to the best contestant. The use of the *salpinx* as the prompt for a change of direction, or footing, is also significant: the *aulos* could not have had the same effect for the horses as the strident voice of the *salpinx*, or even the human voice. Xenophon does not offer any particular technical vocabulary for the instructions of the *salpinx* here, so it can only be an assumption that there were different signals for this type of competition, but as a technique this would have been a good training mechanism for both horses and soldiers.

Xenophon's treatise *On Horsemanship* gives an example of a training technique for horses, where he wrote about the difficult but useful task of how to encourage the horse to remain calm at the sound of the trumpet.⁴⁰⁶ There is no actual detail of "training" in the true sense of the word, but 9.11 provides a reference to the use of the trumpet:

οὕτως οὖν δεῖ καὶ παρὰ κραυγὴν καὶ παρὰ σάλπιγγα μῆτ' αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι τεθορυβημένον τῷ ἵππῳ μῆτε μὴν ἐχρεῖνω θορυβῶδες μηδὲν προσφέρειν.

Xenophon narrates that the rider, upon either the sound of a shout or the *salpinx*, in the same way must neither let himself appear alarmed to the horse nor treat it in any way that may alarm it. As far as possible in such conditions he should make the horse stand still and, if circumstances permit, should actually bring him his morning or evening meal.

404 *ibid.*

405 Vanderpool, 1974, 312: 'another of the inscriptions on a marble slab found in the Agora records the (unfortunately indecipherable) name of a man from the *deme* of Lamprai and a victory in the *Anthippasia* at the festival of the Olympieia with the cavalry of the tribe Erechtheis: 'two crowns (were) awarded to the man, first as ἵππαρχοι (*hipparch*) and then as general'.

406 Compare Silius Italicus *Punica* 13.146-148 on training a restive horse amid the blare of trumpets: *is trepido ac lituum tinnitu stare neganti imperitat violenter equo.*

This description of how to deal with a horse that might be upset by the sudden sound of the *salpinx* is practical, with its suggestion that if the timing is right the horse could be calmed down with something to eat. Of more interest, however, is the link once again between the shout of the human voice combined with the sound of the *salpinx* to issue a command.

I conclude this section with a rare example of a vase painting showing a *salpinx*-player astride a horse, playing his instrument [Fig.3.2]. The painting dates from the end of the 5th century BC, and shows the trumpeter in a battle scene. The instrument he is holding resembles a metal trumpet and is a good example of a picture of a trumpet with a bell-shaped end. The battle element is emphasized by the central figure, a naked hoplite, carrying a shield with a patterned shield device (see 3.5) and a lance, and wearing a helmet on his head.

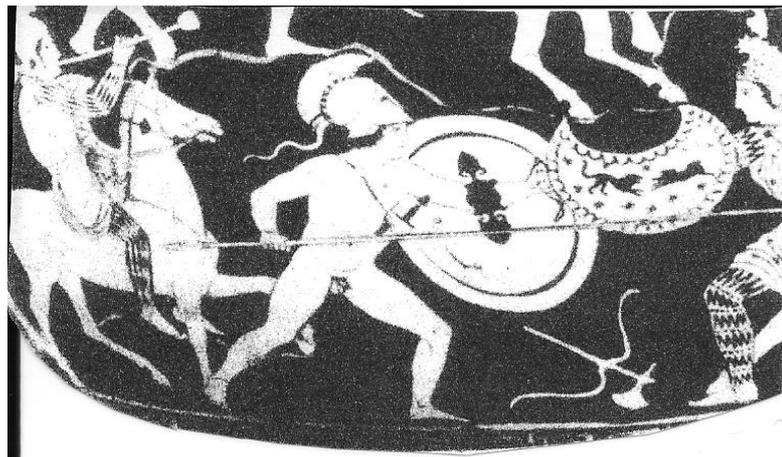


Fig.3.2: a cavalry trumpeter, on the field of battle, end 5th century BC.

3.1.12 An Athenian trireme named *Salpinx*.

Gomme notes in his 1981 commentary on Thucydides *ἡ σάλπιγγι*, by the sound of the trumpet; the symbolic importance of the trumpet or perhaps bugle is shown by the suggestion that an Athenian trireme was called 'Salpinx'.⁴⁰⁷ He cites Casson, who writes that 'honouring the ships' qualities also explains why many were called after certain animals...or after certain weapons: *Aichme*, spear; *Lonche*, lance; *Oistos*, dart;

407 Gomme, 1981, 393.

Sphendone, sling; and *Salpinx*, trumpet'.⁴⁰⁸ The trumpet, however, cannot truly be regarded as a weapon, but the association of the *salpinx* with Athena and war-ships I consider is of great significance. The symbolism of the trumpet as an instrument linked with the war goddess Athena cannot be a coincidence. I agree with Casson's suggestion that in naming a trireme *Salpinx* it honoured the ship's qualities. Casson notes that the *Salpinx* is amongst the names of triremes recorded in a naval list, *IG II 2² 1604*, which he states dates from the 5th century BC, from Piraeus.⁴⁰⁹ I have examined *IG II 2² 1604*⁴¹⁰ carefully (and note that Kirchner dates it from 377/376 BC, so 4th century), and can find no mention of the trireme *Salpinx*. It was found at Piraeus and is very fragmentary.

Casson⁴¹¹ cites Miltner's lists in the *Supplementband V* of the *RE* (1931, pp.906-962), and this is supported by the main text of the *RE*, where under the heading of *Salpinx* they note that it is a '*name eines athenischen Schiffes*' (name of Athenian ships)⁴¹². They note other naval lists that show the name of *Salpinx* recorded for different years. These are found on *IG II 2² 1611* (357/356 BC), *IG II 2² 1623* (333/332 BC), *IG II 2² 1628* (332/331 BC), *IG II 2² 1629* (325/324 BC), and *IG II 2² 1632* (323/322 BC).⁴¹³ The triremes referred to in each list are shown as variously *ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ*, *ΣΑΛΠΙΓΓΑ*, and *ΣΑΛΠΙΓΓΙ*. The naming of the ships is of interest, although we cannot tell if the lists refer to the same ship, or many different vessels. I find it stimulating that a proud trireme named *Salpinx* by the Athenians sailed through Greek waters during the 4th century BC.

3.2 Sieges

We have seen that the *salpinx* played an important part in many aspects of life on the battlefield, and in this section I discuss the use of the instrument during a siege. It is clear that the actions that followed trumpet signals during a siege were many and varied. Whether it was a small group of men laying siege to a town or an entire army laying siege, the trumpet signalled the instructions that needed to be followed, without which many sieges would have failed. In one of the passages where the trumpet is shown to

408 Casson, 1971, 26.

409 *ibid*, 350.

410 Kirchner, 1927, 184-7.

411 Casson, 1971, 350.

412 *RE*, 1931, 2010.

413 Kirchner, 1927, 199; 233; 241; 241; and 268 respectively.

have played an active part in a siege, Diodorus describes the effects of the trumpet signal when Hannibal and his Carthaginian army sacked the city of Selinus in Sicily in 409 BC. In 13.55.6 Hannibal's men pushed the engines of war (μηχανὰς) forward, and assaulted the walls of the city:

ὁμοῦ δὲ αἶ τε σάλπιγγες τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμαινον καὶ πρὸς ἓν παράγγελμα πᾶν ἐπηλάλαξε τὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στράτευμα.

Altogether the trumpets sounded the signal for the attack, (ἐσήμαινον), and the Carthaginians raised the war cry, ἐπηλάλαξε. As a result the engines of war shook the walls and the fighters who had climbed the towers were able to slay many of the Seluntians.

Writing about a later siege that took place in 397 BC, Diodorus describes in 14.52.5 the fighting that took place between Dionysius and his Sicilian Greeks against the Motyans.

τέλος δ' ἐφ' ἡμέρας τοιαύτης τινὸς τῆς πολιορκίας γινομένης, Διονύσιος αἰεὶ πρὸς τῆς ἐσπέρας τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς μαχομένους ἀνακαλούμενος ἔλυε τὴν πολιορκίαν.

While Dionysius had been inflicting a siege on the Motyans that had lasted several days, he finally sounded the trumpet for recall (ἀνακαλούμενος) towards evening, as he always did, to stop the fighting for the day. Once he had accustomed the Motyans to this practice, and in effect lulled them into a false sense of security by his behaviour, Dionysius together with his elite troops managed to gain access into the town and, after prolonged fighting, defeated his opponents by sheer numbers. The trumpet call had become a signal for the Motyans to believe that the fighting had ceased each day until it started again each following morning, but due to what could be construed as their stupidity – and certainly a loss of rational thought possibly caused by the panic of their situation – the trumpet call brought about their own downfall. Here, then, we see the *salpinx* being used very effectively to mislead, rather than command.

Philip of Macedon employed many innovative military techniques, and Polybius describes one example in his *Histories* 4.71.3-8, of a siege of Elis in 343 BC, where the trumpet apparently played a pivotal part in a vast area.⁴¹⁴ At the beginning of the day

⁴¹⁴ Walbank makes no comment about the trumpet in this passage.

Philip prepared his men to ready themselves for the attack. The army marched on the city, which perplexed the inhabitants: they thought that they had traitors within the city walls who were set to betray them. Finally, the king ordered the bearers of the scaling-ladders to set them up at three separate positions at the walls, and similarly dividing the rest of his Macedonians into three groups, gave the signal by the sound of the *salpinx* and attacked the walls simultaneously from every side (4.71.8).

μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν σαλπιγκτῶν ἀποδοὺς ἑκάστοις τὸ σύνθημα πανταχόθεν ἅμα τὴν προσβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο τοῖς τείχεσι.

As a result, the inhabitants of the city, who had retreated to the acropolis for safety, were not prepared for a siege, and so sensibly they decided to surrender to Philip. This siege ended peacefully, in contrast with other sieges in which the trumpet played an audible part.⁴¹⁵

Onasander, a Platonic philosopher, ca. 59 AD,⁴¹⁶ with apparently no war experience, wrote a treatise entitled *The General*. Oldfather suggests that Onasander drew upon the works of Homer, Xenophon (whom he particularly admired), Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius.⁴¹⁷ In Onasander's chapter on sieges, there is a section entitled "The Advantage of Trumpets," περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν σαλπίγγων ὠφελείας, 42.17.7 (see in 2.5). The title sounds hopeful, even though the section comprises a mere twelve lines, and starts with 'such a device as this would be of great assistance'.

Μέγα δ' ἂν ὀνήσειε καὶ τι τοιόνδε συνεπινοηθέν, εἰ καὶ σαλπιγκτὰς οἱ φθάσαντες ἐπιβῆναι τοῦ τείχους ἀνιμήσαιεν· ἀκουσθεῖσα γὰρ πολεμία σάλπιγξ ἀπὸ τειχῶν ἐν νυκτὶ πολλὴν ἐκπληξιν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ὡς ἤδη κατὰ κράτος ἐαλωκόσιν, ὥστε τὰς πύλας καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπολιπόντας φεύγειν· ὅθεν δήπου συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἔξω στρατιώταις ῥαδίαν τὴν τε τῶν πυλῶν ἐκκοπήν καὶ τὴν ἐπι τὰ τεῖχη διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀνάβασιν, οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπείργοντος· οὕτως που δυνατὸν ἐνὶ καὶ ἀνόπλω σαλπιγκτῇ πόλιν ἄλῶναι.

Onasander explains that the trumpet would prove useful if carried up the walls of a besieged city by the attackers, because when sounded at night as a hostile signal it

415 Josephus' account of the siege of Antonia, where the sound of the trumpet caused fear amongst those who heard it has also been discussed in 2.5. Josephus seems keen to stress how all this was due to one, single trumpeter – a touch that suits his often dramatic style.

416 Oldfather, 1923, 343, 348.

417 *ibid*, 351.

would cause fear in those being besieged. The soldiers on the outside would succeed both in climbing the walls and gaining access, because the inhabitants were not likely to oppose them. Thus, concludes Onasander, a single trumpeter who was not carrying arms may be able to capture a city. This is the only passage in the entire treatise where Onasander makes any reference to the trumpet. I find it intriguing, therefore, that it should be connected with a siege, rather than advice for military manoeuvres on the battlefield, but Onasander recognised the tonal qualities of the *salpinx*.

I end this section with an extract from Pollux' *Onomastikon* 4.89-90, in which he writes about Herodorus of Megara.⁴¹⁸ Pollux tells us that Herodorus sounded the signal by the trumpet when Demetrius the son of Antigonus (336–283 BC), also known as Demetrius the Besieger, was besieging Argos in 307 BC. At this point, the troops were unable to bring the siege-engine close up to the walls on account of its weight. Pollux goes on to say that Herodorus took his two instruments and breathed into them.

καὶ μὴν ὁ γε Μεγαρεὺς Ἡρόδωρος...ὁ μὲν Ἡρόδωρος δύο ὄργανα λαβῶν στεροδὸν ἐνέπνευσε τοῖς ὄργανοις.

Here, it appears, we have a lone trumpeter, albeit on this occasion with two instruments: but were they in fact trumpets? The text does not, in fact, contain the word for a trumpet, instead talking about “instruments” in general (τοῖς ὄργανοις). Pollux continues the story saying that the soldiers were so fired with eagerness by the loudness of the sound that they succeeded in bringing the engine up to the walls. The link between the noise of the trumpet and success is real, and the plausible link between noise and trumpets is real, but the story about Herodorus and the army may be simply fiction. I suggest this for two reasons. Firstly, the physical act of playing two trumpets at the same time is difficult to accept. Playing one loudly would have been an effort: playing two simultaneously, for this is the implication, would have been very difficult. Secondly, while there is certainly verifiable evidence that Herodorus existed, and was a trumpeter, as the inscriptions of victors and records of winners at the Olympiads show,⁴¹⁹ his role as a trumpeter for the army is harder to prove. It is therefore possible that Pollux, or more

418 I refer to this tantalising individual in detail (in 4.3.1, 4.5.5), where I shall show evidence that he won several trumpet competitions at successive Games.

419 See Stephanis, 1988; Csapo & Slater, 1994. For inscriptions that honour trumpeters see 4.4.

likely his source, has confused the stories, or inserted into this anecdote the name of an otherwise famous trumpeter. I have not found any other reference to Herodorus in connection with army activities, somewhat surprisingly if we accept Pollux' description of the man.

From the trumpet's use in sieges, I now propose to look at how the *salpinx* is linked with military culture in both tragedy and comedy on the stage of the 5th century BC.

3.3 Echoes of military service in Athens: the *salpinx* in tragedy and comedy.

Attending a performance of a drama for the 5th century BC Athenian citizen was one of watching action in the acting space. It provided a form of entertainment, perhaps an escape from the rigours of daily life, and gave the audience a chance to participate in mocking their army generals and leaders, on occasion depicted as caricatures and grotesques. The Athenian army was a citizen army so references to military activity and practice would resonate with the male spectator. In this section I shall examine the references to the *salpinx* on the battlefield that were "dramatised" by Athenian playwrights of the 5th century BC.

Aeschylus' *Persians* provides a reference to the *salpinx* even though we are not sure that an instrument was played or even seen in the playing area below the *orchestra*. The implication is that the instrument is there, albeit neither seen nor heard. In this early play, Aeschylus only had two performing actors on stage at any one time. Like the other ancient dramatists, he used either a messenger coming on stage or the Chorus to tell the audience what was happening off-stage at that time, or about events that had already occurred. The *Persians* was produced in 472 BC⁴²⁰, only eight years after the battle of Salamis, in 480 BC, and lines 353 to 432 in the play set out in detail the battle itself. Aeschylus certainly mentioned the *salpinx* in his play, and both Herodotus and Thucydides wrote about the battle of Salamis in 480 BC, but they did not mention the trumpet. It is more than likely that Aeschylus was there himself,⁴²¹ so although at this point it is conjecture on my part, it is quite possible that he heard the *salpinx* during the

420 Garvie, 2009, ix.

421 Hall, 1996, 4: 'the poet was about thirty-five when Darius finally invaded mainland Greece, bringing the deposed Athenian tyrant Hippias with him: Aeschylus probably fought alongside his brother in the battle of Marathon in 490 BC.' Herodotus mentions Aeschylus' brother, Cynegeirus (son of Euphorion) in his *Histories*, 6.114.

battle. In line 395 (noted earlier in 2.1) we see *σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν ἐπέφλεγεν*.

Broadhead comments on Aeschylus' use of the trumpet with the word *ἐπέφλεγεν* as setting 'all that shore ablaze with sound.'⁴²² He cross-references this with Pindar's Olympian Ode 9.21, *πόλιν μαλεραῖς ἐπιφλέγων αἰοδαῖς*, to illuminate with fierce blaze of song'.⁴²³ Hall notes the trumpet as made of bronze and around 100 cm in length, but makes no comment about Aeschylus' use of the instrument.⁴²⁴

Aeschylus uses the verb *ἐπέφλεγεν* as a metaphor, meaning 'to inflame or excite' (discussed in 2.1 and 2.3). The *salpinx* is used to stimulate the army to stirring battle with its sounds. In this passage we also recognise the association we have already seen earlier between the *paean* and the *salpinx*. The Greeks had fooled Xerxes, who thought that they would attempt to escape, but instead the joyous noise of the *paean* and the *salpinx* rang out. It is tempting to imagine that perhaps even Aeschylus himself may have joined with the Greeks as they sang the *paean*, and heard the *salpinx* ringing out across the fighting.

The next example is in a small fragment of an unknown play Ila (Fragment 281) by Aeschylus. A reference to the *salpinx* appears in the text, and even though there is very little text available, the theme of the passage appears to symbolise some form of war activity. Weir Smyth (1963) gives the following text and translation:

] σ . ζωννῦσα μὴ σπείρειν κακ[
([] ν τ[ό] τ' ἐστὶν εἰρήνη βροτοῖς.
θεὸν δ' ἐπ]αἰνῶ τήνδε . τιμαῖ γὰρ πόλιν
ἐν ἡσύ[χοισ]ι πράγμασιν καθημένην,
δόμων τ' ἀέξει κάλλος ἐκπαγλού[μ]ενον
ἄ]μιλλαν ὥστε γειτόνων ὄλβωι κρατεῖν)
μη]δ' αὖ φυτεύειν . οἱ δὲ γῆς ἐπ' ἀμπολὰς
θυ]μῶι λέληνται , δαίαις πεπαυμένοι
σάλ]πιγγος , οὐδὲ φρουρί[.] . εἰ . . . [.] .

'...girdling (?)... not to sew evil... Then Peace is...for mortals. And I praise this goddess; for she honours a city that reposes in a life of quiet, and augments the admired beauty of its houses, so that they surpass in prosperity

422 Broadhead, 1960, 123.

423 *ibid*.

424 Hall, 1996, 138.

the neighbours who are their rivals), nor yet to engender it. And they earnestly desire land for ploughing, abandoning the martial trumpet, nor do... garrisons'.

The very fragmentary nature of this text makes it difficult to translate, but the suggestion seems to be that men who go to war desperately wish to stop the brutality and inhumanity of battles, and would rather take up the more peaceful activity of working on the land, farming, or ploughing. I regret that nothing more exists of this play, but the fragmented reference to the *salpinx* described by the adjective 'deadly' (δαίιας) effectively supports the Weir Smyth translation of the 'martial trumpet'.⁴²⁵

We find a vivid image of the *salpinx* linked to the battlefield in Sophocles' *Ajax* 291. Tecmessa, the wife of Ajax, describes his actions to the Chorus, starting with Ajax creeping out of the tent in the middle of the night. She asks him what he is doing:

τί χρῆμα δρᾶς Αἴιας; τί τήν δ' ἄκλιτος οὔθ' ὑπ' ἀγγέλων
κληθεῖς ἀφορμᾶς πειῖραν οὔτε τὸν κλύων σάλπιγγος;

'Why do you stir? No messenger has summoned you: you have heard no trumpet'.⁴²⁶

Sophocles has here used the *salpinx* in a manner that provides the audience with a familiar picture, of the instrument with its war connotations issuing instructions to the hoplites. The "human" aspect is enhanced by the image of the great soldier Ajax even whilst asleep, listening out for the signal from the *salpinx* that would order him to awake and get up. This is an echo of the "call to arms" signal in the reference to a 'summons' in the text: a recognisable army activity even in the darkness of the night.⁴²⁷

A passage at the end of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, 1265-1268, contains a trumpet signal instructing the chorus of Trojan women to leave.

ὕμεις δ', ἴν' αὐτὸς λόγος ἔχη μορφᾶς δύο,
χωρεῖτε, Τρώων παῖδες, ὀρθίαν ὅταν
σάλπιγγος ἤχῳ δῶσιν ἀρχηγοὶ στρατοῦ,
πρὸς ναῦς Ἀχαιῶν, ὡς ἀποστέλλησθε γῆς.

425 See the earlier reference in 3.1.6 to the passages from both Polybius and Plutarch about the cocks that awaken men in peacetime instead of the trumpet in times of war.

426 Neither Stanford (1963) nor Garvie (1998) make reference to the *salpinx* in their commentaries, but Stanford, 99, does comment on the next line (292) where Ajax' response to Tecmessa is 'scanty – an often-sung refrain: "Woman, silence is woman's best adornment"; here he queries how she can think of referring to the man's world of the battlefield and the trumpet.

427 See the call to arms in 3.1.5.

In this fictitious story Talthybios the herald instructs the chorus that when they hear the signal from the trumpet, they are to go to the Achaean ships in order to leave the country.⁴²⁸ Euripides very effectively uses the instrument here as the announcer of doom; the announcement also draws the play to an end, with the possibly imagined sound echoing around the acting area. This is a fictitious representation of a possible historical event. However, as I have shown earlier (see 2.1), the epic poet of the *Iliad* only refers to the trumpet twice, which I suggest are later additions. The reference to the trumpet here is Euripides writing in an Iliadic context, and is therefore probably an echo of the military practice of the 5th century BC retrojected into that epic reconstruction.

At the very end of the ps.Euripidean war-based play *Rhesus* 986-992, Hektor addresses the chorus, telling them that he was confident of his success in battle:

χωρεῖτε, συμμάχους δ' ὀπλίζεσθαι τάχος
 ἄνωχθε πληροῦν τ' αὐχένας ξυνωρίδων.
 πανοῦς δ' ἔχοντας χορὴ μένειν Τυρσηνικῆς
 σάλπιγγος αὐδῆν.

'Go, order the allies to quickly arm themselves and harness their horses. They must wait, torches in hand, for the blowing of the Etruscan trumpet'.

Again we see the trumpet ending the action of the army in the play, with an instruction to continue the attack, although I feel that there is an implicit instruction to conclude the attack as well.

We see that Euripides refers to the *paean* and the trumpet in *Phoenician Women* 1103-1104, in a Messenger's speech.

παιὰν δὲ καὶ σάλπιγγες ἐκελάδουν ὁμοῦ
 ἐκεῖθεν ἔκ τε τειχέων ἡμῶν πάρα.⁴²⁹

The Messenger, reporting an incident that had already taken place, describes the

428 In his commentary (1977, 265) Lee says that 'the 'two phrases' referred to by Euripides could be either the command for the women to move / the guards to burn the city, or the women depart at the sound of the *salpinx* and Hecuba leaves with the men'. Lee favours the first, but his comment shows that he recognises the *salpinx* call as an instruction to the women to leave. Tyrrell (1932, 118) also mentions two phrases but does not state which he favours. Barlow (1986) makes no comment on this passage.

429 Craik, 1998, 252, cites 'Diggle's emendation (which) gives bold, synaesthetic imagery, sight applied to sound; tr. "when, like a torch, the blare of trumpet was kindled" '. This is a truly vivid description. Craik also comments that the reference to the trumpet is regarded as an anachronism on the part of the messenger; I note this as an echo of the anachronistic reference to the trumpet in Homer (see 2.1).

paean of war and the trumpet, which sounded from both sides within the city walls, and the enemy side. Was this a form of encouragement to each side, in an effort to gain the momentum in the fighting, or to inspire the men? Did the sound of their own *paean*, coupled with the trumpet, fill the hoplites with pride and optimism, leading to victory? The sounding of the *salpinx* here announced the start of the Argive attack, and continues the association of the instrument with the sounds of war. The echoing trumpets coming from both sides of the battle fought with the shouts and the *paean*s of the hoplites and culminated in victory for one side, giving a foretaste of the historical evidence recorded during the 5th and subsequent centuries by the historians Xenophon, Polybius and Diodorus Siculus.

Later in the same play, at ll.1377-1379, in direct contrast to the trumpet on the battlefield, Euripides provides a “one to one” fight in reported speech. This does not depict a battlefield scene, but nevertheless it includes a description of the trumpet here described as Etruscan:

ἔπει δ' ἀνήφθη πυρσὸς ὧς Τυρσηνικῆς
 σάλπιγγος ἤχη σῆμα φοινίου μάχης,
 ἦξαν δρᾶμημα δεινὸν ἀλλήλοις ἔπι.

The main point to consider here is that Euripides is using a reference to the *salpinx* to start the fight, just as the instrument was used to start battles:

But when the firebrand was flung, a sign, like the Etruscan trumpet, for the battle to begin, Polyneikes and his brother Eteokles ran upon each other.

Note here also Euripides' use of the word *σῆμα* for signal, with its connection with the signalling verb. His use of this word is the earliest so far found in Greek literature (see 2.1).

Comic drama also produces references to the trumpet in peacetime, whilst still maintaining the theme of war, and I propose to introduce this aspect with an extract from Aristophanes' *Frogs*. Here Aristophanes provides an echo of Aeschylus' focus on martial themes. In lines 965-967, during the main debate between the characters Euripides and Aeschylus, Euripides offers the following disparaging assertion in his own defence:

“In my plays I wrote about familiar things that the audience would recognise, and could take me up on if necessary. I didn’t try to overwhelm them with long words, or startle them with grand and important characters like Cycnus or Memnon. You’ve only got to look at his (Aeschylus’) followers, and compare them unfavourably with mine”.

Euripides here refers to Aeschylus' fondness for grand speech with long words, in comparison with Euripides' own style of writing about real and recognisable characters.

τουτουμενὶ Φορμίσιος Μεγαίνετός θ' ὁ Μανῆς,
σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδαι, σαρκασμοπιτυοκάμπται,
οὔμοι δὲ Κλειτοφῶν τε καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ κομψός.

Here we note that Aeschylus has got Phormisius and Megaenetus, the 'whiskered-hussar-trumpeters' (*LSJ* 1582, σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδαι) and the 'flesh-tearers with pine', (σαρκασμοπιτυοκάμπται),⁴³⁰ whereas Euripides himself had Kleitophon and the smart fellow Theramenes. The primary point of interest in this passage is of course the cleverly crafted compound word, σαλπιγγο – λογχ – υπηνάδαι. This eccentric and unique noun contains trumpeters, a spear-head or javelin-head⁴³¹, and the lower part of the face on which the beard grows, hence the beard itself.⁴³² This satirical image of a bearded spear-wielding trumpeter adds depth to the passage, and the Athenian audience, men who had carried out military service, would appreciate the underlying humour, and would also see their own army leaders in the characters portrayed.

Later at 1039-1042 the character of Aeschylus acknowledges the influence of Homer on his works:

ἀλλ' ἄλλους τοὶ πολλοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, ὧν ἦν καὶ Λάμαχος ἦρωες.
ὄθεν ἡμὴ φρήν ἀπομαξαμένη πολλὰς ἀρετὰς ἐποίησεν,

430 This is from the translation by Tucker (1930, 158), and the word originates from σαρκάζω, to tear flesh like dogs. The full word is defined in *LSJ* 1584 as 'a sneering pine-bender'. Dover, 1993, 313, summarises σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδαι as 'trumpet – spear(point) – long beard', which 'would suit the hairiness of Phormisius'. Sommerstein (1996, 242) clarifies the definition as 'tree-bending' (lit. pine-bending) 'flesh rippers' in an allusion to the ogre Sinis, who lived near the Isthmus of Corinth and who murdered travellers by tying them to two pine trees bent down to the ground, so that they were torn apart when the trees sprang back to the vertical'. The two-word line enhances the overall effect.

431 *LSJ* 1059.

432 *LSJ* 1872. Murray's (1908, l.967) translation of 'beard-lance-and-trumpet' is clearly a more literal translation from the text, but Sommerstein (1996, 242) provides an alternative image of the character as a 'rough, "macho" man, good at soldiering but little else. There is a covert insinuation that if this is what Aeschylean Man is like, contrariwise, Euripidean Man is a smooth-cheeked, effeminate coward'.

Πατρόκλων, Τεύκρων θυμολεόντων, ἴν' ἐπαίροιμ' ἄνδρα πολίτην
ἀντεκτείνειν αὐτὸν τούτοις, ὅπταν σάλπιγγος ἀκούση.

Aeschylus here asserts that Patroklos and Teukros, both lion-hearted men, encouraged the audience to compare themselves with the two heroes whenever they heard the call of the trumpet. Lada-Richards suggests that the valour of men like Patroklos and lion-spirited Teucer was 'to excite the male citizen so that he would strain to equal them in bravery, whenever he would hear the sound of the battle trumpet'.⁴³³ Here Aristophanes uses this symbolic reference to the *salpinx* to compare his writings comically with Homeric epic, and to evoke its echo in his audience.⁴³⁴

In another comedy, *Peace* (1240-1250), Aristophanes offers a different slant on the *salpinx* as a symbol of war with his use of the instrument as a dramatic prop, but not for the usual purposes that we would expect. In fact, it is the comedic aspect of Aristophanes' writings that make the visual impact of the prop so humorous – he has taken the usual war connotations of the trumpet and successfully parodied them for comic purpose. His military-minded audience would have relished the satire as well as enjoying the humour. In this thought-provoking play, therefore, Aristophanes satirises an Arms Salesman, forced through the events of war into selling his military wares. The war in question had ended in 421 BC, due to the signing of the peace treaty, which in turn meant that the Arms Salesman lost his livelihood. The audience sees him trying to sell two crests (albeit not in very good condition), a corselet that allegedly cost a thousand drachmas, some helmets, and he demands

τί δ' ἄρα τῆ σάλπιγγι τῆδε χρῆσομαι,
ἦν ἐπριάμην δραχμῶν ποθ' ἐξήκοντ' ἔγω;

'what about this trumpet? I bought it for sixty drachmas.'

Trygaeus' reaction is to suggest that he

μόλυβδον εἰς τοῦτ' ἰκὸν ἐγχείας
ἔπειτ' ἄνωθεν ῥάβδον ἐνθεις ὑπόμακρον,
γενήσεται σοι τῶν κατακτῶν κοττάβων.

433 Lada-Richards, 1999, 269-270.

434 Dover, 1993, 323, makes no reference to the *salpinx* phrase but he discusses the valour of Patroklos and Teukros.

'weights the bell with lead, puts a rod a few inches long in the mouthpiece, and it'll make a capital adjustable target for a wine-flicking game' (*kottabos*).

Platnauer explains that ' τὸ κοῖλον = τὸν κῶδωνα = mouth of the trumpet', and that 'the 'longish rod' was to be inserted into the mouthpiece of the inverted instrument'.⁴³⁵

Sommerstein writes further that 'the trumpet is to become the beam of a balance, with the scale-pan (and its contents) at one end being balanced by the weight of the lead at the other'.⁴³⁶ Douglas Olson notes that the *salpinx* consists of a 'long, straight tube ending in a tulip-shaped bell'.⁴³⁷ This is not a description that I have seen anywhere else, and it enhances the image of the more usual description of a bell-shaped end.

Neither of these commentaries make the point that this would surely have caused laughter in the Athenian audience, particularly when Trygaeus continues with another suggestion:

τὸν μὲν μόλυβδον, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἔγχεον,
ἐντευθενὶ δὲ σπαρτίοις ἤρτημένην
πλάστιγγα πρόσθες, καυτό σοι γενήσεται
τὰ σῦκ' ἐν ἀγρῶ τοῖς οἰκέταισιν ἰστάναι.

'Weight the bell with lead as before, hang a scale-pan on a string from here, and you can use it to weigh out figs in the orchard for your slaves!'

The combination of the pathos of the Arms Salesman with his battered war relics together with his self-importance in this manner, by downgrading his military instrument into a spittoon, or even an object from which to hang a pan to weigh figs, is superb imagery that would have greatly appealed to his audience. I think that it is probably also likely that the size of the instrument was greatly exaggerated, to make it appear even more ridiculous. It is, however, an innovative and absurd suggestion for an alternative use of the instrument, to turn it into something other than a means of issuing signals and instructions. Practicalities and realities probably do not enter into the imagery, but Aristophanes' emasculation of the instrument projects powerfully to his audience.

The Hellenistic peripatetic philosopher Theophrastus offers an alternative comic view of the trumpet on the battlefield in one of his *Characters*, through which he demonstrates

435 Platnauer, 1964, 168, where he also explains the game *kottabos*.

436 Sommerstein, 1978, 198.

437 Douglas Olson, 1998, 303.

different human behaviours in sketches drawn on various types of personalities. In one of the sketches, “The Coward,” Theophrastus depicts a man whose cowardice gets the better of him at every opportunity. Diggle introduces his commentary by noting that ‘For Aristotle, courage is the mean between fear and confidence and cowardice is an excess of fear and a deficiency of confidence.’⁴³⁸ Theophrastus’ portrayal of cowardice perfectly chimes with Aristotle’s thoughts, and yet the humour of the sketch delights. The format of “The Coward” falls into two parts: the first shows the Coward at sea, and the second shows him on the battlefield. At the beginning of the sketch the Coward is at sea, and is not enjoying it. Once ashore, and on military service, he claims that it is difficult to make out on what side are the enemy. He fears fighting, so having hidden his sword, he then spends ages looking for it. He tends the wounds of a friend, rather than actually fighting,

‘καὶ τοῦ σαλπιστοῦ δὲ τὸ πολεμικὸν σημήναντος, καθήμενος ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ <εἰπεῖν>. “ἄπαγ’ ἐς κόρακας. οὐκ ἔάσει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὕπνου λαβεῖν πυκνὰ σημαίνων,”

and when the trumpeter sounds the attack, (τὸ πολεμικὸν) he says, as he sits there in the tent (tending his comrade), “To hell with you! You’ll stop the man getting any sleep with this repeated trumpeting”. Repetitive (πυκνὰ) trumpeting was a basic fact of the battlefield, but in this passage the emphasis is more on satirical exaggeration than the real effect of the trumpet as an instrument of war.

In earlier commentaries both Jebb (1909) and Ussher (1960) highlight τὸ πολεμικόν, the signal for battle, used here by Theophrastus.⁴³⁹ They also both confirm (as we have already seen) that τὸ πολεμικόν is opposed to τὸ ἀνακλητικόν, the note of recall. Jebb points out that this third example of an emergency met by the Coward shows the trumpeter, going through the camp, summoning forth any laggards who may have chanced to stay behind.⁴⁴⁰ Perhaps the Coward heard a fanfare, as we know it in modern times, but Theophrastus confirms the use of the trumpet for instruction and orders.

⁴³⁸ Diggle, 2004, 453, agrees with Jebb, 1909, 134.

⁴³⁹ Jebb, 1909, 138; Ussher, 1960 (republished 1993), 214. Ussher, referring to τοῦ σαλπιστοῦ, cites Polybius (1.45.14) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4.17.3), see 3.1.3 and 3.1.1 respectively.

⁴⁴⁰ Jebb, 1909, 138.



Fig.3.3: a trumpeter in a play, 4th century BC.

Vase iconography can sometimes help to supplement our knowledge of lost plays. The character shown in the small portion of a vase painting from ca.320 BC [Fig.3.3] is, according to Taplin, 'plausibly related to a tragedy about Hektor, quite possibly the Hektor of Astydamos'.⁴⁴¹ He suggests that the entire vase painting shows Hektor leaving Andromache, and the baby Astyanax is shown holding out his arms to his father in farewell. Taplin describes the figure as one of a soldier who 'seems to be simply a trumpeter, probably signifying the imminence of battle...'⁴⁴² In his narrative, he argues that the painting could be associated with the four papyrus fragments ⁴⁴³ that exist of the play by Astydamos, although this is by no means certain. I tend to agree with Taplin, as the presence of a soldier would seem out of place in what could otherwise be interpreted as a family scene.

For me, an interesting aspect is that the character depicted is clearly holding a *salpinx* in one hand, and a couple of spears in his other, thus implying that he is playing the part of

441 Taplin, 2007, 253.

442 *ibid*, 253.

443 Kannicht, 1991, 60 fr. lh (13809).

a soldier. He is not wearing a recognisable soldier's form of dress, possibly a deliberate ploy on the part of the painter as part of the dramatic image. There is a similarly dressed figure on the right of the painting who is holding a shield bearing the face of a Gorgon as its shield device, so this does seem to confirm that the trumpeter figure is meant to be seen as a soldier, even if not dressed as a hoplite. This signifies the dramatic basis for the vase painting, in that it depicts an imaginary situation rather than a more realistic hoplite holding a trumpet. The painter of the vase clearly had a specific story in mind and the one for which Taplin argues (the Hektor story from *Iliad* 6) has good visual detail that translates well in a painting. The instrument depicted is a standard *salpinx*, with a long pipe swelling into a cup-shaped end; this is a familiar image noted in other examples throughout the thesis.

3.4 The *salpinx* as a symbol of war

The dramatic passages echo Athenian military practice but also act as examples of how the *salpinx* symbolised warfare. In this section I shall look at artistic uses of the trumpet for the same purpose.

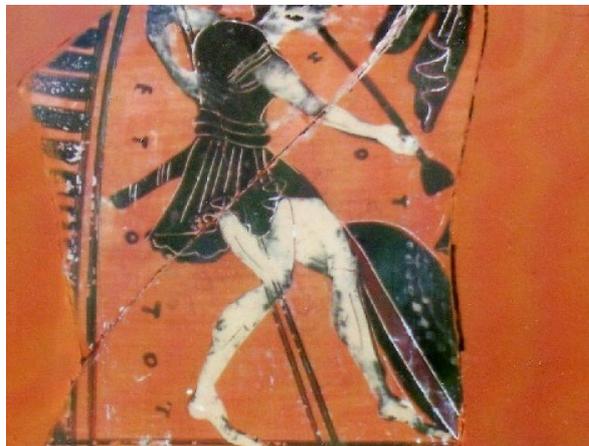


Fig.3.4: the Amazon at Eleusis playing a *salpinx*, 6th century BC.

As I discussed in my Introduction, Landels refers to a piece of pottery depicting an Amazon woman playing a *salpinx* from the 6th century BC,⁴⁴⁴ [Fig.3.4], found in 1883 at the ancient site of Eleusis in Greece, a centre of religious devotion that culminated in the

444 Landels, 1999, 80.

annual Eleusinian Mysteries. The fragment was found in the religious building, the *Telesterion*, and is of particular interest, not only because of its size, but also because of the variety of pottery fragments that have been found there. I visited the museum at Eleusis where the fragment, part of an ἐπίνητρον (*epinetron*),⁴⁴⁵ is on display (I have included a photograph of the entire side of the *epinetron* in Fig.3.5). The reconstructed *epinetron* is approximately 20 cm long, and the painting is approximately 7 cm wide. It is catalogued as an Amazon, holding a *salpinx*, as Landels states, and it shows a figure in a black tunic playing the instrument. I do however feel that at first sight it is quite difficult to establish it as a female figure. In her detailed study of the Amazons Blok writes that in vase paintings of Amazons ‘the body always has a white complexion while the dress and armour are the same as those worn by men’.⁴⁴⁶ This is certainly the case of the Eleusinian fragment, as Fig.3.4 shows.

Blok has also carried out comparisons of early depictions of Amazons in long dress with paintings showing ‘a new fashion in Amazon clothing – a short tunic fastened with a girdle’.⁴⁴⁷ Again, this description matches the Eleusinian fragment exactly. Blok later qualifies her own findings by explaining that ‘in red-figure work dated from c.530 – c.460 BC, in which women (i.e. presumably not just Amazons) are no longer differentiated by a white skin, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the male archers from Amazons because the costumes of the two groups are virtually the same’.⁴⁴⁸ The Eleusis Museum catalogue (dated 2008) states that this *epinetron* fragment dates from the 6th century BC, but we cannot get closer than that, so the colour of the skin is only one clue to the figure being female. Haspels has also discussed this fragment in her *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, stating that the ὄνοϛ (alternate name for the *epinetron*) was painted by the

445 Dugas, 1926, 34: the *epinetron* is ‘a semi-cylindrical object which women placed on the knee for spinning’ (p.7); ‘it is on a clay *epinetron* that she twists the thread for weaving the material for the family clothes’.

446 Blok, 1995, 233.

447 *ibid*, 408.

448 *ibid*, 411. Shapiro (1983, 105-6) says that ‘all we know about the Greeks’ conception of the Amazons in the archaic period comes from visual representations, not from written sources’, and he refers to visual interpretations of Herakles’ Ninth Labour to obtain the girdle of Hippolyte, all of which first appeared in the second quarter of the 6th century BC, and also to vase paintings showing Achilles’ combat with the Amazon queen Penthesilea at Troy, depicted by the painter Ezekias c.540 BC.

Sappho Painter.⁴⁴⁹ One question to pose here is whether the *epinetron* is an import, or was produced locally. The Sappho Painter was active around 500-490 BC⁴⁵⁰, so if the piece of pottery is from the 6th century BC, and was painted by him, it must have been late in that century. Also, the Sappho Painter was Greek, so it may be safely assumed that the piece was produced in Greece, perhaps even at Eleusis as a dedicatory object. The entire painting in its original form would have been striking, and we are fortunate that the fragment still exists.

The *salpinx* is clearly visible, held in the out-stretched right hand with the bulbous end pointing downwards, and the mouth-piece held to the mouth. The figure's left arm is bent behind the body, and the belt of the tunic floats out behind. The thighs are very muscular indeed, with the thigh and calf muscles clearly delineated. The figure appears not to be wearing any shoes, and what seems to be a shield is shown at the right-hand side. It may be that the garment is supposed to define the figure as a female warrior – there is no other obvious attribute. The shape of the head could be feminine, although this is difficult to prove in view of the shape of the piece and the angle at which it is arranged. With a stretch of the imagination one can possibly see the swelling of the right breast under the right arm. What is of particular interest here is the symbolism of the *salpinx*. In this painting the painter has shown the instrument being played possibly by a female warrior. The acceptance of the fighting aspect of the instrument is supported by the imagery of the Amazon: myth containing reality, with what I think is a symbolic view of the *salpinx* as an emblem of battlefield prowess.

It may of course simply be that the image of the trumpet, combined with a slim figure wearing some sort of uniformed dress, suggests to us that the figure is an Amazon. If the instrument was not present, would we reach the same conclusion? In the Ninth Labour of Herakles we read that the Amazons were 'the first to employ cavalry; they carried brazen bows and short shields shaped like a half moon; their helmets, clothes, and girdles were made from the skins of wild beasts'.⁴⁵¹ This image is difficult to match to the *epinetron* fragment, but the *epinetron* picture may be stylized, to match the

449 Haspels, 1936, 104.

450 *ibid.*

451 Graves, 1960, 445.

commission for which it was probably painted. I remain to be convinced that the figure is female; I think that we are in danger of being emotionally swayed by the suggestion. For me the general lack of female links to the trumpet in Greek culture is conclusive enough.



Fig.3.5: a lengthened version of the Amazon on the *epinetron*.

The extended side of the reconstructed *epinetron* [Fig.3.5], shows the Amazon on the left, and part of what appears to be a soldier with two shields and a sword inside a holder on the right. This other figure is tantalisingly only partly visible, but does appear to be wearing a helmet of some sort on his / her head (the ambiguity is frustrating). The war-like theme is, however, much more apparent in this picture, with the additional symbols of war (shields and sword) prominently displayed.

There is one quite exciting aspect of the painting on the fragment of the *epinetron* that I have not yet mentioned. Running down the fragment, on each side of the Amazon, are some letters. Bélis has focused in some detail on the letters shown on the fragment, and her interpretation is that they read TO TO TE TO TH⁴⁵²; Landels commented that (bearing in mind the fragment was found in 1883) 'for many years this was regarded as nonsense, but Bélis spotted that it looked like a kind of sol-fa notation which is mentioned in Aristides Quintilianus and elsewhere.'⁴⁵³ Barker also notes the research

452 B elis, 1984, 107. Hagel mentions the notation but does not discuss it (2010, 256, re: *DAGM* No. 1).

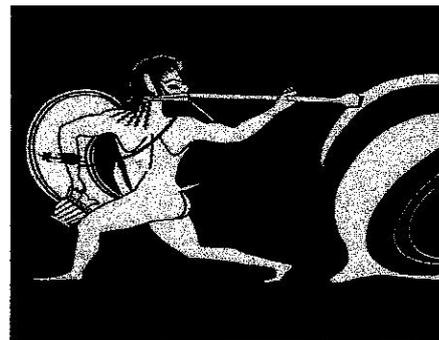
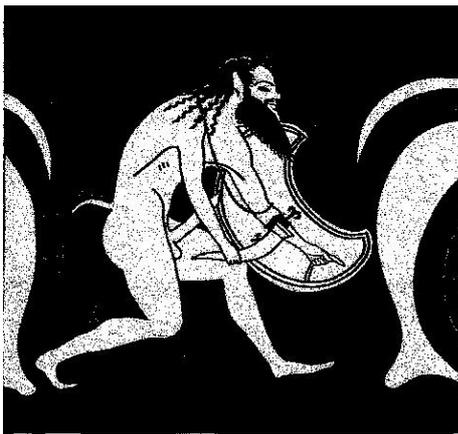
453 Landels, 1999, 80.

done by B elis: 'Since the character of melody, both in song and in instrumental pieces, is grasped through its similarity to the sounds produced by our vocal organs, I have made a selection of the letters that are suitable for use in vocalising melodies...There is some evidence, recently brought to light, that such a notation was in practical use as early as the sixth century BC'.⁴⁵⁴



Fig.3.6: musical notation.⁴⁵⁵

The musical staff with a treble clef [Fig.3.6] is from "Un nouveau document musical" by B elis. My own reading of the picture is in reverse: looking at the Amazon, the visible letters running down the left hand side read as follows: E T O T O T, and on the right of the Amazon I read H followed by O T. This does not transcribe quite so neatly into the TO TO TE TO TH of B elis' version; perhaps accepting it as a fanfare would fit very well with the war aspect of the instrument, although I have not found any other evidence that the *salpinx* was used for such a purpose.



Figs.3.7a and 3.7b: Satyr going to war with wine horn and shield and wine jug, another with a wine jug, shield, and trumpet, 520-490 BC.

⁴⁵⁴ Barker, 1989, 479 and footnote 120.

⁴⁵⁵ B elis, 1984, fig.8, p.107.

A Dionysiac picture, by the painter Epiktetos,⁴⁵⁶ dating from between 520 and 490 BC is shown in Figs.3.7a and 3.7b. These two humorous paintings show an ithyphallic satyr going to war, holding a wine horn and a shield, accompanied by another ithyphallic satyr with a wine jug, shield, and trumpet. The *salpinx* is a long instrument, out of proportion with the satyr blowing it. The image is clearly and deliberately meant to be funny, with the satyr running in one direction and turning back, playing his trumpet as he runs. Like his counterpart, he does not forget to bring his *oinochoe* to battle.⁴⁵⁷

The use of the shields and *salpinx* are cleverly balanced by the comical aspects of satyrs holding drinking objects. The paintings are very similar to that shown at Fig.4.7 in the next chapter, although by different painters.



Fig.3.8: two hoplites and one trumpeter.

My final image for this section [Fig.3.8] shows a trumpeter accompanying two hoplites, in what may be an image of a war scene. This painting shows a scene of combat, with two hoplites advancing, each holding military symbols of a lance and shield. Except for their decorative helmets, the hoplites are naked (as in Fig.3.2). The trumpeter also holds a lance and is blowing a trumpet, which has a long tube with a long cup-shaped end. He is not, however, dressed in a recognisable military costume, which is why I consider that this painting is a good visual example of the poetic imagery of a war scene. The painters

456 Mitchell, 2009, 178.

457 *ibid*, 178.

of Figs.3.7a, 3.7b, and 3.8 are demonstrating artistic licence with the visual effects of the naked hoplites and the satyrs, but the overall effect is pleasing. This shows how even the serious topic of war can be effectively dealt with through the genre of vase paintings.

3.5 Shield devices

Specific vase iconography can also assist in providing visual images of the *salpinx*. Here I shall examine part of a vase painting that shows a shield device, a decorative addition to a hoplite's shield. The shield is one of the more easily recognised pieces of the hoplite's armour that has been depicted on vase paintings, particularly during the 5th century BC. Greek historiographers have recorded descriptions of the phalanx of hoplites moving in formation with their shields inter-linked, forming a solid wall of defence. For example, Thucydides writes (5.71.1) about the fear amongst the phalanx of men on the battlefield; he explained that they had to ensure that each man put his uncovered side as close to the man on his right, on the basis that the closer the shields were locked together the more successful the protection gained.

Herodotus (1.171) tells us that it was the Carians who first attached plumes to their helmets, put handles on their shields and who also put designs onto their shields.⁴⁵⁸ The poet of the *Iliad* also refers to shield devices and designs, most notably that of Achilles (18.478-608).

In his *Life of Timoleon* 27.6 Plutarch writes about a battle between Sicilian Greeks with Syracusans against Carthaginians.

αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς προμάχους πυκνώσας τῶ συνασπισμῶ, καὶ τὴν σάλπιγγα
κελεύσας ἐπιφθέγγασθαι, προσέβαλε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις.

We read that Timoleon ordered the men to lock their shields closely, and he ordered the trumpet to sound the attack. Here the joining of shields and the trumpet signal for the attack are closely linked.

In his 1902 work on shield devices in ancient Greek art and literature, Chase refers to poetic descriptions of shield devices used by Aeschylus and Euripides in some of their

458 Graziosi, 2007, 193: 'amongst other inventions attributed to the Carians were weapons and musical tunes', but the editors also make the point 'that although Herodotus dated the invention of weapons' by the Carians to before the Trojan War, Homer knew of the round shields and the ornaments that identified the warriors'.

plays.⁴⁵⁹ The evidence Chase has examined has been found mainly on vase paintings, with a few alternative finds such as coins, plaques, a sarcophagus, and a lead statuette. He summarises his evidence into various “classes” of device as follows: (1) purely decorative; (2) intended to inspire fear in the enemy; (3) reference to the cult or god; (4) intended to indicate country or nationality: borne by individuals, or by whole armies; (5) reference to family or descent; (6) reference to the deeds or fortunes of the bearer; (7) indicates rank; (8) reference to personal characteristics; and (9) chosen purely from individual fancy or caprice.⁴⁶⁰



Fig.3.9: a trumpeter shown as a shield device taken from a 5th century BC *amphora*.

Of most interest is his class of device listed at number 7, and the device pictured [Fig.3.9] shows the image of the trumpet of war. Beazley attributes this image to the Flying-Angel Painter. Chase considers it remarkable that the figure represented on the

459 See Aeschylus' *Phoenician Women* 1106, a picture of Atalante slaying the Calydonian boar; *Seven Against Thebes* 374, a frieze of bells, a flaming heaven with moon and stars; Euripides' *Electra* 458-469, figures of Hermes, Perseus, Helios and his horses, and 1254, the Gorgon's head; Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 560, a satirical comment on a soldier whose shield bore an image of a ferocious Gorgon, and he carried it even whilst going shopping.

460 Chase, 1902, 22.

shield is 'of a negro of the most pronounced type.'⁴⁶¹ It may be that he bases this assumption solely on the characteristic shape of the head, as there is nothing else in the painting that could produce this comment. Mitchell notes that African facial traits were used by Greek painters as caricatural devices, so emphasising the comparison between “normally proportioned Greeks” and others.⁴⁶² Chase uses this vase painting as an example of a device intended to indicate rank, but I am somewhat sceptical. It could be that the painter was commemorating a hoplite who had also played the trumpet: on the other hand perhaps the painter worked on the link between the hoplite and the war trumpet, and decided to use a trumpeter as the device on a hoplite's shield. An alternate suggestion is that perhaps the painting on the shield device echoes the military training and skill that would be demonstrated by the hoplite carrying the shield, but I do not consider it intimidates the onlooker. I suggest that this trumpeter shield device is more likely one used for decorative purposes, as the question of rank for both a hoplite and a trumpeter is debatable. The image on the *amphora* is certainly evocative of war with its combination of hoplite, shield and *salpinx*.

3.6 The lone trumpeter at the rear of the phalanx

One overwhelming image of the *salpinx* that has emerged from my study of the ancient sources is one of “singularity,” whether it be the lone trumpeter sounding the signal to advance or retreat, the visual depiction of a single soldier with a trumpet in a vase painting, the shield device showing a solitary trumpeter, or a Spartan statue. In this final section I shall address the question of where the trumpeter stood on the battlefield. As part of his usual vivid description, Xenophon gives some helpful detail about the position or placing of the trumpeter in at least a couple of passages, one of which (*Anab.* 4.3.29, see 3.1.2) shows the trumpeter standing on the riverbank:

ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμοιοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπιγκτῆς
σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν.

In *Anabasis* 7.4.19 Xenophon tells us about the commander Seuthes:

Σεύθης δὲ ἤκε βοηθῶν σὺν ἑπτὰ ἵππεῦσι τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ τὸν

461 *ibid*, 32.

462 Mitchell, 2009, 264, 302.

σαλπικτήν ἔχων τὸν Θράκιον. καὶ ἐπέιπερ ἦσθετο, ὅσονπερ χρόνον ἐβόηθει, τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐφθέγγετο αὐτῷ. ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο φόβον συμπαρέσχε τοῖς πολεμίοις,

who together with seven of his cavalry men came to Xenophon's rescue. Of great interest here is the suggestion that Seuthes' Thracian trumpeter was also at his side.

This proximity of leader and trumpeter is also echoed in Aeneas Tacticus 22.3:

περὶ δὲ τὸ στρατήγιον σκηνοῦν καὶ διατελεῖν αἰεὶ τὸν σαλπικτήν καὶ τοὺς δρομοκῆρυκας, ἵν', ἐάν τι δέη σημήναι ἢ παραγγεῖλαι, ἐξ ἐτοίμου ὑπάρχωσι.

The instruction states that the trumpeter and the dispatch-bearer should encamp near to the tent of the general to be in the best place to send a signal if required.

These two examples seem to show that it was considered wise to retain the trumpeter as near to the commanding officer as possible. However Asclepiodotus (1st century BC) suggests the opposite. In his *Tactics* (2.9 and 6.3) he discusses the Macedonian phalanx comprising 16,384 men.⁴⁶³ Connolly observes that although Asclepiodotus probably based his description on the late Egyptian or Syrian phalanx,⁴⁶⁴ it is still a relevant discussion of 'the structure, drill and tactics of an idealised phalanx',⁴⁶⁵ so it is intriguing to find a trumpeter present within, or perhaps more correctly placed outside the phalanx. Asclepiodotus writes in detail about the formation of the hoplites and their commanders together with the trumpeter. From his account in 2.9 we discover that at the rear of the entire phalanx were five supernumeraries, who were not included in the number of the company: a rear guard officer (οὐραγός), aide-de-camp (ὑπηρέτης), army-herald (στρατοκῆρυξ), signaller (σημειοφορός) and a trumpeter (σαλπικτής). We should note here that the signaller is a separate individual from the trumpeter, but the link with the verb σημαίνειν is suggestive of his role.

There is a diagram in Connolly's text that gives an excellent reconstruction of Asclepiodotus' phalanx, with the trumpeter shown in solitary splendour at the rear. The trumpeter is not included in the group of fighting men, but stands at the rear guard

463 *OCD*, s.v. Asclepiodotus, 187; see also 3.1.7.

464 Connolly, 1981, 76.

465 *ibid*, 77.

behind the phalanx. Asclepiodotus' "job descriptions" read that the army-herald gave a command by a spoken order; the signaller gave a signal, in case the verbal order could not be heard because of the noise of the men, and the trumpeter was there to sound the *salpinx* in case the visual signal was not visible due to the dust in the air. Finally, the aide, or adjutant, was in place ready to fetch anything that was needed, and the rear-guard officer was there to collect any stragglers and return them to the phalanx. All the participants performed important tasks. However what is noteworthy here is that the verbal order came first, τῆ φωνῆ σημαῖνοι, and the visible signal came second (if the verbal order had been missed). The trumpeter stood at the back of the phalanx and his signal came third and last of the three, yet Asclepiodotus shows that the role of the trumpet was most important, both as a message-taker and an instruction-bringer.

Arrian (c. AD 95-165) also describes the formations of the Greek battle array in his *Tactical Handbook* 10.3-4, although he lists the officials in a different order from those of Asclepiodotus. What Arrian adds is detail about troop numbers: the squadron of two hundred and fifty-six men is led by the leader of the squadron (συνταγματάρχος, and in each array of two hundred and fifty-six men there is a signaller, (σημειοφόρος), rear-guard officer (οὐραγός), trumpeter (σαλπικτής), adjutant (ὑπηρέτης), and army herald (στρατοκήρυξ). I do not think that Arrian's different order of officials is significant, but his detail in the numbers involved offers a telling image of the rear-guard men, including the trumpeter, depicted at the rear of a large number of soldiers. Here we note that Arrian names the same officials, and as so often with the ancient authors, it is not known exactly who he used as a source. Brunt notes that 'the material is mostly borrowed from earlier writers, rephrased with greater elegance, but it includes an account of contemporary methods for training cavalry'.⁴⁶⁶ It is therefore plausible that Arrian not only used Asclepiodotus' account as the basis for his treatise, but also shared his opinions.

466 Brunt, 1976, xiii.

3.7 Conclusion

I have demonstrated throughout this chapter that the battlefield signals issued by the trumpet were varied, but we also see that the sounds of the trumpet in some instances acted as signals. I argue that the ancient literary evidence shows that trumpet signals were predominantly used during battles, rather than 'before and after' as stated by Krentz at the beginning of this chapter (see footnote³²⁰). I use various ancient sources for this argument⁴⁶⁷, together with Procopius 6.23.23-24 where I note that 'the human voice was not adapted to be able to give clear orders' (see 3.1.1). I consider that the signals to retreat were sounded during battles, not afterwards, purely from a logistical point of view. I have also shown that the *salpinx* was used in sieges as well as on the battlefield as a signalling device.

Salpinx signals range from attack to retreat, the call to arms, the reveille, a signal for silence, and even as a means of training for the army horses. Aesop used one verb to demonstrate the attack signal, whereas Xenophon and Diodorus used a different expression from Aesop. They both, however, used the same expression for the attack signal but with no specific attack word, as did Thucydides and Dio Chrysostom. We are reminded here that Thucydides rarely mentions the trumpet, so his use of trumpet terminology is more likely to be vague, with the other writers showing a gradual growth in sophistication. For the retreat signal Xenophon simply used the verb 'to signal,' and relied on the context to clarify the signal used. Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dio Chrysostom, and Procopius all used the same verb in this instance. In addition, Procopius clarified the difference between the signals by the noise they made and by the type of trumpet.

These examples show that a technical vocabulary for the trumpet calls gradually developed in the Greek historiographical tradition, from the 5th century BC onwards and especially from the 3rd century BC. We have also seen a different word used for a trumpeter, σημάτων, or "a trumpet signaller", from ps. Aristotle, and a variation on the trumpet itself, the *keras*, or horn, which Xenophon said was the instrument used for

467 Thucydides 6.69.2 and Xenophon 3.4.4 (see 3.1.2), Thucydides 5.10.3-4 (see 3.1.3), and Thucydides 6.32 (see 3.1.8) before a voyage leading to a battle.

giving signals.

The trumpet was so linked in Greek culture with the military in the 5th century BC that it is frequently deployed to symbolise warfare in non-military contexts such as tragedy, Aristophanic comedy, moral philosophy and vase iconography. Although we do get references to examples of more than one trumpeter in a military context, it is striking that several authors refer to the trumpeter as a singular figure, one whose calls can influence large numbers of soldiers and whose communicative role is crucial in the world of war.

Chapter 4

The peacetime trumpet: entertainment, competition, and ritual.

4.0 Introduction

The use of the *salpinx* on the battlefield, as an instrument for instruction and giving orders, has been fully established in the previous chapter. I shall now demonstrate that the trumpet was also used in peacetime, playing a part in many aspects of daily life, but sharing the underlying aim of instruction and order. In this chapter I shall also examine in detail the pairing of the trumpeter and herald, which can be found in various peacetime activities.

One aspect of peacetime life where trumpet signals were used was at athletic contests, in order to start races and competitions. Here my research draws on Crowther's very informative paper, "The Role of Heralds and Trumpeters at Greek Athletic Festivals" (1994), where we agree on our interpretation of the evidence. I shall, however, challenge his suggestions about why the first recorded trumpet and herald competitions were introduced at the Olympic Games in 396 BC.⁴⁶⁸

I shall also draw extensively on the data from *Dionysiakoi Technitai* compiled by Stephanis (1988). This very comprehensive text records inscriptions which show the honours gained at contests within festivals, as well as competitions at the Panhellenic Games, comprising the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean Games. Within this context I offer an insight into the trumpeters and heralds who won these competitions, and establish their prizes where stated.

Stephanis' data has not been used in this way previously, and I shall compare it with inscriptions cited in the *Inscriptiones Graecae (IG)*. I also refer to Christesen's *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History* (2007), where he cites the trumpeter and herald competitions that were added to the Olympiad programme in 396 BC, as recorded by Eusebius, but has no further evidence to add to our knowledge of these categories of competitions.⁴⁶⁹

468 See 4.2.3.

469 Christesen, 2007, 212, points out that 'all the sources considered in his lists ignored the competitions for trumpets and heralds which were added in the 96th Olympiad.'

I begin this chapter with an examination of evidence surrounding some of the festivals in ancient Greece where I have found references to the trumpet.

4.1 Festivals and processions.

For the ancient Greeks, festivals were religious rituals that occurred in a regular pattern at pre-determined times in the calendar.⁴⁷⁰ The geographical variations from city-state to city-state allowed for changes in format, and the time scales within which the festivals took place varied according to each venue. Some took place annually, some every two years, and some occurred every four years. The ancient Greek male believed that the activities undertaken during the festivals honoured the deity in whose name each festival was founded. The main purpose of the Greek festivals, however, was not only to honour the gods, but also to bring people together for entertainment, food, drink, and celebrations. This form of social cohesion helped to develop the *polis*, and to maintain a group identity within the city-state itself. In addition, as the festivals progressed over the years, the introduction of the agonistic competitions starting with the original *agon* at Olympia developed into the Olympic and other Games.

Xenophon provides my earliest reference to the trumpet in connection with Athenian festivals in the *Cavalry Commander* 3.11-13, where he writes about the *Anthippasia*, the “riding opposite” event, (discussed in 3.1.11). This exercise comprised not only military training but also a precision display of horsemanship that took place during the *Olympieia*, the festival of Olympian Zeus in the Hippodrome in Athens, where the trumpet signalled the horses’ movements. Kyle suggests that by the 4th century BC it had been established especially for the cavalry.⁴⁷¹ From the *Anthippasia* we move to the *Anthesteria*, wherein we find a drinking contest.

4.1.1 Anthesteria

An early example of the *salpinx* played during a festival is found at the *Anthesteria* in the Ionic-Attic area, and more specifically in Athens, which Burkert informs us dates from either the 5th or the 4th century BC.⁴⁷² I believe it dates from at least the 5th century BC, as

470 For more on festivals in general see the following key works: Simon, 1983, 3 and *passim*; Parke, 1986², 29ff; Burkert, 1987, 99-101; Phillips and Pritchard, 2003, *passim*.

471 Kyle, 2007, 167.

472 Burkert, 1987, 163.

I shall demonstrate.

Aristophanes provides a light-hearted look at the Anthesteria in his play *The Acharnians*.

Osborne suggests that 'the drinking competition at the Anthesteria is so basic as surely to have its origins in the midst of time'.⁴⁷³ The Anthesteria was a three-day spring festival which took place in the month of Anthesterion,⁴⁷⁴ (modern-day equivalent February⁴⁷⁵), and it linked the production and drinking of wine. A fragment of Phanodemos from the mid-4th century BC⁴⁷⁶ tells us that the festival lasted for three days: 'the Jar-Opening (*Pithoigia*), the Wine Jugs (*Choes*), and the Pots (*Chytroi*)'⁴⁷⁷ with each day starting at sunset, and ending with the following sunset.⁴⁷⁸ The Athenians pressed and stored the new wine in the autumn of each year, and, according to Phanodemos, believed that they were not allowed to open this new wine until the spring.⁴⁷⁹

Aristophanes turns the *Choes* into a comic occasion in *Acharnians*, which was first produced at the Lenaia in 425 BC. It includes a comic representation of the festival of the Country Dionysia.⁴⁸⁰ Aristophanes first mentions the festival and the *Choes* at line 961, with this instruction from the slave:

ἐκέλευε Λάμαχος σε ταυτησί δραχμῆς
εἰς τοὺς Χοᾶς αὐτῷ μεταδοῦναι τῶν κιχλῶν.

'Lamachus asks you, for this drachma here, to give him some of your thrushes for the Pitcher feast'.

Later in the play at lines 1000-1003 we see the scene opening with Dikaiopolis, who goes indoors to start cooking for the feast; the Chorus perform their first mini-*parabasis*.

At the end, a Crier re-enters, playing the part of the herald. He issues a proclamation which I believe demonstrates the importance of the trumpeter:

473 Osborne, 1990, 26.

474 *LSJ* 139: the Anthesteria was the Feast of Flowers, a festival for Dionysus at Athens. See also *Apoll. Fr.*28 for references to the festival in Ionic cities: *SIG* 38.32 (Teos), and *CIG* 3655 (Cyzicus). For more on the Anthesteria see Simon, 1983, 92ff; Parke, 1986², 115; Burkert, 1987, 237; Miller, 2003, xi.

475 Simon, 1983, 100.

476 Phanodemos was an Athenian athidographer, born before 374/3 BC, a writer of a genre of Greek historiography that narrated the local history of Attica. He was involved with the cult of Amphiarus at Oropus but was also *hieropoios* at the Pythian festival in Delphi in 330 BC. (*OCD* 211).

477 *FgrHist*, 325, 11, from Phanodemos, p.184.

478 Burkert, 1987, 237-238.

479 *FgrHist*, 325, 12, from Phanodemos, p.185.

480 The Lenaia takes place in the month of Gamelion, the marriage festival (Simon, 1983, 100), in the month of January, which immediately precedes Anthesterion (February).

ἀκούετε λεῶ. κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς Χοᾶς
πίνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος· ὃς δ' ἂν ἐκπίη
πρώτιστος, ἄσκον Κτησιφῶντος λήψεται.

'Hear ye, O people! Drink your pitchers at the sound of the trumpet, according to ancient customs; and whoever is the first to drink his jug off will win a skinful of Ctesiphon!'⁴⁸¹

The herald gains the attention of the competitors, and introduces the trumpeter. This translation is from Sommerstein, and I believe that κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, literally “according to your ancestral customs”, is of relevance. Aristophanes here demonstrates his awareness of the ritual when he was writing the play in perhaps 426 BC, thus indicating the existence of the festival of the Anthesteria at that time.

Unsurprisingly, the “hero” of the play, Dikaiopolis, wins the contest of the Festival of Pitchers (I.1224-5):

ὡς τοὺς κριτάς με φέρετε. ποῦ ἴστιν ὁ βασιλεύς ;
ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἄσκον.

'Bear me to the judges. Where's the king? Give me the wineskin.'⁴⁸²

Slater points out that 'Aristophanes is once again playing with the boundaries of the comic stage. Why does he choose to set Dikaiopolis' triumph at the drinking contest of *Choes*? In part, it completes both a temporal cycle of Dionysiac festivals and a geographical cycle which carries the play out of the context of the corrupt and war oppressed city into a peaceful countryside, and now back into a renewed and revitalised city'.⁴⁸³ The contest itself is not shown, so we do not see the participants or the trumpet.

Aristophanes did not need to depict the occasion visually, because it was familiar to his audience. However, this extract offers a fine example of the close link between the

481 Sommerstein, 1980, 206 notes that 'Hear ye, O people', ἀκούετε λεῶ, is known to be the standard opening of a herald's proclamation, which would have been recognised by the audience of the time. We find the same expression, for example, in Aristophanes' *Peace* line 551, and *Birds* line 448.

482 Parke (1986², 115) writes that 'at the feast of the Wine-jars a herald announces the contest, which is started with a trumpet blast; the winner takes home the prize of a wineskin'. Parke notes that the first prize at some events was a cake, but Aristophanes must have rightly decided that a wineskin contained more of a comic aspect. In complete contrast Xenocrates of Chalcedon (*OCD*, 1628: son of Agathenor, a disciple of Plato who eventually became the head of the Academy from 339 to 314 BC) won the contest of the *Choes* at some point prior to becoming head of the Academy. Timaios fr. 158, in Jacoby, 1954, 645, quoted in Athenaeus 10.49, writes that on this occasion Dionysius the elder, the famous tyrant of Syracuse, organised the festival and provided the prize - 'a beautiful garland made of gold which was placed on a tripod in the middle of the gathering'.

483 Slater, 1990, 413.

trumpeter and the herald: the herald announces the contest, which the trumpeter starts with a blast on his trumpet.

The Anthesteria, therefore, was a celebration of the opening of the new wine. The day of the *Pithoigia* fell on the 11th Anthesterion, when the clay jars were opened for the first time. Libations were offered to Dionysus, the god of wine, and a small sanctuary of Dionysus in the marshes (*en limnais*) was opened for one day only. Csapo & Slater note that this annual event is explicitly referred to in Demosthenes' speech *Against Neaira*, but they offer no other source.⁴⁸⁴ Plutarch however (*Moralia* 3.7,655) tells us that 'at Athens people consecrate the fresh wine on the 11th of the month Anthesterion, calling the day *Pithoigia*'.

We note that Aristophanes refers to the third day of the festival, the *Chytroi*, in *Frogs* II.216-220, where he describes the followers of Dionysus heading to the marshes for the celebration. Lada-Richards suggests that this passage in *Frogs* 'very probably refers to the evening of the *Choes*',⁴⁸⁵ i.e. the day before the *Chytroi*. Simon also suggests that the priest of Dionysus summoned distinguished persons to an official drinking contest in the building of the *thesmothetai* (somewhere in the south-east of the Agora).⁴⁸⁶

The opening of the sanctuary of Dionysus occurred on the day of the *Choes*, the 12th Anthesterion, apparently especially for this event. 'All sanctuaries are closed, roped off, on this 12th Anthesterion: access to the gods is interrupted; business dealings requiring the swearing of oaths are forced to halt as well'.⁴⁸⁷ Each free man who participated in the drinking contest had to find himself a seat. This festival is total contrast to the *symposium*, where the sociable Greeks met together to share food, drink, and music. The contest emphasises the seriousness of the communal drinking at the Anthesteria.

Burkert writes that the contest began 'at a trumpet signal given at the command of the "king", elected for the occasion, and everyone starts to drink at the same time. Each person had his own table and no word may be spoken; everyone had to drink up in

484 Csapo & Slater, 1994, 123.

485 Lada-Richards, 1999, 127.

486 Simon, 1983, 95. She does not offer an ancient source reference for this statement, and I have not found any other source for this Dionysiac link.

487 Burkert, 1987, 238.

silence'.⁴⁸⁸ During the drinking contest, each person sat consuming 'his measure of mixed wine in a special jug which has a capacity of more than two litres'.⁴⁸⁹ Slaves were allowed to participate, and even children over the age of three could join in; 'they used a very much smaller juglet'.⁴⁹⁰ Burkert does not cite any ancient source for this story, but I have consulted the *Suda* which describes the events of the Anthesteria including the story of Orestes.⁴⁹¹ It is on the basis of the evidence offered by Aristophanes in his *Acharnians*, together with that recorded in the *Suda*, that I disagree with Burkert's dating of the Anthesteria as either the 5th or 4th century BC. I suggest that there is sufficient evidence to accept the 5th century BC. Aristophanes' play was written and performed in the 5th century BC, and he shows a detailed knowledge of the Anthesteria.

4.1.2 Festival of Heracles.

Plutarch mentions the festival of Heracles in his *On the Sign of Socrates* 598 D-E, in the context of the liberation of Thebes in 379 BC.

ἦκε δὲ καὶ Ἰπποσθενείδης μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκετῶν τοὺς ἐπιδημηκότας κατὰ τύχην πρὸς τὰ Ἡράκλεια σαλπικτὰς παραλαμβάνων. εὐθὺς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐσήμαινον οἱ δὲ κατ' ἄλλους τόπους, πανταχόθεν ἐκταράττοντες τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, ὡς πάντων ἀφεστῶτων.

He writes that Hippostheneidas appeared there with his friends and servants, bringing the trumpeters who happened to be in town for the Festival of Heracles. This festival took place in the month of Metageitnion (late July to early August).⁴⁹² The trumpeters at once set to blowing their trumpets, some in the market place, others elsewhere, from all sides filling the opponents of Hippostheneidas with alarm as if the whole city had

488 *ibid.* The symbolic 'king' and 'queen' were the *archon basileus* and his wife (239). Parke (1986² 108) refers to Euripides' *Iphigenia of Tauris*, ll.942ff, 'so the story was invented before the Atthidographers.' Here we see that Orestes, still being polluted when he came to Athens following the murder of his mother, sat separately, using separate vessels and drinking in silence.

489 Burkert, 1987, 237. Parke (1986², 108-109) says "somewhat under three quarts". This was not an inconsiderable amount - a close modern equivalent could be the "yard of ale" contest, with a quantity of 2.5 imperial pints (1.4 litres) being drunk from a very tall glass.

490 *ibid.*, and *IG* II 2 1368.130.

491 *Suda*, *χοεσ*, 369-370, pp.812-813.

492 Parke, 1986², 51. However, Mikalson (1975, 48) notes that there was a monthly festival day devoted to Herakles on Boedromion 4; he cites *IG* II 2 1043 to support this.

risen.⁴⁹³ Plutarch's reference to the trumpet exciting fear, ἐκταράττοντες, as it did on the battlefield (see 2.5), may indicate that he is here transferring the sound of the *salpinx* as an image of war, recognisable to the readers of his time, to within the context of a celebration.

As I showed in the previous chapter, by 379 BC the role of the trumpet would have been associated with the field of war, rather than entertainment. In this instance, therefore, the noise made by the trumpeters of Hippostheneidas alerted people to take immediate action, just as on the battlefield. We also note that Plutarch here uses the word ἐσήμαινον for the sounding of the trumpet, the “signalling” word predominantly used on the battlefield, explored in detail in the previous chapter. Plutarch is therefore echoing the vocabulary of war, within the context of a peacetime religious festival.

We are fortunate to have an inscription that comprises a list of victors at the Herakleia, **Teiresias (1976) 18,38** (*IG VII*). This fragmentary inscription is on a limestone block, from the upper part of a *stèle*, complete at the top. It was found in Boiotia, and dates from ca. 170-150 BC.⁴⁹⁴

[οἶδε ἐνίκων τὰ Ἡρακλεία· σ[αλπισταῖς]
[Καλ]λιθέου []
κῆ]ρυξ
[Λυσ]ιστράτο[υ].

The trumpeter's name either appears to be Kallitheos, or he is the son of someone of that name. The herald is possibly Lysistratus or the son of Lysistratus.

4.1.3 Eleutheria.

The Eleutheria was the Freedom or Liberation festival, held in the month of Maimakterion (November), in honour of Zeus Eleutherios, or Zeus the Liberator.⁴⁹⁵

493 In *The Treaty* (The Prosecution: 126) Demosthenes refers to the festival of Heracles being brought into the city for safety reasons. Demosthenes states that 'five or six days after the destruction of Phocis, Aeschines' pay was stopped. Dercylus crossed from Chalcis and brought news to an assembly held at the Piraeus of the destruction of Phocis. Like him the Athenians were naturally appalled and horrified at the news. There was a decision to bring women and children in from the country districts, an order to bring the frontier posts into readiness, to fortify the Piraeus and hold the festival of Heracles in the city:' καὶ τὰ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐν ἄστει θυεῖν. Saunders (1975, footnote 50, p.86) notes that this festival was normally held outside the city. The inference here is on the importance of bringing it into the city on this occasion, for the safety of the people of the city. It is interesting that Plutarch's story shows it happening within the city walls as a common event; perhaps this is an echo of later practice.

494 Cornell.

495 Nilsson, 1925, 257, also Miller, 2004b, 145.

According to Gallis, it was first initiated in 196 BC⁴⁹⁶, but this date seems contentious. Schmitz suggests that it was instituted by the Greeks after the battle of Plataea, in 479 BC⁴⁹⁷, and that 'it was intended not merely to be a token of their gratitude to the god to whom they believed themselves to be indebted for their victory over the barbarians, but also as a bond of union among themselves'.⁴⁹⁸

Plutarch (*Aristides* 21.1-2) describes the Eleutheria, in which the main event comprises a procession included in a general assembly of all the Greeks. He writes that Aristides carried through a decree that delegates from all the Greek states should assemble every year at Plataea for the celebration of the Eleutheria. Aristides also instructed that in every fourth year contests known as the Eleutheria be celebrated there to commemorate the freedom of Greece.⁴⁹⁹ These propositions were ratified, and the Plataeans undertook to make funeral offerings annually for the Greeks who had fallen in battle and lay buried there. There is a brief reference to the trumpet, when Plutarch describes a procession, led by a trumpeter sounding the signal for battle: ἤς προηγείται μὲν ἄμ' ἡμέρα σαλπικτῆς ἐγκελευόμενος τὸ πολεμικόν, and I discuss this passage (which is linked to a sacrifice) in more detail in 4.5.2.

We may note an inscription which shows the trumpet and herald competition winners at the Eleutheria, in Thessaly. Stephanis dates it to 188 or 187 BC.⁵⁰⁰ The inscription appears to be from a victor list, and was found on a dark blue stone, damaged, but decorated.

IG IX 2 525⁵⁰¹

Ἀγωνοθετουντος τῶν Θεσσαλ.
Ἀνδροσθένου τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ Γυρτωνίου
οἱ νενικηκότε στα Ἐλευθέρια
σαλπιστάς :
Νικόδρομους Ναυστράτου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λάρισσας,
κήρυκας :

496 Gallis, 1988, 218.

497 Schmitz, 1875, 455.

498 *ibid.* Strabo (9.10) mentions the Eleutheria: every fifth year these solemnities were celebrated with contests (ἀγῶν τῶν Ἐλευθερίων) in which the victors were rewarded with chaplets (ἀγῶν γυμνικὸς στεφανίτης).

499 Dillon, 1997, 28.

500 Stephanis, 1988, no.1834, 328.

501 Kern, 1908, 135.

Φιλιστίων Δημοφωντος Βοιώτιος.

It records the trumpeter Nikodromos, son of Naustratos, from Larisa, and the herald Philistion son of Demophon, from Boeotia. Here we see the word *σαλπιστάς* for trumpeter, which appears on inscriptions from the 3rd century BC at least (see 4.4). The inscription also shows the name of the *agonothetes*, Androstenos from Thessaly.

4.1.4 Demostheneia

The next festival that I have included here is a civic festival from the Greek world under Roman rule.⁵⁰² An inscription, *SEG* 38.1462B,⁵⁰³ records the foundation of the Demostheneia by a wealthy benefactor called Julius Demosthenes. He carried out this theatrical (*thymelic*) festival during the last years of his life after he had retired from imperial service as a senior equestrian official.⁵⁰⁴ The Demostheneia was founded in Lycia in 124 AD, under the auspices of the emperor Hadrian. Csapo & Slater write that it is our last detailed record of the institution of dramatic festivals.⁵⁰⁵ Held in Hekatombaion (modern-day July), it spans a period of twenty-two days, with twelve days of competitions, and Csapo & Slater point out that the athletic events were relegated to one day at the end of the Demostheneia.⁵⁰⁶

The full inscription is 117 long lines,⁵⁰⁷ and it starts with a fulsome panegyric from the emperor Hadrian to Julius Demosthenes in praise of his achievements in setting up the festival. The main focus of interest for us is at lines 38-39:

Ἡ δ[ὲ τ]άξις καὶ αἱ
ἡμέραι τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ὑπόκειται ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπανγγελίᾳ Ἄρτεμειοῦ
σε-βα[στῆ] ἀγῶν σάλπιγκτῶν καὶ κηρῦκων, ὧν τοῖς ν[ευκῆ]σασιν
δοθήσεται ἄθλου ἀνὰ ͵χ ν´

'The arrangement and the dates of the competitions are set out below in this announcement: On the Augustus day of the month of Artemisios, the date being 1st July, a competition for trumpeters and heralds, in which the winners shall be given 50 denarii each'.⁵⁰⁸

502 Van Nijf, 2010, 180.

503 Mitchell (1990, 183) states that it is the largest exposition of a single inscribed document from the ancient world that has ever been published.

504 *ibid*, 183-184. Mitchell records that the inscription was found in 1967, copied fully in 1969, and broken up soon after by local treasure seekers.

505 Csapo & Slater, 1994, 189.

506 *ibid*, 187.

507 Mitchell, 1990, 184.

508 Wörrle, 1988, 4–17.

I would argue that this competition for the trumpeter and herald was held for the same reasons as those that took place during the Olympic Games, namely to announce and start events. The inscription lists all the financial prizes that could be won: from highest to lowest these were 'solo singer to the lyre (first prize 300 denarii, with a second prize of 150 denarii); tragedy (first 250 denarii, second 125 denarii); comedy (first 200 denarii, second 100 denarii); pipers with a choir (first 125 denarii, second 75 denarii); poets and writers of encomiasts in prose (probably praising the emperor; one prize for each, and no second prize, 75 denarii); and finally the trumpeter and the herald (50 denarii each).⁵⁰⁹ 50 denarii is the lowest amount available, and trumpeters and heralds were therefore probably considered to be the least important, and even perhaps the least technically competent.

Mitchell makes the point that 'most of the competitors who would take part in the festival were professionals from outside the city with a busy schedule, and like any modern impresario the *agonothete* had to book participants long in advance'.⁵¹⁰ Even so, I think that the trumpeters and heralds were considered professionals, although their training needs compared with those of the actors would probably have been minimal. The trumpeter had to possess an instrument, and powerful lungs in order to produce a note (from an instrument which compared with the trumpet of modern times must have been very basic). The herald needed to be able to project his voice over the distances involved to make his announcements. In contrast, a tragic actor not only had to learn his lines to become word-perfect but could also be on stage for the duration of a performance, whereas the trumpeter and herald could possibly appear for just a few minutes at a time. The trumpeter might only have to produce a single blast on his instrument, and the herald to speak a few words, so their smaller prizes do seem justified. This inscription throws a stimulating light on the perceived relative values of the prizes made available to the winners at this dramatic festival, and I shall examine other categories of prizes for a variety of contests in a later section (4.2.6).

⁵⁰⁹ *ibid*; Csapo & Slater, 1994, 189.

⁵¹⁰ Mitchell, 1990, 88.

4.1.5 Ptolemy of Alexandria.

Athenaeus mentions a procession of Ptolemy of Alexandria in *Deipnosophistae* 10.415a. Such processions were a great feature of the Hellenistic courts.⁵¹¹ In a report of a procession originally described by Kallixenus of Rhodes,⁵¹² Athenaeus also provides a tantalising glimpse of a trumpeter and a herald (5.198a). He reports Kallixenus' writings, but we have no dates or specific information. The only suggestions that can be offered are that the Procession occurred during the reign in Alexandria of Ptolemy II Philadelphus,⁵¹³ and that the Ptolemaia, an Alexandrian dynastic festival, was set up by Ptolemy II in 279/278 BC (his reign covered the period 285 BC to 246 BC).⁵¹⁴

The procession appears to have been as mad as it was magnificent, and Haldane cites the 'ostentatious Dionysiac procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria (which) included a massed choir of six hundred men and a party of three hundred kitharists.'⁵¹⁵ Athenaeus tells us that amongst the people in the procession were two *silenoï* in purple military cloaks and high white boots. One of them wore a broad-brimmed hat and was carrying a gold herald's staff, while the other carried a trumpet:

εἶχε δ' αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν πέτασον καὶ κηρύκειον χρυσοῦν, ὁ δὲ σάλπιγγα.

Athenaeus does not tell us if the instrument was actually played, or merely held as a prop, but here albeit briefly, we see another link between the parallel roles of the trumpeter and the herald. Both the trumpet and the herald's staff act as visual images of the tradesman's craft, enhanced with the description of their apparel.

Rice suggests that some of the participants in Ptolemy's Grand Procession may have been members of the Egyptian Guild of the Artists of Dionysus.⁵¹⁶ She links Athenaeus' text of 5.198a with the initial entry of the Guild, signalled by the ceremonial heralds, and suggests that the trumpeter Thrasymachos appears as a signatory of one of the two Ptolemais-Hermoiu inscriptions (one follows here) which must indicate that he was a

511 Walbank, 1967, 359.

512 *On Alexandria* Bk.4 (*FgrH* 627 F 2); Douglas Olson, 2006, 449.

513 Thompson, 2005, 280.

514 Rice, 1983, 164.

515 Haldane, 1966, 100, citing Athenaeus 5.201ff.

516 Rice, 1983, 55-56. She mentions the generosity of Ptolemy Philadelphus to Dionysiac performers: it appears that he favoured the arts.

bona fide member of that local Guild.⁵¹⁷

OGIS 51, 3.64. ⁵¹⁸

αὐλητῆς τραγικό[ς]
Θραικίδης.
σάλπιγκτής:
Θρασύμαχος.
σκευοποιός : Βάτων.

Thrasymachos, the trumpeter, is honoured here between the names of Thraikides, the tragic piper, and Baton, the mask maker. The next two lines of the inscription, not shown here, refer to Demetrios and Mousaios, honorary guests. The inscription is dated by Csapo & Slater to c.240 BC,⁵¹⁹ and offers an intriguing glimpse of the trumpeter listed with other members of the acting group.

From the festivals of ancient Greece I now turn to the ancient Games.

4.2 The Games.

4.2.1 An overview.

'The competitive agon', Mitchell observes, 'had been central to the religious and cultural life in the Greek *polis* since earliest times, but arguably its importance grew as other features of civic life were eclipsed and transformed.'⁵²⁰ Eventually, the agonistic festivals, referred to briefly in the previous section, and in particular the Great Panathenaia, came to comprise four separate components: the procession, including a torch race carrying new fire; a sacrifice; a contest; and a banquet, usually in that order.⁵²¹ Pausanias tells us that the first recorded *agon*, or contest, at Olympia was a single foot-race,⁵²² approximately 200 metres long, in 776 BC.⁵²³ From this event the Olympic Games developed, although in this instance it may be that Pausanias' statement is flawed.⁵²⁴ The athletic circuit, *periodos*, was held at four different venues: the Olympian,

517 *ibid.*

518 Stephanis, 1988, no.1230, p.224.

519 Csapo & Slater, 1994, 248.

520 Mitchell, 1990, 189.

521 *ibid.*

522 Pausanias 5.8.6, and 8.26.3-4, refer to Koroibos, whose tomb is at Elis and whose inscription reads that when the only prizes were for running, he was the first man to win at Olympia. Frazer (1965, 486) points out in his commentary on Pausanias that Eusebius also states that Koroibos won the foot-race at the first Olympiad.

523 Burkert, 1987, 232. For other secondary literature regarding the *agon* see Phillips and Pritchard, 2003, xii – xiii, 163-4.

524 Crowther (2003, 68) states that 'although I follow (in this chapter) the traditional date of 776

Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games. These four venues eventually formed the Panhellenic games, and each had its own god (or gods).

The Olympic games at Olympia were held in honour of the god Zeus.⁵²⁵ The Pythian games at Delphi were in honour of Apollo, and were celebrated every four summers, from either 586 or 582 BC, at the oracular shrine at Delphi.⁵²⁶ The Isthmian games were held in the spring or early summer of alternate years at the sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth, founded in 582 BC.⁵²⁷ The Nemean games were held in honour of both the god Zeus and the goddess Athena, firstly at Nemea, then for much of antiquity at Argos, starting in 574 BC.⁵²⁸ Of these, the Pythian games were the only true “musical” games in that there were contests for singing to the flute (*aulos*), and flute-playing without song.⁵²⁹ Pausanias (6.14.9) writes that the victor of the flute-playing in the first Pythiad was Sakadas, who won in 586 BC, and then again in 582 BC and 578 BC. Sakadas also initiated the Pythian *nomos*, in which he described the combat of Apollo with Python.⁵³⁰

Barker, citing Pollux *On.* 4.84, writes that the *Pythikos nomos* has five parts, *peira*, *katakeleusmos*, *iambikon*, *spondeion*, and *katachoreusis*, and in one of these there is reference to the *salpinx*.⁵³¹ The *nomos* is a representation of the battle of Apollo against the serpent, where in the *peira* ('test', or 'trial') Apollo surveys the ground to see if it is

BC for the first Olympics, the archaeological evidence points to a time about 700 BC (perhaps 704 BC).' In an earlier text Mallwitz (1988, 101) agrees, but reaches his conclusion on a different basis. König (2010, 21) writes that 'Olympia seems to have been a meeting place for west-Greek chiefs in the early 8th century BC and before, slowly expanding through the 8th and 7th centuries BC.' The question of the date of the first Olympiad is a relevant one to consider at this point. Christesen (2007, Appendix 12, 491-504) believes that Hippias linked the first Olympiad to Lycurgus and his connection to the kings of Sparta, with associated knowledge, and he adds that 'although certainty is impossible, evidence and logic both point in the same direction'. Yalouris (1994, 289) writes that the list of Olympic victors was compiled for the first time in about 400 BC (four years prior to the first recorded trumpet competition winner) by Hippias, the Elean sophist 'who probably drew on the records at Olympia, oral traditions and the recollections of those still living'. Even though the governing word “probably” appears here, it is all the same an intriguing thought that Hippias made a list that still stands today as a definitive guide to those ancient winners. In addition, this list includes heralds and trumpeters, and not solely “athletic” contest participants.

525 In his *Olympian Ode* 10, lines 23 -25, Pindar writes that the Olympian Games were founded by Heracles, in honour of Zeus. Pausanias also wrote about the contest of Heracles at Olympia in 5.8.1: γένος ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους ὄντα τοῦ Ἰδαίου, τὸν τε ἀγῶνα ἐν Ολυμπίᾳ.

526 Golden, 1998, 10.

527 *ibid.*

528 *ibid.*

529 Fontenrose, 1988, 127.

530 Michaelides, 1978, 294.

531 Barker, 1984, 51.

suitable for the contest. In the *katakeleusmos* ('challenge') he calls up the serpent. In the *iambikon* he fights,

ἐμπεριείληφε δὲ τὸ ἰαμβικὸν καὶ τὰ σαλπιστικὰ κρούματα καὶ τὸν ὀδοντισμὸν ὡς τοῦ δράκοντος,

and the *iambikon* also includes sounds like those of the *salpinx*, with a noise of gnashing like a serpent as it grinds its teeth after being pierced with arrows.

The *spondeion* represents the victory of the god, and in the *katachoreusis*, a dance of triumph, the god performs a dance of victory.⁵³² Barker explains that '*kroumata* are usually the sounds of a stringed instrument struck with a plectrum,'⁵³³ and Fontenrose suggests that the grinding noises of the serpent were probably made by an *aulos*.⁵³⁴ I suggest that the reference to the *salpinx* in this passage shows Pollux's intention to make the sound of the trumpet a celebration of the wounding of the serpent.

For the remainder of this section I focus mainly on the Olympic Games, with some comparative evidence from the Nemean, Pythian and Isthmian Games. There is more evidence available for the Olympic Games, both in literary sources as well as inscriptions and historical texts. I have not only studied references to the contests, but also the winners of the trumpet and herald competitions. I start, therefore, with the Sacred Truce, and then progress through the various stages of the events, observing the use of the trumpet and its players.

4.2.2 The Sacred Truce.⁵³⁵

The Panhellenic Games were announced by groups of heralds: they were sometimes called sacred envoys, *theoroi*, or sacred heralds, *spondophoroi*.⁵³⁶ *Theoroi*, literally 'viewers', were delegates sent by states to represent them officially at festivals as a mark of piety.⁵³⁷ These heralds travelled from city to city prior to the event.⁵³⁸ The authorities

532 *ibid.*

533 *ibid.*, 51¹⁵.

534 Fontenrose, 1988, 127.

535 Thucydides, 5.49: 'a sacred truce was proclaimed by heralds sent to all the Greek States. Any soldier in arms entering Elis during the Olympian festival was treated as a prisoner of war, who could not return to his own State until he had been ransomed' (Warner, 1972, 380-381).

536 Dillon, 1997, xvi.

537 *ibid.*

538 Miller (2003, 5, and notes 18/19, p.33) refers to fragments of inscriptions found at Nemea: Nemea Inventory I 73 and I 85, which contain references to the sacred envoys. For more on the *spondophoroi* see Kyle, 2007, 156; Swaddling, 2004, 11; and *LSJ* 1629.

realised that the Games could not be a success if the many long-drawn out wars, in which the Greeks participated on an on-going basis, continued whilst the Games were in progress. For a *polis* to lose their best athletic contestants on the battlefield would be a disaster additional to that of losing the battle.

A group of sacred heralds was therefore authorised to leave Olympia in the spring of each Olympic year, and to travel across Greece 'proclaiming the forthcoming Games'⁵³⁹ in the Sacred Truce, and to order the 'safe passage through any state for travellers to and from the games'.⁵⁴⁰ Pausanias even reports seeing 'the quoit of Iphitus' on which is inscribed 'the truce which the Eleans proclaim at the Olympic festivals' (5.20.1).

I have not found any evidence to indicate that a trumpeter accompanied the heralds in order to call the people to order. Perhaps in these instances there was no need for the support of the trumpeter because the people welcomed the visit, as it preceded the announcement about the imminent Games. The timing was of great relevance to the Greeks: Kyle notes that the date was fixed 'according to a complicated religious calendar, so that the third day of the Games always coincided with the second or third full moon after the summer solstice',⁵⁴¹ the solstice being very important for Greek ritual.

I shall demonstrate in the next sub-section why the trumpeter and herald competitions were probably important aspects of the Games. I believe they contributed to the overall growth and relevance of the contests at each Olympiad.

4.2.3 The 96th Olympiad in 396 BC:

Τιμαίος Ἠλεῖος, σαλπικτής, Κρατής Ἠλεῖος, κήρυξ.⁵⁴²

This important fragmentary inscription tells us about the winners of the first trumpet and herald competitions in 396 BC at Olympia. Timaios of Elis was the successful trumpeter, and Krates of Elis the successful herald. We may ask why, therefore, after nearly 400

539 Finley and Pleket, 1976, 26.

540 Kyle, 2007, 116. Xenophon's *Anab.* 7.4.31 shows that on one occasion in 364 BC the Eleans fought strongly and they kept pushing the enemy towards the altar: ἐμαχοντο μὲν οὐδεν ἤττον καὶ ἐώθουν πρὸς τὸν βωμόν thus demonstrating that by then at least the Sacred Truce had been allowed to lapse. For a different perspective on the Sacred Truce we turn to Strabo (8.3.33) who wrote of Elis that 'those who go through the country itself with an army give up their arms and then get them back again after they have passed out of its borders'.

541 Kyle, 2007, 26.

542 Moretti, 1957, *Olymp.* 374, (p.115) confirms the date of 396 BC as the 96th Olympiad. Stephanis, 1988, no.2410, 425, cites Eusebius *Chronicon* 1, 96th Olympiad.

years of Games (if the date of 776 BC is to be accepted as the first Olympiad⁵⁴³) did the authorities decide to hold a trumpeter and herald competition at the 96th Olympiad? Crowther asks the same question but offers no clear answer. He suggests that it may have been ‘a reflection of the greater democratisation of the festival as the Olympic Games became more Panhellenic’.⁵⁴⁴ I have found no evidence to suggest that there were earlier trumpet contests; I suggest this is due to the comparatively small numbers of events and contestants. However, as the four-yearly celebrations evolved, in the various festivals, the numbers of people both attending and participating increased each time. Some form of control must therefore have been required: partly for calling peoples’ attention, and also for signalling the start of an increased number of races.

My own response to the question is supported by the following table, which sets out a time-scale. This provides a picture of the new events that were gradually introduced in addition to the existing programme.⁵⁴⁵ It is clear that the short foot-race held in 776 BC, at the first recorded “Games” at Olympia, could not possibly have warranted the officials, including heralds and trumpeters, that were required at the later events.

Olympiad	Year BC	Event
1	776	Stade-race (short foot-race), <i>stadion</i>
14	724	<i>Diaulos</i> (double-length foot-race)
15	720	<i>Dolichos</i> (long-distance foot-race)
18	708	Pentathlon and wrestling
23	688	Boxing, <i>pyx</i>
25	680	<i>Tethrippon</i> (four-horse chariot-race)
37	632	Foot-race and wrestling for boys
38	628	Pentathlon for boys (immediately discontinued)
41	616	Boxing for boys
65	520	Race-in-armour, <i>hoplitodromos</i>
70	500	<i>Apene</i> (mule-cart race) discontinued in 444

543 See footnote⁵²⁴ earlier for a summary of the dating controversy.

544 Crowther, 1994, 135.

545 Christesen, 2007, 17, who draws on *POxy* II.222, a 3rd century BC inscription *IG* II² 2326, Pausanias, Philostratus, and the Eusebian Olympic victor list.

71	496	<i>Kalpe</i> or <i>anabates</i> race for mares discontinued in 444
96	396	Competition for heralds and trumpeters
99	384	Chariot-racing for teams of four colts
129	264	Chariot-racing for teams of two colts
131	256	Races for colts
145	200	<i>Pankration</i> for boys

Pausanias provides us with detail not of an increase in participants, but in the officials required. In 5.9.4-6, he notes that at the 50th Festival two presidents were appointed, and this figure continues 'for a long time after this. But at the 95th Festival nine umpires were appointed...at the second Festival after this the tenth umpire was added. At the 103rd Festival, the Eleans having twelve tribes, one umpire was chosen from each...this number has continued down to the present day', i.e. in the time of Pausanias, ca.150 AD.

During the time-span from 776 BC to 396 BC, the Games grew considerably, and extra events and races were "added" on, so that what started out as a single-event Olympiad gradually grew into a multi-event occasion. Christesen cites Philostratus' *On Gymnastics* (12) which states that 'the ancient Olympic Games until the 13th Olympiad consisted only of the *stadion*...the *diaulos* began in the 14th Olympiad...at the following Olympiad the *dolichos* began...the 18th Olympiad included the men's pentathlon and men's wrestling'.⁵⁴⁶

I think it likely that the increase in people and noise would have required organisation in 'control'. I therefore consider that the heralds and trumpeters, being by then more interlinked than previously, were the ideal solution to what was probably an increasing problem, and that by then they were also a recognised entity from the context of the battlefield.

I certainly agree with Crowther's comment that the introduction of the contest for trumpeters and heralds may have been 'a reflection of the greater democratisation of the

⁵⁴⁶ Christesen, 2007, 209. The *stadion*, *diaulos* and *dolichos* were all types of foot-race.

festival as the Olympic Games became more Panhellenic'.⁵⁴⁷ However, I also think that it was introduced not only for a more practical reason – that of numbers – but also to recognise the growing importance of the roles played by the trumpeter and herald. Easterling and Muir note that by 472 BC (i.e. 76 years before 396 BC) when the Games were reorganised following the Persian Wars under the management of Elis, they had swollen into a five-day festival.⁵⁴⁸ Easterling and Muir do not cite any ancient source evidence for this statement, but Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 5.6, composed for Psaumis of Kamarina, victor in the mule-chariot contest either in 460 or 456 BC, speaks of the five-day competitions.⁵⁴⁹ The Games held in 476 BC and 472 BC were the first Games to be held following the defeat of the Persians. I believe that the combination of a need to increase the time available to make the events viable, plus the pride of the Greeks in having defeated their enemy, led to the changes. This idea in turn supports my argument that the crowds had increased, and so strength of sound would be required, and to signal instructions to the contestants.

To conclude this section, I leave it to Himerius (a Greek rhetorician, c. 301-c.390 AD⁵⁵⁰) to give us his impression of what the trumpeter did at the Olympic Games. In one of his orations (*In auditores*, 61.1) he wrote:

'Let us honour the season for eloquence with an oration, so that, as if under the auspices of a lyre of the Muses, we may open Hermes' doors with a song. For if the pipe opens the doors of a bedchamber, if trumpets go in procession before agonothetes, καὶ προπομπεύουσι τῶν ἀγωνοθετούντων αἱ σάλπιγγες, and if pastoral melodies escort a flock of sheep, then surely, as the season for eloquence begins, it will bid eloquent words honour it'.

These words paint a vivid picture of the trumpeter leading the procession of judges at the start of the Games.

4.2.4 The site at Olympia.

Although writing circa 150 AD, and notwithstanding my doubts about some of his evidence, Pausanias is a very helpful source for the early Olympic Games. In 5.22.1, we read that at Elis in Olympia 'there is in the Altis an altar near the entrance leading to

547 Crowther, 1994, 135.

548 Easterling and Muir, 1985, 107.

549 The words πεμπταμέροις and ἑβδομήκοντα appear, and Fennell (1893, 55) explains that 'the number five refers only to three contests, the supposition that these were on the 1st, 3rd and 5th days respectively'.

550 *OCD*, 707.

the stadium. On it the Eleans do not sacrifice to any of the gods,

σάλπιγκταις δὲ ἐφεστηκόσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς κήρυξιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι
καθέστηκε,

but it is customary for the trumpeters and heralds to stand upon it when they
compete'.⁵⁵¹

I imagine that as the altar was a raised and sacred area, its position and significance would give prominence to the action. Of perhaps more importance, however, is the facility of 'sound' that it offered: a raised area would assist the performer to project either his instrument or his voice much further than a low-lying, flat area. It would also attract the spectators, as they would have a much better view of the proceedings. In addition, to hold a competition at the altar was clearly important from a religious point of view, and particularly as it effectively started the Games.

4.2.5 The races.

Evidence can be found in a variety of different sources which detail the events and races that appear to have included the trumpet, although these do range from reality to fiction. Pausanias (6.13.9) refers to a horse-race at the Games, which took place at some point in the last quarter of the 6th century BC. It is the only such race for which I have found any reference, and it is as close a representation of a horse race as we will probably achieve.⁵⁵²

Ἡ δὲ ἵππος ἢ τοῦ Κορινθίου Φειδώλα ὄνομα μὲν, ὡς οἱ Κορίνθιοι μνημονεύουσιν, ἔχει Αὔρα, τὸν δὲ ἀναβάτην ἔτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ δρόμου συνέπεσεν ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτήν. καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσον θέουσα ἐν κόσμῳ περὶ τε τὴν νύσσαν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤκουσεν, ἐπετάχυνεν ἐς πλεόν τὸν δρόμον, φράνει τε δὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς “ Ἐλλανοδικας ἀφικομένη καὶ νικῶσα ἔγνω καὶ παύεται τοῦ δρόμου. Ἡλεῖοι δὲ ἀνηγόρευσαν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκη τὸν Φειδῶλαν καὶ ἀναθεῖναι οἱ τὴν ἵππον ταύτην ἐφιασιν.

Here Pausanias tells us of a horse called *Aura*, or Breeze. He writes that in Elis, Olympia, the Corinthian Pheidolas had a mare called *Aura* (Breeze), who at the beginning of the race threw her rider. Nevertheless she carried on running, turned round the post, and, when she heard the trumpet, quickened her pace. She reached the

551 Frazer (1898, 628, notes) writes that the competition for the trumpeters was introduced at the 96th Olympiad in 396 BC; he lists many of the competitions, which I shall discuss later in this section.

552 Sadly, Frazer makes no comment on this passage in his commentary.

umpires first, realised she had won, and stopped running. The Eleans proclaimed Pheidolas the winner and allowed him to dedicate a statue of this mare in 512 BC.

Pausanias implies that the trumpet sounded somewhere either near the final bend, or at the beginning of the final circuit, similar to the use of a bell in such circumstances today, as a warning to the participants that the end of the race was approaching. Whether or not *Aura* was an experienced race participant is not specified. The fact that she continued running after her rider came off, and that she seems to have known that the trumpet sound signalled the approaching end of the race, indicates her likely awareness of the conventions of the event. In support of his story, Pausanias also records that he saw a carved relief in the Altis of a horse.⁵⁵³ The relief commemorated the subsequent victory in the horse race four years later by the sons of Pheidolas of Corinth, so there is evidence of the family at least, if not tangible evidence of the horse herself.

Sophocles writes in gruesome terms of the fictional death of Orestes in a chariot race in his *Elektra* (711), dated ca.418-410 BC⁵⁵⁴, using the mechanism of the Messenger's speech. The contestants, together with Orestes, are said to have stood in their allotted stations where the appointed judges placed them. At the signal from a bronze trumpet, they were off.

χαλκῆς ὑπαὶ σάλπιγγος ἤξαν.

Orestes drove tight at the corners barely grazing the edge of the post with his wheel, but he let go of the left rein as the horse was turning. He was himself thrown from the rails of the chariot, became tangled in the reins, and died a terrible death. This vivid description must have recalled reality for the theatre audience, and can even be seen as dramatically anachronistic: contemporary evidence thrown back into the heroic age, with a striking visual image that the audience would have relished.

I conclude this section with a non war-related reference from Aeschylus, who depicts a horse in *Seven Against Thebes* (ll.394–5):

ἵππος χαλινῶν ὡς κατασθμαίνων μένει,
ὅστις βοῆν σάλπιγγος ὀρθίαν κλύει.

⁵⁵³ Pausanias, 6.13.10: found on a slab dated 508 BC: καὶ ὁ τε ἵππος ἐπὶ στήλῃ πεποιημένος καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ

⁵⁵⁴ Storey and Allan, 2005, 255.

'like a horse breathing furiously waiting for the sound of the trumpet'.

Verrall notes that the trumpet was 'used for starting chariots in games; this, rather than use in a war, would occur to a Greek.'⁵⁵⁵ Aeschylus' audience are clearly expected to appreciate the simile probably drawn from such races. The horse awaits something, ready for the signal sound that would make it leap into action.

4.2.6 The honour of winning – and the prizes.

Evidence for the prizes gained in competitions is scarce and inconsistent, and the emphasis on 'excellence' accurately sums up the ethos of the Olympic Games. It reminds everyone that the reason for participating was for the sacred and symbolic honours each winner would gain; such symbolic honours were recognisable. Herodotus (8.26) writes of 'excellence' rather than money as the reason for a contest. Lucian wrote in his *Anacharsis* (9) that 'the victors could claim a crown of olive at Olympia, a crown of pine at Isthmia, a crown of wild celery at Nemea, the laurel-berries sacred to Apollo at Delphi and the oil of the olive at the Panathenaia'. Swaddling refers to these texts, and adds that other symbolic prizes included 'fresh celery at Corinth...and dried celery at Nemea'.⁵⁵⁶ Pausanias summarises (8.48.3):

'at Olympia a crown of wild olive from the sacred grove of Zeus in the Altis, at Delphi for the Pythia a crown from the leaves of the laurel sacred to Apollo, at Corinth for the Isthmia in honour of Poseidon a crown of pine, and at Nemea in the games for Nemean Zeus a crown of wild celery.'

Pausanias also notes 'a wild olive' growing at Olympia, from which the leaves are used to make the crowns 'which it is customary to give to winners of Olympic contests' (5.15.3). There were, however, more financially valuable prizes available, although in the main these are recorded for the athletes, rather than trumpeters and heralds.⁵⁵⁷ The inscription *IG I³ 131* states that 'a citizen who won at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia or Nemea shall have a free meal every day for the rest of their lives in the *prytaneion* and other civic honours'.⁵⁵⁸ Solon is recorded as having legislated 'rewards of 500 drachmas for Athenian Olympic victors',⁵⁵⁹ and on a more practical basis 'victory in the men's sprint at

⁵⁵⁵ Verrall, 1887, 39.

⁵⁵⁶ Swaddling, 2004, 94.

⁵⁵⁷ See 4.1.4 for a cash prize noted in *SEG* 38.1462B at the Demostheneia.

⁵⁵⁸ Miller, 2004b, 180.

⁵⁵⁹ Miller, 2004b, 82. Broneer (1962, 152) states that 'Solon's legislation of 500 drachmas is

the Panathenaic Games brought a prize of 100 *amphorae* of olive oil'.⁵⁶⁰

In contrast, Plutarch, in his *Precepts of Statecraft* 820 B (see 1.7.3), refers to statues that were erected for winners of both athletic and trumpet competitions: 'therefore we have no need of honours painted, modelled, or cast in bronze, in which even that which is admired is really the work of another;

ἐπαινείται γὰρ οὐχ ᾧ γέγονεν ἀλλ' ὑφ' οὗ γέγονεν ὡς ὁ σαλπικτῆς καὶ ὁ
δορυφόρος,

for the person who receives praise is not the man for whom the "trumpeter" or the "doryphorus," for example, was made, but the man by whom it was made. O'Sullivan notes that 'statues were made in honour of Olympic victors by the third quarter of the 6th century BC, a practice that continued into the 5th century BC.'⁵⁶¹ This is shown by Pausanias (6.18.7), who writes of Praxidamas, an athlete from the 59th Olympiad held in 544 BC, whom he says 'had the first epinician statue made in his honour.'

We should also of course consider the losers, as well as the victors. When the winner of each event was decided, the unsuccessful participants must have returned home, empty-handed. Pindar's *Pythian Ode* 8.86-87 tells about three youths at the Pythian festival, who entered into competitions but did not receive any honours, nor did they win any contests. Instead,

κατὰ λαύρας δ' ἐχθρῶν ἀπάροισι
πτώσσουντι, συμπφορᾷ δεδαγμένοι.

'they slunk along the bye-ways, aloof from their foes, sorely wounded by their mischance.'

This 'other side' of the contests is admirably depicted here by Pindar, with his striking verbal image of the pathos of these three losers.

4.2.7 The last day of the games

We have seen that the trumpeter and the herald were participants in the first competition of the first day at the Games, and that they were also responsible for the signals and verbal instructions for starting the races. Philostratus suggests their involvement at the end of the last day's events (*On Athletics* 7.37-39). Contrary to the rules of the Sacred

estimated by Young, 1984, 128-133 as roughly equivalent to 340,000 US dollars.'

⁵⁶⁰ Plutarch, *Solon*, 23.3.

⁵⁶¹ O'Sullivan, 2003, 76.

Truce, (see 4.2.2), Philostratus tells us that the Eleans were fighting continuously with the city of Dyme, and emotions were so fierce there was not even an armistice during the Olympic Games. On the day the Eleans were victorious, a hoplite who had fought in the battle is said to have run into the stadium, bearing the welcome news. Philostratus believed that this was possibly the reason for the first hoplite race, but he equally felt that 'it was added to the games because a war had begun, and the armistice had ceased, and arms were now required'.⁵⁶²

εἰ δὲ μὴ ῥαθύμως ἀκούεις τοῦ κήρυκος, ὄρᾳς ὡς ἐπὶ πάντων κηρύττει λήγειν μὲν τὸν τῶν ἄθλων ταμίαν ἀγῶνα, τὴν σάλπιγγα δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἐνυαλίου σημαίνειν προκαλουμένην τοὺς νέους εἰς ὄπλα · κελεύει δὲ τοῦτ' ἵ τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ τοῦλαιον ἀραμένους ἐκποδῶν ποι φέρειν, οὐχ ὡς ἀλειφομένους, ἀλλ' ὡς πεπαυμένους τοῦ ἀλειφῆσθαι.

'If you listen to the words of the herald, you see that he is announcing to the crowd that the games where prizes are given have come to an end, and that the trumpet is sounding the signal of Enyalios, that is, the god of war, calling the young men to arms. The herald's announcement also orders them to take the oil and carry it away, and not to oil their bodies, indicating that the time for using oil has passed'.⁵⁶³

If this story is true, it gives a realistic picture of what could have taken place. The sounding of the trumpet of Enyalios was a fitting end to the celebrations, reminding all who heard it that the reality of war was imminent. The trumpet here symbolises warfare, so this particular trumpet blast may have been a different sound from that used in the games, one more familiar to the listeners as a military signal for advance or retreat, rather than a signal to tell a noisy crowd to be quiet and come to order. We may therefore also have a form of trumpet parallelism, with the trumpet starting and ending the action at the Olympic Games.

The trumpeters, together with the heralds, not only had their own competitions, but were also responsible for issuing a summons to the crowd to attend various other events, or to obey certain instructions. I shall now discuss the evidence for these roles.

4.3 Trumpeters and heralds: proclamations and summons.

4.3.1 The trumpet and herald competitions.

⁵⁶² Sweet, 1987, 215.

⁵⁶³ *ibid.*

Swaddling has drawn up an imaginary programme of Olympian events for one of the Olympiads, some time after 396 BC.⁵⁶⁴ She writes that this programme 'is hypothetical since it contains not only all the events held around 100 BC but also, for interest, various contests which had been discontinued by that time.'⁵⁶⁵ The programme shows that the competition for the trumpeters and heralds was the first event, on the first day, after the swearing-in ceremony for the judges and the competitors. This is logical, since the purpose of having such a contest was to establish a means by which necessary announcements could be made prior to each event. It is not recorded whether the successful victors were then remunerated for subsequently having to work for the remainder of the Games.

Despite the inscription recording the winner of the trumpet competition in 396 BC, there is no record of another trumpet competition in the list of Olympic victors until 328 BC, when Herodorus of Megara is recorded as the winner.⁵⁶⁶ Thirty-two years after 396 BC, in 364 BC, the first herald's competition recorded, according to Pollux (*On.* 4.92), was won by Archias of Hybla.

πρότερον δ' Ὀλυμπίασι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κηρυττόντων, οἱ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ὑποδιηκονοῦντο, πρῶτος τῶν ξένων ἠγωνίσαστο τὰ Ὀλύμπια Ἀρχίας Ὑβλαῖος, καὶ τρεῖς ὀλυμπιάδας ἐφεξῆς ἐνίκα. ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ, καὶ εἰκῶν τίς ἦν αὐτῷ Πυθική καὶ ἐπίγραμμα:

Ὑβλαίῳ κηρύκι τόδ' Ἀρχία Ἐύκλεος υἱῷ.
δέξαι ἄγαλμ' εὐφρων Θοῖβ' ἐπάπημοσύνη,
ὄς τρεῖς ἐκάρυξεν τὸν Ὀλυμπία αὐτὸς ἄγωνα,

οὐθῦπὸ σαλίγγων οὐτ' ἀναδείγματ' ἔχων.

Here, Pollux writes that Archias, son of Eukleos, was the first foreign herald to win at the Games. He won three times in succession: 364 BC, 360 BC, and 356 BC.⁵⁶⁷ Pollux here tells us that a statue or image was set up at Delphi with an epigram, although no other record now exists of this.⁵⁶⁸ The final line of Pollux' report is intriguing: οὐθῦπὸ

⁵⁶⁴ Swaddling, 2004, 53.

⁵⁶⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶⁶ See also 3.2 and 4.5.5.

⁵⁶⁷ Yalouris, 1995, 294.

⁵⁶⁸ The use of a statue base for inscriptions can be seen from the inscription IvO 232, which was found on the base of a statue at Olympia, discussed in 4.4.

σαλπίγγων οὐτᾶναδείγματεῶν, 'neither by trumpet nor having a mouthpiece'. Pollux says that Archias did not need a trumpeter – he could silence the crowd alone. However, it is difficult to see how Archias could have silenced the crowd without a trumpeter. One possible answer may be suggested by the word ἀναδείγματα. *LSJ* (103) includes among its meanings 'a mouthpiece worn by public cryers to serve the purpose of our speaking-trumpets, cf. φορβειᾶ.' So was Pollux inferring that some heralds sometimes wore a mouthpiece of some sort, which somehow made the voice louder and more powerful than it would otherwise have been?⁵⁶⁹ Returning to *LSJ*, they tell us that the φορβειᾶ is 'a mouth-band of leather put like a halter round the lips of fifers or pipers to assist them in regulating the sound'.⁵⁷⁰ They cite Aristophanes' *Wasps* 582 and Plutarch 2.456b: the Plutarch reference is re: Marsyas and the *aulos*, and Aristophanes also refers to the *aulos* and the 'harness used to play it.' Neither of these sources hint at a link with the trumpet.

We know that the ancient dramatists dressed the actors in masks, whose trumpet mouths are a recognisable feature. I am not sure, however, that this is what Pollux meant. Wiles writes that 'the slave is distinguished from the free man by the distinctive stylized beard which forms a trumpet-shape around the mouth. While the beard of the old man's mask is made of real hair, the beard of the slave is solid'.⁵⁷¹ He adds that 'a more suggestive iconographic tradition is that which enlarges the mouth and eyes of the Hellenistic New Comedy mask, allowing the features of the actor to be discerned. The most striking example is a figurine from Asia Minor of the third century AD. Here the trumpet mouth of the slave becomes a kind of picture frame, allowing the audience to discern or divine the movement of the actor's mouth'.⁵⁷² In neither of these two

⁵⁶⁹ *LSJ* 277 show the words ἀλωτός φμιοί, and state that this was 'a nose-band with *auloi* on it which sounded like trumpets when the horses snorted'. They cite Aeschylus, Fragment 330; 'who had four fillies under yoke, their nostrils bound with fluted muzzles': φμιοῖσιν ἀλωτοῖσιν. Lloyd-Jones' translation (1963, 488) reads 'to produce a terrifying effect by a horse's breathing, or trumpeting, its bronze muzzle was pierced with holes, through which the sound issued, as through the pipes of a flute'.

⁵⁷⁰ *LSJ* 1950.

⁵⁷¹ Wiles, 1991, 153; 'by the time Plautus was writing (between c. 205 BC and 184 BC), the beard had become vestigial, and could scarcely be recognized as such; the trumpet was simply a grotesque frame for a grinning mouth.'

⁵⁷² *ibid*, 142.

references is there any suggestion that the mask contained any form of mouthpiece with which to enable the actor to project his voice, and in fact Wiles suggests in a later text that 'the point is not that the mouth functions as a megaphone but that the mask as a whole works as a resonator for the head'.⁵⁷³ Although theatrical masks may have amplified the actor's voice, I do not believe that Hesychius and Pollux were referring to this aspect in their writings. It does not seem possible that a herald would wear a mask, and I consider that Archias had developed a technique whereby he was able to project his voice, but without the addition of either megaphone or mouthpiece.



Fig.4.1: archer with *salpinx*, attributed to the Psiax painter, dated c.520-500 BC.

The black-figured painting on a *pinax* (plate) [Fig.4.1] shows the full detail of an archer, distinguishable by his 'costume' of a pointed cap, and long-sleeved top and trousers with harlequin markings. This costume is mostly Scythian in origin, as is the combined bow-case and quiver slung across his hips. Scythian archers were employed as mercenaries in Athens from the mid-6th century BC until 514 BC.⁵⁷⁴ The archer's *salpinx* is held in a downward position, and Paquette thinks that the marking around the lower face is a *phorbeia*.⁵⁷⁵ I cannot disagree, but as the *phorbeia* is more usually seen on a figure playing an *aulos*, if it is not a *phorbeia*, what is it?

⁵⁷³ Wiles, 2003, 151. See 1.3 regarding evidence of an earlier Egyptian megaphone dating from 1539 to 1069 BC.

⁵⁷⁴ British Museum website: www.britishmuseum.org .

⁵⁷⁵ Paquette, 1984, 76.

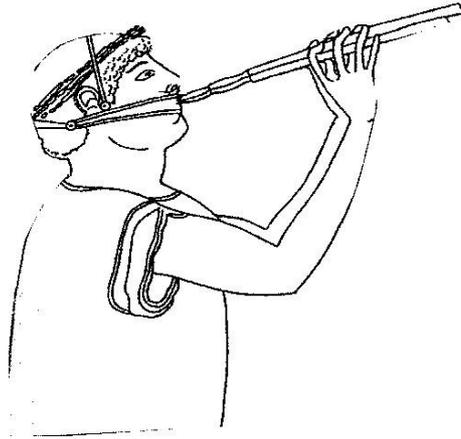


Fig.4.2: *aulos* player wearing a *phorbeia*.

When playing the *aulos*, the *phorbeia* was worn in order to keep the instrument in position whilst being played [Fig.4.2]. This was because some form of control would be necessary to keep the two flutes in place in the player's mouth. 'Sometimes *auletes* wore a leather strap or *phorbeia* over the mouth and around the head to combat the tiring effect that the back pressure from the reed had on the embouchure'.⁵⁷⁶

The *phorbeia* was pierced with two holes over the mouth for the insertion of the reeds, whereas with a single tube for the *salpinx* no such control would be needed. Perhaps the painter of Fig.4.1 was more familiar with the *aulos*, so drew on that instrument for his inspiration. We should also remember that the painter would be drawing from memory, and not from reality; he would probably not have been unduly concerned about the veracity of the object. This is a unique representation, and my interpretation is that it may be an error on the part of the painter, but an error that he repeats.

Fig.4.3 shows another plate attributed to the painter Psiax that dates from the same period as Fig.4.1, c.520 BC, depicting a helmeted trumpeter who also appears to be wearing a *phorbeia*.

576 Neuman, 1995.



Fig.4.3: Psiax plate, trumpeter, c.520 BC.

The similarity between the images may simply be due to the painter's methods. I believe that the comparison of the images shown at Figs.4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 has shown that the *phorbeia* is difficult to imagine as a means of enlarging the voice. Its general use as a mouth support for the *aulos* appears to be more practical, but it appears that it may have been accepted as a trumpet support also.

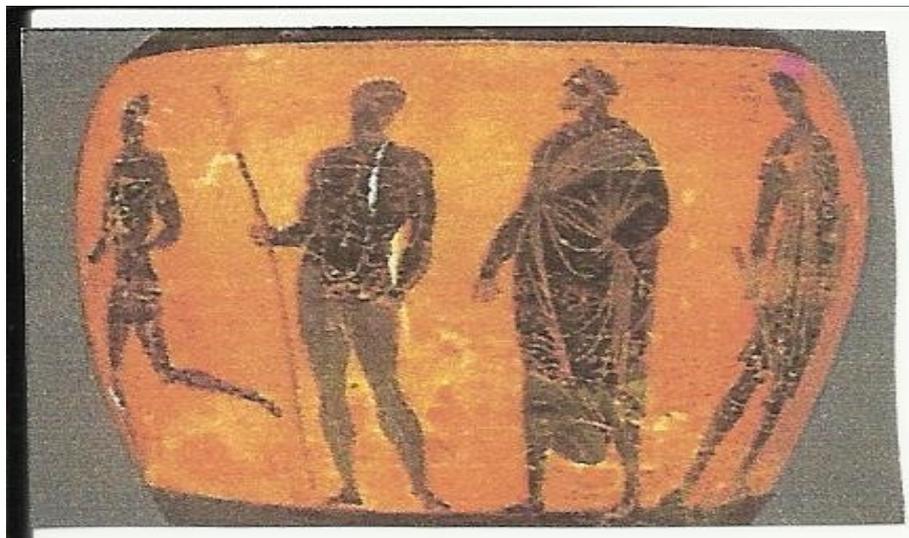


Fig.4.4: Vase painting showing an athlete, a winner, a herald, and a trumpeter, 340-339 BC.

Returning to the work of the herald, the important piece of visual evidence [Fig.4.4] from

a Panathenaic *amphora* of the Nikomachos series, dated from approximately 340/339 BC, perfectly illustrates the partnership between the trumpeter and the herald, alongside the participating athletes. The *amphora* depicts a herald, seen second from right, wearing a long *himation*. This item of clothing indicates the importance of his role as an orator at the event, where he has announced the winner. We see the winner standing at second left, holding tokens of victory: a palm branch, a crown, and a *tainia* (headband). The figure on the far left appears to be an athlete, running to the race, whilst the figure on the far right is the trumpeter, holding his *salpinx* in his hand, and wearing a *chiton*, *chlamys*, and military-style leggings.⁵⁷⁷ The clothing of the trumpeter, in contrast to that of the herald, is more aligned to the trumpeter of war than the trumpeter of peacetime.

Another Greek amphora [Fig.4.5] shows the winner of a horse-race, with a herald walking before the horse. The herald proclaims the victor with the words 'the horse of Duneikatiros wins,' which appear on the vase painting as if coming from the herald's mouth.

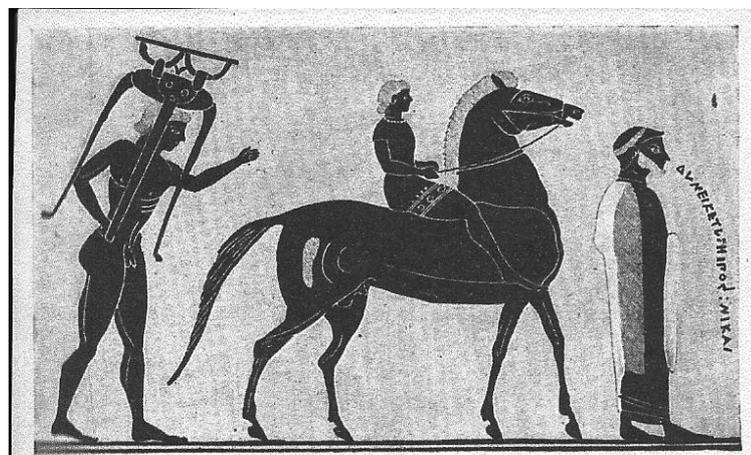


Fig.4.5: Greek amphora, dated c. 520 – 500 BC.

There is no trumpeter depicted in the painting, which could indicate the fact that it was commissioned solely for the horse-owner, or even for the herald. It is also now clear that the competition for heralds found men who could perform the voice-challenging duty of introducing events, and to proclaim the verdicts of the judges. We can even see a reference to a competition for heralds which was held at Olympia, mentioned by Lucian

⁵⁷⁷ Miller, 2004, 85.

(born c.120 AD), in "Peregrinus" 32: 'Finally, Proteus (Peregrinus) himself appeared, escorted by a countless multitude, after the contest of the heralds,' τῶν κηρύκων ἀγῶνος.

Pollux (*On.* 3.8) provides information regarding the functions of the trumpeter and the herald at the beginning of each race. Firstly, the herald, who 'proclaimed silence in the contests and rites, and declared the *ekecheiria* (truce, see 4.2.2), and announced the contestants'.⁵⁷⁸ Then the trumpeter played the summons: ἐφ' ἑκάστη δὲ τῇ κλησει τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν (ἢ σάλπιγξι) ἐπιφθέγγεται. Note here again the use of the distinctive 'sounding' word, ἐπιφθέγγεται.

For evidence about the end of the race we turn to the Scholia on Pindar, (Scholia on *Olympian Ode* 5.16)

ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι οἱ νικῶντες καὶ ἀπὸ πατέρων ἀνηγορεύοντο καὶ ἀπὸ προγόντων καὶ πόλεων.

'In the Games the winners are announced in terms of their fathers and their ancestors and cities.'

Drawing on this Miller suggests that at the end of the race the herald would officially announce the name of the winner, his father and his *polis* as he is presented with the palm branch and runs a victory lap.⁵⁷⁹ This information is given so that challenges could be voiced about the competitor's eligibility: whether he was under any charges of homicide or sacrilege, if he was a citizen of good standing in his city-state or an exile, or a Greek,⁵⁸⁰ all of which were very important to the ancient Greeks.

In these situations it is significant that the role of the trumpeter was to support the herald, and to prepare the crowd for the herald's announcements: this perhaps indicates the perceived relative significance of the role of both participants.

Miller notes that 'the winners of these competitions were regarded as Olympic victors with all rights and privileges appropriate to them', even if they had 'to work after their

578 Lee, 2001, 33.

579 Miller, 2003, 22.

580 Miller, 2004, 121-122.

victories in making the public announcements for the remainder of the Games'.⁵⁸¹ He stresses the point that the trumpet and herald competitions were not athletic, or gymnastic, or even *mousikoi agones*, but an individual method of starting the Olympic Games with a real purpose. In a fitting conclusion to this section Gardiner notes that 'the Olympic records of Africanus end with Olympiad 249 (217 AD); the last victor recorded on Olympic inscriptions is the herald Valerius Eclectus of Sinope'.⁵⁸² This herald was three times *periodonikes*, as he had won four times in Olympia during the 256th, 258th, 259th and 260th Olympiads, namely in 245, 253, 257, and 261 AD.⁵⁸³

4.3.2 The daily work of the trumpeters and heralds.

Although Homeric epic only refers to the trumpet twice in the *Iliad*, and not at all in the *Odyssey* (see 2.1), even in the archaic period the role of the herald seems to have been to call for silence. Talthybios, the herald of Agamemnon, is mentioned in *Iliad* 1.319-320: 'to Talthybios he gave his orders and Eurybates who were heralds and hard-working henchmen'. It is then not until *Iliad* 23.566-569 that we read 'But now, Menelaos, heart full of bitterness, stood up among them in relentless anger against Antilochus, and the herald put the staff into his hand, ἐν δ' ἄρα κῆρυξ χειρὶ σκῆπτρον ἔθηκε, and gave the call for the Argives to be silent.' The staff was the herald's visible sign of authority, as well as giving a clue to the bearer's role, just as the trumpet in the hands of the trumpeter demonstrated his position and occupation.

My earliest example which looks at the "formal" use of the trumpet in everyday life is found in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* 566-573, and here again we see the association of the trumpet and herald. Athena issues the instruction to the herald, with a clear imperative and cognate vocative that may perhaps have been a form of this familiar command, to give the signal and restrain the crowd while she outlines her new laws.⁵⁸⁴

κήρυσσε, κῆρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργαθοῦ,
ἢ τ' οὖν δε διάτορος Τυρσηνικὴ σάλπιγξ,

581 *ibid*, 57.

582 Gardiner, 1910, 192.

583 König, 2010, 127

584 Sommerstein comments that 'στρατῶι may give a hint at the word's usual military sense', (1989, 187); compare 2.1 for other aspects of this passage.

βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη,
ὑπέρονον γήρυμα φαινέτω στρατῷ.
πληρουμένου γὰρ τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου
σιγᾶν ἀρήγει καὶ μαθεῖν θεσμούς ἐμούς
πόλιν τε πᾶσαν εἰς τὸν αἰανῆ χρόνον
καὶ τούσδ' ὅπως ἂν εὖ καταγνωσθῆ δίκη.

The formal use of κήρυσσε, κήρυξ here is relevant: *LSJ* 949 states that this is to 'convene the people by the voice of the herald', and they cite two other passages where this combination of words can be found. The first is in *Iliad* 2.438, with Nestor saying

ἀλλ' ἄγε, κήρυκες, μὲν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτῶνων
λαὸν κηρύσσοντες ἀγειρόντων κατὰ νῆας,

'but come, let the heralds of the bronze-clad Achaeans make proclamations',

and the second is in *Odyssey* 2.8, with

αἶψα δὲ κηρύκεσσι λιγυφθόγγοισι κέλευσε κηρύσσειν ἀγορήνδε κάρη
κομόωντας Ἀγαιούς,

'and he ordered the clear-voiced heralds to summon the Assembly'.

Stage directions were of course not given in the ancient plays, and only if an actor specifically uttered words such as "I see you holding a trumpet" could we assume the physical presence of the instrument on stage. However, there is some controversy amongst commentaries on this passage; was there a trumpet on stage with the trumpeter, as well as the herald, or not? Here Taplin suggests that 'since it is not in the text the audience presumably did not hear any κήρυγμα'.⁵⁸⁵ He also suggests that 'presumably the trumpet is heard in the theatre but it is strange that there is no παρεπιγράφη'.⁵⁸⁶ Perhaps, as Taplin surmises, this single passage leads to the inclusion of the trumpet amongst the list of special stage effects in the later *Life of Aeschylus*, which says that 'he (Aeschylus) was 'the first to enhance tragedy with highly heroic effects and to decorate the stage and to astound his audiences' eyes with splendour, through pictures and devices, with altars and tombs, trumpets, images and Furies.'⁵⁸⁷

585 Taplin, 1977, 393.

586 *ibid.* (*LSJ* 1063: παρεπιγράφη – a stage direction written in the margin).

587 Lefkowitz, 1981, 159. However, she adds that 'the list of discoveries attributed to Aeschylus in the *Vita* should be regarded with equal caution' (73-74).

Lloyd-Jones does not mention either a trumpeter or a herald accompanying Athena on stage, merely noting that Athena enters with Apollo and Orestes,⁵⁸⁸ but at the end of Athena's introduction, after line 573, Lloyd-Jones offers an alternative suggestion with 'there is a pause; the herald blows his trumpet,'⁵⁸⁹ thus in one instant combining the two roles into one. This cannot have happened: there is no evidence that the trumpeter and the herald were one man, so Lloyd-Jones is incorrect here.

For this formal occasion, Sommerstein suggests that perhaps the trumpeter would have accompanied the procession,⁵⁹⁰ and that Athena would not have addressed the order to sound the trumpet to the herald, as the herald's equipment did not include the instrument.⁵⁹¹ He cross-references these lines with a fragmentary inscription *IG II² 1635.39*,⁵⁹² from a victor list, which dates from 374/373 BC:

κ]αὶ σάλπικται καὶ κῆρυκι καὶ τῶι ὑ[πήρεται.

We can only see the words for trumpeter and herald, and what appears to be a reference to an attendant, or public servant (*LSJ* 1872r, ὑπήρετης). Although there are no names here, this inscription provides further evidence from the early part of the 4th century BC where the two occupations of trumpeter and herald were recorded in winners' lists. Sommerstein therefore clearly distinguishes the trumpeter and the herald as his reason for separating the two occupations so definitively. Collard suggests that Athena came in accompanied by a herald and a trumpeter, so he too thinks that there was a trumpeter on stage together with some sort of formal procession.⁵⁹³ He also questions when the trumpet was actually sounded – was it at once, or only when Athena formally institutes the court in the later passage at line 681?⁵⁹⁴

Taplin suggests that as there were normally only three actors playing the various parts, 'it was difficult to set up an effective trial scene on the Greek tragic stage'.⁵⁹⁵ Aeschylus however cleverly circumvents this difficulty by making the bold decision to use the

588 Lloyd-Jones, 1963, 44.

589 *ibid*, 46.

590 Sommerstein, 1989, 186-7.

591 *ibid*.

592 Kirchner, 1927, 271 – 275.

593 Collard, 2002, 100.

594 *ibid*, 215 – 216.

595 Taplin, 1978, 106.

Chorus as the prosecutors, and to employ a group of extras to comprise the jury. This does not leave any leeway for spare actors to play the part of either the trumpeter or the herald.

Despite this, I agree with both Sommerstein and Collard that the trumpeter was probably present. In this dramatic description of the formal procession, with the herald and a trumpeter, the goddess Athena is also present. The herald's signal to the trumpeter, to sound the *salpinx* with its auditory instruction to the assembled group would have been familiar to the audience. The reference to the Tyrrhenian trumpet is relevant, as Aeschylus recognised that the Tyrrhenians were known to be a war-like people who used trumpets. His use of the description here gives power and strength to the whole passage. Sommerstein notes that this was the earliest reference to the tradition that the trumpet was an Etruscan invention,⁵⁹⁶ as I have explored in 1.6.

To demonstrate how the trumpet was used to introduce actors and other performers I turn again to Pollux. In *On.* 4.88, he relates the story of the comic actor, Hermon. Csapo & Slater note that this passage was written ca. 170 AD, but it refers to an event in the last quarter of the 5th century BC.⁵⁹⁷

Ἑρμων ἦν κωμωδίας ὑποκριτῆς ἄλαχων δὲ μετὰ πολλοὺς ὁ μὲν ἀπὴν τοῦ θεάτρου, τῆς φωνῆς ἀποπειρώμενος, τῶν δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντων ἐκπεσόντων Ἑρμωνα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνεκάλει, ὁ δ' οὐχ ὑπακούσας, ζημίᾳ πληγείς, εἰσηγήσατο τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆ σάλπιγγι τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἀνακαλεῖν.

'Hermon was a comic actor. As he was scheduled by lot to perform after several others, he was absent from the theatre exercising his voice. Because all the other performers were hissed off the stage, the herald called upon Hermon, but the latter did not come forward and incurred a fine. From that time on they introduced the performers by trumpet'.⁵⁹⁸

A Roman parallel to the employment of the trumpeter as a means of making an official summons is found in Plutarch's biography of Gaius Gracchus, 3.4. Plutarch records that Gaius Gracchus had just told the people that they stood by and watched while men beat Tiberius to death with clubs, and that they observed his dead body being dragged through the midst of the city to be thrown into the Tiber. Afterwards, those of his friends

⁵⁹⁶ Sommerstein, 1989, 187.

⁵⁹⁷ Csapo & Slater, 1994, 119.

⁵⁹⁸ Pickard-Cambridge (1953, 65) notes that this custom, introduced at the City Dionysia, 'is said to have been instituted by the failure of the actor Hermon to appear at the right moment.'

who were caught, were put to death without a trial. But he adds

εἴ τις ἔχων δίκην θανατικὴν μὴ ὑπακούει, τούτου πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἔωθεν ἐλθόντα σάλπιγκτὴν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἐπιφέρειν ψῆφον αὐτῷ τοὺς δικαστάς.

'yet it is a long-established custom among us that, if any man is charged with a capital offence and does not answer the summons, then a trumpeter must go to the door of his house in the morning and summon him forth by the sound of the trumpet, and not until this is done are the jurors permitted to vote upon his case'.

This evidence therefore offers another example of how the trumpet could be used to summon someone when the vocal call failed.

Artemidorus summarises the use of the sacred trumpet in both peacetime and on the battlefield in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 1.56⁵⁹⁹. Artemidorus directly compares the voice of the herald with that of the trumpet: the instrument is loud and compelling, and the herald needed to have both these qualities in his job of calling the crowds to order.

τὸ δὲ κηρύσσειν τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ σάλπιζειν σημαίνει, πλὴν ὅτι τοὺς δούλους οὐ χάριτι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀλλὰ ἀναφωνήσαντας ἐλευθερωθῆναι λέγει.

'Being a herald has the same meaning as playing a trumpet, except that it also indicates that slaves will gain their freedom, not through an act of grace by their masters but rather by claiming it themselves'.

My interpretation of this is that the sound of the trumpet spurs the slaves into taking action on their own behalf. In effect, the trumpet issues a metaphorical instruction or command, while the herald issues a vocal summons to the people.

4.3.3 The words spoken by the herald.

In this section I examine further the relationship between the trumpeter and the herald, and in particular any evidence that establishes what the herald actually said at peacetime events.

In *Against Timocrates* 20 Demosthenes refers to the herald having read prayers:

ἐπειδὴν εὔξεται ὁ κήρυξ,

and in *On the Crown* 170 (referred to in 3.1.9, in connection with the fall of Elateia) Demosthenes does not tell us what the trumpeter did, or even why he was there; we may assume his role was to give signals with his instrument. The herald, however, put

599 See 1.3.2, 1.7.1, 1.7.4, 2.5, and 3.1.3.

the question “who wishes to speak?” to the Assembly (*Boule*):

ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ “τίς ἀγορευεῖν βουλευται”; παρήει δ’ οὐδεῖς.

No-one came forward so the herald put the question many times but still to no avail:

πολλάκις δε τοῦ κηρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, μᾶλλον ἀνιστατ’ οὐδεῖς.

According to Polybius (*Histories* 18, 46.3-10), an amazing announcement was made by a herald, accompanied by a trumpeter, at the Isthmian Games in 196 BC. These Games followed the defeat of Philip V of Macedon in 197 BC at Cynoscephalae by Titus Quinctius Flaminius.⁶⁰⁰ At this spectacular ceremony Titus was persuaded to set Corinth free at once, and the proclamation announced that the Corinthians (amongst other Greeks) would be free. This meant no garrisons, and no tribute, hence their surprise. The crowd gathered in the stadium to witness the games,

προελθὼν ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ <κατα>σιωπησάμενος τὰ πλήθη διὰ τοῦ σαλπικτοῦ τόδε <τὸ> κήρυγμα ἀνηγόρευσεν·

and the herald came forward and having imposed universal silence by his trumpeter, read a proclamation. The crowd were amazed at this announcement, and

προάγειν τὸν κήρυκα καὶ τὸν σαλπικτήν εἰς μέσον τὸ στάδιον καὶ λέγειν πάλιν.

'wanted to hear the proclamation again, not believing what they had heard, and they demanded loudly that the herald and the trumpeter should advance into the middle of the stadium and repeat the announcement'.

But then the herald, coming forward to the middle of the stadium and again silencing the noise by means of his trumpeter, repeated the proclamation.⁶⁰¹

ὡς δὲ πάλιν ὁ κῆρυξ, προελθὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ κατασιωπησάμενος διὰ τοῦ σαλπικτοῦ τὸν θόρυβον...

Relating the same story, Plutarch (*Lives*, Titus Flaminius, 10.3-5), possibly drawing on Polybius as his source, uses the same facts but adds that the herald's second (and repeat) announcement was made more eagerly than previously: the trumpeter signalled a general silence and the herald made the proclamation: τῇ σάλπιγγι δὲ σιωπῆς εἰς

⁶⁰⁰ *OCD* 1289. Walbank (1967) makes no comment on the trumpet in this passage.

⁶⁰¹ Livy (33. 32.3-6) repeats the story.

ἅπαντας διαδοθείσης, προελθὼν εἰς μέσον ὁ κήρυξ. The people did not believe what they had heard, and demanded to hear it again. Both Polybius and Plutarch give the herald prominence in their re-telling of the story, with the trumpeter firstly sounding the silence, and then the herald being given centre stage – twice. This story for me indicates that in this instance the trumpet is considered of secondary importance to the herald, the details of whose announcement would need to be heard and understood.

A comparative passage from a Roman historian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities* 2.8.4) demonstrates a direct contrast between the formal instructions (issued by the kings) and the informal instructions (issued by public servants).

ὅποτε δόξειε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συγκαλεῖν, οἱ κήρυκες ἐξ ὀνόματός τε καὶ πατρόθεν ἀνηγόρευον, τοὺς δὲ δημοτικούς ὑπηρέται τινὲς ἀθρόους κέρασι βοείοις ἐμβυκανῶντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας συνῆγον.

He writes that whenever the kings thought it proper to assemble the patricians, the heralds called the patricians both by their own names and by the names of their fathers, whereas public servants summoned the plebeians *en masse* to the assemblies by the sound of ox-horns, κέρασι βοείοις ἐμβυκανῶντες. This example puts the human voice on a superior level to that of the trumpet, in direct contrast with the story of Hermon (see 4.3.2). Thus, by implication, the herald is here considered superior to the player of the one playing the ox-horn.

4.3.4 What did the herald sound like?

Given that the herald and trumpeter appear to be so often linked, and as we have already noted how Greek texts often speak of the trumpet's 'voice', I believe it is appropriate here to see what evidence survives for the sounds of the herald's voice.

Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 13. 99-100 describes the

ἑξηκοντάκι δὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀδύγλωσσοσ βοὰ κάρυκος ἔσλοῦ.

'noble herald's sweet-tongued shout heard full sixty times from the Isthmus and Nemea'.

This is a unique and almost oxymoronic combination of attributes for the herald: the adjective 'sweet-tongued', combined with a 'shout'.

By contrast Pollux (*Onomastikon*, 4.94) describes the herald's voice as follows:

τὸ δὲ φθέγμα αὐτῶν μέγα, ἄδρὸν, ὑψηλόν, πρόμηκες ἐπίμηκες, σαφές,
ἀρτίστομον, συνεχές, διηνεκές, ἀποτάδην φθεγγόμενον, ἀπνευστί,
ἔλεγχον ἔχοντες εἰς μῆκος πνευματός,

'loud, powerful, sublime, prolonged, extensive, clear, distinct and precise, continuous, unbroken, stretched out at length, and the words recited in one breath'. This last element seems perhaps impossible, but was clearly considered ideally desirable. The reference to the ideal herald making an announcement in one long breath may indeed directly compare his voice to that of the trumpet, also blown on one long breath.

4.4 Inscriptions: names of trumpeters, heralds, and their prizes

I now turn to further examples of ancient epigraphy that provide evidence of the names of trumpeters and heralds who won competitions and their financial prizes. I have consulted various editions of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* for the inscriptions that I have recorded here, and also the Packard Humanities Institute website (Cornell University Greek Inscriptions database, abbreviated to Cornell). I have drawn on the very detailed *Dionysiakoi Technitai: Symbols and Prosopographia of the Theatre and the Music of Ancient Greece* compiled by Stephanis (1988) together with Aspiotes' *Prosopographia Musica Graeca* (2006). Christesen tells us that the inscriptions recording athletic competitions at games (victors' lists being prevalent) were 'typically erected at the contest site by the magistrates who had organised that iteration of the games',⁶⁰² and where possible I shall indicate the location where each artefact was found. My discussion which follows is the only one to focus specifically on trumpeters.

Word limit constraints here mean that I have chosen a relatively small selection of inscriptions to examine, compare and contrast to illustrate the most significant themes. Stephanis' compilation of inscriptions shows 132 which mention either a trumpeter alone, or a trumpeter and a herald together. In his later text, Aspiotes has listed 150 such inscriptions. As the alternative title of Stephanis' compilation suggests, he has focused on the participants at the theatre and in music in ancient Greece. He has also included trumpeter inscriptions from the various Games, but neither he nor Aspiotes have included every trumpeter inscription recorded in the *IG*, the *CIG*, and the *SEG*.

602 Christesen, 2007, 128.

The possibilities are almost endless when it comes to researching every known player, although I cannot say how many trumpet and herald inscriptions have so far come to light. My choice was governed by a wish to demonstrate what I consider to be a representative range of named trumpeters, with locations and family relationships where possible, thus 'fleshing out' the men behind the honours, rather than merely providing a list of competitors.

As so often, however, the available source material is geographically and chronologically scattered. I have therefore arranged the inscriptions here in separate groups. Firstly, a geographical group, showing either where the inscription was found (different sites across Greece, one in Italy, and into Asia Minor), or the origin of the winner. Secondly, from the same festival (those not otherwise discussed in 4.1), and thirdly, from a selection of recorded ancient games. In one instance I have inserted a copy of the entire inscription from the relevant edition of the *IG*, to show the format of the original text. For two others I have inserted the *IG* entry as printed.

In the remaining examples I have copied extracts from the inscriptions in lower case, to show the trumpeter and herald in each example. The dates of my selected inscriptions range from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD. This wide time span will show the range of language and vocabulary used over six centuries, and the Greek word used for the trumpeter in each example. I shall show that there appears to be a common thread or pattern for some of the words used, and for ease of reference I have listed the inscriptions in a chronological table to show the trumpeter word used, the dates (approximately), and the events / locations.

<i>IG / SEG / CIG</i>	Greek word	Date known) (where	Where found, festival / victor list (Games)
<i>IG X11 4 IK Estremo</i>	σαλπιστάς	c.178 BC	Kos: Asklepia
<i>IG XII 6, 1:173</i>	σαλπιστής	Before mid-2 nd century BC?	Samos Island: Heraia Games
<i>IG II ²956</i>	σαλπικτάς	161-160 BC	Athens; Theseia
<i>IG II ²957</i>	σαλπικτάς	158-157 BC	Athens; Theseia
<i>IG II ²958</i>	σαλπικτάς	149-148 BC	Athens; Theseia
<i>IThesp 169</i>	σαλπιστής	c.146–95 BC	Boiotia: Festival of

			the Muses at Thespieae
IThesp167	σαλπιστής	c.146–95 BC	Boiotia: Festival of the Muses at Thespieae
IG II ² 961	σαλπικτάς	142-141 BC	Athens; Theseia
SEG 54:516	σαλπικτής	c.120 BC	Boiotia: Thebes - Romaia
IThesp 170	σαλπιστής	c.112–110 BC	Boiotia: Festival of the Muses at Thespieae
IThesp 171	σαλπιστής	c.110 – 90 BC	Boiotia: Festival of the Muses at Thespieae
IG VII 2448	σαλπικτής	Late 2 nd century BC – early 1 st century BC	Thebes, Greece
FD III 2:2	σαλπικτής	97 BC	Phokis: Delphi
IG VII 419	σαλπιστής	89–85 BC	Oropos; Amphiararaia
IG VII 540	σαλπικτής	85 BC	Tanagra in Boeotia; Sarapieia
IG VII 420	σαλπικτής	c.80–50 BC	Oropos; Amphiararaia
IG XII 9 91	σαλπιστάς	Early 1 st century BC	Euboia: Tamynai
AE (1910) 352, 5	σαλπιστάς	mid-1 st century BC	Larisa
IG IX ² 532	σαλπιστάς	Late 1 st century BC – early 1 st century AD	Pelasgiotis - Larisa
IG IX ² 531	σαλπιστάς	1 st century AD	Larisa, Thessaly: Eleutheria
SEG 29:452	σαλπιστής	1 st century AD	Boiotia: Erotideia Games
IG IV ² 1, 101	σαλπιστάς	32–33 AD	Epidaurus: Asklepia
IG II ² 2292	σαλπιστής	37–38 AD	Acropolis, Athens
IG II ² 2294	σαλπικτής	37–38 AD	Acropolis, Athens
IG II ² 2295	σαλπικτής	37–38 AD	Acropolis, Athens
IG II ² 2297	σαλπιστής	c.41-54 AD	Acropolis, Athens
AE (1973) C:66,12	σαλπιστής	mid-1 st century AD	Athens, Acropolis
IG XIV 617	ιεροσαπιστής	c.50 AD	Italy
Inv0 232	σαλπιστάς	69–85 AD	Olympia; Olympic Games
CIG 2758	σαλπικτή	AD 100?	Aphrodisias, Asia Minor; Games?
CIG 2983	ιεροσαλπικτής	130–140 AD	Ephesus; Olympic

			Games
Corinth 8 I:15	σαλπιστάς	c.150-200 AD	Isthmia; Isthmian Games
Tralles 104	σαλπιγκτήν	180–190 AD	Tralles
<i>IG VII 1773</i>	σαλπικτάς	2 nd century AD – early 3 rd century AD	Boiotia: Festival of the Muses at Thespieae
<i>IG X² 1 262</i>	ἱεροσαλπιγκτήν	2 nd century AD – early 3 rd century AD	Macedonia: Thessalonika

The range of geographical locations

These inscriptions demonstrate both the wide geographical range of the locations both for where the artefacts were found, and of the participants; I have set them out below in date order within each area.

Larisa, in Thessaly:

AE (1910) 352,5 from mid 1st century BC⁶⁰³:

[σαλπιστάς]·
[— —]ογένης [δεῖνος].
κήρυκας·
[Αλ]έξιππος Φιλο[— —ου] {Φιλο[— —ους]}

The trumpeter's name could be Diogenes, or it could even be 'anything-ogenes'; the herald's name is possibly Alexippos. I have started with this inscription, as it is a classic example of one which is so fragmentary that the names are difficult to decipher. The inscription has been taken from the Packard Humanities database (Cornell), and they have inserted some possible letters to assist the deciphering of the names of the individuals honoured.⁶⁰⁴ Stephanis includes a similar inscription, showing only [ογ]ένης, and states that it comes from Larisa in Thessaly.⁶⁰⁵

***IG IX² 531* and *IG IX² 532* : late 1st century BC – early 1st century AD⁶⁰⁶:**

According to Miller, *IG IX² 531* is a victor list from the Eleutheria of Larisa in Thessaly.⁶⁰⁷

The inscription, on stone, mentions the victors who were all citizens of Larisa.

Alternatively, Christesen⁶⁰⁸ suggests that the inscription refers to the Taurotheria, bull

603 Cornell.

604 Cornell. The editions of the *IG* inscriptions offer similar suggestions for missing characters.

605 Stephanis, no.2678, 468.

606 Cornell; *IG* pp.137-138; Stephanis, no. 1579, 288, and no.1833, 327 respectively.

607 Miller, 2004^b, 86. Cornell.

608 Christesen, 2007, 131.

sports, as the word *Eleutheria* does not appear in either fragment. Amongst the winners are the trumpeter Lysikles, son of Leptinos, and the herald Petalon, son of Dionysios (*IG IX² 531*);

σαάλπιστάς Λυσικλῆς Λεπτιίνου
κήρυκας Πεταλων Διονυσιου.

In *IG IX² 532* the trumpeter is Nikodromos, son of Theoxenides, and the herald is Kratesippos son of Leon:

σαλπιστάς·Νικόδρομος Θε[οξε?]νίδου.
κήρυκας·Κρατησίππος Λέοντος.

Thebes:

IG VII 2448 : late 2nd century BC – early 1st century BC⁶⁰⁹.



Fig.4.6: a fragment, *IG VII 2448*.

For the next inscription I include a copy of the page in the *IG* [Fig.4.6]⁶¹⁰. This shows the fragmentary remains of an inscription found in Thebes, and is of interest as it shows that the roles of the herald and the *rhapsode* appear to be the same person. The remains of the fragment, formed on two parts of a broken stone or tile, are now situated in the Thebes museum. We are fortunate in that it shows the complete name of the trumpeter, Asklepiades son of Theophrastos, from Aegina, together with the majority of the herald's

609 Cornell.

610 Dittenberger, 1842, 429. Stephanis no.454, 98-99: he dates this from the time of the first Mithradatic war, (89-85 BC, from *OCD* 990).

name, Aeimnastos son of Euphraios (?) from Thebes. Stephanis thinks that this Asklepiades is the son of the trumpeter, Theophrastos son of Asklepiades, also from Aegina, and also mentioned in **IG VII 419** (see later under Amphiaraia and Romaia).⁶¹¹

Delphi:

FD III 2:2 97 BC⁶¹²:

κῆρυξ βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου·
Πύρρος Πύρρου·
σαλπικτῆς Ἀριστόμαχος Δάμαντος.

The trumpeter is Aristomachos son of Damas, and the herald is Pyrrhus, son of Pyrrhus. Of interest in this inscription is that the herald's name appears above that of the trumpeter, rather than the other way round as in most other inscriptions. Stephanis suggests that this is possibly from a Pythian Games.⁶¹³

Euboeia:

IG XII,9 91 - early 1st century BC⁶¹⁴:

σαλπιστάς·[Ἀριστῶν]αξ Ἀριστῶνακ[τ]ος Πάφιος ἀπὸ Κύπρου[υ].
κήρυκας·[Ἀριστο]γείτω<ν> Φιλο[ξ]ένου Ἐρετριεύς.

The trumpeter's name here is suggested as Aristonax, son of Aristonax, from Cyprus, and the herald is suggested as Aristogeiton, son of Philoxenos, from Eretria.

Italy:

IG XIV 617 Italia (Magna Graecia) - c.50 AD⁶¹⁵:

ἱεροσαλπιστῆς·Γ(άιος)·Ιούλιος·Ρηγῖνος·
ἱεροκῆ(ρξ) Γ(άιος)·Καλπούρνιος·Ουῆρος

This inscription contains a catalogue of magistrates and cult officials, on a white marble plaque with relief *aedicula*.⁶¹⁶ The main point of interest here in this inscription of a later date is the word for trumpeter, ἱεροσαλπιστῆς, the trumpeter at a sacrifice or 'sacred'

611 Stephanis has listed 65 inscriptions for heralds, but only four of these show the herald and *rhapsode* with the same name (nos. 454, 822, 955 and 956).

612 Cornell.

613 Stephanis, no.358, 81.

614 Stephanis, no.397, 88.

615 Cornell.

616 Cornell. Stephanis, no.1275, 231.

trumpeter, and ἱεροκῆρυξ, the herald or attendant at a sacrifice (or 'sacred' herald).⁶¹⁷

The trumpeter is Gaios Iulios Reginos, and the herald is Gaios Kalpurnios Oyeros. Whether the location is of relevance for a reference to sacrifice is not clear from the inscription.

We also note that Pollux (*On.* 4.87) refers to the ἱεροσάλπιγκτης:

καὶ ὁ μὲν τῇ σάλπιγγι χρώμενος καλεῖται σάλπιγκτής, τὸν δὲ ῥῆμα σάλπιζειν, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἱεροσάλπιγκτης. ἄμεινον δὲ τὸ ἱερὸς σάλπιγκτής, διαλυσάντων τοῦνομα.

'and the trumpeter, using an oracle, summoned by the trumpet, and to give the word as a signal by the trumpet, and the trumpeter at a sacrifice by the priests who are sacrificers; and better the sacred trumpeter, doing away with a false name.'

Macedonia:

IG X² (1) 262 Macedonia – Thessalonika, 2nd/3rd century AD⁶¹⁸:

Ἀχιλλέ<ω>ς μετὰ θυσίας ταύρου καὶ μετὰ θυ[σίας — — —]
[— — —]ΩΝ β ἐπὶ βωμούς·β ὑπὸ ἱεροσαλπικτὴν Σευῆρον Ἰέρακος
Κασσανδρέα Τ[— — — —]
[— — —]χειον καὶ ἱεροκήρυκα Κ(όϊντον) · Καικίλιον Κάλλιστον.

Of interest in this inscription are again the words ἱεροσαλπικτὴν, and ἱεροκήρυκα, which suggest a later date, together with the phrase 'of the bull', ταύρου, and 'of the altar', βωμούς. I believe that these both suggest a specific connection with a trumpeter at a sacrifice. The trumpeter here is Severos, son of Hierax, and the herald is Kaikilos Kallistos of Kos.

Athens:

The following four inscriptions were found on the Acropolis, in Athens, and date from various points in the 1st century AD.

IG II² 2292: 37-38 AD⁶¹⁹:

σαλπισ[τής]: ἱερονείκης.
Ἀπολλώ[νιος]
Λαμπτρο[εύς]

617 ἱεροσάλπιγκτής, *LSJ* 635; ἱεροκῆρυξ, *LSJ* 634.

618 Cornell; Stephanis, no.2264, 398.

619 Cornell; Kirchner, 1931, 641. Stephanis, no.264, 66.

Kirchner records that this inscription, made of Pentelic marble, was found at the entrance of a fallen arch, near the Propylaia on the Acropolis in Athens. Sadly, it is mutilated, as can be seen by the gaps in the lettering which Kirchner has attempted to fill, but the first trumpeter's name seems to be Apollonios from Lamptrai. The trumpeter is also noted as *ἱερονεΐκης*, a conqueror in the Games.⁶²⁰

The second part of the inscription seems to show the trumpeter's name as Hephistiades, son of Theogenes.

σαλπιστής [Θε]ωγένους Ἡφιστιάδης [— — —].

The two further inscriptions that follow are both mutilated, but include the word for trumpeter, and again Kirchner has inserted possible missing letters. Although neither fragment gives much detail, they remain a fascinating remnant of a record of winners at an unknown competition.

IG II² 2294: 37-38.⁶²¹

This inscription is recorded at the left angle of the list, and is inscribed on a brick or tile made of Pentelic marble, found near the Parthenon, on the Acropolis in Athens.⁶²²

There are two columns visible:

ΟΙ ΕΠΙ ΖΗΝ[ΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ]	[ΣΑΛΠΙΚ[ΤΗΣ
ΠΥΛΩΠ [ΟΙ]	
ΤΡΥΦΩΝ	
ΚΤΗΣ[ΙΚΛΗΣ]	
ΑΡΑΦ [ΗΝΙΟΣ]	
ΣΑ[ΛΠΙΚΤΗΣ]	
Λ - - -	

Kirchner dates it to the age of Claudius (mid 1st century AD). The names are not clear, although the archon's name seems to be Zenon, and the trumpeter's name begins with the letter L.

IG II² 2295⁶²³ (37-38 AD) is also set out in two columns. Kirchner notes that it was found between the Erectheum and the Parthenon in Athens, and that the stone has an image

⁶²⁰ *LSJ*, 634.

⁶²¹ Cornell.

⁶²² Kirchner, 1931, 642. Stephanis, no.1524, 279.

⁶²³ *ibid* (Kirchner); Stephanis, no.2116, 370.

of a seated, bearded man. This intriguing reference gives no clue as to who the bearded man was supposed to represent: was it the trumpeter, or perhaps more likely the *Archon* in charge at the time?

ΣΑΛΠΙ	[Σ]ΑΛΠ[Ι] -
ΚΤΗΣ ·	ΚΤΗΣ ·
ΑΠΟΛΛ -	ΙΕΡΟ -
[ΩΝΙ]ΟΣ	ΝΕΙΚΗ[Σ]
	ΑΠΟ[ΛΛ] -
	ΩΝ[ΙΟΣ]
	ΚΟ[ΙΝΤΟΣ]
	ΚΑΣ[ΙΟΣ]
	ΣΑΛΠΙΚΤΗΣ
	ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΗ[Σ]
	ΣΦΗΤΤΙΟ[Σ]

The trumpeter is perhaps Apollonios, who is also noted as *ἱερονεΐκης*, a conqueror in the Games. The trumpeter word *σαλπικτής* appears at the top of both columns, and it appears again towards the bottom, with the (possible) name of the (possible other) trumpeter reading Polychares, from Sphettos. It is unclear whether this inscription lists two trumpeters or two different competitions.

IG II² 2297: c.41-54 AD⁶²⁴:

σαλπιστής· Ἀφροδίσιος Ἁλαιεύς

Only the trumpeter is shown on this inscription, and his name is Aphrodisios from Halai.⁶²⁵

Festivals:

Asklepia, at Kos:

Klee, Geschichte 4,I c.240-204 BC?⁶²⁶

σαλπιστάς· Χιάδης Δία Φωκαιεύς·
κᾶρυξ· Σωφάνης Πολυκράτεως Κνίδιος·

The trumpeter is Chiades, son of Zeus, from Phokis, and the herald is Sophanes son of Polycrates from Knidos.

IG XII 4 IK Estremo oriente 78 - ca. 178 BC⁶²⁷:

624 Cornell.

625 Stephanis, no.497, 106.

626 Cornell; Stephanis, no.2625, 460.

627 Cornell; Stephanis, no.1746, 313.

This inscription is of great interest, as it not only shows the winners of the trumpet and herald competition, but also the competitors placed second in each instance. I have found few such inscriptions, as the majority show the first-placed winner only. In the trumpet competition, the winner was Moschion, son of Eudamos, and the second place was won by Timeas, son of Charmylos. The first-placed herald is Androstheneis, son of Parmeniskos, and the second place was won by Sosandridas son of Diokles.

Asklepia, at Epidaurus:

IG IV² 1, 101. 6

I now turn to an inscription, found on a *stèle* in Epidaurus, c.32-33 AD. ⁶²⁸

ἀγωνοθετοῦντος τὰ Ἀ-
 πολλωνεῖα καὶ Ἀσκληπεῖα
 καὶ Καισάρα Ἀρχελόχου τοῦ
 Σωδάμου, ἔτους τρίτου καὶ
 ἑξηκοστοῦ, οἶδε ἐνίκων·
 [σα]λπιστάς· Ἐπιγένης Λευκίου Ἀθηναῖος
 [— — — — — — — — —] αωνίκου Μυλασ-
 [σεύς — — — — — — — — —] Λατίνος
 [— — — — — — — — — — —] Παιλρο

The mention of Asklepia would tie in well with the cult of Asclepius at Epidaurus. Also recorded is the Apolloneia, in honour of Apollo. The inscription records a trumpeter named Epigenes son of Leukios, from Athens, and the herald, if he is the next competitor, is too fragmented to be able to decipher fully.

Theseia, the Festival of Theseus:

In **IG II² 956- 965** (only **956, 957, 958,** and **961** are shown here) we have victor lists from the Theseia, the Festival of Theseus at Athens, from the 2nd century BC. They were inscribed on pieces of white marble, and the dates range from 161-160 BC to 141 BC. There are several letters and even words missing, but it is still possible to get the gist of the inscriptions from the text that remains.

IG II² 956 45: 161-160 BC. ⁶²⁹

628 Cornell; Hiller de Gaertringen, 1929, p.37. Stephanis no.852, 163.

629 Cornell; Kirchner, 1926, 402. Stephanis, no.371, 84.

ἐπὶ Ἀριστολα ἄρχοντος οἶδε ἐνικων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Θεσείων ·
 [τοὺς σαλπικτάς ·
 [Α]ρι[στος] Ἀριστοκράτου Ἀθηναῖος
 τοῦ[ς κήρυκ]ας ·
 Θεοδώρ[ος Π]οσειδων[ι]ου Ἀθηναῖος

The trumpeter here is Aristos, son of Aristokrates from Athens; the herald is Theodoros, son of Poseidonios, also from Athens.

IG II² 957 42: 158-157 BC.⁶³⁰

ἐπὶ Ἀνθεστηρ[ιου] ἄρχοντος οἶδ[ε] ἐνικων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Θεσειων ·
 [τ]οὺς σαλπικτάς · [Ἀριστοκρ]άτης
 Ἀριστου Ἀττα[λίδος] θυλῆς
 τοὺς κήρυκας · Νικοκ Σώκτρατους
 Λεωντιδος θυλῆς .

The trumpeter here is Aristokrates, son of Aristos from the Attalid tribe in Athens, and the herald is Nikok... , son of Socrates, from the Leontid tribe.

IG II² 958⁶³¹:

ἐπὶ Φαιδριου ἄρχοντος οἶδε ἐνικων τὸν ἀγῶνα [τῶν Θεσει]ων ·
 τοὺς σαλπικτάς ·
 Καλλίστρατος Καλλιμάχου Ἀθηναῖος
 τοὺς κήρυκας ·
 Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου Ἀθηναῖος.

Here the trumpeter is named as Kallistratos, son of Kallimakos from Athens, and the herald is Theodorus, son of Theodoros, also from Athens. Stephanis dates it to 149-148 BC, but Cornell dates it to c.155 / 154 BC.

IG II² 961: 142-141 BC.⁶³²

[ἐπὶ τοῦ - - - ἄρχον]τος οἶδε ἐνικων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν [Θ]εσει[ων] ·
 [Ἀγωνοθετουντ]ος λεοντος τοῦ Κικσιου Αἰξωνεως.
 [τοὺς σαλπικτά]ς ·
 [- - - -] Ἀθηναῖος
 [τοὺς κήρυκας] ·
 [- - - -] Ἀθηναῖος

The only name visible is that of the *agonothetes*, Leon son of Kiksios, but we can see that both the trumpeter and the herald came from Athens.

630 Cornell; Kirchner, 1926, 404. Stephanis, no.348, 80.

631 Cornell; Kirchner, 1926, 406. Stephanis, no.1362, 249.

632 Cornell; Stephanis, no.2903, 494.

Festival of the Muses at Thespieae

IThesp 167 Boiotia - Thespieae — ca. 146-95 BC.⁶³³

σαλπιστής Ἀμφικράτης Εὐφρονίου Θεσπιεύς,
κῆρυξ Φιλώτας Θεοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος.

The trumpeter here is Amphikrates, son of Euphronios, from Thespieae, and the herald is Philotas, son of Theokles from Athens.

IThesp 169 Boiotia - Thespieae -ca. 146-95 BC.⁶³⁴

σαλπιστής [Ἄρτ]εμίδωρος Ἀμφοτερίδου Θηβαῖο[ς]
κῆρυξ — — Ἀριστοκρίτου Θεσ[πιεύς].

Here the trumpeter is Artemidorus, son of Amphoterides, from Thebes, and the herald is Aristokritos from Thespieae.

IThesp 170 Boiotia - Thespieae - ca. 118-112 BC.⁶³⁵

σαλπιστής Ἀριστεάς Σκάμωνος Θεσπιεύς,
κῆρυξ [Σώ(?)]ταιρος Θεογεΐτονος Θεσπιεύ[ς].

The trumpeter is Aristreas Skamnon, from Thespieae, and the herald is Soterios son of Theogeiton, also from Thespieae.

IThesp 171 Boiotia - Thespieae - ca. 110-90 BC.⁶³⁶

σαλπιστής Πραξοκλῆς Τιμομένου Ἀργεῖ[ος],
[κῆ]ρυξ Σιμόλος Ἀστυόχου Θεσπιεύς.

This is the version from Cornell, whose spelling of the trumpeter's name is different from Stephanis' version which follows:

σαλπιστής Πρατοκλῆς Τιμογένους Ἀργεῖ[ος].⁶³⁷

The trumpeter is Praxocles (Cornell) or Pratokles (Stephanis), son of Timomenes (Cornell) or Timogenes (Stephanis), from Argos, and the herald is Simylos, son of Astyokos, from Thespieae.

IG VII 1773 Boiotia - Thespieae - 2nd/early 3rd c. AD.⁶³⁸

633 Cornell/Roesch; Stephanis, no.167, 45-6.

634 Cornell/Roesch; Stephanis, no.414, 91.

635 Cornell/Roesch; Stephanis, no.315, 74.

636 Cornell/Roesch.

637 Stephanis, no.2140, 374.

638 Cornell; Stephanis, no.1044, 191.

κῆρυξ·Πονπήϊος Ζωσίμου Θεσπιεὺς
σαλπικτᾶς·Ζώσιμος Ἐπικτοῦ Θηβαῖος .

The trumpeter is Zosimos, son of Epiktos from Thebes, and the herald is Pompeios Zosimos, from Thespieae.⁶³⁹ We may also note here the reversed order of the two competitors, with the herald placed above the trumpeter (see also FD III 2.2 earlier).

Amphiaraiia and Romaia

SEG 54:516 Boiotia — Thebes — ca. 120 BC (shortly after 118?⁶⁴⁰)

τὰ Ῥωμαῖα
σαλπικτῆς·Πολέμων Πολεμάρχου Δελφός·
κῆρυξ·Νικίας Ἀγαθοκλέους Θηβαῖος·

Cornell tells us that this inscription comprises a list of victors at the Romaia. It is formed on the upper part of a pedimental *stele* of grey limestone.⁶⁴¹ The trumpeter is Polemos, son of Polymarchos from Delphi, and the herald is Nikias, son of Agathokles from Thebes.

IG VII 416-420 (only **419** and **420** are shown here) are victor lists from four separate iterations of the Games of the Amphiaraiia and Romaia at Oropos.⁶⁴²

IG VII 419 8 and 3196.3: ca. 80-50 BC:⁶⁴³

σαλπιστής
Θεόφραστος Ἀσκληπιάδου Αἰγινήτης
κῆρυξ
Γλαυκίας Ἐωσανδρου Θηβαῖος.

The trumpeter is Theophrastos, son of Asklepiades, from Aegina, and the herald is Glaukias son of Eosandros of Thebes.

IG VII 420 ca. 80 – 50 BC.⁶⁴⁴

σαλπικτῆς
Νικάνωρ Διονυσίου Ταρσεύς
κῆρυξ
Ἵρροσωρου Χαλκιδεύς.

639 Csapo & Slater, 1994, 192.

640 Cornell.

641 Cornell. Not in Stephanis.

642 Christesen, 2007, 131. Dillon, 1997, 74: the Amphiaraiia was a pan-hellenic festival held at Oropos, where there was a healing sanctuary.

643 Dittenberger, 1892, 144. Stephanis no.1190, 217.

644 Dittenberger, 1892, 145. Stephanis, 1988, no.1812, 324.

The trumpeter was Nikanor, son of Dionysios of Tarsus, and the herald was Orosoros, from Chalcis.

IG VII 540 (SEG 19 (1963) 335)⁶⁴⁵

Both Csapo & Slater and Christesen have cited an inscription that refers to competitions at the Sarapieia, a festival for the Egyptian god Sarapis, dating from about 85 BC from Tanagra in Boeotia. The inscription is on Pentelic marble⁶⁴⁶, and Csapo & Slater point out that this inscription has 'the most detailed accounting of any known festival'.⁶⁴⁷ The marble remains certainly contain a wealth of information about the participants, and the financial accounts. The word *σαλπικτής* is shown for the trumpeter:

[Γλ]αύκου τοῦ Βουκάττου οἶδε ἐνίκων τὸν ἀγῶνα τ[ῶν]
Σαραπιείων·
σαλπικτής· Ἄντανδρος Ἐρεδάμου Αἰγιράτη[ς]
[κ]ῆρουξ· Πραξιτέλης Θεογένου Ἀθηναῖος

At the Sarapieia, the *agonothetes* is Glaukos, son of Boukattes; the trumpeter is named as Antandros, son of Eredamos, of Aigira; and the herald is Praxiteles, son of Theogenes, of Athens.⁶⁴⁸ The inscription goes on to record that

καὶ τοῖς νικησασιν ἔδωκα, Ἄντανδρῶι σαλπιστῆ καὶ Πραξιτελεῖ κηρύκι
ἐκ[α]-[τε]ρω στεφανον, ἀπὸ χρυσῶν,

'I gave to the victors: to Antandros the trumpeter and Praxiteles the herald each a crown, and 3 gold 4 obols 6 bronze,

(i.e., 101 ¼ silver drachmas each).⁶⁴⁹ These figures seem to be quite high, considering that often the prize was only a leafy wreath (noted in 4.2.6), in the shape of a crown. The normal unit of coinage is the Attic silver drachma, but the gold crowns have their values given in their weight of gold.⁶⁵⁰ What is intriguing is that the next winner in the list,

645 Cornell; Stephanis, no.193, 51.

646 Christesen, 2007, 128. He notes how much was spent on the engraving of the victor list: ἄλωμα Διονυ[σίου ἀναγρα] [φῆς τε] καὶ ἐνκολαψεως τῶν νενικηκοτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπολογιῶν τ[ῶ]ν τε τοῦ [ἀγῶ] [νος] καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. Payment to Dionysios for the transcription and engraving of the list of victors, the accounts of the festival and of the commission: 40 *drachmai*. Considering that '1 drachma is the daily wage of a common soldier or a master craftsman in the late 5th century BC', (Csapo & Slater, 1994, 139), this amounts to more than a month's pay for some occupations.

647 Csapo & Slater, 1994, 193-4.

648 Csapo & Slater, 1994, 250 also note from a Delphic honorary decree, SIG³ 711, dated 105 BC, that this same Praxiteles was a comic synagonist at this time, but he was also a protagonist of tragedy and won a second victory as an actor of "old" comedy at the fourth Pythias in 97 BC. Clearly a man of several talents.

649 Translation from Csapo & Slater, 1994, 194.

650 *ibid*, 193.

the *rhapsode*, is Boukattes, son of Glaukos of Tanagra (so from his name he is perhaps the son of the *agonothetes*?), whose prize was the same as the trumpeter and the herald.

However, while there are no recorded second prizes for trumpeters and heralds (note earlier inscription *IG XII 4 IK Estremo oriente 78*), the second prize for the *rhapsode* competition is given as 40 Attic silver drachmas.⁶⁵¹ This appears to put the trumpeter and herald on an equal footing with the *rhapsode* as far as talent, training and ability are concerned. Pickard-Cambridge notes that the crowns received 'are of the middle range of value, and argue fairly strongly for their high status,'⁶⁵² but Csapo & Slater suggest that these crowns were not very valuable.⁶⁵³ They support this by explaining that the overall levels of the prizes are allocated in four levels as follows⁶⁵⁴:

• 1. piper, singer to lyre, old tragedy, epinician: 5 ½ gold 1 ½ obols = 168 ¾ drachmas
• 2. poet, lyre player, tragic poet, comic poet, comedian: 4 ½ gold = 135 drachmas
• 3. singer to pipes: 3 ½ gold 3 obols = 112 ½ drachmas
• 4. trumpet, herald, rhapsode, satyric poet, 2 actors: 3 gold 4 ½ obols = 101 ¼ drachmas

This shows the trumpeters and heralds at the bottom of the list, alongside the *rhapsode*, satyric poet, and two actors.

Games:

Heraia Games:

IG XII 6 1:173 : before mid-2nd century BC?⁶⁵⁵

σαλπιστής· Ν[-]ς [- - -]κλέους Τραλλιανός,
κῆρυξ· Εὐβίος Σωστράτου.

This inscription was found on a wall stone of white marble, now in two joining fragments, on the island of Samos. The trumpeter's name, mostly missing, is suggested by Stephanis as N[-]s, son of Menekles, from Tralles,⁶⁵⁶ and the herald is Eubios, son of Sostratos.

651 *ibid*, 194.

652 Pickard-Cambridge, 1968, 304.

653 Csapo & Slater, 1994, 193.

654 *ibid*, 196.

655 Cornell; Stephanis, no.1767, 316.

656 Stephanis, *ibid*.

Erotidea Games

SEG 29:452: 1st century AD. ⁶⁵⁷

Cornell suggests that this inscription lists the victors at the Erotideia games. It is formed of a broken *stèle* of light grey limestone.

σαλπι[σ]τῆς [— c.8-9 —] Ἡρακλίδου Αἰ-
νιος υ κῆρυξ Ἀρ[ίστ]ων [Σ]π[ί]νθηρος Θεσπιεύς

The trumpeter's name, again mostly missing, reads ??? son of Heraklides, and the herald's name is Spinther (?), son of Ariston, from Thespieae.

Other Games

IvO 232⁶⁵⁸

I include the next inscription here because of the information it contains regarding the participant, and the number of occasions where he won the competitions. Found on the base of a statue at Olympia, the inscription informs us that a trumpeter named Diogenes, the son of Dionysios, from Ephesus, had many successes at different Games

Διογένης Διονυσίου Ἐφέσιος, νική-
σας τοὺς σαλπιστὰς Ὀλύμπια πεν-
τάκις, Πύθια δίς, Ἴσθμια τρίς, Νέμε-
α τρίς, Κοινὸν Ἀσίας δίς, ἐν Νεαπόλι δίς,

The inscription reads that Diogenes won five times at the Olympia, twice at the Pythia, three times at the Isthmia, three times at the Nemea, and twice at the Assembly in Asia. The dates for the Olympian successes were AD 69, 73, 77, 81, and 85⁶⁵⁹.

CIG 2758⁶⁶⁰

This inscription comes from fragmentary lists from Aphrodisias, in Asia Minor, and in addition to the trumpeter and a herald, mentions other more familiar artistic performers. Rouse does not offer a date, but Csapo & Slater, who set out the prize money awarded

657 Cornell. Stephanis, no.2831, 486.

658 Moretti, 1957, 800, 802, 804, 810, 816 (pp.158-160). Stephanis, no.680, 136. Not in Cornell.

659 Stephanis, *ibid*.

660 Rouse, 1902, 184¹⁰: the other competitions / competitors are ποιητής, παῖς κιθαρῶν, Πυθιος ἀθλητής, κυκλιος ἀθλητής, τραγωιδος, κωμῶνιδος, γραμματεὺς, πανηγυρῶν ἀρχηγός, χοραυλῆς, χοροκιθαρῶν, πυρρῶν, σατυρῶν - poet, boy *kithara*-player, Pythian *aulos*-player, *aulos*-player in a circle, tragic actor, comic actor, writer (of plays?), president of an assembly at the Olympic Games (*LSJ* 1297), chorus *aulos*-player, chorus *kithara*-player, pyrrhic dancers, satyrs (presumably from a Satyric drama where the Chorus consists of Satyrs, *LSJ* 1586). This inscription is not in Stephanis or Cornell.

as follows, date the inscription to ca. 100 AD.⁶⁶¹

Stone A: columns 1 + 2:

Trumpeter		150 denarii
Herald		150
Encomium writer		200
Poet		200
Boy singer to the lyre		150
Pythian piper		200
Comedian		400
Tragedian		500
Cyclic piper		350
Adult lyre player	500	
Overall winner		200

Athletic races follow but no value of prizes is recorded.

Stone E: column 1, from a later series of contestants at the same festival, but presumably from a later period⁶⁶² also notes the following prizes:

Trumpeter		500 denarii
Herald		500
Pythian piper		1,400
"second prize		400
Cyclic piper		?
"second prize		100
Comedian		1,600
"second prize		500
"third prize		300
Tragedian		2,700
"second prize		800
"third prize		600
The athletic races follow:		
furlong race men		2,000
furlong race adolescents		2,000
pentathlon		3,800
wrestling		3,800

The variation in the prize money between performers is apparent. The two lists also show a significant increase in the available prizes for the trumpeters and heralds (the first competitions held at each festival). Within one festival the musicians, comedians, and tragedians who follow the trumpeter and herald were all clearly rated more highly. The athletes, by comparison, were awarded considerably more! The amounts shown for the trumpeter and herald generally barely approximate to the value of the second prize for some of the other contestants. I believe that this discrepancy nicely illustrates the

661 Csapo & Slater, 1994, 190, although they do question this approximate date. Crowther (1994, 153) agrees that the two columns represent different time periods.

662 Csapo & Slater, 1994, 191, cite *C/G* 2759, which dates from the late 2nd century AD, where the prize money is the same as in *C/G* 2758 Stone E for the trumpeter and the herald but those for the other competitors are more variable.

public conceptions of the trumpeter and the herald as lesser performers.

CIG 2983⁶⁶³

The following inscription was found in Ephesus, in a hollow cavity at the entrance to an enclosed valley. Stephanis dates it to 130-140 AD.

Ἐπίκρατης ἱεροκῆρυξ
Ὀνήσιμος ἐπὶ Θυματρός
Μητροδώρος σπονδαυλῆς
Λ. Κοσιννίος Γαϊανός ἱεροσαλπικτῆς, ὀλυμπιονεΐκης.

This inscription offers another example of the ἱεροσαλπικτῆς, L. Kosinnios Gaianos, who was also ὀλυμπιονεΐκης, victor in the Olympic Games. We also see the word σπονδαύλης, which *LSJ* 1629 defines as 'the man who plays the flute at a σπονδή', with variations on the definitions reading as either a drink – offering, or a solemn treaty or truce. It is therefore tempting to believe that this inscription, naming as it does the trumpeter at a sacrifice (ἱεροσαλπικτῆς), together with Epikrates, the herald or attendant at a sacrifice (ἱεροκῆρυξ), and Metrodoros, the flute player at either a drink-offering or at a solemn truce, refers to an event at an Olympic Games in the middle of the 2nd century AD. The order of participants is also different, as the herald and the flute player both appear above the trumpeter. This perhaps indicates a different programme of events by the time of the 2nd century AD, with a gradual change from the end of the 1st century BC (note *FD III* 2:2, which is dated 97 BC as shown earlier).

Corinth 8 I:15

This inscription, referring to a different Diogenes from the one noted in **IvO 232** earlier, also dates from the 2nd century AD.⁶⁶⁴ This fragment from a victor list was found at the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia and shows the winners of the trumpet and herald competitions at one of the Isthmian Games.

[- - -]N . . . IKON
[τοὺς ἀγ]ῶνας. [τῶν Ἰσθμίων
σά[λπισ]τας
[- - - Δι]ογενῆς Ἱερο[- - -]
Κ[αίω]αρεύς.

⁶⁶³ Boeckhius, 1833, 612. Stephanis no.537, 114. Not in Cornell.

⁶⁶⁴ Christesen, 132. Stephanis no. 683, 136. Cornell states ca. 150-200 AD.

κῆρυκας
[- - -]αίο[ς] Χαρικλῆς Λαυδικ[εύς]

Diogenes, from Caesarea, was a trumpeter and a winner at the Isthmia. Although the evidence contained is scattered and fragmentary, we can also see part of the herald's name, Charikles from Laudikos?

Tralles 104 Asia Minor: Caria 180-190 AD.⁶⁶⁵

This is an honorary inscription for T(itus) Fl(avius) Philagros of Laodikeia and Tralles, a victorious trumpeter, situated on a marble base. It was found at Tralles (modern-day western Turkey), and it shows the many Games at which Titus Flavius was a successful trumpeter. Although quite late, and with no dates for the separate events shown, it offers a snap-shot of a successful competitor at several events.

Ἐπὶ τῆς ξβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος...
Τ(ίτον) Φλ(άουιον) Φίλαγρον Λαοδικέα καὶ Τραλλιανόν, σαλπικτὴν
νεικήσαντα Ὀλύμπια ἐν Τράλλεσι δις κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς, Μυστικὸν ἐν Σίδῃ,
Ὀλύμπια ἐν Σμύρνῃ, Ἐφέσεια, Δεῖα Κομόδεια τὰ πρῶτως ἀχθέντα ἐν
Λαοδικείᾳ, Ἀδριάνεια Κομόδεια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ Ὀλύμπια Ἀσκληπεῖα ἐν
Περγάμῳ, Ἀδριάνεια ἐν Κυζικῶ, Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, Νεικέαν κοινὰ
Βειθυνίας, κοινὰ Ἀσίας --- ια'.

The Olympic venues where Titus Flavius was successful include not only Tralles, but also Smyrna, Side, Pergamum, and Ephesus.

Overview of Inscriptions.

Firstly, these inscriptions come in the main from different Games or festivals, with some appearing in victor lists, although there appears to be a flexibility in word order in the inscriptions. The name of the trumpeter appears after the herald in FD III 2:2 and *IG VII 1773*. In *CIG 2983*, from an Olympic Games in the middle of the 2nd century AD, the order of competitors places the trumpeter after the herald and the flute player. FD III 2:2 is from the 1st century BC, and *IG VII 1773* is from the 2nd to early 3rd century AD, so there is no obvious pattern here.

Secondly, the Greek words used for trumpeter are consistently σαλπικτῆς or σαλπιστής. At first glance the Athens inscriptions use σαλπικτῆς, and the remainder

⁶⁶⁵ Cornell. Stephanis, no.2479, 437.

σαλπιστής, but on closer examination there are other instances of the use of σάλπιγκτης: from Thebes, Oropos, Tanagra, Tralles and Asia Minor. This indicates a wide geographical range.

Thirdly, only *IG XIV 617*, *CIG 2983*, and *IG X² 1 262* offer the specialised variants *ιεροσαλπιστής*, or *ιεροσαλπιγκτής*, which may be an echo of Italian, Ephesian, or even Macedonian verbal practice. These three are from Italy, Turkey and Thessalonika respectively, and date from between the mid-1st century AD and the 2nd/3rd centuries AD, so are considerably later, and also not from one specific area.

Fourthly, the selection of four inscriptions found on the Acropolis in Athens only show the trumpeter's name. This may mean that there were no herald competitions here, or of course that the heralds' details are missing. Finally, one of the inscriptions for the Asklepia at Kos (*IG XII 4 IK*) is a rare example of a record of multiple winners, i.e. the winners of the second prize in both trumpet and herald competitions.

4.5 Entertainment, ceremony and ritual.

In this section I shall discuss the evidence for the use of the *salpinx* in contexts other than the military or agonistic Games.

4.5.1 The Dionysia in Argos.

In this section I show a cultic use of the *salpinx* connected with the worship of Dionysos, who was celebrated far and wide across the Greek world. One recognisable attribute of Dionysos, found on vase paintings as well as references in ancient literature, was the *thyrsos*. This full-length staff, a symbolic object carried by the god and used by his worshippers in their revelry and frenzied dancing, was variously described as:

- 'the leafy branch or wand carried by the god',⁶⁶⁶
- a 'fennel-rod',⁶⁶⁷ and
- 'a fennel-wand tipped with ivy leaves'.⁶⁶⁸

Clement of Alexandria describes the fennel-stalks, *νάθηκές*, in his *Exhortation to the Greeks*, 2.20, as being amongst other items that are the 'holy things' of the worshippers

⁶⁶⁶ *OCD*, 480.

⁶⁶⁷ Euripides, *Bacchae*, l.250.

⁶⁶⁸ Trendall, 1991, 153.

of Dionysos.⁶⁶⁹ The relevance of the *thyrsos* to this particular section is introduced by Wilson where he writes about Dionysos in connection with Pindar's dithyrambs: 'one of the core mythic stories of dithyramb was that of the god's birth, and in particular his re-birth'.⁶⁷⁰ This example links a possible death of the god, followed by a re-birth of a sort, a Dionysiac festival, and a trumpet. Wilson writes that the dithyrambs were 'very probably commissioned by the Argives', specifically related to the 'Argive Agriana (which was) the most likely performance-context for two of Pindar's dithyrambs'; this occasion was 'a festival of the dead'.⁶⁷¹ He suggests, however, that there was another event where these two particular dithyrambs may have been performed. This was at 'a famous watery entrance to the underworld, the stagnant, bottomless lake Alkyone at Lerna'.⁶⁷² The myth expounded here concerns the Argive hero, Perseus, who fought with Dionysos; Dionysos was apparently defeated by Perseus, who threw him into the Lernaian lake. Plutarch takes up the story at this point (*Isis and Osiris*, 364F)⁶⁷³:

'The epithet applied to Dionysos among the Argives is "Son of the Bull." They call him up out of the water by the sound of trumpets, ἀνακαλοῦνται δ' αὐτον ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐξ ὕδατος, at the same time casting into the depths a lamb as offering to the Keeper of the Gate. The trumpets they conceal in Bacchic wands, τὰς δὲ σάλπιγγας ἐν θύρσοις ἀποκρύπτουσιν, as Socrates has stated in his treatise on *The Holy Ones*'.

Kerenyi considers that the act of summoning Dionysos was 'an unusual ceremony in Greece; all of this comes to us as an echo from an earlier world, surely that of Mycenae'.⁶⁷⁴ An intriguing suggestion: I cannot agree with his use of the word 'unusual,' although I do agree that the possible echo of Mycenae is pertinent. The military / civic combination of the Mycenaean link is a plausible suggestion. The use of the 'summoning' verb, ἀνακαλοῦνται, here is particularly relevant, as I have demonstrated frequent usage of the verb in military contexts in the previous chapter. Also worth noting here is the rare reference to the sacrifice of a lamb. The only other reference (apart from inscriptions) which I have found to link the *salpinx* to a sacrifice is discussed

669 Butterworth, 1929, 44-45.

670 Wilson, 2003, 174-5.

671 *ibid*, 174.

672 *ibid*, 175.

673 Plutarch's authority is Socrates of Argos, from the 3rd century BC, in *Fr G Hist* F2 310.

674 Kerenyi, 1959, 16.

in the next section, with Fig. 4.8 depicting an imminent sacrificial act.

The credibility of Plutarch's reference to the *salpinx* being concealed in a *thyrsos* is suspect. How possible would it really be to conceal anything in a “leafy branch” or “fennel-rod”? A more probable suggestion would be the use of the fennel-stalks as a form of *aulos*, although the sound produced would be unlikely to be anything like that of a brass / bronze instrument. I can support this statement with a reference to a remark made by ps. Aristotle in *De Audibilibus* (803b): 'the notes produced by instruments made of fennel-wood are softer, for the sounds striking on a soft material do not rebound with such violence.' This possible method of making an instrument is very similar to the *kalamos*, a type of pipe, made from reeds pulled from a lake near the sea 'since the flat sea-marshes provided the most copious stock of material for its manufacture'.⁶⁷⁵

Wilson even goes so far as to say that the act of summoning Dionysos by the Argives 'perhaps from death' was 'by musical means, with trumpets concealed in *thyrsos*'.⁶⁷⁶ I think that here he is romanticising the trumpet as a musical instrument, but I find it fascinating that the trumpet has been included in the myth in this fashion. Indeed, Plutarch used the story at least twice. In his *Table Talk* (4.6, 671E) we again see the inclusion of the 'summoning' verb, ἀνακαλούμενοι. Plutarch here writes about the Argive trumpets and a '*thyrsos* procession', although in this particular passage his subject matter relates to the Jews and a festival of Dionysos :

εἰσελθόντες δ' ὅ τι δρωσιν, οὐκ ἴσμεν, εἰκὸς δὲ βακχεΐαν εἶναι τὰ ποιούμενα· καὶ γὰρ σάλπιγξι μικραῖς, ὥσπερ Ἀργεῖοι τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ἀνακαλούμενοι τὸν θεὸν χρῶνται.

'at the Festival of the Jews, when they celebrate their so-called Fast, they set out tables of all sorts of fruit under tents and huts plaited for the most part with vines and ivy. They call the first of the two days Tabernacles. A few days later they celebrate another festival, this time identified with Bacchus, not through obscure hints but plainly called by his name, a festival that is a sort of “Procession of Branches” or “*Thyrsus* Procession,” in which they enter the temple each carrying a *thyrsus*. What they do after entering we do not know, but it is probable that the rite is a Bacchic revelry, for in fact they use little trumpets to invoke their god as do the Argives at their Dionysia'.⁶⁷⁷

675 Grant, 1987, 105.

676 Wilson, 2003, 175.

677 In his footnote to this text, Babbitt (2004, 363) cites several sources for the reference to 'little trumpets': Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p.96 note 4; Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1000; Grove, *Dict. of Music*, article on Hebrew Music; Sachs, *Hist. of Mus. Instruments*, p.112; *Leviticus* 23.24; *Numbers*, 10.1ff, also *I Chronicles* 15.16 and 28. I am sceptical as to his reasons for these references, as

Plutarch does not use the expression 'little trumpets', *σάλπιγξι μικραῖς* in the other passage about the Argives and the *salpinx* from *Isis and Osiris* 364, but this description here is apt, because it offers a more realistic image of an instrument concealed in a *thyrsos*. The fact that he is not able to record what takes place in the temple with the *thyrsos* and the *salpinx* is frustrating, but it does corroborate his own story about the Argives to some extent.



Fig.4.7: Dionysos and small satyrs in a parody of Panathenaics, 480-450 BC.

In a vase painting from the 5th century BC [Fig.4.7] we find a parody of Dionysos on a *chous*. This red-figure painting by the Altamura Painter, dated between 480 and 450 BC, shows a gigantic Dionysos holding a *thyrsos* in his left hand. Mitchell suggests that Dionysos is presiding over a torch race being run by satyrs⁶⁷⁸. We can see three running satyrs, and a part-body of a fourth, each holding a torch. Mitchell suggests that the fifth

my own research on the passages cited has not indicated 'little trumpets'; it is in any event a disparate set of references. From Babbitt's sources, Deubner (1932) merely cites Aristophanes' *Acharnians* line 1000, but as I have shown in 4.1.1 Dicaeopolis just refers to the *salpinx*. I have found no other reference in Grove's *Dictionary of Music* article on Hebrew Music. The references in Sachs from *Numbers* (see 1.4.2), and *I Chronicles* (see 1.4.4) all refer to the *hasosera*, a silver trumpet, and the reference in the *Book of Leviticus* deals with the *shofar*, or ram's horn (see 1.4.3).

678 Mitchell, 2009, 185.

satyr is poised above them with a *salpinx* to announce the winner,⁶⁷⁹ although Simon earlier suggests that the trumpet-player is the chorus leader.⁶⁸⁰ I tend to agree with Simon here, as I think it odd that the Altamura Painter would have a trumpeter announcing a winner, and not a herald with his staff of office. Having a trumpeter as the chorus leader appears to be more appropriate. The *salpinx* depicted is clearly not a “little trumpet,” judging by the juxtaposition of the out-stretched arm and the bell of the instrument, but the image of Dionysos, with satyrs, and particularly with one of them holding a *salpinx* ready to play is striking.

4.5.2 Sacrifice

I have touched upon the use of a trumpet at a sacrifice with the passage from Plutarch's *Aristides* 21.2-3 in 4.1.3, and I include the entire reference here:

τοῦ Μαιμακτηριῶνος μηνός, ὅς ἐστι παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς Ἀλαλκομένιος, τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα πέμπουσι πομπήν, ἧς προηγείται μὲν ἄμ' ἡμέρα σαλπικτῆς ἐγκελευόμενος τὸ πολεμικόν.

'On the sixteenth day of the month Maimakterion (which is the Boeotian Alalcomenius), they celebrate a procession. This is led forth at break of day by a trumpeter sounding the signal for battle; wagons follow filled with myrtle-wreaths, then comes a black bull, then free-born youths carrying libations of wine and milk in jars...'

Here we have a reference to a peacetime ritual use of the trumpet-call otherwise deployed on the battlefield, ἐγκελευόμενος τὸ πολεμικόν, also used by Procopius (see 3.1.1 on *salpinx* signals). Plutarch goes on to say that the chief magistrate of Plataea, who was following the procession, 'then slaughters the bull at the funeral pyre' (*Aristides*, 21.5).

Ancient source references offer little evidence for the use of the trumpet at sacrifices. Haldane cites two examples of the aulos and the kithara depicted on vase paintings accompanying a bull to a sacrifice: one side of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus shows a sacrificial bull followed by an aulete, and a Boeotian black-figured vase painting shows an aulete bringing up the rear of a procession at a bull-sacrifice to Athena.⁶⁸¹ In contrast,

679 *ibid*, 184.

680 Simon, 1982, 129.

681 Haldane, 1966, 100-101.

Haldane only once refers to the *salpinx* and the ritual of sacrifice. In what I think is a successful effort to engage the reader, Haldane writes 'We now take up our stand with the worshippers around the altar. An instrument employed during the preliminary stages of the sacrifice, less for its musical properties than to regulate the process, was the trumpet. Each blast from it signified that a further animal was to be brought forward to slaughter. It was also used to command silence from the crowd for the prayers spoken by the herald'.⁶⁸² Haldane bases his visualisation upon an Athenian inscription regulating the Hephaestea, *IG I³82*⁶⁸³, lines 28-30, which dates to 421/420 BC.⁶⁸⁴ Haldane cites Ziehen for further information regarding the source,

τὸς δ[ὲ β] οὔ[ς] ἕκαστον ἀπὸ σάλ[πι]νγος [προσαγαγὲν πρὸς τ]ὸν βομόν ·
οἱ τιν[ε]ς δὲ ἄρδονται ἐ[π]άνδρος αὐτός, οἱ ἱεροποίο[ι] αἰρεσθον] διακοσῖος
ἐχς Ἀθε[ν]αίων,

who notes that the trumpet signal was used to guide the first bull, accompanied by the *ephebes*, and then each successive bull was summoned by the sound of the trumpet.⁶⁸⁵

Nordquist notes that 'it has been suggested that the *salpinx* was also used in sacrifice, to give the signal to bring forward the sacrificial animals, but the evidence in the iconographical material is rather slight'.⁶⁸⁶ Nordquist provides one such example [Fig.4.8] on a red-figure *kylix* which dates from the end of the 6th century BC. He notes that the *kylix* depicts 'a trumpeter (who) confronts three naked young men leading horses. The last of them turns round and gestures to a dressed man holding a staff. Behind him, four naked young men are overpowering a struggling bull. Lastly there is a sacrificer sharpening his long knives'.⁶⁸⁷ I disagree with his interpretation in some respects. I believe that the vase painting shows four naked young men: two are leading the horses, one appears to be riding the middle horse, and a *salpinx*-player seen on the far right. The youth on the far left has turned back, and he is waving at a clothed man on the

⁶⁸² *ibid*, 101.

⁶⁸³ Kirchner, 1931, 96-98.

⁶⁸⁴ *OCD*, 682: the Hephaestia festival was reorganised in honour of Hephaestus and Athena in 421/420 BC at the Agora in Athens. The festival was a *penteteris*, a festival celebrated every fifth year, with a splendid torch race and lavish sacrifices. This date ties in well with the date of the inscription.

⁶⁸⁵ Ziehen, 1931, 227-234.

⁶⁸⁶ Nordquist, 1991, 147-149.

⁶⁸⁷ *ibid*, 149. Nordquist believes that the presence of the riders in the procession points to the Panathenaia, and this is an acceptable supposition as Burkert suggests that sacrifices were carried out at these festivals (1987, 257-258).

reverse (not shown).

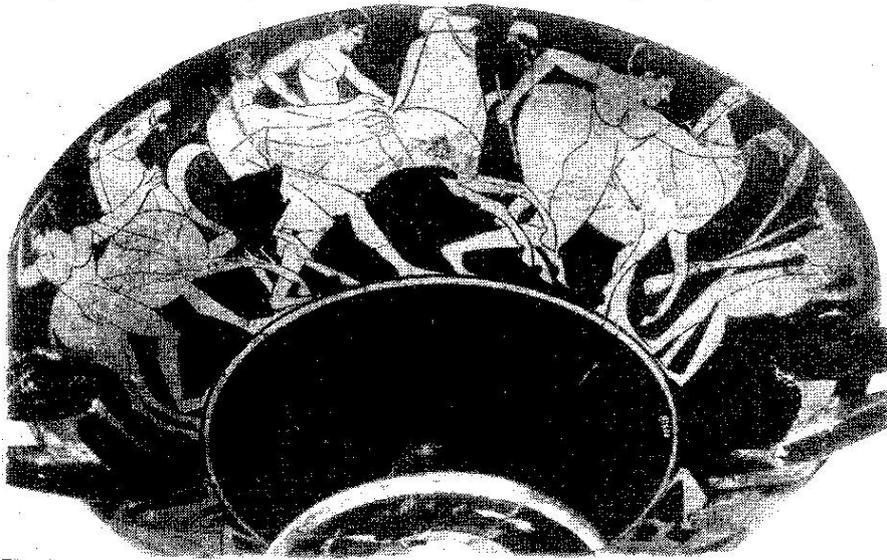


Fig.4.8: a trumpeter standing in front of a procession, where young men are overpowering a struggling bull.

This could be a herald, possibly present to instruct the trumpeter to signal the final blast to the sacrificer. The sacrificer, also on the reverse, stands with an assistant (?) and four naked youths who are overpowering the bull.



Fig.4.9: The trumpeter from the previous painting.

The character in Fig.4.9 shows an enlarged, clearer representation of the trumpeter. Close up it is apparent that the figure of the trumpeter is stylised, with almost oriental eyes. He is naked, (like the young men with the horses above), perhaps therefore implying a religious context. The *salpinx* is a long slim tube, held pointing downwards,

and appears to be slightly arched; perhaps this relates to an instrument specifically used at sacrifices, as it is not a regular shape. The instrument here has a bulbous end, similar to the one shown in Fig.1.22. The vase painting in the earlier chapter, however, dates to the 4th century BC, nearly two centuries later than this fascinating image. Taken in the context of the whole vase painting, it seems that the trumpeter is in charge: he is standing in front of the procession, but does the trumpeter in fact play a blast on his instrument, summoning this bull to slaughter, or does he clear the way ahead for the procession? I believe that it is probably a combination of the two.

I have found an inscription that the Cornell University website states is a summary of old sacred law, concerning sacrifices, ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις. They do not date the inscription, which in total runs to thirty-four lines; lines 23-25 follow.

Ephesos 5 (SEG 28, 866).⁶⁸⁸

τῷ δὲ ἱεροκήρυκι καὶ ἀύλητῇ καὶ σαλπικτῇ
καὶ ἱεροφάντῃ δευτέρῳ καὶ τῷ ἱεροσκόπῳ
καὶ ἑβδομοκούρητι σπυρίδας κατὰ προέλευσιν

The inscription does not provide any names of the participants, but it does refer to the sacred herald, ἱεροκήρυκι, together with trumpeter and the *aulos* player. Once again, the herald is referred to before the flute player and the trumpeter.

4.5.3 Entertainment: wining and dining.

Polybius provides my first evidence for the use of the trumpet for entertainment (*Histories* 30.22.12). Here he describes the triumph of Lucius Anicius over Genthius (a Roman praetor).

ἔτι δὲ τούτων ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγωνιζομένων ὀρχησται δύο εἰσήγοντο μετὰ συμφωνίας εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, καὶ πύκται τέτταρες ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν μετὰ σάλπιγκτῶν καὶ βυκανιστῶν.

'while the participants were thus engaged in a pitched battle, two dancers with musicians were introduced into the orchestra, and four prize-fighters mounted the stage accompanied by trumpeters and clarion-players'.

Polybius here appears to echo both athletic victory announcements and even battles with the terminology of 'pitched battle' (παράτασις) and 'prize-fighters' (πύκται). We

⁶⁸⁸ Cornell.

note the mention of both the *salpinx* and the *bucina* in this passage. Walbank notes that 'these were used normally in the army and were probably borrowed for this unusual occasion,'⁶⁸⁹ indicating a potentially unusual use for the instruments.

A more light-hearted context for the use of the trumpet is recorded by Aelian about the inhabitants of Byzantium, who are reputed to be formidable drinkers (*Miscellaneous History* 3.14). They are reported to live in bars, moving out of their own houses, which they let to foreigners visiting the city. Amazingly, Aelian adds, they abandon to the visitors not simply their homes, but also their wives. So the Byzantines by this one act lay themselves open to the double charge of drunkenness and prostitution. As wine and drunkenness lead them into extravagance, they enjoy listening to the *aulos*, and it is their daily business to be serenaded, but they cannot endure the trumpet, *σάλπιγγα δὲ οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ὑπομένουσι*. Aelian then concludes that therefore 'one can infer that the Byzantines find war and military matters utterly uncongenial'.

Cassius Dio, a near contemporary of Aelian, tells of an omen that occurred on the first day of the year 19 AD in Rome (*Roman History*, 57.18.3), when a statue of the god Janus fell. In this passage we find an example of someone who practised the trumpet on a regular basis:

ὁ γὰρ Νωρβανὸς ὁ ὕπατος σάλπιγγι ἀεὶ προσκείμενος, καὶ ἐρρωμένως τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀσκῶν, ἠθέλησε καὶ τότε ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον, πολλῶν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παρόντων, σαλπίζειν.

The consul Norbanus, it seems, had always been devoted to the trumpet, and as he practised on it assiduously, he wished to play the instrument on this occasion, also at dawn, when many people were already near his house.

Those people passing at the time were extremely surprised to hear the sound, which was just as if someone had issued an order for battle: *ἐμπολέμιον τι σύνθημα*. We do not find the usual battlefield vocabulary here, but the implication is clear.

For an example of a trumpet used to signal the end of a meal, a passage in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* (4.130b) provides a vivid picture of a dinner party given by Caranus in Macedon, as originally written about by Hippolochus.⁶⁹⁰ This dinner party was in fact a

689 Walbank, 1967, 447.

690 Lane Fox, 2011, 496: 'For the most vivid glimpse of high society in Macedon in the 290s BC is the remarkable, but under-exploited, letter of Hippolochus to Lynceus (brother of Duris, a Samian,

wedding feast, and the details are, Athenaeus says, enough to provide some amusement and diversion. Towards the end of the feast,

ἔναττον οὖν οἱ παῖδες εἰς τὰς εὐτυχεῖς στυπίδας, ἕως ἐσάλπισε τὸ εἰωθὸς τοῦ τελευταίου δείπνου σημεῖον.

'the slaves kept on piling our lucky baskets full until the customary trumpet blast that marks the end of dinner sounded; because, as you know, this is the Macedonian custom at feasts attended by a large number of people'.⁶⁹¹

Dalby notes, 'in this (narrative of the banquet), again, Greek custom, including religious observances, can be seen selectively mixing with Macedonian, and, probably Persian'.⁶⁹² Sawada adds that Hippolochus' description 'provides us with valuable information about the sympotic luxury of the Macedonian elite in the Hellenistic period'.⁶⁹³ Athenaeus writes in Book 3.120e that 'according to Ehippus of Olynthus in his *On the Burial of Alexander and Hephaestion* (*FgrH* 126 F 1), the Macedonians did not know how to drink in an orderly way, but engaged in large toasts at the very beginning; the result was that they got drunk and were unable to enjoy the food.' I have found no other references to such a use of the trumpet: was this custom therefore solely a Macedonian rite, appropriate to this military race, and therefore perhaps seen as an oddity by other Greeks?

4.5.4 The pantomime and dance.

A passage from Libanius offers evidence for a potentially unusual use of the trumpet.⁶⁹⁴ In his defence of dancers (*Or.* 64, 67-70) Libanius sets out some of their roles. In section 68 we read how the dancers performed the story, where Odysseus tricks Achilles into revealing himself by sounding a trumpet (see 3.1.5 for the versions offered by Hyginus and Apollodorus).

πολλάς σοι παρθένους ἔδειξε τὰς Λυκομήδους καὶ παρθένω ἔργα καὶ ὄργανα, τὴν ἡλακάτην, τὸν ἄτρακτου, τὸ ἔριον, τὸν στήμονα, τὴν κρόκην καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα μεμίμηται παρθένον ὑπορινόμενον. μὴ δείσης.

c.340 to 260 BC: Olson, 2006, 111) about the wedding-banquet of Caranus the Macedonian'.

691 Aristophanes refers to a feast in *The Frogs* (84–87), where he writes that in response to the question put to Dionysos by Heracles, "and what's happened to Agathon?", Dionysos replies "To the Banquet of the Blessed, specially laid on by the King of Macedon". This is not however the same Caranus, as the writings of Hippolochus were contemporary with those of Kallixenus on the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus (see 4.1.5 earlier), so over two hundred years after Aristophanes' time.

692 Dalby, 1996, 154.

693 Sawada, 2010, 398.

694 Molloy, 1996, 103.

οὐκ ἐνταυθα στήσει τὴν ὄρχησιν, ἀλλ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπὶ θύρας ἔρχεται καὶ Διομήδης μετὰ τῆς σάλπιγγος καὶ τὸν ὄντα ἀντὶ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ὁ Πηλέως ἐκφαίνει.

The dancer displayed for you the many Lycomedian maidens and the work and tools of girls, the distaff, the spindle, the wool, the warp, the woof, and he has represented Achilles playing the part of a maiden. Don't worry. He won't stop the dance at this point, for Odysseus is coming to the door, and Diomedes with his trumpet, and the son of Peleus is revealing what he really is instead of what he seems to be.



Fig.4.10: trumpet, of horn or possibly metal.



Fig.4.11: trumpet, metal conical tube with almost spherical bell.

Molloy includes two pen drawings of figures playing a type of trumpet [Figs.4.10, 4.11]⁶⁹⁵, but I feel that some sort of poetic licence has been adopted as neither instrument resembles either the Greek *salpinx* or any form of Roman trumpet. Fig.4.11 resembles

⁶⁹⁵ Molloy's source is Emmanuel, 1916.

the biblical *shofar*, or ram's horn; it is not clear from the drawing if it is made of horn or metal. The character in Fig.4.10 is holding a spear and possibly a shield, so once again we note war symbols in the image to support the war-like image of Achilles. The peculiar dress worn may show perhaps how a painter imagined how a pantomime player could appear.

4.5.5 Trumpeters by name.

Aglais.

I have already examined a selection of trumpeters whose names we know from ancient inscriptions (see 4.4). In this section I introduce two named trumpeters, who may, or may not be real. Firstly, I introduce the only named female trumpeter that I have been able to trace who possibly led a procession at a Greek festival. She was named Aglais, and I have traced five ancient sources who have written about her: Posidippus of Pella (3rd century BC⁶⁹⁶), Aelian (died 229 AD), Athenaeus (c.200 AD), Pollux (2nd century AD), and Eustathius (12th century AD). Compared with the relative paucity of ancient source material on other subjects (i.e. the Anthesteria), five sources indicate perhaps the attraction and the story as an eccentricity in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, later renewed by Eustathius. There are doubts about the veracity of the story, however. This may be purely because she was a woman, and therefore seen as even more of a rarity in the context of trumpet use in ancient Greek culture.

I turn first to Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, 1.26, whose source was Posidippus. Regrettably, Posidippus' text has not survived, so Aelian's is our earliest extant source.

Γυναῖκα ἀκούω σαλπίσαι καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον ἔχειν ἅμα καὶ τέχνην,
Ἀγλαΐδα ὄνομα, τὴν Μεγακλέους παῖδα · περίθετον δὲ εἶχε κόμην καὶ
λόφον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. καὶ ὁμολογεῖ Ποσειδίππος ταῦτα. δεῖπνον δὲ
ἦν ἄρα αὐτῇ κρεῶν μὲν μναῖ δώδεκα, ἄρτων δὲ χοίνικες τέτταρες. ἔπινε
δὲ οἴνου χοᾶ.

'I hear that a woman called Aglais, daughter of Megacles, played the trumpet and was employed in this art. Her head was covered by a wig and she wore a plume on her head; Poseidippus is the source of this information. Her dinner consisted of twelve pounds of meat, four pints of wheat bread, and she drank a pitcher of wine'.

696 *OCD* 1231, 'he is named composer of epigrams in a proxeny inscription from Thermum dated 264- 263 BC (*IG* 9² 1.17.24)'.

We may note here the use of τέχνην, defined by *LSJ* as 'art, trade, or skill'.⁶⁹⁷ This is a different concept for the act of playing of the trumpet, and one which may parallel the fact that Aelian's passage describes a performance, rather than signalling on the battlefield or starting a competition at the Games.

Athenaeus also cites Posidippus in his *Deipnosophistae*, 10.415a:

καὶ γυνὴ δὲ ἐσάλπισεν Ἀγλαΐς ἡ Μεγακλέους ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἀχθείσῃ
μεγάλῃ πομπῇ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τὸ πομπικόν, περιθέτην ἔχουσα καὶ
λόφον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὡς δηλοῖ Ποσειδίππος ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν. ἤσθιε
δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ λίτρας μὲν κρεῶν δώδεκα, ἄρτων δὲ χοίνικας τέσσαρας,
καὶ ἔπινεν οἴνου χοᾶ.

'A woman called Aglaïs, daughter of Megacles, played the trumpet and she led the procession at Alexandria. Her head was covered by a wig and she wore a plume on her head; Poseidippus is the source of this information. Her dinner consisted of twelve pounds of meat, four pints of wheat bread, and she drank a pitcher of wine'.⁶⁹⁸

Posidippus apparently places the procession in Alexandria. Athenaeus refers to the procession of Ptolemy at Alexandria in *Deipnosophistae* 10.415a (see 4.1.5). Aelian, however, does not locate the procession, and indeed introduces the passage with a hint of hearsay: ἀκούω, "I hear that...".

If we look closely at the language used in these two passages, we note that Aelian and Athenaeus use similar and even identical phrases in the two passages. This possibly indicates either that Athenaeus may have used Aelian, or that they both used the same earlier source. These similarities are as follows:

- they both cite Aglaïs' father's name, Megacles;
- καὶ λόφον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, the same in both;
- ὁμολογεῖ, δηλοῖ, similar;
- κρεῶν δώδεκα, the same;
- ἄρτων δὲ χοίνικες τέσσαρες, the same;
- ἔπινε δὲ οἴνου χοᾶ, the same.

The epigram may also have included the wig, plume and what Aglaïs ate and drank.

⁶⁹⁷ *LSJ* 1785.

⁶⁹⁸ Austin and Bastianini, 2002, 182.

Finally, in his *Onomastikon* 4.88, Pollux writes simply that

Ἀγλαΐς δὲ ἡ Μεγαλοκλέους σάλπιγγι ὑπερρωμένως ἐχρήσατο
ἀγωνιστηρίῳ τε καὶ πομπικῇ.

Aglaīs, the daughter of Megakles, played the trumpet very vigorously⁶⁹⁹
(ὑπερρωμένως) and took part in a procession.

Pollux' version is short and succinct, and his use of the adverb “vigorously” is unusual: he uses the word ὑπερρωθῆσθαι in another context in *On.* 5.125, but it is a striking word to associate with trumpet playing and conjures up images of arm movements and loud staccato bursts of sound.

Much later, in the 12th century AD, Eustathius, also briefly mentions Aglaīs:⁷⁰⁰

ἦν δὲ, φησί, σάλπιγξ καὶ ἐν πομπαῖς. γυνὴ γοῦν τίς Ἀγλαΐς ἐν
Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐσάλπισεν τὸ πομπικόν ἐν καιρῷ πομπῆς.

There is no reference to her in the *Suda*. Since the *Suda* is full of nonentities, her absence there is somewhat disconcerting. Apart from the rarity of her sex, her physical description, probably the focus in Posidippus' epigram, deserves discussion. It is of course possible that Aglaīs was “dressed up” for the occasion in some form of fancy dress to appear visually striking, but the mere fact that Posidippus believed that a woman was chosen to lead a procession also makes her stand out amongst the other participants. Aglaīs' name may even be a professional name, 'the shining one', or indeed the daughter of “Mr Great Fame.”

Kuttner writes that 'the Ptolemies collected and displayed women, from princesses to performers'⁷⁰¹ (an intriguing reference bearing in mind the apparent eccentricity of Aglaīs). If this fragment really does refer to Ptolemy II Philadelphus' Grand Procession, Rice considers that Aglaīs would probably not have been the trumpeter leading the procession, because she thinks it doubtful that a woman would have had this role in a public procession,⁷⁰² even one as magnificently ostentatious as this. Thompson seems to accept the story and suggests that 'Aglaīs blew the trumpet for the great procession at

699 *LSJ* 1863.

700 Eustathius, *In Homer II.* 1240.40.

701 Kuttner, 2005, 162.

702 Rice, 1983, 48.

the start of the festival'.⁷⁰³ It is of course possible that Aglaïs was a man, dressed as a woman to give more impact to his / her part in the procession. Using Kuttner's comment as a base from which to work, I agree with Thompson, but unless further evidence can be found about this intriguing character I shall have to leave this suggestion a mystery.

Herodorus of Megara.

Pollux wrote about the trumpeter Herodorus of Megara (see 3.2), who was not only renowned in the field of war but was also, somewhat surprisingly (if Pollux' story is right), a prominent participant within the context of Olympic trumpet competitions. As with Aglaïs, the female trumpeter discussed above, Herodorus of Megara is an otherwise mysterious figure, also not mentioned in the *Suda*. If we believe Pollux' *Onomastikon* 4.89, Herodorus won seventeen times at Olympia:

ἑπτακαίδεκα δὲ περιόδους ἀνείλετο τῶν στεφανιτῶν ἀγώνων,

the first of which was dated as 328 BC.⁷⁰⁴ On the other hand, Athenaeus (10.414f), citing Amarantus of Alexandria⁷⁰⁵, reports that Herodorus won ten times, and in addition that he used to eat his dinner sitting down:

ἐνίκησε δὲ τὴν περίοδον δεκάκις, καὶ ἐδείπνει καθήμενος ·

Of the two, I favour the evidence of Amarantus, as reported by Athenaeus, as the more likely. Seventeen wins would span sixty-four years, an almost super-human achievement. Even ten victories would span forty years, which in itself is almost unbelievable. Yalouris suggests that Herodorus first won at the 113th Olympiad, in 328 BC, and then at each Olympiad until the 122nd, in 292 BC.⁷⁰⁶ What is also challenging is

703 Thompson, 2005, 280.

704 Yalouris, 1994, 271. Noted earlier in 3.2 and 1.2.1.

705 *OCD* 69: Amarantus, late 1st century to early 2nd century AD, (so was possibly earlier than Pollux?) was an older contemporary of Galen, 129 to 199 AD, author of a commentary on Theocritus. Athenaeus cites him twice during the *Deipnosophistae*: this passage, and earlier at 8.3.43f.

706 Yalouris (1994, 289ff) has compiled lists of victors based on Moretti's *Olympionikai*, which in turn were based on the following ancient sources: Julius Africanus, Eusebius, the Oxyrhynchus, Pausanias, and various coins and inscriptions (289). These lists show that Herodorus first won the competition in 328 BC, and finally in 296 BC. Crowther (1994, 137) states that there are no records for trumpeters and heralds in the lists for 296 BC, but Yalouris disagrees. Admittedly, Yalouris writes (289) that he has marked the Olympic victories whose dating is not completely certain with an asterisk, and there are no heralds' competitions noted in the lists for Herodorus' dates, but Herodorus' victories are each marked with an asterisk (292) indicating that Yalouris doubts the veracity of the lists. In the absence of any other contradictory evidence I am prepared to follow Yalouris as definitive.

that at some point during this time (in 307 BC, in the second year of the 118th Olympiad), Herodorus was also, allegedly, participating in sieges of war with Demetrius the Besieger.⁷⁰⁷ We cannot therefore be sure whether these stories about Herodorus are historically reliable, or, as I suspect is likely, fiction. Perhaps Herodorus was just a very famous trumpeter, whose exploits were exaggerated and thus he and became myth.

4.6 Conclusion.

The ancient sources examined in this chapter show that the sound of the Greek trumpet outside a martial context was very much linked with the voice of the herald, with the two occupations joined together in many activities. I have shown that the trumpet was used at various festivals to both introduce and summon. The *salpinx* signals the start of various events, from the first event on the first day of the Olympic and other Games, to individual races and competitions throughout the day. Trumpeters and heralds even had their own competitions, despite the fact that they were not athletes, and they issued summonses both to crowds and to individuals. The instrument was also apparently used to start a drinking competition at the Anthesteria, and to lead processions during festivals.

Unlike on the battlefield, there appears to have been no set technical vocabulary of signals, but the instrument was still recognisably used to instruct and command. Literary texts and inscriptions appear to use similar words for the trumpeter, and to show similar reactions to the sound of the trumpet, particularly fear. I believe that the Greeks, unlike the Romans, did not use the instrument as a source of entertainment primarily because of its powerful noise, and the probable difficulty in controlling the sounds produced.

Although Garland refers to the *aulos* having been used at Greek funerals, indicating a recognised form of musical accompaniment,⁷⁰⁸ nothing so far that I have found indicates the use of the *salpinx* by the Greeks at funerals and this in itself demonstrates a major difference between the Greeks and the Romans and their mechanisms for dealing with

707 See 3.2 for a description of Herodorus' exploits at the siege of Argos in 307 BC.

708 Garland (1985, 32-3) describes two black-figure cups, found in Italy, one of which depicts a corpse on a cart dragged by mules; there are six mourners accompanying the corpse, and a bearded *aulos* player following behind. The other cup shows a woman and a white-robed *aulos* player waiting at the grave-side for the cortège. Garland also mentions the fact that 'Solon prescribed that men should lead a funeral cortège, and women should follow behind; he does not seem to have banned flautists but possibly limited their number to ten'.

death.

The inscriptions that I have discussed record real-life winners of trumpet competitions, particularly those that can be dated, and the winners' financial rewards. This evidence provides a backdrop of reality against which the sometimes exaggerated or fictional literary references sit comfortably.

Conclusion.

I began this thesis by citing West's apparently disparaging comment about the Greek *salpinx*.⁷⁰⁹ My research has shown that the ancient sources contain an abundance of evidence regarding the instrument. I suggest that my research offers new insights into how we should perceive the *salpinx*, and, in addition, how it was understood by the ancient Greeks.

I have shown that the sea shell (conch) demonstrates a form of trumpet known to civilisations dating well before the 5th century BC, and this primitive instrument (according to myth and poetry) was also known to the Greeks. Another early trumpet, the ram's horn (*shofar*) is shown in many books of the Old Testament as a primitive version of the trumpet, together with the *hasosera*, a silver trumpet. Both the conch and the *shofar* issued signals and commands in battle, as did the *salpinx*.

The two metal instruments (one silver, the other copper or bronze) found in the tomb of King Tutankhamun, dating from the 14th century BC, and the *lur* of Scandinavia, a magnificent bronze instrument from an era before 1000 BC, were all deposited as grave goods. These extant examples provide visual evidence of the shape and construction of the instruments; the trumpets found in Egypt resemble the *salpinx*, whereas the *lur* is similar to the Roman *cornu*. The *karynx*, known to Aristonicus as the Gaulish trumpet, was defined by its characteristic animal-shaped bell, although ancient references to the *karynx* are few. There were four versions of the Etruscan/Roman trumpet, in contrast with only one type of Greek trumpet. Of these, only the *tuba* bears any resemblance to the *salpinx*, but as a basic instrument this similarity cannot be evidence for the development of the instrument. In addition, the Roman instruments were more widely used in Roman civic life than the *salpinx* was in Greek civic life.

My selection of vase paintings shows the instruments similarly illustrated by different painters. The *salpinx* is usually shown as a long slim tube, with either a bell or cup-shaped swelling at the end which varies in size. Whether this could have, or indeed, did, affect the sound produced is a matter of conjecture. Logic dictates that an 'open' bell-shaped end would make a clearer sound, whereas an enclosed cup-shaped end, as so

709 West, 1992, 118.

many are shown, seems to suggest a more constricted sound. Figs.1.4, 1.21, 1.22, 3.2 and 3.4 show a similar instrument, and that shown in Fig.4.9 has an even longer bell-shaped end. These are much earlier paintings, which all date from the 7th and 6th centuries BC. The trumpet in Fig.1.23 resembles both Figs.3.7b and 3.8, but without the two discs shown at the end of the trumpet in Fig.1.23; these paintings date from the 5th century BC and possibly therefore show a progression in the way painters depicted the Greek *salpinx*. The vase paintings clearly show that the length of the *salpinx* remains very similar in each, and it is considerably longer than the Egyptian and Etruscan trumpets. In fact, the Greek *salpinx* appears to have been a very long thin tube with a slightly flared end, if we accept that the instrument allegedly found at Olympia and now on display at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is indeed a *salpinx* [Fig.1.24].

My belief is that vase paintings rarely depict reality. The painter's intention to symbolise the instrument alongside war-linked objects succeeds in portraying a war instrument, because we associate it so, but the paintings cannot be taken as true representations of the trumpet. This evidence for the shape of the trumpet is vital, however, because no literary sources describe its appearance, with the exception of Aristonicus (with limitations), Pollux, Artemidorus, and Procopius.

In myth, Hyginus records that the Etruscans invented the trumpet, a view followed (or running concurrently, depending upon his unknown dates) in the 2nd century AD by both Pausanias and Athenaeus. Pausanias' discussion of the invention of the *salpinx* for the goddess Athena, from the sanctuary of Athena *Salpinx* at Argos, offers unverifiable but fascinating evidence for the Tyrrhenian claim. I believe that the Greeks subsequently adopted the metal trumpet following their encounters with the Etruscans in the Mediterranean, and that the development of the *salpinx* was influenced by the Etruscan *tuba*, which I am sure was influenced in turn by the shape of the Egyptian trumpet. The myth surrounding Athena *Salpinx* was created by the Greeks, and passed on orally over generations to lend divine authority to the instrument.

From the loud, shrill voice of Achilles in the *Iliad*, to Xenophon's ἐφθέγγετο, I have shown that in Greek literature a consistent and powerful comparison is made between

the sounds made by the *salpinx* and those of the human voice. The one consistent vocal verb noted is φθέγγομαι, found across the centuries: from the 8th / 7th centuries BC (*Iliad*), through the 5th century BC (Xenophon), Crinagoras (1st century BC to 1st century AD), Plutarch (late 1st century to early 2nd century AD), Pollux (2nd century AD), and ending with Philostratus (3rd century AD). Poetic and prose authors use the same language across many genres. When we compare Roman authors on the trumpet we find that they do not refer to the 'vocal' sound of the instrument, so this appears to be a particularly striking and long-lasting motif in Greek literature.

Another striking feature is the 'cause and effect' link between the sounds made by the trumpet and fear and panic. This, I feel, derives from the popular conception of the *salpinx* as a predominantly martial signalling instrument. The range of vocabulary used to describe the sounds made is at times challenging, but varies across the different sources. In particular, the descriptions provided by Pollux of various trumpet "noises" offer a wide range of nouns and adjectives.

The language used to describe the varied trumpet signals gradually grew more sophisticated. Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus (all 5th century BC), and Dio Chrysostom (1st century AD) used the same expression for the attack signal with no specific attack word. Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dio Chrysostom, and Procopius used the same verb for the retreat signal, while Xenophon simply used the verb 'to signal,' σημαίνειν, and relied on the context to clarify the type of signal intended. Another verb used, which spans the centuries, is ἐποτρύνειν, to stir up, or urge on the soldiers to attack. I have shown that this verb is used by Thucydides and Dio Chrysostom, and is listed by Pollux.

The evidence shows that trumpet signals were predominantly used during battles, rather than before or after. I have also shown that the *salpinx* was used to good effect in sieges. The historian Procopius later clarified the difference between the signals, by the noise they made. He alone suggests that there were two different military forms of the *salpinx*, one for the cavalry and the other for the infantry.

The word *salpinx* is the predominant choice for the Greek trumpet, but we note an

infrequent use of *keras* by Xenophon, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus, and Athenaeus. Xenophon used *keras* for military descriptions, as did Josephus (albeit within a religious context). Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers to ox-horns summoning plebeians to the assemblies, and Athenaeus mentions the *keras* in a link with the Phrygian *aulos*. Thucydides rarely mentions the trumpet, and Herodotus never; both relied on context to provide the background detail. We also note that the 5th century BC Athenian dramatists treated the *salpinx* as a symbol of warfare, both in tragedy and comedy, evocatively depicted by Aristophanes' complex compound word *σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδα*. It was also a delight to discover from the naval lists of the 4th century BC that the Athenians named several triremes *Salpinx*. I believe this not only demonstrates a recognition of the military qualities of the instrument, but that the instrument was a familiar sight at naval battles.

I have also shown that there are several variations in the spelling of the word for the *salpinx* trumpeter across all the literary genres, although this may be due to variations in dialect. Military references show *ὁ σαλπιγκτής* used by Xenophon, Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, and Arrian. Aesop alone uses *ὁ σαλπιγτής*. Other military writers use *ὁ σαλπιστής*: Theophrastus, Polybius, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Plutarch does not mention the trumpeter often, just the instrument itself, but when he does refer to the player he uses both *σαλπιγκτής* and *σαλπικτής*. Inscriptions bearing victors' lists show both *σαλπικτής* and *σαλπίστης* for the trumpeter, whilst ps. Aristotle uniquely (and simply) uses the term *σημάντωρ*, one who signals.

Several authors refer to the trumpeter as a singular figure, one whose calls can influence large numbers of soldiers and whose communicative role is crucial in the world of war. He is so crucial that he and his instrument came to symbolise war and the battlefield from archaic times, but especially from the 5th century BC. The Greek *salpinx* is rarely referred to in the plural, in contrast with the Egyptian trumpets which usually appeared in pairs.

I have demonstrated that the sound of the Greek trumpet in peacetime was often linked

with the voice of the herald. The *salpinx* signalled the start of various events: from the first event on the first day of the Olympic and other Games, to individual races and competitions. Trumpeters and heralds even had their own competitions at the Games. The instrument was used to start a drinking competition at the Anthesteria, to lead processions during festivals, and in a fictional dramatic court of law. It was on occasion used at a sacrifice, and even to issue commands to animals. Unlike on the battlefield, there is no set technical vocabulary of signals in peacetime, but the instrument was recognisably used to instruct and command, just as in war. I believe that the Greeks, unlike the Romans, did not use the instrument as a source of entertainment partly because of its powerful noise, partly because of its link with war, and the probable difficulty in controlling the sounds produced. Neither did the Greeks use a trumpet at funerals, unlike the Romans, but they used the *aulos* and the *kithara*, possibly being less “martial” in sound and appearance.

The epigraphic records of real-life winners of trumpet competitions on victors' lists (*stelai*), particularly those that show either dates, or financial rewards, provide a backdrop of reality against which the literary references sit comfortably. Although the information contained therein is at best sparse, and at worst fragmentary, the tantalising glimpse of the trumpeters in competition brings the individuals to life once again. The named trumpeters found in other sources apart from the victors' lists also help to lend a vivid individuality to the trumpeters, even one as bizarre as the allegedly female trumpeter Aglaïs.

Throughout the thesis I have shown the complexity of the roles adopted by the trumpet in Greek culture. On the battlefield, it was vital for signals and developed a repertoire of different calls. Away from the battlefield it also played varied roles, at social events and public ceremonies. I certainly accept West's suggestion that the trumpet 'was not used for musical purposes but only for giving signals'.⁷¹⁰ However, far from mentioning it as a 'courtesy' I believe the *salpinx* deserves proper appreciation for its more than significant role in ancient Greek culture.

710 West, 1992, 118.

Appendix 1

Glossary of trumpet-associated words, including sounds, emotions and signals

This list includes the main verbs, nouns, and phrases used in the thesis from the ancient sources. Ancient source references are included (excepting for those words where there are many references).

αίματόεν πολέμου μέλος (from αίματόεις, -εσσα, -εν bloody, blood-sprinkled)	war's blood – stained notes Antipator of Sidon <i>Greek Anthology</i> 6.159
ἀλαλαζω	to raise or cry the battle cry, war-cry Pindar <i>frag.</i> 66 (dithyramb 78) Pindar <i>Nemean Ode</i> 3.60 Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 5.2.12-14, 6.5. Diodorus Siculus 13.45.8, 46.3, 77.3-5, 98.5-99.1, 15.55.3, 85.3, 17.11.3, 17.33.4.
ἀλαλή, ἦ ἀλαλαγή, ἦ	a loud cry, war-cry Pindar <i>Nemean Ode</i> 3.60
ἀνακαλεῖν ἀνακᾶλεω ἀνακᾶλουν	to go back, retire, sound the retreat in battle Thucydides 5.10.4 Polybius 1.45.14 Diodorus Siculus 14.52.5, 15.34.2, 15.65.4, 15.87.2
ἀνακαλεῖσθαι ἀνακλητικός, -ή, -όν ἀνάκλησις, ἕως, ἦ	to sound a retreat Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 4.4.22 Andocides <i>On the Mysteries</i> 45 Dionysius of Halicarnassus <i>Roman History</i> 8.65.6 Dio Chrysostom <i>The Second Discourse on Kingship</i> 29 Lucillius <i>Greek Anth</i> 11.136 Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.86, 4.88 Plutarch <i>Lives: Gaius Gracchus</i> 11.3, <i>Moralia</i> , “Isis and Osiris”, 3.64, “Table Talk”, 671E Procopius <i>History of the Wars</i> 6.23.23-24, 26-28.
τὴν ἀνακαλοῦσαν	the attack signal Dio Chrysostom <i>The Second Discourse on Kingship</i> 29
ἀναπαυστήριος (from ἀναπαυμα, ατος, τό, rest)	resting, so at the sound of the trumpet, all go to rest, pause (as opposed to τὸ

	ἀνακλητικόν) Sophocles <i>Ajax</i> 17 Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.86
ἀναφυσητή	breathy, hoarse, the Paphlagonian trumpet, to blow upwards
from ἀναφυσάω	Aristonicus, <i>Schol. In Iliadem</i> , 18.219
ἀνθιππασία	sham fight of horse Xenophon <i>Cavalry Commander</i> 3.11-13
ἀοιδάν	song Bacchylides <i>Ode 18</i> , <i>Dithyramb 4</i>
ἀρίζηλη from ἀρίζηλος, -ον	cry, or shrill scream, sound of a voice Homer <i>Iliad</i> 18.219
ἀριζήλη φωνή	a very clear voice Homer <i>Iliad</i> 18.219
ἄρρεν	male (quality of the trumpet) Aristides Quintilianus <i>On Music</i> , Bk.2.15-16
αὐδή, ἦ	the human voice, speech, as opposed to ὀμφή, ἦ, the voice of God, a divine voice ps.Euripides <i>Rhesus</i> 989
βαρὺ	heavy, weighty: I interpret weight here as the sense of misery,
(from βαρὺς, -εῖα, -ύ)	so a weighty or mournful sound
or βαρος, -έως, τὸ	Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
βαρὺφωος	with a hoarse voice, deep bass voice, deep-voiced, the Paphlagonian and Persian trumpets Aristonicus, <i>Schol. In Iliadem</i> , 18.219
βίαινον	forcible, violent Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
βόμβος, ὄ	a humming, buzzing or booming sound Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85

βράχε	roar, shout of command, rattle/clash/ring (mostly of arms), to groan Homer <i>Iliad</i> 21.385-9 Pollux 4.85
(from βραχείν)	
βρίθω	heavy Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85 Lucian <i>Gout</i> 39-41
similar to βαρὺς (see above) (from βρίθος, -έος, τὸ)	
βύρσης	leather Procopius 6.23.23-29
γήρυμα (from γηρύω)	to sing, speak, or cry Aeschylus <i>Eumenides</i> 568
ἡ γλῶττα ὀστίνη	pipe made of bone Pollux 4.85
διαπρύσιον (from διαπρύσιος, -α, -ον)	shrill, piercing, thrilling Crinagoras, <i>AP</i> 6.350
διάτορος	piercing sound, Etruscan trumpet Aeschylus, <i>Eumenides</i> 568
διεγείρω	veille Polybius 12.26.1
ἐγείρω	arouse, awaken, stir Aesop 289 Pollux 4.86
ἐγκελεύεσθαι	to urge on, to sound the attack, to sound a charge, encourage (from ἐγκελεύομενος τὸ πολεμικόν) Procopius 6.23.23-24, 26-28
ἐγκελεύω	to signal the start of battle, even in peacetime Plutarch, <i>Lives Aristides</i> , 21.1- 2
ἐκπληκτικός (ἐκπλήσσω)	in amazement striking with terror, astounding Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
ἐκπληξις, - έως, ἡ	panic, fear, consternation Onasander <i>The General</i>

	42.17.7
ἐκταραττοντες from ἐκταρασσω to throw in great trouble, i.e. into fear	fear Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i> "On the Sign of Socrates", 598D-E
ἔλεγον τὸ σημῆναι τῇ σάλπιγγι from ἔλεγος, ὄ	song of mourning, lament Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.86
ἐμβριθές (ἐμβρίθεια, ἦ)	a heavy, dull sound Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
ἐμπολέμιος, -ον	in, or of war, hostile Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.86
ἐξανήγειραν from ἐξανγείρω	to excite Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.86
ἐξηγείραν from ἐξαγείρω	to lead Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.86
ἐξορμητικός from ἐξορμαομαι, to stir up, exasperate	stirring Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.86
ἐξώτρυναν from ἐξοτρύνω (same root as above)	to stir up, excite Josephus <i>Jewish Antiquities</i> 5.27 Pollux 4.86
ἐπαλάλαζον ἐπηλάλαζε	to sound the war-cry Diodorus Siculus 13.55.6, 98.5-99.1
ἐπεγείρειν	to stir up, i.e. encourage, to awaken, arise up Aesop <i>Fable</i> 289
ἐπεφλέγεν excite (from φλέγω)	metaphorically, to inflame, Aeschylus <i>Persians</i> 395
ἐπιπλεῖν from ἐπιπλέω	to attack (naval), i.e. to sail against Xenophon <i>Hellenica</i> 5.1.9
ἐποτρύνειν (ἐποτρύνω)	to sound the attack, lit. to urge on Thucydides 6.69.2 Dio Chrysostom <i>The Second Discourse on</i>

Kingship 29

ἐρι – σάλπιγξ, -ιγγος ὅ, σι ή	loud-trumpeting, dub. name of a bird Schol. <i>Ar. An.</i> 884 (Heysch ήρισάλπιγξ)
ἐρρωμένος	stoutly, manfully Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
εὐθειά	straight Pollux 4.85
ἤχειν	to echo Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
ήχή	a sound of any sort
θόρυβος	clamour, uproar, loud noise Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
ἴαχε (from ἴαχεω, to cry)	a cry of the trumpet, to shout, a cry, shout of sorrow Homer <i>Iliad</i> 18.219
καταζεύγμα, ατος, τό	clamour, threatening Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.86
καταπληκτικόν	striking, wondrous; fitted to strike with amazement Aristides Quintilianus Bk.2.6
κελάδημα, -ατος, τό	loud rushing sound Crinagoras <i>AP</i> 6.350
κέρας	horn Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 2.2.4, 7.3.33, 7.4.19 Josephus <i>Jewish Antiquities</i> 5.23, 5.27, 5.223, 7.356, 9.269
κτύπος, -ου, ὅ	any loud noise, clash as in thunder Bacchylides <i>Ode</i> 4.75 Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85 Nonnus 25.265
κώδων, -ωνος ὅ	bell Sophocles <i>Ajax</i> 17
κωμάζωσιν	merry-making, crashing in on a party

λίαν ὀξύφωνος	Plato <i>Republic</i> 217c2 exceedingly high-pitched, sharpness of voice Homer <i>Iliad</i> 18.219 Aristonicus <i>Schol in Iliadem</i> 18.219b
λιγύς, λίγεια	sweet, clear sweet sound any loud clear sound Aristonicus <i>Schol in Iliadem</i> 18.219b
μαγάδιδι σάλπιξοντες (from μαγάδις, -ιδος, ή) a three-cornered instrument like a harp, arranged in octaves, also a Lydian flute or flageolet producing a high and low note together	trumpet linked with sound of a harp Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 7.3.32-3
μαλακώτατον	as soft as possible ps.Aristotle <i>de audibilibus</i> 803a
μαχέος χαλκοῦ	thick brass Procopius 6.23.23-29
μέλος ἄλυρον	lyreless music Aristotle, <i>Rhetoric</i> 3.6.7
μῦκαομαι	like the bellowing of oxen Nonnus <i>Dionysiaca</i> 2.557, 17.92-94
νόμος ὀρθίος	an air of loud, stirring tone, like our military music Herodotus 1.24
ὀγκόφωνος	weighty voice, Persian trumpet Aristonicus, <i>Schol. In Iliadem</i> , 18.219
ὡς ὄνῳ	like a donkey, ass
(ὀγκάομαι to bray, esp. of the ass	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i> , “The Cleverness of Animals”, 973B-D
ὀξύφθογγος	sharp-toned, shrill Athenaeus 633F <i>Anth. P</i> 6.51
ὀξύφωνος, -α, -ον	high-pitched, <i>carynx</i> , Gaulish and Etruscan trumpets

	Aristonicus, <i>Schol. In Iliadem</i> , 18.219
ὀρθίος, -α, -ον	of the voice: high-raised, shrill, loud, clear or high Euripides <i>Children of Heracles</i> 830-831 Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
ὀρχιλός	like a wren Aelian, <i>On Animals</i> 6.19
ξύλου λεπτοῦ	Procopius 6.23.23-29
ξυνταράξαι from ξυνταράσσω	to confuse Procopius 5.10.4
παιάν, -ᾶνος, ὁ	<i>paean</i> , song or shout to the gods Homer <i>Iliad</i> 391, Xenophon <i>Hellenica</i> 7.4.36 Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 3.4.4, 4.3.29, 5.2.12-14, 6.5.27 Aeschylus <i>Persians</i> 392-395 Aeschylus <i>Seven of Thebes</i> 635, Euripides <i>Phoenician Women</i> 1103-1104
παραγγέλλω	to give the watchword; to pass on an announcement; to give the word of / to hand an announcement from one to another, pass it on Aeneas Tacticus 27.3-4
παράγγελμα, -ατος, τό	an order, word of command Diodorus Siculus 13.55.6
παρακέλευμαι παρακελευστικός	to call, call upon, exhort, cheer, encourage, calling out, encouraging Aeschylus <i>Persians</i> 380 Dio Chrysostom <i>The Second Discourse on Kingship</i> 29 Pollux 4.86
πλειοτεροῦ στομάτι from στομα, -ατος, τό, the mouth, and comparative from πλειῖος, fuller	a full sound, hence richer Crinagoras, <i>AP</i> 6.350
πολεμία σάλπιγξ	war trumpet, of or belonging to

	war
	Onasander <i>The General</i>
	42.17.7
(πολεμῖαν ἀοιδάν)	the war-like song of the trumpet
	Bacchylides <i>Ode</i> 18, <i>Dith</i> 4
(πολεμῖαν αὐτήν)	warlike shout
	Lucian <i>Gout</i> 39-41
τὸ πολεμικόν, πολεμικός, -η, -ον τὸ πολεμικὸν σημαίνειν	of or for war signal of attack, also the war signal
	Theophrastus <i>Characters</i> , 25
	Diodorus Siculus 11.22.2,
	12.45.8, 12.55.6, 12.77.3-5,
	15.55.3, 85.3, 17.11.3, 33.3-4
	Polyaenus <i>Stratagems</i> 1.41.3
πολεμιστήριος, -α, -ον	war-like, of a warrior
	Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
	Artemidorus <i>The Interpretation of Dreams</i> , 1.56
ῥωμαλέον from ῥωμαῖλος, strong of body	mighty, strong
	Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.86
σάλπιγγος ἤχη	the voice of a trumpet
	Euripides <i>Trojan Women</i> 1265
	Euripides <i>Phoenician Women</i> 1387
σαλπυγολογχυπηνάδαι, οἱ	whiskered-hussar-trumpeters
	Aristophanes <i>Frogs</i> 965-967
σάλπιγξ, ἡ	trumpet
σαλπίγξεν	to sound the trumpet
	Homer <i>Iliad</i> 21.385-9
	Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 1.2.17,
	7.3.32-3 (when the trumpet sounded) (σαλπίγξιεν)
	Plutarch <i>Marcellus</i> 18.4
	Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.89-90
	Procopius 5.10.4
aurists of above: ἔσαλπιγξε	when the trumpet sounded
	Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 1.2.17
ἔσαλπισε	trumpet blast sounded at the

	end of a meal Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophistae</i> 4.30B Lucian <i>Swift-of-Foot</i> 114
σαλπίσμα, -ατος, τό	sound of trumpet-call Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.86
σεμνός, -η, -ον	solemn, stately, majestic Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
σήμα, -ατος, τό	a sign Euripides <i>Phoenician Women</i> 1377
σημαίνουσι	signalling Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 7.111.33
σημαίνειν τῇ σάλπιγγι	the signal for attack (Thuc.2.84) sometimes accompanied by the word σάλπιγξ, sometimes by πολεμικόν, sometimes used alone Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 4.2.1 Andocides 7.9 Diodorus Siculus 16.84.4 Josephus 7.68-70
σημαίνειν ἀναχώρησι	signal for retreat Thucydides 5.10
ἔσημαινον	signalling Plutarch, <i>Lives Aristides</i> , 21.1- 2
also ὑπεσήμηναν αἱ σάλπιγγες	Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.86
σημάντωρ	one who signals ps.Aristotle <i>On the Cosmos</i> 6.399B
στέρεον (from στέρεος)	stiff, hard, solid Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
στηνές	strong, hard, harsh Crinagoras <i>AP</i> 6.350
στρογγύλον	round trumpet Aristonicus, <i>Schol. In Iliadem</i> , 18.219

συγκρουόντων (from συγκροτέω, to strike together, clap)	Aristotle <i>H.A.</i> 530a.12-14 clashing Diodorus Siculus 17.33.3-4
συνάγειριν cf. ἀγείρω	to summon the soldiers Artemidorus <i>The Interpretation of Dreams</i> 1.56
συνηλάλαξαν	to raise the war-cry Diodorus Siculus 15.55.3
συνήχησε from συνηχέω, to peal or sound together	echoing together Diodorus 17.33.3-4
σφοδρός, -α, -ον	violent Aristides Quintilianus Bk.2.15-16 Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
ταῖς σάλπιγξι χρῆσθαι	to use the trumpets Plutarch <i>Marcellus</i> 18.4 Procopius 5.10.4
ταράττεσθαι	thrown into confusion Plutarch <i>Marcellus</i> 18.4
ταραχῶδες	confused, perplexing, troubled Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
ταραχθήσεται	Artemidorus <i>On Dreams</i> 1.56
τορός, -α, -ον	piercing, esp. of the voice Philostratus, <i>Lives of the Sophists</i> 542
τραχύς, -εῖα, -ύ	harsh, savage, rough (1822) Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
Τυρσηνική	Tyrrhenian trumpet
ὑπέρτονος	exceedingly loud Aeschylus <i>Eum.</i> 568
φαίνω	to make clearly audible Aeschylus <i>Eumenides</i> 568
Φθέγγεσθαι / φθέγγεται φθεγγομαι to speak loud and clear	of voice, to speak Homer <i>Iliad</i> 18.217-218 Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 4.2.7, 5.2.12-14, 6.5.27 Philostratus, <i>Heroikos</i> , 10.3
ἐφθέγγετο	Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 7.4.19 the

also ἐπιφθέγγεται	trumpet spoke the trumpet sounded Pollux <i>On.</i> 3.8
φθεγγομένη φθεγξάμενης	trumpet-sounding Plutarch, <i>Cleverness of Animals</i> 973B-D Crinagoras <i>AP</i> 6.30
Φθέγμα, -ατος, τό	voice Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
φόβος, ό	fear, terror Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 1.2.17, 7.4.19 Diodorus Siculus 16.84.4 Josephus <i>Jewish War</i> 6.68-70 Onasander <i>The General</i> 42.7.17 Plutarch <i>Marcellus</i> 17.4 Artemidorus <i>On Dreams</i> 1.56
φρικῶδες	awful, horrible, frightening Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
φρυγιῶ αὐλός	Phrygian <i>aulos</i> Aristonicus, <i>Schol. In Iliadem</i> , 18.219 Lucian <i>Gout</i> 34-42 Athenaeus <i>Deipnosophistae</i> 4.185a
φωνή, ή	voice, a sound or tone, properly the sound of the voice Homer <i>Iliad</i> 18.219 Pollux <i>On.</i> 4.85
χαλκεόφωνος	bronze voice Homer <i>Iliad</i> 5.785
χαλκοκῶδων	metallic-sounding Aesop 289 Bacchylides <i>Ode</i> 18 <i>dith.</i> 4 Sophocles <i>Ajax</i> 16-17
χαλκός και σίδηρος	copper and iron Pollux 4.85
χαλκοστόμου κῶδωνος	bronze utterance of the trumpet Sophocles, <i>Ajax</i> 17
ὠμοβοείαις	raw, un-tanned ox-hide Xenophon <i>Anabasis</i> 7.3.33

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ABBREVIATIONS

Note: all abbreviations for authors will be as in *LSJ* and all abbreviations for periodicals will be as in *L'Année Philologique*.

AE = *Archaiologike Ephemeris (Athens)*.

Anab. = Xenophon, *Anabasis*.

BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique*.

CEG = Hansen, P. A. (ed.) 1989. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*. Berlin.

CIG = Boeckius, A. (ed.) 1833. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum*. Berlin: G. Reimeri Library.

Corinth = Meritt, B.D (ed.) 1931. *The Greek Inscriptions 1896-1927*. Cambridge (Mass.).

Cornell = epigraphy.packhum.org. The Packard Humanities Institute, Cornell University.

FD III = Bourget, E. 1929. *Fouilles de Delphes, III. Épigraphie*. Paris.

FGH = Jacoby, F. (ed.) 1954. *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*. Vol. I. Leiden, E.J. Brill (also *FgrHist*).

GNB = Alexander, P. (ed.) 1979. *Good News Bible, Special Edition*. England: Lion Publishing and The Bible Societies.

Grove = Sadie, S. (ed.) 1984. *Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Hell. = *Hellenica*.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, various editions:-

Dittenberger, G. (ed.) 1892. *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis romanae: Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae*. Parts I-II. Berlin.

Hiller de Gaertringen, F. (ed.) 1929. *IG Inscriptiones Argolides*. Berlin.

Kern, O. (ed.) 1908. *Inscriptiones Thessaliae*. Berlin, G. Reimeri.

Kirchner, I. (ed.) 1926-31. *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Minor II and III, Pars II and Fasc I. Berlin. G. De Gruyter et Socios.

IThesp = Roesch, P. (ed.) *Les Inscriptions de Thespies (IThesp)*, Fasc. I-XII. Electronic version by G. Argoud, A. Schachter and G. Vottéro.

IvO = Dittenberger, W., and Purgold, K. (eds.) 1986. *Die Inschriften von Olympia*. Berlin.

JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Klee, Geschichte = Klee, T. 1918. *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen*. Leipzig and Berlin.

LSJ = Liddell, H. G., and Scott, R. (eds.) 1968. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edition,

reprint with supplement. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

OCD = Hornblower, S., and Spawforth, A. (eds.) 2003. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition, revised. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

OERD = Pearsall, J., and Trumble, B. (eds.) 2002. *Oxford English Reference Dictionary*, revised 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

OGIS = Dittenberger, W. (ed.) 1903-1905. *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. 2 vols. Leipzig. For Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia: see Bernand, E. 1982. *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie: Répertoire bibliographique des OGIS*. Paris.

On. = Bethe, E. (ed.) 1966. *Pollux, Onomasticon*. Stuttgart: Teubner.

RE = *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Pauly, A.F., Wissowa, G., Kroll, W., and Witte, K. (eds.) 1893 – 1920. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler. Plus *Supplementband V*. Wittowa, G., and Kroll, W. (eds.) 1931. Stuttgart.

*RSV*¹ = Moffatt, J. (ed.) 1948. *The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version*. London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd.

*RSV*² = Fant, D.J. (ed.) 1962. *The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version*. London: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd.

SEG = Hondius, J.E. (ed.) 1923-54. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Brill Online. Vols. 1-11.

*Syll*³ = Dittenberger, W. (ed.) 1915-1924. *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum (SIG)*. 3rd edn., 4 vols. Leipzig.

Tralles = McCabe, D. F. (ed.) 1989. *Tralles Inscriptions. Texts and List*. Includes *Die Inschriften von Tralleis*. Bonn.

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