Colonising the Ancient Night? Functions of the Night-Time in Ancient Greek Warfare

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Contents

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Functions of the Night-Time in Ancient Greek Warfare

Introduction

"For he is able to make as good a use of night as of day"
-Xenophon *Hellenica* 6.1.15

In describing the prowess of Jason of Pherae as a general, Xenophon presents his ability to utilise the night to the same extent as the day as a key feature of his formidability. But what exactly does it mean to utilise the night? And how is this different from utilising the day?

The night is in one sense easy to define; it is "the time from dusk to dawn when no sunlight is visible".[1] But is it darkness alone that explains the dichotomy of day and night?[2] Darkness is certainly not the only change that demarcates the night. Dropping temperatures and nocturnal creatures provide just some examples of how the landscape of the night becomes a very different environment to that of the day. These hostile conditions, in part, explain a lack of historical discussion on the night until recent years; we consider the night as something we are typically thought to 'endure' or 'survive' rather than actively participate in. However, as is clear from this quotation from Xenophon, humans have been actively utilising the night since at least the Classical period, and earlier. Effective use of the night here is what really marks an exceptional general-good daytime performance is expected. But, is this ability to overcome the hostilities of the night a means of utilising the night in the same way as one would the day, or is it more complex than that?[3] In this thesis, I will explore, on an intellectual and sensory level, the ways in which the night time was perceived and utilised in the context of ancient Greek warfare.[4] In other words: what was the function of the night time in ancient Greek warfare? By ascertaining what activities took place during the night time of the 4th century BC, in a military context, it will become possible to understand more about how the experience of the night was used and presented in antiquity. I will argue that far from being desolate and empty of human presence, the ancient night was a significant time for military activity and that it was in fact used in a variety of interesting ways that are not served by the rather simplistic image of nocturnal 'colonisation' presented in Histories of the Early Modern period.

[1] Merriam Webster Definition 1; presented as a universal and unproblematic definition in Chaniotis, *Ancient Greece after sunset* (Princeton 2013) Talk accessed online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KQOFF9iRXMc (last seen 24th November 2019)*;* there is some suggestion that the 'night' in so far as how night watches were measured, began at dinner rather that at sunset. F. Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*.(Ann Arbor 1999) 24. cites Xenophon *Hellenica* 4.6.7, *Anabasis* 7.3.34, *Cyropaedia* 3.3.33, 7.2.1, *Hiero* 6.9, and Aeneas Tacticus 18.1 in support of this.
[2] Merriam Webster Definition 3a states that night is "the quality and state of being dark"
[3] For the use of the night as a 'marked' concept see Chaniotis, *Ancient Greece after sunset.*
[4] I will not include naval warfare in this thesis. Night-time sea battles were rather rare, making the primary relation of night sailing, in a military context, periods of relatively safe transition and not direct conflict. An overview of night sailing is given in Appendix 1 of J. Morton, The role of the physical environment in ancient Greek seafaring (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, Ann Arbor 1998).

Debate and historiography

From its foundations in the pioneering sociological work of Melbin, *Night as a Frontier: colonising the world after dark*, the idea of the 'colonisation of the night' is presented in the scholarship of the night in the Early Modern period, particularly in the works of Ekirch and Koslofsky.[5] Far from utilising the idea of colonisation as a heuristic tool, colonisation has been used rather uncritically to represent the trend of increasing wakefulness during night time hours following large-scale shifts in lighting technologies. However, this use of colonisation as a model, and the focus on technological advancements has two main problems. Firstly, the preoccupation with the shifts and changes that coincide with the advent of widespread street lighting has led to the periods of ancient history largely being overlooked, with historical summaries often skipping from the occasional Homeric reference and brief Roman quotation to the early 17th Century.[6] The fixation on the industrial revolution reads as an assumption on the part of these scholars that the night, before the advent of widespread public lighting, was an empty wasteland just waiting to be colonised.[7] Despite being works rooted in the postcolonial tradition, this picture of the night as an empty wilderness only acts to reinforce traditional colonial narratives. Secondly, there is the assumption that 'colonisation' is an adequate or appropriate descriptor of how people are interacting with the night. The use of 'colonisation' as a model seems to oversimplify both the use of the night in earlier periods and what it means to inhabit or make use of a time or a place. However, I believe that the accounts of nocturnal activity present in the works of the Classical period, in particular those of the 4th century, offer a useful way of nuancing the picture of the "pre-colonised" night.[8]

Building on the work of Turner, Melbin's primary aim was to advance frontier theory in order to show that the darkness can be seen as the new frontier of human expansion, akin to the geographical expansion that took place in earlier periods.[9] However, this metaphor of the night as a frontier was broadly dismissed as "superficial and invited by broad analogy"[10]. It was the more general idea of colonisation that was retained as 'the night' as a topic moved

[5] M. Melbin, *The Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World After Dark* (New York 1987) Based on his own earlier work of 1978; A. Ekirch, 'Sleep We Have Lost: Pre-industrial Slumber in the British Isles', *American Historical Review* 106 (2001) 343-386; C. Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: a History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2001).
[6] One example of this includes the brief classical references in Ekirch, 'Sleep We Have Lost', 367, 384.
[7] J. Verplanke, The Function of The Night in Ancient Greek Religion: an exploration of the ancient world between dusk and dawn (Master Thesis, University of Leiden, Leiden 2017).
[8] Chaniotis, *Ancient Greece after sunset* provides a wide range of activities, and sources for these, that occur at night. His material is wide ranging and offers a starting point for new research on the night in Antiquity.
[9] F.J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York 1921). .
[10] D. Anderton, 'Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World After Dark. By Murray Melbin (Book Review)' *Social Forces* 69:3 (1991) 933-935. Similar sentiments about the metaphor are expressed in reviews by B. Schwartz, 'Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World after Dark (Book Review)', *Contemporary Sociology* 17:1 (1988) 58-59. and E. Phillips, 'Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World After Dark (Book Review)', *American Journal of Sociology*, 95:4 (1990) 1089-1091.

into historical discourse. However, I would argue that the idea of the frontier is central to understanding the problems of colonisation as a model for the ancient uses of the night in particular. While Melbin proposes that the expansion into the night is a temporal extension of the day- "using the same space more of the time is a way to multiply its capacity."-the metaphor of the frontier lends it more of a spatial character.[11] The use of advanced lighting technologies makes a clear attempt at temporally extending the day, with the lighting providing similar conditions to the daytime. This minimising the spatial differences in the landscape between the night and day enables the continuation of typically 'daytime' activities. The colonisation of the night, for Melbin, is complete only when the spatial difference is neutralised in the face of temporal expansion. Temporal expansion, therefore, becomes synonymous with the colonial, whereas a spatial view of the night offers a more nuanced approach. By recognising the night as a different space, and utilising it on its own terms, we see a different way of inhabiting it that need not be considered 'colonisation'. It is here that the metaphor of the frontier regains its potency, over the catch-all idea of 'colonisation'. Frontier zones need not be viewed as a means of spreading existing ways of life, but as a way of creating new ones enabled by new environments. The 'night people' of Melbin's metaphor had moved to that space precisely because they did not fit with 'normal' daytime society; they wished to utilise the night for its own qualities- the darkness offering them more privacy, as just one example.[12] Thus, people can inhabit and be present in a place without the loaded connotations of 'colonisation'.

Indeed, it is precisely the lack of widespread lighting in antiquity that can bring us closer to an understanding of how ancient people viewed the night in itself. Without the means of wholesale 'colonisation', we can evaluate the extent to which this was the aim when the ancients used the night or whether their approach was more complex. Warfare offers a particularly useful framework for this study, as there are clear incidents that occur during the night, such as night battles and raids, which were recorded, and the aims of the actors involved are usually fairly clear. When we look to the theme of the night in ancient warfare this encourages us to ask whether, in this context, the expansion into the night was a way of extending the day temporally- doing the same things for longer- or whether it was considered as a separate, spatial, arena of war. Within this we can also ask what, if any, were the qualities of the night that enabled it to be used as an instrument of war?

Approach and Limitations

The reasons for the focus on the 4th century are manifold. As a study of the night, the period occupies an important stage at the end of the Classical and the beginning of the Hellenistic periods. Chaniotis argues that it was the mid 4th century that saw a period of change in the use of lighting, in order to make the night "brighter, safer, more rational, more filled with life, more efficient."[13] The presence of such a shift in the perception of the night would imply that it would be more evident in the source material. As a military study, the period also offers some advantages. In particular, the increasing use of military treatises in the 4th century BC mean that the average, or typical, night during periods of conflict is explored in greater detail

[11] Melbin, *The Night as Frontier*, 70.
[12] M, Melbin, 'Night as Frontier', *American Sociological Review* 43 (1978) 3-22, at 10
[13] Chaniotis, *Ancient Greece after sunset*.

than night-time would ordinarily have been. This rise in military texts, is caused by the military context of the period. The individualism of states, engendered after the King's Peace in 387, left many smaller states in a vulnerable position, without as much protection from larger allies. This newfound vulnerability lead to an increase in concern with defence among polis communities. The period after the Peloponnesian war is also characterised by an increase in mercenary warfare brought about by a generation of young men being trained primarily for conflict. These new military ways of life, not tied to particular geographical areas also makes the geographical constraint of this thesis more complex. On the whole, I will be focusing on the 'Greek speaking world'. However, as my project is to ascertain how the night was presented I need not feel bounded to this area, but rather take my lead from the Greek sources that we have. It would be foolish, for example, to disregard evidence from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* or sources related to the campaigns of Alexander simply because their subject matter is geographically East of the Greek world- it offers unique examples of the night-practices of Persian armies, which through their differences help to illuminate those of their Greek adversaries.

The main primary sources for this Thesis will be the textual sources of the 4th century BC, written in Greek.[14] Of particular note among these are the works of Xenophon and Aeneas Tacticus. Where comparison is helpful, I will also bring in works from earlier periods. This will be particularly useful when literary influence is clear. For example, where Xenophon is drawing on the work of Thucydides- whose 'night scenes' would have provided a key template- it would help to distinguish details engaging in literary discourse from those that are intended to be depictions of reality.[15] I will, however, steer clear of later works that refer back to incidences occurring during the period for sensory examples, though I will refer to them where a narrative example is pertinent. There is a case to be made that later works draw upon, now lost, contemporary sources, however, my avoidance of them is due to two main reasons. Firstly, it would be very difficult to ascertain whether references to the night were coloured by the context of their production- could, for example, the differences between Plutarch and Xenophon's accounts of the recapture of the Cadmea in 379 BC be explained by differing views of the night?[16] This is hard to quantify. Secondly, I feel that a

[14] My list of textual sources is the following: Andocides (440-390), Xenophon (431-354), Plato (428-347), Lysias (445-380), Isocrates (436-338), Isaeus (early 4th), Aeschines (389-314), Aristotle (384-322), Demosthenes (384-322), Aeneas Tacticus (4th), and Theophrastus (371-287). I will also include *Rhesus* of Euripides* in my main corpus. *The authorship of this play is questioned, and if it were not written by Euripides, as I believe it wasn't, this would put it very close to or at least within my period, as well as it being a useful source for how a military night was presented on the stage. I will read these sources in Greek; where translations are quoted they will be my own.

[15] We can safely assume that Xenophon read Thucydides due to the opening line of the *Anabasis*. Similarly, it is reasonable to assume that all authors would have been familiar with the works of Homer and Hesiod. Chaniotis, *Ancient Greece after sunset* emphasises the idea that some night scenes may have been included in literary texts for the sake of convention.

[16] Indeed, Chaniotis, *Ancient Greece after sunset* does argue that there would have been a substantial difference in how the night was experienced and perceived in the two different periods of production- therefore we must consider it a strong possibility that this could be the case.

bigger study would be needed for such a wide-ranging comparative work. On the whole, the textual evidence of the 4th century alone is ample, rich, and varied, with works extending from military treatises and histories to works of philosophy, which will combine to give a rounded presentation of the ancient night-time at war. Of course, the varied nature of the sources presents an extra challenge in establishing the varying motivations for the creation of each work, which will in turn affect how we treat each individual source. For example, the self-aggrandising nature of Xenophon's *Anabasis* may lead us to caution when reading his, sometimes dramatic, claims and would therefore necessitate further research where possible. In order to mitigate this problem, I will make clear the context and background of each source as it arises and will reemphasise this where pertinent, as well as conducting necessary checks.

In addition to the textual sources, the inscriptions of the period are set out in Rhodes and Osborne's *Greek Historical Inscriptions*. The references to the night time within this epigraphical corpus are, however, restricted to religious practices and healing within sanctuaries. While these do not have direct relevance to the topic at hand, they can provide some background to relevant practices.[17] For example, some night attacks took place during all-night festivals for which these inscriptions give us some illuminating background. Using *The Oxford Handbook of Light Archaeology* as a guide, I will also attempt to integrate aspects of material culture, such as lamps, that would have been specifically used at night.[18] I hope that this will give a fuller context and assist in evoking a sense of the ancient night.

By taking a sensory approach to the topic, I hope to build a picture of how people caught up in hostile situations would have experienced the night.[19] In doing this, I will seek to answer the personal questions of whether the night could ever have offered a restful environment for those involved in warfare, as well as broader questions of how the night was perceived- as an arena or instrument of war - in both the cultural consciousness as well as on a more practical level. Did the night feel different to the day? And did people act in similar ways during the hours of darkness as they would during the day? For much of this sensory approach I will be dependent on textual sources, where possible from first-hand accounts.[20] I would also like to look at some of the material culture to throw some light on the more tactile

[17] The inscriptions with references to the 'night', 'dark', and 'sleep' are RO 19, 27, 62, 81, 97, and 102

[18] C. Papadopoulos and H. Moyes, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Light Archaeology* (Oxford 2017).

[19] This approach is inspired by the works of Smith, in particular M. Smith, *The sensorium on a constant strain: A sensory history of natural disasters in the Danish West Indies, 1867* (South Carolina 2017) Talk accessed online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_DR-oI4KArk (Last accessed on 12th January 2020) which showed me the possibility of gaining a greater understanding of hostile environments through a sensory approach. I have also seen the application of this approach in Ancient History in the work of Platts and the Routledge Series S. Butler and M. Bradley et. al., *The Senses in Antiquity* (Routledge 2019). [I think the various volumes in these series have different editors. Check this reference.

[20] For example, the works of Xenophon would constitute a first-hand account, despite their literary character.

aspects of the night.[21] In a way, any study of the night is, by its nature, a sensory study.[22] The lack of light leads to a greater emphasis on senses other than vision; the sources reflect this shift, presenting the information gained from a greater variety of sensory and emotional experiences, and I would like my history to reflect this.

Over the course of this thesis I will take various uses and functions of the night in Greek warfare, in order to ascertain whether these 'uses' of the night can be seen as evidence of a colonial, or temporal, approach to the night, a more spatial view that considers the night as a distinct arena of war, or something else entirely. These chapters will be entitled: 'The Night as a Disguise' and 'The Night as a Stage'.[23] Through these chapters I will also discuss the ways in which the historian can use the night and its presentation beyond what it tells us about the night itself, through its unique ability to bring aims and fears of the actors to the attention of the observer. I hope, through this discussion, to present an alternative framework for the discussion of interactions within the night that moves away from, or at least nuances the current model of the 'colonisation' of the night.

[21] D. Moullou and F.V. Topalis, 'Reconstructing Artificial Light in Ancient Greece' in: C. Papadopoulos and H. Moyes ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Light Archaeology* (Oxford 2017) has shown me the possibility here in the domestic context, and I intend to explore their conclusions as far as I can in the military context by looking at the lighting sources they state as for military specific usage.

[22] Chaniotis, *Ancient Greece after sunset.*

[23] The functions of the night that I have selected have been chosen as the main strands that developed when reading through the sources of the period. I hope that they are broad enough to encompass many of the main activities of the night, but succinct enough to provide a useful analytical framework.

1.The Night as a Disguise

The colonisation framework suggest that the night was used for an extension of 'daytime' activities. However, the widespread use of the night in activities particular to the night suggests that it is more complex than the model of colonisation would first have us believe. The lack of widespread lighting in antiquity meant that the night was particularly dark. Instead of colonising the night with attempts to reduce this darkness, the darkness was utilised for its own properties. In particular, the darkness enabled disguise and secrecy, both things to be contended against and manipulated for one's own ends. Thus, by looking at the ways in which the night was used for its darkness, as opposed to despite it, I will show that the night is being used in a more complex way than being 'colonised'.

1.1 How dark was the night?

In order to understand how the darkness was used as a disguise it would be fruitful to look at exactly how dark the night was. Here I would like to draw upon the sensory aspects of both ancient and modern accounts of darkness, rather than more scientific accounts which do not necessarily give a sense of how the night was being experienced. The ancient night, particularly those experienced on many military campaigns, can be looked at as rather similar to the modern rural night with a distinct lack of artificial light sources- barring those used within the military camps. There were likely to have been more sources of light in cities in general, from workshops which sometimes operated at night to people using lamps in domestic settings. However, these lights were discouraged in times of war and darkness was protected.[24] This darkness, of course, was not complete. The lack of artificial lighting means that the moon and the stars were visible and were a source of some light. Indeed, the choice of "moonless nights" for escapes and attacks suggests that their light was not insignificant. However, we have several accounts of how the darkness of the night hindered people's abilities to move about and perceive their surroundings despite the light given off by the moon and the stars. Of particular interest to how the darkness can disguise people are the following accounts:

> "You do know," I said, "that when the eyes are no longer turned towards objects illuminated by the light of day but rather those that are lit by the dim lights of night, their edge is dull and they appear almost blind, as if clear sight did not dwell in them."[25]

> "if you look at something you don't really see it, it is a haze"[26]

Here we have two accounts one ancient, one modern regarding the effects of low lighting on vision. They are striking in their similarity; they portray not complete lack of vision but rather the blurring of edges that would provide anonymity even if your figure could be made out.

Of course, there were other factors to contend with in attempting to evade notice and recognition in the dark. Typically, guards and lookouts are presented in the literature

[24] Aeneas Tacticus, 10.25-26
[25] Plato, *Republic,* 508c
[26] A. McNab, *Bravo Two Zero* (London-Bantam 1993) 88-89.

stationed by fires or with torches.[27] Presumably so that "if anyone approached in the dark, they might see him by the light of the fire."[28] However, this is problematic to our conception of how lighting in the dark works. When one is near to a light there is a greater illumination, but only within the radius of that light. Beyond this limited circle, the darkness actually becomes darker.[29] The author of the second quotation above argues that "even small amounts of light can wreck your night vision."[30] Therefore, it would be safe to assume that even if those whose notice you wished to evade had fires it would be possible to utilise the darkness as a disguise, perhaps even more so than if they did not.

Indeed, there are further factors that occur in the darkness that make disguise a valid possibility. Russell argues that due to the lateness the guards' eyelids would grow heavy and the crackle of the fire would cover small noises.[31] This is particularly significant as the darkness means that hearing would have become more important than vision in detecting movements and identifying people.[32] Thus Aeneas Tacticus also urges the protection of the silence in order to assist hearing of the guards.[33] However, Aeneas Tacticus is renowned for being rather stringent in his recommendations, to the extent that we cannot take them as an accurate representation of what would typically have occurred in the average small polis. In fact, his exhortation to quieten the noises of the workshops is more powerful as evidence for the existence of background noises in the first place. Furthermore, not all nights would be clear, with fog and storms obscuring and bewildering the senses: "inclement weather favours the stealthy by obscuring sight and hearing."[34] Thus we can be fairly confident in saying that, if one could overcome the confusion and dangers of the night, it could be effectively utilised as a disguise. Now that we have ascertained that the night was indeed dark enough to cover people's movements and identity, this leads us to the way that this was used in a military context.

1.2 Deserting

One of the striking features of the narratives of the night on military campaigns is how often people were deserting. The reason for this is, at first glance, fairly obvious. The darkness enables escape to go unnoticed until the morning and, as desertion was highly shameful if not illegal, the want for disguise is understandable.[35] However, there are other features of the night that increase the likelihood of desertion. A lack of light is accompanied by the

[27] F. Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece* (Ann Arbor 1999), 33.
[28] Xenophon, *Cyropaedia,* 3.3.25.
[29] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 32.
[30] McNab, *Bravo two zero*, 88-89 corroborated by medical professional Doctor Connor in 1996 found in Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 32.
[31] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 36.
[32] Xenophon, *Cyropaedia,* 5.3.43.
[33] Aeneas Tacticus, 22.24.
[34] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 35.
[35] Polis armies would have had laws against desertion, however M. Christ, *The Bad Citizen in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 2006) 95 argues that "punishment was not certain". There was not legal structure in place for mercenary armies, however, the consequences of desertion were manifold and a decision to leave would not have been taken lightly.

undermining of traditional authorities. Wishnitzer, in his article about the nocturnal life of 18th century Istanbul, argues that the institutions of power that characterise the day withdraw at night leading to different socialisation in the periods of darkness.[36] As another face-to-face society, this theory can be transposed in the context of ancient Greece.[37] As the institutions of the army- the generals- withdraw to their tents for discussion and evening meals, the rest of the army are freer to behave against their wishes.[38] Indeed, the first two incidences of desertion described in Xenophon's Anabasis occur on nights after the deaths of key authority figures in the army; the flight of Miltocythes' Thracians occurs after the discovery that Cyrus had died, and Nearchus' contingent left in the night of confusion following the death of Clearchus and many other generals.[39] In the latter case it is interesting to note that the night on which they deserted was described in the following way:

> Because they were downhearted, few of them tasted their evening meal, and *few started up a fire*; that night many of them did not even return to where their weapons were, instead everyone took their rest wherever they happened to be[40]

The breakdown in morale and leadership lead to an environment that would have been physically darker, offering more opportunity to leave.[41] Thus we can see that there is a direct link between authority and light used at night; the increase in darkness is symptomatic of less control in a way described by Wishnitzer. Of course, these incidents were exceptional cases of when the normal chain of command was disintegrating. However, these incidents do speak to a wider trend of the darkness contributing to the sense of a lack of authority.

Visual presence of the generals was important to the socialisation of the men. Aeneas Tacticus, though in the different context of a city under siege, advises that in cases of low morale at night "the general in person [should] make each round carefully with his own regular bodyguard" to check on the guards. [42] Not only would this enable the general to be confident that his orders are being carried out, it also enables him to be seen. The guards who are reminded of the presence of authority are thought to be less likely to leave their stations because of this visual reminder. However, the insistence of this precaution by Aeneas Tacticus need not imply that this was the practice in reality. In fact, the continued documented failures of those on guard duty suggest quite the opposite. The darkness both affords the opportunity for escape and facilitates the reduced sense of authority held by the generals.[43]

[36] A. Wishnitzer, 'Into the Dark: Power, Life, and Nocturnal Life in 18th-century Istanbul', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 46 (2014) 513-531, at 514.
[37] Wishnitzer, 'Into the Dark', 513.
[38] For some examples of withdrawing to tents and private discussions see Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 1.10.17, *Cyropaedia,* 8.5.8-11; and Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy,* 175.
[39] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 2.2.7 and 3.3.5.
[40] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 3.1.3 emphasis my own; J. Hyland, 'The Desertion of Nicarchus The Arcadian in Xenophon's "Anabasis"', *Phoenix* 64:3/4 (2010) 238-253, at 247.
[41] Hyland, 'The Desertion of Nicarchus', 246.
[42] Aeneas Tacticus, 26.10.
[43] For flight being facilitated by darkness see Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 51.

The inducement to leave in the first place remains. The night was a fearful environment in a military context.[44] Oftentimes the enemy would have been close by and the apparent commonality of night panics presents us with a picture of extreme unease.[45] This, combined with a reduced sense of duty and less chance of getting caught is sufficient to explain why many people chose to use the night time as their vehicle of escape.[46] Far from continuing to use the night in the same way as the day, those deserting were making use of the inversions brought about by the night to follow their own will. It is only with the revelation of the morning, and the restoration of order that their disappearance is discovered.

Here we have two distinct groups that are utilising the night in slightly different ways; one the authorities attempting to prevent desertion, the other those using it as a disguise and attempting to desert. However, neither instance seems to be replicating the colonial model entirely. The authorities do seem to utilise light and visual presence in the camps and on the walls of cities in an attempt to preserve the same socialisation as during daylight hours, retaining their control. However, this 'colonisation' is by no means wholesale; they still withdraw to other night-time activities, which include preserving darkness, as will be discussed below. When we look at the use of the night as a disguise enabling escape, it becomes rather uncomfortable to think of it as a form of colonisation. It is true that the men deserting are more active in this period, but it would be difficult to argue that other than increased wakefulness that they are exhibiting colonial-esque behaviours. Desertion is a one-off activity and, due to the fearful environment created by the military context, I would suggest that here they seem more akin to refugees in the night, than colonists. The darkness becomes a cloak with which they disguise themselves and a haven in which they seek refuge.

1.3 Gathering Intelligence

However, this need not imply that the leaders of armies were necessarily seeking to eradicate these features of the night and thus 'colonise' it. Of course, dissention among their own troops needed to be guarded against, but could the darkness offer opportunities to gather intel on the enemy? Indeed, the idea of intelligence gathering is of vital importance in a military context, as a means of improving security and tactical advantage.[47]

1.3.1 Taking prisoners

There are several ways in which this process is considered to be linked to the actions performed at night. As just one example, if men were frequently lost to desertion it stands to reason that armies also captured enemy deserters. As well as the motives indicated above, armies could also create conditions that would further encourage deserts to come over to their side. Not only would this potentially gain information, it was also done with the intention of sowing dissention among the enemy forces. Russel, in his comprehensive work on information gathering in classical Greece, cites inducements, such as monetary reward and

[44] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 50.
[45] For a sense of fear and the commonality of panics see Aeneas Tacticus, 27.1-14 and Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 2.2.17-21.
[46] Hyland, 'The Desertion of Nicarchus', 247.
[47] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 7.

prestige to come over.[48] Bribery was a particularly effective tactic, especially when it came to the mercenary soldiers that characterise this period.[49] However, the rewards needed to be able to be worth the risks that could be encountered during the night; the hostility of those they were deserting, the terrain itself, and the suspicion of the enemy. How was a military camp or city to display itself as an attractive haven during the night whilst maintaining the sense of an impenetrable stronghold? Indeed, beyond the inducements given during the day, there is no evidence to suggest that enemy would have tried to make themselves seem particularly accessible to deserters in the night. Indeed, even when deserters were explicitly unwelcome, they were still those that decided to risk their lives to desert. One powerful example is Mnasippus' siege of Corcyra, in which the famine of the besieged was so bad that they deserted despite there being a proclamation that they would be sold into slavery.[50] This implies that there is something about the night that, as well as making current plight too unbearable, encourages the hopes of deserters regardless of the inducements of the enemy.[51] The night's natural propensity to disguise dangers encourages people to risk their safety, by venturing out, for the promise of something better. It not only disguises them, it disguises what ought to hold them back and provides them with a canvass on which to paint their hopes. In this way, then, the darkness is not necessarily being used actively, it is just a facilitator to deserters that armies could count upon if they gave large enough inducements for the risks, which were obscured by the darkness, to seem worth it.

The extent to which these deserters were trusted when in enemy hands is not clear; generals were certainly cautious in disarming them and questioning them thoroughly.[52] However, the use of 'fake deserters' as a method of counter intelligence by Greek armies suggests that they could be effective, though we must be urged to caution as the examples are mostly literary rather than historical.[53] Here, playing on the context of fear and darkness gives an opportunity for infiltration and thus further deception. The context of the night gives more potency to the stories of 'defectors'- their fear is more believable and the danger they have faced acts as a means of ratifying their false intentions and concealing their nefarious ones.[54]

Furthermore, there is a question surrounding the amount that the average person could reveal. There certainly was a lot of effort put into gaining prisoners beyond those that walked into camp of their own free will.[55] The following passage from Lysias is revealing:

> And yet, who is so ignorant of his own country's affairs that he cannot, if he chooses to be wicked, inform the enemy of the ground that should be taken,

[48] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 51.
[49] One account sees Ptolemy I offer the forces of Demetrius lavish monetary rewards for deserting, to great effect: Diodorus Siculus, 20.75.1-3.
[50] Xenophon, *Hellenica,* 6.2.15.
[51] For pain, etc. being felt more keenly at night see Ekirch, 'Sleep We Have Lost', 358.
[52] For the disarming of deserters see Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 2.1.6.
[53] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 122.
[54] For the dangers of deserting see Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 51. For more on infiltration by spies and saboteurs in the night see section 1.3.3 of this thesis.
[55] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 46.

> show them the forts that are poorly guarded, teach them about the weaknesses in the State's affairs, and indicate the allies who want to break away?[56]

Here we have compelling reason to believe that even the average soldier could provide valuable intel. However, in Xenophon's Cyropaedia, in which he presents Cyrus as a model general, he emphasises the desire to gain scouts as prisoners.

> He sent forward a company of cavalry with orders to attempt a capture of some of the men who were moving up and down the plain, in order that he might learn more securely the real state of affairs.[57]

Scouts were seen as particularly valuable prisoners to take as they had a broad awareness of what their generals would be looking for and they would, if they were sent from a local army, serve well as guides who were essential to moving in a foreign land especially at night where lack of knowledge of terrain could prove fatal. Night-time ambushes would have been employed to capture such valuable sources of information.

In terms of taking prisoners, then, we are presented with a rather multi-faceted picture of the night as a disguise. As with real deserters, military personnel could use the darkness as a means of disguising their agents who wished to infiltrate enemy ranks or ambush the enemy and take them prisoner. The night is also revealed as a natural disguiser of dangers. Though in some cases the night itself can be seen as the danger, in its natural concealment of obstacles we have a space in which the desperate deserter can construct a vision, aided by enemy bribes, of a better future. Similarly, in order to counter the disguise that the night places on the ground armies seek out guides to map out the real world that becomes hidden. It is a weapon to be utilised, and an empty space to fill and to be navigated. Such diverse interactions with the night ought not to be reduced to 'colonisation'.

1.3.2 Scouting and Patrolling

In addition to receiving information from deserters and prisoners, armies or cities could be more pro-active themselves in gathering information during the night. As we can see from the above, scouts and patrollers were operating at night. They utilised the night as a means of disguising their operatives, whether they be scouts or spies, to gain information about the land and the people that they were engaged against. In the literature, there is a clear linguistic difference between surveillance agents working during the day (*skopoi*) and those at night (*phulakes*).[58] During the day, their small numbers and sometimes even disguises, for example dressed as hunters or brigands, gives them an incongruity meaning that they are less likely to give away the close presence of an army. The use of physical disguise shows a desire for discretion, something that would have been easier to come by at night. Though Russell argues for the stationary role of the night time surveillance, his categorisation is somewhat confused by the presence of patrollers during the night, who seem to be performing very similar functions to the scouts in the day. Here the linguistic contrast does not seem to match the actual contrast on the ground. Of course, the guards (*phulakes*) on the walls performed quite

[56] Lysias, *Against Alcibiades,* 1.35.
[57] Xenophon, *Cyropaedia,* 6.3.6.
[58] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 11.

a different function to scouts (*skopoi*), but the labelling of the guards on the walls as *phulakes* was not confined to those manning the wall at night. Here Russell's attempt at categorisation seems rather weak, but we must also concede that the ancient sources are not clear cut on this matter either; the roles of the two groups do seem to overlap a great deal.

Russell stresses that darkness is an asset to a 'scout' as the additional security the disguise provided outweighed the disadvantage brought about by a lack of sight.[59] As well as stressing the problems with his classification, it also suggests that the darkness could play a vital role in their work. Indeed, the lengths gone to protect the darkness suggest that it was valued in a military context. The Spartans were trained to work in the dark.

> …they must do in the dark what they do in the day. Indeed, those who are still in the army are not even allowed a torch to guide them.[60]

This speaks to the colonisation framework as presented above; they are simply using the night as an extension of daytime behaviours. Just as scouts in the day utilise costume and cover stories to disguise themselves whilst performing reconnaissance, they also use the darkness as a disguise in the same way to scout at night. Even the make-up of patrolling units lends itself to the frontier metaphor suggested by Melbin. Patrolling is consistently a job given over to the young or the non-citizens, just as Melbin's frontier is predominately inhabited by young adult males, often those from ethnic minorities.[61] However, the requirement to learn to function without light complicates the comparison somewhat. They are learning to navigate the landscape of the night with the same competency as they navigate the day. The lack of concession to the use of lighting though, offers a rather different picture to that presented by the historians of the early modern period. Here the desire to continue daytime behaviours, and thus 'colonise' the night is not facilitated by light that eliminates the differences of the night and day, rather they utilise the darkness to aid their mission. Indeed, we cannot simply put this down to the technological constraints faced in the 4th century BC. Even in modern warfare reconnaissance at night is not characterised by a use of lighting, for much the same reasons as in the classical period. Thus, in terms of reconnaissance throughout history we can see a temporal expansion into the night but one that is characterised by a respect for the night as a different space, which need not be elided into the day.

1.3.3 Spying and Sabotage

Spying is another activity often associated with the night; the famous scenes from the *Iliad* of Odysseus and Diomedes operating at night has led to the idea that "night is the time of spies."[62] Dowden's rhetoric here leads us to the image of the night being teeming with people trying to gain information. However, it is important for us to deconstruct this Homeric image.

[59] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 19.
[60] Xenophon, *Constitution of the Spartans,* 5.7
[61] Aeneas Tacticus, 1.8; Xenophon, *Constitution of the Spartans,* 12.3; Melbin, 'Night as Frontier', 10.
[62] For the scenes of 'spying' in the *Iliad* see Homer, *Iliad,* 10.206-210; K. Dowden, 'Trojan Night' in: M. Christopoulos et al. ed., *Light and Darkness in ancient Greek Myth and Religion* (Lanham 2010) 110-120, at 117.

This image may, of course, have played into the 4th century imagination but does not appear to be a reflection of what 'spying' actually looked like in this period.

Firstly, it would be helpful to give 'spying' a definition, as the way it is utilised in the scholarship is far from consistent. The term 'spy' is rather anachronistic in distinguishing between intelligence agents given that the term in Greek- *kataskopoi*- was used for both 'spies' and 'scouts'.[63] In the modern consciousness, 'spy' generally refers to a covert agent employed in a place, which they are able to infiltrate, for a long period of time utilising anonymity and disguise rather than any arms.[64] In this context then, the Doloneia, in particular, could be seen as more of a reconnaissance mission by scouts than as an incident of 'spying'.

As well as establishing the problems of our modern distinction, we can also begin to see why Dowden's image of spies operating at night is rather incongruous. The first red flag is that they share the name with daytime scouts, though as we have established this category is not necessarily as clear cut as we would like it to be.[65] Furthermore, the idea that spies are long term rather than short term information providers, means that they could gain much of the intelligence- particularly that of enemy numbers and preparations- during the day when it was much easier to see. Barring information specifically related to the night, such as guarding patterns, there is very little more that could have been gleaned in the night. The passage related to spies in Xenophon's *Cavalry Commander* also hints at the various other types of people that could be employed as 'spies' or more generally informants, by directly citing merchants as a key source of information, "for all states always receive those importing goods as men well-disposed to them."[66] Indeed, there are many other ways in which people could gain information. Even the highest ranked men, such as Demosthenes, were embroiled in accusations of spying for the enemy; though in a highly litigious society such as Athens this should be treated with caution.[67] And many other people who were present in the poleis, such as heralds, *proxenoi*, servants, and even actors, it seems, could be counted on to provide information.[68] The majority of whom would likely be gathering information during daylight hours, when it would be easier to do so.

[63] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 103.
[64] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 104. based on Xenophon, *Cavalry Commander,* 4.7-8.
[65] See 1.3.2 of this thesis.
[66] Xenophon, *Cavalry Commander,* 4.7.
[67] For a clear account of the intricacies of Demosthenes' rivalry with Aeschines, accusations of spying between them, and the advantage of 'catching' spies by politicians see J. Roisman, *The rhetoric of conspiracy in ancient Athens* (Berkeley-California 2006) 131.
[68] The various sources contributing to intelligence are listed in Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece* throughout his book: envoys p.67, heralds p. 70, proxenoi p.76, allies p. 83, merchants p. 92, official documents p. 93, itinerant workers p.98, geographers p. 99, servants and slaves p. 100.; the reference to actors stems from Demosthenes *On the Peace* 6 when he claims that Neoptolemus' the actor was "enjoying safe conduct under cover of his profession" to spy for Philip of Macedon.

However, there may be some elements of the spying process that were related to the night even if it was not necessarily the gathering of information. Firstly, as mentioned above, the use of fake deserters would have been a good way of infiltrating enemy ranks, with the context of the night giving them greater credibility.[69] We can also glean some information about what spies might have been doing from what was cautioned against in the recommendations and laws of the period, particularly those related to foreign people. One of the key precautions presented by Aeneas Tacticus is to have foreigners locked up at night and kept track of: "At night, all inns should be locked up by the magistrates from the outside". [70] This suggests that there was certainly a perceived risk of these people doing something untoward during the night. This recommendation comes only shortly after he has also suggested the regulation of meetings, insisting that all meetings be held publicly day or night.[71] One aspect that seems to be characteristic of spying in this period is that spies seemed to move in small groups as opposed to being alone, as one might expect.[72] Thus, the night would offer them a chance of meeting to discuss their findings and perhaps ways of communicating messages to their own army.

Communication of information outside the city is thought to have been done primarily at night. Richmond argues that fire signals offered the only feasible solution for spies to convey their message to those further afield.[73] Indeed, the darkness of the night offers a perfect backdrop for a message to be seen.[74] In this context then, the sending of messages could in some ways be taken as a colonial presence at night, with these intermittent messages acting to fill the night as a space of communication.[75] However, it is again the case that the night is being used as a means of enhancing the ability to send a message, with the darkness increasing the distance from which a sign could be seen. Thus, the night is being used for its own qualities rather than being changed or colonised. However, this would have been a dangerous tactic for the spy. The fact that light signals "catch the eye" at night is precisely the reason that makes them easily detectable.[76] While the enemy may not understand the meaning of the signal, the fact that a message is being conveyed would be enough to endanger the sender.[77] Additionally, Aeneas Tactics offers several other means by which a

[69] See section 1.3.1 of this thesis.
[70] Aeneas Tacticus, 10.10.
[71] Aeneas Tacticus, 10.4.
[72] F. Russell, 'Finding the Enemy: Military Intelligence' in: B. Campbell and L. Tritle ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Warfare in the Classical World* (Oxford 2013) 474-492, at X.
[73] J. Richmond, 'Spies in Ancient Greece', *Greece and Rome* 45:1 (1998) 1-18, at 13; for fires in Plataia being visible in Thebes even during a storm see Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 148; modern research suggests that the human eye can detect the flickering of a candle from approximately 3km away in the dark: K. Krisciunas and D. Corona, *At What Distance Can the Human Eye Detect a Candle Flame?* (Cornell 2015).
[74] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 155.
[75] Melbin, 'Night as Frontier', 5.
[76] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 155.
[77] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 149; as indeed seems to have been the case for Agoratus' brother who was caught signalling to an enemy and killed Lysias, *Against Agoratus,* 65.

spy could get a message out of a city or camp.[78] Only one of the methods has an explicit link to the night, and that is the one in which a tablet must be secretly sewn into the shoe of the messenger as he sleeps; it is not insignificant that the night is being used to emphasise the secrecy surrounding the method. It seems most likely that spies were expected to report their findings only when their mission was complete.[79] Furthermore, Aeneas Tacticus cites revolt as the reason that lights ought to be restricted, which is indicative that the concern regarding foreigners at night was more centred around acts of sabotage, such as directly informing the enemy, than gathering of information in the first instance.[80] The things that were restricted- meetings and carrying lights to bed- are fundamental in stirring up revolts or bringing on attacks. Indeed, we can see contrast in the sources of the 5th century in particular. The concern regarding sabotage in the hysteria surrounding the poisoning of water supplies is in marked contrast to the apparent lack of caution shown to spying, with Thucydides, through Pericles' funeral oration, presenting Athens as open to the world.[81]

The way that the night is presented as a time of spies lacks historical evidence but the links of spies with potential saboteurs and revolutionists enables us to see why people would have been so concerned about the movement of foreigners in cities at night. In restricting their access to the night, the night is presented as something dangerous, a weapon to be used against you. By disguising the movements of potential saboteurs and enabling communication with the enemy, the night has the potential to be used against you if you do not take the correct precautions. Furthermore, this restriction of access to the night runs exactly counter to the idea of an active colonisation of the night; considering that there was a reduction in the number of people active at this time it would be incongruous to suggest that that the night was being colonised.

1.4 Concealing your Tactics

One of the most significant uses of the night as a disguise is in its use to disguise strategies. While camping, in cities, or on the move, the element of surprise is fundamental in the success of military endeavours.

The lack of lighting could be used to the advantage of those wishing to conceal their movements. Xenophon praises Agesilaus for concealing his army's movements from the enemy.[82] This often involved marching at night to gain new and unexpected positions. In some senses, the use of the night for marching can be cited as an example of extending daytime activities. However, the motivation behind the night marching is of importance here. If the march was simply to gain ground in the same way they could do in daylight, then it would be fair to call it a temporal expansion of the day. By contrast the deliberate marching at night to

[78] Aeneas Tacticus presents several solutions in his section secret messages, including one concerning a temple 'drop' that is seen in Russell, 'Finding the Enemy', 487 as a viable method for spies.
[79] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 156.
[80] Aeneas Tacticus, 10.25-26.
[81] For the hysteria concerning the poisoning of wells see the public imprecations at Teos ML30, and Thucydides, 2.48; for the funeral oration see Thucydides, 2.39.
[82] Xenophon, *Agesilaus,* 6.6.

disguise whereabouts should be viewed in a different light. Here we are seeing an active deception, to which the context of the night is crucial. Russell argues that the concealment of army movements was considered a matter of basic security in the 4th century.[83]

Another staple of 4th century warfare was the ambush. Though there seems to be a gap between Iphicrates at the beginning and Alexander at the end of the century in the use of peltasts for ambushing, it is not uncommon to find ambushes being laid at night ready for attacks at dawn in the literature of the period.[84] Ambushes were used on a large scale, to attack enemy forces, and on a small scale to capture individual scouts and lookouts. This danger to lookouts is betrayed in Aeneas Tacticus' advice for lookouts active during the day to be sent out to their stations before dawn in order to disguise their positions.[85] On both sides we see the use of the night as a disguise to maintain an element of the surprise or mystery during the day. In the latter case, there was a desire to make the enemy feel watched without knowing from where, this secrecy reinforced by the concealing of the lookout posts. This would give a tactical advantage as well as unsettling the enemy. Through bringing mystery into the day, an army or city could bring some of the positive tactical elements typical of the night into the day. In this way, the deployment of lookouts before sunrise acts to temporally expand the night.

Here again we are seeing a lot of activity during the night, but it is the sort of activity that is actively utilising the darkness and not seeking to eradicate it. Of course, in some instances, one might assume that a general would be keen for additional light to ease marching but, on the whole, it seems as though marching at night was primarily done as a means of capitalising on the element of surprise, just as with setting ambushes. Here motivation is key to understanding the function of the night, and how we should look at it within the 'colonisation' framework.

1.5 Guarding

With the night as a source of disguise for the enemy, there needs to be a means by which one can counter this threat. One of these ways was to utilise dogs in the guarding of cities and camps. Where human guards were liable to failure to notice people disguised in the darkness, dogs were a good way of detecting them with greater sensitivity.[86] This was an increasingly popular strategy employed throughout the 4th and 3rd centuries, with their effectiveness suggested by their importance to the accounts of the Messenians protecting their fortress against the Laconians, and the Indians being alerted of Alexander's presence.[87] Indeed, by the 3rd century we have an honorific inscription for a man who had increased the numbers of dogs

[83] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 214.
[84] M. Williams, 'Philopoemen's Special Forces: Peltasts and a New Kind of Greek Light-Armed Warfare (Livy 35.27)', *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 53:3 (2004) 257-277, at 269; For references to ambushes see Aeneas Tacticus, 4.8-12, 23.8-11; and Xenophon, *Hellenica,* 4.8.35, 7.2.5-6, 7.2.18.
[85] Aeneas Tacticus, 6.6.
[86] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 29.
[87] Pausanias 4.21.1.

placed with guards, suggesting that it was an effective and growing trend.[88] Instead of aiming to replicate the light of the day in order to undermine the disguise of the darkness, people were able to utilise the different senses of dogs to both detect and warn of those in disguise. Indeed, we can see that often instead of attempting to use light or visual signals, other senses were drawn upon in the night. Sounds were the primary stimuli used to counter visual disguise through passwords, general recognition of people's voices and accents, and other signals.[89] However, this is problematic as they are easier to overcome than visual recognition. Knowing the password of the enemy would easily enable access when visual lines of recognition were disrupted in the darkness. However, the repeated incidents of failed recognition in the darkness does, fundamentally, prove that the night was a good disguise.[90]

One question that is raised by the presentation of guards at night, is whether or not they ought to be disguised. Indeed, the messages are rather mixed on this front. Aeneas Tacticus advises guards to shield their lights so they could not be seen from the walls. This advice was given on the basis that they could potentially give away guarding patterns if an enemy could see the light. Similarly, he advises against the use of bells and singing, though this would not have been as easily detectable at range.[91] However, in many instances guards are depicted with fires. If this does indeed hinder their ability to do their job to the extent to which it is presented by Aeneas Tacticus and the later scholarship, then this suggests that there is something else going on. With lives at risk it seems unlikely that the persistent use of fire was merely a concession to human comfort. Perhaps it was, as Russell suggests, that guards were meant to see and to be seen.[92] Even if they are not a massively effective defence once someone has decided to approach, acting more as a "trip wire" the very presence of them on the walls could act as a deterrent. During the day, we see similar concessions to the visual, as opposed to practical, aspect of defence- one of the most memorable being the arming of women with pots and pans in place of armour, to create the illusion of numbers.[93] Similarly, then, the presence of guards on the wall being highlighted as points of light in the night could be described as a means of creating the illusion of strength; setting the stage of power.

Again, we have a rather mixed picture of the night and whether we can consider it to be 'colonised'. The image of guards lit up on the walls of a city acts to illustrate exactly one of Melbin's point that even sparse inhabitancy of the night can be considered "filling it" and thus it being colonised.[94] However, the performative aspect of this practice as a line of defence suggests that this was merely a surface level 'colonisation' if at all. The frequent failures of guarding give more the sense that the visible presence of the guards was supposed to evoke a sense of control in the darkness, which was not necessarily the case. Furthermore, the switch to the use of other senses during the night, whilst a matter of necessity, does imply an

[88] SEG 24 no. 154.
[89] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 182.
[90] For a more detailed discussion of the sounds in the night see chapter 3 of this thesis.
[91] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 31. lists these as key reasons for the failure of night watches.
[92] Russell, *Information gathering in classical Greece*, 37.
[93] Aeneas Tacticus, 40.4
[94] Melbin, 'Night as Frontier', 5.

acceptance that the night must be used in a different way to the day; things become both more difficult and more sensory.

1.6 Summary

Overall, the night was used as a disguise for multiple purposes and in several different ways. This multiplicity, in the first place, encourages us to question the use of colonisation as a 'one size fits all' explanation for what is going on. In some instances, we can see a desire to temporally extend daytime activities into the night, but often this is done with a more sensitive approach to the darkness than is implied by the idea of colonisation. Far from simply overriding the darkness with light, the Greeks of the 4th century utilised the darkness for its own qualities to help them conceal their movements from others around them. As well as oversimplifying, the idea of colonisation can be considered misleading in some instances. With the connotations of colonisation implying an element of control and manipulation, rather than just presence, it becomes an uncomfortable fit when we look at the narratives and experiences of individuals or small groups seeking refuge within the night. The night seems to have more agency than the later theories assume; it is not merely waiting to be colonised nor do people seem wholly intent on doing so.

2. The Night as a Stage

The performative aspect of guarding, as mentioned above, leads us in nicely to the idea that the night was used as a stage in a military context. Unlike the idea of disguise discussed in the former chapter, the idea of a stage is slightly more diverse in its interpretations. From offering the backdrop for the stars, providing the context for the dramatic dreams from the gods, to encouraging the use of performative deception against the enemy, the night is bound up with the theatrical and the illusive. Fundamental to the metaphor of the night as a stage is the question of whether the night can be considered a distinct 'Theatre of war'. In this chapter, I will discuss the various ways in which the night is used as a stage. In doing this, I will ascertain whether it would be possible to describe the night as a distinct theatre of war. Considering this, I will then look at how this fits in with the 'colonisation' theory. The unique backdrop that the night offers for various displays important to military strategy suggests that the night was being utilised in a way that was quite different to the day. This also offers an interesting look into the power associations connected with the use of lighting in the night. As will be discussed further later in the chapter, the Historians of the Early Modern period typically associate the use of light with power, which helps to explain their use of the 'colonisation' metaphor. By looking into the performative use of lighting and the manipulation of darkness, I will show that the associations are not quite as clear cut in this period.

2.1 The Spatial Character of the Night

In his treatise *On War* Von Clausewitz, an 18th century Prussian general and military theorist, defines a Theatre of war as that which "Denotes properly such a portion of the space over which war prevails as has its boundaries protected, and thus possesses a kind of independence."[95] Here, the spatial character of a theatre of war is stressed. While one may not be able to use simultaneous action in this and another arena of war- because of the temporal dimension of the night- that is emphasised by Von Clausewitz, this doesn't necessarily undermine the spatial dimension that the night can have. Melbin's use of the night in his frontier metaphor is bound up in ideas of the spatial, though he doesn't explicitly develop this idea, and Sharpe describes the night time as a "second city- with its own geography".[96]. Thus, by looking at the "spatial turn", that could allow us to think of the night in such terms, I will argue that the night is at the very least an imagined space, in particular one that can be described as a theatre.

The spatial turn has seen the re-evaluation of geography, from a purely geometrical and empirical study to one of socio-cultural significance.[97] Here, we have a new definition of space that is constructed through human interaction with their surroundings.[98] Thus, as humans

[95] Von Clausewitz, *On War,* trans. J. J. Graham (Harmondsworth 1968).
[96] W.C. Sharpe, *New York Nocturne: The City after Dark in Literature, Painting and Photography, 1850–1950.* (Princeton 2008) 14.
[97] B. Warf and S. Arias, 'Introduction: the reinsertion of space into the social sciences and humanities', in: B. Warf and S. Arias *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (London-New York 2009) 1-6.
[98] Verplanke, The Function of The Night in Ancient Greek Religion, 14.

interact with their surroundings differently during the hours of darkness, we are justified in considering it a separate space. In this context, then, it is possible for us to conceptualise the night as a space, despite it not being so in the traditional sense. Indeed, we are inclined to think of the night in a spatial way, using highly spatial expressions such as "to go into the night" or "the night is full of…" to describe human interactions with, and conceptions of, the night.[99] Thus, it is natural for us to think of the night as a space in which we move and interact. Bounded firmly by the daylight, the night, like Von Clausewitz's theatre of war, is also clearly an independent space- distinct from that of the day- in which the actors of war are engaging in conflict, and as we shall see in the rest of this chapter that many of these night time interactions were oriented on performative lines.

If we take terms from dramatic theory we can further see how the 'space' of the night can be conceived in theatrical terms. Llewellyn-Jones lists several types of space in dramatic theory: Dramatic space, stage space, gestural space, and theatre space.[100] Two of these are particularly relevant here. The term gestural space, which is, according to Llewellyn-Jones, "created by the actors and their movements." could have us suggest that, by their very nature, the actions of military 'actors' are creating a sort of theatrical space. While this is convincing in the context of daylight, where the visual recognition of these 'gestures' would continually shape the movement of the war, it is harder to rationalise this during the hours of darkness. If one is unable to see the movement is it fair to say it constructs a space or that it is theatrical? Speaking as an historical observer, we can certainly argue that it does the former, however, it is more difficult to argue that concealed movements are particularly theatrical. As our definitions of theatrical are bound up with ideas of performativity. Indeed theatre space is defined as "the area occupied by the audience and the actors during the course of *a performance* and which is characterized by the theatrical relationship fostered between the two."[101] Thus, if a performance is considered to be taking place, then one would be justified in calling the space in which it was happening a theatre space. Thus, in these terms the night can easily be considered a theatre of war, if we think the actions of the military actors are in anyway performative- creating a performance or spectacle for their opponents who become their audience. This conception of theatre space is, however, very different to the theatrical convention of the time, with most performances taking place in the hours of daylight. Rather this conception of performance would be more at home in the modern theatre tradition, whose theatre spaces are more loosely defined. Thus, it is perhaps rather anachronistic to discuss it in quite these terms. However, Lewellyn-Jones was formulating his definitions with reference to ancient drama, suggesting that he did not think the ideas of performativity wholly incompatible.

Just because the night *could* have been used as a stage does not mean that it would have been. What makes the night particularly suited to being a performative space, and was it actually used in this way? The latter question will be discussed further later in this chapter.

[99] Verplanke, The Function of The Night in Ancient Greek Religion, 16.
[100] L. Llewellyn-Jones, 'Understanding Theatre Space', *Classical Receptions in Drama and Poetry in English from c.1970-2005* (2002) Online project at https://www.open.ac.uk/arts/research/greekplays/publications/essays (Last accessed 2nd January 2020).
[101] Llewellyn-Jones, 'Understanding Theatre Space'; emphasis is my own.

As for the former question, much of the 'performance' we see during the night is visual with lights used to create illusions and present narratives. As previously discussed it is easier to see such in the darkness, making the night an ideal backdrop for this way of communicating. The darkness heightens what visuals one does have. The darkness also has the ability to heighten the awareness of sound, whilst covering the means of making those sounds. This disparity is highlighted in an amusing anecdote from Xenophon's *Anabasis* in which the army falls into a panic because of noises at night making them think they were being attacked, when in actuality it was an "ass loose amongst the arms".[102] Therefore, we can see that it would have been possible to create an aural performance, or soundscape, the effects of which would become magnified in the darkness. The ability of the darkness to heighten the senses make it a key time for performance.

2.2 Creating Illusions

The nature of the night, and the effects of lights and sounds within it give the perfect opportunity for the creation of illusions within the nocturnal space. Military personnel could, and did, utilise aspects of performativity and theatricality to manipulate their enemy's experience of the night. By using this 'blank space' of the night they are able to manipulate their senses and emotions as well as conveying narratives that were to their own advantage.

2.2.1 Policing

In Wishnitzer's work, which was touched upon earlier, he argues that the 'Neighbourhood' is the prime means of security in a face to face society. In this context, anonymity brought about by darkness is a liability because the neighbourhood relies on the visual recognition. Thus in 18th century Istanbul, anyone walking around at night was required to carry a light. Indeed, there is a remarkable similarity to be found in the work of Aeneas Tacticus.

> …the public should be forbidden to walk abroad: anyone who is obliged to go out is to carry a lamp, until further notice.[103]

In both Wishnitzer's Istanbul and Aeneas Tacticus' small polis, people are required to carry a light to show themselves when they move about. However, the idea goes beyond merely showing themselves. If we take Wishnitzer's idea further and think in a sensory way we immediately begin to understand that the person carrying the light is giving up a sense of power and security that the darkness can provide, and handing that power over to potential onlookers. The quality of a single light in the darkness acts to draw attention to the person holding it in a way that is quite different from a person moving about in a well-lit space. "Just as the sudden glow of a light at night draws all eyes to itself, the beauty of Autolycus compelled everyone to look at him."[104] It is fundamentally different to light in the day which is general. This is specific light that is used to highlight a specific movement. Those carrying the light become floating entities in the darkness, they would effectively become targets if anyone were to wish to harm them. Furthermore, if a light was used the person carrying it would reduce their own vision to things further away, though of course it would be helpful in

[102] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 2.2.20.
[103] Aeneas Tacticus, 10.14-15.
[104] Xenophon, *Symposium,* 1.9.

navigating their immediate surroundings. By using a light, they would be seen and would see less. While the term for lamp in the Greek "λαμπτῆρος" does not specify what type of light it is referring to, I have decided to translate it as "lamp" as the size and portability of lamps suggests that they would be the most likely tool to be used in this circumstance, particularly if the person was coming from a domestic setting.[105] There are many features of these lamps that would have further hindered the person moving about with them. Unlike the lamps of earlier periods, which had clear handles, those of the 4th century had no obvious way of being carried (see figure 1). Their small size made them portable but with an open basin for the oil, carrying it carefully to avoid spillages would have been a concern, particularly before they became more globular in shape at the end of the century (see figures 2-4). This concern would have necessarily hindered movement when walking with one. Furthermore, the necessity of burning vegetable oils meant that the smell of these lamps was quite strong, therefore one's sense of smell would also be obscured.[106] While perhaps less important than the problems caused to sight, as we have ascertained all alternative senses would have been valuable in recognising that someone was approaching. Equally, the sound of the fire, more likely if this is in fact referring to a torch, would have undermined the hearing of the person carrying it.[107] Thus, concession to this rule would make you more vulnerable in a variety of sensory ways. It is both a performative and practical concession to the idea of 'neighbourhood' and a strong display of one's own harmlessness to that neighbourhood.

Figure 1. (left) early 6th century BCE Lamp with handle: 83. AQ.377.448, Figure 2 (above) Lamp of uncertain date, but placed between 350 and 330 BCE by Bailey: 83. AQ.377.447

[105] For the ambiguous definition of λαμπτῆρος see Liddell and Scott; for the presence of lamps specifically in a domestic setting see Lysias, *On the Murder of Eratosthenes,* 14.
[106] For the distinctive smell of lamps see Quintilian, *Instituto Oratoria*, 6.3.33.
[107] For the sound of fire reducing hearing see section 1.1 of this thesis.

Figures 2 and 3 Late 4th Century BCE globular lamps: 83. AQ.377.372 and 83. AQ.377.370

The requirement that people carry a lamp in itself betrays a nervousness surrounding the darkness of the night, and a sense of inability to police night time behaviours. If one did not abide by the rules, and instead choose to walk in the dark unseen, they would be harder to police. The authority seems to be wanting to use the quality of light in the darkness to disarm the potential threat that the disguise of anonymity provides, as well as simply making them more visible. There is no evidence for an attempt at widespread lighting to even out the terrain and replicate the conditions of the day, most likely because of technological constraints, but also because this would not provide the same resolution. There is an acceptance that the environment will be different and those creating the laws attempt to use this to their advantage as much as they could.

The idea of someone having to walk outside at night is painted by Aeneas Tacticus as an exceptional circumstance, particularly during a siege. Far from colonising the night, in these situations the night is presented as being largely unused, and when people were required to inhabit it, their experience was meant to be literally highlighted. They are neither colonising the night with a full-scale use of lighting, nor are they integrating with it and wholly embracing life in the dark. Rather, this performative interaction within the night time space is indicative of a different approach to the night, in which nocturnal movements are very conscious and meaningful acts. The night is more of a background, or stage, to these actions. Furthermore, light and darkness here have a rather complex relationship with power here. Edensor explains how modern illumination is bound up with power and the class system, casting that darkness as an area of lawlessness.[108] By illuminating some areas of cities, they are being marked out as 'respectable' with the poorer areas being reduced to darkness and thus unruliness. While

[108] T. Edensor, 'The Gloomy City: Rethinking the Relationship Between Light and Dark', *Urban Studies* 52:3 (2015) 422-438, at 428.

this may be the case for the early modern and modern periods, the relationship between light darkness is necessarily more complicated in the 4th century BC. The lack of widespread lighting makes this distinction untenable, and the link of power with light is not always secure. On the one hand, here we see the use of light as bound up with the established authorities and those choosing to align themselves within those rules use light to perform their alignment to this 'order'. However, the concern surrounding people walking about unlit indicates that there is in fact a great deal of power in remaining unseen in the darkness. This leads us to question the assumptions of many scholars when they fully associate power with the use of light, and indeed a colonisation of that night.

2.2.2 Manipulation to Create an Experience

One striking image that is repeated throughout the works of Xenophon is the posting of fires far in front of guards in a camp.[109]

> …the reason that Seuthes had his watch-fires lit in front of the pickets was so that the pickets would remain unseen- because they were in the darkness. This was so that no one could tell either how many there were or where exactly they were. On the other hand, people who were approaching could not escape being seen as they would be visible in the light from the fires.[110]

Here we see that it was a very intentional tactic to circumvent the problems surrounding the use of fire we saw above. Through manipulating the light, they were able to both direct the light and increase the darkness to their advantage; they are guiding the eyes of the viewer, in this case enemy agents, to control how they take in the scene. Indeed, we could argue that this is an early example of 'Nocturnalisation', a term coined by Koslofsky to describe what he called a "revolution in early modern Europe".[111] Nocturnalisation, for Koslofsky, "encompassed both the triumph over darkness and the deliberate…manipulation of it".[112] While Koslofsky's argument suggests a wider trend than is exhibited here, it would be a misrepresentation to indicate that the idea of actively manipulating the night through the use of 'artificial' light was not a feature of ancient warfare. Furthermore, though the use of fire is a visual way of undermining the disguise of enemies in the night it would be inaccurate to say that it deliberately eradicated the night. Rather, it plays with the contrast of light and darkness to greater effect than it would be able to in the day.

Indeed, for Koslofsky, the manipulation of the darkness seems to be what marks a colonising attitude towards the night, rather than just being present in the space. This more active idea of colonisation is more tangible than what we have discussed previously. However, I would argue that it still retains ideas that are problematic. Like Edensor, Koslofsky associates the use of light and the things illuminated with power. However, as we see in the example of guarding above and the lengthy discussion on the advantages of disguise in warfare, this view seems to disregard the power that there is in being unseen. Of course, there are incidences when the visual presence of leadership or defence is important, but there are many other times in

[109] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 7.2.18 and *Cyropaedia,* 3.3.25.
[110] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 7.2.18.
[111] Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire*, 276.
[112] Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire*, 278.

which quite the opposite is a position of power. Far from "triumphing over darkness" ancient generals saw the power in manipulating darkness to retain their upper hand.

Furthermore, there are other aspects of the night that were manipulated to create an experience for the enemy that didn't include light at all. The manipulation of the nocturnal soundscape was equally as important in creating an experience for the enemy. By making a large amount of noise in the dark even small armies could inspire fear of a larger army in the enemy. Xenophon recounts how the invalids in the 10,000 "raised as big a shout as they could and clashed their shields against their spears."[113] thus successfully supporting an attack made by their rear-guard. Here the aural performance is presented by Xenophon as equally significant to this, albeit small, victory as the physical attack. Sounds in the darkness are also used to inspire fear and confusion in the enemy. As mentioned previously, the idea of night panics was a common one in this period. With generals working so hard to counter panics among their own men they would have been aware of the benefits of eliciting them in the enemy. Aeneas Tacticus offers the advice to:

> Alarm the enemy's forces at night by giving your heifers or other animals wine to drink, and then drive them into the enemy's camp with bells around their necks.[114]

The use of bells in this instance makes it explicitly clear that it is the noise that was the primary element that would cause panics for the enemy. The cows would, presumably, have sounded like attacking soldiers, an effect that would have been undermined had the enemy been able to see their real assailants. This deployment of psychological warfare was particularly effective at night, because of the way in which the darkness heightens the senses and conceals the 'real' source of sounds. Without the means of identifying the source of the noise, the enemy's experience of the night can be manipulated by an aural performance. It is also a particularly good time to undermine the morale of the enemy, even if one did not cause an outright panic. The sounds of activity during the night particularly without visuals would have acted to drastically reduce the sleep that could be enjoyed. In one scene of the *Anabasis,* Xenophon rather bitterly observes that "The enemy, however, never stopped rolling their stones down through the whole night, as one could judge from the noise."[115] It is unclear, in this instance, whether the hindrance to Xenophon's sleep was the noise itself or the concern caused by the noise, but both are equally valid means of encouraging sleep deprivation in one's enemy.

Manipulating the nocturnal soundscape also includes the ability to maintain silence when necessary. In one striking image, Aeneas Tacticus describes cauterising animals in order to keep them quiet and prevent them giving away their tactics.[116] Control over noises would also help to prevent panics within their own armies. The problem with any sound, even performative ones, was that if one was unaware of what they actually were they were liable to cause concern in the dark; those not aware that a deliberate performance is taking place becomes the audience to it even if unintended by the 'performers'.

[113] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 4.5.17-18.
[114] Aeneas Tacticus, 27.14.
[115] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 4.2.4.
[116] Aeneas Tacticus, 23.2.

Here we see that in order to manipulate the enemy experience of the night, working with the darkness was key. Far from eradicating the dark, they even make it deeper when it is to their advantage to conceal themselves and create an effect. Thus, they did not seek to extend the attributes of the daylight at all. However, this very involved manipulation and 'filling up' of the night could be termed as a kind of colonisation. Through deliberately using the darkness, and filling it with sounds to inspire fear and prevent sleep the ancient Greeks were increasing wakefulness and undermining typically nocturnal activities. Nevertheless, continuing to do this in darkness- showing that there is a power in staying unilluminated- makes the apparent simplicity of the 'colonial' model presented by Koslofsky ill-fitting. Power does not rest in the light alone; the darkness of the night has something to offer the military too. The Greeks may have sought to manipulate the darkness, but they didn't seem to be trying to "triumph over [it]".[117]

2.2.3 Deceiving the Enemy

As well as manipulating the environment of the night to alter the enemy experience, armies could also make use of the performativity of the night to deceive them. By being selective about what they display, or indeed what they do not, they have the capacity to create a narrative about their own movements and tactics for their opponents. This is particularly the case with fires in the night, as they can make your opponents assume things about your whereabouts and movements.

The following passage from Xenophon's *Anabasis* is indicative of how campfires were used by people to interpret people's movements in the night:

> "at first we imagined, when we could no longer see your fires, that you intended to come against the enemy during the night. It seemed to us that the enemy also feared this, and so departed- it was at about that time that they went away. But when you failed to arrive, although a reasonable time had passed, we supposed that you had heard about our situation and, seized with fear, had stealthily gone off toward the sea..."[118]

Here we do see that it was not always clear what to infer from the sight of, or in this case the lack of, fires. In general fires indicated the presence of camp, and the absence of those fires would indicate movement, but more precise interpretations would be context dependent. Bearing this in mind we must be cautious in saying that it was a simple matter to orchestrate a precise narrative for the enemy to follow. However, the fact that armies routinely acted according to these visual signs, as shown here, suggests that attempts to do so were at least being made. In the above example the army, despite having extinguished their fires, had not in fact moved; they had "stationed guards, and slept the night" where they were. [119] Though Xenophon does not elaborate on the intention of this action it seems as though it was done to both disguise their position and simultaneously present an alternative narrative to the enemy. By utilising the darkness, and the convention of campfires, Xenophon was able to

[117] Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire*, 278.
[118] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 6.3.25-26.
[119] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 6.3.21.

create a compelling enough narrative to force his enemy to move- presumably at a great deal of inconvenience as it was during the night.

Just as sounds in the night could give the impression of a larger army so too could the numbers of fires lit. In yet another section of the Anabasis, Xenophon tells of the Carduchians who attacked his Greek army and prevented them from marching in the night. "they were few in number…the Carduchians kindled many fires round about upon the mountains and kept shouting to one another."[120] Here we have a small force using both the techniques of sound and light to give the impression that they had much larger numbers than they did. Later in the narrative the Greek peltasts also

> … burned all they saw which was flammable, and the main army also burned anything they found, which had been missed; as a result, the whole country seemed to be ablaze and the army seemed to be a large one.[121]

Though the whole country seemed to be ablaze the aim was not illumination, even if this may have been an added bonus for the marching army. Rather it was that from a distance the army would seem larger. If the fires were being used to illuminate the army for the enemy, presumably the opposite effect would have been achieved; they would reveal their accurate numbers. Instead, the blank canvass of the darkness allows the fires to paint the picture of large amounts of people, inhabiting the night. Through these fires they gesture at a larger area of the night being consumed in the war, and an impression they have control over it. Indeed, this does not seem as though it was an uncommon practice. When Xenophon "…came upon watch-fires with no one about them… at first he supposed that Seuthes had shifted his camp to some other place"[122]. The offhand way that this theory is mentioned suggests that it was considered fairly normal for people to light fires, and not be there, as part of redirection or performative tactics.

The ability to construct such strong narratives, in a way that simply would not be possible in the day, was due to the darkness of the backdrop and the general practice of camping armies to light fires. By manipulating these features of the night, and night-time behaviours, one could deceive the enemy into thinking you were where you were not, or that you had a bigger force than you did. On the last point, it would perhaps be fair to say that an aim would be to convince the enemy that you had succeeded in 'colonising' the night- that you were filling it up and had control of it. However, it is precisely that this was not the case that made it a deception. Where though does one draw the line between having done something and appearing to have done it? If the enemy is so afraid that you have control over the night that they retreat, does it not make their fear true? Furthermore, the association of fires with presence and control in these texts does imply that the Greek imagination, like Koslofsky and Edensor, also associated light with power to some extent. There is a distinction to be made, though; power over the enemy within the night, does not necessarily equate to power over the night itself. Again, they are relying on the fundamentals of the night- darkness- to create their performance and consequently their advantage. They are not, in any way using the light to eradicate the differences between the night and the day.

[120] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 4.1.10-11.
[121] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 6.3.19.
[122] Xenophon, *Anabasis,* 7.2.18.

2.3 The Night on the Stage

Rhesus is a play originally attributed to Euripides, however, the debate surrounding its authorship is longstanding and ongoing.[123] I will not go into this debate here, apart from highlighting the possibility that Rhesus was written in the 4th century.[124] Regardless of its authorship, it has several features that are interesting in the context of this thesis. Interestingly for our purposes, the play is set almost entirely at night.[125] The problem of this play, which presents a military night, is that it would have been performed during the day.[126] How then was the night presented? And what can this tell us about how the night, particularly the military night, was perceived by an ancient audience? Indeed, we can reasonably assume that most ancient audiences throughout the late 5th and the entirety of the 4th century would have at least some military experience. To have either been on campaign or to have experienced a siege necessitates that they would have experience of a night at war. Despite the mythological subject matter of this Tragedy, an element of realism would, therefore, have been expected, though we must be aware that there may have been elements of archaising in order to establish the Trojan war setting as is the case in Homer.

The main way in which a sense of the night was evoked in the play was through references to the lexical field of the night time and sleeping.[127] The opening of the play has the Chorus state:

> "Go to Hector's bed! Which of the king's guards is awake? Who of the armed men? He ought to receive a report of the news from those who had been stationed to watch over the whole army in the fourth watch of the night"[128]

This immediately creates a strong sense of time for the audience, and this is reinforced throughout the play. The incongruity of the night-time setting with the real setting of the daytime festival is the reason for such repetition, we need not assume that people would have to remind themselves constantly of the night, if they were actually in the darkness. Other ways in which the author establishes the nocturnal setting is through "agitated dialogue." [129] The short clauses and use of disyllabic imperatives are more prominent than in many other tragedies, and add to a sense of confusion.[130] The fast pace of the dialogue and the repetition of 'night-time' phrases leaves the audience, along with Hector, grasping as though through darkness and obscurity in search of meaning in the lines. We get the sense that the military

[123] V. Liapis, 'Cooking up Rhesus: Literary Imitation and its Consumers' in: E. Csapo and Z. Biles ed., *Greek theatre in the fourth century B.C.* (Berlin-Boston 2014) 275-294, at 275.
[124] O. Taplin, 'How Pots and Papyri Might Prompt a Re-Evaluation of Fourth-Century Tragedy' in: E. Csapo and Z. Biles ed., *Greek theatre in the fourth century B.C.* (Berlin-Boston 2014) 141-156, footnote 2.
[125] It begins in the 4th watch of the night and the breaking of dawn is mentioned only in the last scene.
[126] J. Donelan, 'Some Remarks Concerning Night Scenes on the Classical Greek Stage', *Mnemosyne* 67 (2014) 535-553, at 535.
[127] For an exhaustive list of these references see Donelan, 'Night Scenes on the Classical Greek Stage', 549 footnote 53.
[128] Pseudo-Euripides, *Rhesus,* 1-6.
[129] A. Fries, *Pseudo-Euripides Rhesus* (Berlin 2014) 114, 116.
[130] Pseudo-Euripides, *Rhesus,* 7-9.

night would have had both an alarming immediacy of the senses and a delay in understanding that could be bewildering.

The opening tableau of *Rhesus* is Hector sleeping. This alludes to the openings of at least three other extant tragedies- the *Niobe*, *Myrmidons*, and *Prometheus Unbound*.[131] Unlike the characters in these plays, however, Hector is at this moment peacefully asleep. This is perhaps a contrast to what would have been expected both on the basis of literary convention, which sees the main characters restless with grief and torment, but also the setting of a military night, which we expect to be fearful. Fries suggests that the playwright may have wanted to portray the peace of the victorious night, before it is shattered.[132] Whether this was the intention or not, Fries' interpretation raises a pertinent point. The effect of how well any war effort was going would have had an effect on the quality of sleep that military personnel could enjoy. The idea that recently ascendant Trojans could sleep peacefully and contentedly is summed up in the opening tableau. The extent of this confidence is also shown by the recently arrived Thracians' failure to set guards around their camp.[133] This act however, is punished as one of Hubris; even in victory, sleep cannot be taken without some concession to wakefulness. Indeed, the assertion that the men were sleeping "in full armour" leads to us question how restful the environment would have been.[134] Indeed, sleeping under arms is a practice that is attested in the more historical narratives of the period.[135] In the first place, the need to be fully armed whilst asleep betrays a distinct level of anxiety that one can only assume would have interrupted sleep. Secondly, on a more basic level, the sheer discomfort of being fully armed must also have undermined their ability to sleep. The 'colonisation' framework is bound up in ideas of increasing wakefulness. While most armies of the period would have wished to encourage sleep deprivation in their enemy, they would have wanted precisely the opposite for themselves. The military setting by its nature does encourage increased wakefulness during the night but this is far from being presented as the ideal. Those causing a commotion are chastised for disturbing others and sleep is presented as vitally important. Wakefulness seems only to have been increased as would have been necessary for guarding and emergencies, but was on the whole protected. The extent to which this protection of sleep could have worked in such anxious circumstances is certainly debateable, but the intention that they had was clearly to "let our men sleep calmly."[136]

However, that is not to argue that there was no value being placed in the ability to be awake. The link between heroism and wakefulness is presented by Derickson as a trend following the industrial revolution.[137] Again, there is a neglect of evidence from the classical period. As we see in *Rhesus* it is the burden of the main generals to endure wakefulness. Hector is the first to be woken in the Trojan camp and Odysseus and Diomedes are out 'spying', while the king Rhesus suffers a dishonourable death because he is asleep. The idea of excess sleep was

[131] Fries, *Pseudo-Euripides Rhesus*, 114.
[132] Fries, *Pseudo-Euripides Rhesus*, 114.
[133] Pseudo-Euripides, *Rhesus,* 764-779.
[134] Pseudo-Euripides, *Rhesus,* 20-22, 123-124, 740.
[135] Aeneas Tacticus, 11.8, 27.5; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia,* 8.5.12.
[136] Pseudo-Euripides, *Rhesus,* 124.
[137] A. Derickson, *Dangerously Sleepy Overworked Americans and the Cult of Manly Wakefulness* (Philadelphia 2014).

considered shameful "for much sleep is not naturally suitable either to our bodies or souls."[138] and generals were praised if they could stay awake. Despite this, the practicalities of war meant that increasing wakefulness for the whole army would have been a liability. The burden of wakefulness, while honoured as heroic, would have been precisely that- a burden. The idea of 'heroic wakefulness' was not one that was confined to after the industrial revolution, but it need not imply an intentional colonisation of the night and sleep. Rather the wakefulness of the few generals seems to be offered as a means of preserving the precarious sleep of the larger population at war.

One striking image in the play is when the charioteer relates his dream of wolves stealing Rhesus's horses.[139] The audience, along with the charioteer, are left with the impression that dreams and reality are merging. This theatrical image is powerful precisely because it captures the feeling of being in that liminal space between sleep and wakefulness, and it emphasises what a weakness being asleep is. This evokes sympathy for the characters who were killed, heightening the tragedy, but also helps us to understand the necessity of wakefulness that war requires. The night was also a time that the gods infiltrated the dreams of mortals, and these episodes, while their veracity is certainly brought into question, are often present in military narratives of this period. Ekirch argues that pre-industrial sleep was characterised by an hour of wakefulness in the middle of the night.[140] This particular sleep pattern was, he argues, the cause of such vivid dreams; and it was the vividness that explains why they were considered prophetic.[141] Furthermore, the link of vivid dreams with deep sleep suggests that if one wanted to receive messages from the gods that restful sleep was to be cultivated. While you can dream during light sleep, these seem to be more of the restless anxiety driven dreams, like those of the charioteer discussed above. It is unclear how many of these prophetic dreams in the literature of the 4th Century were simply to fit with literary convention, and how many were genuine. However, if these dreams were believed in, as they seemed to be, then it would seem incongruous for people to want to undermine their ability to receive them. By reducing sleep, they would be passing up the opportunity to gain counsel from the gods and increasing their weakness by being in a more fitful and restless state.

A more practical question that typically arises in the scholarship surrounding this play is whether or not the chorus hold torches.[142] On reading the play the only suggestion of torches is that the chorus may have carried them to set alight the Greek ships at dawn- so not even during the night. Throughout the rest of the play, however, there are no references to the props of any kind.[143] While this is not unusual for tragedy, with props typically being more strongly associated with comedic plays, this is also mirrored largely by the pottery of the 4th century depicting the Rhesus myth (see figures 5 and 6). No torches are carried by any of the main actors. In one instance we see a fire, but this watch fire is clearly not preventing Odysseus from

[138] Plato, *Laws,* 808b.
[139] Pseudo-Euripides, *Rhesus,* 780.
[140] Ekirch, 'Sleep We Have Lost', 343.
[141] Ekirch, 'Sleep We Have Lost', 344.
[142] W.G. Arnott, *Alexis. The Fragments*, (Cambridge 1996) 158; J. Walton, 'Playing in the Dark: Masks and Euripides' Rhesus', *Helios* 21 (2000) 137-147, at 141.
[143] F. Jouan, *Euripide. Rhésos* (Paris 2004), lvii.

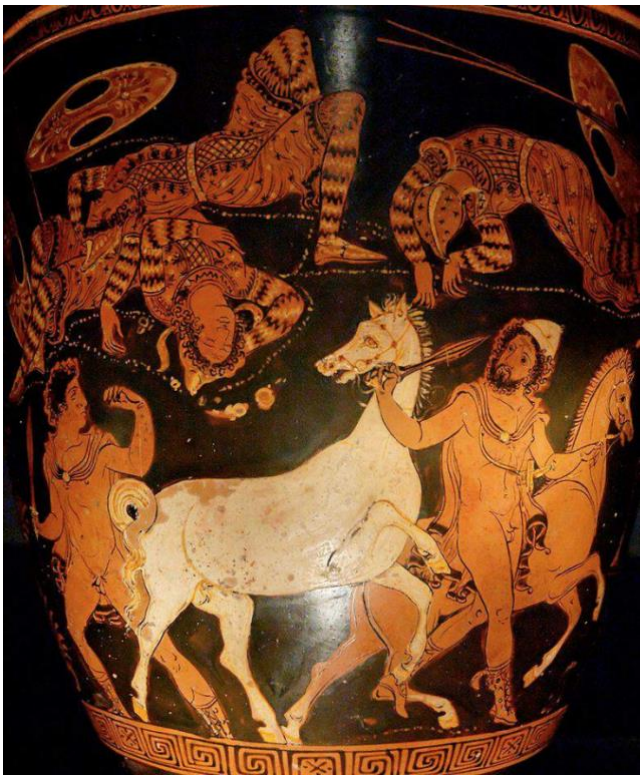

Figure 5. (top) Apulian red-figure situla, from Ruvo. Lycurgus Painter, c.360 BCE. Naples 81863.featuring dead Thracians above and the theft of the horses below, neither Odysseus or Diomedes carries a light.

Figure 6. (bottom) Apulian red-figure krater Darius Painter, ca.340 BCE. An\kensammlung Berlin 1984.39 featuring a guard fire and Odysseus about to murder Rhesus above, and the theft of his horses below. Neither carries a torch.

killing Rhesus. Donelan suggests that it is being used as a dramaturgical challenge by the author.[144] However, it seems more likely that it is simply an indication that there was a lack of lighting for those moving around during a military night. They are clearly more accustomed to

[144] Donelan, 'Night Scenes on the Classical Greek Stage', 550.

moving around in the darkness than we give credit for. This idea further supports our earlier conclusions that moving around in the darkness would have been possible and, in a lot of cases, preferable to carrying a torch and making oneself a visible target, especially when behind enemy lines.

The darkness in which people are presented as moving around in is contrasted with the lights of the Achaeans, which begin much of the play's action. As discussed in section 2.2.3 of this thesis, the lights on the Achaean ships are being used to suggest to the Trojans a narrative about the movements of the Greek army. We can infer from the advice of the Trojan seers, not to mount an attack at night, that it would be a rash thing to do and is something that Hector seems about to do early on in the play. Thus, there is an awareness that fires can be misleading, and intelligence is shown to be the prudent course of action even if it is risky. This also adds to the theme that, at night, one cannot trust their senses or instincts. Hector must be guided by the seers just as Odysseus and Diomedes must be guided by Athena. In the context of the play, where the voice of the god is so clear it is easy for us to take it for granted. However, when divine intervention is less common or clear we are brought back to a sense of fear and uncertainty that would have prevailed in the darkness. The desire for clarity is therefore understandable, however often this doesn't come through an attempt to light up the night. Rather scouts are sent out into the darkness to work within that darkness.

A further means of gathering information that relied upon the darkness of the night was astronomy. The stars would be visible without the light pollution of later periods, and were used for navigation, time telling, and divination.[145] The work of Autolycus of Pitane in this period is suggestive of a tradition of codified astronomy by his time, which emphasises its interest and significance. And Xenophon's Socrates advises

> …to make [oneself] familiar with astronomy, but only so far as to be able to tell the time of night, month and year, in order to use reliable evidence when planning a journey by land or by sea, or setting the watch, and in all other affairs that are done in the night or month or year, by distinguishing the times and seasons.[146]

Astronomy has implications beyond just that which happens at night. Journey planning, as just one example, is fundamental to military operations and, thus, the loss of this commonly held knowledge would have caused many problems for navigation. In *Rhesus,* we have a beautiful choral ode describing the stars and how they are used to mark the watches of the night.[147] One can imagine the speech being delivered in the day, with the words painting the image of the rising Pleiades in the imaginations of the audience. In performance, the heavens are merely a gestural space conjured up by the chorus; it is only during the night that they become a more real theatrical space. At night, the stars become actors on the stage of darkness and tell a more dramatized version of time than we are used to today. The link of stars with deities and heroes also adds to this sense of a performance being played out in the sky. Dynamic verbs are used to describe their movements: The eagle, here referring to the constellation Aquila, which represents the eagle that carries Zeus' thunderbolts, is described

[145] For the stars as a neglected positive of the night see Edensor, 'The Gloomy City', 422.
[146] Xenophon, *Memorabilia,* 4.7.4.
[147] Pseudo-Euripides, *Rhesus,* 527-546.

as flying.[148] And there is a star that is said to "run before" the dawn.[149] The darkness of the night sky, therefore, acts as a natural stage to the stars and their movements. As well as the practical use of astronomy, the stars could act as an inspirational reminder of the deeds of heroes at war and as a reminder of the power of fate over the outcome of conflict- no matter how uncomfortable or fearful their situation was. Not only is there a practical side of the night sky but it is also a culturally important thing. Even though the darkness is not valued to the extent that it is in Polynesian culture, a culture that is often referred to in the literature on the night as an exemplum of considering the darkness as holy, as there is still a certain amount of fear of the darkness among the Greeks, there is certainly a preciousness that requires the night and thus darkness to be protected. Of course, the eradication of the stars was not an aim of the industrial revolution and modern "night tourism" is proof that we still value the natural night. It was merely a negative side effect of wishing to eliminate the darkness. However, in Greek antiquity, the desire to eliminate the darkness in such a total way doesn't seem to be present to anywhere near the same extent.

Just because the night is an unusual setting in the theatre, this does not mean that we ought to disregard it as an important stage for performativity in the context of a military night. As we see in the course of this play, the night offers a uniquely powerful setting for both the disguises and performances of armies. Its natural propensity to heighten the emotions and senses mean that many actions would be accompanied with doubt and fear. This sense of confusion is heightened by the darkness. However, an overpowering desire to do away with the darkness is conspicuously absent; they are not at all trying to 'colonise' it. Actors in the night actively choose to forgo lamps and embrace the fear and confusion because of the security that darkness would have afforded them. The ability of the night to present the stars further acted to enshrine the importance of darkness for both practical and cultural reasons. The play also gives us an insight into the problems surrounding sleep in a military context. While some members of the military were forced to extend their wakefulness in order to protect the sleep of the rest, and were considered heroic for it, the desire was not for a widespread neglect of sleep.

This play also acts to reinforce our ideas, gleaned from more historical texts, about how people would be interacting with the night. And it gives us a very immediate and sensual account of what a military night, albeit a mythical one, would have been like to experience.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed several ways in which the night can be conceived of as a stage in a military context. The spatial aspect of the night, in accordance with the 'spatial turn' helps us to see how the night can be conceived of as a separate theatre of war, despite potentially using the same geographical area as the conflict in the day. The darkness of the night offers a boundary for the action and a backdrop for it. This theatrical conception of the

[148] Pseudo-Euripides, *Rhesus,* 530; for the link between the eagle and the constellation Aquila see Liddell and Scott 'ἀετός' definition A3.
[149] Pseudo-Euripides, *Rhesus,* 536; for this definition of "πρόδρομος" See Liddell and Scott definition A.

night gives us some further analytical vocabulary to discuss the ways in which the night was being used in a military context and the extent to which that fits within the colonisation framework. The key way in which the night was used in the dramatic sense was as a backdrop for illusions, either for the benefit of one's own community or more common for the disadvantage of the enemy. It is precisely the contrast of light and darkness that acts to enable these illusions to be powerful. Therefore, we can see that the Greeks were not attempting to triumph over the darkness but to manipulate and work within it. Though Koslofsky's conception of the colonisation model seems to be congruent with this idea of manipulating the darkness, we must be careful with his conception that the power in these interactions is always associated with the light. As we have seen throughout this chapter the light too is capable of weakening people, and there is much strength to be gained by remaining unseen. In particular, his idea privileges the visual over the other senses, which is unhelpful when discussing a time that typically heightens other senses. Aural performances, either deliberate or inadvertent were a powerful way of manipulating the experience of night for one's enemy. And though they arguably 'fill up' the night, they do not do so in a way that attempts to eliminate the spatial differences, as in the 'colonisation' model.

Furthermore, the use of an actual stage to present the night in the Euripidean Rhesus gives us an interesting perspective on how the night was presented to a contemporary audience. The context of the play, though slightly insecure, certainly means that it would have been seen by an audience with experience of a military night. This helps us to get a sense of the military night on a more sensory level, as the heightened poetic language of tragedy attempts to draw the audience into the narrative. As part of this we not only get an experience that highlights the sheer darkness of the night, but also how people were accustomed to moving within such a space, even if it did cause anxiety and confusion. The night too was a time that was valued for its showcasing the stars; darkness in this case is seen as both a practical and cultural asset. The problem of sleep is also highlighted here. While scholarship surrounding post-industrial sleep is clearly wrong to claim that increased wakefulness is a trend of their period alone, the idea of wakefulness in general was not thought to be a positive in this period. Far from wishing to reduce sleep in favour of colonising the night with wakefulness, those who were awake were only so out of the necessity. The context of war may have resulted in some 'colonisation' in this sense, if of course we can call it that, but the intent seems far from that way inclined. This too raises a problem with the idea of colonisation in this context; is it possible for one to colonise somewhere without an express aim to do so?

Conclusions

Overall, the use of 'colonisation of the night' is an idea that is fraught with problems. It is both too general to be analytically useful and it has too many specific connotations that confuse its use in such a general manner. For this time period, at least, the term is certainly anachronistic. Perhaps this is less so for the original context that it was used to describe, though it seems as though it has been adopted more for its fashion within a post-colonial tradition, than for any more in-depth analytical purpose.

To summarise, it is firstly and, perhaps most problematically, historically inaccurate. The usage of this term implies that prior to the industrial revolution the night time was both uninhabited and that there was a desire, without technology, to colonise it. As we have seen countless times in my examination of the military night of the 4th century BC, the ancient night was, by contrast to this assumption, inhabited and there was very little desire to colonise it by eliminating the darkness. In fact, the complex and varied uses of the darkness in military strategy suggests that, a disruption of the darkness in this way would not only be undesirable, it would also be unnecessary. Interactions within the night show both that people were more than competent at moving around at night, and that they desired to keep the darkness and protect sleep where possible. The presentation of the ancient night in the contemporary literature paints a picture that is a far cry from the frustrated colonisers that the use of the term 'colonisation' would have us imagine. Rather we get the sense of people accustomed to, and indeed adept at, working with the darkness to achieve their goals. Furthermore, the variety of functions of the night suggest that it is more complex than one term could encompass. It is hard to consider the use of the darkness as a disguise for those seeking refuge as part of the same phenomenon as those manipulating it for the purpose of psychological warfare. Indeed, the former example raises further questions about the use of the term. The connotations of the word are rather aggressive and do not account for the many sensitive approaches to the darkness. Both in my 4th century texts and in Melbin's work we see people looking to the darkness as a means of escape and refuge.[150] Here the night is active in protecting people and performs an important role in anti-establishment movements; a far-cry from typical ideas of 'colonisation'.

Having concluded that 'colonisation' is an unhelpful way of examining the night, in at least the historical context of the 4th century BC, it would be fruitful to consider how we can best consider the night going forward. The focus of this thesis on the functionality of the night in warfare hints at one way in which we can view the night. The argument for the night as an active rather that a passive agent is one that permeates the texts of the period. Its malleability and functionality suggests that it is more than a simple backdrop to events. Though it is used consciously in this way, it is evident from the findings of this thesis that this is only one aspect of how the night was used. We need a framework that illustrates both this agency and multiplicity. This is rather a difficult balance to strike, particularly given the power of the spatial aspect of the night. That the Greeks of the 4th Century BC conceived of the night in a spatial way is compelling from the texts. This can lead us to assumptions about its being, at most, a passive object. However, looking to the spatial turn we ought to be more flexible with our thinking about how we conceive of the spatial. After all, a landscape, whilst being

[150] Melbin, 'Night as Frontier', 10.

something to be navigated and used to one's advantage, also shapes the behaviour of those moving through it. Just so, the contours of the night effect the possibility of action during that time. Thus, using the idea of the night as a spatial phenomenon need not be as restrictive as many found it in Melbin's original metaphor: the night should be seen as a flexible phenomenon that can simultaneously be inhabited, used, and manipulated, as well being able to shape the behaviours of those moving within it.

I propose that the next steps for research would be to look at how the night was actively used in all periods. Rather than simply looking at the activities taking place in the night in a way that separates them from their context, we must look at how people interact with the night and darkness, particularly when this behaviour is shaped by the night itself. This is key to a greater understanding of perceptions, and presentations, of the night. Furthermore, I urge a consideration of individual interactions with the night as opposed to sweeping and unexamined generalisations, such as 'colonisation'. Such generalisations, as discussed above, are unhelpful and can lead to assumptions beyond the specific study in which they are used. While 'colonisation' may give some insight into night time phenomena in the Early Modern period, the lack of specificity and analysis accompanying its usage mean that it leads to assumptions about the nature and function of the night in antiquity that are, on the whole, unfounded.

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