



Mental Health in Historical Perspective

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Combat Stress in Pre-modern Europe



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A Note on References

A project that brought together such an array of historians covering very different time periods required a little editorial flexibility when it came to the formatting of references. When abbreviations have been used for ancient evidence, they follow the list of abbreviations given in the Oxford Classical Dictionary, 4th edition.

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Combat Trauma in Pre-modern Europe: An Introduction

Kathryn Hurlock, Owen Rees, and Jason Crowley

Since the genesis of 'shell shock', the pre-modern world has been used to aid our understanding of the psychological and moral injuries incurred during military service. However, the historical study of combat trauma is a contentious topic, not least because of debates over the applicability of modern medical ideas to the conflicts of the past. Despite this problem, research on combat stress in the modern era has regularly drawn upon the past for inspiration and validation, but to date no single volume has effectively scrutinised the universal nature of combat stress and its associated diagnoses. This volume offers cutting-edge research from experts in history, classics, and medical humanities. There are pivotal points of

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O. Rees et al. (eds.), Combat Stress in Pre-modern Europe,

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divergence between papers, offering a dynamic and engaging academic discourse on an important and timely topic. What makes the volume unique is its broad chronological focus, with chapters covering periods from Archaic Greece (sixth and early fifth centuries BCE) to the British Civil Wars of the seventeenth century. This broad chronology is held together through a direct focus on the topic of combat stress, and how it may or may not manifest in different time periods and within different cultural contexts. Topics range from the methodological—such as the issue of retrospective diagnosis, and the applicability of Moral Injury onto the past—to the conventionally historical. The majority of the book focuses on combatants, but there are also chapters examining the impact on women and children, as well as collective trauma for the community.

This volume originated as a small workshop entitled *Combat Stress and the Pre-Modern World* held at Manchester Metropolitan University, UK, in 2018. The purpose of the workshop was not to go over the large body of research that has built up over the past 25 years on the topic of pre-modern combat trauma, but to highlight the new directions that this research was going. It was not about rehashing old arguments but rather looking forward to new questions, new forms of analysis, and possible resolutions. The scholarly focus in this area has situated most of the analysis in classical Greece, so an attempt to bring together scholars from ancient, medieval, and early modern studies was considered critical. Alas, the one area that neither this workshop—nor indeed this volume—could satisfactorily cover was cultural perspectives outside of the European sphere.

From the turn of the millennium, there has been a surge of research that has tried to identify the symptomology of combat stress and post-traumatic stress in the source material, leading to the retrospective diagnosis of such prominent figures as Achilles, Alexander the Great, and Samuel Pepys, to name but a few. The argument that experience is similar enough in the historical past as to be almost a constant has also

¹ Jonathan Shay, Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character (New York: Atheneum, 1994); Philip A. Macowiak, 'Post-traumatic Stress Reactions before the Advent of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder: Potential Effects on the Lives and Legacies of Alexander the Great, Captain James Cook, Emily Dickinson, and Florence Nightingale', Military Medicine 173, 2008, 1158–63, accessed at https://doi.org/10.7205/milmed.173.12.1158; Alexandra F. Morris, 'Alexander the Great: Head to Head with CTW (Chronic Traumatic Encephalopathy)', Athens Journal of History 3, 1983, 225–34, accessed at https://doi.org/10.30958/ajhis.3-3-3; R.J. Daly, 'Samuel Pepys and

been advanced through such influential works as that of Walid Abdul-Hamid and Jamie Hughes.² This approach is built on a foundation of universalism. It starts from the belief that humans are innately the same, and while cultures and personalities can change, an integral continuity combines all people in their biology and neurology. As one of the leading proponents of this universalist perspective, ancient historian Lawrence Tritle summarises this view concisely:

The ability of scientists to trace human DNA to its remote origins by sequencing the DNA of living humans argues for the continuity of human biology—and so the universality of trauma—over the last 150,000 years.³

The topics of combat stress and associated injuries are more prevalent in ancient history monographs, but do not offer an academic dialogue; instead, they present a strong argument for the universalist view of combat stress. Key among them is Lawrence Tritle's *Melos to My Lai* which argues strongly for the historicity of Jonathan Shay's more literary analysis of the Homeric epics. He identifies key examples from Classical Greek evidence which have become the lynchpin for the universalist position: Epizelus, the Athenian who went blind at Marathon; Aristodemus, the Spartan who survived the battle of Thermopylae and committed suicide during the battle of Plataea; Clearchus, the Spartan commander of the Ten Thousand; and an extract by the sophist Gorgias which describes the lasting effect of fear in the minds of combatants.⁴

A broader universalist approach can be found within edited volumes on the subject, such as Meineck and Konstan's collection on *Combat Trauma*

Post-traumatic Stress Disorder', *British Journal of Psychiatry* 143, 1983, 64–8, accessed at https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.143.1.64.

² Walid Khalid Abdul-Hamid and Jamie Hacker Hughes, 'Nothing New under the Sun: Post-traumatic Stress Disorders in the Ancient World', *Early Science and Medicine* 19.6, 2014, 549–57, accessed at https://doi.org/10.1163/15733823-00196p02.

³ Lawrence Tritle, "Ravished Minds" in the Ancient World', in Peter Meineck and David Konstan (eds), Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 87–104. See also discussion on 'a universal species ethic' in Shay, Achilles in Vietnam, p. 208.

⁴ L. Tritle, *Melos to My Lai* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 61–78; for his analysis of Gorgias, see Lawrence Tritle, 'Gorgias, the Encomium of Helen, and the Trauma of War', *Clio's Psyche* 16.2, 2009, 195–9.

and the Ancient Greeks,⁵ and Caston and Weineck's edited volume on Rethinking War Through the Classics.⁶ Within these, we see excellent pieces of scholarship exploring themes such as trust and betrayal,⁷ survivor's guilt,⁸ and the presentation of trauma in drama.⁹ Indeed, a general acceptance of universalism, with notable caveats,¹⁰ has allowed researchers to focus on the experience of combat and more recently the effects of war on non-combatants, and in society more generally through new areas of analyses such as collective trauma (see Proietti in this volume).¹¹ It has also inspired some important outreach work such as the Theatre of War Project, founded by Bryan Doerries and Phyllis Kaufman, which uses dramatic readings and performances of historic literature followed by town hall-style discussions to highlight key social issues including war and mental health. In many ways, this is where the concept of ancient PTSD was first proposed, in the revolutionary work of Dr

⁵ Peter Meineck and David Konstan (eds), Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁶ Victor Caston and Silke-Maria Weineck (eds), Our Ancient Wars: Rethinking War Through the Classics (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).

⁷ Nancy Sherman, "He Gave Me His Hand But Took My Bow": Trust and Trustworthiness in the Philoctetes and Our Wars', in Peter Meineck and David Konstan (eds), Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 207–24.

⁸ Sharon L. James, 'The Battered Shield: Survivor's Guilt and Family Trauma in Menander's Aspis', in Peter Meineck and David Konstan (eds), *Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 237–60.

⁹ Peter Meineck, 'Combat Trauma and the Tragic Stage: Ancient Culture and Modern Catharsis?', in Victor Caston and Silke-Maria Weineck (eds), *Our Ancient Wars: Rethinking War Through the Classics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), pp. 184–208.

¹⁰ E.g. S.S. Monoson, 'Socrates in Combat: Trauma and Resilience in Plato's Political Theory', in P. Meineck and D. Konstan (eds), *Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 131–62.

¹¹ Sorkin Rabinowitz, Nancy, 'Women and War in Tragedy', in Peter Meineck and David Konstan (eds), Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 207–25; Kurt Raaflaub, 'Lysistrata and War's Impact on the Home Front', in Victor Caston and Silke-Maria Weineck (eds), Our Ancient Wars: Rethinking War Through the Classics (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), pp. 38–74; Giorgia Proietti, 'Athens as a "Landscape of Trauma": Phrynichus' Sack of Miletus and the Aftermath of the Persian Wars', in Lucia Cecchet, Christopher Degelmann, and Maik Patzelt (eds), The Ancient War's Impact on the Home Front (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2019), pp. 79–98.

Jonathan Shay who used the Homeric epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, to help his Vietnam veteran clients navigate their own experiences of war and trauma. ¹²

This universalist approach has recently been challenged by what is known as the relativist position, giving birth to an important debate about the use of the modern PTSD model as a way to explore pre-modern combat, and post-combat, experiences. 13 Relativist scholars challenge the argument that the experience of warfare is universal or that PTSD can be found across time and space. 14 The strongest assertions of the relativist position comes from anthropologist Allan Young—who argues that PTSD and traumatic memory do not occur before the nineteenth century and psychiatrist Derek Summerfield—who challenges the medicalisation of human misery and pain. 15 Taking a similarly hard line is the ancient Greek historian Jason Crowley, who argues that the influence of one's culture can neutralise a combatant's susceptibility to PTSD.¹⁶ Crowley's original argument, which appeared in Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks, engaged directly with the theory that ancient PTSD existed in the ancient world, but he never considered that combat induced trauma may have manifested differently within those different cultures.

Not all relativist models have been so extreme in their dismissal of PTSD. The work of Edgar Jones et al. has shown that the prevalence

¹² Shay, Achilles in Vietnam; J. Shay, Odysseus in America: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character (New York: Scribner, 2002).

¹³ Aislinn Melchior, 'Caesar in Vietnam: Did Roman Soldiers Suffer from Post-traumatic Stress Disorder', *Greece & Rome* 58–2, 2011, 209–23; Jason Crowley, 'Beyond the Universal Soldier: Combat Trauma in Classical Antiquity', in P. Meineck and D. Konstan (eds), *Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 105–30; Owen Rees, 'We Need to Talk About Epizelus: PTSD and the Ancient World', *Medical Humanities* 46.1, 2020, 46–54.

¹⁴ Pavlos Ntafoulis, 'A War Psychiatry Approach to Warfare in the Middle Byzantine Period', *History of Psychiatry* 27, 2014, 458–71, accessed at https://doi.org/10.1177/0957154X16663148.

¹⁵ D. Summerfield, 'The Invention of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder and the Social Usefulness of a Psychiatric Category', *British Medical Journal* 322, 2001, 95–8.

¹⁶ Crowley, 'Beyond the Universal Soldier'.

of PTSD in different periods of modern history differs quite dramatically. This raises questions about the expression of trauma within different cultural contexts without dismissing its presence in the historical record. More recently, scholars of the relativist model have considered alternative approaches to historical combat trauma that move away from the medical and scientific reliance that is inherent in the universalist model. But the universalist model is still prevalent, as seen in Łukasz Różycki's recent work on *Battlefield Emotions in Late Antiquity*, in which he claims that the 'Romans understood the phenomenon of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) by war'. Although, notably, the relativist counterargument is not dealt with in any detail.

Medieval and early modern treatment of combat trauma is even more limited, though it is slowly increasing. Medieval studies tend to focus on either physical trauma, such as the injuries sustained on the battlefield, ²⁰ trauma caused by military losses, ²¹ or war trauma as portrayed in literary

¹⁷ E. Jones, R. Hodgins Vermaas, H. McCartney, C. Beech, I. Palmer, K. Hyams, and S. Wessely, 'Flashbacks and Post-traumatic Stress Disorder: The Genesis of a Twentieth-Century Diagnosis', *British Journal of Psychiatry* 182, 2003, 158–63; E. Jones and S. Wessely, 'War Syndromes: The Impact of Culture on Medically Unexplained Symptoms', *Medical History* 49, 2005, 55–78.

18 Donna Trembinski, 'Comparing Premodern Melancholy/Mania and Modern Trauma: An Argument in Favour of Historical Experience of Trauma', *History of Psychology* 14, 2011, 80–99; Maurizio Paciaroni and Valentina Arnao, 'Neurology and War: From Antiquity to Modern Times', *Frontiers of Neurology and Neuroscience* 38, 2016, 1–9; Nancy Sherman, 'Moral Injury, Damage, and Repair', in Victor Caston and Silke-Maria Weineck (eds), *Our Ancient Wars: Rethinking War Through the Classics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), pp. 121–54; B. Steinbock, 'Sufferings Too Great for Tears: The Destruction of the Athenian Expeditionary Corps in Sicily', in Melanie Jonasch (ed), *The Fight for Greek Sicily Society, Politics, and Landscape* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2020), pp. 73–98.

¹⁹ Łukasz Różycki and Krzysztof Chorzewski (trans), Battlefield Emotions in Late Antiquity: A Study of Fear and Motivation in Roman Military Treatises (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 3, 24.

²⁰ O.H. Creighton, L. Evis, and M. Kingdom, 'The Face of Battle? Debating Arrow Trauma on Medieval Human Remains from Princesshay, Exeter', *The Antiquaries Journal* 100, 2020, 165–89; E. A. Sundman and A. Kjellström, 'Medieval Masculinities and Violence: Weapon-Related Trauma in Skeletal Assemblages from Two Religious Houses in Iceland and Sweden', *European Journal of Archaeology* 23, 2020, 567–84; Wendy J. Turner and Christina Lee (eds), *Trauma in Medieval Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

²¹ Megan Cassidy-Welch, 'Grief and Memory After the Battle of Agincourt', in Andrew Villalon and Donald Kagay (eds), *The Hundred Year War (Part II): Different Vistas* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 133–52.

works.²² Even when psychological trauma is considered, it is not always done so with reference to the theoretical issues of combat trauma and retrospective diagnosis, with some works taking a general approach to pointing out instances of trauma without reference to trauma theory, and others applying the theory without appreciating the historical context.²³ For pre-modern British history, scholarly treatment of combat trauma tends to fall into the literary, such as in investigations of possible combat trauma as portrayed in Shakespeare—and how this may have been understood by his audiences—or evidence from the British Civil Wars of the seventeenth century.²⁴

²² Raluca Radanescu, 'Emotions and War in Chaucer's Knight's Tale', in Claire McIlroy, Anne M. Scott, and Raluca L. Radulescu (eds), *Literature, Emotions, and Pre-Modern War: Conflict in Medieval and Early Modern Emotion* (Amsterdam: ARC, Amsterdam University Press, 2021), pp. 45–62; Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch, and Katrina O'Loughlin (eds), *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature* (London: Palgrave, 2015); Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch, and Katrina O'Loughlin (eds), *Writing War in Britain and France, 1370–1854: A History of Emotions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019); Claire McIlroy and Anne M. Scott (eds), *Literature, Emotions, and Pre-Modern War* (Amsterdam: ARC Humanities Press, 2021).

²³ Katie K. Walker, 'Peril, Flight and the Sad Man: Medieval Theories of the Body in Battle', in Laura Ashe and Ian Patterson (eds), War and Literature: Essays and Studies (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), pp. 21-37; Craig Taylor, 'Military Courage and Fear in the Late Medieval French Chivalric Imagination', Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistas 24, 2012, 129-47; Donna Trembinski, 'Comparing Premodern Melancholy/Mania and Modern Trauma: An Argument in Favour of Historical Experience of Trauma', History of Psychology 14, 2011, 80-99; Alastair J. MacDonald, 'Courage, Fear and the Experience of the Later Medieval Scottish Soldier', Scottish Historical Review XCII, 2013, 176-206; Craig Taylor, Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France During the Hundred Years War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Thomas Kristian Heebøll-Holm, 'Apocalypse Then? The First Crusade, Traumas of War and Thomas de Marle', in Kerstin Hundahl, Lars Kjaer and Niels Lund (eds), Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages c. 1000-1525: Essays in Honour of Professor Michael H. Gelting (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 237-54; Stephen Spencer, Emotions in a Crusading Context, 1095-1291 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Alan Cooper, '1190, William Longbeard and the Crisis of Angevin England', in Sarah Jones and Sethina Watson (eds), Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), pp. 91-105.

²⁴ Linhan Gan, 'Shakespeare's Clarence: The Medieval Shell-Shocked Soldier', *Critical Survey* 33, 2021, 62–78; Ismini Pells, 'Soliciting Sympathy: The Search for Psychological Trauma in Petitions from Seventeenth-Century Maimed Soldiers', in Erin Peters and Cynthia Richards (eds), *Early Modern Trauma: Europe and the Atlantic World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), pp. 129–50; Erin Peters, 'Trauma Narratives of the English Civil War', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 16, 2016, 78–94. See also Cynthia Richards, 'Wit and War: The Poetry of John Wilmot and the Trauma of War',

It is important to note that this is a topic that has entered public debate, either as historical research finds its way into the popular press, or journalists and commentators respond to the discussion about combat trauma when it appears in film and television. It has also been widely considered by members of the veteran community, and those who care for them. Works like the Theatre of War Project, and source collections such as that by Meagher and Pryer, show the ways in which historical interpretations of combat trauma are understood outside the historical field. Indeed, considering the historic prevalence of medical researchers to draw upon the pre-modern world to support new theories of combat trauma, and indeed new proposed treatments, then it is not an exaggeration for us to emphasise just how important this debate truly is. ²⁷

Utilising a number of focused case studies from ancient and medieval Europe, this volume takes an interdisciplinary approach to provide the first edited volume dedicated to the methodological debate that surrounds the usage of post-traumatic stress disorder and combat stress as models to examine the pre-modern world. By publishing chapters that use these

Eighteenth Century Fiction 27, 2014, 25–54; Erin Peters, 'The Deep Staines These Wars Will Leave Behind: Psychological Wounds and Curative Methods in the English Civil Wars', in David Appleby and Andrew Hopper (eds), Battle-Scarred: Mortality, Medical Care and Military Welfare in the British Civil Wars (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), pp. 156–73.

²⁵ Ben Tufft, 'Warriors in Ancient Iraq Suffered Post-traumatic Stress Disorder More than 3,000 Years Ago, Say Researchers', 25 January 2015, *The Independent*, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/science/warriors-ancient-iraq-suffered-post-traumatic-stress-disorder-more-3-000-years-ago-say-researchers-10000953.html, accessed 20 December 21; Erik Brown, 'The Hidden Evidence of PTSD in the Ancient World: The Pain Within the Stories', 3 July 2020, *Medium.com*, https://medium.com/lessons-from-history/the-hidden-evidence-of-ptsd-in-the-ancient-world-eb83752b7d4e, accessed 20 December 21; Anthony Riches, 'Did Roman Soldiers Suffer PTSD?', 29 September 2017, *Historia: Historian of the Historical Writers Association*, http://www.historiamag.com/roman-ptsd/, accessed 20 December 21.

²⁶ Dan Doyle, 'Most People Don't Realise This Ancient Tale Echoes the Seriousness of PTSD', *The Veterans' Site*, https://blog.theveteranssite.greatergood.com/achilles-ptsd/, accessed 20 December 21; Bryan Doerries, *The Theatre of War: What Ancient Greek Tragedies can Teach Us Today* (London: Scribe, 2016); Brad E. Kelle, *Moral Injury: A Guidebook for Understanding and Engagement* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020), especially Part II; Robert Emmet Meagher and Douglas A. Pryer (eds), *War and Moral Injury: A Reader* (Eugene, OR: Wibf & Stock, 2018); David W. Peters, *Post-traumatic God: How the Church Cares for People Who Have Been to Hell and Back* (New York: Morehouse Publishing, 2016).

²⁷ Rees, 'We Need To Talk'.

models next to ones that challenge their use, this book offers an open academic discourse on a very popular area of study and, in turn, platforms innovative new directions of research.

THE CHAPTERS

The volume opens with three chapters considering combat trauma in the ancient Greek world. Owen Rees begins by discussing some of the issues surrounding the application of psychiatric diagnoses to the historical past, a challenge that is at the core of this collection. He asks how historians can judge psychiatric problems through historical evidence of behaviour when we do not necessarily know what constituted normal behaviour at that time, and thus if events of the past even hold the same diagnostic capabilities. Georgia Proietti follows this by considering 'collective war trauma' in the representations of the Persian wars-related events on the Athenian stage in the immediate aftermath of the war, particularly because of the modern utilisation of classical theatre to aid veterans in coming to terms with combat trauma. Taking Aeschylus' Persians (472 BC) as a case study, Proietti argues that theatre and trauma had a different relationship in this period, as performance was used to help the whole community, and not specifically combatants, to come to terms with war. Finally, Constantine Christoforou introduces a script-based approach in his analysis of Sophocles' Ajax. This approach emphasises the cultural conditions that influences the hero's behaviour, and in turn Christoforou offers a 'script' for combat trauma within the play.

The study then moves on to Ancient Rome, where Andy Fear looks at legal evidence for PTSD in the Roman army. He argues that these 'dry' texts are in many ways better evidence for trauma than literary sources because of their 'dry' nature: their content was not influenced by rhetorical conventions of the day to the extent that, for example, poetry might have been. They are not, however, without their own issues, and Fear digs into the detail of these texts to demonstrate how they might fruitfully be used. Law is also the focus of Jo Ball's chapter on military suicide. She shows how Hadrian (r. 117–138) created an exception to a law relating to military suicide, in which the dead soldier's goods would be seized, for soldiers who were suffering from physical or mental pain that was considered permanent. The significance of the exemption lies in the way it explicitly recognised the mental and physical toll of warfare.

The final three contributions consider the evidence for combat trauma in the medieval and early modern world. Kathryn Hurlock begins by suggesting Moral Injury as a more flexible and applicable model for understanding war trauma in the past, taking examples from the First Crusade (1096-99) as her case study. She argues that PTSD, being a medical diagnosis, is too rigid for interpreting historical combat trauma, and that historians of all eras would be better served by engaging with the theory of Moral Injury. As moral expectations are culturally, and sometimes individually, specific, the theory can be more clearly and readily applied to a variety of military settings, styles of warfare, and militaryrelated events. Chelsea Grosskopff follows this by exploring evidence for combat trauma in the Eyrbyggja saga, a thirteenth-century work about the feud of Snorri Goði and Arnkel Goði. Through this text, she explores Hurlock's suggestion that Moral Injury is a useful theory for analysis, but also considers the figure of the berserker in the text in light of modern studies in trauma physiology and therapy. The volume closes with Ismini Pells' consideration of women and children and the trauma of seventeenth-century Civil War in Britain. Women and children both served in the wars-in a combat capacity and as supporters-and were witnesses and victims of conflict. Here, Pells examines the emotional responses of both women and children as seen in the written record letters, newsbooks, petitions, diaries, memoirs—to demonstrate what the Civil Wars tell us about their resilience to the trauma of participating in and witnessing combat.

The decision to not include a conclusion was a purposeful one. The aim of this volume is to highlight a variety of historical approaches to the topic of combat stress, many of which contradict or disagree with many others. It is not for this editorial team to draw these approaches together to offer some unifying conclusion. The hope is that this volume will inspire further research, exploring a multitude of possibilities related to our driving question. Maybe then, conclusions can be drawn.

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