

# THE ANONYMOUS BYZANTINE TREATISE ON STRATEGY

## INTRODUCTION

Treatises on the science and art of waging war, on strategy and tactics, were being written in Greek since at least the fourth century before our era. Some were composed by experienced battlefield commanders, others by theoreticians, arm-chair generals. Their books were copied, excerpted, and adapted through late antiquity. Partly in this tradition and partly as something new, the sixth century produced its own corpus of military writings, beginning with the pompous phrases of Urbikios and concluding with the more practical instructions offered by Maurice.<sup>1</sup> About the middle of the century a book of modest proportions, professing to treat of the whole art of war, was published. It is here published again, accompanied by an English translation.

In the manuscript which preserves most of the text, *codex Mediceo-Laurentianus graecus 55, 4* (= M), the initial page of the treatise is missing. As a result, we do not know the name of the author or the title he gave to his work. It was composed according to a logical plan, beginning with some general observations about the body politic and quickly arriving at the part the author thought most deserving of his attention, the military, or strategy. This provided the first editors of this treatise, H. Köchly and W. Rüstow, with a title for the work: *Peri strategikes, de re strategica*. In lieu of a name, they and subsequent scholars have had to refer to its author as an "Anonymous Byzantine."<sup>2</sup> Since Köchly and Rüstow published the work in 1855, along with an introduction and some notes, not much else has appeared about it in print.<sup>3</sup> In the 1930s, however, two Americans, one a doctoral

<sup>1</sup>See Hunger, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, 323-40; Dain, "Stratégistes."

<sup>2</sup>"Des byzantiner Anonymus Kriegswissenschaft," in K-R.

<sup>3</sup>This is noted by A. Cameron, *Circus Factions; Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford, 1976), 80. The work is, of course, mentioned by Dain (p. 343) and Hunger (pp. 327-28). There is also some discussion of the treatise in M. Jähns, *Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaft*, 1 (Munich-Leipzig, 1889), 146-51; F. Lammert, "Die älteste erhaltene Schrift über Seetaktik und ihre Be-

student in Classics and the other a colonel in the United States Army, independently devoted some time and energy to studying this treatise, the first preparing a new edition of the Greek text and the other an English translation. It seems that neither ever learned of the other's work.

Theodore H. Erck completed a critical edition of the work with an introduction as his doctoral dissertation under the direction of W. A. Oldfather at the University of Illinois in 1937. Entitled *Anonymi Byzantini Peri Strategikes* (hereafter, Erck), it exists only in typewritten form and totals ninety-one pages.<sup>4</sup>

Colonel, later General, Oliver Lyman Spaulding, Jr., began his study of the treatise while on active service with the field artillery in several western states, and completed it about 1935 while professor of military science at Harvard University. It too exists only in typescript, although it was intended, along with his translation of Maurice's *Strategikon*, for publication.<sup>5</sup> After a very brief introduction, he presents his English translation alongside the Köchly-Rüstow text in parallel columns. This is followed by seventeen pages of notes, making a total of 129 typed pages.

Both of these works, it must be clear, have greatly facilitated the preparation of the present edition and translation. Although he was dealing with a faulty Greek text, Spaulding generally seems to have had a good grasp of both the language and the material. His translation, however, is a very loose one and should be used with caution. But his rendering of certain words and phrases is excellent, and some of it has been adopted in this translation.

For reasons to be given below, the Greek text presented by Erck is also excellent, and is certainly a vast improvement over the one put together by Köchly and Rüstow (hereafter, K-R). Although Erck's typed text is not without a few errors and omissions, it is basically the same as the text presented below. Points of disagreement are indicated in the apparatus.

#### Composition of the Treatise

In their introduction Köchly and Rüstow established that the treatise was composed during the sixth century, more precisely and "with the fullest certainty," in

ziehungen zum Anonymus Byzantinus des 6. Jahrhunderts," *Klio*, 33 (1941), 277-88; N. V. Pigulevskaja, *Vizantija i Iran na rubeže VI i VII vv.* (Moscow, 1946), 114-33; A. Pertusi, "Ordinamenti militari, guerre in Occidente e teoria di guerra dei bizantini (secc. vi-x)," *Settimane di Studi sull' alto medioevo*, 15 (Spoleto, 1968), 630-700. The most recent and detailed study is by V. Kučma, "Vizantijskij Anonim VI v.: osnovnye problemy istočnikov i soderžanija," *VizVrem*, 41 (1980), 68-91.

<sup>4</sup>Dr. Erck subsequently taught at Vassar College and was president of Hood College in 1971-72 before retiring.

<sup>5</sup>On Col. Spaulding, who died in 1947, see G. Dennis, ed., *Das Strategikon des Maurikios* (CFHB, 17; Vienna, 1981), 25-27. Both of his translations were found among the papers of the late Rev. Martin Higgins, and are now in the archives of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. Spaulding also published an article, "The Ancient Military Writers," *Classical Journal*, 28 (1932-33), 657-69.

the reign of Justinian (527-65), and probably during the latter part of his reign (K-R, 37). This conclusion, which has been generally accepted by scholars, is based on internal evidence. Archery, for example, plays a prominent role in the work. Then, there is "our emperor," who has been stirring up his enemies against one another, which could easily refer to Justinian (6, 14-15; references are to chapter and line of the present edition). The comments about the celebration of a triumph (3, 90-91) may well have to do with that of Belisarius in 534, although several other triumphs were held in that period.<sup>6</sup> The description of what Belisarius himself was accustomed to do, that is, ravaging the countryside before a more powerful enemy (33, 30), sounds as though the writer was recalling recent events he had witnessed or heard about. Whether the verb in the sentence was originally in the present or the imperfect tense does not substantially alter the meaning.

Opinions have varied slightly about the author, whose name, of course, is not known. A. Dain, while conceding some originality and contact with the realities of military life, places him among the theoreticians, "stratèges en chambre."<sup>7</sup> V. Kučma thinks that the author was a military engineer and praises the originality of his plan and his success in carrying it out. While admitting that some elements have been borrowed, he considers the treatise to be unique in Greco-Roman-Byzantine military literature. It is a good mix of abstract theories and practical recommendations. The treatise is, in his view, "a work of very high quality, composed by a contemporary of Justinian, a Byzantine of the middle level, socially, intellectually, and professionally."<sup>8</sup> Presumably he was also a Christian, but, apart from one mention of the Apostles (3, 11), there is nothing specifically Christian in his writing. Spaulding (p. 2) believes he may have been a staff officer, perhaps an engineer. "On fortification and field engineering he is sound and practical. He speaks with confidence and authority, as one who has seen war, but not quite in the tone of a commander of troops." Erck finds the sections on tactics more theoretical and derived from classical writers. But he admits that the author must have had some practical military experience, such as crossing streams under fire and pitching camp. Most probably, according to Erck (pp. 3-4), he was "a veteran army man who in his later years turned to writing."

His book appears to have been intended for the ordinary, educated citizen, and, while abounding in definitions and military terminology, much of it probably obsolete, it is composed in uncomplicated and matter-of-fact language. In his dissertation Erck succinctly describes the work (p. 4). "His treatise is a well planned, completely thought out piece of work. He made a detailed outline of the topics to be discussed and treated each in its proper place, carefully introducing each separate

<sup>6</sup>See Procopius, *Bellum Vandalicum*, 2, 9; also S. G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1981); M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1985), 64-68.

<sup>7</sup>Dain, "Stratèges," 343.

<sup>8</sup>"Vizantijskij Anonim," 73-74, 89-90.

part to show its relation to the whole, and recapitulating at its close. The whole he prefaced with an elaborate introduction which defines statecraft as a whole and neatly, if artificially, classifies all of the elements of the state, and then passes from the general to that particular branch of statecraft which seems most important to him, namely *strategike*.<sup>9</sup>

The treatise is divided into two parts (5, 1–5): defensive strategy and offensive strategy. Under the first heading Chapter 6 enumerates six topics to be discussed. The first three are treated in Chapters 7 to 13, while the last three appear to be missing. Chapter 14 begins, as Erck notes, without the author's usual summary and transition. In it he treats of tactics, which would belong to the second part, offensive strategy. Perhaps some sections have been lost from the text. The treatise moves along in an orderly fashion to Chapter 32. From this chapter to the end the transition passages are missing, and the treatment is unexpectedly brief. Köchly–Rüstow suggest, rightly, in Erck's view, that these chapters represent an epitome and were not part of the original text. The final chapters (44–47) on archery seem out of place, and there is no proper ending to the whole work.<sup>9</sup>

#### The Manuscripts

Why did Erck believe that a new edition of the treatise was necessary? "A comparison of the Köchly–Rüstow text with the manuscript from which it was made showed that these scholars had been almost unbelievably careless in their examination of the manuscript, and that they had misread it in literally several hundred places" (p. 5). The present editor found slightly less than two hundred such misreadings of the manuscript by K–R, but Erck's basic charge is certainly valid.

The manuscript on which Köchly and Rüstow based their text was the *codex Parisinus graecus 2522* (= P), a fifteenth-century copy of the Laurentian manuscript (M), to be discussed below. Even if the two scholars had been more conscientious in reading and transcribing the Parisian manuscript, their edition would still be a poor one, for it would not have utilized the earlier and better manuscripts.

A. Dain, in studying the history of the text of Aelian the Tactician, showed clearly that there were three principal manuscript traditions, the "authentic," the "interpolated," and the one on which the writings of Leo VI were based.<sup>10</sup> Subsequent research on the textual history of the *Strategikon* of Maurice confirmed Dain's analysis.<sup>11</sup> The main corpus (or corpora) of classical and Byzantine military writings is found, with a few exceptions, in the same series of manuscripts. The Anony-

<sup>9</sup>Much of this material came to form part of the *Apparatus bellicus* of Julius Africanus: Dain, "Stratégistes," 335–36, 359–61; R. Vieillefond, *Jules Africain, Fragments des Cestes provenant de la collection des tacticiens grecs* (Paris, 1932). The chapters on archery have been edited and translated by O. Schissel von Fleschenberg, "Spätantike Anleitung zum Bogenschiessen," *Wiener Studien*, 59 (1941), 110–24; 60 (1942), 43–70.

<sup>10</sup>*Histoire du texte d'Elie le tacticien* (Paris, 1946).

<sup>11</sup>Dennis, *Strategikon*, 28–41.

mous fits into the same general pattern as Aelian, Maurice, and other such writings, with some important differences.

The first, "authentic," tradition is represented by the *codex Mediceo-Laurentianus graecus 55, 4* (= M; L in Erck's nomenclature). It is the most important and complete collection of Greek strategists, copied under the direction of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus sometime before 959, and has been the subject of several detailed studies.<sup>12</sup> The Anonymous is found on fols. 104–130<sup>v</sup>. The title page, as noted, including the author's introductory remarks, and the last chapter are missing. The recapitulation at the beginning of Chapter 4 makes it clear that the missing part of the first chapter defined *politeia* or *politike* and started to list its components, and was probably not very long. The text, written in a clear minuscule, is otherwise in good condition.

The second tradition, "interpolated," in Dain's terminology, was, in tracing the textual history of Maurice's *Strategikon*, represented by three very closely related manuscripts, designated in the edition as VNP.<sup>13</sup> The first, *codex Vaticanus graecus 1164* (= V), a clearly written book which can be dated to around the year 1020, has been severely mutilated. Only three folios of the Anonymous remain: 173–173<sup>v</sup>, 175<sup>v</sup>–176<sup>v</sup>.

In editing the *Strategikon*, N stood for the *codex Neapolitanus graecus 284* (III-C-26). Originally this formed part of one parchment book with the *codex Scorialensis graecus 281* (Y-III-II) (= S). This manuscript in the Escorial consists of 308 folios with works of ancient and Byzantine tacticians. The incomplete text of the Anonymous is found on fols. 101<sup>v</sup>–111<sup>v</sup>. The manuscript can probably best be dated to the third or fourth decade of the eleventh century, and is almost certainly a copy of V.

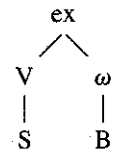
The third manuscript in the family (*Parisinus graecus 2442*, = P) can be traced to the same scriptorium, that of Ephrem in Constantinople, at about the same time as V. It too is only part of what had been one large manuscript together with the *codex Barberinianus graecus II 97* (276) (= B). It is in the latter that the incomplete text of the Anonymous is found on fols. 81<sup>v</sup>–91<sup>v</sup>.

The VSB text for much of the Anonymous, Chapters 7 to 16, does not represent the original text, but is a summary or paraphrase. From Chapters 33 to 47 the full text, at least in SB, is given. These three manuscripts, VSB, clearly derive from a common exemplar. S is, as mentioned, a copy of V. B contains far more errors than the other two, so that it is reasonable to postulate one or more copies ( $\omega$ ) between it and the exemplar. As in the case of Maurice's *Strategikon*, the relationship between these manuscripts can be sketched as follows.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup>See Dain, "Stratégistes," 382–85; Dennis, *Strategikon*, 19–20.

<sup>13</sup>Dain, "Stratégistes," 386–88; Dennis, *Strategikon*, 20–21; on the scriptorium and the dating see J. Irigoien, "Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins," *Scriptorium*, 12 (1958), 208–27; 13 (1959), 177–209.

<sup>14</sup>Dennis, *Strategikon*, 33–36.



The third recension found by Dain, the one used by Leo VI which, designated as  $\lambda$ , was important in reconstituting the text of Maurice, has not preserved the Anonymous.<sup>15</sup>

In preparing the text of the *Strategikon*, it was noted that one other manuscript was of some importance, although it did not fit clearly into the tradition. This was the *codex Ambrosianus graecus B 119 sup. (139)* (= A), which contains a number of military treatises and was written about the year 959.<sup>16</sup> In several instances the readings and diagrams found in this manuscript were more accurate than those in any of the others. Yet it was essentially a paraphrase of the *Strategikon* in tenth-century Greek. It also contains paraphrases of other authors which appear in M. But it does not do so for the Anonymous. Rather, A presents the same version of the text as M, and not a paraphrase. Although A has been gravely mutilated, enough remains (fols. 8–21<sup>v</sup>) to prove, as Erck has done (pp. 10–14), that A and M are closely related. Each has passages omitted in the other, and it is clear that neither was copied from the other. Erck believes that “A represents merely a less corrupt tradition of the text than L [M].” After drawing up a list of differences between the two, he shows that in more than two-thirds of the cases A has the better reading. He concludes that they are two branches of the same tradition, with M containing a larger number of scribal errors and A generally being a better copy of the text. Probably A and M were copied from the same manuscript, or at least collateral ones.<sup>17</sup> Erck thinks that the marginal comment on Hannibal in M (18, 48), which he finds flippant and not in the author’s style, must be an interpolation, and he postulates at least one manuscript between M and the point of departure from the common tradition with A. There are no clear errors stemming from the misreading of uncial script, so that their common parent (or grandparent) must have been written in minuscule.

Later copies need not detain us. The *Paris. gr. 2522 (P)*, on which the K–R text was based, is a fairly exact copy of M. Also copied from M are *Vossianus gr. 34* of the sixteenth century and *Barberin. gr. 59* of the seventeenth. There are a few sixteenth-century copies of A: *Ambrosian. gr. C 265 inf. (905)*, *Marcian. gr. XI 30e (coll. 976, 1)*, and Chapters 31–32 copied in the *cod. Sinaiticus gr. 1889* and at-

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 36–39.

<sup>16</sup>C. M. Mazzucchi, “Dagli anni di Basilio Parakimomenos (cod. Ambr. B 119 sup.),” *Aevum*, 52 (1978), 267–316.

<sup>17</sup>In my edition of the *Strategikon*, 39–41, I thought that such was the case, but did not have the more convincing arguments which Erck has produced.

tributed to Emperor Maurice. The many copies of VSB have been listed by R. Vieillefond.<sup>18</sup>

#### The Present Edition

For the reasons given above, the present text is based on A; for the sections missing in A, it is based on M, and for the last chapter, which is not in M, on S. Sometimes the differences between A and M are insignificant, and one cannot be preferred to the other. In such cases this edition has not followed a consistent pattern. Alternate readings, in any event, are given in the apparatus.

The numbering of the chapters is taken from M or supplied by the editor. They are numbered incorrectly in A, and not at all in VSB or in P (it did not seem necessary to note this in the apparatus each time). Some chapter titles and other phrases, missing in the manuscripts, have been supplied from the body of the text or elsewhere by one of the editors, past or present. While Erck’s criticism of K–R is justified, some of their readings and emendations are good and have been retained. Their errors are generally not listed, as they would unduly clutter the apparatus.

<sup>18</sup>*Jules Africain, Fragments des Cestes*, xliii–xlvi.

M

TEX

Threaten  
age ene  
Byzantin  
tam of t  
the secu  
their se  
handboo  
by exper  
manuals  
*Anonymo*  
was writ  
about th  
other tw  
*ganizatio*  
tenth ce  
in the m  
and with  
of the B  
only of t  
motivate  
to defen  
accompa  
Diagram  
script in  
proper r  
also inclu

George T  
tory at th  
and has  
*of Manue*  
as the ba  
the *Strate*

## TEXT and TRANSLATION

(Περὶ Στρατηγίας.

α'.

Τί ἐστὶν πολιτεία καὶ πόσα μέρη αὐτῆς.)

M f. 104

- ... γραμματικοί, ῥήτορες, ἰατροί, γεωργοί, καὶ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι.  
 5 Τὴν δὲ γε ἱερατικὴν δόξειε μὲν ἂν τις ἴσως τέχνην εἶναι, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐ τοῦτο δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπιστήμην, ἐπειδὴ θεῖόν τι χρῆμά ἐστι καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσεων ὑψηλότερον, εἰ μὴ τις ἀπλῶς ἐπιστήμην τὴν γνῶσιν καλεῖ. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν νομικὴν, ὅτι μὴ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχει, νῦν μὲν οὕτως περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, νῦν δὲ ἑτέρως, πρὸς τὰς διαθέσεις τῶν νομοθετουμένων προσώπων, ἀποφαινομένων τῶν νόμων.  
 10 Ἐμπορικὸν δὲ, οἶον σιτοπῶλαι, οἰνοπῶλαι, κρεοπῶλαι. ὕλικόν δὲ, τὸ ἐκάστου εἶδους παρεκτικόν, οἶον σιδηροτελεῖς, χαλκοτελεῖς. ὑπηρετικόν δὲ, τὸ ὑπηρετοῦν τοῖς γινομένοις πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν, οἶον ξυλοφόροι, λιθοφόροι. ἄχρηστον δὲ, τὸ μηδοτιοῦν  
 15 συντελεῖν δυνάμενον πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν χρεῖαν, οἶον ἀσθενεῖς, γέροντες, παῖδες.  
 Καὶ πολιτείας μὲν μέρη τοσαῦτα. εἴποι δ' ἂν τις καὶ μέρος πολιτείας, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐνεργεῖν ἴσως ἀργὸν ὀνομάσει, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως καὶ ἡμῖν ἀρμόσει μέρος πολιτείας τοιοῦτον. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 20 τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος οὐκ ἔστι μέρος εὐρεῖν πάσης χρεῖας ἀπηλλαγμένον, οὕτω καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης οὐκ ἂν δέοι μέρος εἶναι τοιοῦτον, ὃ δύναται μὲν συντελεῖν ἐπὶ λυσιτελείᾳ τῆς πολιτείας, οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ δὲ, ἀλλὰ πάντως καὶ αὐτὸ καθ' ἑν τῶν εἰρημένων τετάξεται, ἵνα μὴ ἀργεῖν δυνάμενον πρὸς ἀκολασίαν καὶ κλοπὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κα-  
 25 κίαν ἀποκλίνοι.

MP 1: K-R 42, Erck 22.

1: 1-3 περὶ . . . αὐτῆς De: inc. mut. codd. || 4 ἰατροί M: om. P || 19 τοιοῦτον De: τοσοῦτον MP

[STRATEGY.

1.

Statecraft and Its Divisions.]

. . . writers, public speakers, physicians, farmers, and those in like professions.

Priestly service might also be classed as a profession, but I do not think it should be, nor should it be listed as a science, unless the simple possession of special knowledge qualifies as a science. It is, after all, something sacred and far above our natural capabilities. Neither should the legal profession be called a science. It does not always deal with cases in the same manner, but handles the same subject now in one way, now in another. Application of the law varies according to the circumstances of the persons who are covered by the law.

Next comes the mercantile class, which includes dealers in grain, in wine, in meat. There are those who provide products fashioned of various materials, such as iron and copper. Then come those who hire out their services to the directors of public works, the bearers of lumber and stone. Finally, there is the unproductive class which is unable to contribute anything at all to the needs of the community; this would include the infirm, the elderly, and children.

These, then, are the various classes of citizens. Someone might want to add another group, which I suppose could be called the leisure class, since it is not engaged in any activity. But I am reluctant to admit such a class of citizens. Just as in the human body you cannot find a part which has absolutely no function, so in a well-ordered commonwealth there should be no group of citizens which, although able to contribute to the public welfare, in fact does nothing. But every individual should by all means take his place in one of the classes enumerated above. Otherwise, idleness may lead him into licentiousness, thievery, and other forms of wickedness.

## β'.

⟨Τίνων χάριν επενοήθησαν τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μέρη.⟩

Ἐπενοήθη δὲ τὸ μὲν ἱερατικὸν διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείαν, τῆς  
πρώτης γενικωτάτης ἀρχῆς, παρ' οὗ καὶ δι' οὗ πάντα γέγονε καὶ οἰκο-  
5 νομεῖται, οἷς μόνος ἐκεῖνος ἐπίσταται τρόποις τῆς ἀγαθότητος.

Τὸ δὲ νομικὸν διὰ τὸ δίκαιον, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὰς στάσεις. στά-  
σις δὲ ἐστὶ πλήθους ὁμοφύλων κατὰ γνώμην διάστασις μικραῖς ἀφορ-  
μαῖς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ μέχρι φόνων ὀδεύουσα. τὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλων κατ' ἀρχὰς  
ἀνθέλκοντες ἀνθρωποι, εἶτα πρὸς τὴν βλάβην τῶν γειτόνων ἐμμέ-  
10 νοντες, πρὸς στάσιν ἐμφύλιον καὶ μάχην θανατηφόρον διηγινίζοντο.  
ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῆ τοῦ γένους ἀναίρεσιν ἠπειλεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα, διὰ ταῦτα  
ἐπενοήθησαν νόμοι καὶ δικασταί, ἕν' ὑπὸ τούτων τὰ πλήθη κρινόμενα  
αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνην ἄγοιεν.

Τὸ δὲ συμβουλευτικὸν διὰ τὸ συμφέρον. τὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ πλειόνων  
15 ἀνερευνώμενον ἐτοιμότερον εἰς κατάληψιν. ἠϋξήθη δὲ καὶ μάλλον  
διὰ τοὺς πολέμους, οὓς συμφωνίαι καὶ γνώμαι γεννώσι πολλῶν, κα-  
M f. 104' τὰρ | θούσι δὲ οἱ ἀριστοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

Τὸ δὲ χρηματικὸν ἐστὶ μὲν ὅτε καὶ ἄλλων ἕνεκεν κοινωφελῶν  
πραγμάτων ἐπιενεόηται, οἷον ναυπηγίας, τειχοποιίας, μάλιστα δὲ  
20 διὰ τὰ ἀναλώματα τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τῶν γὰρ κατ' ἔτος δημοσίων  
εἰσόδων ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλείστα καταναλίσκεται.

Τὸ δὲ τεχνικὸν διὰ τὸ ῥᾶον καὶ ὡς ἂν δεοὶ γίνεσθαι τὰ γινόμενα  
καὶ διαρκεῖν τῷ χρόνῳ. τὸ γὰρ τέχνη τελούμενον οὐ μόνον ῥαδίως,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς γίνεται.

25 Τὸ δὲ ἐμπορικὸν διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν. οὐ γὰρ πάντες πάντα ἔχουσι.  
δι' ἧν δὲ ἕκαστος εὐπορεῖ διὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας τὸ λείπον ἀναπληροῖ τῆς  
χρεῖας.

Τὸ δὲ ὑλικὸν ἦτοι τὸ εἶδος παρεκτικόν, ἵνα μὴ τῆς χρεῖας κα-  
λούσης ἐπιλίπη τὰ πράγματα. πολλάκις γὰρ χρημάτων μὲν εὐποροῦ-  
30 μεν, τῶν εἰς χρεῖαν δὲ πραγμάτων ἀπολειπόμεθα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ  
μὲν σίδηρον, οἱ δὲ νάφθαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ  
ἢ ἀργύρου ἡμῖν προσπορίζουσιν.

Τὸ δὲ ὑπηρετικὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν κελενομένων ὑπηρεσίαν τε καὶ  
συμπλήρωσιν. τὸ δὲ ἄχρηστον προβέβληται μὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς φύσεως  
35 καὶ τῆς τύχης, θεραπεύεται δὲ παρὰ τῆς κεχρεωστημένης φιλανθρω-  
που γνώμης, ἣ καὶ αὐτὴ δῶρόν ἐστι φύσεως καὶ Θεοῦ πρότερον.

2: K-R 44, Erck 23.

2: 2 τίνων . . . μέρη De: om. codd.

## 2.

[The Reasons for the Various Classes in the State.]

Holy orders have been established for the worship of God, the first and univer-  
sal cause, by whom and through whom all things came into being and are governed  
in the ways of goodness known to him alone.

Legal institutions are established to bring about justice, especially in the case  
of disputes. A dispute is a difference of opinion among a number of fellow citizens,  
and from small beginnings may often lead to loss of life. Men will begin by con-  
tending about one another's property, then find themselves causing injury to their  
neighbors, and soon become involved in civil strife, fighting, and killing. Since  
such a situation threatens the very survival of our people, laws and judges have been  
established to pronounce judgment in such cases and to aid people in living together  
in peace.

Deliberative assemblies serve a good purpose. What has been thought through  
by a number of people is more likely to be carried out successfully. They are par-  
ticularly needed in time of war, which is declared by the consensus of many minds  
but can be conducted effectively only by selected leaders.

The financial system was set up to take care of matters of public importance  
that arise on occasion, such as the building of ships and of walls. But it is princi-  
pally concerned with paying the soldiers. Each year most of the public revenues are  
spent for this purpose.

Technicians make sure that projects will be carried out with a minimum of  
effort, in the proper manner, and with due regard for durability. Work done in a  
professional manner will be more easily completed and prove more solid.

Commerce provides for necessities. No one has everything he needs. But  
commercial activity enables each person to provide himself with the things he lacks.

Wholesalers provide us with materials, so that projects do not have to be  
abandoned because of a shortage of material. Often enough we may have plenty of  
money, but may be without any of the goods we need. Various people, then, furnish  
us with iron, naphtha, or whatever we need in exchange for gold or silver.

The serving class is to perform the services that they are ordered to do. The  
unproductive class comes into being both by nature and by accident. Its members  
are justly entitled to protection out of humanitarian feelings, which are themselves a  
gift of nature and, even more so, of God.

γ'.

(Περὶ ἀρχόντων.)

Τί μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πολιτεία καὶ πόσα μέρη ταύτης τυγχάνει καὶ τίνων χάριν ἐπενοήθησαν, εἴρηται διὰ τῶν φθασάντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐκάστω τῶν εἰρημένων μερῶν ὑφ' ἡγεμόνι τετάχθαι, ἀναγκαῖον περὶ ἀρχόντων εἰπεῖν πρότερον, ὁποίους αὐτοὺς εἶναι χρή καθόλου τε καὶ κατ' εἶδος, καὶ τίνων κεφαλαίων δεῖ φροντίζειν, καὶ ὁποίους εἶναι χρή τοὺς ὑπηρετουμένους αὐτοῖς.

Περὶ γὰρ ἱερέων ὁποίους καὶ αὐτοὺς εἶναι χρή, ὅτι δεῖ ἐμπείρους εἶναι νόμων Θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ἦθη χρηστούς, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρετουμένους αὐτοῖς ὅτι χρή καὶ αὐτοὺς καθαρούς εἶναι καὶ πρῶτῳ μετ' εὐκοσμίας μετερχομένους αὐτοὺς τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἱερέων ἐγκελευόμενα, οὐχ ἡμέτερον, ἀποστόλων δὲ καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους βεβιωκότων.

Ἄπαντας δὲ ἀρχοντας εἶναι δέον φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, ἀγαθοὺς τὸν τρόπον, ἐμπείρους τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτοῖς πραγμάτων, θυμοῦ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ χειρὸς ὁμοίως κρατοῦντας, καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἑαυτῶν ἢ τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα φροντίζοντας.

Τοὺς δὲ συμβούλους εἶναι χρή γονίμους τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ διακριτικούς τοῦ συμφέροντος, φίλους τὰ κοινά, ἐμπείρους τὰ πολιτικά, μνήμονας τῶν τελουμένων, ἐνδεῖας καὶ τρυφῆς ἴσως ἀπέχοντας. τὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν | τοῦ σώματος, ἵν' ὑπηρετῶσι καὶ διαρκῶσι τοῖς λογισμοῖς δαπανώμενοι, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὸν κόρον, κόρος γὰρ πολέμιος λογισμῶν. καὶ μήτε ὑπὸ μακρῶ καταφέρεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ "οὐ χρή παννύχιον καθεῦδειν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα," μήτ' ἄλλαις φροντίσι 25 συνεχόμενους καταδαπανᾶν τὴν ἐν τοῖς λογισμοῖς δύναμιν. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν γηραιούς, "βουλή γὰρ καὶ μῦθος τὸ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων," ἢ καὶ πρὸς γήρας ὀρώντας διὰ τὰς ἐπιπονωτέρας κινήσεις τοῦ σώματος, καὶ μήτε διὰ συγγένειαν ἢ χρήματα ἢ ἔχθραν τινὸς ἢ φιλίαν βουλεύεσθαι, μόνον δὲ ἕνεκα τοῦ τῆ πολιτείας συμφέροντος.

Τοὺς δὲ δικαστὰς εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς κριτικούς τὴν φύσιν—πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐνθυμημάτων μὲν εὐποροῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ κρείττονος ἀμαρτάνουσιν—ἐπιστήμονας δὲ οὐ μόνον τῶν νόμων περὶ οὓς καταγίνονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα συντελοῦσι πρὸς τὴν τῶν νόμων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ χειρὸς μὲν καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ἡδονῆς ὁμοίως κρατοῦντας, καὶ μήτε φόβῳ καταπτῆσσειν μήτε φιλῖα χαρίζεσθαι μήτε 35 ἔχθρᾳ νικᾶσθαι μήτε χρήμασι δελεάζεσθαι, καὶ ἔτι φοβερούς μὲν τοῖς καταφρονηταῖς, προσηνεῖς δὲ τοῖς εὐπειθέσιν.

Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὰ χρήματα τεταγμένων χρή τοὺς μὲν τιθέντας τοὺς φόρους δικαίους εἶναι τὸν τρόπον, μετρικῆς δὲ μάλιστα καὶ γεωπο- 40 νικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ λογιστικῆς μετέχειν. αἱ γὰρ θέσεις τῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων γίνονται μὲν κατὰ ποσὸν τῆς γῆς, ἀναλόγως δὲ καὶ κατὰ

3.

[Officials.]

The preceding chapters have explained the nature of the state and enumerated the classes of citizens and the reasons for their existence. But, since each of these classes must be organized under a leader, we have to say something about such officials. First of all, what should be their qualifications, in general and in particular? What should be their principal concerns? What sort of assistants might they require?

As far as the qualifications expected of the priests are concerned, it is clear that they ought to be experienced in the laws of God and be of excellent character. Their assistants must also be pure and should carry out the duties imposed on them by the bishops and priests in a meek and dignified manner. Such matters, however, lie outside our competence and belong rather to the Apostles and those who observe their way of life.

All persons in authority should possess natural intelligence, be upright in their way of life, experienced in the matters committed to them, in control of their actions and especially of their emotions, and not be more concerned about themselves than about their subjects.

The counselors should be noted for their ability to think clearly and to form judgments about what is advantageous. They should be devoted to the common good, experienced in statecraft, and familiar with precedent. They should be removed alike from want and from luxury. Want would affect their bodily strength, and so they should receive enough provisions to enable them to carry out their mental labors. Luxury, on the other hand, leads to satiety, which is the enemy of reasoning. They should not indulge themselves in too much sleep. "A man who is to give counsel ought not sleep the whole night through."<sup>1</sup> The energy needed for their deliberations should not be dissipated on other concerns. They should be of mature age. "Counsel and speaking in public are the prerogatives of age."<sup>2</sup> But they should not be too advanced in years because of the strenuous physical activity required of them. Their counsel should not be influenced by family ties, money, or any enmity or friendship, but only by the best interests of the state.

Judges must possess a good judicial temperament. Many men are full of good ideas but are incapable of deciding which one is best. Judges should know not only the laws, with which they are directly concerned, but also the other factors which may have some bearing upon the explanation of the laws. They should have control over their actions, their emotions, and their pleasures. They must not be terrified by fear. Friendship must not make them lenient, nor should enmity make them overbearing. Money should not make them waver. They ought to be stern with those who condemn the laws and gentle with those who observe them.

Coming now to the officials assigned to financial matters, those who assess the taxes must be just in the way they go about it; they should have some knowledge of surveying, of agricultural methods, and of accounting. For the amounts assessed for tax purposes are based upon the area of land, and upon its quality as well, and its



τὴν ποιότητα αὐτῆς ὅπως ἔχη πρὸς εὐφορίαν καρπῶν ἢ γένεσιν με-  
τάλλων. ὄραν δὲ δεῖ καὶ κράσεις ἀέρων καὶ τόπων, πόλεων τε καὶ πο-  
ταμῶν ναυσιπόρων καὶ θαλάσσης γειννίασιν καὶ πηγῶν ἀενάων  
45 χορηγίαν, ὅση τε ἐξ ἐπιπολής καὶ ὅση διὰ βάθους, ὥστε ταῦτα πάντα  
βλέποντας τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα τεταγμένους τοὺς φόρους τίθεσθαι.

Τοὺς δὲ φορολόγους χρηστοὺς μὲν τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν το-  
σοῦτον εὐπόρους εἶναι, ὥστε, εἴ ποτε συμβαίῃ κακῶς αὐτοὺς δι-  
φκηέναι τὸν κανόνα, μὴ ἀπορεῖν οἴκοθεν καταβαλεῖν τῷ δημοσίῳ τὸ  
50 ἴκανόν. εἰ δὲ ὑπολήψεως μὲν εἰσιν ἀγαθῆς, χρημάτων δὲ ἀποροῦσι,  
μὴ ἂν ἄλλως αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι ἢ τῶν μαρτυρούντων αὐτοῖς εὐπόρων  
καθεστηκότων καὶ οἰκειομένων τὴν τοῦ κανόνος ποσότητα. εἶναι δὲ  
αὐτοὺς ἐμπείρους χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἐπικειμένων αὐτοῖς  
χαρακτήρων, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς εὐπόρους θερμότερους εἶναι πρὸς τὴν  
M f. 105<sup>v</sup> 55 ἀπαίτησιν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπόρους | μετὰ τῆς ἐγχωρούσης αὐτοῖς  
ἀνοχῆς προσφέρεσθαι.

Τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τινας χρόνους ἐπισκεπτομένους τὰς τε ἀλόγους  
αὐξήσεις καὶ ἀποκοπὰς καὶ μεταθέσεις τῶν δημοσίων φόρων καὶ  
προσέτι τοὺς τε ἀδеспότους ἀγροῦς, ὧν ἐκλείπει τὰ τελέσματα, καὶ  
60 τὰς ὑποστάσεις τῶν μετερχομένων αὐτοῦς, μάλιστα μὲν ἀληθείας  
ἐρᾶν καὶ ταύτη σεμνύνεσθαι καὶ διὰ ταύτην τιμᾶσθαι ἐλπίζοντας,  
ἐξεταστικούς δὲ εἶναι καὶ διερευνητικούς πραγμάτων καὶ οἰκονόμους  
ἀγαθοῦς, ὡς μήτε τὸ δημόσιον λυπεῖν, μήτε τοὺς δεσπότης τῶν ἀγρῶν  
ἀδικεῖν.

Τοὺς δὲ διανέμοντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπεριέργους εἶναι καὶ ἀπλοῦς  
τὸν τρόπον, μάλιστα δὲ πιστοῦς, ἐκ τῆς κατ' ὀλίγον δοκιμασίας  
μαρτυρηθέντας τὴν πίστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ πολλὰ πρὸ τῶν ὀλίγων ἐγχει-  
ρισθέντας, τοὺς δὲ λόγους τῆς διανομῆς μὴ διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου ποιεῖν,  
ἀλλὰ διὰ βραχέος, ὥστε τὴν μνήμην τῶν κελευσθέντων καλῶς  
70 διασώζεσθαι.

Τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας ἀπησχολημένους φύ-  
σεως εὖ ἔχει πρὸς τὸ σπουδαζόμενον. δυνατὸν γὰρ τὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ  
μαθήματι οἰκειῶς ἔχοντα ἀλλοτρίως ἔχειν ἐν ἄλλῳ, διὸ καὶ Πυθαγό-  
ραν φασὶ τὰς φύσεις τῶν μαθητῶν διερευνῶμενον τάττειν αὐτοῖς τὰ  
75 μαθήματα.

Τοὺς δὲ τῆς ἐμπορίας ἐφόρους δικαίους τε εἶναι τὸν τρόπον καὶ  
δι' ὅλων πραγμάτων ἐμπείρους, ὡς μήτε τοὺς πράτας κατασοφίζε-  
σθαι τῶν ἀγοραστῶν ἐπιμιξία τοῦ χειρόνος, μήτε τὴν ἀμετρίαν τοῦ  
κέρδους συγχωρεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐδωδύμων, ἔνθα καὶ κολά-  
80 ζειν προσήκει τοὺς πρὸς ἀμετρίαν ἐκκλίνοντας.

Τοὺς δὲ τὴν ὕλην παρεχομένους εὐπόρους εἶναι καὶ ἐπιστήμονας  
τῶν τελουμένων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς ἀλλ' οὐ πόρρωθεν ταύτας συλ-  
λέγοντας, καὶ ταύτας παρέχειν κακίας πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένας. πολ-  
λοὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ταῖς ὕλαις ὕλας παραμυγνύντες, οἱ δὲ παρὰ καιρὸν

productivity in crops or resources in metal. They must be able to estimate the effects  
of climate and topography, the proximity of cities, of navigable rivers, and of the  
sea. They should find out about the permanent supply of water from surface sources  
or underground wells. In assessing the taxes, then, the financial officials should ex-  
amine all of those factors.

The officials who collect the taxes, now, should be of the highest repute. Their  
financial means should be such that, if it should happen that their management of  
the assessment gives poor results, they may be able to make good the amount due  
the treasury from their own resources. Men who enjoy a good reputation but  
who lack financial means should not be accepted for such a position unless some  
wealthier citizens present themselves as surety for them with guarantees for the  
amount of the levy. They should have experience in dealing with gold and silver and  
know the inscriptions on the coinage. They should be forceful enough in making  
demands on the well-to-do, but should deal with the less prosperous with all possi-  
ble forbearance.

Inspectors are called upon at certain times to consider unforeseen increases,  
reductions, and other changes in the public revenues. They are also to look into  
unclaimed land, on which taxes are no longer paid, as well as into the financial  
resources of applicants for those lands. They must be genuine lovers of truth, be  
respected for this, and place their hopes of being honored in the truth. They shall be  
skillful in investigating and interpreting facts and be good administrators, so that  
the public treasury will not suffer and no injustice will be done to the landowners.

The officials who distribute the funds should be straightforward and unpreten-  
tious in manner. Above all they should be trustworthy, and this should be proven by  
testing them in small matters before entrusting them with major responsibilities.  
The accounts of their distribution should be audited at frequent intervals, not con-  
stantly postponed, so they may always keep in mind what they are supposed to be  
doing.

Those who devote themselves to the sciences and the arts should possess the  
natural qualifications for their specialties. A person proficient in one branch of  
learning may have no aptitude for another. For this reason, it is said, Pythagoras  
used to examine the natural abilities of his students before assigning them their  
subjects.<sup>3</sup>

The supervisors of trade must have a good sense of justice and be familiar  
with general business operations. They should not allow the salesmen to defraud  
their customers by mixing in goods of poorer quality or to make an inordinate profit.  
This is particularly true in the sale of foodstuffs, and anyone charging excessive  
prices should be punished.

Those who provide materials should be resourceful and should thoroughly  
understand their work. They should procure the material close to home, not from a  
great distance. They should furnish products without flaws. Many wholesalers are  
guilty of mixing their goods. Some collect them at the wrong season, and they be-

85 ταύτας συλλέγοντες, ἀχρήστους αὐτὰς καθιστᾶσιν. οὔτε γὰρ κομῶντα  
φυτὰ πρὸς δενδροτομίαν τῷ τέκτονι χρήσιμα, οὔτε βάλσαμον ἐπὶ τῆς  
αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας ἐλαίῳ παραφθειρόμενον.

Τοὺς δὲ ἀχρήστους εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνεπιτηδεῖους πρὸς πᾶσαν  
ἐργασίαν ἰδίαν τε καὶ κοινωφελῆ εἴτε διὰ γῆρας ἢ λώβην σώματος ἢ  
90 παραφροσύνην ἢ ἀτέλειαν, καὶ τούτων τοὺς ἐπιστατούντας εἶναι  
μάλιστα φιλανθρώπους, εὐπόρους, ἐπιεικεῖς, κοινωνικούς, καὶ τὰ  
M f. 106 πάθη ἴδια ποιουμένους | ὧν ἔχουσι τὴν φροντίδα, καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τὴν  
φιλανθρωπίαν λογιζομένους.

Τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρέτας τῶν εἰρημένων ἀρχόντων εἶναι μήτε γέρον-  
95 τας, εἰ μή τις διὰ πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν πράγματος ὑπηρετοίῃ τῷ ἀρχοντι,  
μήτ' ἄγαν νέους. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἦθη χρηστοῦς, ὥστε φρονίμως καὶ  
ἱκανῶς ἔχειν μετ' εὐκοσμίας πρὸς τὴν τῶν κελευομένων συντέλειαν.  
τοὺς δὲ γε λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ὑπηρέτας νέους εἶναι, οἷον ξυλοφόρους,  
ἀχθοφόρους, ὥστε δυνατῶς ἔχειν διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὴν  
100 τῶν κελευομένων ὑπηρεσίαν.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ τι ἕτερον τούτοις προστιθέασι πολιτείας μέρος,  
ὃ δὴ θεατρικὸν καὶ θυμελικὸν ὀνομάζεται. ἔστι δὲ οἷον ἀρματηλάται,  
μουσουργοί, ὑποκριταὶ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. χρῶνται δὲ τούτοις ἐπὶ τε γεν-  
εθλίω καὶ ἀναρρήσεων βασιλέων καὶ ἐγκαίνιων πόλεων, μάλιστα  
105 δὲ ἐπὶ θριάμβων, οὓς δὴ ποιοῦσι μετὰ τὴν νίκην, πολεμίους διὰ  
μέσου τῶν θεάτρων διαβιβάζοντες. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαῖοι,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο.

3: K-R 46, Erck 24.

3: 2 *περὶ ἀρχόντων* De: om. codd. || 63 τὸ K-R: τὸν MP || 74 τὰς M: τοὺς P || 85 *καθιστᾶσιν*  
K-R: *καθιστῶσιν* MP

23-24 Homerus, *Iliad.*, 2, 24. || 26 *Ibid.*, 4, 323. || 34 ἀκρόασιν: cf. Thucydidem, 2, 37. || 66 cf. Luc. 16, 10.  
73-74 locum non invenit Erck, nec ego.

δ'.

⟨Περὶ στρατηγικῆς.⟩

Τί μὲν οὖν ἔστι πολιτικὴ, καὶ πόσα ταύτης τὰ πρῶτα καὶ κα-  
θολικώτερα μέρη, εἰς πόσα τε καὶ τίνα διαιρεῖται τῶν πολιτευομένων  
5 τὸ πλῆθος κατὰ τὸ ἄσπλον μέρος, καὶ ὁποίους εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς τε ἄρ-

come useless. Trees, for example, chopped down in full leaf cannot be used by the carpenter, nor does balsam retain its full vigor when it is thinned with oil.

The unproductive are those who are unfit for any kind of work, private or public, because of old age, bodily infirmity, insanity, or some other excusing cause. Those charged with their care should be exceptionally humane, resourceful, kind, and sympathetic. They should regard the sufferings of those under their care as their own and look on their kind and humane work as its own reward.

The assistants to the officials listed above should not be elderly, unless a great deal of experience in their work makes them of special value to the official, nor should they be too young. They should be of excellent character and carry out their assigned tasks in an intelligent, competent, and orderly manner. All the other workers, such as bearers of lumber and other loads, should be young because of the bodily strength needed for their type of work.

The Romans add another class of citizens to the above, which is called the theatrical profession. This includes charioteers, musicians, actors, and the like. They are employed for celebrations such as the emperor's birthday or his accession, for the dedication festivities of cities, and especially for triumphs. These are held after a victory, and enemy prisoners are paraded through the hippodrome.<sup>4</sup> In former times not only the Romans but the Greeks and many other peoples had a place for this class.

<sup>1</sup>Homer, *Iliad*, 2, 24.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 4, 323.

<sup>3</sup>The source of this statement is not known.

<sup>4</sup>Literally, theaters, but it almost certainly refers to the hippodrome here: see C. Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium," *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten, 111* (= *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*) (Vienna, 1981), 337-53, esp. pp. 342-44.

4.

[Strategy.]

In the preceding pages we have discussed the science of government, touching upon the principal and the more general departments of state, the several classes into which most of the citizens are divided, apart from the armed forces, and the

χοντας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, διὰ τῶν φθασάντων ἡμῖν εἴρηται. φέρε δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ περὶ στρατηγικῆς ἐροῦμεν, ἧ καὶ αὐτὴ μέρος ἐστὶ κράτιστον τῆς ὅλης πολιτικῆς. ἀρξομαι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν.

Μέγα κακὸν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ὁ πόλεμος καὶ πέρα κακῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ νόμον προτροπῆν καὶ ἀρετῆς τελειώσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ πεποιήνται τὰ ἡμέτερα αἵματα, χρῆ δὲ πάντως ἕκαστον τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος καὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀντέχεσθαι καὶ λόγοις καὶ γράμμασι καὶ πράγμασι, περὶ στρατηγικῆς γράφειν εἰλόμεθα, δι' ἧς οὐ μόνον μάχεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δυνασόμεθα.

Στρατηγικὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶ μέθοδος, καθ' ἣν τις στρατηγῶν τὰ μὲν οἰκεία φυλάξειεν, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων καταγωνίσαιτο, στρατηγὸς δὲ ὁ κατὰ στρατηγικὴν τέχνην διαπραττόμενος.

Οἶον δὲ δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶναι εἴρηται μὲν καὶ δι' ὧν ἀπλῶς τοὺς ἀρχοντας πρότερον ὑπεγράφομεν. δεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνοις τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶναι ἀνδρεῖον τῇ γνώμῃ, εὐφυῆ τὰ στρατηγικά, ἐνθυμηματικόν, κριτικόν, δυνατὸν τῷ σώματι, φερέπονον, ἀκατάπληκτον, εἶτα τοῖς | μὲν ἀπειθέσι φοβερόν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐπιχαρῆ, προσηνή, τοσοῦτον τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελούμενον, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν ἐνδεχομένων παραλιπεῖν εἰς τὴν τοῦ κοινοῦ λυσιτέλειαν. ὥστε ἀνάγκη τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων δοκιμάζεσθαι καὶ διὰ ταύτας μᾶλλον τὴν ἀρχὴν δέχεσθαι.

4: K-R 54, Erck 27.

4: 2 περὶ στρατηγικῆς De: om. codd. || 9 πέρα M: πέρας P

ε'.

Τῆς δὲ στρατηγικῆς τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ φυλακτικὸν τῶν οἰκείων, τὸ δὲ ἀπειλητικὸν τῶν ὑπεναντίων. ἐστὶ δὲ φυλακτικὸν μὲν μέθοδος καθ' ἣν τις πράττων τοὺς ἰδίους φυλάξειεν καὶ ἅ τούτων ἐστίν, ἀπειλητικὸν δὲ μέθοδος καθ' ἣν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀμύνηται. καὶ πρότερόν γε περὶ τοῦ φυλακτικοῦ ἐροῦμεν· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν τοὺς ἄλλους πολεμεῖν ἐθέλοντα τὰ οἰκεία πρότερον ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τίθεσθαι. ἀσφάλειαν δὲ λέγω οὐ τὴν ἐν στρατεύμασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅση περὶ τε τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ μηδὲν τούτων κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων παθεῖν τοὺς ἐκείνων οἰκήτορας.

5: K-R 56, Erck 27.

qualifications required of officials and their subordinates. Next, then, we have to speak of the science of strategy, which is really the most important branch of the entire science of government. Without further ado, I shall begin.

I know well that war is a great evil and the worst of all evils. But since our enemies clearly look upon the shedding of our blood as one of their basic duties and the height of virtue, and since each one must stand up for his own country and his own people with word, pen, and deed, we have decided to write about strategy. By putting it into practice we shall be able not only to resist our enemies but even to conquer them.

Strategy is the means by which a commander may defend his own lands and defeat his enemies. The general is the one who practices strategy.

The principal qualifications for a general should be evident from those we have just set down for all officials. In addition, the general should be manly in his attitudes, naturally suited for command, profound in his thinking, sound in his judgment, in good physical condition, hardworking, emotionally stable. He should instill fear in the disobedient, while he should be gracious and kind to the others. His concern for the common good should be such that he will neglect nothing at all that may be to its advantage. The general must be judged by his actions, and it is preferable that he be chosen for command on the basis of his record.

5.

Strategy teaches us how to defend what is our own and to threaten what belongs to the enemy. The defensive is the means by which one acts to guard his own people and their property, the offensive is the means by which one retaliates against his opponents. We shall first discuss the defensive. The person who wants to wage war against an enemy must first make sure that his own lands are secure. By secure I mean not only the security of the army but of the cities and the entire country, so that the people who live there may suffer no harm at all from the enemy.

ζ'.

(Περὶ τοῦ φυλακτικοῦ.)

Τοῦ τοίνυν φυλακτικοῦ εἰς μὲν δὴ τρόπος ἐστὶ καθ' ὃν φύλακὰς  
τε καὶ προφύλακας τάττομεν καὶ πυρσοὺς ἀνάπτομεν καὶ φρουρίων  
5 ἐπιμελούμεθα τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφανείας καταμηνύοντες.

Δεύτερος δέ, καθ' ὃν τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπελεύσεις δεδοικότες  
τείχη τε καὶ προτειχίσματα ἐγείρομεν καὶ τάφρους ἀνορρύττομεν,  
ὥστ' ἐν καιρῷ ἐπιστασίας ἐχθρῶν ἐπισυναγαγεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ πλήθη ἐπὶ  
τε αὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τὰς νήσους ὅσα φυλάτ-  
10 τευ δύναται τοὺς εἰς αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντας.

Τρίτος δέ, καθ' ὃν τοῖς φυλακτικοῖς τῶν ὄπλων κεχρήμεθα καὶ  
πρὸς τοῦτοις ποιούμεν χαρακώματα, τάφρους, τριβόλους, βόθρους,  
σκόλοπας, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

Τέταρτος δέ, καθ' ὃν τῶν πολεμίων καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπεμβαινόντων  
15 καὶ ἡμῶν ἀδυνατούντων πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντησιν, τῇ ἀντιπεριστάσει κε-  
χρήμεθα, ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς παρακειμένους τῶν ἐθνῶν κατ' αὐτῶν διε-  
γείροντες καθά που καὶ ἡμέτερος πεποίηκε βασιλεύς, ποτὲ δὲ αὐτοὶ  
εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀντεισαγόμενοι, οὐ τοῦ ποιῆσαι χάριν, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ  
πολλάκις γίνεται, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀποστῆσαι αὐτοὺς τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐπεὶ  
20 καὶ πλαττόμενον τοῦτο πολλάκις ἀφέλησεν. οἷον βουλόμενος ὁ στρα-  
τηγὸς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναχώρησιν ἐπεισέ τινας τῶν δεσμωτῶν ἢ τῶν  
οἰκείων ἐν σχήματι αὐτομόλων φυγόντας ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις  
εἰσελαύνει τὸν στρατηγὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν, οἱ δὲ φυλακῆς τῶν  
οἰκείων ἔνεκα ἀφέντες τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνέστρεφον.

M f. 107 25 Πέμπτος δέ, | καθ' ὃν πᾶσι τρόποις ἀποροῦντες τοῦ μάχεσθαι,  
τὸ εἰρηνεύειν αἰρούμεθα, κὰν τύχη ζημίαν τινὰ ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπά-  
γεσθαι. δύο γὰρ κακῶν προκειμένων αἰρετώτερον τὸ κουφότερον· ἐν  
τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἂν τις τὰ οἰκεία φυλάξειεν, καὶ διὰ  
τοῦτο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ εἰρηνεύειν ἔλοιτο.

30 Εἰ καὶ τελευταῖον ἡμῖν τέτακται, ἀρχὴ δὲ καὶ τέλος πάσης φυ-  
λακῆς τὰ τε σιτία καὶ τὰ πόματα, ὧν χρῆ καὶ μᾶλλον φροντίζειν ἐν τε  
τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

6: K-R 58, Erck 28.

6: 2 περὶ τοῦ φυλακτικοῦ De: om. codd. || 21 δεσμωτῶν De: δεσμῶν codd.

6.

[Defense.]

One way of arranging a good defense is to station sentinels and troops in outposts, to light signal fires, and to set up fortified positions to give warning of the approach of the enemy.

Second, in anticipation of enemy attacks we can erect walls, outer ramparts, and dig moats. Then, upon the actual approach of the enemy, most of our people can gather together behind them. They can also take refuge on mountains, in caves, and on any readily defensible island.

Third, in addition to defending ourselves with our weapons, we can make use of earthen ramparts, trenches, caltrops, pits, sharpened stakes, and the like.

The fourth way is useful when the enemy are advancing against us and we are unable to face them in open battle. We should then take some offensive action. Sometimes we can stir up neighboring peoples against them, much as our present emperor has been doing.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes we might line up our own troops against them, not really for action, although this may often result, but to keep them at a distance from our own men. Feigned movements of this sort have often worked out well. In like manner, to get the enemy to withdraw, there are cases in which the commander prevailed upon some prisoners or some of his own men to pose as deserters, flee to the enemy, and spread the report that the general was about to invade their country. To defend their territory, then, the enemy would evacuate our land and return to their own.

The fifth way applies when we are in absolutely no condition to continue fighting. We then choose to make peace, even though it may cause us some disadvantage. When faced with two evils, the lesser is to be chosen. Negotiating for peace may be chosen before other means, since it might very well offer the best prospect for protecting our own interests.

Although listed here in last place, provision for food and water for the army and for the civilian population is both the beginning and the end of any plan of defense.

<sup>1</sup>Probably Justinian (527-65), as mentioned in the Introduction.

## ζ'.

Ὅποιους εἶναι χρή τοὺς φύλακας καὶ  
κατὰ τίνας δεῖ τοὺς τόπους φυλάττειν αὐτούς.

Τοὺς μὲν οὖν τὰς φύλακας καὶ προφύλακας ἐμπειπιστευμένους  
5 ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, ἀνδρείους, στοχαστικούς,  
ἀγρύπνους, δυνατούς, κούφους τὰ σώματα, ἔχειν δὲ αὐτοὺς οἴκαδε  
γυναικᾶς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ περιουσίαν τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν δια-  
φέρουσιν. καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν τὸ πλεον καθεύδειν, νυκτὸς δὲ τὸ ἔλαττον,  
οὐ πάντας ἅμα ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πρότερον, τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον. δωρεὰς δὲ  
10 λαμβάνειν ὅποτε μάλιστα χειμῶνος κρατοῦντος τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν πα-  
ρουσίαν μηνύσωσιν. ἀνάγκη δὲ διορίσαι καὶ τοὺς τόπους, τίνες ἂν  
τούτων εἶεν εἰς κατασκοπὴν ἐπιτήδειοι.

Τῶν τοίνυν τόπων οἱ μὲν εἰσι γυμνοὶ τε (καὶ) καθαροί, οἱ δὲ σύν-  
δενδροὶ, οἱ δὲ ἐλώδεις. χρήσιμοι δὲ τούτων εἰσὶν εἰς κατασκοπὴν οἱ  
15 ὄμαλούς τε καὶ καθαροὺς τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ τόπους ἔχοντες ὥστε μὴ  
λανθάνειν τοῖς φύλαξι τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔξοδον. εἰ δὲ ὄμαλοί μὲν τε καὶ  
καθαροὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ λοφώδεις, καταμανθάνειν τὰς ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν  
λόφων κοιλότητας εἰ δι' αὐτῶν διαβιβαζόμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι λανθάνειν  
τοὺς φύλακας δύνανται.

20 Τοὺς δὲ ἵππους τῶν φύλακας ἐχόντων ἀνάγκη θλαδίας τε  
εἶναι καὶ ταχεῖς, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ χρεμετίζειν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ κατα-  
λαμβάνεσθαι φεύγοντας.

Πολλάκις δὲ τοὺς φύλακας κατασχεῖν βουλόμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι,  
αἰχμαλώτους ἐαντούς πλάττονται σχηματιζόμενοι τὰ ἡμέτερα· οἱ  
25 ἐπιδὴν ἐπὶ τὰς φύλακας ἔλθοιεν, συνέχουσιν αὐτούς. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλοθεν εἰσιόντες εἴτα κατὰ νότου τῶν ἡμετέρων γενόμενοι συλ-  
λαμβάνουσι τοὺς φυλάττοντας, ὃ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπικίνδυνόν ἐστι τοῖς  
φυλαττομένοις.

MP VSB (partim) 7: K-R 60, Erck 29.

7: 2-3 ὅποιους . . . αὐτούς MP: *περὶ φυλάκων* VSB, *qui hic inc.* || 5 τὴν φύσιν MP: *om.*  
VSB || 7 τε MP: *om.* VSB || 11 τοὺς τόπους K-R: *τὸν τόπον* MP || 13 καὶ K-R: *om.* MP || 16-17 τε  
. . . λοφώδεις K-R: *οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ λοφώδεις τε καὶ καθαροὶ* MP Erck || 23-24 πολλάκις . . .  
πλάττονται MP: *ὅτι τοὺς φύλακας βουλόμενοι κατασχεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι ὡς αἰχμαλῶται ἐπέρχον-*  
*ται* VSB

## 7.

Qualifications Required of the Guards and the Location of Their Guard Posts.

Soldiers entrusted with duty as sentinels or at the outposts must possess native intelligence; they should be courageous, clever, alert, physically strong and active. They should have their wives and children at home with them and possess more property than the average soldier. They should get most of their sleep during the day and less at night, never all of them at the same time, but some earlier, some later. They ought to receive a reward each time they report the presence of the enemy, especially if it is a stormy season. Their posts should be carefully selected to make sure they have a good view.

Some of the posts may be located on open and clear ground, some in wooded areas, others in swampy ones. The best observation posts are those with level, open ground in front of them, so the guards will not miss any movement of the enemy. If there is no open, clear ground but just hills, then the lower terrain between the hills should be checked out in case enemy troops could pass through there and elude the guards.

The horses of the men on guard duty must be geldings and should be fast, the first so they will not neigh and the second so they will not be overtaken if they have to flee.

It is not uncommon for the enemy to try to capture the guard post by having men pose as escaped prisoners, even wearing our equipment. Then, when they get close to the guards, they overpower them. In other cases, enemy soldiers have worked around to the rear of our sentinels and taken them prisoners, which exposes the troops covered by the guard posts to great danger.

## η'.

Περὶ πυρσῶν καὶ ὅπως οἰκονομητέον αὐτούς.

Μ. f. 107<sup>v</sup> Τοὺς δὲ πυρσοὺς ἀνάγκη παρὰ τῶν ἐνδοτέρων ὀρᾶσθαι τόπων, ἀφ' ὧν ἕτεροι ἐκ μακροῦ γινῶναι τὸ σημεῖον τῆς φλογὸς ἢ τοῦ κάπνου δύνανται. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς τὴν φροντίδα τῶν πυρσῶν ἔχοντας ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοῖς φύλαξι καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ὡς μὴ φόβῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρὸ καιροῦ φεύγοντας καταλιμπάνειν τὸ διὰ πυρὸς καὶ καπνοῦ καταμηνύειν τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔφοδον. προαποτίθεσθαι δὲ φρύγανά τε καὶ καλάμην καὶ δένδρων ἀκρεμόνας, καὶ χόρτον, φέρειν τε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ λίθον πυρίτην. ποιεῖ δὲ μάλιστα φλόγα τε καὶ καπνὸν δασύν τε καὶ εἰς ὕψος αἰρόμενον στύππη κατὰ πυρὸς ἐπιχεομένη.

Ἀνάπτειν δὲ τοὺς πυρσοὺς δις μὲν ἀδήλου τούτου ὄντος εἴτε θηρίων ἢ τὸ κίνημα εἴτε προσφύγων εἴτε πολεμίων. γνωρίμου δὲ ἀναφανέντος τοῦ ὅτι ἐχθροὶ καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐξιόντες, τριπλασιάζειν ἢ τετραπλασιάζειν τὰς ἀναφλογώσεις, πλειόνων δὲ ὄντων πλειστάκις. δυνατόν δέ, ὡσπερ καὶ παρὰ τισι τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων εἴρηται, μετὰ τοῦ ὅτι ἐχθροὶ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν διδάξει τῶν χιλιάδων αὐτῶν, τσαντάκις τοὺς πυρσοὺς ἀνάπτοντες ὀπόσαι καὶ χιλιάδες ἀνδρῶν εἶναι δοκοῖεν.

Χρῆ δὲ εἰδέναι ὡς οἱ πολέμοι πολλάκις ἐμφανίζονται μὲν ἡμέρας, ἐπιστρέφουσι δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τινὰς ἡμέρας καθησυχάζοντες, καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι πολλάκις. οἱ δὲ πυρσοὶ καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφανείαν ἀναπτόμενοι φηγαδεύουσι τοὺς ἰδίους· οἱ δὲ καταφρονήσαντες τῶν πυρσῶν ἄτε δὴ διαψευδομένων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκῶν ἀναπαύονται. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ἐξιόντες ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ συλλαμβάνουσι. χρῆ οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τὰς μὲν πρώτας καὶ μερικὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφανείας ἅπαξ ἢ δις ἀνάπτοντας ἡρεμεῖν, εὐτρεπίζεσθαι δὲ πρὸς φυγὴν τὰ πλήθη, οὐ μὴν τῶν οἰκῶν ἀναχωρεῖν. πολλῶν δὲ ἀναφαινομένων διπλασιάζειν ἢ πολυπλασιάζειν, νυκτὸς μὲν τοὺς πυρσοὺς, ἡμέρας δὲ τοὺς καπνοὺς, ὥστε ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ πλήθη εἰδέναι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν σημείων δηλούμενα. κοινὰ δὲ πάντως σημεῖα ταῦτα ἔστωσαν τοῖς τε μνηύουσι καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν.

8: K-R 62, Erck 30.

8: 2 καὶ . . . αὐτούς MP: om. VSB || 5 δεῖ δὲ MP: om. VSB || ἔχοντας MP: ἐμπειπιστευ-  
μένους VSB || 5-6 ὁμοίως . . . τοῖς MP: πολλὴν διέγερσιν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν δεῖ VSB || 6  
φύλαξι . . . ἀνδρείαν MP: καὶ ἀνδρείους μάλιστα εἶναι VSB || μὴ MP: om. VSB || 7 πυρὸς K-R:  
πυρὰς MP: om. VSB || 7-8 τὸ . . . ἔφοδον MP: τὴν τῆς ἐφόδου διὰ τῶν πυρσῶν μῆνυσιν VSB || 8  
προαποτίθεσθαι δὲ MP: δεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς προαποτίθεσθαι VSB || 9 τε MP: om. VSB || 9-10 φέρειν

## 8.

Signal Fires and Their Management.

It is essential that signal fires be seen by posts far to the rear, and from them others still further off may be able to recognize the signal given by flame or smoke. The men in charge of the beacons should have the same qualifications as those selected for guard duty. They should be particularly noted for their bravery, so that fear of the enemy will not bring them to abandon their posts prematurely and fail to make the fire and smoke signals warning of the enemy's approach. Firewood, reeds, tree branches, and dry grass should be gathered and kept on hand. The men should carry flint stones with them. Hemp thrown upon a fire causes a fierce flame and dense, high clouds of smoke.

The signal fires should be lit twice if the nature of the movement is uncertain, that is, whether it was caused by wild animals, or by refugees, or by the enemy. If it becomes clear that it is the enemy and that they are launching an attack, then the signal should be lit three or four times, or even more if it is a very large force. It is possible, as some of the more ancient authorities suggest, to report not only the approach of the enemy but their strength in thousands, lighting the beacons once for each thousand men estimated.

We must remember that the enemy often show themselves during the day, retire at night, and remain quiet a few days. They may repeat this a number of times. With the lighting of the beacons at each appearance of the enemy, our own people take to flight. After a while they will come to disregard the signals as misleading and stay quietly at home. The enemy can then come out and capture every one of them. For this reason, then, the signal should be given just once or twice when the enemy, or some of their detachments, first come into sight. The people may then get ready for flight but not yet leave their houses. But when the enemy actually appear in force, the signals should be given two or more times, fire by night and smoke by day. It is essential that the people understand the meaning of the signals. Standard signals should certainly be established for everyone, the men in charge of the beacons and the people who might have to escape.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>On fire signals see P. Pattenden, "The Byzantine Early Warning System," *Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 258-99.

. . . πυρίτην MP: om. VSB || 11 τε καί MP: om. VSB || στύπη K-R: σκευή codd. || επιχειρομένη MP: χειρομένη VS: καταχειρομένη B || 12 τούτου ὄντος MP: ὄντος τοῦ πράγματος VSB || 14 τοῦ MP: ὡς VSB || 15 ἢ τετραπλασιάζειν VSB: om. MP || 16 τῶν MP: om. VSB || 18 ὅποσαι MP: ὅποσι VSB || 24 ἀναπαύονται MP: διαναπαύονται VSB || 25 ἅπαντας VSB: ἅπαντα MP || 27 ἅπαξ MP: om. VSB || ἀνάπτουτας VSB: ἀνάπτων MP || 29 ἢ πολυπλασιάζειν VSB: om. MP || 31 πάντως VSB: πάντων MP || 32 τε MP: om. VSB

## θ'.

## Περὶ φρουρίων.

Τὰ δὲ φρούρια ἐξηγήρηται πρῶτον μὲν κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρουσίας, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν αὐτομόλων ὑποδοχὴν, τρίτον διὰ τὸ κατέχειν τοὺς ἡμετέρους φυγάδας, καὶ τέταρτον διὰ τὸ ἀθρόον ἐμπίπτειν ἡμᾶς τοῖς τὰ ἄκρα οἰκοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ μάλ-  
 5 λον λείας ἕνεκα ἢ ἀνακρίσεως τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τελουμένων  
 καὶ | περι ὧν ἂν αὐτοὶ καθ' ἡμῶν βουλευονται.

M f. 108

Δεῖ δὲ τὰ φρούρια πλησίον ποιεῖν τῶν ὄρων καὶ μὴ πόρρω ἀφε-  
 10 στηκότα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς παρόδου, ὥστε μὴ λαυθάνειν τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς  
 κατοικοῦντας τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάροδον, μὴ δ' οὕτω πλησιάζειν τοῖς  
 ἀναπεπταμένοις χωρίοις ὥστε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκ τοῦ λίαν σύνεγγυς ἐπὶ  
 μακρὸν ἐκεῖσε προσεδρευόντων διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων ἐπιτηδεωότητα  
 μηδένα τῶν ἡμετέρων συγχωρεῖσθαι, εἴγε χρεῖα τούτου γένηται,  
 15 μῆτε εἰσιέναι κατὰ φρούριον μὴδ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν θέλοντας ἐξιέναι.

Ἀσφαλιζέσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐ μάλλον τεχνικῆ ἢ φυσικῆ ὀχυρότητι,  
 καὶ μὴ ἀποτίθεσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς πλοῦτον μῆτε συνάγειν πλήθος ἀνθρώ-  
 πων, ἵνα μὴ τῷ φθόνῳ τούτων ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι παρα-  
 κάθηται. ἔνθα δυσχερὲς μὲν ἡμῖν ἐτοιμῶς τοὺς ἰδίους συναῖξαι πρὸς  
 20 πόλεμον, αὐτοῖς δὲ ῥᾶον προπαρασκευασαμένοις τὴν ἔξοδον.

Τοὺς δὲ οἰκόντας κατ' αὐτὰ τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα, ὧτιμι πάσα ἢ τοῦ  
 φρουρίου φροντὶς ἐμπεπίστευται, γνώριμον μὲν ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ τυγχά-  
 νειν μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πρέπει ἄρχουσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖσε κα-  
 τοικοῦντας μὴ ἔχειν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας  
 25 αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἔχειν πάντως τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μέρος ἐν ἐτέρᾳ ἐπαρχίᾳ,  
 ἵνα τῷ πόθῳ τούτων μῆτε πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φεύγοιεν μῆτ' ἄλλως προ-  
 διδοῖεν τὰ φρούρια. μένειν δὲ οὐκ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τινὰς  
 χρόνους ἐναλλάττεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἴκους ἀναστρεφόντων, τῶν  
 δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκων ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια παραγενομένων. εἰ δὲ τῶν σφόδρα  
 30 ἀσφαλεστάτων ὑπάρχει τὰ φρούρια ὥστε κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον πο-  
 λιορκεῖσθαι, σιτοδοτεῖσθαι δὲ ἀνεμποδίστως δύνανται παρ' ἡμῶν,  
 οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ τὰς ἰδίας φαμηλίας αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐκεῖσε διὰ βίου  
 τελεῖν.

## 9.

## Forts.

Forts are used for several purposes: first, to observe the approach of the enemy; second, to receive deserters from the enemy; third, to hold back any fugitives from our own side. The fourth is to facilitate assembly for raids against outlying enemy territories. These are undertaken not so much for plunder as for finding out what the enemy are doing and what plans they are making against us.

These forts should be erected near the frontier and not far from the route the enemy are expected to take, so that any hostile advance will not go undetected by the garrison. They should not be located too much out in the open. If they are, the enemy, taking advantage of the ground, could keep them under observation from very close up to a great distance and so prevent any of our men, if need arise, from entering the fort or from leaving it when they wish.

Natural strength as well as technical skill should assure the defense of the forts. Valuables should not be stored in them, nor should too many men be assembled there. These may lead the enemy to invest the place for a long time. This would make it difficult for us to assemble our own troops for action, whereas it would be an easy matter for the enemy to get ready to move out.

The garrison in each fort should have a commanding officer entrusted with complete responsibility for the post. He should be conspicuous for his religious character as well as for all the other qualifications one expects in an officer. The men in the garrison should not have their wives and children with them. Most of them should be left in a different province, so that love of them may not tempt the men to go over to the enemy or otherwise jeopardize the security of the fort. Soldiers should not stay too long in these posts, but should be relieved at regular intervals. One group may return home, while another comes in from their homes to the fort. Still, if a fort is extremely strong, so that there is no danger of its being besieged, and we can keep it provisioned without any problem, then there is no reason why the men cannot have their families reside there with them.

Ὅσοι δὲ τῶν κατοικοῦντων τὰ φρούρια ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐλή-  
 35 φθησαν ἢ ἐκ τῶν συγγενῶν αἰχμαλώτους παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντας κέκτην-  
 ται, τούτοις οὐ δεῖ καταπιστεύειν τὰ φρούρια, οὐδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐπ'  
 ἐγκλήματι ληφθεὶς κατεκρίθη. ὕδατος δὲ μάλιστα χορηγίαν διὰ παν-  
 τὸς ἔχειν αὐτὰ καὶ τροφῆς ἀρκούσης τῷ καιρῷ καθ' ὃν παρα-  
 κεκαθηκέναι αὐτοῖς τὸ πολέμιον δύναται.

9: K-R 66, Erck 31.

9: 20 αὐτοῖς K-R: αὐτοὶ MP || προπαρασκευασαμένοις K-R: προπαρασκευασαμένους  
 MP || 36 τούτοις K-R: τούτους MP || 38 αὐτὰ καὶ K-R: καὶ αὐτὰ MP

ι'.

#### Περὶ οἰκοδομῆς πόλεως.

Δεῖ δὲ μέλλοντας πόλεις κτίζειν πρῶτον μὲν κατασκοπῆσαι τὸ  
 χωρίον, εἰ τὸ μέλλον ἐπ' αὐτὸ κτίζεσθαι τεῖχος ἀνεπιβούλευτον ἔσται  
 5 ποτὲ τοῖς πολιορκουσι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου θέσιν.

M f. 108<sup>v</sup>

Δεύτερον δὲ πειράσαι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ γινῶναι εἰ πρὸς πόσιν ἀκίν-  
 δυνον καὶ εἰ ἀρκούντως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως χορηγίαν καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ὅσοι καταφεύγειν εἰς αὐτὴν μέλλοιεν ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως.  
 εἰ δὲ ἐκτὸς εἴη τοῦ τεύχους τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀνάγκη ἢ παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν  
 10 κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως ἢ μὴ κωλύεσθαι τοὺς ἀντλοῦντας ἐπιδημούντων  
 τῶν πολεμίων.

Τρίτον δὲ καὶ εἰ λίθον ἔχει τέμνεσθαι δυνάμενον ἢ τετμημέ-  
 νον ἤδη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πόρρωθεν μετὰ πολλῶν συναγόμενον τῶν κιν-  
 δύνων, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ τὸ ξύλον μὴ λίαν μακρόθεν μηδὲ διὰ δυσβάτων  
 15 τόπων ἀποφέρεται ὥστε ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων  
 συντέλειαν.

Καὶ τέταρτον, εἰ σιτοφόρας ἡ χώρα καθέστηκεν ἢ καὶ ἄλλοθεν  
 σιτοδοτεῖσθαι δύναται, ὁμοίως δὲ εἰ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκεῖθεν τρέφεσθαι οἱ  
 πολῖται δύνανται. κὰν μὲν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχη, θαρρεῖν τῇ κτίσει, εἰ δὲ  
 20 μὴ, λυσιτελεῖς ταύτην παραιτεῖσθαι.

10: K-R 68, Erck 32.

10: 13-14 κινδύνων codd.: πόνων conj. Erck || 19 ἔχη K-R: ἔχειν MP

We must not entrust the safety of these forts or assign to their garrisons men who have once been captured by the enemy or who have relatives imprisoned by them or who have been caught and convicted of some crime. Under all circumstances the forts must have a good supply of food and water, enough to last through any possible siege by the enemy.

10.

#### Building a City.

Anyone intending to found a city must first carefully examine the site to see if it is suitable, so that the walls to be constructed will be able to withstand a siege.

The water should be examined next to find out if it is safe to drink and if there is enough to supply the population of the city as well as all who might be expected to take refuge there in time of danger. If the source of water is outside the walls, the building of the city must be abandoned or a way found for the water bearers to go out even in the presence of the enemy.

Third, one must find out if stone is available, already cut or easily quarried, so that it will not have to be transported a long distance at great risk. One should also find out if lumber has to be brought from far away or over difficult terrain, so that it is quite impracticable to have it at hand for construction.

Fourth, one should find out whether the country produces enough food or whether it can be brought in from elsewhere. In like manner, can the citizens find other sources of sustenance there? If all these can be answered affirmatively, go ahead with the construction; but if not, it is best to abandon the project.



ια'.

Ποῦ δεῖ κτίζειν πόλιν.

Χωρία τοίνυν ἐπιτήδειά ἐστιν εἰς κτίσιν πόλεως, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μέλλοι πλησιαίτερα κείσθαι τῶν ὄρων, ὅσα κατὰ λόφων κείται, 5 κρημνοὶ δὲ κύκλω τὴν ἄνοδον ἀποφράττουσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ μεγίστων ποταμῶν κυκλοῦται ἢ κυκλοῦσθαι δύναται οὐ δυναμένων ἄλλοθι μεταφέρεσθαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἢ μεγίστων ποταμῶν κείμενα ἰσθμῶν ἔχει θέσιν ὀλίγω παντελῶς μέρει τῇ ἡπείρῳ συναπτόμενα.

10 Χρὴ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰρημένων θέσεων μὴ καθ' ὑδάτων κείσθαι τὸ τεῖχος, ῥᾶον γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο διὰ νεῶν καὶ κατενεγκεῖν κάτωθεν ὑπορύττοντας καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἄνωθεν ἐπιτρέχοντας, ὥστε φανερόν τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πολιορκητικοῖς. ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ τεῖχος μῆτ' ἔλαττον 15 πηχῶν λ', ὡς ἂν μὴ τὰς ναῦς πυργοποιήσαντες εἶτα μηχαναῖς τισι χρώμενοι ἐκείθεν ἐπιβαίνοιν ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει, μήτε πάλιν πλέον πηχῶν ρ'. λυσιτελεῖς μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀσύμφορον νῦν μὲν ἐξιοῦσι τῶν πλοίων μετὰ πλείστων τῶν τραυμάτων, νῦν δὲ ἐπαναστρέφουσι καὶ καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα μετὰ πλείστων τῶν κινδύνων. φθάνει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡσαύτως τὰ βέλη καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ 20 τοῦ τείχους βαλλόμενοι λίθοι, οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ τάχους τῶν νεῶν ἀποβήσονται καὶ αὐτὴς ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναβήσονται ὡς κατὰ πεδίου τρέχοντες, εἶτα ἐπαναστρέφοντες καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι σκεπόμενοι. καὶ (περὶ) | μὲν ἀσφαλείας τόπων, ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν τόπων φυσικῆς ὀχυρότητος, ταῦτα.

M f. 109

25 Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι πολλοὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ὀρώντες καὶ ταύτην διὰ παντὸς ἐστάναι νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴν πόλεις μεγάλας ποιεῖν ἔμελλον, οὐ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἢ τῆς εὐπρεπείας ἐφρόντιζον, διὸ κατὰ πεδίων ταύτας πολλάκις ἀνωκοδόμουν κήποις τε καὶ παραδείσοις καὶ λειμῶσιν ὠραιζόμενοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἄδηλον τῶν ἐπι- 30 συμβαινόντων ὀρώντες καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν μᾶλλον τῆς εὐπρεπείας προκρίνοντες ἐκεῖ ταύτας ποιεῖν βουλευόμεθα καὶ τεῖχη περιβαλεῖν, ἔνθα ἂν τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων ἀδυνατεῖ μηχανήματα.

Γένοιτο δ' ἂν ποτε καὶ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ πόλις ὀχυρά διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν λίθων καὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ προσέτι τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην 35 ἐπιμέλειαν, κἂν μὴ ποταμοῖς ἢ θαλάσση ἢ κρημοῖς βοηθῆται. δεῖ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας πόλεις πρῶτον μὲν πορρωτάτῳ τῶν ὄρων κτίζειν διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ λανθανούσας ἐπιδρομάς, δεύτερον δὲ οἰκοδομεῖν αὐτὰς τὸν ὑποκείμενον τρόπον.

11.

The Site for Building a City.

Suitable sites for building a city, especially if it is going to be fairly close to the border, are those on high ground with steep slopes all about to make approach difficult. Also suitable are sites with large rivers flowing around them or which can be made to do so, and which, because of the nature of the land, cannot easily be diverted. Finally, there are sites on a promontory in the sea or in very large rivers connected to the mainland only by a very narrow isthmus.

In such locations, however, the walls must not be built at the water's edge. That makes it easy for enemy ships to come in close enough to undermine the walls from below or to overthrow them by frontal assault. This is made clear in books on siegecraft. The walls should be set back from the water's edge no less than eighteen meters.<sup>1</sup> This should prevent the enemy from constructing towers on the ships and employing certain mechanisms to get over onto the wall. Neither should the distance be more than sixty-two meters.<sup>2</sup> Keeping such an open space works to the advantage of the city and the disadvantage of its attackers. While landing from the ships they will suffer a very large number of casualties, and only at great risk will they be able to turn about and find refuge in the ships. They will constantly be within range of arrows and of rocks hurled from the walls. They cannot move nearly as fast in landing from the ships and then getting back on board as they could charging on level ground, wheeling about, and covering themselves with their shields. This is enough about the defense of places whose position is naturally strong.

I am not unaware that many people look to the present prosperity and believe in increasing it in every way. When they start planning to found large cities, they give no less weight to nice appearance than to security. They have built a number of such cities on level ground and beautified them with gardens, parks, and lawns. But the way I look at it is that the outcome of what is happening these days is uncertain. Security, I think, is more important than a nice appearance. I prefer to have the cities located and fortified in such a way as to render useless the machines of any besiegers.

Still, it is quite possible that a city built on a plain may be strong because of the size of the stones used, the method of construction, the general plan also, and other matters of detail, even though it is not favored by rivers, the sea, or cliffs. But it is important that such cities be built at a good distance from the border to avoid sudden, surprise attacks. In erecting them, now, the points given below should be kept in mind.

<sup>1</sup>The text has "30 pichis." Two Byzantine feet made up one pichys, which is equivalent to 62.46 cm.: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 21.

<sup>2</sup>That is, 100 pichis.

11: 23 *περί Ereκ: περί τῆς K-R: lac. 3-4 litt. codd. || 36 κτίζειν K-R: κτίζειν αὐτὰς MP*

ιβ'.

⟨Πῶς δεῖ κτίζειν πόλιν.⟩

Δεῖ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν πάχος τῶν τειχῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον πέντε πηχῶν  
ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος πηχῶν εἴκοσι, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὸ μὴ κατασειέσθαι ἢ  
5 κριοῖς διασειόμενα ἢ λίθοις βαλλόμενα οὐς πετροβόλοι μηχαναὶ  
ἀποπέμπουσι, τὸ δὲ ἵνα μὴ αἱ κλίμακες ῥαδίως τῷ τείχει προσπί-  
τουσι καὶ οἱ δι' αὐτῶν ποτε ἀνιόντες ἀκίνδυνον ἔχωσι τὴν ἀνάβασιν.

Συμβάλλεται δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τείχεσιν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν  
σχημάτων τῶν πύργων καὶ τοῦ τείχους βοήθεια. δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς πύργους  
10 ποιεῖν κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἔξω αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ ἀπέναντι τῶν πο-  
λιορκούντων ἐξαγώνους τε καὶ ἰσοπλεύρους, τῶν μὲν δύο εὐθειῶν  
ἀναιρουμένων ὑφ' ὧν ἢ ἐντὸς γωνία γίνεται, μιᾶς δ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐπι-  
ζευγνυούσης τὰς παραλλήλους εὐθείας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνδοθεν αὐ-  
τῶν ἐπιφάνειαν κυλινδροειδεῖς, ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦ σχήματος ἀπὸ  
15 τοῦ ἐδάφους, λήγοντος δὲ κατ' ἴσον τοῦ κέντρου τοῦ τὴν ὀροφὴν  
πληροῦντος ἡμισφαιρίου ἐφ' ᾧ βεβήκασιν οἱ κατὰ τῶν πολιορκούν-  
των ἀγωνιζόμενοι.

Τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπάλξεις ἐγγωνίους γίνεσθαι, ὥστε  
ὑποβλέφαρα ἔχειν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔχοντα τὸ βάθος σπιθαμῶν τριῶν,  
20 τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὸ ἰσχυροτέρας εἶναι τὰς ἐπάλξεις ὥστε μὴ πάσχειν  
ῥαδίως ταῖς τῶν λίθων βολαῖς, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἀνα-  
παύεσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τεταγμένους καὶ μήτε συμπα-  
M f. 109<sup>v</sup> τείσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν παρερχομένων μήτε μὴν ἐμπόδιον ἐκείνοις καθί-  
στασθαι.

25 Παντὸς δὲ τοῦ ὑπὲρ γῆν κτίσματος τὰ κάτω ἄχρι πηχῶν ἑπτὰ,  
εἶγε εὐποροῖμεν, διὰ μεγίστων λίθων οἰκοδομείσθωσαν. τοὺς δὲ  
τοιούτους λίθους μεγίστους καὶ σκληροὺς εἶναι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀρ-  
μόζοντας καὶ τὰ μήκη κατὰ βάθος ἔχειν τοῦ τείχους εἰς τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως  
30 ὑπὸ τῶν κριῶν διασειέσθαι ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν χελωνῶν διορτύττεσθαι.

Ἄσφαλές δὲ καὶ προτειχισμάτων φροντίζειν, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπο-  
δοχῆς ἕνεκα τῶν οἰκείων, ἐπειδὴν ἀγρόθεν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καταφεύ-  
γοιεν, ὡς μὴ πάντη στενοχωρεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ  
τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταφεύγοντας δύνασθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπο-  
35 μάχεσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὸ προσκόπτειν τὰς χελώνας καὶ τοὺς  
κριοὺς αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ῥαδίως κατὰ τοῦ τείχους χωρεῖν.

Καλὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸ τούτου τάφρον ἀνορύττειν ὥστε δυσὶ τούτοις,

12.

[How to Build a City.]

First of all, the walls should not be less than three meters thick and twelve and a half meters high.<sup>1</sup> This should keep it from being shattered by battering rams or by stones hurled by stone-throwing engines, and the height should make it difficult to plant ladders against the wall and also make it dangerous for anyone trying to climb up them.

The design of the towers and the walls adds greatly to the defensive strength of the walls. The sides of the towers facing outwards right in front of the besiegers ought to form an equal-sided hexagon. The two straight lines forming the interior angle should be removed and substituted with one straight line connecting the parallel sides. The interior appearance of the tower should be cylindrical. This shape should begin at ground level, extending evenly to the center of the dome-shaped roof, which provides a base for the men fighting against the besiegers.<sup>2</sup>

The battlements on the walls should be at right angles. They should have undercut recesses no less than seventy centimeters<sup>3</sup> deep to strengthen the battlements and make them stand up better against stone projectiles, and also to enable the men assigned there to get some rest within them without being stepped on by others passing along the wall or themselves getting in their way.

All construction for four meters<sup>4</sup> up from the ground level should, if we can afford it, be built of very large stones. Size is important, and they should also be hard, carefully fitted together, as thick as the depth of the wall, so they may not easily be shaken by battering rams or dug out by sappers under protective cover.

The security of forward walls is also to be considered. They are used to receive our own people when they come in from the country to seek refuge behind the walls. This relieves congestion in the city, and the refugees can also stand there and fight against the enemy. They are especially useful in checking the advance of movable sheds and battering rams toward the main wall.

It is a good idea to dig a ditch outside this wall. This provides double protec-

προτειχίσματι καὶ τάφρῳ, τὸ τεῖχος φυλάττεσθαι. τὴν δὲ τάφρον  
 ποιήσομεν τὸ μὲν πλάτος οὐκ ἔλαττον πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ  
 40 βάθος πλέον ἢ ὅπόσον ἂν ἔχοι τὸ βάθος τῶν θεμελίων, ἵνα ὑπογείους  
 τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐπειδὴν  
 τὴν διώρυχα φθάσωσιν, ἀνακαλυπτόμενοι διελέγχονται. τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ  
 τῆς διώρυχος ἀναφερόμενον χοῦν ἀναγκαῖον μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους καὶ  
 τοῦ προτειχίσματος ἀποφέρειν καὶ καθομαλίζειν, ἐνθα που οἱ ἐκεῖθεν  
 45 ἀπομαχόμενοι διὰ τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ εὖρος τοῦ τόπου ἐπιτηδειότερον τῶν  
 πολεμίων καταγωνίσονται.

Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ βάθος τῆς διώρυχος γινέσθω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων  
 ὅσαι ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ κεῖνται. καθόλου δέ, ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ λόφων  
 κεῖνται, δυνατὸν δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν ἀνιέναι τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ μᾶλλον διὰ  
 50 τάφρων ἔξουσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἢ ὡδὲ πως ποιούντων ἡμῶν. ἀπο-  
 στάντες τοῦ τείχους πηχῶν τριάκοντα ἢ τεσσαράκοντα, εἶτα κύκλω  
 κατὰ κάθετον περιελόντες τὸν χοῦν ἔξω θήσομεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πρανές,  
 ὥστε δύο ταῦτα γίνεσθαι κωλύοντα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἀνοδὸν, τὴν τε  
 τομὴν τῆς γῆς οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ βάθος ἔχουσαν ἢ πῆχεις τρεῖς καὶ τὸν  
 55 πλησιάζοντα τόπον αὐτῇ ὀξύτερόν τε καὶ δυσανάβατον τῇ ἐπιχώσει  
 γενόμενον.

12: K-R 72, Erck 34.

12: 2 πῶς . . . πόλις K-R: om. codd. || 5 κριοῖς . . . βαλλόμενα K-R: λίθοις βαλλόμενα ἢ  
 κριοῖς διασειόμενα MP || 33 στενοχωρεῖσθαι K-R: σθενοχωρεῖσθαι MP || 53 τε M: δὲ P

ιγ'.

⟨Πῶς δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς τῶν πολιορκούντων.⟩

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον κτίζειν πόλιν θέλομεν, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ παρα-  
 σκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς τῶν πολιορκούντων, φέρε δὴ καὶ περὶ  
 5 αὐτῶν εἵπωμεν. διορύττουσιν οἱ πολιορκούντες τὰ τεῖχη τοὺς μὲν  
 M f. 110 λίθους τοῦ τείχους (σωρη) | δὸν λαμβάνοντες ἢ μεγίστους ὄντας κατα-  
 λαξεύοντες, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνων τόπους ὀρθίας δᾶδας ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ξύλων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑφιστάνοντες τὸ ὑπερκείμενον τῆς οἰκοδομῆς  
 ὑπερείδουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἀθρόον κατενεχθὲν καταλάβῃ τοὺς διορύττον-  
 10 τας. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἴδωσι τὸ τεῖχος πτώσειν ἀπειλοῦν, ἀνάψαντες τὰς  
 δᾶδας καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν ξύλων ἀναχωροῦσι· τῶν δὲ ξύλων ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς  
 ἀναλωθέντων καταπίπτει τὸ τεῖχος. ποιοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο ποτὲ μὲν ἀσπά-

tion, forward wall and ditch, for the main wall. We should make the ditch no less  
 than twenty-five meters wide<sup>5</sup> and either deeper or at least as deep as the founda-  
 tions. Thus, if the enemy wants to damage the wall by mining, they will be discov-  
 ered when they reach the excavated part, and forced to stop. The earth from the  
 excavated ditch should be used to fill in the area between the main and the forward  
 walls and leveled off to form a high, broad platform for the convenience of the sol-  
 diers there fighting against the enemy.

This same depth of excavation should be observed for any other city situated  
 on a plain. In general, though, those cities located on hills, to which the enemy  
 could have access, will be made secure not so much by ditches as by the following  
 procedure. Standing back about eighteen or twenty-five meters<sup>6</sup> from the wall, we  
 remove the dirt around the hill in a circle, digging vertically to make it slope down-  
 hill. This puts two obstacles in the enemy's way up the hill, the cut in the earth,  
 which should be no less than two meters deep,<sup>7</sup> and the very steep and difficult slope  
 rising up out of it.

<sup>1</sup>In the text, five and twenty picheis.

<sup>2</sup>See Fig. 1, *infra*, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup>Three spithamai, each equivalent to 23.4 cm.: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 19. See Fig. 2, *infra*,  
 p. 136. See also Philo of Byzantium, 5, 1, 17, ed. and translated by Y. Garlan, *Recherches de poliorcétique  
 grecque (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 223; Paris, 1974)*, pp. 279-404,  
 esp. 293; B. Meyer-Plath and A. Schneider, *Die Landmauern von Konstantinopel* (Berlin, 1943), p. 33.

<sup>4</sup>Seven picheis.

<sup>5</sup>Forty picheis.

<sup>6</sup>Thirty or forty picheis.

<sup>7</sup>Three picheis.

13.

[Preparations Needed to Resist Enemy Siege Machines.]

Since we do not intend simply building a city but also preparing it to resist the  
 siege machines of the enemy, let us now turn to talk about this. The besiegers dig  
 through the walls, removing the stones from the wall one at a time or, if very large,  
 breaking them up, and in their place set up logs of pine or whatever other wood is at  
 hand vertically to support the masonry above, so it will not suddenly fall down upon  
 the diggers. When they see that the wall is about ready to fall, they set fire to the  
 pine logs and other timber and withdraw. When the wood is consumed by the fire,  
 the wall collapses. Sometimes this is done by digging out the dirt like a mole until

λακος δίκην τήν γήν ὑπορύττοντες μέχρι τοῦ τῷ τείχῳ ὑπὸ γῆν κατα-  
λαβεῖν, ἐκεῖθεν τήν ἀρχὴν ποιούμενοι τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἔνθα φθάνειν  
15 ἀδυνατοῦσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν βαλλόμενοι λίθοι καὶ τῶν βελῶν ὅσα  
χρήσιμά ἐστι κατὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων. ποτὲ δὲ τὰς διωρυκτῆρας  
χελώνας κατασκευάσαντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ταύτας τῷ τείχει  
προσάξαντες τὸ τείχος δι' αὐτῶν διορύττουσι, τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς εἰρημέ-  
νοις διαπραττόμενοι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὸ τείχος κατενεχθὲν οἱ πολιορκούν-  
20 τες ἴδοιεν, σὺν μεγίστῃ βοῇ κατὰ τοῦ κατενεχθέντος τείχους συνέρ-  
χονται. καὶ ἡ μὲν τῆς διώρυχος αἰτία τοιαύτη.

Ὅπως δὲ ἀπαντήσαι τοὺς πολίτας κατὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου μηχανή-  
ματος ἀκολουθῶς ῥηθήσεται. ῥητέον δὲ πρότερον ὅτι οἱ τὸν χοῦν  
ὑπορύττοντες, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς πολίταις εὐφώρατον αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ μηχανήμα,  
25 προκαλύμμασι τισι πρὸ τοῦ ὀρύγματος κέχρηται τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐπι-  
καλύπτουτες. ἐστὶ δὲ καταμαθεῖν τὸ τοιοῦτον μηχανήμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχ-  
θρῶν τελούμενον, ἐπειδὴν ἴδωμεν ἢ τὸν χοῦν ἐπιστοιβαζόμενον ἢ  
προπετάσασσι χρωμένους τοὺς ἐναντίους. ποιούσι δὲ τὴν διώρυξιν οἱ  
πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας αἰεὶ, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ λοξήν, ἵνα μὴ  
30 γνώριμον ἢ τοῖς πολίταις πρὸς ὃ μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀποτείνονται. διὸ  
δὴ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα πήχεις ἀποστάντες τοῦ τείχους ποιήσομεν  
τάφρον τῷ τείχει παράλληλον, τὸ δὲ βάθος αὐτῆς ὅποσον ἂν ἢ τὸ  
βάθος τοῦ ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκοδομήματος τοῦ παρακειμένου τείχους· ἀνάγκη  
γὰρ καταλαβεῖν τοὺς ὑπορύττοντας. ἀπειλούμεθα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἢ ὕδατι  
35 αὐτοὺς κατακλύζοντες ἢ καπνῷ καταπνίγοντες. τάχα δὲ καὶ πρὸς γῆν  
τινα κατακλιόμενον καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐπιστήσαντα νῦν μὲν  
ἐνταῦθα, νῦν δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ εἰς αἴσθησιν τὸν ἐν βάθει θόρυβον δέξα-  
σθαι, κἀντεῦθεν πυθόμενον εἰς ἔρευναν ἀκριβεστέραν καὶ ἀντί-  
στασιν τῶν ὑπορυπτόντων καθίστασθαι. χρήσιμον δὲ τοῦτο ἂν τε  
M f. 110<sup>v</sup> 40 μέχρι τοῦ τείχους κατέλαβον οἱ ὑπορύττοντες, ἂν τε μὴ τοὺς τε γὰρ  
εἰσιέναι θέλοντας ἀνακόψομεν τῆς ὀρμῆς καὶ τοῖς εἰσιούσι τὴν ἔξοδον  
ἀποφράξομεν.

Τὸν δὲ ἀναρριπτόμενον χοῦν οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἀποπέμπειν ἀλλ'  
ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν πλευρὰν τῆς διώρυχος, ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν πά-  
45 σχειν τοὺς τὴν τάφρον ἀνορύττοντας φυλαττομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ χώματος,  
καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀνεπιβούλευτον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διαμένειν κωλυόμενων τῶν  
πολιορκούντων κατὰ τοῦ τείχους προσφέρεσθαι τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὸ  
χῶμα, τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὴν τάφρον.

Καὶ ταῦτα λέγομεν, εἰ μὴ τάφρος τὴν πόλιν κυκλοῖ. εἰ γὰρ  
50 ἔστιν, αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνην ἀνορύττοντες ῥαδίως τοὺς ὑπορύττοντας κατα-  
λαμβάνομεν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τι μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἐρράγη λαυθανόντων τῶν  
ἐναντίων ἡμᾶς διὰ πολλὴν πάντως τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀμέλειαν,  
ἀποστάντες ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ παθόντος τείχους ποιήσομεν διὰ τάχους  
οἰκοδομὴν τινα ἐνδοθεν ἀρχομένην μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑγιούς τείχους θάτέ-  
55 ρον μέρους, λήγουσαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ τείχους ἔστω

one gets to the wall underground. They begin such digging at a point where stones and arrows shot from the walls, ordinarily effective against besiegers, cannot reach them. Sometimes they prepare the tortoises for digging, move them from a clear spot up to the wall, and begin to dig under it in the manner just explained. When the besiegers see that the wall has fallen, they cheer loudly and charge into the collapsed section, which, of course, is the purpose of the digging.

How can the citizens deal with siege operations of this sort? We shall begin our discussion by noting that the enemy soldiers engaged in the digging will put up some kind of screen in front of them to mask their activity and keep their work from being detected by the citizens. We have reason to suspect that the enemy is involved in such operations whenever we notice a large pile of dirt or see the enemy putting up screens. The enemy do not always do their digging in a straight line but sometimes at a slant so the citizens will not know what part of the wall they are aiming at. To counter this we should dig a ditch parallel to the walls not less than six meters' out from it and as deep underground as the foundations of the wall. This will certainly intercept anyone trying to undermine the wall. We may then attack by flooding them out with water or suffocating them with smoke. Often enough by lying down and placing one's ear on the ground, now in one place, now in another, one can detect sounds deep down. Beginning with such indications, one can make a more accurate investigation and then take measures to counter the mining. This is applicable whether the miners have dug all the way up to the wall or not. If they are trying to get inside, we may block their entrance, and if they have already gotten inside, we may cut off their retreat.

The earth shoveled out of the ditch should not be thrown back toward the wall but on the other side of the ditch, where it will serve to protect our men doing the digging from being hit by arrows. It will also aid in keeping the wall from being attacked, since the besiegers will find their approach to the walls blocked by the piles of dirt and then the ditch.

What we have said applies if the city is not encircled by a ditch, for if there is one, then we need simply deepen it to intercept anyone digging through. If, however, the besieged garrison has been grossly negligent, and the enemy have approached without being detected and made a breach in the wall, then we should hastily construct another wall a short distance inside covering the damaged section in both directions, beginning, that is, from the still solid wall on the one side and connecting it with the other. This second wall should be shaped like a triangle with

τρίγωνον μιᾶς λειπούσης πλευρᾶς ἦν ποιεῖ τὸ πολεμούμενον τεῖχος, ὡς, εἶγε καὶ τούτου περιγένοιτο οἱ πολέμοιοι, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸ περιγενήσονται καινοῦ κτίσματος. οὔτε γὰρ πετροβόλοις μηχανήμασι κατ' αὐτοῦ χρῆσαιντο, οὔτ' ἄλλως εἰσιέναι δυνήσονται  
60 κατ' αὐτὸ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ τείχους βαλλόμενοι.

Τὰς δὲ διωρυκτῆρας καλουμένας χελώνας ὅπως γίνονται ἐν τοῖς πολιορκητικοῖς ἡμῖν ἐκπεπόνηται ὅπως δὲ χρῆ κατ' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων γνωσόμεθα. ῥητέον δὲ πρότερον ὅπως οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν κατὰ χελωνῶν ἠγωνίζοντο. ποτὲ μὲν ὕδατα ἄνωθεν θερμὰ  
65 χέουσιν αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ δὲ πίσσαν διαλυθεῖσαν πυρὶ, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ πυρὶ ταύτας ἀνάπτουσι. τὰ πλείστα δὲ δοκοῦς τινας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβιβάσαντες καὶ ξίφος περιθέντες κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον κατ' αὐτῶν ἀκοντίζουσι. τινὲς δὲ τέφραν ἢ ἄσβεστον λελυμένην κατὰ τῶν ἐλκόντων τὰς χελώνας ἄνωθεν ἀποπέμπουσι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν. ἡμεῖς  
70 δὲ καὶ τι πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξεύρομεν, ἃ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἂν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐνεργήσειεν. διὸ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐροῦμεν.

Καὶ πρότερον γε ὅτι χρῆ τὰς χελώνας κατασκευαζόμενας ὄρωντας τοῦ τείχους καταστοχάζεσθαι καθ' οὐ πάντως ἐλεύσονται, ὅθεν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑφάσματα τινα ἐκ τριχῶν ἢ ἐρίων ἢ καὶ λίνων ἐπὶ  
M f. 111 75 τούτῳ ποιήσομεν πρὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων | χαλᾶν ἄνωθεν, τὸ μὲν μήκος ἔχοντα ὅσον ἂν τις ἐθέλοι, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὅπόσον καὶ σκέπειν ἀπὸ τῶν βελῶν δύναται τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἐφεστηκότας. τὰ δὲ εἰρημένα ὑφάσματα ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀποδήσαντες πασσάλους τὰ κάτω τοῦ ὑφάσματος πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀποπέμψομεν ἐρειδομένους τῷ  
80 τείχει, ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν τῶν πολεμίων πάσχειν ἡμᾶς σκεπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑφασμάτων, καὶ ἡμᾶς μὴ κωλύεσθαι κατ' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὶ πλησιάζωσι τῷ τείχει, ἢ τὴν τάφρον καταχωννύντες ἢ καὶ ἄλλως μηχανὰς τινας κατὰ τοῦ τείχους προσφέρουτες. πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ πολέμοιοι ἀσπίσιν ἑαυτοὺς κατακαλύψαντες  
85 τολμῶσι κατόπιν τῶν πολιορκητικῶν μηχανημάτων κατὰ τοῦ τείχους χωρεῖν, οἱ μὲν σφενδόνας, οἱ δὲ βέλεσι τοὺς ἐφεστηκότας ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀποδιώκοντες, ἵνα μὴ ἄνωθεν τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἀντιπράττωνται. μήπω δὲ τὰ ὑφάσματα προπαρασκευασαμένους ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη ἀντ' αὐτῶν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐγκοιμιστροῖς σκεπάσασιν οἷς οἱ πολῖται  
90 χρώνται καθεύδοντες, ἃ ἔστι καὶ μᾶλλον εὐπόριστα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πρότερον.

Εἶτα τάφρον νυκτὸς ἀνορύξομεν τῆς προτέρας ἐνδοτέραν τὸν δὲ ἐκεῖθεν λαμβανόμενον χοῦν ἔλκειν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ὡς μὴ ῥαδίως τὰς χελώνας κατὰ τοῦ τείχους προσφέρεσθαι ἀλλὰ προσκόπτειν νῦν μὲν  
95 τῇ τάφρῳ, νῦν δὲ καὶ τῷ πρὸς τῷ τείχει χώματι. εἰ δὲ γε καὶ ταῦτα καθομαλίσειαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὴν χελώνην ὀδοιποιοῦντες, ῥάθνημικα τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν μὲν ἀναπληροῦντες τὸν δὲ καθαίροντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀποβαλοῦνται θανάτῳ ἐκ τοῦ λίαν σύνεγγυς ἄνωθεν

one side left open, the side where the breached wall is.<sup>2</sup> Then, even if the enemy manage to hold on to this, they will not so easily take the new construction. They will not be able to employ their stone-throwing machines against it, nor is there any other way for them to get inside, since they come under fire from both sides of the wall.

In the section on siege operations we have discussed the construction of the mining shed called the tortoise. We shall now consider the means of defending against it. We must first say something about the way in which our predecessors dealt with the tortoise. They would pour boiling water down on them from above, or sometimes melted pitch, and they would try to set them on fire. Most of the time they would bring heavy timbers up on the wall, fit them with metal tips like a sword point, and drop them, point first, on the tortoise. Some would pour hot ashes or powdered lime from above on the men moving the tortoises. So much for our predecessors. We have discovered some things to add to their methods, which may prove even more effective against them. These we shall now explain.

When we observe the tortoises being prepared, the first thing we have to do is to figure out which points along the wall they are most likely to attack. At those points we can hang loosely down from the battlements special mats made of hair, wool, or linen. They can be as long as you want and wide enough to protect the men on the wall against missiles. The mats should be fixed by pegs to the top of the battlements and the rest thrown over the front hanging against the wall. The mats, then, protect our men against enemy missiles, but we are not prevented from action against them if they come close to the wall trying either to fill in the ditch or to move some siege engines against the wall. Enemy detachments, covering themselves with their shields, often try to approach the walls by following behind the siege engines, and with slings or arrows try to drive off the men posted on the walls to keep them from damaging the machines from above. But if we have not gotten the mats prepared ahead of time, we shall have to substitute the bed coverings which the citizens use when they sleep, which can easily be collected. So much for the first thing to be done.

Next, under cover of night we should dig another ditch closer in than the first. The dirt dug up there should then be piled up against the wall. This will make it difficult for them to move the tortoises against the wall, since they will be cut off by both the ditch and the bank of earth in front of the wall. Even if, owing to the negligence of our citizens, the enemy should level off these areas, fill in the ditch, clear the bank, and bring forward their tortoises, most of them will be killed, shot down

καταπολεμούμενοι. οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς κωλύσεως καὶ  
100 αὐτοὶ παρασκευασθησόμεθα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα, εἰ εἰς τι καὶ ἀπα-  
ράσκευοι ὄντες ἐτυγχάνομεν.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν τάφρον τῇ συνεχείᾳ τοῦ πολέμου ποιεῖν διακωλύο-  
μεθα, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον τὴν χελώνην κωλύσομεν ἄνωθεν χῶμα πρὸ  
αὐτῆς καταπέμποντες· οὐ γὰρ προβῆναι δυνήσεται κωλυμένη ὑπὸ  
105 τοῦ χώματος. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο καρτεροῖεν οἱ πολέμοι—δεδόσθω  
γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο παντελεῖ ῥαθυμία ἢ ἀπογνώσει τῶν πολιτῶν—χόρτον ἢ  
φρύγανα ἢ καλάμην ξηρὰν κατὰ τῶν χελωνῶν (ἄνωθεν καταπέμ-  
ποντες διαπρήσομεν αὐτάς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο (περι)γενέσθαι δυνή-  
111 σονται οἱ πολέμοι, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα τολμηταὶ εἰσὶ καὶ (θανά)του κα-  
ταφρονοῦντες, πολλοὺ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ὕλης ἀναπτομένου | τοῦ πυρὸς  
καὶ καταφλέγειν δυναμένου τῇ διανομῇ οὐ μόνον τὴν χελώνην, κἂν  
πίλοι αὐταῖς διάβροχοι περιδεδενται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς.  
ἔξαιρει δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν φλόγα καὶ φοβερὰν ἀπεργάζεται τεάφρη  
ἐπιπασσομένη.

115 Τὴν δὲ φορὰν τῶν λίθων ἀποκρουόμεθα, οὓς δὴ (αἰ) πετροβόλοι  
μηχαναὶ πέμπουσιν, οὕτως. σχοινία εἰς σχήματα δικτύων πλέξαντες  
οὐκ ἔλαττον δακτύλου τὸ τάχος ἔχοντα χαλῶμεν ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ δυσι πῆ-  
χεσι τῶν τειχῶν προβαλλόμενα καὶ μεταφερόμενα ἐπὶ τὸν πάσχοντα  
τόπον· τῇ γὰρ ἐνδόσει τούτων τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς κινήσεως τῶν λίθων  
120 ἀποκρουόμεθα.

Τὰ δὲ κατὰ χελωνῶν εἰρημένα κἂν τοῖς κριοῖς εἰκότως ἂν γέ-  
νοιτο. κράτιστον δὲ καὶ λίθον μέγιστον διὰ τινος μηχανῆς εἰς ὕψος  
ἀναβιβάσαντες ἀφιέναι κατὰ τῆς χελώνης ἢ τοῦ κριοῦ. ἡ δὲ μηχανὴ  
τοῦτον ἔχέτω τὸν τρόπον. ἔστω τις βᾶσις ξύλινος τετράγωνος, τροχιὰς  
125 ἔχουσα. ζυγοὶ δὲ ἀνὰ δύο τὰς πλευρὰς συνεχέτωσαν, στῦλοι δὲ καθ'  
ἑκάστην γωνίαν ἐφεστηκότες καὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀποκλινόμενοι ὁμοίως  
τοῖς κάτω ζυγοῖς συνδεδέσθωσαν. κεραιὰ δὲ τις ἐκ μέσου τῆς βάσεως  
κατὰ κάθετον ἀνατεινομένη συνεχέσθω ὑπὸ τῶν μεσαιτάτων τετρα-  
γώνων ἃ δὴ ποιούσιν οἱ ζυγοὶ οἱ τὰ τετράγωνα συνέχοντες. ταύτη  
130 τοῖνον τῇ ὀρθῇ κεραιᾷ συνδεδέσθω καὶ τις ἑτέρα πλαγία ἐκ μέσου  
κουφιζομένη, ἣς τῶν ἄκρων τῷ μὲν ἀποδήσαντες τὸν λίθον, τὸ δὲ κα-  
θελκύσαντες, εἰς ὕψος τὸν λίθον ἀναβιβάσομεν, ἔστ' ἂν κατὰ κορυφὴν  
τοῦ μηχανήματος γενόμενος ἀφεθῇ. ἀφίεται δὲ οὕτως· τὰ συνέχοντα  
τὸν λίθον σχοινία εἰς ἓν συναχθέντα διὰ τινος καρύου κρατεῖσθω κά-  
135 τωθεν, ὥστε ἀφιέμενου τοῦ σχοινίου τὸν λίθον καταφέρεισθαι.

at close range from above. Not only that, but while we are keeping them at bay we may be getting ourselves ready for any future operations, especially if we are still unprepared in some areas.

But if the persistence of the attack prevents us from digging the new ditch, we may nonetheless slow down the tortoise by throwing dirt down in front of it, for it will not be able to move forward over piles of dirt. If the enemy still persist in attacking—for we must admit that even this could come about because of the utter negligence or despair of the citizens—then we may throw down hay, wood, or dry reeds upon the tortoises and set them on fire. There is no way in which the enemy can prevent this, no matter how bold and death-defying they may be. By adding fuel we can make the fire larger and make it spread so it can burn up not only the tortoise, even though it be sheathed in wet felt, but also all the men in it. Sulphur sprinkled over it will cause a terrifying flame to flare up.

We may soften the impact of stones thrown from siege artillery in the following manner. Ropes, a finger or more thick, may be woven into nets and hung down over the walls a bit more than a meter out from them at any point where damage is being done.<sup>3</sup> These will yield and check the full momentum of the stones.

What has been said about the tortoises may also be applied to the battering rams. The most effective method is to lift a large stone high in the air with a suitable machine and then drop it on the tortoise or the ram. The machine is made in the following way. There should be a square wooden base mounted on wheels. One or two braces should connect the sides. Vertical pieces should then be set into each corner, inclined in toward each other and connected by braces corresponding to those on the main frame. Set a pole vertically in the center of the frame, supported by the squares in the middle formed by the braces joining the main square. Now, on top of this straight pole tie another beam, raising it up by the middle. The stone should be tied to one end of this beam and raised up by pulling down the other end. When it is as high as the machine will permit, it is dropped. This is how it is released. The ropes holding the stone are fed through a kind of pulley and held together under the machine. When the rope is let go, the stone will fall.

<sup>1</sup> Ten piches.<sup>2</sup> See Fig. 3, *infra*, p. 136.<sup>3</sup> Two piches.

13: 2 πῶς . . . πολιορκούντων De: πῶς δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι K-R: om. codd. || 6 σωρηδόν De: lac. 3-4 litt. codd.: ὁμαδόν conj. Oldfather teste Erck: στοιχηδόν K-R || 27 ἐπιστοιβαζόμενον K-R: ἐπιστοιβάζομενον MP || 46 διαμένειν K-R: διαμένει MP || 50 καταλαμβάνομενον K-R: καταλάβομενον MP || 51 τοῦ τείχους K-R: τῶν ἐναντίων MP || 58 καιροῦ M: καιροῦ P || 97 τὸν K-R: τὴν MP || 100 εἰ εἰς τι De: εἰς εἴτι MP: εἰ εἰσέτι conj. Erck: εἰς ἄττα K-R || 107 ἀνωθεν K-R: ..ωθεν M: ....εν P || 108 περιγενέσθαι K-R: ....γενέσθαι M: .....ενέσθαι P || 109 θανάτου K-R: ....του MP || 115 αἰ K-R: om. MP || 116 δικτύων K-R: διτύων MP || 131 τῷ Erck: τὸ MP: τοῦ K-R

ιδ'.

## Περὶ τακτικῆς.

Τακτικὴ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη καθ' ἣν τις πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων μεθ' ὀπλῶν συντάξαι τε καὶ κινῆσαι κατὰ καιρὸν δύναται. τῆς δὲ τακτικῆς 5 μέρη ἐστὶ τέσσαρα· σύνταξις ἀνδρῶν πρὸς πόλεμον ἐπιτήδειος, ὀπλῶν διανομὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου χρεῖαν ἀρμόδιος, κίνησις ἐνόπλου στρατεύματος τῷ καιρῷ πρέπουσα, οἰκονομία πολέμου, προσώπων τε καὶ πραγμάτων, τρόπων τε καὶ αἰτιῶν ἐξέτασιν μετὰ τοῦ συμφροντος ἔχουσα.

10 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολέμων εἶδη ἐστὶ δύο, ναυμαχία τε καὶ πεζομαχία, ἀνάγκη καθ' ἐκάτερον τούτων δεῖξαι τὰ τῆς τακτικῆς μέρη. οὐ γὰρ M f. 112 ὁμοίως ἐν τε πεζομαχίᾳ καὶ | ναυμαχίᾳ συντιθέμεθα, οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς σχήμασι χρώμεθα, οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχομεν διαίρεσιν τοῦ στρατεύματος οὐδὲ τοὺς ἡγουμένους οὐδὲ τὰ τούτων ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη δια- 15 φόρων ὄντων τῶν εἰδῶν τῆς μάχης διαφόρῳ καὶ τῷ εἶδη τῆς τακτικῆς χρήσασθαι. ἵνα δὲ μὴ συγκεχυμένος ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἦ, ἰδίως περὶ ἐκάστου τούτων διαληψόμεθα, καὶ πρότερόν γε περὶ πεζομαχίας.

Τεσσάρων τοίνυν ὄντων τρόπων καθ' οὓς ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι ἐπὶ γῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων διηγωνίζοντο, καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν πεζοί, οἱ δὲ ἑφιπποὶ, οἱ δὲ 20 δι' ἀρμάτων, οἱ δὲ δι' ἐλεφάντων τοὺς πολέμους ἐποιοῦν, ὁ μὲν περὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἀρμάτων τρόπος ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀφείσθω· τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐροῦμεν, ὅποτε μὴδὲ μέχρι ῥημάτων τὰ τῆς τακτικῆς σῴζεται; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἰδίως καλουμένης πεζικῆς καὶ ἵππικῆς δυνάμεως ὁ λόγος γινέσθω. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα καλῶς γυμνασασμένους 25 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας χρήσασθαι κακ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδείως ἔξειν πρὸς τὰ λοιπά.

Ἴνα δὲ ἱκανῶς ὁ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν ἔχη λόγος, ῥητέον ὅτι παντὸς τοῦ ἐν ἐκστρατείᾳ πλῆθους τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ μάχιμον, ὃ καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν καὶ ἐνοπλον καὶ στρατεύμα καὶ στρατὸς ὀνομάζεται, τὸ δὲ τεχνικόν,

14.

Tactics.<sup>1</sup>

Tactics is a science which enables one to organize and maneuver a body of armed men in an orderly manner. Tactics may be divided into four parts: proper organization of men for combat; distribution of weapons according to the needs of each man; movement of an armed body of troops in a manner appropriate to the occasion; the management of war, of personnel and materials, including an examination of ways and causes as well as of what is advantageous.

There are two kinds of war, at sea and on land. The tactics appropriate to each must be examined separately. We do not get organized in the same way for fighting on foot and fighting in ships. We do not use the same formations or the same disposition of troops. The officers and their titles are different. These two forms of warfare are so different that completely different tactical methods have to be employed. To avoid confusion, then, we shall discuss each form of warfare by itself, taking land warfare first.

Now, then, there are four principal ways in which men have fought one another in the past. They have waged war on foot, on horseback, in chariots, and on elephants. In these pages we shall not bother to discuss fighting with elephants and chariots. Why talk about them when even the terminology for their tactics has become obsolete? It is on the infantry and the cavalry forces, as they are each called, that we shall concentrate. It is sufficient if a person has been well trained in these, for he can make use of them as they stand and will be able to adapt easily to other situations.

To aid in understanding our treatise on tactical matters, let it be noted that the entire force on campaign is comprised of the following. First are the combat troops, the force armed for offensive action, which is called an armed force or an army.

30 οἶον λιθοτόμοι, χαλκεῖς, τέκτονες καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, οὓς οὐ μόνον διὰ τὰς πολιορκίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰλλα συνεπιφέρειν ἀνάγκη, τὸ δὲ χορηγὸν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οἶον ἀρτοποιῶλαι, οἰνοπῶλαι, κρεσπῶλαι καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

14: K-R 88, Erck 40.

14: Cf. Aelianum, 2.

ιε'.

Περὶ φάλαγγος.

Φάλαγξ δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνόπλων ποιά σύνταξις εἰς ἐχθρῶν ἀμυναν. καὶ σχήματα μὲν φάλαγγος ποικίλα, οἶον κύκλος, ῥόμβος, 5 ῥομβοειδές, ἔμβολός τε καὶ κοιλέμβολος, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα, περὶ ὧν λέγειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀφείσθω διὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἄρτι πρὸς τακτικὴν ἀγύμναστον. ἃ δὲ τούτων μάλιστα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστὶ γνώριμα καὶ πρὸς παράδοσιν τοῦ παρόντος μαθήματος ἐπιτηδειότερα ταῦτ' εἶπειν καὶ διδάξαι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δεῖξαι τὴν τακτικὴν ὡς οἶόν τε διὰ 10 βραχέων πειράσομαι. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαληψόμεθα.

Γνώριμα δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς πολλοῖς λέγω, οὐχ ὅτι νῦν τακτικῇ κερρήμεθα, — τίνος γὰρ ἂν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς παρουσίας συγγραφῆς ἐδεήθημεν; — ἀλλ' ὅτι νῦν πολλάκις παραταπτόμενοι τετραγώνους τε καὶ ἐπιμηκεστέροις χρῶνται τοῖς σχήμασι. τὸ γὰρ ὅπως δεῖ συντετάχθαι 15 τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ τὰς τοιαύτας φάλαγγας καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα δι' αὐτῶν ἐξῆς μαθησόμεθα, οὐδ' ὅτι οὐν μέρος κατὰ θεωρίαν | τακτικὴν ἡμῖν ὑπολέλειπται. ἐξῆς δὲ ῥητέον ἐκ πόσων καὶ οἶων μερῶν καὶ ὅπως ἢ τε τετράγωνος καὶ ἑτερομήκης συνίσταται φάλαγξ, καὶ πῶς ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν ὀνομάζεται καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν, καὶ πρότερόν γε 20 περὶ τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτῆς, αἶ τὸ πᾶν συνεχέουσι τοῦ στρατεύματος.

Οἱ παλαιοὶ ζῶφ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσιν ἀπεικάζοντες τὴν μὲν κατ' ὄψιν τῶν πολεμίων πρόσωπον ὀνομάζουσι, τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ μέτωπον καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ στόμα καὶ ἀραρὸν καὶ πρωτολοχίαν ὀνομάζουσιν. τὴν δὲ κατόπιν καὶ τελευταίαν οὐράν, τὰς δὲ παρ' 25 ἑκάτερα οὐ μόνον κοινῶς καθάπερ τὰς εἰρημένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίως πλευρὰς ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς (τῶν) τοῦ ζῶφου πλευρῶν ὀνομάζουσιν, καὶ τὸ μὲν μεσαίτατον τοῦ μετώπου, καθ' ὃ ἡ διχοτομία τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου ἐπ' οὐράν γίνεται ὀμφαλὸν λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἑκάτερα τῆς διχοτομίας δύο μέγιστα μέρη τῆς φάλαγγος κέρας

Then come the technical groups such as stonecutters, metalworkers, carpenters, and the like, who need to be on hand for siege operations and for other special work. Third, there are the supply services which provide bread, wine, meat, and other necessities.

<sup>1</sup>In this and subsequent chapters (esp. 15, 18, 21–24, 31) the author derives much from the ancient tactical writers: Aelian, ed. H. Köchly and W. Rüstow, *Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller*, 2, 1 (Leipzig, 1855); Asclepiodotus, ed. *ibid.*, and also with English translation by Illinois Greek Club, *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onesander* (Loeb Classical Library, London–New York, 1923); Arrian, ed. J. Scheffer, *Arriani Tactica et Mauricii artis militaris libri duodecim* (Uppsala, 1664).

15.

The Phalanx.

A phalanx is a formation of armed men designed to hold off the enemy. It may assume a variety of shapes: the circle, the lozenge, the rhomboid, the wedge, the hollow wedge, and many others which we shall not bother to discuss in this work, since very few people nowadays have any practical knowledge of tactics. I shall here attempt briefly and as best I can to concentrate my remarks and explanations upon those aspects of tactics with which the general public is familiar and which best fit the purpose of the present study. I shall then pass on to other topics.

When I say that people are familiar with these things, it is not because we are actually making use of tactics now—if that were so, what purpose would be served by this book?—but because nowadays troops are so often drawn up in square or oblong formations. For in due order we shall learn how the soldiers are to be formed in phalanxes of those kinds, and we shall omit nothing that has any bearing on tactical theory. Next we have to speak of the number and kind of parts that constitute a square or oblong phalanx and how they are formed, then the names for each section and the titles of the officers. We should first discuss the flanks of the phalanx, which serve to enclose the entire force.

The ancients compared the phalanx in its movements to a living body. The part looking toward the enemy they called the face, sometimes also the forehead, the eye, the mouth, the joint, or the first rank. The last part to the rear was the tail. The two sides they called the flanks, not only from the common way of speaking, as with the above terms, but also in a special manner by analogy with the flanks of a living being. The point right in the middle of the front, which bisects the whole force from front to rear, is called the navel. The two principal parts of the phalanx along both sides of that dividing point are called the right horn and the left horn, the



30 δεξιὸν καὶ κέρας εὐώνυμον λέγουσι, καὶ δεξιὸν μὲν τὸ ἐν δεξιᾷ τετα-  
γμένον, εὐώνυμον δὲ τὸ ἐν εὐωνύμοις.

Ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἰσταμένους κατὰ πλευρὰς  
ἀλλήλοις συντετάχθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ὀρώντας, καὶ τούτοις τοὺς  
λοιποὺς ἔπασθαι. συντιθέασι δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπαν πλῆθος εἰς τὸν  
35 ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν ἄκρων τόπον, οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ στίχους  
ὀρθίους τε καὶ ἐγκαρσίους τοῖς ἄκροις συννεύοντας, ὥστε ἕκαστον  
τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατὰ δύο στίχους τετάχθαι. λέγω δὲ ὀρθιον μὲν  
στίχον, ὃς καὶ λόχος προσαγορεύεται, τὸν ἄφ' ἐνὸς οἴου δὴ ποτε  
πρωτοστατοῦντος ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπέναντι καὶ τελευταῖον  
40 λαμβανόμενον, ὃς οὐραγὸς ὀνομάζεται, ἐγκάρσιον δὲ τὸν ἄφ' ἐνὸς  
τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπέναντι τῆς ἀριστερᾶς λαμβανόμενον ἢ  
τοῦναντίον, ὃς καὶ ζυγὸς λέγεται ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ κατὰ νῶτον τῶν  
βοῶν ἐπικειμένου ξύλου ἐπειδὴν ἀροτριῶσιν ἢ καὶ ἀμάξας ἔλκουσιν,  
ὥστε ἕκαστον τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος δυσὶ τάξεσι περιέχεσθαι,  
45 ζυγῶ τε καὶ στίχῳ, ὅφ' ὧν στηριζόμενοι δυσκαταγώνιστοι γίνονται.  
καὶ ζυγοὶ μὲν εἰσὶν ὅποσοι καὶ ἄνδρες καθ' ἓνα στίχον εἰσὶ τετα-  
γμένοι, ὥστ' ἀνάγκη ἰσαριθμούς εἶναι τοὺς τε ζυγοὺς πρὸς ἑαυτούς,  
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς στίχους.

Μ f. 113 Στοιχεῖν δὲ λέγεται ἐπὶ μέρους μὲν τὸ τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ πάντας  
50 τῶν στίχων | κατὰ μίαν εὐθείαν κείσθαι τοῖς ἄκροις ἴσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων  
ἀπέχοντας, ὁμοίως καὶ ζυγεῖν τὸ τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ πάντας τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
ζυγοῦ κατὰ μίαν εὐθείαν κείσθαι τοῖς ἄκροις τῷ αὐτῷ διαστήματι ἀλ-  
λήλων ἀπέχοντας, καθόλου δὲ ὅταν πάντες οἱ τε στίχοι καὶ οἱ ζυγοὶ  
κατ' εὐθείαν κείνται τοῖς ἄκροις.

55 Καὶ μῆκος μὲν φάλαγγος λέγεται τὸ ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν πλευρῶν  
διάστημα λαμβανόμενον, βάθος δὲ τὸ ἐκάστου στίχου, καὶ πάντες  
μὲν οἱ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ζυγὸν τεταγμένοι πρωτοστάται τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
ὀνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον ἐπιστάται τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν, καὶ  
πάλιν οἱ κατὰ τὸν τρίτον πρωτοστάται τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, κἀκεῖνοι ἐπι-  
60 στάται τῶν ἰδίων πρωτοστατῶν, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφεξῆς  
ὁμοίως μέχρι τῶν οὐραγῶν.

Ἐκαστος δὲ τῶν στίχων καθ' ἑαυτὸν λόχος προσαγορεύεται καὶ  
ὁ τούτου ἀφηγούμενος λοχαγός, οἱ δὲ δύο λόχοι διλοχία καλοῦνται καὶ  
ὁ τούτου ἡγούμενος διλοχίτης, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες λόχοι τετραρχία καὶ ὁ  
65 τούτου ἡγούμενος τετράρχης, τὸ δὲ δις τοσοῦτον ταξιαρχία καὶ ὁ  
τούτου ἡγούμενος ταξιαρχίας, τὸ δὲ δις πάλιν τοσοῦτον σύνταγμα καὶ  
ὁ τούτου ἡγούμενος συνταγματάρχης, τὰ δὲ δύο σύνταγματα καλοῦν-  
ται πεντακοσιαρχία καὶ ὁ τούτου ἡγούμενος πεντακοσιάρχης, αἱ δὲ  
δύο πεντακοσιαρχίαι καλοῦνται χιλιαρχία καὶ ὁ τούτου ἡγούμενος  
70 χιλιαρχίας, αἱ δύο χιλιαρχίαι μεραρχία καὶ ὁ τούτου ἡγούμενος με-  
ράρχης, αἱ δύο μεραρχίαι φαλαγγαρχία καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀφηγούμενος  
φαλαγγάρχης. συναγεται οὖν ἐντεῦθεν μέρη μικρὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα τῷ

one designating the troops formed on the right side, the other those on the left.

The troops stationed in the front must line up along the side facing the enemy, and the others should form behind them. The other men in the unit position themselves in the space between the two flanks in an orderly manner, in ranks which are straight across and at the same time at right angles to the flanks, so that each soldier takes his stand in two lines. What I mean is that there is a straight row, which is called a file, which goes from any one of the men in the first line of the phalanx all the way back to the last in line, who is named the rear guard. The oblique row or rank goes from one of the men on the right flank all the way to one on the left, or the other way around. This row is also called a yoke, by analogy with the wooden yoke placed on the neck of oxen when plowing or pulling a wagon. Each soldier in the whole army, then, occupies a position in two lines, the rank and the file, and by taking a firm stance there the whole unit becomes more formidable. There should be as many ranks as there are men lined up in each file, so that the ranks by themselves, as well as the files, must be of equal strength.

They are said to be lined up in the proper position when everyone all down the file stands in a straight line equidistant from one another and parallel to the edges. In like manner, the ranks are properly formed when everyone all along the same rank is in a straight line parallel to the edges and equidistant from one another. The formation is complete when all the files and ranks stand in straight lines parallel to the edges.

The width of the phalanx means the distance between the two flanks, and its depth is that of each file. All the soldiers stationed in the first rank are named proto-states in relation to those behind them, and those in second place are called epistates in relation to those ahead. In the same way, the men in the third row are called proto-states in relation to those behind them, but epistates in relation to their own proto-states, and so all the others in like order down to the rear guard.

Furthermore, each file by itself is called a squad and its head a squad leader. Two squads are called a double squad and its head a double-squad leader. Four squads form a tetrarchy, and its leader is a tetrarch. Twice that number is a taxiarchy, whose chief is a taxiarch. Twice that number, in turn, is a syntagma under the command of a syntagmarch. Two syntagmata make up a pentekosiarchy led by a pentekosiarch. Two pentekosiarchies are called a chiliarchy, which is commanded by a chiliarch. Two chiliarchies make a merarchy under the command of a merarch. Two of these, in turn, form a phalangarchy commanded by a phalangarch. These, then, are the small and the larger units, which make ten in number, as well as their

ἀριθμῷ δέκα καὶ τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν ὁμοίως. ἐκ πόσων μὲν οὖν μερῶν καὶ οἷων ἢ φάλαγξ συνίσταται καὶ ὅπως σύγκειται, καὶ πῶς ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς ὀνομάζεται καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν, διὰ τούτων ἰκανῶς ἡμῖν παραδέδοται.

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἡ παρούσα διαίρεσις γέγονε τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν τὸ πλήθος, διὰ τὸ ῥαδίως τελείσθαι τὰ κελευόμενα. πᾶν γὰρ πλήθος τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ δυσπεριάγωγον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρῆ κατὰ τὸ Λακωνικὸν ἔθος πλείονας εἶναι τοὺς ἐξηγουμένους τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ τὸν μὲν λοχαγὸν ἀπευθύνειν τὸν ἴδιον στίχον καὶ τηρεῖν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν διαστήματα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἡγουμένων ἕκαστον συλλοχεῖν τοὺς ἰδίους στίχους καὶ διὰ πάντων καταλοχεῖσθαι τὸ πᾶν τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἔστι δὲ συλλοχισμὸς μὲν ὅταν λόχος λόχῳ οἰκείως παρατεθῆ, καταλοχισμὸς δὲ ὅταν πάντες οἱ λόχοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἰκείως ἔχωσιν.

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρωτοστάτας, οὓς καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ὀνομάζομεν, διαφέρειν παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔν τε ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος | διὰ τὴν κατ' ὄψιν καὶ ἐπὶ χειρὸς μάχην καὶ τὰ βάρη τῶν ἐπιφερομένων αὐτοῖς ὄπλων. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μείζονας ἡγεμόνας οὐχ ἤττον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὺς τὴν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ ῥώμην ἔχειν τοῦ σώματος, μάλιστα δὲ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμου καὶ φρονήσει διενηροχένοι τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ἕτερον ἑτέρου ὀπόσον καὶ πλείονων ἄρχουσι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρωτοστάτας τοὺς ἐπιστάτας αὐτῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ τεταγμένους, καὶ γὰρ πιπτόντων τινῶν ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῶν πρωτοστατούντων αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων εἰσίσαι τάξιν.

Τοὺς δὲ οὐραγοὺς οὐκ ἐλάττους μὲν εἶναι τὴν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τοῦ σώματος τῶν κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον ζυγὸν τεταγμένων, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων, τὸ μὲν ἵνα τὴν τάξιν τηρῶσι καὶ συνέχωσι τοὺς ἐντός, τὸ δὲ ἵνα ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ ἀγῶνος συνωθῶσι τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, ὥστε βαρυτέραν καὶ δυσανταγώνιστον τὴν φάλαγγα τῇ πιλήσει κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γίνεσθαι, καὶ τρίτον ἵν' αἰφνίδιον κατὰ νῶτον τῆς φάλαγγος προσπιπτόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἔστιν ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐπιστραφέντες κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρωτοστατούντων ἀναπληρώσωσι χρεῖαν.

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς οὐραγοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν στίχων τεταγμένους εἴτ' οὖν τὰς πλευράς, διὰ τὰς ὑπερκεράσεις τε καὶ ὑπερφαλαγγώσεις τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ προσέτι τὰς αἰφνιδίους ἐπιθέσεις αὐτῶν, αἱ πολλάκις καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν γίνονται. κατὰ δὲ πέμπτην τάξιν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμιλοχίων διὰ τὸ ἀπευθύνειν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς στίχους, συνωθεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν ὁμοίως τοῖς οὐραγοῖς, οὐ δυναμένων ἐκείνων | τὸ πᾶν βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος συνωθεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίτου ζυγοῦ, εἶτα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πέμπτου, εἶτα τοὺς

A f. 8

commanders. Enough now has been explained about the number and nature of the units that make up the phalanx, about its organization, and about the terms used for each unit and the titles of its commanders.

It should be understood that the purpose of this division of the army and the assignment of so many officers is to facilitate the execution of orders. For it is difficult to maneuver the entire force by a single word of command. For this reason the army must follow the Laconian practice of having a large number of officers. Each squad leader directs his own file and maintains the proper distances in it. Each one of the other officers should see to the proper alignment of his own files, and in this way all of them will effect the correct formation of the entire army. The squads are properly aligned when each is in its own position next to the other, and the formation is complete when all the squads are at the right distance from one another.

The front rank men, whom we also call ilarchs and squad leaders, should stand out from the rest of the army because of their courage and physical strength, for they have to bear the brunt of the hand-to-hand fighting and wear such heavy armor. The other major officers should be no less distinguished for courage and physical strength. They should also be far superior to the others in combat experience and good sense, each one according to his rank and the number of troops under his command. Next in quality to the protostates should be the epistates, that is, those lined up in the second rank. For, if any of the protostates should fall in action, they are the ones who move up to take their places.

The rear guard should possess no less courage and physical strength than the men stationed in the second rank. They should also be notably superior to other troops in experience and good sense, for they are responsible for forming and keeping the men in their place in line. In action, moreover, they must keep the men ahead of them in close order, so that the phalanx may maintain its compact formation and present a stronger and more formidable front to the enemy. Third, in case of a surprise attack by the enemy on the rear of the phalanx, they may have to turn about and act as protostates in repelling the enemy.

After the rear guard come the troops stationed on the files on the sides, for they must guard the flanks against envelopments and encirclements as well as surprise attacks by the enemy, which are often directed against them. Fifth in importance are the leaders of half files, who help in maintaining order in the files and who keep the men in front of them in close order, just as the rear guard who, by themselves, cannot tighten up the ranks of the whole phalanx. Next to consider are the

115 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐβδόμου καὶ ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους οἱ  
λοιποὶ τῶν ἀρτίων ζυγῶν ἀναπληρωθήσονται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ τέταρτος,  
ὁ ἕκτος, ὁ ὄγδοος, καὶ ἐφεξῆς μέχρι τῶν οὐραγῶν.

MP VSB (partim) 15: K-R 90, Erck 41.

15: 21 οἱ MP: ὅτι οἱ VSB || ζῶψ VS: ζῶων B: ζῶων MP || 21-24 ἀπεικάζοντες . . . ὀνο-  
μάζουσιν MP: εἰκάζοντες τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς πρόσωπον ὀνομάζουσι καὶ στόμα, τὸ δὲ κέρας καὶ  
κεφαλὴν, ἄλλο δὲ ὀφθαλμὸν ἢ ὄμφαλον, καὶ ἄλλο πλευρὰν καὶ οὐρὰν ἄλλο VSB || 24 κατόπιον  
K-R: κατόπιον MP || τὰς K-R: τὰ MP || 26 τῶν K-R: om. codd. || 28 λέγουσι codd.: λέγουσι καὶ  
ἀραρός conj. K-R, Erck ex Asclepiodoto, 2, 6 || 39 πρωταστατοῦντος K-R: προστατοῦντος M:  
προστατοῦντος P || 40 τὸν ἀφ' K-R: τῶν MP || 57 πρωτοστάται Erck ex Asclepiodoto, 2, 3, et alibi:  
προστάται MP || 59 πρωτοστάται Erck: προστατάται MP || 60 πρωτοστατῶν Erck: προστατῶν MP ||  
69 χιλιαρχία K-R: χιλιαρχία MP || 72-73 τῶ ἀριθμῶ K-R: τῶν ἀριθμῶν MP || 84-85 ὅταν . . .  
καταλοχισμός δὲ M: om. P || 85 οἰκείως M: οἰκείους P || 94 πρωτοστάτας K-R: προστατάτας MP ||  
113 τὸ πᾶν inc. A

15: Cf. Aelianum, 7-9; Asclepiodotum, 2-3; Arrianum, p. 10-16.

ις'.

(Περὶ ὀπλίσεως.)

Τούτων δὲ οὕτως συντεταγμένων χρή τοὺς μὲν πρωτοστάτας  
κεχρησθαι τοῖς φυλακτικοῖς τῶν ὀπλῶν ὅν μάλιστα τοῦ σώματος  
5 τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην μέρη φυλάττεται. καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀσπίδων διά-  
μετρον οὐκ ἔλαττον εἶναι σπιθαμῶν ἑπτὰ, ὥστε τὰς ἀσπίδας εἰς ἀλ-  
λήλας καλῶς συντιθεμένας καταφράττειν καὶ κατακαλύπτειν καὶ  
φυλάττειν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς τὸ μηδένα ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν τῶν ἐναντίων  
παθεῖν. τὰς δὲ γε τῶν πρωτοστατούντων μάλιστα ἀσφαλεστέρας  
M f. 114 10 τυγχάνειν, ἔχειν | δὲ αὐτὰς μόνας πέταλον σιδηροῦν κατὰ μέσον τῆς  
ἀσπίδος εἰς κύκλον γραφόμενον ἐν ᾧ ξίφος ἀνεστάτω οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ  
ὑψος δακτύλων τεσσάρων, ἵν' οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐναντίους φοβῆ πόρρωθεν  
ὀρώντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τραυματίζῃ κακῶς εἰς πείραν ἐρχόμενον.

Τὰς δὲ περικεφαλαίας καὶ τοὺς θώρακας καὶ τὰς περικνημίδας  
15 εἶναι μὲν καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον βάρος ἔχοντα ὥστε μήτε ῥαδίως  
πάσχειν αὐτὰς μήτ' ἄγαν τῷ βάρει λυπεῖν καὶ πρὸ καιροῦ καταδαπα-

men in the third rank, then those in the fifth, in the seventh, and so on in order. The  
rest of the troops fill up the even-numbered ranks, fourth, sixth, eighth, and so on to  
the rear guard.

16.

[Armament.]

When the troops have been formed as described, we must equip the front rank  
men with defensive armor to protect those parts of the body that are most exposed in  
action. Their shields should be no less than one and a half meters in diameter,<sup>1</sup> so  
that when they are joined together they form a solid, defensive protection behind  
which the army can hide without anyone being injured by enemy missiles. The  
shields of the protostates should be particularly solid, and they alone should have an  
iron circlet embossed in the center of the shield in which a spike at least four fingers  
long should be fixed,<sup>2</sup> both to unnerve the enemy when they see it from a distance  
and to inflict serious injury when used at close range.

Armor for the head, breastplates, and shin guards should be heavy enough to  
ward off injury but not so heavy as to be burdensome and wear down the strength of

νᾶν τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν δύναμιν. εἶναι δὲ τοιαῦτα οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν  
 ὕλην λυσιτελοῦντα ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν λειότητα, ἵνα διολι-  
 σθαιήνη τὰ βέλη προσπίπτοντα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος  
 20 ἀπόστασιν. δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὰ ἐπικεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐπὶ χιτωνίσκων, ὃ τινες  
 ποιοῦσιν τὸ βάρος τῶν ὄπλων φεύγοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἱματίων οὐκ ἔλατ-  
 τον δακτύλου τὸ πάχος ἐχόντων, τὸ μὲν ἵνα μὴ λυπῆ προσψαύοντα τῆ  
 σκληρότητι ἀλλ' ἐφαρμόττοι τῷ σώματι καλῶς ἐπικείμενα, τὸ δὲ ἵνα  
 μὴ ῥαδίως ἄπτηται τῶν σαρκῶν τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βέλη ἀλλ' ἐμποδι-  
 25 ζοιτο, τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς εἴρηται, διὰ τὸν σιδήρον καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν  
 λειότητα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ σιδήρου ἀπό-  
 στασιν. δεῖ δὲ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν καὶ ξίφος κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔχειν οὐκ  
 ἔλαττον τὸ ὕψος δακτύλων τριῶν, ἵνα εἰ τύχοι ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς οἱ  
 στρατιῶται καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζονται καὶ φοβερώτεροι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς  
 30 διαδείκνυνται.

A f. 8\*

Τὰ δὲ δόρατα ἔχειν μῆκος ὅποσον ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν φέρειν δύ-  
 ναται, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον ζυγὸν καὶ τρίτον καὶ  
 τέταρτον τεταγμένους, ὥστε τὰ τῶν τεσσάρων ζυγῶν δόρατα προπί-  
 πτειν τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πρώτου ζυγοῦ πρὸς τὰ  
 35 τοῦ δευτέρου τοσοῦτον προέχειν ὅποσον καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ζυγὸς τοῦ δευ-  
 τέρου καὶ ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως ἕως τοῦ τέταρτου ζυγοῦ· συμβαίνει δὲ ὡς τὰ  
 πολλὰ τοῦτο πυκνουμένης τῆς φάλαγγος ἀνὰ πῆχυν ἕνα. ἡ μὲν οὖν  
 τοιαύτη σύνταξις τῶν δοράτων λέγεται Μακεδονικὴ· ταύτη γὰρ τοὺς  
 Μακεδόνας φασὶ χρῆσασθαι.

M f. 114\*

40 Τινὲς δὲ τὰ δόρατα τοῦ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μακρότερα  
 τοῦ πρώτου ἐποίησαν ὥστε τὴν προβολὴν τῶν δοράτων τοῦ τε πρώτου  
 ζυγοῦ τοῦ τε δευτέρου ἴσην εἶναι διὰ τὸ δύο δόρατα καθ' ἑνὸς ἀγωνί-  
 ζεσθαι τῶν ὑπεναντίων. τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τὸν τέταρτον ζυγὸν τεταγμένους  
 οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὺς κατέχειν ἐπέτρεψαν δόρατα πλὴν τῶν προτέρων  
 46 δοράτια καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ ὅσα διὰ χειρὸς βάλλεσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 δύνανται—πλὴν τῶν ἄκρων στίχων τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ τῶν προσεχῶς  
 παρακειμένων αὐτοῖς ἄχρι τριῶν στίχων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐραγῶν καὶ  
 τῶν προσεχῶς παρακειμένων αὐτοῖς ἄχρι τριῶν ζυγῶν· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ  
 50 τοῦ πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ τεταγμένους τὸν αὐτὸν καθοπλισμὸν  
 ἔχειν οὐ μόνον τοὺς οὐραγοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄκρους στίχους τῶν πλευ-  
 ρῶν—τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὠφελήσαιεν τοὺς πρωτοστατοῦντας εἰς χεῖρας ἐχ-  
 θρῶν ἤκοντας τὰ δόρατα τῶν κατὰ μέσου τῆς φάλαγγος τεταγμένων.

A f. 9

Καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν ὄπλων χρῆσις τοιαύτη. εἰ δὲ μὴ πάντες οἱ τῆς  
 55 φάλαγγος ἔχοιεν θώραξιν καὶ περικνημίσιν χρῆσασθαι, ἀλλὰ πάν-  
 τως οἱ γε κατὰ τὸν πρότερον καὶ δεύτερον ζυγὸν καὶ τὸν τελευταῖον  
 καὶ τῶν στίχων οἱ ἄκροι περιβα | λούνται ταῦτα διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας  
 αἰτίας, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ζάβαις καὶ θώραξι καὶ περικεφαλαίαις ταῖς ἐκ  
 πύλου καὶ βύρσης συντεθειμέναις. ὡς ἂν δὲ μὴ λυπῆ ταῦτα τὸ σῶμα

the soldiers before they get into action. These should provide protection not only  
 because of their material strength but because of their design and their smoothness,  
 which should cause missiles to glance off and fall to the ground. There should also  
 be a space between the armor and the body. It should not be worn directly over  
 ordinary clothing, as some do to keep down the weight of the armor, but over a  
 garment at least a finger thick. There are two reasons for this. Where it touches the  
 body the hard metal may not chafe but may fit and lie comfortably upon the body. In  
 addition, it helps to prevent the enemy missiles from hitting the flesh because of the  
 iron, the design, and the smoothness, but also because the metal is kept away from  
 the flesh. The helmet should have a spike on top no less than three fingers long; it  
 makes our soldiers look more formidable to the enemy, and they might actually be  
 able to use it as a weapon in the fighting.

The spears should be as long as can be carried by an individual in the second,  
 third, or fourth rank of the formation. The spears of the first four ranks should stick  
 out in front of the whole army. Those of the first rank will be out in front of those of  
 the second by the same distance that the first rank stands ahead of the second, and so  
 on through the fourth rank. When the phalanx is closed up, then, the distance  
 should generally be about two-thirds of a meter. This type of formation with spears  
 is called the Macedonian, for they are reputed to have made use of it.

Some have made the spears of the second rank longer than those of the first,  
 so that the forward thrust of the spears of the first and second ranks would be equal  
 and twice as many spears could be employed at one time against the enemy. Some  
 have thought that the men stationed in the rank behind the fourth should also be  
 armed with spears, although shorter than those of the men in front of them. Others  
 have recommended, perhaps with better reason, that they should not have regular  
 spears but javelins, light spears, and other weapons that can be thrown against the  
 enemy. The files on the edges of the phalanx, however, and the three files in line  
 next to them, as well as the rear guards and the three ranks right in front of them,  
 should have the long spears. The rear guards and the files along the edges of the  
 flanks should have the same armament as the troops stationed in the first and second  
 ranks. What use will a set of long spears in the middle of the phalanx be to the  
 protostates who are engaged in hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy?

This is the manner of distributing the armament. If everyone in the phalanx  
 cannot be equipped with breastplates and shin guards, at least the men in the first,  
 second, and last ranks and those in the files on the flanks should certainly wear them  
 for the reasons given above. The rest of the troops may be provided with coats of  
 mail, breastplates, and head coverings fashioned of felt or leather. So that the rough  
 material does not chafe the skin, they should wear padded garments under them, as

60 τῆ σκληρότητι, ὑποκείσθωσαν καὶ αὐτοῖς περιστηθίδια, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σιδηρῶν θωρακίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλέγομεν. ὠφελήσει γὰρ κἀνταῦθα τῆ παχύτητι ταῦτα, οὐ ῥαδίως τῶν βελῶν διερχομένων ἢ οὐ σφόδρα φθανόντων τὸ βάθος τοῦ σώματος. καὶ περὶ μὲν πεζικῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον.

MP A VSB (partim) I6: K-R 100, Erck 45.

16: 1 ιζ' M: om. AP || 2 περὶ ὀπλίσεως K-R: om. codd. || 3 τοὺς Erck: τοῖς MPA || πρωτοστάτας Erck: πρωτοστάταις MP: πρωτοστάταις A || 5-6 καὶ . . . εἶναι MPA: ὅτι ἴσως τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀσπίδας ἐν μεγέθει οὐ δεῖ εἶναι ἐλάττωνας VSB || 9 τὰς . . . τυγχάνειν MP: om. A || 10 ἔχειν AVSB: ἔχ... MP || μόνας MP: καὶ AVSB: μόνας καὶ Erck || μέσον A: μέσου MP: μέσῳ VSB || 10-12 αὐτὰς . . . ὕψος MPA: ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ πέταλον σιδηροῦν στρογγύλον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ξίφος ἀνεστηκός ὡσεὶ VSB || 27-28 δεῖ . . . τριῶν MPA: ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐκάστη περικεφαλαίᾳ ξίφος ἀνεστηκός ὡσεὶ δακτύλων γ' καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς τῶν λοχαγῶν VSB || 36 συμβαίνει A: σημαίνει MP: om. VSB || 40-43 τινές . . . ὑπεναντίων MPA: ὅτι τινές τὰ δόρατα τῶν τοῦ β' ζυγοῦ ὀπλιτῶν τοσοῦτον ἐποίησαν μακρότερα ὥστε ἴσην εἶναι τὴν προσβολὴν αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν τοῦ α' ζυγοῦ λοχαγῶν VSB || 47-51 πλὴν . . . πλευρῶν MPA: ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ὄπλισιν ἐμπεφραγμένοι ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι οὐ μόνον οἱ ἔμπροσθεν ζυγοὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ὀπισθεν οὐραγοί, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄκροι στίχοι τῶν πλευρῶν τῆς φάλαγγος VSB || 55 χρῆσασθαι A: χρῆσθαι MP || 58-59 ταῖς . . . συντεθειμέναις A: τοῖς συντεθειμένοις MP || δὲ A: om. MP

ιζ'.

Περὶ ἵππικῆς φάλαγγος καὶ ὅπως δεῖ συντάττειν αὐτήν.

Τῆς δὲ ἵππικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ οἱ πρωτοστάται καὶ οἱ μετὰ τοὺς πρωτοστάτας ἄχρι τοῦ τετάρτου ζυγοῦ τεταγμένοι καὶ οἱ οὐραγοὶ καὶ  
5 οἱ ἄκροι τῶν στίχων καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους ταττόμενοι οὐ μόνον τὴν αὐτὴν ποιότητα τῶν πεζῶν ἐχέτωσαν κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ ῥώμην σώματος καὶ ἐμπειρίαν πολέμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τάξιν καὶ προσέτι τὸν καθοπλισμόν. τινές δὲ ἐτέρως αὐτοὺς συντάττουσι πυκνώσεως ἕνεκα, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ἵππων τοῦ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ μεταξὺ  
10 τῶν ὤμων τῶν ἵππων τιθέασιν τοῦ πρώτου ζυγοῦ, οἱ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν πλευρῶν.

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἵππους τῶν πρωτοστατούντων μὴτ' ἄγαν νέους εἶναι μῆτε θορύβων ἀπειρους, φέρειν τε αὐτοὺς προμετώπιδά τε καὶ περιστερνια σιδηρᾶ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ περιτραχήλια, ὥστε καταφράττειν  
M f. 115 15 αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην μέρη τῶν ἵππων | εἰς τὸ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς πάσχοντας ἀναταράττεσθαι τε καὶ καταβάλλειν τοὺς ἵππεας. τὰς δὲ γὰρ βάσεις τῶν ποδῶν τῶν ἵππων καὶ αὐτὰς ὁμοίως σιδηροῖς πετάλοις κα-

we recommended for iron breastplates and other items. The thickness of the cloth also makes it more difficult for missiles to penetrate, or at least to penetrate deeply, into the body. So much then about the infantry phalanx.

<sup>1</sup>Seven spithamai.

<sup>2</sup>The finger as a measurement was 1.95 cm., so the spike would be almost eight centimeters long.

17.

The Cavalry Phalanx and Its Formation.

In a cavalry force the file leaders, the four ranks in position behind them, the rear guards, the troops on the edges of the ranks, and the men next to them should have the same qualifications as their counterparts in the infantry as far as bravery, physical strength, and combat experience are concerned. In fact, their formation and also their armament should be the same. Some commanders employ a different formation to make the unit more compact. Some of them line up the heads of the horses of the second rank with the shoulders of the horses in the first rank, while others line them up with their flanks.

The horses of the soldiers in the front line should not be too young or unused to noise and confusion. They should be equipped with iron armor for their heads, breasts, and necks. These will protect the parts of the horses most exposed in action, for if they become wounded they may easily get out of control and throw their riders. In like manner, the horses' hooves should be protected by iron plates, so they

τησφαλισθαι εις το μη ραδιως πασχειν υπο τε τριβόλων και των άλλων.

20 Διαφέρει δὲ τῆς τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγος ἡ ἵππικῆ. ἡ μὲν γὰρ διόλου πεπύκνωται καὶ δυσαντέριστον ἔχει τὸ βάρος ἐν ταῖς πιλήσεσιν, συνωθούντων ἀλλήλους κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, ἡ δὲ ἡραίωται τε καὶ χωρὶς πιλήσεως γίνεται, ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ αὐτῆ σφοδρότητος κατὰ τὰς προσβολὰς ἐπειδὴν μὴ βάδην τε καὶ κατ' 25 ὀλίγον προσπίπτῃ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀλλὰ μετὰ ὀξύτερου τοῦ κινήματος. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ καταπληκτικόν πως τοῖς μὴ σφόδρα πεπειραμέ-  
A f. 9<sup>v</sup> νοις πολέμου.

Πῶς μὲν οὖν δεῖ συντάττειν φάλαγγα καὶ πῶς ὀπλίζειν ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι τεταγμένων διὰ τούτων ἡμῖν εἴρηται. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ 30 μόνον δεῖ συντάξαι φάλαγγα ἀλλὰ καὶ κινήσαι, ῥητέον καὶ περὶ κινήσεως.

17: K-R 104, Erek 47.

17: 1 ιζ' M: θ' A: om. P || 3-4 καὶ οἱ μετὰ . . . τεταγμένοι A: om. MP || 4-5 καὶ οἱ οὐραγοὶ . . . ταττόμενοι MP: om. A || 7 ἐμπειρίαν A: ἐμπειρία MP || 9 καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν MP: ὥστε A || ζυγοῦ MP: στίχου A || 10-11 τῶν ὤμων . . . πλευρῶν MP: τῶν πλευρῶν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν φθάνειν A

### ιη'.

Κατὰ πόσους τρόπους κινεῖται φάλαγξ.

Κινεῖται τοίνυν φάλαγξ κατὰ τρόπους πέντε: καθ' ὁδοιπορίαν, κατὰ στροφὴν τοῦ μετώπου, κατ' ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν σχήματος, καθ' ἔνωσην διηρημένης φάλαγγος, κατὰ διαίρεσιν ἐνοειδοῦς φάλαγγος.

Περὶ ὁδοιπορίας φάλαγγος.

Ἄοδοιπορία ἔστιν φάλαγγος κινήσις ἐνόπλου στρατεύματος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φέρουσα. ἵνα δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν 10 ὁδοιπορίαν στρατεύματος καλῶς ἀκούειν ἔχωμεν, ἀνάγκη περὶ χωρίων διαλαβεῖν πρότερον καθ' ἃ διέρχεται τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ πρὸ γε τούτων εἰπεῖν περὶ τε παραγωγῆς καὶ ἐπαγωγῆς. ἔστι δὲ παραγωγή ὅταν φάλαγξ φάλαγγι κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐν διαστάσει παραπορεύηται. ταύτης δὲ τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ὀνομάζουσιν, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον, καὶ δεξιὰν 15 μὲν λέγουσιν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ τεταγμένην τῆς φάλαγγος, εὐώνυμον δὲ

will not be injured by caltrops and similar devices.

The cavalry phalanx, however, does differ from the infantry one. The latter is closed up very tightly, which gives it an irresistible weight as the men crowd together and push one another forward upon the enemy. The cavalry phalanx, on the other hand, is loose and without such crowding. But it too possesses its own kind of forcefulness in attacking, since it does not fall upon the enemy in a slow or measured way but charges at full speed. This charge is really terrifying to men who have not had years of combat experience.

We have, then, described how the phalanx should be formed and how the individual soldiers in it should be armed. But, since the phalanx must not only be formed but also moved, we now take up the subject of movement.

### 18.

The Number of Ways in Which a Phalanx Moves.

A phalanx may make five kinds of movements. There is the regular march, the change of front, the changing of its own formation, uniting a phalanx which has been split up, dividing a unified phalanx.

A Phalanx on the March.

A phalanx on the march means the movement of an army equipped for action either toward or away from the enemy. In order to have a clear understanding of all aspects of an army's marching, we must first consider the terrain through which the army is passing, but even before this we must discuss marches in line and marches in column. A march is said to be in line when one phalanx proceeds along at a proper interval by the side of another phalanx. The unit positioned on the right of the phalanx is designated as the right, while that on the left is spoken of as the left.

τὴν ἐν εὐωνύμοις. ἐπαγωγή δὲ ἐστὶν ὅταν φάλαγξ φάλαγγι κατ' οὐρὰν ἔπηται.

Τῶν δὲ χωρίων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν εὐρύχωρά τε καὶ ὀμαλά, τὰ δὲ στενά τε καὶ ὀμαλά καὶ ἀμφίλοφα, τινὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κρημνώδη τε καὶ ἀνώμαλα, τὰ δὲ ὑλώδη τε καὶ κατάδενδρα. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν εὐρύχωρα ἢ τὰ χωρία καὶ ὀμαλά, κατὰ παραγωγήν χρὴ διαβιβάζειν τὰς φάλαγγας, ἐὰν δὲ στενά τε καὶ ὀμαλά καὶ ἀμφίλοφα, κατ' ἐπαγωγήν, τὸ μὲν μῆκος αὐτῶν ὑποτέμνοντας, τὴν δὲ κατὰ βάθος τάξιν οὐ λύοντας. χρὴ δὲ πάντως ἀναλόγως τῷ πλάτει τῶν τοιούτων χωρίων τῶν ζυγῶν ποιῆσθαι τὸ μῆκος, ὡς μήτε τοὺς ὁδοίπο | ροῦντας στενοχωρεῖσθαι μήτε τῶν στίχων ἐλαττουμένων παραταθῆναι τὸν χρόνον τῆς διαβάσεως. εἰ δὲ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τὴν τοιαύτην πορείαν ποιούμεθα, μὴ πρότερον τῆς πορείας ἐπιλαμβά | νεσθαι πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐκατέρωθεν λόφους διὰ τινῶν τῶν εἰς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδείων προκαταλάβωμεν, ἵνα μὴ τούτους κατα-  
 M f. 115<sup>v</sup> 25  
 A f. 10  
 30

σχόντες οἱ πολέμιοι κωλύσωσιν ἡμῶν τὴν διάβασιν.  
 Εἰ δὲ κρημνώδη τε καὶ ἀνώμαλα εἴη τὰ χωρία καὶ πολὺν ἀπειλοῦντα τοῖς ἐλευσομένοις τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀπαραίτητος δὲ ἡ τούτων διάβασις, καθαίρειν τε καὶ ὀμαλίζειν αὐτὰ ἐφ' ὅσον ἀκινδύνως διελθεῖν τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ μίαν ἴλην ἢ καὶ δύο. πολλάκις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις πορείαις ἐνέδρας ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ πολέμιοι διὸ δεῖ πρότερον δια-  
 35

σκεπεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους εἰς ἐνέδρας καὶ τούτους προκαταλαμβάνοντας ἢ καὶ τοὺς προκατειληφότες τῶν πολεμίων ἀποδιώξαντας πρότερον οὕτω διαβιβάζειν τὸ στρατεύμα.  
 Εἰ δὲ ὑλώδης τε καὶ κατάδενδρος ὁ τόπος εἴη, χρὴ πρότερον τοὺς  
 40

χθαμαλωτέρους κλάδους τῶν δένδρων κατατεμόντας ἀνάπτειν—ἢ γὰρ κάτωθεν ἀναδιδομένη φλόξ καὶ τὰ ὕψη τῶν δένδρων εὐχερῶς κατανέμεται—καὶ οὕτως δι' αὐτῶν διέρχεσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα χρὴ φέρειν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἀξίνας διπλὴν ἀκμὴν ἐχούσας, τὴν μὲν ὀρθίαν, τὴν δὲ πλαγίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ὀρθίαν πρὸς  
 45

δένδρων τομάς, τὴν δὲ πλαγίαν διὰ τοὺς καθομαλισμούς τῶν στενοχωρίων καὶ ἐπικινδύνων ὁδῶν.  
 Ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ κατὰ πετρῶν δι' ἀνάγκης ἔχομεν πορεύεσθαι. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο τριχῶς, ἢ τῆς ὁδοῦ παρατραπέντες ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τόπων  
 50

παρατεῖσθαι τὴν ἐν ποσὶν οὐ δυνάμενοι, ἢ λαθεῖν κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν τοὺς πολέμιους βουλόμενοι, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διωκόμενοι καὶ φερόμενοι οὐχ ὅποι καὶ θέλομεν. διὸ δεῖ ὄξει τὰς πέτρας καταρράναντας  
 55

εἶτα πυρῶσαντας διὰ τῶν παρακειμένων ξύλων ἀκίνδυνον παρέχειν τῷ λαῷ τὴν διάβασιν· ἢ τε γὰρ πέτρα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄξους καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς  
 λυομένη καὶ ἡ τέφρα τῶν ξύλων ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας πίπτουσα ἄλυπον  
 55

παρέξει τῷ στρατῷ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν. ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἄννιβας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἐξοδὸν κωλυόμενος.]

A march is said to be in column when one phalanx follows along behind the other.

There are various kinds of terrain: open plains and level ground, and passes, some of which may be level with hills surrounding them, while others may be precipitous and rough, and still others may be wooded and full of thickets. Now, then, if the country is open and level, the units should march along in line, but if there are passes with level ground surrounded by hills, then they should proceed in column. The width of the force should be reduced without breaking up the formation in depth. The width of the ranks should certainly be made to correspond to the width of the space before them. The troops should not be crowded as they march along, but neither should the ranks be thinned so much that the time of the passage is unduly stretched out. If this kind of passage is to be made in hostile territory, we should not undertake it before first making sure that suitable detachments have occupied the heights on both sides to prevent the enemy from seizing them and blocking our passage.

But if the terrain is precipitous and rough and poses great danger to the men approaching it, and if it is impossible to avoid passing through it, then the ground should be cleared and leveled enough to allow the army to pass through safely in one or even two files. It is in such passes that the enemy very often lay ambushes. We should, consequently, first reconnoiter likely places for an ambush and occupy them ourselves ahead of time or after having driven out the enemy if they have occupied them, and only then have the army march through.

If the place is wooded or full of thickets, the lower branches of the trees should first be cut off and set on fire, for the flames shooting up from below will easily spread in the tops of the trees. Then we can pass through the area. For this purpose each soldier should carry with him an axe with two blades, one straight and the other at right angles; the straight blade is to be used in cutting trees, and the other to level off narrow and dangerous roadways.

There are times when we have to march through rocky regions. This can happen in three ways: we may have turned off the right road owing to ignorance of the territory and be unable to avoid following the one before us; or we may want to enter the enemy's land without being detected; or we may have been pursued by the enemy and find ourselves where we do not want to be. In such cases we can get the troops through safely by pouring vinegar over the rocks and heating them by burning the wood lying about. The rocks will be broken up by the vinegar and the fire. The wood ashes, too, falling on the rocks will make the roadbed less troublesome for the army. Hannibal did this once when the Romans blocked his departure route.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Livy, 21, 37; Appian, *Roman History*, 7, 1, 4. See note by E. T. Sage, *Classical Weekly*, 16 (1922-23), 73-76. Late in the sixth century fire and vinegar were used to break up rocks to level the site for a church: *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. A. J. Festugière (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 48; Brussels, 1970), chap. 55, p. 47. The scribe of the Laurentian manuscript has added or copied the comment: "Even nature teaches us how to do this, regardless of whether some Hannibal had done it."

18: K-R 106, Erck 48.

18: 1 *τη* M: *ι'* A: om. P || 7 *περι* MP: *ια' περι* A || 20 *ύλωδη* M: *έλωδη* AP || *οὖν* A: om. MP || 21 *διαβιβάζειν* A: *βαδίζειν* MP || 29 *εἰς τοῦτο* MP: om. A || 31 *εἴη* MP: *ἦ* A || 35 *ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν* MP: *εἰώθασιν ποιεῖν* A || *δεῖ* A: *δή* MP || 38 *οὕτω* MP: *ἔπειτα* A || 39 *ύλώδης* K-R: *έλώδης* codd. || 42-43 *διὰ . . . στρατιωτῶν* MP: *φέρειν μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον διὰ ταῦτα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον* A || 44-46 *καὶ τὴν . . . ὁδῶν* A: *διὰ τὰς στενοχώρους ὁδοὺς* MP || 48 *τόπων* A: *ποταμῶν* MP || 50 *καὶ φερόμενοι . . . θέλομεν* A: om. MP || 55 *παρέξει* MP: *παρέχει* A || 56 *κωλυόμενος* A: *κωλυόμενος. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ φύσις διδάσκαλος κἂν μὴ τις Ἀντίβας τοῦτο πεποίηκεν* MP

18: Cf. Asclepiodotum, 11; Arrianum, p. 42. || 55 Titus Livius, 21, 37.

A f. 10<sup>v</sup>

ιθ'.

Περὶ διαβάσεως ποταμῶν.

Ἐπει δὲ ὁδοιπορία γίνεται οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ'  
 5 ἐπὶ πολὺ βάθος ἔχουσι, καθάπερ Ἴστρος, οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ἔλαττον, καθάπερ  
 M f. 116 Εὐφράτης. ὅσοι τοίνυν τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ βάθος | ἔχουσι, τούτους  
 διαπλευσαι ῥάδιον· τὰ γὰρ ἄγαν εἰς βάθος καθήκοντα γαληνὸν ὡς ἐπὶ  
 πολὺ ῥέουσιν. εἰ δὲ μήτε σφόδρα βάθος ἔχουσιν μετὰ πολλῆς δὲ τῆς  
 ῥύμης φέρονται, ἀνάγκη τέχνη προσχρήσασθαι. διὸ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς  
 10 τοιούτους τῶν ποταμῶν βούττεις συζεύξαντες, οἱ δὲ ἡμικιβωτίους  
 χρησάμενοι τὸν ποταμὸν διεπέρασαν.

Ἄμεινον δὲ καὶ εἰ διὰ κιβωτίων ὑποστέγων διελθεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν  
 ἔχομεν· λυσιτελές γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ εἴ τινες παρὰ τὰς ἐναντίας ὄχθας  
 τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐφεστηκότες πειρῶνται κατέχειν τὸν πόρον ὀλιγώτεροι  
 15 ἡμῶν ὄντες. οἱ τε γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τῆς στέγης τῶν κιβωτίων ἐφεστηκό-  
 τες ὡς ἐν ἐπάλξεσιν στανίσιν μέχρι τῶν στέρνων φυλαττόμενοι βέ-  
 λεσί τε καὶ πετροβόλους μηχαναῖς ἀποπέμπειν αὐτοὺς δύνανται, καὶ  
 οἱ κάτω τούτων πάντοθεν πύλας ἔχοντες δι' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζονται. κα-  
 λὸν δὲ καὶ σχοινίοις τὴν κιβωτὸν διαδήσαντας κατέχειν ἔξωθεν, ὡς ἂν  
 20 αὐτὰς εἰς ἀσύμφορον ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἀπελανομένας εἰς ἑαυτοὺς  
 πάλιν ἔλκειν καὶ συνέχειν δυνάμεθα.

Ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ σχεδίαις κέχρηται. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ καὶ μιᾷ σχε-  
 δία βούλεται διαβιβᾶσαι τὸ στράτευμα. ποιεῖ δὲ ὧδε· διαμετρήσας τὸ

19.

Crossing Rivers.

Since journeys are made not only on dry land but also across water, it is necessary to talk about crossing rivers. Some rivers, such as the Danube, are very deep, while others, such as the Euphrates, are more shallow. It is easier to sail across the very deep ones, for as a general rule very deep rivers flow more gently. But if they are not really deep, and the current is quite violent, then certain techniques must be employed. For rivers of this sort, then, some have lashed barrels together, and others have used open boats to cross the river.

It is better, then, if we have boats with decks to cross the river. They can be used even if some of the natives, provided they are fewer than we are, take their stand on the opposite bank and try to hold the crossing. Our men standing above on the deck of the ships, and protected by breast-high wooden parapets, can drive them off by using artillery to fire missiles and stones, while the men below deck carry on their part in the fight by shooting through the portholes. It is a good idea to secure the boats tightly by ropes around the hulls, so that if they are carried away by the current into a dangerous position, we can haul them back again and keep them together.

Other commanders have made use of rafts. Apollodoros, for instance, would like to convey his army across on a single raft.<sup>1</sup> He proceeds in the following man-



- πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἐγχωροῦντα τρόπον πλέον ἢ κατὰ τοῦτο  
 25 τῆς σχεδίας τὸ μήκος ποιεῖ. οἰκοδομεῖ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ  
 γειτονεῦει τῇ γῆ, ἀνίστησι δὲ καὶ πύργον καθ' ἓν τι τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῆς,  
 ὃ δὴ πρὸς τὸ ἄνω μέρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ τέτακται καὶ ὃ προκαταλαβεῖν  
 τὴν ἀντικρὺς ὄχθην βούλεται. ἀνεγείρει δὲ καὶ τεῖχος ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐκ  
 ξύλων κατεσκευασμένων καὶ κλίμακας ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ. ἐπειδὴν δὲ  
 A f. 11 30 ταύτην εἰς τέλος ἀγάγη, τὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῆς συνέχειν ἐκτὸς | βού-  
 λεται, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἄκρον, ὃ δὴ βλέπει πρὸς τὸ ἄνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 μέρος, ἀπωθεῖν καὶ ἀποπέμπειν κατὰ τοῦ ρεύματος. τῆς δὲ σχεδίας  
 πλαγίας κατὰ ῥοὴν φερομένης παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἂν αὐτὴν δύνασθαι,  
 θάτερον μὲν τῶν ἄκρων κατεχομένου, θάτερον δὲ προσπεσόντος τῇ  
 35 ὄχθῃ τῶν ἐναντίων, διὰ τὸ πλέον ἔχειν αὐτὴν μήκος ἢ τὸ πλάτος τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ. εἶτα καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου αὐτῆς ἄκρου ἀφιεμένου κατὰ τοῦ ὕδατος  
 παράλληλον ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι τὴν σχεδίαν τῇ ὄχθῃ τῶν ἐναντίων,  
 τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀναβάοντας διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων ἐπὶ τε τὸν πύργον  
 καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου βάλλοντος ἀποδιώκειν.  
 40 Καὶ ἡ μὲν φαντασία τοῦ ἔργου λόγον ἴσως ἔχει, ἀγνοῶ δὲ εἰ καὶ  
 τὰ πράγματα συνακολουθήσει τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὅρα μοι. εἴτε γὰρ στενὸς  
 M f. 116' ἔστιν ὁ ποταμὸς, κωλύει πάντως | εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι τὴν κτίσιν τῆς σχεδίας  
 τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ βέλη· εἰ δὲ μὴ φθάνει, οὐκ ἂν τηλικούτου μέγεθος  
 σχεδίας γενέσθαι ἢ κινηθῆναι δυνήσεται. τὸ τε γὰρ πλάτος τῆς σχε-  
 45 δίας ἀνάλογον πάντως ἔσται τῷ μήκει αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ ταύτην καθ'  
 ἑκάτερον τῶν ἄκρων ἀπτομένην ἑκατέρου τῶν ὄχθων καθάπερ τι τό-  
 ξον συνάξῃ τὸ ρεῦμα καὶ που καὶ διακόψῃ. ἔσται δὲ πάντως καὶ τὸ  
 βάθος τῷ πλάτει ἀνάλογον, ὅποτε καὶ μάλιστα πύργον καὶ τεῖχος  
 ἔχει τῇ σχεδίᾳ συμπαρατεινόμενον καὶ πλήθος στρατοῦ πολεμήσαι  
 50 δυνάμενον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ βάθος τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἡ κτίσις ταύτης πάντως  
 ἀδύνατος· εἴτε γὰρ τεναγῶδες ἔστι τὸ μέρος ἐκεῖνο τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν ᾧ  
 τὴν σχεδίαν οἰκοδομήσομεν, οὐκ ἂν κατ' αὐτὸ ἡ σχεδία πλεῦσαι δυ-  
 νήσεται, εἰ δὲ μὴ σφόδρα τεναγῶδες ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον βάθος ἔχει, εἰ μὴ  
 καὶ πλέον εἰπεῖν, ὅποσον ἂν τὸ τῆς σχεδίας ἔστιν, καὶ ρεῦμα ὀξύ που  
 55 πάντως ἔξει ὃ διακωλύσει τὴν κτίσιν τῆς σχεδίας ἀενάως φερόμενον.  
 Ἔμοι δὲ μάλλον ἀσφαλέστερον ἔδοξε ναυσὶ χρήσασθαι, ἃς οὐκ  
 A f. 11ν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ποταμῶν ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀδείας | αὐτὰς εὐκαίρως ναυπηγήσο-  
 μεν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταύτας καλῶς συναρμολογήσωμεν καὶ τρήσωμεν  
 κατὰ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους τόπους, εἶτα καταγράψωμεν ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν  
 60 ὅπῃ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τοῦ πλοίου τέτακται, τότε τὰ μὲν  
 ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν ἐπιφορτίσαντες τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ὑποζυγίων μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔλκο-  
 μεν, ἵν' ὅτε τὸν ποταμὸν καταλάβωμεν πάλιν εἰς ἄλληλα τὰ τῶν νεῶν  
 ξύλα συναρμολογήσαντες τε καὶ συμβιβάσαντες εἶτα πίσσῃ τε ἢ  
 κηρῷ καὶ στέατι τὰς ἀρμονίας τῶν ξύλων ἀσφαλισάμενοι τὰς ναῦς  
 65 ἀπεργασόμεθα.

ner. After measuring the width of the river in whatever way is convenient, he has a raft constructed which is the same or greater in length. He has it built in the water along the bank. He then erects a tower on the end of the raft which is pointed upstream and which he intends to use to seize hold of the opposite bank. He also puts up a wall on it made of wooden planks and puts some ladders into place. When all this has been completed, he proposes that one end of the raft be secured to the land, while the other end, the one which is pointed upstream, should be shoved off and made to drift with the current. As the raft is being borne along sideways by the current, it cannot be carried away, since one end is firmly secured and the other will hit against the bank held by the enemy, since the raft is longer than the width of the river. The other end of the raft is then let go in the water, and it will, of course, swing parallel to the enemy's bank. The soldiers then climb the ladders to the tower and the parapet and drive off the enemy by shooting down upon them.

In theory this operation may seem reasonable, but in practice I do not think it will work out so well. Look at it more closely. If the river is narrow, I am certain that enemy arrows will easily prevent the construction of the raft. Even if there should be no worry on that score, it would be impossible to build such huge rafts or to maneuver them. The width of the raft should obviously be proportionate to its length; otherwise when both ends are secured to each bank, the current will bend it like a bow and eventually break it in two. Moreover, the depth has to be proportionate to its width, especially since the raft also has to provide support for a tower, parapets, and a large fighting force. If it is to be deep enough for this, then the whole construction becomes impossible. For if the river is shallow at the point at which we intend to build the raft, we will not be able to float it there. If, on the other hand, that part of the river is not too shallow but deep enough, or even deeper, than is needed to float the raft, we can certainly expect the current there to flow strong and steady enough to prevent construction of the raft.

In my opinion it is much safer to make use of boats. These we can construct, not on the rivers themselves, but ahead of time at our leisure.<sup>2</sup> When these have been well shaped and fitted, holes bored in the right places, and each piece marked to indicate where it belongs in assembling the vessel, then some parts should be carefully loaded on wagons and some on pack animals and transported with us. Then, when we reach the river, the timbers of the ships may again be fitted together and reassembled, their joints caulked with pitch, wax, and lard, and the ships made ready for service.

Αἱ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦται μερικαὶ διαβάσεις τῶν στρατευμάτων γίνονται ὅταν μὴ τὸ πολέμιον ἀντικάθῃται ἢ τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὅσον καὶ οἷον πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀποδιώκειν δυνάμεθα, εἴτε διὰ τῶν πλοίων, εἴτε διὰ τῶν ἄλλων δι' ὧν ἐλέγομεν. περὶ μὲν οὖν πλεομένων  
70 ποταμῶν ταῦτα.

Τοὺς δὲ γε ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς φερομένους καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους τε καὶ ἐξόδους ἀνεμποδίστους ἔχοντας, εἴτε ὀξὺ ρέουσιν εἴτε μὴ, καὶ εἴτε τὸ πολέμιον ἀντικάθῃται εἴτε καὶ μὴ, ῥάδιον διελθεῖν ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ δυνατῶς ἔχωμεν πρὸς πάντας αὐτῶν ἀντιμάχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος  
75 τῶν Περσῶν καταλαβόντων τὸν πόρον αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος μαχεσάμενος τὸν ποταμὸν διεπέρασεν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ γυμνοὶ μόνα τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ὅπλα φέροντες, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ μέχρι θώρακος καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ θώρακα ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατακαλύψαντες διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀγωνισάμενοι παρήλθον τὸν ποταμὸν.  
M f. 117

80 Δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ διώρυχας εἰς σχήματα ἡμικυκλίων ἀνορύξαντας παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀρχομένας μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν καὶ αὐθις εἰς αὐτὸν κάτωθεν ἐπιστρεφομένας, ἐλκύσαι τε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκεῖθεν καὶ διελεῖν καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιστρέψαι, ὥστε ὑπομηθέντος τοῦ βάθους τῇ διαιρέσει τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ ρεύματος ἐλαττωθέντος ἀκινδύνως ἐκεῖσε διαβιβάσαι τὸ πᾶν τοῦ στρατεύματος. Κῦρος  
85 πρῶτος τοῦτο ποιεῖ, δύο τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος ἀποβελῆ | κῶς καὶ ἀστραγάλῳ γυναικὸς περατὸν ἔσσεσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπειλήσας.  
A f. 12

Πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος μὴ κωλύοντος διὰ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαθείας οὔσας ἀδύνατος ἔδοξεν ἢ διάβασις. ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατος, τὰς γὰρ παρ' ἐκάτερα ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡρέμα πῶς διορύττοντες καθόδους τε καὶ ἀνόδους ἀπέναντι ἀλλήλων ποιεῖν δυνασόμεθα, δι' ὧν διαβιβάσομεν τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τοῦτο γινόμενον καὶ κατενοδούμενον. εἶχε δὲ καὶ τι δυσχερὲς ἢ διάβασις, καὶ γὰρ  
95 ἀλύτως πολλῶν πρότερον διαβεβηκότων κατασταζόμεναι ὑπὸ τῶν παριόντων αἱ ἀνοδοὶ τελματώδεις ἐγίνοντο. καλάμη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῦταις ἐπιστρωννυμένη καὶ κλάδοι ἄλυπον τῶν ἐξῆς τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιήσαντο. δοκοὶ δὲ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνόδοις ἐπ' εὐθείας προτιθέμεναι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἕτεραι πλάγια καθηλωμέναι ἀσφαλεστέραν παρέξουσι τὴν διάβασιν.  
100

Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ἐναντίαν ὄχθην κατέχοντας καὶ κωλύοντας τὴν διάβασιν (ἀπατήσαντες) ἀκωλύτως διήλθον τὸν πόρον. νυκτὸς γὰρ ὑπὸ λόφον γενόμενοι ὥστε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὴ φαίνεσθαι, ἀπομοιρᾶν τινα στρατεύματος πέμπουσιν ἵππειαν κόπρον ἐπιφερομένους καὶ ταύτην ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἀναδραμόντας τὸν ποταμὸν ρίψαι κατὰ  
105 τοῦ ρείθρου κελεύουσιν. τῆς δὲ καταφερομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος οἱ τὸν πόρον κατέχοντες ἰδόντες αὐτὴν καὶ πεισθέντες ἄνωθεν διαβε-

Such crossings by detachments of the army are made when there is no enemy force on the other side or when its numbers or fighting ability are such that we can fight and drive them away. For these crossings boats or the other methods we have mentioned may be used. These remarks, then, about navigable rivers should be enough.

Shallow streams that present no obstacles to getting in and getting out are quite easily crossed whether they are swiftly flowing or not and whether an enemy force opposes the crossing or not, provided, of course, that our own force is strong enough to fight against all of them. Alexander, for example, successfully crossed a river at a ford held by the Persians by going into the water and personally taking part in the fighting.<sup>3</sup> Some soldiers have discarded their armor and with only the weapons they could carry in their hands have waded into the stream up to their chests, and, covering the upper part of their bodies with their shields, they have fought their way through the water across the river.<sup>4</sup>

It is also possible to dig trenches in a semicircular shape along the bank of the river, beginning upstream and rejoining the river further down. This should siphon off the water at that point, make it flow through the canal, and return it to the river again. Drawing off the water in this way lowers the depth, reduces the force of the current, and enables the whole army to cross over without danger. Cyrus was the first to do this. He had had a couple of his soldiers swept away by the current, and boasted that he would see to it that the river could be crossed, ankle deep, even by a woman.<sup>5</sup>

It may often happen that the stream itself presents no obstacle, but the steep banks of the river make a crossing appear impossible. But it is not impossible. We can dig out the banks of the river a little bit on both sides and make entrance and exit ramps opposite each other by which the army can march across. I know of a case in which the roadbed was prepared in this fashion. The crossing became a little difficult. After a large number of troops had passed without incident, the ramps became muddy because of the constant trampling of the men. Reeds and branches were spread over the roadway, and the crossing continued without any problem. An even better way of making the passage safe is by laying down beams in a straight line on the ramps and then nailing planks across them.

Some have forded a stream without incident by deceiving the enemy force holding the opposite bank and preventing anyone from crossing. By night the troops moved behind a hill so that they were not seen at daybreak. A detachment of the army was sent out. They carried a large amount of horse manure, and their orders were to ride a good distance up the river and dump the manure into the stream. When the men who guarded the ford saw this carried down by the current, they were convinced that the army had crossed the river further up, and so they aban-

βηκέναι τὸ στράτευμα φεύγουσι τὸν ποταμὸν καταλιπόντες, οἱ δὲ τῶν  
λόφων προκύψαντες καὶ τὸν πόρον διελθόντες κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων  
110 ἐχώρουν.

19: K-R 110, Erck 50.

19: 1 ιθ' M: ιβ' A: om. P || 2 titulum ponit hic Erck: post ποταμῶν (lin. 4) codd. || 14-15 ὀλιγώτεροι ἡμῶν ὄντες MP: μετριωτέραν τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντες τῶν ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις ἀπρη-  
θμημένων A || 21 ἔλκειν καὶ MP: om. A || 28 ἀντικρὺς MP: ἀντικρῦ A || βούλεται MP: διανοώμεθα  
A || 35-36 διὰ . . . ποταμοῦ A: om. MP || 46 ἀπτομένην A: ἀπτομένη MP || 52 δυνήσεται A:  
δυνήσεται MP || 61 ἐφ' A: ἐπ' MP || 67 τὸ A: om. MP || 72 καὶ A: om. MP || 77 εἰσελθόντες A: om.  
MP || 95 κατασταζόμενοι MA: κατασπαζόμενοι P || 99 καθηλωμένοι K-R: καθηλουμένοι codd.  
|| 102 ἀπατήσαντες K-R: om. codd. || 106 βεύματος A: κύματος MP

57 cf. Arrianum, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 5, 8-15. || 74-76 cf. *ibid.*, 1, 14-15. || 85-88 Xenophon,  
*Cyropaedia*, 7, 5, 9-20.

⟨κ'.

Πῶς δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι τὰς αἰφνιδίους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις.)

Δεῖ δὲ πάντως ὁδοιποροῦντας ἡμᾶς κατὰ τε ξηρὰν καὶ ὑγρὰν,  
ὁπότε καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν πολεμίαν κινούμεθα ἢ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς  
5 πλησιάζομεν, μὴ ἀνυπόπτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς αἰφνιδίους τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
ἐπιθέσεις, ἀλλ' ὑφορᾶσθαι ταύτας. τὸ γὰρ "οὐκ ᾤμην," ὡς τις ἔφη  
M f. 117<sup>r</sup> τῶν παλαιῶν, οὐ πᾶν στρατηγικόν. διὸ δὴ τῆς αἰφνιδίου ἐπιστάσι-  
A f. 12<sup>v</sup> τῶν πολεμίων φειδομένους ἡμᾶς νῦν μὲν ἔνθεν, νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ  
τὰς πλευρὰς τοῦ στρατεύματος τάττειν ἀναγκαῖον τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ  
10 δὴ στόματα καὶ πλευραὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ὀνομάζονται, οὐχ ὅτι πέρατά  
εἰσιν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῦ στρατεύματος, οὐδ' ὅτι παρ' ἑκάτερα τῆς φά-  
λαγγος τάττονται καθ' ἃ πρότερον αὐτὰ ὀνομάζομεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι συνέ-  
χουσιν καὶ φυλάττουσιν τοὺς οἰκείους διὰ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν κατορθω-  
μάτων τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντιπαττόμενοι.  
15 Ὅθεν μονόπλευρος φάλαγξ καὶ δίπλευρος καὶ τρίπλευρος καὶ  
τετράπλευρος ὀνομάζεται. καὶ μονόπλευρος μὲν φάλαγξ λέγεται ἢ  
κατὰ μίαν πλευρὰν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσα τεταγμένους, δίπλευρος δὲ  
ἢ κατὰ δύο πλευρὰς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσα τεταγμένους, ὡσαύτως

done their position at the river. The troops hidden behind the hill then forded the  
river and went after the enemy.

<sup>1</sup>This may refer to Apollodoros of Damascus, who oversaw the construction of a bridge over the  
Danube for Emperor Trajan in A.D. 104-5: Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, 4, 6.

<sup>2</sup>Compare the crossing of the Hydaspes by Alexander the Great in the summer of 327 B.C.: Ar-  
rian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 5, 8-15.

<sup>3</sup>This may refer to Alexander's fighting his way across the Granicus River in 334 B.C.: Arrian,  
*Anabasis of Alexander*, 1, 14-15.

<sup>4</sup>One may, for example, recall the crossing of the Kentrites by the Greek mercenaries: Xenophon,  
*Anabasis*, 4, 3.

<sup>5</sup>Xenophon (*Education of Cyrus*, 7, 5, 9-20) records the diverting of the river but not the boast  
of Cyrus.

[20.

Guarding against Surprise Attacks by the Enemy.]

When our troops are either marching overland or crossing water, especially  
when we are moving into hostile territory or getting close to the enemy, we must  
always be on the lookout for surprise attacks by the enemy and not be caught un-  
awares. As one of the ancient authors said, a general should never have to say "I  
didn't think of that."<sup>1</sup> With this in mind, to guard against surprise attacks by the  
enemy, we have to station the leaders who are called the front and the flanks of the  
army sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. It is not only that these  
leaders stand at the edges of the army, or that they are stationed on both sides of the  
phalanx, according to the terms we employed earlier, but because with their quali-  
ties of leadership they are posted facing the enemy, and so hold together and protect  
their own men.

Thus we speak of a phalanx with one front or with two, three, and four fronts.  
By phalanx with one front is meant one which has the leaders formed on one side.  
The phalanx with two fronts has the leaders formed on two sides, and in like manner

καὶ τρίπλευρος καὶ τετράπλευρος ἢ κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας πλευρὰς  
 20 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσα τεταγμένους. κὰν μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν  
 μέρος ὁ ἐχθρὸς μάλιστα ὑποπτεύηται, ἐκεῖσε τὸν στρατηγὸν τε-  
 τάχθαι, ἂν δ' ἐπὶ νῶτον, κατόπιον ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ δὲ κατὰ μίαν τῶν  
 πλευρῶν, κατ' ἐκείνην καὶ αὐτὸν φέρεσθαι. εἰ δὲ πάντως μὲν ὑπο-  
 πτεύεται, ἄδηλον δὲ καθ' ὃ μέρος ἐπιστήσεται, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα ἐπὶ  
 25 τοῦ ἰδίου στήσεσθαι τόπον, ἐπιστήσαι δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν ἄλλων  
 πλευρῶν καθάπερ τινὰς ὑποστρατήγους συντηροῦντας τὴν ἐν αὐταῖς  
 τάξιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπάντησιν ἐντρεπιζομένους.

Χρῆ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ φύλακας ἀναγκαῖον ἔχειν παρ' ἑκάτερα  
 τῆς φάλαγγος τεταγμένους, τοὺς μὲν πόρρωθεν κατασκοποῦντας τὰς  
 30 τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφανείας, τοὺς δὲ πλησιαίτερον παραθέοντας, ὡς ἂν  
 τάχιον ἡμῖν δι' αὐτῶν ἀπαγγέλληται ἢ τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρουσία. τοὺς δὲ  
 φύλακας εἶναι δεόν ἱππότας εἰς τὸ μήτε ῥαδίως ἀλίσκεσθαι μήτε  
 βραδύνειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀραθέντων ἢ ἀκουσθέντων ἀπαγγελίαν, φρο-  
 νίμους τε τὴν φύσιν καὶ ἐμπείρους θορύβων τε καὶ κατασκοπῆς καὶ  
 35 μάλιστα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν οἷς ἢ τοιαύτη φροντίς ἐπιτέτραπται,  
 ὥστε μὴ τοὺς τυχόντας ἐπὶ τοῦτο σταλέντες εὐδοκιμη-  
 κότες γινώσκονται. δεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐμπείρους εἶναι καθ'  
 οὓς τῆς φάλαγγος προπορεύονται ἢ παραπορεύονται, ἵνα μὴ κατ' ἀγ-  
 40 νοουμένων τόπων φερόμενοι πολλάκις κινδυνεύοιεν ὅποτε ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν μάλιστα γνωσθέντες καταδιώκονται. καλὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπι-  
 45 κινδυνότερους τῶν τόπων ἀπογράφειν, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι εἰς  
 ἐνέδρας εἰσὶν ἐπιτήδειοι, ἵν' αὐθις ἐν καιρῷ ἐκεῖσε διαβαίνοντες  
 φυλαττώμεθα.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὁδοιπορίας στρατοῦ ὅπως γίνεται κατὰ τε ξηρὰν  
 καὶ ὑγρὰν, καὶ ὅπως χρῆ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φυλάττεσθαι τὰς αἰφνιδίους ἐπι-  
 50 στασίας δι' ὑποψίας αὐτὰς ἔχοντας, ἱκανῶς ἴσως ἂν ἔχειν δόξειεν τὰ  
 παρόντα. ὅπως δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἢ νῶτα ἐπιφανέντων  
 ἡμῖν κλίνειν τε καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ ἐξελίττειν ῥαδίως τὴν φάλαγγα  
 55 δυνησόμεθα, ὥστε ἀεὶ τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φάλαγγι ἀντιμέτωπον τὴν  
 ἡμετέραν καθίστασθαι, διὰ τούτων ῥηθήσεται.

20: K-R 120, Ercck 53.

20: 1 κ' De: om. codd. || 2 πῶς . . . ἐπιθέσεις De: πῶς δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι K-R: om. codd. || 9  
 τὰς A: om. MP || 17-18 δίπλευρος . . . τεταγμένους A: om. MP || 21 μέρος MP: om. A || 39 ἢ  
 παραπορεύονται A: om. MP || 47 αὐτὰς MP: αὐτοὺς A

the one with three and four fronts has the leaders formed on three and four sides. If we have good reason to suspect that the enemy are going to be in front of us, then the general should station himself there; if to the rear of us, then he should move to the rear; if to one of the flanks, the general should move over there. If we suspect that the enemy are all around us and it is uncertain where they will attack, then the commander should remain at his regular place and send some junior officers to command each of the other fronts, to see that their formation is maintained and to make preparations for an encounter with the enemy.

In addition to these it is necessary to have guards stationed on both sides of the phalanx, some off at a distance to observe any movement of the enemy, while others should reconnoiter further in. The presence of the enemy will thus be more quickly reported. These guards should be mounted to help in preventing capture and to avoid any delay in reporting what they have seen and heard. They should be naturally intelligent, experienced in distinguishing sounds, and keen observers, especially their leaders, upon whom this responsibility rests. Men, even if they are qualified soldiers in other respects, should not be assigned indiscriminately to this duty, but only those who have given proof of their competence when previously sent on such missions. They must also know the country in which they ride ahead or off to the side of the phalanx. If they are not familiar with the country, they will be in constant danger, especially if they are discovered and pursued by the enemy. A good plan is to make sketches of the more dangerous places, and more so of locations suitable for an ambush, so that if we have occasion to pass that way again, we may be on our guard.

This chapter, then, should probably be enough about conducting the march of an army on land or across water and providing for its protection by looking out for surprise attacks by the enemy. We shall now discuss the means by which, if the enemy appear on our flank or to the rear, we can readily face around, turn, and deploy our phalanx, so that it is always in a position confronting the phalanx of the enemy.

<sup>1</sup>The expression is found in Polyaeus, *Stratagems*, 3, 9, 17; Cicero, *De officiis*, 1, 23; and in other authors. Similar is "I did not expect that," in Maurice, *Strategikon*, VIII, 1, 87; 2, 102.

6 Polyaeus, *Strategemata*, 3, 9, 17; cf. Mauricii *Strategikon*, VIII, 1, 87; Cicero, *De officiis*, 1, 23, et alibi.

κα'.

Περὶ στροφῆς τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος.

Στροφή δέ ἐστιν μετάθεσις τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος καθ' ἓν ἢ  
καὶ πλείονα μέρη. μέρη δὲ λέγω τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, τὸ ὀπίσθεν, τὸ δε-  
5 ξιόν, τὸ εὐώνυμον. μέλλοντας δὲ περὶ διαφορᾶς στροφῆς διελθεῖν  
ἀναγκαῖον εἶπειν πρότερον τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἡ φάλαγξ στρέφεται.  
ἔστι δὲ αὕτη· πολλάκις οἱ πολέμοι ὁδοιπορούσης τῆς φάλαγγος,  
ἐπειδὴν κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου αὐτῆς ἐπελθεῖν ἀδυνατώσιν, αἰφνιδίως  
ἐπιφαίνονται αὐτοῖς νῦν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, νῦν δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων, ἔστιν ὅτε  
10 καὶ κατὰ νώτων. τὴν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν βλάβην οἱ τακτικοὶ ὑφορώμενοι  
μεθόδους τινὰς ἐξεύρου δι' ὧν ἂν τις ῥαδίως στρέφων τὸ μέτωπον τῆς  
φάλαγγος καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπαν πλήθος αὐτῆς φυλάττεσθαι τὰς ἐπι-  
A f. 13<sup>v</sup> φανείας | τῶν ἐχθρῶν δύναται.

Στρέφεται δὲ φάλαγξ κατὰ τρόπους τέσσαρας· κατ' ἄνδρα, κατὰ  
15 στίχον, κατὰ ζυγόν, καθ' ὁμάδα. καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα μὲν ὅταν τῶν ἄλλων  
ἡρεμοῦντων εἰς ἔστιν ὁ κινούμενος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τῶν στρατιώτων  
ἕκαστος, κατὰ στίχον δὲ ὅταν τῶν ἄλλων ἡρεμοῦντων μόνος ὁ πρῶτος  
στίχος κινῆται καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος τῶν ἄλλων στίχων, ὁμοίως καὶ  
κατὰ ζυγόν. καθ' ὁμάδα δὲ ὅταν ὅλη ὡς ὅλη ἡ φάλαγξ κινῆται. κα-  
20 λείται δὲ ἡ μὲν κατ' ἄνδρα στροφή κλίσις, ἡ δὲ κατὰ στίχον ἐξελι-  
γμός, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ κατὰ ζυγόν, ἡ δὲ καθ' ὁμάδα ἐπιστροφή.

21: K-R 124, Erek 55.

21: I κα' De: γ' A: om. MP || 3 δὲ A: om. MP || 15 καὶ MP: om. A ||

21: Cf. Aelianum, 24; Asclepiodotum, 10; Arrianum, p. 32.

21.

Changing the Front of the Phalanx.

Changing the front of the phalanx is a repositioning in one or more directions. By directions I mean the front, the rear, the right, and the left. Before beginning our discussion of various ways of changing, we must first explain the reason for having the phalanx make such a change. The reason is this. Often enough when the army is marching along and the enemy are unable to launch a frontal assault on it, they will suddenly appear off to the right, at another time off to the left, and sometimes to the rear. Well aware of the damage that can result, the tacticians have devised certain methods to make it easy for one to change the front of the phalanx and thus guard all the rest of it against the approach of the enemy.

A phalanx can change its front in four ways: by individuals, by files, by ranks, by the entire unit. When it is by individuals, one man alone moves, while the others remain in place, and after the first has changed, then each of the soldiers does likewise. When it is by file, all remain in place, and only the first file moves, and after that then each of the others, and the same is done with the rank. When it is by the entire unit, the phalanx moves as a whole. The individual change of front is called a turning, that by file a countermarch, and the same for that by rank, and the one by the entire unit is a wheeling about.

κβ'.

## Περὶ κλίσεως.

- Κλίσις ἐστὶν μετάθεσις κατ' ἄνδρα τῆς ὅλης φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς τόπον οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη τοῦ τόπου μετατιθε-  
 5 μένης ἐκάστης πλευρᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἕτερα. ἀνάγκη γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν κλίσεων ἐκάστην μεταπεσεῖν τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν ἐπὶ δόρυ κλιθεῖσαν μέτωπον γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὀπισθίαν δεξιὰν, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον ὀπισθίαν, εὐώνυμον δὲ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδα τὴν μὲν εὐώνυμον μέτωπον, τὴν δὲ ὀπισθίαν εὐώ-  
 M f. 118<sup>o</sup> 10 νυμον, καὶ ἐφεξῆς. τεσσάρων δ' ὄντων | μερῶν, ὡς περ εἴρηται, καθ' ἃ κινεῖται ἢ φάλαγξ, συμβαίνει κλίσεις εἶναι ὀκτώ, τέσσαρας μὲν ἐπὶ δόρυ, τέσσαρας δὲ ἐπ' ἀσπίδα. λέγουσιν δὲ ἐπὶ δόρυ μὲν τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν διὰ τὸ τὸ δόρυ κατέχειν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ, ἐπ' ἀσπίδα δὲ τὴν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ διὰ τὸ τῇ λαίᾳ χειρὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα κατέχειν.
- 15 Ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ κατὰ δύο συνεχεῖς κλίσεις τὴν φάλαγγα στρέφομεν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη, οὐκ ἀναπαύοντες αὐτὴν καθ' ἐκάστην κλίσειν καὶ ἐπιστροφὴν ἀλλὰ κατὰ συνέχειαν αὐτὴν κλίνοντες, καὶ οὐ μόνον κατὰ δύο κλίσεις, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπ' οὐρὰν στρέψαι τὸ μέτωπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τελευταῖον κατὰ τέτταρας. καλοῦνται δὲ αἱ  
 20 μὲν κατὰ συνέχειαν δύο κλίσεις μεταβολή, ἂν τε ἐπὶ δόρυ κλίνειν τις ἐθέλῃ, ἂν τε ἐπ' ἀσπίδα ἔστι γὰρ μεταβολή δύο κατὰ συνέχειαν κλίσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τὴν κατ' οὐρὰν ἐπιφάνειαν ἢ ἀπὸ ταύτης | ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιφάνειαν. γίνεται δὲ καὶ  
 A f. 14 ἄλλως μεταβολή ὅταν ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν μερῶν τῆς φάλαγγος κατὰ συνέχειαν κλίνοντες ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον στησώμεθα τῆς φάλαγγος μέρος καὶ  
 25 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, ἃς τινὰς εἰκότως ἂν τις καλέσοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἀρχομένην μεταβολὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀντίστροφον αὐτῆς μεταβολὴν ἐξ εὐωνύμων. αἱ δὲ τρεῖς κατὰ συνέχειαν κλίσεις περιστροφή λέγεται, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες ἀποκατάστασις, ἢ δὲ ἀντίστροφος  
 30 ἐκάστης κλίσεως ἀναποδισμός.

22: K-R 124, Erck 56.

22: 1 κβ' De: ἰδ' A: om. MP || 13 τὸ A: τὸ MP || 27 ἀντίστροφον A: ἀντιστροφὴν MP

22: Cf. Aelianum, 25.

22.

## Turning.

Turning is a maneuver by which the whole phalanx, each man moving individually, takes up position facing in a new direction. This is done in such a way that each flank is located not in the same sector as before but in a new one. In each turning, now, each of the flanks will necessarily be changed around. If the turning is to the spear, then the right flank becomes the front, the rear becomes the right, the left becomes the rear, and the former front becomes the left. Similarly, if the turning is to the shield, then the left becomes the front, the rear becomes the left, and so on. Since, as mentioned, there are four directions in which the phalanx can move, it follows that there are eight turnings, four to the spear and four to the shield. They designate the turning to the right as to the spear, since the spear is carried in the right hand, and to the left as to the shield, since the shield is carried in the left hand.

At times we can also change the front of the phalanx by two successive turnings in the same direction, doing this in one continuous motion without any pause in each turning about. Not only can we make two turnings changing the front to the rear, but even three and as many as four. Two turnings in a continuous motion are called an about-face, whether turning to the spear is called for or to the shield. The about-face, then, involves two continuous turnings, one from the front of the phalanx to a position in the rear and the other from this to the original front. Another kind of about-face involves turning in a continuous motion from the right side of the phalanx, so that it ends up facing the original left, or from this to the right. It would be appropriate, I suppose, to designate the move beginning from the right as about-face from the right, and the opposite of this as about-face from the left. Three successive turnings are called a turning around; four a reversal of position, and the opposite of each turning is a resumption of front.

κγ'.

(Περὶ ἐπιστροφῆς.)

Τὴν δὲ ἐπιστροφὴν ὀρίζονται οἱ παλαιοὶ οὕτως· ἐπιστροφή ἐστὶν  
 ὅταν πυκνώσαντες τὰ συντάγματα κατὰ παραστάτην καὶ ἐπιστάτην  
 5 ὅλον τὸ σύνταγμα ὡς ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς σῶμα ἢ ἐπὶ δόρυ ἢ ἐπ' ἀσπίδα  
 κλίνωμεν. διαφέρει δὲ κλίσις ἐπιστροφῆς τῷ τὴν μὲν κλίσιν κατ' ἀν-  
 δρα γίνεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστροφὴν ὅλην ὡς ὅλην κινεῖσθαι τὴν φά-  
 λαγγα. γίνεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους περὶ κλίσεως τρό-  
 πους, ὥστε τοσαύτας εἶναι τὰς μεταβολὰς ὅποσας ἂν καὶ τὰς κλίσεις  
 10 ἐλέγομεν εἶναι.

Ἡ δὲ ἀντίστροφος ἐκάστης ἐπιστροφῆς ἀναστροφή ὀνομάζεται·  
 ἔστι γὰρ ἀναστροφή ἀποκατάστασις τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς εἰς ὃν προ-  
 κατεῖχεν τὸ σύνταγμα τόπον. αἱ δὲ δύο ἐπιστροφαὶ περισπασμός  
 λέγεται, αἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐκπερισπασμός. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκπερισπασμός, ἢν'  
 15 αὐταῖς ταῖς τῶν παλαιῶν χρησώμεθα λέξεσιν, (ἢ) ἐκ τριῶν συνεχῶν  
 ἐπιστροφῶν τοῦ τάγματος κίνησις, ὥστε μεταλαμβάνειν, εἰ μὲν  
 ἐπὶ δόρυ γένηται, τὴν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐπιφάνειαν, εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀσπίδα,  
 τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν. ἢ δὲ ἐκ τεσσάρων (συνεχῶν ἐπιστροφῶν κίνησις ἐπι-  
 κατάστασις ὀνομάζεται. ἢ δὲ ἀντίστροφος ἐκάστης ἐπιστροφῆς)  
 20 ἀναποδισμός.

23: K-R 126, Erck 56.

23: 1 κγ' M: om. AP || 2 περὶ ἐπιστροφῆς K-R: om. codd. || 5 ἀσπίδα A: ἀσπίδι MP || 11  
 ἐπιστροφῆς K-R: περιστροφῆς codd. || 15 ἢ K-R: om. codd. || 17 δὲ A: om. MP || 18-19 συνεχῶν  
 . . . ὀνομάζεται Erck ex Asclepiodoto, 10, 9: om. codd. || 19 ἢ . . . ἐπιστροφῆς conj. Oldfather teste  
 Erck || 20 ἀναποδισμός A: om. MP ||

23: Cf. Aelianum, 25.

κδ'.

Περὶ ἐξελιγμοῦ.

M f. 119

Ἐξελιγμός δὲ ἐστὶ μετάρθεσις τῆς ὅλης φάλαγγος ἐφ' ἕτερον ἢ  
 τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον κατὰ στίχους ἢ ζυγούς. ἐξελίττειν δὲ κατὰ στίχους  
 5 τὴν φάλαγγα λέγομεν ὅταν ἑνὸς τῶν ἄκρων στίχων τῆς φάλαγγος

23.

[Wheeling About.]

The ancient authors define a wheeling about in the following terms. A wheeling about is when the units have closed up both to the flank and to the front and we turn the entire force as though it were only one man either to the spear or to the shield. A turning differs from wheeling about in that turning is made by each man independently, whereas in the wheeling about the whole phalanx is moved as a whole. The movements are made along the same lines as those described for turnings, so that there are as many about-faces as those we enumerated for turnings.

The opposite of each wheeling about is termed a reversing, that is, a reversing is a reversal of position of the wheeling about to that place which the unit originally occupied. Two wheelings about are called a wheeling around, three an outwheeling around. This outwheeling around, to use the exact words of the ancient authorities, is the movement of the tagma composed of three successive wheelings about, so that if it is made to the spear, the new front is changed from the old left, or if made to the shield, from the right. The movement composed of four [successive wheelings about] is called a return to original point. The opposite of each wheeling about is a resumption of front.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The words within brackets have been supplied by the editors, since there is a gap in the manuscripts at this point, which, in Spaulding's view, "mercifully spares us further definitions."

24.

Countermarches.

A countermarch means that an entire phalanx changes position by files or by ranks in the same or in another place. We say that a phalanx countermarches by file when one of the files on the edges of the phalanx moves to its designated place; all

A f. 14<sup>v</sup>

κινήθεις ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρισθέντα τόπον κατὰ τάξιν αὐτῶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν  
στίχων ἐπακολουθῶσι, κατὰ ζυγούς | δὲ ὅταν ἑνὸς τῶν ἄκρων ζυγῶν  
προπορευομένου καὶ τὸν ὀρισθέντα λαμβάνοντος τόπον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν  
ζυγῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν ἐπακολουθῶσι αὐτοῖς.

10 Ἐξελιγμῶν δὲ γένη ταῦτα οἱ παλαιοὶ ὀνομάζουσιν. ἑκατέρου δὲ  
τούτων εἶδη φασὶ τρία, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καθ' ὃ μεταλαμβάνοντες τὸν  
ἔμπροσθεν τόπον ἐπὶ τὴν κατ' οὐρὰν ἐπιφάνειαν τὸ μέτωπον τῆς  
φάλαγγος στρέφομεν. Μακεδόνα δὲ τοῦτο προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπειδὴ  
15 ἔξελιγμοῦ καθ' ὃ τῆς φάλαγγος τὸν ὀπισθεν τόπον μεταλαμβάνοντες  
ἐπὶ τὴν κατ' οὐρὰν ἐπιφάνειαν τὸ μέτωπον στρέφομεν. Λάκων δὲ καὶ  
οὗτος παρ' αὐτοῖς κέκληται. τὸ δὲ τρίτον εἶδος τῶν ἔξελιγμῶν οὐκ  
ἀμείβει τὸν τόπον τῆς φάλαγγος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ταύτην τηρεῖ,  
τοὺς μὲν λοχαγούς ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τῶν οὐραγῶν μετὰγον, τοὺς δὲ οὐρα-  
20 γούς ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τῶν λοχαγῶν, ὡσαύτως δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς κατὰ πρό-  
σωπον ἐπιφανείας ἀπολαμβάνον τὴν ὀπισθεν. χορείος δὲ οὗτος καὶ  
Κρητικὸς καὶ Περσικὸς ὀνομάζεται.

Γίνεται δὲ ὁ Μακεδῶν κατὰ μὲν στίχον ὅταν ὁ λοχαγὸς ἑνὸς τῶν  
ἄκρων στίχου παρατρέχων πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπακο-  
25 λουθούντων αὐτῶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ στίχου κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκάστου  
τάξιν, ἀντιμέτωπος γένηται τοῦ λοχαγοῦ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἄκρου καὶ μετ'  
αὐτὸν ἐφεξῆς οἱ λοιποὶ, ἕτερος ἑτέρου κατὰ στίχον ἐχόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ  
τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος τῶ λοχαγῶ ἦτοι τῶ πρωτοστάτῃ συννεύοντες. ὡσαύτως  
δὲ καὶ κατὰ ζυγὸν ὅταν ὁ ἄκρος τοῦ πρώτου ζυγοῦ παραπορευόμενος  
30 τὸ τῆς φάλαγγος μέτωπον καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποὶ ἀντιμέτωποι γέ-  
νωνται τοῦ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ μήπω ἐξελιχθέντος. τὸν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν  
τόπον τῆς φάλαγγος διὰ τῆς ἐξελίξεως λαμβάνειν βουλόμενοι κατὰ  
τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον, οὓς μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν λαμβάνομεν ἐπὶ τὰ εὐώ-  
νυμα μετατίθεμεν τῆς ἐξελιττομένης φάλαγγος, οὓς δὲ ἐκ τῶν εὐώ-  
35 νύμων ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ τῆς ὄλης ἐξελιχθείσης | φάλαγγος, ἵνα μένωσι  
πάλιν οἱ δεξιοὶ δεξιοὶ καὶ οἱ εὐώνυμοι ὡσαύτως.

A f. 15

M f. 119<sup>v</sup>

Ὁ δὲ Λάκων γίνεται κατὰ μὲν στίχον ὅταν ὁ οὐραγὸς ἑνὸς τῶν  
ἄκρων στίχων προπορευόμενος καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον κατόπιν ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ  
καὶ ἕως τοῦ λοχαγοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ | δόρυ στρεφόμεθα, ὁ μὲν οὐραγὸς  
40 ἀντίπυτος στή τοῦ οὐραγοῦ τῆς εὐώνυμου πλευρᾶς ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς μετα-  
βέβληται, ὁ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἕως  
τοῦ λοχαγοῦ, εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, ὁ μὲν ἄκρος τῆς εὐώνυμου πλευρᾶς  
ἀντίπυτος στή τοῦ οὐραγοῦ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἔμπρο-  
σθεν οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ στίχου καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους τῶν στίχων ἕκαστος. κατὰ  
45 δὲ ζυγὸν ὅταν ὁ ἄκρος τοῦ τελευταίου ζυγοῦ προπορευόμενος καὶ  
τούτου κατόπιν πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ζυγὸν τεταγμένοι καὶ ἐφεξῆς  
οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ζυγῶν ἀντίπυτοι ἑαυτοῖς γένωνται κατὰ τὴν πρώτην  
στάσιν.

the other files then follow it in order. The countermarch is by ranks when one of the ranks on the edge moves out ahead and assumes its designated position; all the other ranks then follow along in their proper order.

These are the kinds of countermarches named by the ancient writers. They add that there are three ways of executing each of them. In the first we place the phalanx in front of its old position and turn its front around looking toward what had been its rear. They entitle this the Macedonian countermarch, since Philip is supposed to have invented and used it. The second form of making a countermarch occurs when we place the phalanx on the ground right behind its former position and turn its front to face what had been its rear. The authors have called this the Laconian countermarch. The third form of countermarching does not change the location of the phalanx, but keeps it in the same place. The file leaders, though, are marched into the positions occupied by the rear guards, who, in turn, move to the positions of the file leaders. This is done in such a way that all face to the rear instead of to the original front. This is termed the choric, Cretan, or Persian countermarch.

The Macedonian countermarch is carried out by file when the leader of one of the files on the edge moves forward and across the front of the phalanx, followed by the other men in his file, each in his proper order. The file leader takes position facing the leader of the file on the opposite edge. The rest of the files follow in succession, each file lining up next to the other, facing in the same direction as the file leader or protostates. Similarly it is done by rank when the end man of the first rank moves across the front of the phalanx. He is followed by the rest of the rank, who come to a stop facing the men of the second rank who have not yet begun to move out. For, when we want to use the countermarch in the Macedonian form to occupy the ground in front of the phalanx, we first take the men from the right and have them change to the left of the phalanx as it reverses itself in such a way that the men who were on the right remain on the right and those on the left remain on the left.

The Laconian countermarch is made by file when the rear guard of one of the end files marches out along the rear and is followed by the man who had been in front of him down to the file leader. If we make the turn to the spear, the rear guard turns again to position himself back to back with the rear guard of the left flank; the man who had been in front of him goes in front of him again and so on to the file leader. If the turn is to the shield, the end man on the left flank positions himself back to back with the rear guard of the right flank, and the rest of the men in the file form in proper order in front of him, and after them each of the files does the same. This is done by the rank when the end man of the last rank marches out with everyone in that same rank following behind him, and the rest of the ranks in turn place themselves with their backs to their former stance.



Γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλως Λάκων ἐξελιγμός, οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρα-  
 50 γῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰλαρχῶν ἐξελισσόντων ἡμῶν καὶ τελευτώντων  
 ἐφ' ἓνα τῶν τελευταίων οὐραγῶν, καὶ κατὰ στίχον μὲν οἷον ὅταν ὁ  
 πρῶτος τοῦ δεξιοῦ στίχου ἐπὶ δόρυ προπορευόμενος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ  
 λοιποὶ τοῦ στίχου ἀντίνωτοι τῷ πρώτῳ στίχῳ τῆς εὐωνύμου πλευρᾶς  
 γένωνται, κατὰ δὲ ζυγὸν ὅταν ὁ ἄκρος τοῦ πρώτου ζυγοῦ προπορευό-  
 55 μενος καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζυγοῦ ἀντίνωτοι τοῖς οὐρα-  
 γοῖς γένωνται, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους πάντες ζυγοὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 τάξιν φυλάττοντες.

Ὁ δὲ χορείος καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται κατὰ μὲν στίχον ὅταν ὁ οὐραγός  
 τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς κατὰ νῶτα τῶν οὐραγῶν προπορευόμενος ἐπα-  
 60 κολουθούτων αὐτῷ κατόπι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ αὐτοῦ στίχου, ὁ δὲ  
 πρωτοστάτης τῆς εὐωνύμου πλευρᾶς προπορευόμενος τὸ τῆς φάλαγ-  
 γος μέτωπον ἐπακολουθούτων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοὺς ἀλλήλων ἀντι-  
 λάβωσι τόπους, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν στίχων μεταλαμβάνοντες  
 ἀντὶ τῆς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπιφανείας τὴν ὀπισθεν. | κατὰ δὲ ζυγὸν οὕτως  
 65 ὅταν ὁ μὲν τῶν λοχαγῶν ζυγὸς ἐπὶ δόρυ προπορευόμενος τὸν δεξιὸν  
 στίχον τῆς φάλαγγος, ὁ δὲ τῶν οὐραγῶν ζυγὸς προπορευόμενος τὸν  
 στίχον τῆς εὐωνύμου πλευρᾶς ὁ μὲν τῶν λοχαγῶν ζυγὸς καταλάβῃ τὸν  
 τοῦ οὐραγοῦ, ὁ δὲ οὐραγὸς τὸν τῶν λοχαγῶν, ἐπομένων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ζυγῶν καὶ μεταλαμβάνόντων ἀντὶ τῆς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπιφανείας  
 70 τὴν ὀπισθεν.

Ταῦτα περὶ κλίσεως καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ ἐξελιγμοῦ καὶ τῶν  
 ὁμοίων καθ' ἃ στρέφονται τὴν φάλαγγα λέγομεν.

24: K-R 128, Erck 57.

24: 1 κδ' M: ιε' A: om. P || 25 αὐτῶ A: αὐτῶν MP || 26 λοχαγοῦ . . . ἄκρου MP: ἐτέρου  
 ἄκρου τοῦ λοχαγοῦ A || 30 γένωνται MP: γίνονται A || 34 τῆς ἐξελιττομένης φάλαγγος MP: om.  
 A || 36 οἱ<sup>2</sup> A: om. MP || 37 ὁ<sup>2</sup> A: om. MP || 40 ἡ . . . μεταβέβληται MP: om. A || 52 αὐτὸν MP: αὐτοῦ  
 A || 68 τὸν τῶν A: τὸ τῶν MP || 71 ἐπιστροφῆς K-R: περιστροφῆς codd.

24: Cf. Aelianum, 27-28; Arrianum, p. 34-37.

A variation may be made in the Laconian countermarch. Instead of having the rear guards begin our countermarch, it can be initiated by the ilarchs and concluded with one of the last rear guards. This may be done by file, as in the case of the first man of the right file marching out to the spear, followed by the rest of the file, and placing themselves back to back with the first file of the left flank. It can be done by rank, as when the end man of the first rank moves out, followed by the rest of the men in the rank who place themselves back to back with the rear guards, they and all the ranks following them maintaining their original order.

The choric countermarch is done by file when the rear guard of the right flank marches out along the rear of the other rear guards with the other men in his file following along behind him. The protostates of the left flank, with the rest following him, moves out along the front of the phalanx, and the two files change places with each other. The rest of the files change in a similar manner so that they face the rear instead of the front. This can be done by rank when the rank of the file leaders turns to the spear and moves out along the right file of the phalanx, while the rank of the rear guards moves out along the file of the left flank with the rank of the file leaders taking the position of that of the rear guards, and the rear guard taking that of the file leaders. The other ranks follow them, and all change to face the rear instead of the front.

This is all we have to say about turnings, wheelings about, countermarches, and similar ways of changing the front of a phalanx.

## κε'.

## Περὶ ἐναλλαγῆς σχήματος.

M f. 120 Κατ' ἐναλλαγὴν δὲ σχήματος κινεῖται φάλαγξ ὅταν ἀπὸ σχήματος εἰς ἕτερον σχῆμα τὴν φάλαγγα μεταβάλωμεν, οἷον ὅταν ἐκ  
5 τετραγώνου εἰς ἑτερόμηκες ἢ τούναυτιον. κατὰ δὲ διαίρεσιν ἐνοειδοῦς φάλαγγος ὅταν εἰς δύο τὴν μίαν διέλωμεν, κατὰ δὲ ἔνωσιν οἷον ὅταν τὰς δύο εἰς μίαν συνάπτωμεν.

Χρώμεθα δὲ τῇ μὲν ἐναλλαγῇ τοῦ σχήματος ὅταν κατὰ τι σχῆμα παραταξαμένων τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῷ λυσιτελοῦντι καὶ ἡμεῖς χρώμεθα  
10 σχήματι ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοις φάλαγγος συμβάλλεται σχήματα. οἷον (εἰ) ἐχρήσαντο οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιμηκεστέρα τῇ φάλαγγι καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις ταύτη χρήσόμεθα, εἰ μὴ τὸ πλήθος τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡμῶν κατὰ πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἡλάττωται· ἐπὶ μακρὸν γὰρ ἡ φάλαγξ παρατεινομένη λεπτύνεται τε καὶ τὸ βάθος αὐτῆς ὑποτέμνεται, ὃ  
15 πολὺν φέρει τοῖς κεκρημένοις τὸν κίνδυνον. διαιροῦμεν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ὅλην ὅταν κατὰ διάφορα συστήματα καὶ μέρη ὁρῶμεν τοὺς ἐναντίους καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπερχομένους, συνάπτομεν δὲ οἷον ὅταν κατὰ μονοφαλαγγίαν ἡμῖν προσβάλλειν οἱ πολέμιοι μέλλωσιν.

25: K-R 134, Erck 59.

25: 1 κε' De: ιζ' A: om. MP || 11 εἰ De: om. codd. || 18 προσβάλλειν A: προβάλλειν MP

## κς'.

## Περὶ μηνσόρων

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν οὐ μόνον κινηθῆναι τὴν φάλαγγα χρὴ ἀλλὰ πάντως αὐτὴν καὶ διαναπαύσασθαι, ἀναγκαῖον εἶπεν περὶ συγκατα-  
5 σκηνώσεως καὶ πρό γε ταύτης περὶ μηνσόρων, οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ προτρέχοντες ἐντρεπίζουσι τὰ στρατόπεδα. δεῖ γὰρ | αὐτοὺς εἰδέναι καὶ διὰ πείρας καλῶς ἔχειν εἴ τίς ἐστὶν πόα τοῖς ἵπποις ἄβρωτος, μάλιστα δὲ θανάσιμος, ὥστε τάχιον αὐτῆς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, δι' ἑτέρων δὲ τόπων τῶν ἵππων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατευ-  
10 μάτων ὑποδοχὴν. πειράζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ὕδατα, τὰ μὲν ῥευστὰ εἰ ἀλώδη ἢ πικρὰ ἢ πότιμα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐστῶτα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ εἰ φθοροποιὰ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ κατ' ἐπιτήδενσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὥστε κἂν τούτοις τῶν βλαπτόντων ἀπέχεσθαι. ἔχειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ μέτρα πρὸς

## 25.

Change of Formation.<sup>1</sup>

The change of formation is the movement of a phalanx when we have it pass over from one formation to another, such as from a square to a rectangle or the opposite. Then there is the division of a unified phalanx, when we divide one into two, and the uniting, as when we join two into one.

We employ the change of formation when we see the enemy lining up in some particular formation and we then adopt the formation most useful in the situation. For the various formations of a phalanx there are appropriate counter formations. If, for example, the enemy line up their phalanx in a very broad front, we shall line ours up in similar fashion, unless the strength of our army be significantly inferior to theirs. A phalanx that is too greatly extended becomes too thin and far too shallow, which can put it in a very precarious position. We break up our unified phalanx when we observe the enemy advancing toward us in several separate units. We bring it together when the enemy show the intention of attacking in a single mass.

<sup>1</sup>According to Spaulding: "This chapter is highly characteristic of our author. Never by any chance does he take the initiative; he always leaves it to the enemy. He has a distinctly defensive mind, and sees so clearly what the enemy may do to him that he has no time to think of what he may do to the enemy."

## 26.

## Quartering Parties.

It is obvious that the phalanx can not always be on the move but has to stop for rest, and so we must speak about setting up camp. But first something must be said about the quartering parties, which ride on ahead of the army to prepare the campsites. The men in these parties should have the knowledge and a good deal of experience to determine which grasses the horses cannot eat, especially poisonous ones, so they will not lose time in getting them away from there, and make arrangements for the horses and for the shelter of the troops in some other place. They should also test the water, first, if it comes from streams, whether it is salty, bitter, or potable; if from standing pools, whether, in addition to the above, it might be harmful either by nature or by device of the enemy, and in this way too they may escape injury. They

15 τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ χώραν κατὰ τε ἀραιώσιν καὶ πύκνωσιν, οὐ σχοινίοις  
 χρωμένους, γελοῖον γὰρ ἂν ἴσως τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ βελῶν ἀφέσεσιν, ὃ δὴ  
 τὰχιστόν ἐστιν πρὸς τὴν εἰρημένην ἀναμέτρησιν.

Δεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἑκάστου τάγματος ἔχειν λόχον ἓνα μεθ' ἑαυτῶν  
 μεθ' ἑνὸς σημείου τοῦ ἰδίου τάγματος, ἵνα μετὰ τὸ ἀφορισθῆναι τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον, καθ' οὓς ἂν τόπους συντάξωσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ μῆνσορες,  
 20 ὁμοίως τῇ τάξει τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐκεῖσε τὰ σημεῖα προκαταπήξαντες  
 δι' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑποδείξωσιν ἔνθα χρή τούτων ἕκαστον οἰκείως  
 M f. 120<sup>v</sup> διαναπαύσασθαι.

Ἄναγκη δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἵππεας εἶναι διὰ τὸ προτρέχειν τῆς φά-  
 λαγγος καὶ πού καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μικρὸν ἐπιτρέχειν, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ  
 25 καὶ ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν διωκομένους μὴ ῥαδίως ἀλίσκεσθαι. δεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν  
 τῇ πολεμίᾳ γῆ μὴ πόρρωθεν προτρέχειν τῆς φάλαγγος ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπ'  
 αὐτῆς ὄρασθαι, διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις.

26: K-R 136: Erek 60.

26: 1 κς' De: ιζ' A: om. MP || 2 μνησῶρων K-R: ἀπλήκτου A: om. MP || 3 χρή ἀλλὰ A: ἀλλὰ  
 χρή MP || 8 δὲ A: om. MP || 14 σχοινίοις A: σχοίνοις MP || 15 χρωμένους K-R: χρωμένοις codd. ||  
 21 ὑποδείξωσιν A: ὑποδείξουσιν MP

<κζ'.

Περὶ συγκατασκηνώσεως.)

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ μνησῶρων οὕτω πως ἔχειν ἡμῖν ἔδοξεν, ἀκο-  
 λούτως καὶ περὶ συγκατασκηνώσεως λέξομεν. καὶ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι  
 5 δεῖ πάντως τοὺς κατὰ μίαν ἴλην τεταγμένους κατὰ μίαν ἢ καὶ δύο  
 σκηναὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δευτέρον τάξιν οὐ λύου-  
 τας, ὥστε συννεσθιούτας τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ συγκαθεύδοντας πολλὴν  
 ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν συμφωνίαν, καὶ κοινήν μὲν τὴν ζωὴν κοινὸν  
 δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν θάνατον, ἔχειν τε ῥαδίως πρὸς τὴν ἐν ταῖς φάλαγγι  
 10 σύνταξιν.]

Τούτων δὲ τὸν τρόπον μετ' ἀλλήλων διάγοντες χρή τὰς μὲν τρο-  
 φὰς συνάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τὰ μὲν δόρατα ἀπέναντι  
 τῶν ποδῶν καταπηγνύναι, τὰς δὲ ἀσπίδας ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνακλίνειν ὥστε  
 τὴν κοίλην αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐνδοθεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὄραν, ἵν'  
 15 ἀναστάντες ἐκεῖνοι ἐτοιμῶς ταύτας ἀναλαμβάνουεν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰλλα  
 τῶν ὀπλων κείσθαι μὲν ἐπ' ἀριστερᾶ χειρὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατευ-

should be able to measure the space required for the troops, whether spread out or packed tightly together. They should not use ropes, which might seem ridiculous, but bow shots, which are the quickest means of measurement for this purpose.

The quartering party should be accompanied by one file from each tagma, bearing with it the standard of its tagma, so that when the campsite has been laid out, that is, when the quartering parties have designated the locations the units of the phalanx should occupy, they may plant the standards to show their own men where each unit is supposed to come to a halt.

These parties must be mounted, since they are to ride ahead of the phalanx and also on occasion ride up a bit toward the enemy, and in case they should be pursued by them they will not be captured easily. In hostile country they must not ride out too far ahead of the phalanx but keep within sight of it, because of enemy attacks.

[27.

Setting up Camp.]

Now that we have explained what is expected of the quartering parties, we should next turn to the arrangement of the tents. First, it is most essential that the men who form one file should sleep together in one or two tents without breaking up their order of first and second ranks. In this way, eating and sleeping together, they should develop a strong team spirit among themselves and come to realize that as they live together they may have to face death together, and they will be more at ease with the whole organization of the phalanx.

Living with one another in this manner, they should place their rations in the middle of the tent. Their spears should be stuck in the ground right at their feet, and their shields placed leaning against them with the concave side turned in toward the soldiers, so that as soon as they get up they can easily grab hold of them. The rest of the armament should be placed at the left side of the soldiers as they sleep. The men

ναζομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφιέννυσθαι πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς πόδας, εἶτα τὰς κνήμας, εἶτα τοὺς μηρούς, εἶτα τὸν θώρακα, εἶτα τὴν περικεφαλαίαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν διεζῶσθαι τὴν τε ῥομφαίαν καὶ τὸ τόξον καὶ τὴν φαρέτραν καὶ τελευταῖον τοὺς βραχίονας. ἡ δ' αἰτία τῆς τοιαύτης τάξεως ὥστε μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον ἐκ τῶν προλαβόντων συμβαίνειν τῇ τῶν δευτέρων ὄπλων περιβολῇ.

Ἄναγκαῖον δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην σκηνὴν καὶ φύλακας ἔχειν νυκτὸς, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὰς κλοπὰς, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης 25 συνηθείας ἐργηγορωτέρους τε καὶ ἐτοιμοτέρους πρὸς τὰς ἀπαντήσεις τῶν πολεμίων καθίστασθαι.

27: K-R 138, Erck 61.

27: 1 κζ' De: om. MPA || 2 περί συγκατασκευάσεως K-R: om. codd.

### κη'.

Ποῦ δεῖ τάττειν τοὺς πεζοὺς κατασκηνοῦν μέλλοντας  
καὶ ποῦ τοὺς ἵππέας.

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς τάττειν κατὰ τὸν χάρακα πλησιαιτέρον 5 τὰς σκηνὰς ἔχοντας· οὕτω γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς ἔξει τὰ κατὰ τὸν χάρακα, οὔτε ἵππων φροντίδα τοὺς πεζοὺς ἔχοντας οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τούτων ἔνεκα φέρουσι στρατιῶται. τοὺς δὲ ἵππέας κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου διὰ τὰς νυκτερινὰς τοξείας τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ ἵπποι πολ-  
M f. 121 λάκις τραν | ματιζόμενοι οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ κακῶς πάσχουσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ  
10 τὸ στράτευμα συνταράττουσιν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀναγκαῖον καταλιμπάνειν δύο εὐθείας ὁδοὺς κατὰ τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ τεμνούσας ἀλλήλας, καθ' ἃς οἱ βουλό-  
A f. 17 μενοι διὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ἑκάστῳ χρείας ἐξιέναι τε καὶ εἰσιέναι δι'  
15 αὐτῶν | ἔχουσι, καὶ πρὸς ταύταις ἑτέραν περιέχουσιν τὸ πᾶν τοῦ  
στρατεύματος, ὥστε τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπισκεπτόμενον τὸν χάρακα κατ' ἐκείνην περιμέναι καὶ τοὺς παρεκειμένους ἐκεῖσε διαβιβάζε-  
σθαι. χρήσιμον δὲ κάπιν τῶν τμημάτων ἕκαστον, ἃ δὴ ποιοῦσιν αἱ εἰρημέναι ὁδοί, ὁδοὺς ὁμοίως καταλιμπάνειν τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον  
20 λυσιτελεῖ δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα ὅπότεν πυκνότερον ἀλλήλαις τὰς σκηνὰς  
καταπήξωμεν. χρή δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας ὁδοὺς μέχρι τοῦ χάρακος ἵστα-  
σθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ παρέρχεσθαι καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐξόδων, τὸ

should go about putting on their equipment by beginning with their feet, then the lower legs, their thighs, and then put on their breastplate, then their head covering. After that they should gird on their sword, then the bow and quiver, and finally their shoulder pieces. The reason for following this order is to prevent one piece of equipment already put on from interfering with the adjustment of armament meant to be put on later.

Each tent must post a sentinel at night. One reason is to guard against theft, but the main reason is that this system will get the men up more quickly and better prepared to meet the enemy.

### 28.

Planning the Encampment: Where to Station  
the Infantry and the Cavalry.

The infantry should be stationed with their tents very close to the wall of the camp. This will assure security along the wall, for the infantry do not have to be concerned about horses or their equipment, which cavalrymen have to carry. The cavalry, in turn, should be placed in the middle of the campsite in case the enemy fire arrows at night, for when horses are wounded not only do the animals suffer greatly, but they usually upset the whole army.

Space must be left for two straight streets intersecting each other in the center of the camp. These enable men to enter and leave at will, depending on what they have to do. There should also be another street passing around the whole army to enable the general to ride along it to inspect the fortifications and the men stationed there. In each of the quarters formed by the two main streets, it is helpful to leave space for streets lined up in like fashion. This is particularly practical when the tents have been pitched very closely together. These smaller streets should extend to the

μὲν διὰ τοὺς κατασκόπους, τὸ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ χάρακος εἰς τὸ μὴ πολλαχοῦ κατατέμνεσθαι.

Λυσιτελὲς δὲ τὸν χάρακα ἐκ τῶν παρακειμένων συντάττειν  
 25 σκηρῶν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ταύτας, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰλῶν ἐλέ-  
 γομεν, κύκλῳ τῶν ἰδίων σκηρῶν ἔχειν τὰ τε δόρατα καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας,  
 ἀλλ' ἐκάστην ἰλην τῶν κατὰ τὰ πέρατα τεταγμένων τοῦ στρατοπέδου  
 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν σκηρῆν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ δόρατα καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας  
 εἰς τὸν κοινὸν χάρακα συντάττειν, ὅστις κύκλος ἐστὶν ἔνοπλος καὶ  
 30 περίβολος συνέχων τὸ στράτευμα. μὴ ἐναλλάττειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ  
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμπεπιστεῦσθαι τὸν χάρακα, ὥστε διὰ πείρας τὴν  
 φυλακὴν ἔχοντας μὴ μάτην ταράττεσθαι μήτε ταῖς τυχούσαις ἀφορ-  
 μαῖς εἰς πόλεμον ἀνίστασθαι τε καὶ διεγείρεσθαι.

Ἄναγκαῖον δὲ μόναις κεχρηῆσθαι ταῖς εἰρημέναις εἰσόδοις τε  
 35 καὶ ἐξόδοις καθάπερ τισὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πύλαις, τοῦτο μὲν καὶ δι'  
 ἄλλας πολλὰς αἰτίας, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τοὺς κατασκόπους, οἱ ἐπειδὴν  
 τῶν πυλῶν ἐντὸς γένωνται ἅτε δὴ ξένοι ὄντες τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύμα-  
 τος ὧδε κάκει βλέπουσιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνέχονται καὶ ἐπερωτῶνται  
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ποίας ἰλης ἐστὶν καὶ τίνα τὸν ἰλάρχην κέκτηται καὶ τίς  
 40 ὁ τούτου δεξιὸς καὶ τίς ὁ εὐώνυμος εἰς παράταξιν, κἂν μὲν τούτους  
 ἐπαληθεύουσι ἀφίενται, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, κατεχόμενοι τῷ στρατηγῷ  
 παραδίδονται. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐξελέγχειν τοὺς κατασκόπους δύναται τὸ  
 τοιοῦτον ἀλλὰ καὶ προαναστέλλειν αὐτῶν τὰς ἐφόδους, ἅτε δὴ παρ'  
 A f. 17<sup>v</sup> ἡμῖν ἐρευνημένων τε καὶ | συνεχομένων.  
 M f. 121<sup>v</sup>

28: K-R 140, Ereck 62.

28: 1 κη' De: ιη' A: om. MP || 14 ἔχουσι MP: ἔχουσι A || 21 ἐξόδων MP: ὁδῶν A || 22 καὶ A:  
 om. MP || 31 ἐμπεπιστεῦσθαι K-R: ἐμπεπιστεῦθαι codd. || 40 τούτους MP: τούτοις A || 44 ἡμῖν  
 MP: ἡμῶν A

(κθ'.

Περὶ χάρακος καὶ φυλακῆς.)

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας κατασκηνώσαντας εἶτα τροφῆς μετα-  
 σχόντας εὐθέως ἀνίστασθαι καὶ διορύττειν τὰς τάφρους. καὶ τὸν μὲν  
 5 χοῦν ἐντὸς ἀναρρίπτειν ἐφ' ὃ δεῖ τὸν χάρακα μετὰ τὴν διώρυγα ἀνελ-  
 θεῖν πόδας τρεῖς, πλάτος δὲ τῇ τάφρῳ παρέχειν καὶ βάθος ὁμοίως  
 πόδας πέντε. ἡ δὲ τάφρος καὶ ὁ χάραξ ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἢ ἑτερομήκει

wall but not cut through it, like the main thoroughfares, as a precaution against spies, but mostly because it is safer not to have too many openings in the wall.

It is also convenient to form the enclosure by using the tents around the outside. For these should not, as we recommended for the other files, have the spears and shields of the men in a circle inside their own tents. Rather, each of the files posted on the edges of the camping area should store other equipment in their tent, but should arrange their spears and shields altogether in a sort of palisade forming a circle of arms and a fence surrounding the army. These files should not be changed, but the same men should always have responsibility for the fortification. In this way they will gain experience as guards, will not be upset to no purpose, nor become aroused and get set for battle at the slightest disturbance.

It is essential that only the main thoroughfares with their gates be used to enter and to leave the camp. There are many reasons for this, but the chief one is because of spies. When such persons pass in through the gates, they will be looking about in all directions, inasmuch as they would be strangers in the midst of the army. This may lead to their being detained and interrogated. Each may be asked to what squad he belongs, who is his ilarch, who is to his right and who to his left in formation. If they answer correctly, they are released; if not, they are arrested and brought before the general. This procedure not only serves to detect spies, but actually forestalls their intrusions, since they will be discovered and apprehended by us.

[29.

Fortifying and Protecting the Camp.]

As soon as the soldiers have pitched their tents and gotten something to eat, they should get up and start digging trenches. They should make a ditch five feet wide and five feet deep.<sup>1</sup> The excavated earth should be thrown to the inside, forming an embankment behind the ditch three feet high. The trench and the embankment should form the outline of a square or rectangle. The tents, then, will be in the

σχήματι διατετυπώσθωσαν ὥστε τὰς σκηνὰς ἀλλήλων ἔχεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς φάλαγξι σύνταξιν καὶ τὸν χάρακα δὲ ἀσφαλέστερον  
 10 ἔξειν· οἱ γὰρ κατὰ μίαν πλευρὰν τεταγμένοι πάντες ἅμα πολεμεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιόντας δύνανται, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο εἰς κύκλον σχηματιζομένου τοῦ χάρακος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι τῆς μάχης ἀνθέξονται καθ' ὧν ἐπέστησαν οἱ πολέμιοι. χρήσιμον δὲ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην πλευρὰν τοῦ χάρακος ἀφορίζειν στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ νυκτὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 15 ἐπιτιθεμένων καταλαμβάνειν τὸν πάσχοντα τόπον καὶ συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντας συμφύρεσθαι χωρὶς προστάγματος ὡδε κάκει φερομένους.

Τὰς δὲ πύλας τῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὁδῶν νυκτὸς ἀνορύττειν ὥστε τὸν ὄλον ἐπιζευχθῆναι χάρακα καὶ τὴν τάφρον, ἵνα μὴ τῷ ἀνεμπο-  
 20 δίστῳ τῆς εἰσόδου τολμᾶν πρὸς νυκτομαχίαν κατ' αὐτὰς θαρρήσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. ἀσφαλὲς δὲ καὶ παρ' ἑκάτερα τὰ μέρη τῆς ὁδοῦ ἃ δὴ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις εἰσὶν τάττειν στρατιώτας ἀνὰ δέκα ἐν σχήματι χάρακος καὶ αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ὡς εἴ τις τῶν πολεμίων τὴν τάφρον παρελθὼν ἐντὸς τοῦ χάρακος γένηται ὑπὸ τούτων συνέχεται.

25 Ἄναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ τριβόλους προτιθεῖν πρὸ πάσης τῆς τάφρου ἐπὶ πήχεις κ', καὶ τούτων πάλιν ἐκτὸς σπαρτία λεπτὰ πασσάλους διατεινόμενα ἀφ' ὧν κώδωνες ἔστωσαν ἀπηρωρημένοι, ἵνα τῶν πο-  
 A f. 18 λεμίων ἡρέμα νυκτὸς | ἐπιτιθεμένων καὶ διασειόντων αὐτοὺς τὴν τούτων παρουσίαν καταμηνύσουσιν. χρή δὲ ἕκαστον ἰλάρχη τῶν  
 30 ἐφεστηκότων τῆς τάφρου ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τοὺς τριβόλους τῆς ἰδίας ἴλης, τὸ μὲν ἴν' ἔχοι ταῦτα καὶ μὴ ἐπιλείπη τῆς χρείας καλούσης, τὸ δ' ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἰδίους βλάβη κατὰ τὴν ἔξοδον.

Ἀσφαλὲς δὲ καὶ τινὰς ἴλας τοῦ χάρακος προκαθέζεσθαι καθά-  
 35 περ τινὰ προπύργια, κατὰ στίχους δύο πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς βλέποντας, οὐ διηρημένας ἀλλὰ συνημμένας τῷ χάρακι, οὐδ' ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀναπανο-  
 M f. 122 μένας ἀλλὰ κατὰ ζυγὰ συγκαθεύδοντας οἶον πρῶτον μὲν τὸν | ἰλάρχη καὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, εἶτα τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως ἄχρι τῶν ἰδίων οὐραγῶν, ὡς εἴ γε συμβαίη μεταξύ τούτων τῶν ἰλῶν κατὰ τοῦ χάρακος χωρῆσαι τοὺς ἐναντίους, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἑκατέ-  
 40 ρωθεν βάλλοντας καὶ μᾶλλον τραυματίζειν αὐτοὺς. οὐκοῦν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς διορύττειν τάφρον καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπὶ τούτο ποιεῖν ὁμοίως τῷ χάρακι.

Καλὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς ἡλίου ἐκ τῶν παρακειμένων ἰλῶν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην αὐτῶν ἐξιέναι τοῦ στρα-  
 45 τοπέδου ἐπὶ δύο ἢ καὶ τρεῖς τόξου βολὰς μετὰ τινος μετρίου θορύβου, κάκειθεν νυκτὸς ἤδη γενομένης ὑποστρέφειν ἡρέμα ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας σκηνὰς πρὸ τοῦ κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τούτου γὰρ δηλουμένου τοῖς ἐναντίοις νυκτομαχίαν καὶ μᾶλλον φεύξονται ὑπο-  
 50 πτεύοντες κατὰ νῶτον αὐτῶν ἔσσεσθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν τῆς φά-  
 λαγγος ἐξιόντας ἐπειδὴν αὐτοὶ τῷ χάρακι προσπελάσωσιν.

same relative position as the units in the phalanx, which should make the fortification all the more secure. For all the men stationed on one side can form up and go into action against the enemy in unison. This could not be done if the embankment were shaped like a circle, for then only the troops directly attacked by the enemy would be able to fight back. In case the enemy attacks at night, it is a good idea to assign some soldiers on each side of the fortification to move to the point under attack and support the troops fighting at that spot. Otherwise the whole camp will be thrown into confusion with men running here and there without orders.

At night the gateways of the camp should be entrenched, so that the embankment and ditch completely surround the camp and the enemy may not be encouraged to attempt an attack at night because the entrances present no obstacles. A good precautionary measure is to station about ten soldiers, lined up along the walls, on both sides of the road to each gate, so that if any of the enemy cross the ditch and get inside the fortification, they will be apprehended by these men.

Caltrops should also be laid down all along in front of the ditch in a band twelve and a half meters wide.<sup>2</sup> Then, further out beyond these, thin cords should be strung on stakes with bells suspended from them, so that if the enemy move up secretly by night, the bells will be shaken and give warning of their presence. Each of the ilarchs stationed along the ditch is responsible for gathering up the caltrops of his own file, partly to hold on to them so they will be available when needed and partly to prevent injury to his own troops when they leave the camp.

Another precautionary measure is to have some files establish themselves a distance from the camp in something like forward towers. They should be in two lines facing outward, not too far, but fairly close to the camp. These men should not be allowed to sleep as they please, but only two at a time, for example, first the ilarch and his second man, then the third and fourth men, and so on down to the rear guards. Then, if it should happen that the enemy, heading for the camp, move in between these groups, they may fire at them from both sides and seriously injure them. A ditch must also be dug around these outposts, and other dispositions made as in the main fortification.

A good way of misleading the enemy is to have some men from the squads posted around each of the roads go out of the camp around sunset for two or three bowshots, making a moderate amount of noise. Then, after nightfall they should return quietly to their own tents before the gates of the camp are closed. On observing this the enemy will be less likely to make an attack at night, for if they move in toward the camp they will believe that those troops who left the phalanx in the evening are still out there behind them.

<sup>1</sup>The Byzantine foot was equal to 31.23 cm., a fraction longer than an English foot: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 20.

<sup>2</sup>Twenty picheis.

29: K-R 142, Erck 68.

29: 1 καθ' De: om. MPA || 2 περι . . . φυλακῆς K-R: om. codd. || 4 τὰς A: om. MP || 7 ἐν A: om. MP || ἡ A: om. MP || 9-10 καὶ . . . ἔξειν A: om. MP || 10 πάντες K-R: πάντας codd. || 17 φερομένους MA: φέρομεν P || 20 κατ' αὐτάς A: κατὰ ταύτας MP || 24 συνέχεται M: συνέχιοιτο A: συνέχεσθαι P || 26 ἐπὶ . . . ἔκτος A: καὶ τούτων ἐπὶ πήχεις εἴκοσι πάλιν ἔκτος MP || 30 ἐπι- συναγαγεῖν A: ἐπισυνάγειν MP || 35 ἀναπανομένους MP: ἀναπανομένους A || 40 ἀναγκαῖον A: om. MP

λ'.

Περὶ τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων τῷ στρατηγῷ.

Δεῖ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον σύνταγμα ἀφορίζειν ἄνδρας τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
τέσσαρας, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ, ὁ δὲ διὰ σάλπιγγος, ὁ δὲ διὰ  
5 σημείων δηλοῦσι τὰ κελευόμενα. ἔπει γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἃ μὲν δι'  
ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς παρόντας, ἃ δὲ δι' ἑτέρων τοὺς ἀπόντας κελεύει, ἀνάγκη  
εἶναι τινὰς παρ' αὐτῷ δι' ὧν ἂν | αὐτὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τὰ λυσιτελοῦντα  
προτρέπεται. πάλιν τῶν κελευομένων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ μερικά, τὰ δὲ κα-  
θολικά, καὶ μερικά μὲν λέγω τὰ πρὸς ἓνα ἄνδρα ἢ καὶ πλείονας δι'  
10 ἑτέρου τὴν προτροπὴν ἢ ἀποτροπὴν φέροντα, καθολικά δὲ τὰ πρὸς  
πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας. τὸν μὲν οὖν τὰ μερικά ὑπηρετούμενον προ-  
στάγματα ὑπηρετήτην οἱ παλαιοὶ ὀνομάζουσιν, τὸν δὲ τὰ καθολικά  
στρατοκήρυκα.

Ἐπει δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἡρεμία πάντοτε ὥστε διὰ τῆς τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῆς  
15 ἀποφέρεσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι τὰ προστάγματα ἀλλ' ἦν ὅτε καὶ θορύ-  
βον καθεστῶτος οὐκ ἐξήκούετο ἢ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῆ, ἐπενόησαν τὰ  
σημεῖα, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ σημειοφόροι λέγονται, ἵνα—νῦν μὲν οὕτως νῦν δὲ  
ἑτέρως κινουμένων αὐτῶν καθὼς συνθήκας περὶ αὐτῶν ἔξουσιν ὁ μὲν  
στρατηγὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας—μαν-  
20 θάνοιεν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κελευόμενα. ἔτι, ἐπεὶ ποτὲ μὲν  
ὀμίχλη καταλαβοῦσα, ποτὲ δὲ κονιορτὸς ἀνεγνηγερμένος ὄρασθαι τὰ  
σημεῖα ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ διεκάλυεν, ἐπενόησαν τὰς σάλπιγγας, ἵνα  
καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς δύναται μηνῦειν τῷ στρατῷ | ἃ πράττειν  
αὐτοὺς ἐγκελεύεται. καὶ γνωριμωτέρα ἢ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῆ ἡσυχίας  
25 ἐνούσης, πολυφωνοτέρα δὲ ἢ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἂν τε καθαρὸς ἢ ὁ ἀήρ,  
ἂν τε μὴ, καὶ τῶν σημείων τοῖς πολλοῖς χρησιμωτέρα. τὰς μὲν γὰρ  
ὄψεις πάντων μόγις ἂν τις πείσειεν προσέχειν τοῖς σημείοις ἄλλων  
ἀλλαχοῦ περιστρεφόντων τὸ ὄμμα, τῆς δὲ φωνῆς τῆς σάλπιγγος ἀπο-

30.

The General's Staff.

In each unit four men should be assigned to transmit orders, two by voice, one by trumpet, and one by signals. Sometimes the general gives his orders in person to those present, sometimes through others to men who are elsewhere. He must, then, have people with him who can convey to others what he would have them do. Commands, moreover, are of two kinds, particular and general. By particular I mean orders prescribing or prohibiting certain things addressed to one man or to several. General orders are addressed to all the soldiers. The ancient authors designate the man who delivers particular commands as an orderly and the man who proclaims general ones as the army's herald.

But since it is not always quiet enough for the herald's voice to transmit the commands to the army, and often enough there is so much noise that the herald's voice cannot be heard at all, signals have been devised, and those who make them are called signal bearers. By moving them now in one way, now in another, as they shall have previously agreed upon, the orders of the general are passed on from himself to the officers and from them to the soldiers. Nevertheless, sometimes a thick fog settles in or a cloud of dust is stirred up, and the signals cannot be seen by the army. In that case, trumpets are put to use to enable the general to convey his commands to the army. Although the voice of the herald is the easiest to understand if everything is quiet, the sound of the trumpet carries better, whether the air is clear or not, and it is more convenient than signals. For the men are looking about in all directions, and it is very difficult to get all of them to watch out for the signals.

τελουμένης πάντες αἰσθήσονται κὰν ὁ μὲν ᾧδε, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ τὸν ὀφθαλ-  
30 μὸν περιτρέπη.

30: K-R 146, Erc 64.

30: 1 λ' De: ιθ' A: om. MP || 18 συνθήκας K-R: συνθήκης codd. || 27 προσέχειν A: προ-  
σέχει MP || 29 αἰσθήσονται A: ἡσθήσονται MP || 30 περιτρέπη A: περιέπη M: περιέσπη P

### λα'.

Περὶ οἰκονομίας πολέμου καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῇ κεφαλαίων.

A f. 19 Εἶπερ ἄλλο τι μέγιστον τῶν τῆς στρατηγικῆς μερῶν ἢ περὶ τοὺς  
πολέμους οἰκονομία· οὐκοῦν περὶ αὐτῆς διαλαβεῖν | μέλλοντες πρό-  
5 τερον ἐροῦμεν τί ἐστὶν φάλαγξ ὀρθή, φάλαγξ πλαγία, λοξή, πρόταξις  
ἤτοι πρόσταξις, ἔνταξις, ἐπίταξις, ὑπόταξις, παρεμβολή, διπλασια-  
σμός, ὑπερκέρασις, ὑπερφαλάγγωσις, πλίνθιον, πλαίσιον, φάλαγξ  
ἀντίστομος, ἀμφίστομος, ἑτερόστομος. ἐτι διοριστέον τί ἐστὶν διφα-  
λαγγία συνημμένη καὶ τίς διηρημένη, καὶ τῆς συνημμένης τίς ἐστὶν  
10 ἔμβολος καὶ τίς κοιλέμβολος, καὶ τίς ὁμοίοστομος, καὶ τίς μνηοειδής,  
καὶ τίς κυκλοειδής.

Ὅρθή φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ πολλαπλάσιον ἔχουσα τὸ βάθος τοῦ  
μήκους, πλαγία φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ πολλαπλάσιον ἔχουσα τὸ μήκος τοῦ  
βάθους. λοξή φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ θάτερον κέρασ προτεινομένη τῆς φά-  
15 λαγγοῦ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῖς ἐναντίοις συμπλεκόμενη, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὑπο-  
κρατοῦσα ὅσον μὴ παρελθεῖν τὸ βάθος τοῦ προλαβόντος. πρόσταξις  
ἐστὶν ὅταν ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἑκάτερα πλευρῶν προστάξωμεν τοῦ μετώπου  
τῆς φάλαγγοῦ. ἔνταξις ἐστὶν ὅταν ἐτι ἀπύκνου οὔσης τῆς φάλαγγοῦ  
εἰς τὰ κενὰ αὐτῆς διαστήματα ἄνδρα παρ' ἄνδρα τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάτ-  
τωμεν, οὐ σφενδόνας χρωμένους ἄλλ' ἄκοντίους καὶ βέλεσιν. ἐπίτα-  
20 ξις ἐστὶν ὅταν κατόπιον τῶν οὐραγῶν τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάττωμεν. ὑπόταξις  
ἐστὶν ὅταν παρ' ἑκάτερα μέρη τῆς φάλαγγοῦ τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάττωμεν.  
παραμβολή ἐστὶν ὅταν προτεταγμένων τινῶν ἐν ἀποστάσει ἀλλήλων  
εἰς τὰ μεταξύ τούτων διαστήματα παρεμβάλλωμεν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐκ  
25 τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῆ φάλαγγι.

Διπλασιασμός ἐστὶν ὅταν τὸ μήκος ἢ τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγοῦ  
κατὰ ἀριθμὸν προσώπων ἢ τόπον διπλασιάσωμεν. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο  
κατὰ μὲν ἀριθμὸν ὅταν ἀφαιροῦντες ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ βάθει ἐπιστατῶν  
μεταξὺ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν αὐτοὺς παρεμβάλλωμεν, κατὰ δὲ τόπον ὅταν

When the trumpet is blown, however, everyone hears it no matter in what direction  
their eyes are turned.

### 31.

The Management of Battle and Associated Topics.

There is hardly any aspect of strategical science more important than the  
management of battle. Still, before entering upon our discussion of that, we have to  
explain a number of terms. What is a straight phalanx, a broad phalanx, oblique  
order, protaxis or prostaxis, entaxis, epitaxis, hypotaxis, parembole, doubling,  
single envelopment, double envelopment, square, oblong, two-faced phalanx, am-  
phistomos, heterostomos? We must also define what is a unified double phalanx, a  
divided one; of the unified, what is the wedge, the hollow wedge, what is like-  
fronted, what is semicircular, and what is circular.

A straight phalanx is many times deeper than it is broad; a broad phalanx is  
many times broader than it is deep. An oblique phalanx has one of its wings ex-  
tended forward, and it is this which engages the enemy in combat, while the other  
wing holds back at a distance less than the depth of the advanced phalanx. Prostaxis  
occurs when we post some men from the flanks on both sides out ahead of the front  
of the phalanx. Entaxis occurs before the phalanx closes up its ranks and we posi-  
tion in the still empty space light-armed troops, one man at a time, armed with jav-  
elins or bows, but not slings. Epitaxis is the positioning of the light-armed troops  
behind the rear guards. Hypotaxis means positioning them off to both sides of the  
phalanx. Parembole is when we have some men stationed in a forward position and  
separated from one another, and through the intervals between them we push  
straight forward some men stationed further back in the phalanx.

In doubling we double the front or the depth of the phalanx, either in the  
number of men or the space occupied. It is carried out by number when we take out  
the even-numbered men from the file and move them over to stand between the other



M f. 123 30 ἀφαιρούντες ἐκ τοῦ | βάθους τῆς φάλαγγος ὑποτάξωμεν αὐτῇ καθ' ἐν ἡ  
καθ' ἑκάτερον τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς, ἢ ὅταν ἀφαιρούντες ἐκ τοῦ μήκους  
τῆς φάλαγγος προσθῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸ βάθος αὐτῆς μετὰ τοὺς οὐραγοὺς  
αὐτοὺς τάττοντες, ὅποτε μάλιστα κατεπίγει ὁ πόλεμος. ὑπερκέρασις  
A f. 19<sup>v</sup> ἐστὶν ὅταν | θατέρω τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ μήκους τῆς φάλαγγος θάτερον τῶν  
35 ἄκρων τοῦ μήκους τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν πολεμίων ὑπερβαλώμεθα. ὑπερ-  
φαλάγγωσις ἐστὶν ὅταν ἑκατέρω τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ μήκους τῆς φάλαγ-  
γος ἑκάτερον τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ μήκους τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν ἐναντίων  
ὑπερβαλώμεθα.

Πλιυθίον ἐστὶν ὅταν κατὰ διαφόρους ἐπιφανείας ἀναφανέντων  
40 τῶν ἐχθρῶν καθ' ἑκάστην αὐτῶν οἰκειᾶν ἀντιτάττωμεν φάλαγγα ἐν  
τετραγώνῳ σχήματι τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ πλήθους ταῖς ἄλλαις ἔχου-  
σαν. τὸ δὲ πλαίσιον ὀρίζονται οἱ παλαιοὶ οὕτως· πλαίσιον ἐστὶν ἐὰν  
πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἐπιφανείας πᾶς ὀπλίτης παρατάσσηται ἐν ἑτερο-  
μήκει σχήματι. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ἢ κατὰ μονοφαλαγγίαν ἢ κατὰ δι-  
45 φαλαγγίαν ὡσαύτως καὶ τριφαλαγγίαν καὶ τετραφαλαγγίαν· ὅποσαι  
γὰρ ἂν τις τετραγώνους φάλαγγιν ἐπὶ τοῦ πλιυθίου χρήσασθαι βου-  
ληθεῖ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφανείας, τοσαύταις καὶ ἑτερομήκεσιν  
ἐπὶ τοῦ πλαισίου εἰκότως ἂν χρήσαιτο.

Φάλαγξ ἀντίστομος ἐστὶν ἢ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ οὐρὰν τοὺς ἡγε-  
50 μόνους ἔχουσα. ἀμφίστομος φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ καθ' ἑκατέραν τῶν πλευ-  
ρῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνους ὁμοίως ἔχουσα. ἑτερόστομος ἐστὶν ἢ κατὰ δύο  
συνημμένους πλευρὰς τοὺς ἡγεμόνους ἔχουσα τεταγμένους.

Διφαλαγγία συνημμένη ἐστὶν ὅταν φάλαγξ φάλαγγι κατὰ μέ-  
τωπον ἢ οὐρὰν συναπτόμεναι καθ' ἕτερον τούτων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κατ'  
55 ὀλίγον δίστανται. διφαλαγγία διηρημένη ἐστὶν ὅταν φάλαγξ φάλαγ-  
γος κατὰ πλευρὰν καθόλου δίσταται. διφαλαγγία ἔμβολός ἐστὶν ἢ τις  
τὰ μὲν ἡγούμενα συναπτουσα, τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα διαστέλλουσα τοὺς μὲν  
ἡγεμόνας ἐκτὸς ἔχει, τοὺς δὲ οὐραγοὺς ἐντὸς· ἢ δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀμ-  
φίστομος λέγεται. διφαλαγγία κοιλέμβολός ἐστὶν ἢ τις τοῦναντίον τὰ  
60 μὲν ἡγούμενα διαστέλλουσα, τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα συναπτουσα τοὺς μὲν  
ἡγεμόνας ἐντὸς ἔχει, τοὺς δὲ οὐραγοὺς ἐκτὸς· ἀντίστομος δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ  
A f. 20 ὀνομάζεται. | διφαλαγγία ὁμοίστομος ἐστὶν ἢ τις ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη  
ἑκατέρας φάλαγγος τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔχει. |

31: K-R 148, Erck 65.

31: 1 λα' De: κ' A: om. MP || 2 inc. cod. Sinait. gr. 1889 sub titulo Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως  
περὶ οἰκονομίας κτλ. || 3 τῆς A: om. MP || 10 καὶ τις κοιλέμβολος MP: om. A || 11 κυκλοειδῆς A:  
κυκλοτέρης MP || 15 τοῖς ἐναντίοις A: τοὺς ἐναντίους MP || 23 προτεταγμένων A: προστετα-  
γμένων MP || 24 εἰς MA: εἰ P || 27 διπλασιάζωμεν MA: διπλασιάζωμεν P || 34 θάτερον A:  
θατέρου MP || 37 ἑκάτερον A: ἑκατέρου MP || 53 συνημμένη ἐστὶν A: ἐστὶ συνημμένη MP

soldiers. It is carried out according to space when we take some from the files of the phalanx and reposition them in it on one or both of its sides, or when we take some from the width of the phalanx and position them to deepen it, that is, having them form behind the rear guards, especially when the tide of battle so forces us. Envelopment is pushing one of the wings of the front of our phalanx around beyond the corresponding wing of the enemy's phalanx. Double envelopment means extending both wings of the front of our phalanx around beyond both wings of the enemy's phalanx.

The square is used when the enemy appear in several places at once. To oppose each of their units we draw up our own phalanx in a four-sided shape, seeing to it that each has the same number of troops as the others. The ancient authors defined the oblong as a formation with sides of unequal length, in which all the men are drawn up facing in different directions. This may be done in a single phalanx or in a double, triple, or quadruple phalanx. Depending on the way in which the enemy approach, one might plan on using as many four-sided phalanxes in a square formation as he might have cause to use oblongs with sides of different length.

A two-faced phalanx is one which has its file leaders both in front and in the rear. A phalanx is amphistomos when it has its file leaders in like fashion on both flanks. It is heterostomos when it has the file leaders drawn up along two unified flanks.

We have a unified double phalanx when one phalanx is united with another, joining either in front or rear, and having the men stand a little apart from one another. A divided double phalanx is one that stands fully separated from another phalanx along its flank. The wedge-shaped double phalanx is one that brings its forward elements closer together, spreading the following ones further apart, with its leaders on the outside and the rear guards on the inside; it is also termed amphistomos. The hollow wedge-shaped double phalanx does the opposite by spreading out its leading elements and bringing the following ones closer together, and its leaders are inside with the rear guards to the outside, and it is also named antistomos. The double phalanx with like front is one which has the leaders on the same side of both phalanxes.

31: Cf. Aelianum, 24, 30, 37–38; Asclepiodotum, 10; Arrianum, 43–45.

(λβ'.)

M f. 123<sup>v</sup>

Χρητέον δὲ τῇ μὲν ὀρθῇ φάλαγγι ἐν ὁδοιπορίαις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν  
πολέμῳ· οὐ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν οἱ ὀπισθεν διὰ τὸ βάθος  
τῆς φάλαγγος δύνανται. τῇ δὲ πλαγίᾳ ὅταν τοὺς ἐναντίους ὀρώμεν  
5 ὑπερκερᾶν ἢ ὑπερφαλαγγίζειν καθ' ἡμῶν διανοουμένους, ἢ ὅταν  
ἡμεῖς τοῦτο πράττειν καθ' ἐκείνων διανοώμεθα. τῇ δὲ λοξῇ ὅταν ὅτιοι  
ἀραιῶσαι τὴν πύκνωσιν τῶν πολεμίων ἐθέλωμεν ἢ λύσαι τὴν τάξιν  
αὐτῶν ἐπειγόμεθα ἢ καταπολεμήσαι καθ' ἑνὸς τούτων φερομένους ἢ  
10 τοῦ ὑποκρατηθέντος παρ' ἡμῶν κέρως ἢ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ προλαβόν-  
τος εἰς πόλεμον. εἰ δὲ τούναντίον χρήσασθαι καθ' ἡμῶν τῇ λοξῇ φά-  
λαγγι διανοεῖται τὸ πολέμιον, δεόν μὴ συγκεχυμένως ἐπελθεῖν κατὰ  
τοῦ ὑποσταλέντος κέρως, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνας προαφορίσαντας ἢ τινας ἄλ-  
λους τῶν ἀρίστων εἰς πόλεμον παραστήσαι τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ ἰδίου  
κέρως, ἵνα προβαλλόντων ἡμῶν κατὰ τοῦ ὑποσταλέντος κέρως τὸ μὲν  
15 μέτωπον ἐπέλθῃ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου τῶν ἐναντίων, ἢ δὲ πλευρὰ κατὰ  
τῆς πλευρᾶς κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς διπλεύρου φάλαγγος.

Ἐτι χρῆσόμεθα τῇ μὲν προστάξει ὅταν μὴ ἀθρόον προσβαλεῖν  
κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων διανοώμεθα ἢ ὅταν προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας  
τῶν πολεμίων βουλώμεθα· συμβαίνει γὰρ ἐκ τούτου τὴν μὲν οἰκείαν  
20 φάλαγγα προελθεῖν τεταγμένων τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκάστου ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας  
τάξεως καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἰσχυρότερον αὐτῶν ἀπομαχομένων, τοὺς δὲ  
ἡγεμόνας τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένους κατὰ τῶν προτεταγμένων μὴ  
ἂν ῥαδίως ἀναστρέφοντας ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον στήσεσθαι τόπον, ἀφ' ὧν  
αὐτοὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀπομάχονται καὶ οἱ τούτοις ἐπόμενοι. γίνεται δὲ πρό-  
25 σταξις οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' ἐκάτερα ἰλῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν  
ὅταν ἐφ' ἵππων καθ' ἡμῶν ἤκωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὡς ἂν σφενδόνας  
αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους αὐτῶν καταθορυβήσαντες δειλίαν αὐτοῖς  
ἐπαγάγωσιν. χρῆ δὲ τοῦτο | ποιεῖν μέλλοντας κενούς τινας τόπους  
μεταξὺ τῶν συνταγμάτων καταλιμπάνειν ἐφ' οὓς οἱ ψιλοὶ καταφεύ-  
30 γοντες κατὰ παραγωγὴν ταῖς φάλαγγι συμμαχήσουσιν.

A f. 20<sup>v</sup>

Τῇ δὲ ἐντάξει ὅταν ἀπέναντι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἱππέας ὀρώμεν, οὐ  
γὰρ φυλάξει αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀπὸ τῶν βαλλόντων  
δυνήσονται ἢ ὅταν βαθύνη τὴν φάλαγγα θέλωμεν. τῇ δὲ ἐπιτάξει  
ὅταν ἀβαθοῦς οὐσῆς τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ ψιλοὶ συμμαχεῖν δύνανται τοῖς  
M f. 124 35 κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἀγωνιζόμενοι. | τῇ δὲ ὑποτάξει ὅταν οἱ πολέμιοι  
παρ' ἐκάτερα τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἱππέας τάττωσιν, καθ' ὧν οἱ ψιλοὶ ταῖς

32.

The phalanx in column ought to be used on the march but not in battle. Because the phalanx is so deep, the men in the rear cannot support the men fighting up front. The broad formation is used when we observe that the enemy intend to envelop one or both of our flanks, or when we are thinking of doing the same to them. The oblique phalanx is used when we want the enemy to break up their close formation, or to force them to fall into disorder, or to overwhelm them as they are moving toward either the wing we are holding back or the flank of the wing advancing into action. If, on the contrary, the enemy intend to employ the oblique phalanx against us, we should not carelessly charge in against the wing they are keeping back. We should, rather, choose out leaders or some other of our best soldiers to get the flank of our own wing ready for action, so that when we advance against their withdrawn wing our front may attack the enemy's front and our flank face their flank, in keeping with the shape of the phalanx with two flanks.

We will make use of the prostaxis when we do not plan on attacking the enemy in full force or when we want to draw out the enemy leaders. The result of this maneuver is that our own phalanx will advance, each file leader in position at the head of his own file, and consequently be able to fight more effectively, whereas the leaders of the enemy will be moving against our more advanced troops, and they will not easily be able to turn about and take a stand in their normal position, in which they and the men behind them could fight more effectively. The prostaxis may be formed not only by the files from both sides, but also by using light-armed troops when the enemy come against us with cavalry. Slingers, for example, can cause great confusion among them and their horses and break down their morale. When we plan on doing this we ought to leave several empty places between the units to which the light-armed troops can pull back to support the phalanxes fighting on the main line.

We use the entaxis formation when we notice that we are opposed by hostile cavalry, for they will not be able to use their shields to protect both themselves and their horses against missiles. It can also be used to increase the depth of the phalanx. Epitaxis is appropriate when the phalanx has no depth and the light troops can support the men fighting along the front; hypotaxis, when the enemy draw up their cavalry to both flanks of the infantry. Against them light troops can use slings to

σφενδόνας χρώμενοι τοὺς ἵππους ἀναταράξουσιν καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα διαλύσουσιν. τῇ δὲ παρεμβολῇ ὅταν ἰσχυροτέραν τὴν πρόσταξιν γενέσθαι διανοώμεθα. πρὸς τοῦτοις χρησόμεθα τῷ μὲν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν  
40 διπλασιασμῷ ὅταν πυκνώσαι τὴν φάλαγγα βουληθῶμεν, τῷ δὲ κατὰ τόπον ὅταν ἐπιμηκεστέραν ἢ βαθυτέραν ταύτην γενέσθαι θελήσωμεν.

Ἐὰν ὑπερβάλλωμεν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐναντιῶν, ἄλλω δὲ τρόπῳ τούτων οὐκ ἐλαττούμεθα συμβαλλομένων εἰς πόλεμον, κατὰ τοσοῦτον τῇ ὑπερκεράσει χρησόμεθα καθ' ὅσον τῷ πλήθει τῶν πολεμίων  
45 διενηνόχαμεν. εἰ δὲ τι καὶ τούτου πλέον κεκτῆμεθα, οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ ὑπερφαλαγγία χρῆσασθαι. εἰ δὲ τοῦναντίον τῇ ὑπερκεράσει ἢ τῇ ὑπερφαλαγγίᾳ χρῆσασθαι διανοεῖται καθ' ἡμῶν τὸ πολέμιον, εἰ μὲν τοσοῦτον καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ σφάτευμα ὅπόσον ἂν τῶν ἐναντιῶν γινώσκειται, δεόν παρατείνειν τὴν φάλαγγα ὥστε κατ' οὐδέτερον  
50 κέρας ἐκπίπτειν ἡμῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. εἰ δ' ἐπ' ἐλάττον ἐκείνων ἢ τὸ ἡμέτερον σφάτευμα, μὴ λεπτύνειν τὴν φάλαγγα ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν πεζοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ ὑπερκερᾶν μέλλοντες, πεζοὺς κατ' αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐφειστηκόσιν τῆς φάλαγγος, εἰ δὲ ἵππεῖς, τριβόλοις τούτους διατειχίσαντες ἀκοντίοις καὶ βέλεσιν κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσονται.]

A f. 21 55 Τῷ δὲ πλυνθίῳ καὶ τῷ πλαισίῳ χρώμεθα ὅταν ἀδυνατοῦντες προὔπαντῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις καθ' ἑκάστην αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀντινώτους τὰς οἰκείας συνάγωμεν φάλαγγας πολλὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος βοήθειαν προσλαμβάνοντες· φυλάττεται γὰρ ἕτερα ὑπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας. μετὰξὺ δὲ τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκάστης φάλαγγος τάττειν  
60 τοὺς ψιλοὺς φυλαττομένους μὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, αὐτῶν δὲ συμμαχοῦντων ἑκατέρωθεν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον συναγωνιζομένοις. καὶ πού ἀνάγκης κατ' αὐτῶν φερομένης χωρεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν ἐντὸς τόπον ὅστις ὑφ' ἑκάστης πλευρᾶς τῶν οὐραγῶν ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἢ ἑτερομήκει σχήματι περιγράφεται, τοὺς δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπικειμένους κατακον-  
65 τίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκάστης φάλαγγος.

Τῇ δὲ ἀντιστόμῳ καὶ ἀμφιστόμῳ καὶ ἑτεροστόμῳ φάλαγγι οὐ μόνον ἐν ὁδοιπορίαις χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγῶνι, ὅταν τετραγώνους καὶ ἑτερομήκεσιν ἀντιπαρατατῶμεθα φάλαγγιν. διαφέρουσι  
M f. 124<sup>v</sup> 70 δὲ ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καθ' ἓν μέρος κινοῦνται οἱ τε ἡγεμόνες καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀγῶνι καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφάνειαν. τῇ δὲ συνημμένη διφαλαγγίᾳ χρώμεθα ἢτοι τῇ ἐμβόλῳ καὶ κοιλεμβόλῳ ἐπειδὴν λῦσαι τὴν τάξιν τῶν πολεμίων διανοώμεθα, τῇ δὲ διηρημένη διφαλαγγίᾳ χρώμεθα ἢ καθ' ἑκατέραν τῶν ἐχθρῶν φάλαγγα προσερχόμενοι ἢ κατὰ μίαν καὶ οὕτως τῆς μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον,  
75 τῆς δὲ κατὰ πλευρᾶς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεμβαινούσης—καὶ τοῦτο ποιούμεεν ὅταν περισπάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους βουλώμεθα—κατ' ἐπακολουθήσιν δὲ ὅταν θατέρας προλαμβάνουσης καὶ συμπλεκομένης ἢ ἕτερα ἐπακολουθῇ τὸ μὲν προθυμίας τὸ δὲ ἀσφαλείας τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἕνεκα.

make the horses uncontrollable and so break up the phalanx. Parembolē may be used when we want to strengthen a prostaxis formation. In addition to these we can double by number when we want to make the phalanx denser, or in space when we might wish to increase either its width or its depth.

If we are superior to the enemy in numbers and in other respects not inferior, as they move into action we should envelop their flank to the extent dictated by our superiority. But if we are still somewhat stronger than this, there is no reason why we should not make the envelopment double. But the opposite may occur, that is, the enemy is planning to envelop one or both of our flanks. If our own army is as large as the enemy's is reported to be, then we should extend our phalanx along the front so that the enemy may not be able to fall upon either one of our flanks. But if our army is weaker than theirs, we should not stretch out our phalanx. If the army threatening to outflank us is composed of infantry, we should oppose it with infantry posted on the flanks of the phalanx. If it is a cavalry force, we should place caltrops all along and fire at it with javelins and arrows.

We can use the square or oblong formation when we find ourselves unable to go out and engage the enemy in each place they appear. We bring our own phalanxes close together, back to back, for this formation furnishes us a great advantage in that one line is protected by the other. Between the flanks of each phalanx we station the light-armed troops, who are protected by the phalanxes and at the same time can come to the support of either phalanx if it is attacked along its front. In case of an emergency, these light troops can withdraw into the square or rectangular area inside the formation, which is marked out by each flank of the rear guards. An enemy force pressing upon them will be caught in the cross fire from the flanks of each phalanx.

We can use the antistomos, amphistomos, and heterostomos phalanxes when we find ourselves opposed by square and rectangular phalanxes, not only on the march but also in battle. The difference is that on the march the leaders and the troops move in only one direction, whereas in battle they have to move wherever an enemy appears. We can use the unified double phalanx, in either the wedge or hollow wedge shape, when we intend to break up the enemy's formation. We can use the divided double phalanx either in advancing against one of the enemy's phalanxes or in a combined attack against both flank and front. The assault upon the enemy's flank, which we engage in when we want to draw the enemy force apart, can be followed up by having one unit move out and come to grips with the enemy while the other follows to provide both moral support and security for the troops in front.

32: K-R 154, Erck 67.

32: 1 λβ' De: om. MPA || 6 διανοώμεθα A: διανοοῦμεθα MP || 13 τὴν πλευρὰν A: τὰ πλευρὰ MP || 17 προσβαλεῖν MP: προσβάλλειν A || 19 τῶν πολεμίων βουλώμεθα A: βουλώμεθα τῶν πολεμίων MP || 27 αὐτοῖς A: αὐτοῦς MP || 33 βαθύναι MA: καθήναι P || 39 ἀριθμὸν A: ἀριθμῶ MP || 42 ὑπερβάλλωμεν A: ὑπερβάλαμεν MP || 43 συμβαλλωμένων K-R: συμβαλαμένω codd. || 52 πεζοῖς K-R: ἱππεῖς codd. || 53 ἱππεῖς K-R: πεζοί codd. || τούτους K-R: τούτοις codd. || 55 τῷ<sup>2</sup> A: om. MP || 56 τοῖς πολεμίοις A: τοῦς πολεμίους MP || 66-68 οὐ . . . φάλαγγιν MP: χρώμεθα ὅταν τετραγώνους καὶ ἑτερομήκεσιν ἀντιπαραταπώμεθα φάλαγγιν οὐ μόνον ἐν ὁδοιπορίαις ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγῶνι A || 71 ἐμβόλω des. cod. Sinai. gr. 1889 || 75 ποιούμεν A: ποιῶμεν MP

λγ'.

Πότε δεῖ πολεμεῖν καὶ πότε οὐ δεῖ.

- A f. 21<sup>v</sup>
- Δεῖ δὲ πρὸς πόλεμον εὐτρεπιζομένους ἀνερευνᾶν καὶ καταμαν-  
θάνειν διὰ τε τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τῶν αὐτομόλων | καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς  
5 τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις καὶ ταύτας ταῖς ἡμέτεραις παραβάλλοντας  
προτρέπειν ἢ ἀποτρέπειν τὸν πόλεμον. λέγω δὲ παραβάλλειν  
πρῶτον μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἑκατέρου στρατεύματος, ὅσον τε τὸ ἡμέτερον  
καὶ ὅσον τῶν ἐναντίων, δεύτερον τὴν τῶν προσώπων ἑκατέρου μέρους  
ποιότητα, ὅπως ἔχουσι πρὸς τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ ῥώμην σώματος καὶ  
10 πείραν πολέμων, ἔτι δὲ τὸν καθοπλισμὸν ὁμοίως ἑκατέρου μέρους,  
καὶ ὅπως οἱ στρατιῶται προθέσεως ἔχουσιν εἰς τὸν προκείμενον πό-  
λεμον. κἂν μὲν βέλτιον ἔχειν δοκῇ τὰ ἡμέτερα, προτρέπειν τὸν πόλε-  
μον οὐ καταφρονούντας τῶν ἐναντίων· πολλάκις γὰρ μεγάλαι δυνά-  
15 χιλιάσιν ἐν Μαραθῶνι εἴκοσι μυριάδας Περσῶν καταπολεμήσαντες.  
εἰ δὲ τοῦναντίον βέλτιον ἔχειν δοκεῖ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐδενὸς μὲν  
ἐπομένου μεγάλου κακοῦ ἀποτρέπειν τὸν πόλεμον.
- Εἰ δὲ ἀφύλακτα ἢ τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ μέγας κίνδυνος τούτοις ἀκο-  
λουθεῖ παραιτουμένων ἡμῶν τὸν προκείμενον πόλεμον, πολεμεῖν  
20 μὲν προτρέπειν, οὐ μὴν ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν τυχόντα καιρὸν ἢ τό-  
πον, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας μὲν οὔσης ἐν στενοῖς χωρίοις ἀντιπαρατάττεσθαι  
ἐνθα παρ' ἑκάτερα οὐχ ὑφορώμεθα οὐδὲ κατὰ νῶτον ἀπόμοιράν τινα  
τῶν πολεμίων καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπικεισομένην, νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναπανομένοις  
αὐτοῖς καὶ καθυδουσιν.
- 25 Εἰ δὲ ἐξισοῦται τὰ ἑκατέρων ὥστε τὴν νίκην ἀμφίβολον εἶναι,  
M f. 125 μὴ | πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην χωρεῖν πρὶν ἂν ἡμῶν χείρονας κατὰ τι  
γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ὅταν ἤδη κεκμηκότας

33.

When to Engage in Battle and When to Avoid It.

In making preparations for battle one has to search out and gather information from spies, deserters, and other sources about the strength of the enemy and, comparing it with our own, decide whether to advance into battle or avoid it. In making such a comparison, we should first look to the numerical strength of each army, how large is ours and how large is the enemy's. Second, we should consider the quality of the troops on each side, their courage, physical strength, and combat experience. We should, finally, examine the armament of the two forces as well as the morale of the men as they approach battle. If our army seems to be in better condition, we should move toward battle, but without underestimating the enemy. For large forces have frequently been defeated by smaller ones. A good example of this is given by the four thousand Athenians at Marathon who defeated two hundred thousand Persians. If, on the contrary, the enemy is in a better condition for combat, we should avoid battle, unless some very serious harm would result.

If our territory is unprotected and great danger would result from our refusal to join in battle, we must choose to fight. We ought not do this carelessly or at any chance time or place. By day we should take our stand in a narrow place, in which we will not be left open on either side or worried about a detachment of the enemy attacking us from the rear. At night, though, attack them when they are resting and sleeping.

If conditions are equal on both sides and the victory could go either way, we should not advance into battle before the enemy have become inferior to us in some respect. This can be brought about if we fall upon them when they may be weary

αὐτοὺς καταλάβωμεν ἢ μακρὰν ὁδοιπορίαν ἀνύσαντας ἢ κατὰ πε-  
τρῶν καὶ λόφων περιπατήσαντας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἀσυντάκτους αὐτοὺς  
30 καταλάβωμεν ἢ κατασκηνοῦντας ἢ τὰς σκηναὶς καταλύοντας, καὶ  
προσέτι ὅταν δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς διὰ τινων στρατιωτῶν αὐτοὺς κατακρά-  
ξαντες καὶ καταθορυβήσαντες ἔωθεν κατ' αὐτῶν τὸν πόλεμον συγκρο-  
τήσομεν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν κατὰ φάλαγγας διαιρεθέντων τῶν πολε-  
μίων σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἢ καὶ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας κατὰ μιᾶς τούτων  
35 προσβάλωμεν. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει καὶ Βελισάριος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀντισχεῖν  
διὰ τὸ πλήθος τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκ ἠδύνατο, πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνων παρου-  
σίας ἐδήου τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα ἵνα διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῆς χρείας διαιρεθεί-  
σας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τῶν ἐναντίων τὰς φάλαγγας ἄλλων ἄλλοθεν διερ-  
χομένων καθ' ἐκάστης τούτων καταγωνίσηται. ταῦτα ἐστὶν δι' ὧν  
40 μεγάλα πολλάκις στρατεύματα ὑπὸ ἐλαχίστων ἠττήθησαν, μὴ ὅτι γε  
ὑπὸ τῶν ἴσων τε καὶ ὁμοίων.

Σοφὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴν ἦτταν εὐλαβουμένους ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς ἡλίου τοῖς  
πολεμίοις συμπλέκεσθαι, τὸ μὲν ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν καταπτῆσειν τοὺς  
ἐναντίους ἀλλὰ τούναντίον φαίνεσθαι διὰ πολλὴν τοῦ πολέμου προ-  
45 θυμίαν καταφρονοῦντας τοῦ καιροῦ, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ μὴ σφόδρα πα-  
θεῖν ἔνεκα. κωλύσει γὰρ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι τὴν δίωξιν τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ σκότος  
ἐπιφερόμενος.

33: K-R 160, Erck 70.

33: I λγ' M: κα' A: om. P || 2 πότε inc. SB || 3 δὲ MPA: om. SB || 5 ταύτας MPA: ταύταις SB ||  
12 κὰν MPAS: καὶ B || μὲν MPA: om. SB || 13 καταφρονοῦντας MPA: καταφρονοῦντες SB || 15 ἐν  
MPAS: ἐκ B || 16 ἔχειν MPAS: ἔχει B || μὲν MP: om. ASB || 20 οὐδὲ MPA: om. SB || 21 ἐν MP: om.  
ASB || 23 ἐπικεισομένην MPAS: ἀποκεισομένην B || 25 ἐξισοῦται ASB: ἐξισοῦνται MP || 26  
χείρονας MPA: χείρονος SB || 33 διαιρεθέντων des. A || 35 προσβάλωμεν MP: προσβάλλομεν SB  
|| δ' ἐποίει SB: δὲ ποιεῖ MP || 37 ἐδήου MPS: ἐδήουν B || 38 φάλαγγας MPB: φάλαγγος S || 42  
εὐλαβουμένους SB: εὐλαβοῦμενος MP || 45 μὴ SB: om. MP

(λδ'.)

Πῶς δεῖ πολεμεῖν μέλλοντας συντάττειν τὰς φάλαγγας.

Παρατάττονται τοίνυν οἱ πολέμοι ποτὲ μὲν μιᾷ φάλαγγι, ποτὲ  
δὲ δυσὶν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ πλείοσιν χρώμενοι. Χρὴ τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς  
5 ἀντιπαρατάττεσθαι αὐτοῖς μέλλοντας ἢ μιᾷ πάντως ἢ δυσὶν ἢ καὶ  
πλείοσιν φάλαγγι κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι. εἰ οὖν μονοφαλαγγία  
καθ' ἡμῶν κέχρηται οἱ πολέμοι, εἰ μὲν ἐξισούμεθα αὐτοῖς τῷ ἀρι-

from just having finished a long march or one through rocky and hilly country. We can also fall upon them when they are in disorder, for example, setting up their tents or taking them down. Another way is having some of our soldiers shouting and making noise all night long and then charge in upon them at dawn. The best time is when the enemy have broken up their units owing to lack of supplies or some other reason. Then we can attack those detachments one at a time. This is what Belisarius used to do. When the enemy force was so large that he was unable to face up to it, he would destroy the provisions in the area before they appeared. Need for supplies would force the enemy to separate their units from one another and march along in several different groups, and then he would defeat each unit by itself. By these methods large armies have often been defeated by much smaller ones, not to mention by forces equally or nearly as strong.

If we are facing the risk of defeat, it is wise not to join battle with the enemy until it is getting toward sunset. This will give the impression that we are not at all afraid to fight the enemy, but, on the contrary, are very eager for battle regardless of the time. The important point, though, is that we do not suffer serious harm, for, I know well, the gathering darkness will prevent pursuit at night.

[34.]

Formation of the Phalanx in Preparation for Battle.

The enemy often line up their troops in one phalanx but sometimes in two or even more. Consequently, when we get ready to line up our men to oppose them we must also employ one, two, or more divisions. If, then, the enemy oppose us with a single phalanx, and if we estimate that the numbers are equal, we too should form in

θμῶ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν, χρῆ καὶ ἡμᾶς μονοφάλαγγι κατ' αὐτῶν  
 10 χρήσασθαι, ἵνα μὴ τῷ μήκει ἢ τῷ βάθει τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν ἐλατ-  
 τώμεθα. εἰ δὲ κατὰ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει τῶν πολεμίων διεννηόχαμεν, οὐ  
 μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὸ μήκος ἢ τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος προσθήσομεν, εἰ μὴ  
 ἄρα διὰ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βάθους οἱ ὀπισθεν συμμαχεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσιν τοῖς  
 ἔμπροσθεν· χρῆ γὰρ βαθείας οὐσης τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τὸ μήκος αὐτῆς  
 προστιθέναι διὰ τὰς ὑπερκεράσεις τε καὶ ὑπερφάλαγγώσεις.

M f. 125<sup>v</sup> 15 Εἰ δὲ καὶ διπλάσιον τὸ πλήθος ἔχομεν ἢ καὶ ἐπέκεινα, οὐδὲν  
 κωλύει καὶ διφάλαγγι κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι. φευκτέον δὲ τὰς δι-  
 ὄλου κυκλώσεις, ἵνα μὴ τόπον φυγῆς μὴ ἔχοντες οἱ πολέμοιοι ἰσχυ-  
 ρότεροι ἐαντῶν καθ' ἡμῶν γένοιτο. εἰ δὲ κατὰ πλείονα μέρη προ-  
 σβάλλειν ἡμῖν μέλλοιεν οἱ πολέμοιοι, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ μιᾶ κατ'  
 20 αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι φάλαγγι κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τάτ-  
 τοντες καθ' ἃ φέρονται καθ' ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμοιοι, ἢ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκείνων  
 τὴν ἰδίαν ἀντιτάττοντες φάλαγγα καθάπερ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ πλινθίου καὶ τοῦ  
 πλαισίου πρότερον ἡμῖν διηγόρευται.

34: K-R 164, Erck 71.

34: 1 λδ' De: om. codd. || 2 συντάττειν τὰς φάλαγγας MP: τὰς φάλαγγας συντάττειν SB || 3  
 παρατάττονται MPS: ταράττονται B || 6 φάλαγγι MPS: φάλαξι B || 12 ὀπισθεν SB: ὀπιθεν MP ||  
 17 κυκλώσεις MP: κωλύσεις SB || μὴ! K-R: om. codd. || τόπον φυγῆς MP: φυγῆς τόπον SB ||  
 18-20 προσβάλλειν . . . μέρη MP: om. SB

<λε'.>

Πῶς χρῆ συντάττειν τὰ στρατεύματα καθ' ἓν μέρος ἡμῖν  
 προσβαλλόντων τῶν ἐναντίων.

Χρῆ δὲ καθ' ἓν μέρος προσβαλλόντων ἡμῖν τῶν ἐναντίων συν-  
 5 τάττειν τὰ στρατεύματα τὸν ὑποκείμενον τρόπον, ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ  
 πολλοὶ τῶν παλαιότερων ἐχρήσαντο, τὴν μὲν πεζικὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ  
 τὸ μέσον τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος τάττοντες, τὴν δὲ ἵππικὴν παρ'  
 ἑκάτερα τῶν πεζῶν. τινὲς δὲ τοῦναντίον ἐποίησαν. ἄμεινον δὲ παρ'  
 ἑκάτερα τῆς πεζικῆς φάλαγγος τὴν ἵππον τάττειν ἢ ἐν καιρῷ ῥαδίως  
 10 ἔχοιεν πρὸς τε τὴν δίωξιν καὶ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ἑκατέρωθεν τῆ πεζικῆ  
 φάλαγγι συνταττόμενοι, ἐκεῖ καταφεύγοντες ὅθεν ἐξήεσαν. ἐν μὲν  
 γὰρ τῷ διώκειν οὐδὲν δυσχερὲς ἐξίεναι τοὺς ἵππεας καὶ ἐκ μέσου  
 ἑκατέρας φάλαγγος τῶν πεζῶν, τὸ δὲ ἀντιδιωκομένους ἐκείσε αὐθις  
 ἀναχωρεῖν οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον. ἄλλων γὰρ ἄλλοθεν συναελανομένων καὶ

a single division to oppose them, so that our phalanx may not be shorter or more shallow than theirs. But if we judge that we are much superior to the enemy in numbers, we should be more inclined to increase the width than the depth of the unit, for if the depth is too great, the men to the rear are unable to support those up front. We should retain the normal depth of the phalanx and extend the width to secure a single or double envelopment.

If we have twice as many troops as the enemy, or even more than that, there is no reason why we should not use a double phalanx against them. We should be careful, however, not to encircle the enemy completely. If they have no avenue of escape, they will outdo themselves in desperation fighting against us. But if it looks as though the enemy are advancing against us from several directions, we in turn must form a single phalanx to oppose them, positioning the leaders to face those directions from which the enemy are coming toward us. We may also oppose a phalanx of our own to each one of theirs, as we explained above in connection with the square and oblong formations.

[35.]

Formation of the Army When the Enemy Attack Us  
 from One Direction Only.

When the enemy attack us from one direction only, we should draw up our army in the following manner, which happens to be the one most commonly used by commanders in the past. We should station the infantry in the center of the entire army with the cavalry on both sides of them. Some commanders have done the opposite. But it is better to have the cavalry form on both sides of the infantry phalanx. Drawn up on either side of the infantry phalanx, they may more easily, when the occasion presents itself, be set for pursuit and for returning to their original position. For the cavalrymen have no difficulty in riding out to pursue the enemy, even if they must do so from in between the infantry units, but if they should be driven back, they will not be able to retire to their former location without danger. Different groups will be riding in from all directions converging upon the same spot.

15 πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν συρρεόντων τόπον καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν θο-  
 ρύβων καὶ κονιορτοῦ τὸν ἀέρα σκοτίζοντος, πῶς ἂν ἐκεῖ ῥαδίως καὶ  
 ἀκινδύνως ἀποκατασταίεν ἀλλὰ μὴ φθαρείεν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων συμποδι-  
 ζόμενοι; τραπέντων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν χρὴ τοὺς μὲν κουφοτέρους τῶν ἰπ-  
 πέων ἐπικεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς παρ' ἐκάτερα τοὺς  
 20 καταφράκτους ἔχοντας κατόπιον ἀκολουθεῖν τοσοῦτον κινουμένους  
 ὅσον μὴ διαλύσαι τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥστε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναστραφέντων  
 κατὰ τῶν ἰπέων καθάπερ εἰς τι τεῖχος αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πλευρὰς τῶν  
 πεζῶν καταφεύγοιεν.

Τὴν δὲ τῶν ψιλῶν τάξιν οἱ καιροὶ διδάσκουσιν. ἄλλοτε γὰρ ἄλ-  
 25 λην τὴν σύνταξιν δέχονται, ποτὲ μὲν κατ' οὐρὰν τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπό-  
 μενοι, ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ πλευρὰν αὐτῇ συνταττόμενοι. ὅταν μὲν οὖν  
 M f. 126 βαθεῖα ἢ φάλαγξ ἦ, | κατὰ πλευρὰν αὐτῇ οἱ ψилоὶ τάττονται ἵνα μὴ  
 κατὰ νότου βάλλοντες τοὺς ἰδίους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τραυμα-  
 τίζωσιν. ὅταν δὲ πλαγία καὶ πτενή, κατ' οὐρὰν διὰ τὸ τὰ βέλη καὶ  
 30 τοὺς λίθους προπίπτοντα τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος φθάνειν τε καὶ  
 τραυματίζειν καὶ καταπλήττειν τοὺς πολεμίους. ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ τῶν  
 ὀπλιτῶν οἱ ψилоὶ προτρέχοντες λυσιτελεστέραν τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐπ-  
 οίησαν καθ' ἰπέων ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ σφενδόνας ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν τοὺς ἵππους ἀναταράττοντες.

35: K-R 166, Erck 72.

35: 1 λε' De: om. codd. || 4 προσαλλόντων SB: προβαλλόντων MP || ἡμῖν MPS: om. B || 9  
 τὴν MP: τὸν SB || 14 ἀναχωρεῖν SB: χωρεῖν MP || 15 συρρεόντων MPS: γυρρεόντων B || 27 βαθεῖα  
 ἢ φάλαγξ MP: ἢ φάλαγξ βαθεῖα SB || 28 βάλλοντες SB: βαλόντες MP || τραυματίζωσιν MP:  
 τραυματίζουσιν SB || 29 πτενή MP: πενή SB || 30 προπίπτοντα MP: προσπίπτοντα SB || φθάνειν  
 SB: φθάνει MP || 31 τραυματίζειν SB: τραυματίζει MP || καταπλήττειν SB: καταπλήττει MP || 34  
 τοὺς MP: om. SB

⟨λς'.⟩

Πῶς καθ' ἰπέων ἀγωνιούμεθα πεζικῇ φάλαγγι χρώμενοι.

Παραταττόμεθα τοῖνυν καθ' ἰπέων πεζικῇ φάλαγγι χρώμενοι,  
 τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ δεῦτερον ζυγὸν τεταγμένων συνεχῶς  
 5 κατὰ τῶν ποδῶν τῶν ἵππων τῶν πολεμίων χρωμένων τῷ τόξῳ, τοῦ δὲ  
 λοιποῦ παντὸς πλήθους εἰς ὕψος βάλλοντος ὥστε κατὰ κάθετον ἐξ  
 ὕψους τὰ βέλη φερόμενα καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτοὺς τραυματίσειαν, οὐ  
 δυναμένων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἵππων ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀσπίσι φυλάττεσθαι.

There will be a huge amount of confusion and clouds of dust filling the air. How will they be able to reassemble in a safe and orderly manner without trampling upon one another and destroying themselves? If the enemy are driven back, the light cavalry should move out to pursue them. The infantry, with the heavy cavalry on either side, should follow along behind at a pace steady enough to keep the phalanx from breaking up. Then, in case the enemy turn around against our cavalry, the main line, like a wall, may provide them refuge on its flanks.

Changing situations teach us what formation to adopt for the light troops. For their formation will vary from time to time. At one time they will follow along at the rear of the phalanx, at another time they will be positioned on its flanks. When the phalanx is deep, the light troops should be formed on its flanks. Otherwise, if they were firing from the rear, they would injure more of our own men than the enemy's. When the formation is broad and shallow, they can be placed in the rear because then the arrows and rocks fired by them will hit the ground ahead of the front of the phalanx, wounding and striking down the enemy. On occasion the light-armed troops have rendered more useful support by running out ahead of the heavily armed soldiers and attacking the enemy cavalry, with their slings causing great disturbance among the horses.

[36.]

How to Have an Infantry Phalanx Fight against Cavalry.

In employing an infantry phalanx against cavalry we should draw them up in the following manner. The men stationed in the first and second ranks should keep up continuous fire with the bow, aiming at the feet of the enemy's horses. All the rest of the men should shoot at a higher angle, so that when their arrows drop down from above, they will cause all the more injury, since the horsemen cannot use their shields to protect both themselves and their horses.

Ὡς ἂν δὲ πόρρωθεν ὀρώντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιούσαν τὴν πεζικὴν  
 10 φάλαγγα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεζοὶς καθ' ἡμῶν χρήσαιντο, χρή τινος τῶν  
 ἵππέων προτάξει τῶν πεζῶν ὥστε δοκεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους δι' ἵππέων  
 ἡμᾶς βούλεσθαι τὴν προσβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσασθαι, ἥδη δὲ  
 τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγιζόντων τοὺς μὲν ἵππεας παρ' ἑκάτερα χωρεῖν τῆς  
 15 πεζικῆς φάλαγγος κατὰ τὰς πλευρὰς συνταττομένους, τοὺς δὲ εἰ-  
 ρημένους τρεῖς ζυγούς καταθεμένους ἐπὶ γῆς τὰ δόρατα συνεχῶς κε-  
 χρήσθαι κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα τῷ τόξῳ. οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὶ διαμαρτάνοιεν  
 βάλλοντες διὰ τὸ βάθος τῶν πολεμίων τῆς φάλαγγος. εἶτα τῶν ἵππων  
 τῶν ἐναντίων κατατοξευθέντων καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ πρόσω κίνησιν ἀνα-  
 20 βαλλομένων, οἱ πεζοὶ ἐκ γῆς εἰς χεῖρας ἀναλαβόντες τὰ δόρατα  
 σπουδαιότερον καὶ θαρραλεώτερον (ἂν) κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων χωροῖεν.

36: K-R 170, Erck 73.

36: 1 λζ' De: om. codd. || 4 τῶν . . . τεταγμένων K-R: τοὺς . . . τεταγμένους codd. || 10 πεζοὶς SB: πεζῶν MP || 13-14 τῆς πεζικῆς φάλαγγος SB: τῆ πεζικῆ φάλαγγι MP || 14 συνταττομένους SB: συνταττόμενοι MP || 16-17 αὐτοὶ διαμαρτάνοιεν βάλλοντες conj. Erck: αὐτοὺς διαμαρτάνειν βάλλοντας codd.: διαμαρτάνοι K-R || 17 βάθος MPS: πλήθος B || 19 εἰς MP: om. SB || 20 ἂν K-R: om. codd.

(λζ'.

Πῶς κατὰ πλήθους τῶν πολεμίων ἀγωνιούμεθα.)

Ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ πλήθος ἡμῖν πολεμίων αἰφνιδίως ἐφίσταται  
 πρὸς ὃ ἀντισχεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα, οὐδ' ὄλως παραιτεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον  
 5 ὑπ' αὐτῶν συγχωρούμεθα. διὸ δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐροῦμεν. ἀνάγκη  
 γὰρ ἐπὶ λόφους ἀναβιβάζειν τὸ στράτευμα, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐπι-  
 κειμένων μετὰ τὴν ἀνοδὸν σφενδόνας αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς ἐκ χειρὸς βαλ-  
 λομένοις λίθοις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διακρούεσθαι, νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναχωρεῖν. εἰ  
 δὲ καὶ αὐθις καταλάβωσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι, τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς προτέροις  
 M f. 126<sup>v</sup> 10 διαπραξόμεθα, | νυκτὸς μὲν ἀναχωροῦντες, ἡμέρας δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 καταλαμβανόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑψηλοτέρους τόπους τῶν παρακειμένων  
 χωρίων ἀναβιβάζοντες τὰ στρατεύματα.

Εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν συγχωροῦσιν ἡμῖν οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸν  
 ὑποκείμενον τρόπον τὰς οἰκείας διατυπώσομεν φάλαγγας, δι' οὐ πολ-  
 15 λούς τὴν πολεμίων τῆς συμμαχίας τῶν ἰδίων κωλύσομεν. ποιῶμεν δὲ  
 ὡδε· λαβόντες δύο ἢ καὶ τρεῖς φάλαγγας καθ' ἓν μέρος ἐχούσας τὰ  
 μέτωπα τοσοῦτον αὐτὰς ἀπέχειν ἀλλήλων ποιήσομεν ὅποσον ἂν τὸ

To prevent the enemy, who from a distance would observe the advance of our infantry phalanx, from themselves employing infantry against us, we should post some of our horsemen in front of the infantry, so as to give the enemy the impression that we intend to make our attack with cavalry. Then, as the enemy come close, the horsemen should ride around both sides of the infantry phalanx and take up position by the flanks. The three ranks mentioned above put their spears down on the ground and keep up a continuous fire with the bow, as explained. Because of the depth of the enemy's phalanx, they can hardly miss hitting their targets. When the enemy's horses have been shot at for a while and they begin to slow down their forward progress, then the infantry should pick up their spears from the ground, hold them tightly, and with increased energy and courage they should advance against the enemy.

[37.

How We Engage a Large Enemy Force in Battle.]

It may happen that the enemy unexpectedly concentrate such a large force against us that we are unable to withstand it, and they allow us no opportunity of avoiding battle. We must, therefore, also discuss this case. The army should take position on high ground, and when the enemy press on and start to climb up, then drive them off mostly with slings and by throwing rocks at them, and at night fall back. If the enemy come up after us again, we should proceed as before, fall back at night, and at day when the enemy come after us, have the army keep its position on the higher ground in the surrounding area.

But if the enemy do not permit us to do this, we should organize our own units in the following manner, which should prevent large numbers of the enemy from supporting their own troops. This is how we proceed. We take two or even three phalanxes, all facing in the same direction, and we place them at a distance from



ἐκάστης μήκος νομίζεται. εἶτα παρεμβάλλομεν εἰς τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ  
 τόπους ἐκατέρας φάλαγγος ζυγούς δύο ἢ τρεῖς, οἱ δὲ κατ' εὐθείαν  
 20 στήσονται τῶν ἐμπροσθίων ζυγῶν ὡς ἂν μία τις συνεχῆς τοῦ παντός  
 πλήθους ἢ φάλαγγε εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις δοκοίη. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο μά-  
 λιστα ὅταν τὰ μὲν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ ὑψηλοτέρων, τὰ δ'  
 ὀπισθεν ἐπὶ ταπεινοτέρων βέβηκε τόπων. ἤδη δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγ-  
 γιζόντων χρὴ τὰς μὲν φάλαγγας κατ' ὀλίγον προβαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ  
 25 παρεμβεβλημένους ἐκάστης φάλαγγος ζυγούς ἐπέχειν ἑαυτοὺς ἔστ'  
 ἂν ἐπ' εὐθείας τῶν τελευταίων ζυγῶν γένωνται. τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τρόπον  
 διατυπούμενον τοῦ πλήθους οἱ μὲν ἀπέναντι ἐκάστης φάλαγγος τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων φερόμενοι καθ' ἐκάστης αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζονται, οἱ δὲ ἀπέ-  
 30 μοῖεν ἢ χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς μεταξὺ τόπους πολλῶν τραυμάτων πείραν  
 λάβωσι μικροῦ καὶ πάντοθεν τοῖς ὅπλοις βαλλόμενοι.

Μέμψαιτο δ' ἂν τις ἴσως ἡμᾶς τοὺς μεταξὺ ἐκάστης φάλαγγος  
 βεβλημένους ζυγούς ἐπέχοντας τοῦ πολέμου ἐγγίζοντας. ἔρει γάρ· εὖ  
 οἶδ' ὅτι ὡς ἀφορμὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις δειλίας γενήσεται τῶν μὲν ἄλλων  
 35 προχωρούντων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτῶν δὲ οὐ συνακολουθούντων.  
 διὸ δεῖ τοῦτο ποιεῖν μέλλοντας τοῖς ἰδίοις προλέγειν τὸ μέλλον ὑπ'  
 αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι ὥστε μηδὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς ὕστερον ἐκ τούτου παθεῖν.  
 ζητητέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, τί δὴ ποτε μικροῦ καὶ εἰς ὄπλα ἡκόντων τῶν  
 πολεμίων ἐπέχειν ἔφαμεν τοὺς εἰρημένους ζυγούς ἀλλὰ μὴ πόρρωθεν  
 40 εἰς τοῦτο παρασκευάσασθαι. ἢ δὴλον ὡς ἂν μὴ πόρρωθεν ὀρώντες οἱ  
 πολέμοι γυμνοὺς τοὺς μεταξὺ τόπους ἐκάστης φάλαγγος καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 διαιρεθῶσιν οἱ μὲν καθ' ἐκάστης φάλαγγος προσερχόμενοι, οἱ δὲ  
 ἔξωθεν κατὰ πλευρᾶς ἢ νώτου γενόμενοι.

37: K-R 172, Erc 74.

37: 1 λζ' De: om. codd. || 2 πῶς . . . ἀγωνιούμεθα K-R: om. codd. || 4-5 οὐδ' . . . συγ-  
 χωρούμεθα MPS: om. B || 4 ὄλωσ MP: ἄλλως S || 9 καὶ MP: om. SB || τοῖς προτέροις MP: τῶν  
 προτέρων SB || 13 μηδὲ MP: μὴ SB || συγχωρούσιν ἡμῖν SB: συγχωρώσιν ἡμᾶς MP || 16 καὶ SB:  
 om. MP || 17 ὅποσον MP: ὅπως SB || 18 ἀναμεταξὺ MPS: μεταξύ B || 21 φάλαγγε MPS: φύλαξ B ||  
 δοκοίη MP: δοκεῖ SB || 23 ὀπισθεν SB: ὀπιθεν MP || 24 μὲν MP: om. SB || 37 αὐτοὺς K-R: αὐτοῖς  
 codd. || 40 παρασκευάσασθαι SB: παρασκευάσθαι MP

each other which is equal to the length of their front. In the spaces between each phalanx we insert two or three ranks, who should be in a straight line with the front ranks, so that all the men may appear to the enemy as one continuous phalanx. It is best to do this when the front ranks of our phalanx are on higher ground and the rear ranks on lower. When the enemy approach more closely, our formation should move forward a short distance, just enough so that the ranks posted in the intervals between each phalanx will find themselves on a line with its rear ranks. With our troops organized in this fashion, the enemy coming up opposite our phalanxes will become engaged with each of them. But those opposite the intervals between each phalanx will be unable to do any fighting, or else, advancing in upon the intervening spaces, they will be caught in a cross fire at close range and suffer severely.

Someone may perhaps criticize us for holding back the ranks posted in the intervals between each phalanx when the fighting is about to begin. He will say: "I am sure that it will make the other troops apprehensive if, while they are moving forward against the enemy, they see that those others are not following along with them." We must, therefore, if we plan on doing this, so inform our own men ahead of time, so they will not later on suffer harm because of this. One could also question our reasons for saying that the ranks mentioned above should not move back until just a little before the enemy make contact. Why could not these preparations be made while they are still a good distance away? It should be obvious that if the enemy, while still far off, knew that there were open spaces between each phalanx, they would divide their forces, sending some to attack each phalanx, and others would go around against the flanks or the rear.

(λη'.)

Πῶς μετὰ τὴν τροπὴν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν οἰκείων φυλάξομεν ἢ καὶ  
τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνόμεθα.

M f. 127

Δεῖ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγγίζοντος ἀφορίζειν ἄνδρας ἱππότητας ἀν-  
5 δρεῖους, ἐμπείρους πολέμων, καὶ τούτους τάττειν κατόπι τῆς φάλαγ-  
γος ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων δύο ἢ καὶ τριῶν, εἴτε ὑπὸ λόφων εἴτε ὑπὸ δένδρων  
σκιαζομένους, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ κρίτην ποταμοῦ ξηρὰν ἢ ὑγρὰν γενο-  
μένους, ὥστε πρὸ τῆς ἐντελοῦς διώξεως μὴ πόρρωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
καταφαίνεσθαι. ἐντετάλλαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο ἵν' ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσι τοὺς  
10 ἰδίους τραπέντας καὶ ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ φερομένους, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους  
τούτους διώκοντας καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν φευγόντων διαιρουμένους,  
ἐξιώντας αὐτοὺς ἀνακόψαι τούτων τὴν δίωξιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χωρία ἐφ' ἃ  
ὁ πόλεμος γίνεται ἀναπεπταμένα τέ ἐστι καὶ γυμνά καὶ πολλὴν τὴν  
περιοχὴν ἔχοντα, ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτοὺς πρὸς πόλεμον ἀφορίζειν, ἀλλὰ  
15 μόνον ἐκ τριῶν ἢ καὶ τεττάρων μιλίων πόρρωθεν ἀναφαίνεσθαι, ὡς  
μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καταλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τούτους  
πόρρωθεν ὀρώντας μετὰ φειδούς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίωξιν. δεόν δὲ πρὸς  
τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ τόπου θέσει διαγενομένους μὴ κρείττονα τὴν ἐπι-  
λογὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, ἅτε δὴ πόρρωθεν ἵσταμένους καὶ  
20 πρὸς πόλεμον οὐ συμβάλλοντας καὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχ-  
θρῶν οὐ δυναμένους διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς διαστάσεως. χρήσιμον καὶ τὸ  
τοὺς μέλλοντας τὰ νῶτα φυλάττειν τοῦ τῆς φυγῆς δοθέντος σημείου  
φέρειν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τριβόλους, ὥστε τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων κατὰ  
νώτου διασπείρειν τοὺς τριβόλους εἰς τὴν τῶν διωκόντων ἀνακοπήν.  
25 φείσονται γὰρ εἰ οἶδ' ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο οἱ διώκοντες καὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἀνα-  
κόψουσιν, ἢ κατὰ τριβόλων φερόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς μάλλον ἢ τοὺς φεύγον-  
τας βλάψουσιν.

38: K-R 176, Erck 76.

38: 1 λη' De: om. codd. || 2 τὴν MP: om. SB || 6 δύο, τριῶν MP: β', γ' SB || 7 ποταμοῦ MP:  
ποταμόν SB || 10 τραπέντας MP: om. SB || 14 post ὥστε lacunam statuerunt K-R || πρὸς SB: om. MP  
|| 15 καὶ S: om. MPB || 16 τούτους MP: τοῦτο SB || 18 διαγενομένους MP: διαγινομένους SB || 21 τό<sup>2</sup>  
MP: om. SB || 23 ἐπικειμένων MP: ἐπικειμένον SB || 26 φεύγοντας K-R: διώκοντας codd.

[38.]

How, after a Defeat, We Can Protect Most of Our Own Forces  
and Also Ward Off the Enemy.

When battle is imminent, a number of horsemen, noted for their courage and combat experience, should be selected and stationed about two or three miles behind the phalanx, concealed behind hills or trees or in a wet or dry river bed, so that at a distance they will not be visible to the enemy before the time of an actual pursuit. They should be given orders that when they see their own men being driven back and scattered about, and the enemy forces also split up in pursuing each of the fugitives, then they should ride out and cut off their pursuit. If the area in which the battle is joined is open and unobstructed for a long distance, then, in such a case, these troops should be ordered not to get into the fighting, but simply to show themselves three or four miles away. In this way they will not be caught by the enemy, who, in turn, on seeing them off in the distance, will tend to slow down in their pursuit. Depending on the lay of the land, care must be had in not making this detachment of soldiers too strong, inasmuch as they are to be stationed so far away and they will not take part in the battle, nor can the enemy catch up with them because of the great distance. When the signal for retreat has been given, it helps to have the men who are to guard the rear carry caltrops with them. As the enemy press on the rear, they can scatter the caltrops to cut off the pursuers. I am certain that the pursuers will be more cautious and check their pursuit, for if they ride among the caltrops they will cause more harm to themselves than to the men they are chasing.

(λθ'.)

## Περὶ νυκτοπολέμου

Τὸν ἐκ νυκτὶ πόλεμον δοκοῦσι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπλοῦν τε εἶναι  
 πρᾶγμα καὶ οὐκ ἀκριβοῦς μελέτης καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξιον. ἔστι δὲ οὐ  
 5 τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' οἷον καὶ πολλῆς οἰκονομίας δεόμενον. δεῖ δὲ νυκτομα-  
 χεῖν μέλλοντας πρῶτον μὲν εὐρεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας οἱ λέγουσι προ-  
 θύμως ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν μάχην, δοῦναι τε αὐτοῖς ὄρκους καὶ  
 λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν, ἡμῶν μὲν ὀμνούντων ὡς τεύξονται αὐτοὶ τῶν  
 ἀξίων γεράων πληροῦντες τὰ κελευόμενα, αὐτῶν δὲ ὁμολογούντων  
 10 θάνατον εἰ παραιτήσαιντο τὸν ἐν νυκτὶ πόλεμον. δοτέον δὲ αὐτοῖς δι'  
 ὄρκων καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς εἴ τις αὐτῶν πολεμῶν ἀποθάνοι, οἱ κληρονόμοι  
 αὐτῶν λήψονται τὰ τούτων ἄξια γέρα.

M f. 127<sup>v</sup>

Δεύτερον ἐπιζητεῖν | τοὺς εἰδότας τὴν νυκτερινὴν τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἀσφάλειαν· ἐτι δὲ τὴν θέσιν τῶν τε πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππέων αὐτῶν ὅπου  
 15 τούτων ἑκάτερον πλήθος τάττεται, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' ἐκείνων ἀναμανθά-  
 νειν καὶ προσέτι τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ στρατοπεδεύονται καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν καθ'  
 ἣν κατ' αὐτῶν ἀφιζόμεθα, ὡς μήτε τῆς ὁρθῆς παρατραπήναι ἡμᾶς  
 μηδ' ἄλλως ταύτην κρημνώδη τε εἶναι καὶ δυσδιάβατον.

Τρίτον ἀσέληνον ὑπάρχειν τὴν νύκτα ἵνα μὴ πόρρωθεν ἡμᾶς  
 20 ἐπιόντας θεάσωνται οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ βλέποντες προεντρεπίζονται ἢ  
 καὶ προῦπαντῶσιν ἡμᾶς. εἶτα καθαροῦ μὲν ὄντος τοῦ ἀέρος σημειού-  
 σθαι μακρόθεν ἀπὸ τινος χωρίου τὸν ἀπέναντι ἀστέρα ἢ ἀστέρας,  
 πρὸς οὓς ἀτενίζοντες ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπ' εὐθείας τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἐπιστησόμεθα. κατανέφου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ ἀέρος ὥστε παρ' ἡμῶν μὴ ὀρ-  
 25 ἄσθαι τοὺς ἀστέρας, προάγειν ἡμῶν τοὺς τε μάλιστα τὴν ὁδὸν γι-  
 νώσκοντας καὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, ἐπὶ δοράτων ἀνηρτη-  
 μένα φανία κατέχοντας. τὸ δὲ φανίον ἔστω τετράπλευρον, δέρρεσι  
 τεταμέναις περιειλημμένον. τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν αἱ μὲν τρεῖς μελαίνας  
 ἐχέτωσαν δέρρεις, μία δὲ λευκὸν δι' οὗ τὸ λαμπάδιον διαφαίνεται  
 30 τοῖς κατόπιν βαδίζουσι. δεῖον δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀσπίδας φέρειν μικροῦ  
 καὶ τὸ πᾶν περιεχούσας τοῦ σώματος, ἐνδεδύσθαι δὲ σιδηροῖς τὰ τε  
 ὑπὸ κνήμων καὶ τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν ποδῶν, ἴχνη δὲ σιδηρὰ καθυπο-  
 κείσθω τοῖς πέλμασι διὰ τοὺς τριβόλους ἢ καὶ τοὺς σκόλοπας. ἐπέρ-  
 χεσθαι δὲ τινας κατόπιν αὐτῶν, τοῦτο μὲν προθυμίας τῶν ἔμπροσθεν  
 35 ἕνεκα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φόβου τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν φεύγοντας.

Πρὸς τούτοις χρὴ ἀπόμοιράν τινα στρατιωτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν παρα-  
 στήσαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν ἐναντίων, τοὺς μὲν σάλπιγγας ἐπιφερο-  
 μένους καὶ πυκνότερον κατασαλπίζοντας ὥστε δοκεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους  
 πολὺ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπέρχεσθαι πλήθος, τοὺς δὲ τῇ γλώσσει τῶν ἐναν-  
 40 τίων χρωμένους ἐπιφανεῖν τινας τῶν οἰκείων καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καλεῖν  
 δῆθεν φεύγοντας, ὥστε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀκούοντας τῶν κραζόντων καὶ

[39.]

## Night Combat.

The average person thinks that fighting at night is a simple matter, not calling for any special concern or precision. But such is not the case. On the contrary, very careful organization is needed. Anyone planning on night operations must first find soldiers who expressly volunteer for this kind of warfare. Both commander and men should make an agreement under oath. We should swear that when the assignment has been completed, they shall receive their proper rewards. The men should profess their readiness to accept death rather than fail to carry out their night mission. We should also promise them under oath that, if any man is killed in action, his heirs shall receive the rewards he deserved.

Second, we should seek men who are familiar with the nocturnal security arrangements of the enemy. They should also know the location of the infantry and cavalry units and where they are stationed. They should be sure to inform us of all this. In addition, they should know the area in which the enemy are encamped, the road along which we should approach them, so that we should not turn aside on the way or find the road itself steep and difficult.

Third, there should be no moon that night. Otherwise the enemy will observe us marching along and, while we are still a good distance off, make preparations to confront us. When the sky is clear, while we are still far off choose as a guiding sign the star or stars just above some point or other. By fixing our gaze upon it, we will come upon the enemy's camp by the most direct route. If the sky is cloudy and we cannot see the stars, we should have men who are very well acquainted with the road and with the enemy's camp go on ahead of us. They should have lanterns suspended from their spears. These lanterns should have four sides covered with hides; on three sides the hides should be black, but the fourth white, through which the small lamp can light the way for those walking behind. These men must carry shields covering almost their whole body. They should have iron armor on their lower legs and feet. They should also have iron soles under their feet as a protection against caltrops or sharp stakes. Another detachment should march along behind them. This will aid the morale of the men up front and also make them fear punishment if they run away.

In addition to these, a detachment of soldiers should approach both sides of the enemy's camp. Some should be provided with trumpets and by sounding them frequently they should give the enemy the impression that a large force is attacking them. Others should call out in the enemy's language, presenting themselves as some of their own who are fugitives and urging the others to join them. When the enemy hear them shouting in their own language and believe that they are their own

πειθομένους οἰκείους αὐτῶν εἶναι διὰ τὸ ὁμόγλωσσον, ἀφέντας τὸ  
στρατόπεδον κατόπιον τούτων ἀκολουθεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος ὄθεν  
ἡμῖν ἐπέστησαν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν φέρει καταλιμ-  
45 πάνειν, ἕν' ἔχουεν οἱ ἐχθροὶ τόπον φυγῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀν-  
Μ f. 128 δρειοτέρους ἑαυτῶν | καθίστασθαι ἀπορουμένους τὴν ἔξοδον.

39: K-R 178, Erck 76.

39: 1 λθ' De: om. codd. || 4 ἔστι δὲ οὐ MP: οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ SB || 10 δὲ MP: om. SB || 12 ἄξια SB: om. MP || 13 δεύτερον K-R: ἔτι codd. || εἰδότης MPS: εἰδόντας B || 14 ἔτι K-R: δεύτερον codd. || δὲ SB: om. MP || τε MP: om. SB || 15 τάττεται MP: τέταται SB || 19-20 ἡμᾶς ἐπιόντας SB: ἐπιόντας ἡμᾶς MP || 22 χωρίου MP: μακροῦ χωρίου SB || 28 μελαίνας MP: μελανὰ SB || 29 δέρρεις MP: δέρρη SB: δέρη Erck || 32 δὲ MPS: τε B || 33 διὰ SB: διὰ τὸ MP

(μ'.)

Περὶ ἐνέδρας.

Τὰς ἐνέδρας ποιοῦσι μὲν καὶ οἱ σήμερον Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Ἄραβες  
καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν οὐ μὴν, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, συμφερόντως αὐταῖς.  
5 ὑποκρύψαντες γὰρ ἀπόμοιράν τινα στρατεύματος αὐτοὶ εἰς τοῦ-  
μφανὲς ἐξήεσαν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκκαλούμενοι. καὶ τίς νοῦν ἔχων  
ὄρων αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους παντελῶς ὄντας καὶ κατὰ πολλῶν ἤκοντας οὐχ  
ὑποπτεύσει τούτων τὴν ἐνέδραν; διὸ δὴ φειδομένως τούτους διώκουσι  
καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ποιοῦνται τὴν δίωξιν.

10 Χρὴ οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν ἐμφανιζομένους μὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο  
φαίνεσθαι παραγεγονέναι ἀλλ' ἀκουσίως καὶ κατὰ τύχην ἐμπίπτον-  
τας, τοὺς δὲ κεκρυμμένους μὴτ' ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς παντελῶς, μὴτ' ἐκ  
τοῦ λίαν πόρρω προκαθῆσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκδεχομένους. οἱ τε γὰρ  
ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς παρεδρεύοντες, ἐπειδήπερ οὐπω οἱ διώκοντες διη-  
15 ρέθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς συστάδην διώκοντας ἀπαν-  
τήσαιεν, καὶ οἱ πόρρω ἀφεστηκότες οὐκ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ βοηθήσαιεν  
τοῖς οἰκείους πρὸ τῆς τούτων συμμαχίας καταληφθεῖσι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς  
ἀποστάσεως.

20 Πιθανὸν δὲ πρὸς δόξαν φυγῆς καὶ τὸ διωκομένους ἀποβάλλε-  
σθαί τινα τῶν ἰδίων, οἷον θήκας μαχαίρων κασσιτέρῳ ὥσπερ δι-  
ηργυρωμένας καὶ πήρας διπλᾶς πάντοθεν κατησφαλισμένας. χρήσι-  
μον δὲ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ ἔλκειν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς διώκοντας δει-  
λίαν ὑποκρινομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀνακοπὴν διώξεως. γένοιτο δ'  
ἂν ποτε καὶ νίκης αἴτιον τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διωκόντων οἱ μὲν

people, some of them will leave the camp behind and follow our men. That side from which the enemy have approached and which leads back to their own country should be left free, so they may have an avenue of escape, for without it, desperation may force them to take their stand all the more bravely.

[40.]

Ambushes.

The present-day Romans, Arabs, and many other peoples make use of ambushes, although, in my opinion, not to great advantage.<sup>1</sup> They usually conceal some detachment, while the rest of the army moves out in the open to lead the enemy on. Is there a person with any intelligence who, on seeing a few men boldly advancing against a large number, will not suspect an ambush? For this reason, they will be cautious in pursuing them and will not press the pursuit far.

For these reasons, therefore, the detachments that are out in the open should give the impression that they have not come out there intentionally but unwillingly and happen to be there just by chance. Those in concealment to await the enemy should locate themselves neither too close nor too far away. If the troops in ambush are too close, they will run into the enemy while they are pursuing in a concentrated force, before they will have separated from one another. If they are stationed too far away, they will not be able to assist their own men, who will be overpowered before support can arrive from such a distance.

To make the flight seem more plausible, the men being pursued should drop some of their own gear, sword scabbards, for example, plated with tin to look like silver, and thick saddlebags securely fastened. This helps not only in drawing on the pursuers, who will believe that our men are in a state of panic, but even in stopping the pursuit altogether. This sort of thing can sometimes result in victory for us.

25 ἀποβάντες τῶν ἵππων τὰ λάφυρα ἔλκωσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνθέλκωσιν. καὶ που  
πολλάκις κατ' ἀλλήλων ξίφος ἀναρριπίζουσιν, ὥστε τοὺς φεύγον-  
τας ὁρῶντας τὴν τῶν διωκόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσιν κατ' αὐτῶν  
ἐπιστρέφουσι.

30 Ὅπως μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐνεδρεύσωμεν εἴρηται. εἰ δὲ τοῦναν-  
τίον τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ καθ' ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμοι χρήσασθαι βουλευθεῖεν καὶ  
τοῦτο ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν ἢ τῶν αὐτομόλων προαπαγγέλλεται, χρῆ  
πάντως ἀπόμουραν τινα στρατεύματος δι' ἑτέρας προαποστέλλοντας  
ἀντενεδρεῦσαι τούτων τὴν ἐνέδραν. εἰ δὲ μὴ πρὸ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τῶν  
ἐχθρῶν ταύτην ἐσομένην γνωσόμεθα, ἀνάγκη ἢ μὴ διώκειν ἐπι-  
35 φανέντας αὐτοὺς ἢ συνημμένους ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διώξιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ  
συνδιαρρεῖσθαι τοῖς φεύγουσιν. ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ καὶ εἰ κατόπι  
M E. 128<sup>v</sup> τῶν διωκόντων ἑτέρους ἐπαποστέλλομεν εἰς τὴν τῶν προλαβόντων  
βοήθειαν.

40: K-R 182, Erck 78.

40: 1 μ' De: om. codd. || 3 τὰς ἐνέδρας MP: om. SB || 4 οὐ μὴν MP: om. SB || 6 τίς MPS: τίνος  
B || 17 καταληφθεῖσι K-R: καταλειφθέντας codd. || 21 καὶ . . . κατασφαλισμένους MP: om. SB ||  
25 ἔλκωσιν SB: ἔλκουσιν MP || ἀνθέλκωσιν SB: ἀνθέλκουσιν MP || 31 προαπαγγέλλεται MP:  
προαπαγγέλληται SB || 32 δι' ἑτέρας MP: om. SB || 35 συνημμένους MP: συνημμένων SB || 37  
ἐπαποστέλλομεν MP: ἀποστέλλομεν SB

<μα'.>

Περὶ αὐτομόλων.

Τοὺς αὐτομόλους ὑποδέχεσθαι μὲν ἀναγκαῖον, εὐεργετεῖν δὲ  
ἄξιον. δεῖ δὲ πάντως τούτων φυλάττεσθαι, εἰ καὶ τιμῶσι τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν  
5 θρησκευόμενα καὶ γάμοις ἡμῖν νομίμοις συμπλέκονται. διὸ δὴ τοὺς  
μὲν ἐνδοξοτέρους αὐτῶν κατέχειν ἐν πόλεσιν εἴ γε βουλόμεθα, πλὴν  
δι' ὑπονοίας ἔχειν αὐτοὺς, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συνέρ-  
χεται τὸ πολέμιον ἀφ' ὧν οὗτοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἠτομόλησαν. τοὺς δ'  
εὐτελεστέρους αὐτῶν ἀπάγειν τῶν πόλεων, εἰ καὶ μαστιγίαί εἰσιν ἢ  
10 καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰ σώματα, ἅτε δὴ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοὶ  
πεπονθότες.

Χρῆ δὲ οὐ μόνον τούτων φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄσους εἰς δου-  
λείαν ἡμῖν προφάσει δωρεᾶς πέμπουσιν οἱ πολέμοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πέρ-  
σαι ποτὲ τριακοσίους ἀνδρας ἐν σχήματι δουλείας δωρεὰν στεί-  
15 λαντες δι' αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν παρέλαβον.

Some of the pursuers may dismount to gather in the spoils, others will try to grab them for themselves, and, as happens often enough, they may draw swords against one another. When the pursued notice the quarreling among the pursuers, they can turn back against them.

This concludes our discussion of how we should go about preparing an ambush against the enemy. Let us look at the opposite. If the enemy are planning to lay an ambush against us and we receive advance information about it from spies or deserters, then we should by all means immediately send out a detachment of troops by another road to lay a counter ambush against them. But if we do not know that the enemy are planning an ambush before they arrive on the scene, we must either not pursue them when they do arrive or else keep our pursuing force together and not allow it to become split up along with the fugitives. Another wise precaution is to send out another group behind the pursuing force to support it if necessary.

<sup>1</sup>The Arabs, who are not classed as enemies here, are probably those outside the Roman frontiers in Syria and Palestine who fought sometimes for and sometimes against the Romans.

[41.]

Deserters.

It is important to receive deserters, and it is desirable that they be well treated. But they must always be watched, even if they observe our religious practices and become connected with us by lawful marriages.<sup>1</sup> The more prominent men among them, therefore, should be kept in the cities if we so wish, unless we have reason to be suspicious of them, especially if the enemy, from whom they deserted to join us, should be moving against the city. Men of inferior condition should be kept away from the cities, although they may have been scourged or even mutilated by their own people.

We should be on our guard with such people. We should also be careful with those whom the enemy send to serve us as a form of tribute. There was the time when the Persians sent three hundred men in the guise of slaves as tribute and then used them to capture the city.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This presumably envisions the deserters becoming Christians or possibly, if heretics, becoming orthodox Christians.

<sup>2</sup>The source of this story has not been found.

41: K-R 186, Erck 80.

41: 1 μα' De: om. codd. || 4 πάντως τούτων MP: τούτους πάντως SB || 5 συμπλέκονται MP: συμπλέεσθαι SB || 6 βουλόμεθα MP: βουλοίμεθα SB || 7 συνέρχεται MP: συνέρχηται SB || 10 αὐτοὶ De: αὐτοὺς codd. || 11 πεποιθότες MP: πεπονηότας SB || 12 τούτων MP: τούτους SB || ὅσους SB: ὅσοι MP

(μβ'.)

Περὶ κατασκόπων.

Ἡ τῶν κατασκόπων ἐπινενότηται χρεία ὡς ἂν δι' αὐτῶν μαν-  
θάνοιμεν τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ὅσα λυσιτελεῖ ἡμῖν τῷ εἰδέναι ἢ πρὸς αἵρε-  
5 σιν ἀγαθοῦ τινος πράγματος ἢ φυγῆν τοῦ λυποῦντος. εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα  
οἷον εἰ παρασκευάζεται καθ' ἡμῶν τὸ πολέμιον ἢ καθ' ἐτέρων τῶν  
γειτόνων στρατεύεται, ἢ κατ' αὐτοῦ τινες τῶν γειτόνων τούναντίον  
στρατεύονται. ὅταν οὖν παρασκευαζομένους καθ' ἡμῶν τοὺς πολε-  
μίους ἀπαγγέλληται χρῆ πρότερον ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τίθεσθαι τὰ οἰκεία  
10 κατὰ τὰ πρότερον εἰρημένα, οἷον τὰς πόλεις, τὰς χώρας. εἶτα καὶ  
αὐτοὺς τὰ πρὸς ἀπάντησιν ἐτοιμάζεσθαι, ἐπισκοποῦντας τὰ τε ἄλλα,  
μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους τόπους καθ' οὓς μέλλουσι διαβήσεσθαι, εἴ τις  
τούτων ἐπιτήδειος ἡμῖν ἐστίν εἰς ἐνέδρας ἢ φανερόν πόλεμον καὶ  
λυσιτελῆς ἡμῖν, ἂν τε διώκωμεν, ἂν τε φεύγωμεν. ὅταν δὲ καθ' ἐτέρων  
15 στρατευομένους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλληται τῷ μείζονι μέρει,  
λυσιτελεῖς καὶ ἡμᾶς τὴν πολεμίαν ληίζεσθαι, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ κατ'  
αὐτῶν στρατεύουσιν ἕτεροι. εἰ δὲ ἐμφύλιος ὁ πόλεμος ἢ τῶν γειτόνων,  
ἡρεμεῖν ἄμεινον· εἰρηνεύουσι γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς οἱ  
ὁμόφυλοι ἐπιόντων τῶν ἀλλοφύλων.  
20 Δεῖ δὲ μέλλοντας ἐξίεναι τοὺς κατασκόπους ἐνὶ τούτων ἕκαστον  
τῶν οἰκειοτάτων μυσταγωγεῖν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποστολήν, ἄμφω δὲ μετ'  
ἀλλήλων ἀσφαλῶς συμπεφωνηκέναι ὡς δεῖ πάντως αὐτοὺς συνελθεῖν  
καὶ ὅπου καὶ τίνα τὸν τρόπον. ἔστω δὲ τόπος μὲν ἢ ἀγορὰ καθ' ἣν πολ-  
λοὶ τῶν τε ἡμετέρων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων συνέρχονται, τρόπος δὲ τὸ |  
M f. 129 25 τῆς ἐμπορίας ἐπιτήδευμα. ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ μάλλον λαθεῖν τοὺς πο-  
λεμίους δυνήσονται, ὁ μὲν τὰ ἡμέτερα προτεινόμενος πωλῶν ἢ ἀν-  
ταλλάττων αὐτά, ὁ δὲ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιδιδούς καὶ δηλῶν ἡμῖν οἶα  
καθ' ἡμῶν βουλευόμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐκείνων ἔχει.  
Δεῖ δὲ πάντως τοὺς κατασκόπους μὴ ὁμοφύλους εἶναι τῶν ἐναν-  
30 τίων, μηδ' ἄλλως τι παρ' ἡμῶν πεπονηθέναι τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν,  
ἔχειν τε παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας ἢ γονεῖς ἢ ἀδελφούς, ὧν ὁ

[42.]

Spies.

Spies carry out a necessary function in providing us with such information about the enemy as may be useful for us to know either to gain some advantage or avoid injury. Such information, for example, would be any preparations for war against us or expeditions against other neighboring peoples or, on the other side, expeditions by some of them against the enemy. Now, when we receive information that the enemy are making preparations against us, the first thing we should do is to see to the security of our own country, such as the cities and the rural areas, in the manner described earlier. We should then make ready to confront the enemy and obtain further information. In particular, we should reconnoiter those parts of our country through which they would plan on passing, if there should be some places suitable for us to set an ambush or meet in open battle, and what advantage the place would offer us, either in advancing or in retreating. When we learn that the enemy are going on campaign with most of their forces against other peoples, it may be to our advantage to make raids upon their territory, and likewise if other powers are campaigning against them. But if it should be a civil war among neighbors, it is better for us to take no action. People of the same stock will usually make peace and join together when attacked by aliens.

Before leaving on his assignment each spy should speak in secrecy about his mission to one of his closest associates. Both should agree upon arrangements for communicating safely with one another, setting a definite place and manner of meeting. The place could be the public market in which many of our people, as well as foreigners, gather. The manner could be on the pretext of trading. In this way they should be able to escape the notice of the enemy. One offers our goods for sale or barter, and the other gives foreign goods in exchange and informs us of the enemy's plans against us and of the situation in their country.

Spies must never be of the same race as the enemy nor have suffered any serious harm at our hands. The wives, children, parents, brothers, or sisters of the

πόθος αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἂν εἰς ἀεὶ μένειν παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συγχωρήσειεν  
 οὐδ' ἄλλως τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ πάντως αὐτοὺς  
 εἶναι φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, τὰ ἔθνη τῶν πολεμίων καθ' οὓς πέμπονται  
 35 καλῶς ἡσκημένους καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον ἠκριβωμένους αὐτῶν, εἶτα ἐμ-  
 πείρους τῶν τόπων καθ' οὓς διαβήσονται. χρῆ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς παρα-  
 γενομένους εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν φεύγειν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οὐ μόνον διὰ  
 τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀναγνωρισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἕνεκα. πολ-  
 40 λοῖς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων περιτυγχάνοντας τῶν μὲν πονηροτέρων τε καὶ  
 φρονημωτέρων τάχιον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀπεριέρ-  
 γοις καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀπλοῖς συνομιλεῖν τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καταλύειν.

42: K-R 188, Erck 80.

42: 1 μβ' De: om. codd. || 3 μανθάνομεν MP: μανθάνωμεν SB || 6 εἰ MP: om. SB || 12  
 μέλλουσι inc. V || τις VSB: τι MP || 13-14 καὶ . . . φεύγωμεν VSB: om. MP || 15 ἀπαγγέλλεται  
 K-R: ἀπαγγέλλεται VSB: ἀπαγγέλλη MP || τῷ μεῖζονι μέρει VSB: om. MP || 17 ὁ MP: om. VSB || 23  
 τὸν MP: om. VSB || 32 αὐτοῖς K-R: αὐτῶν codd. || 33 τοῖς ἰδίοις VSB: τῶν ἰδίων MP || ἐπι-  
 βουλεύεσθαι MP: ἐπιβουλεύειν VSB || 34 ἔθνη MP: ἔθνη VSB || 36 καὶ VSB: om. MP || αὐτοὺς VSB:  
 τοὺς MP || 38 τοῦ K-R: τὸ MP: τῷ VSB || πολλοῖς Erck: πολλοὺς MP: πολλὰ VSB || 39 τε MP: om.  
 VSB || 41 ἀπλοῖς MP: ἀπαλοῖς VSB

(μγ'.)

Περὶ πρέσβων.

Πρέσβεις ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστέλλονται. εἰ μὲν  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστέλλονται, χρῆ φιλοτίμως τε καὶ δαψιλῶς τούτους  
 5 ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ γὰρ τιμῶσι πάντες αὐτοὺς. τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρετουμένους  
 αὐτοῖς δι' ἀσφαλείας ἔχειν εἰς τὸ μηδεὶ τι διδάσκειν ἐπερωτωμένους  
 αὐτοὺς. κἂν μὲν τῶν λίαν ἀφεστηκότων οἱ πρέσβεις εἶεν ὥστε μεταξὺ  
 ἐκείνων τε καὶ ἡμῶν εἶναι τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐμφανίζειν αὐτοῖς τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων ὅποσα καὶ οἷα βουλόμεθα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ πλησιόχωροι  
 10 μὲν ἡμῶν καθεστήκεσαν, ἐνδεῶς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔχουσι δύνα-  
 μιν. εἰ δὲ κατὰ πολὺ ἡμῶν διεννηόχασιν εἴτε πλήθει στρατοῦ εἴτε ἀν-  
 δρείᾳ, χρῆ μῆτε πλοῦτον μῆτε γυναικῶν κάλλη ἐμφανίζειν αὐτοῖς,  
 πλήθη δὲ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὄπλων εὐκοσμίαν καὶ τειχῶν ὑψώματα.

Εἰ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλονται, χρῆ τούτους πρῶτον  
 15 μὲν ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ γνωρίζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐπ' ἐγκλήματι κατηγορηθέν-  
 τας ποτὲ δημοσίᾳ κατακριθῆναι. εἶναι δὲ φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, εὖνους  
 τὰ κοινὰ ὡς καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλειν τῶν ἰδίων, καθάπερ Ῥήγου-

spies should reside among us, so that love for family will keep them from remaining permanently with the enemy or from getting involved in any plots against their own people. They must, of course, be men of natural intelligence, well acquainted with the customs of the enemy to whom they are assigned, fluent in their language, and experienced travelers in their country. After arriving in hostile territory, they must not have any contact with prisoners of war, not only because it might arouse suspicion but also to avoid being recognized. In their constant association with the enemy they should steer clear of the baser sort and also of sharper and quick-witted men. They should, rather, associate with people who are good, unsuspecting, and simple in their habits, and they may seek lodging with them.

[43.]

Envoys.

Envoys are sent by us and to us. Those who are sent to us should be received honorably and generously, for everyone holds envoys in esteem. Their attendants, however, should be kept under surveillance to keep them from obtaining any information by asking questions of our people. If the envoys come from a very distant country, and other peoples dwell between them and us, then we may show them anything we like in our country. We can act in like manner even if their country is located next to ours but is much weaker. But if they are greatly superior to us, either in the size of their army or its courage, then we should not draw their attention to our wealth or the beauty of our women, but point out the number of our men, the polish of our weapons, and the height of our walls.

The envoys we send out should be men who have the reputation of being religious, who have never been denounced for any crime or publicly condemned. They should be naturally intelligent and public spirited enough to be willing to risk their own lives, like Regulus, and they should undertake their mission eagerly and not

λος, καὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν προθύμους ἄλλ' οὐ βεβιασμένους, καθάπερ ὁ  
 Αἰγύπτιος ἰατρός. ὦν ὁ μὲν παρὰ Καρχηδονίους δέσμιος ὦν καὶ πρὸς  
 20 Ῥωμαίους περὶ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσων ἀπεσταλμένος ὄμνυσιν ἐπα-  
 νελεθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν εἰρήνην οὐ καταδεχομένων,  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίκετο, ἀπαγορεύει μὲν Ῥωμαίους τὴν  
 εἰρήνην ἀσύμφορον αὐτοῖς οὔσαν, πείθει δὲ αὐτοὺς (ἐὰν) ἀνελεθεῖν  
 αὐτὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους τοῦ ὄρκου φειδόμενος. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ βα-  
 25 σιλέως τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν Πέρσην κινήσας τὰ Αἰγυπτίων διόλωλεν.

Χρῆ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις παραγενομένους πρὸς οὓς ἀποστέλλονται  
 φαίνεσθαι ἐπιχαρεῖς, μεγαλοψύχους, εὐεργετικούς τὰ εἰς δύναμιν,  
 ἄμφω τὰ τε οἰκεία τὰ τε τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ἐπαίνῳ ποιουμένους ἀλλὰ  
 μὴ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐνδιαβάλλοντας.

30 Οἰκονομεῖν δὲ δεῖ τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐπακολουθεῖν  
 ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης πράττειν τὰ κελευόμενα, εἰ μὴ τι πράξει πᾶσι  
 τρόποις παρεκελεύσθησαν. οἷον ἀπεστάλη τις ὡς φίλοις δῶρα τοῖς  
 γείτοσιν ἐπικομιζόμενος, ὁ δὲ τούτους καταλαβὼν τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 πράττοντας τὰ μὲν δῶρα σὺν τῷ γράμματι παρακατέσχε, λόγους δὲ  
 35 φιλίας ἀντὶ τῶν δῶρων ἐπεκομίσατο. ἐρεῖ γάρ τις εἰκότως ὡς ἐχρῆν  
 μᾶλλον ἐπιδοῦναι τὰ δῶρα καθημεροῦντα τῶν πολεμίων τὸ ἄγριον, ἢ  
 τὰ μὲν τιμιώτερα παρακατασχεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐπιδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ  
 πάντα κρατεῖν, ὡς μήτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πλουτεῖν ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ πολὺ  
 τῆς ἐχθρας ὑποτέμνειν τῶν πολεμίων. δοκιμάζεται δὲ πρέσβυς καὶ  
 40 πρὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὑποτιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ἐρωτώ-  
 μενος ὅπως περὶ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν οἰκονομήσειεν, οὕτως ἢ ἑτέρως αὐτῷ  
 τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπισυμβαινόντων.

43: K-R 192, Erck 82.

43: 1 μγ' De: om. codd. || 3 μὲν MP: om. VSB || 6 αὐτοῖς VSB: αὐτοὺς MP || μηδενί τι MP: μὴ  
 δέ τι VSB || 12 αὐτοῖς K-R: αὐτοὺς codd. || 13 εὐκοσμίαν B: εὐκοσμία MPVS || 17 ῥήγουλος VSB:  
 μίβοϋλος MP || 18 προθύμους MPVS: προθύμους B || 19 ὦν MP: om. VSB || 21 αὐτοὺς K-R: πέρσας  
 codd. || 22 ἀπαγορεύει MP: ἀπαγορεύειν VSB || 23 ἀσύμφορον MP: ἀσύμφορον VSB || ἐὰν  
 ἀνελεθεῖν Erck: ἐπανελεθεῖν codd. || 24 αὐτὸν MPB: om. VS || τοῦ ὄρκου Erck: τὸν ὄρκον codd. || 25  
 διόλωλεν MP: διόλυεν VSB || 27 φαίνεσθαι MP: φαίνονται VSB || 27 εὐεργετικούς . . . δύναμιν  
 MP: om. VSB || 28 τὰ<sup>2</sup> MP: om. VSB || ἐν MP: om. VSB || 29 ἐνδιαβάλλοντας des. V || 30 οἰκονομεῖν  
 des. SB || 34 παρακατέσχε K-R: παρακατέσχε MP || 35 ἐπεκομίσατο Erck: ἀπεκομίσατο MP || 36  
 καθημεροῦντα K-R: καθημεροῦντας MP || 38 πολὺ K-R: πολλὴν MP || 40 ἐρωτώμενος K-R:  
 ἐρωτώμενων MP

19-24 cf. Horatium, *Carmin.* 3, 5. || 24-25 Herodotus, 3, 1.

under compulsion, like the famous Egyptian physician. Regulus had been sent in bonds from the Carthaginians to the Romans as an envoy to conclude a peace treaty and had taken an oath to return if the Romans did not accept the peace terms. Coming before the Romans, he dissuaded them from accepting the treaty which he thought disadvantageous. But honoring his oath, he persuaded them to let him return to the Carthaginians.<sup>1</sup> The physician stirred up the Persian to anger against the Egyptian king and brought about the downfall of Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

In the presence of those to whom they are accredited the envoys should appear gracious, truly noble, and generous to the extent of their powers. They should speak with respect of both their own country and that of the enemy and never speak disparagingly of it.

Envoys must be able to arrange things properly, to take advantage of opportunities, but not employ pressure to carry out their assignment, unless it is something they have been ordered to get done at any cost. An ambassador was once sent on a mission bearing gifts to a neighboring state supposed to be friendly. Finding that its government was actually supporting the enemy, he held back the gifts, along with the official letters, and simply delivered expressions of friendship instead of gifts. The objection might be raised that he would have done better to present the gifts to mollify the enemy or, at least, if he were to withhold the more valuable gifts, he should have presented others, but surely not held all back. Without seeming to enrich the enemy, he could have greatly lessened their hostility. An envoy is generally tested before being sent on a mission. A list of topics is presented to him, and he is asked how he would deal with each of them under various assumed circumstances.

<sup>1</sup>His actions became legendary and were praised by Horace, *Odes*, 3, 5; and cited by Cicero, Livy, and others: see P. V. Rohden, "Atilius," *RE*, 2, 2086-92.

<sup>2</sup>Herodotus, *History*, 3, 1.



Cap. 43: iam ed. e codd. rec. a D. Hoeschl, *Eclogae legationum* (1603); reimpr. I. Bekker et B. Niebuhr, *Dexippi, Eunapii, Petri Patricii, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri historiarum quae supersunt* (Bonnae, 1829), 6–8.

(μδ'.)

Περὶ τοξείας.

Ἐπὶ τῆς τοξείας τρία ταῦτα ζητοῦμεν, τὸ εὐστόχως βάλλειν, τὸ ἰσχυρῶς βάλλειν, τὸ ταχέως βάλλειν. χρήσιμον δὲ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον  
5 ἀντικαθισταμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγουσι καὶ διώκουσι. βάλλουσι δὲ ἢ ἐστῶτες κατὰ ἐστῶτων, ἢ κατὰ ἐστῶτων κινούμενοι, ἢ κατὰ κινουμένων ἐστῶτες, ἢ κατὰ κινουμένων κινούμενοι. ἔστι δὲ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον μὲν εἰ κατὰ ἐστῶτων ἐστῶτες βάλλουσι, ἦτον δὲ τούτου εἰ κατὰ ἐστῶτων κινούμενοι βάλλουσι, εἴτα ἢ κατὰ  
10 κινουμένων ἐστῶτες ἢ κατὰ κινουμένων κινούμενοι.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν κινήσει χρωμένων τῷ τόξῳ ἀσφαλέστερον βάλλουσι ὅσοι κατ' εὐθείαν ἀπέναντι ἀλλήλων τοξεύουσι. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ὅταν  
M f. 130 ὁ διώκων κατὰ φεύγοντος βάλλῃ ἢ ὁ φεύγων κατὰ τοῦ δι | ὠκοντος, ἀμφοτέρω ἐφ' ἵππων τοξάζοντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν εὐχερέστερον  
15 βάλλουσι τῶν κατὰ δίωξιν καὶ φυγῆν οἱ κατὰ πλευρὰν βάλλοντες. ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ παρερχομένων βάλλουσι τῆς ἐπιτυχίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον διαμαρτάνουσι.

Τῶν δὲ τοξευόντων οἱ μὲν τρισὶ τοῖς μέσοις δακτύλοις τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκουσι, οἱ δὲ δυσί, καὶ τούτοις οἱ μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου ἐπικειμένον  
20 τῷ λιχανῷ, οἱ δὲ τὸνναντίον, οἱ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκουσι καὶ πέμπουσι τὸ βέλος σφοδρότερον. δεῖ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον τούτων τῶν εἰρημένων τρόπων γυμνάζειν ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστον, ὥστε πασχόντων τῶν προτέρων δακτύλων τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς τάσεως κεχρησθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις.

Κάμπτομεν δὲ τὸ τόξον ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ ὠτός, (ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ τρα-  
25 χήλου,) ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ μαζοῦ τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκοντες. φέρεται δὲ τὸ βέλος ἰσχυρότερον μὲν ὅταν κατὰ ὠτός τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκωμεν, εἴτα ὅταν κατὰ τραχήλου, ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ὅταν κατὰ μαζοῦ αὐτὴν ἔλκωμεν. διὸ καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας φασὶ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκειν, οὐ δυναμένης δι' ἀσθένειαν φύσεως ἐπὶ πλέον κατακάμπτεν τὸ τόξον καὶ  
30 διὰ τοῦτο καυστηριαζούσας τὸν μαζόν.

Δεῖ δὲ βάλλοντες κατὰ πεζῶν ἢ ἵππέων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου συντεταγμένων μὴ ἐπ' εὐθείας ἀλλὰ λοξοῖς χρησθαι τοῖς τοξεύμασι, εἰ μὴ ἄρα κατὰ ποδῶν τῶν ἵππων βάλλουσι· ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῶν ἀπέναντι ἐχθρῶν ταῖς ἀσπίσι φυλάττεται.  
35 χρήσιμον δὲ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον συμβάλλουσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγουσι καὶ διώκουσι.

[44.]

Archery.

In archery we have three goals: to shoot accurately, to shoot powerfully, to shoot rapidly. Archery is effective not only when we are standing in position to oppose the enemy, but also when we are fleeing or pursuing. Archers can stand still and fire at standing targets, while in motion fire at standing targets, while standing fire at moving ones, or, finally, in motion fire at moving targets. The shooting is most accurate when the archer stands still and fires at a standing target, less accurate if he fires at a standing target while in motion, and least accurate if either standing or moving he fires at moving targets.

An archer using the bow while in motion can fire more accurately if he shoots in directly opposite directions. What I mean is when the pursuer shoots at the one fleeing or the one fleeing at the pursuer, both, of course, shooting from horseback. With infantry, though, either in pursuing or retiring, fire from the side is easier. When they shoot at objects moving along the side, they usually miss the target.

Some archers draw the bowstring with the three middle fingers, others with only two. Of those who use two, some will press the thumb upon the index finger, and others just the opposite. The last draws the bowstring back further and fires the arrow with greater force. Each man should practice each one of these methods, so that when the fingers he has been using become tired from the continual tension, he may use the others.<sup>1</sup>

We bend the bow toward the ear, sometimes to the neck, and sometimes we draw the bowstring to the breast. Drawing the bowstring back to the ear makes for the most powerful shot. Drawing to the neck is less powerful, and to the breast weakest of all. It is said that the Amazons used this last method to draw the bowstring, and since they lacked the natural strength to draw the bow back any further, they burned off one breast.<sup>2</sup>

In firing against infantry or cavalry when they are drawn up opposite us, we should not aim straight ahead but off to the side, except when shooting at the horses' feet. For each man in the enemy's line opposite us is covered by his shield. This can be useful not only in a regular battle, but also in retreating and pursuing.

<sup>1</sup>See Maurice, *Strategikon*, I, 1, 5–9; also A. Bivar, "Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates Frontier," *DOP*, 26 (1972), 285.

<sup>2</sup>Diodorus of Sicily, 2, 45, 3.

44: K-R 198, Erck 84.

44: 1 μδ' De: om. codd. || 3 ἐπί res. B || βάλλειν MP: βάλλειν καὶ B || 4 τὸ ταχέως βάλλειν MP: om. B || 6 ἐστῶτων . . . κατὰ MP: om. B || 16 τὸ MP: om. B || 18 τοξευόντων MP: τοξευτῶν B || 21 τοῦτων B: om. MP || 21-22 τῶν εἰρημένων τρόπων MP: τῶ εἰρημένῳ τρόπῳ B || 24 ποτὲ . . . τραχήλου K-R: om. codd. || 26 μὲν MP: om. B || 30 καυστηριαζούσας MP: καυστηριαζουσιν B || 31 δεῖ B: εἰ MP

30 Diodorus Siculus, 2, 45, 3.

(με'.)

Πῶς δεῖ γυμνάζειν ἑαυτὸν εὐστόχως βάλλειν.

Τὰ σημεῖα καθ' ὧν οἱ γυμναζόμενοι βάλλουσι τοῖς μὲν ἄρτι  
γυμναζομένοις πλάτος τε καὶ μῆκος ἐχέτωσαν, ὥστε μὴ ἀποτυγχά-  
5 νοντας τοὺς τοξευόντας ῥαθυμεῖν. εἶτα περιελόντας κατ' ὀλίγον τὸ  
πλάτος εἰς λεπτόν συστέλλειν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ παρ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ σημείου  
ἀποτυγχάνουσι βάλλοντες, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως καὶ κατὰ τὸ μῆκος μετὰ  
τὴν πρώτην γυμνασίαν διαμαρτήσουσι. τελευταῖον δὲ καὶ τὸ μῆκος  
κατ' ὀλίγον περιελόντας περιφερῆσι χρήσασθαι τοῖς σημείοις.

10 Εἴτε κατὰ στερεῶν βάλλουσιν, εἴτε κατὰ κενῶν εἴτ' οὖν κατὰ  
τρημάτων, ὧν πολλή τοῦ μεγέθους διαφορά, νῦν μὲν κατὰ τῶν μει-  
ζόνων, εἴτε κατὰ τῶν μέσων, καὶ τελευταῖον κατὰ τῶν ἐλαττόνων  
βάλλοντες.

Μ f. 130<sup>v</sup> 15 Γυμνάζεσθαι δὲ χρή κατὰ κινουμένων φύσει καὶ τέχνῃ, φύσει  
μὲν κατ' ὀρνέων ἢ ζώων ἀγρίων βάλλοντας, τέχνῃ δὲ | οἷον τῶν διὰ  
σπαρτίου πόρρωθεν ἐλκομένων σημείων, οἷον σφαιρῶν ἢ τινος τῶν  
τοιούτων. οὕτω μὲν οὖν καθ' ἑκάστην γυμναζομένοις ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐπὶ  
τῆς ἀληθείας εὐστόχῳ τῇ τοξείᾳ χρήσασθαι.

45: K-R 202, Erck 85.

45: 1 με' De: om. codd. || c. 45 om. SB || 13 βάλλοντες K-R: βάλλοντα MP

[45.]

Training for Accuracy of Fire.

The targets at which the troops in training are to fire should be broad and high, as for beginners. If they keep shooting and missing, they may lose heart. Later on the breadth should be reduced gradually until it becomes quite narrow. While the men may miss the target by shooting off to the sides, after the first lesson they should not be off very much as far as the height is concerned. Eventually the height should also be reduced gradually, and round targets should be used.

The targets shot at may be solid or hollow. Another kind has holes of very different sizes cut in it. The men shoot first at the larger holes, then the medium-sized, and finally at the smaller ones.

They should also practice shooting at moving targets, whether natural or artificial. The natural ones they can shoot at would be birds and wild animals. Artificial targets could be, for example, balls or some other objects pulled by cords some distance away. It should be obvious that men trained in these ways will shoot accurately in actual service.

⟨μϚ'.⟩

Πῶς δεῖ ἰσχυρῶς βάλλειν.

Τὸ ἰσχυρῶς βάλλειν συμβαίνει ἢ διὰ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα ῥαδίως κάμπτεισθαι τὸ τόξον ἢ διὰ τὸ μήκος τοῦ βέλους ἐπὶ πλέον καμπτομένου 5 τοῦ τόξου. ποιεῖ δὲ μάλιστα τοῦτο ἢ τῶν γυμναζομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρις. γίνεται δὲ οὕτως.

Ἔστω τις κανὼν κατὰ κάθετον ἐπὶ τινος βάσεως ἐστηκώς, ἐπὶ δὲ 10 τοῦτου δίσκος ξύλινος κατ' ὀρθὰς γωνίας τῷ κανόνι συνταπτόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἄνω αὐτοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν γεγράφθωσαν εὐθεῖαι διὰ τοῦ κέντρου ἡγμέναι, οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις ἐξήκοντα. 15 πεπήχθω δὲ κατὰ τὸ κέντρον τοῦ δίσκου περόνη κυλινδροειδῆς σιδηρᾶ, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ περόνῃ βεβηκέτω κύκλος ξύλινος τοῦ δίσκου κατὰ σημεῖον ἀπτόμενος οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ μὲν πάχος δακτύλων τριῶν, τὴν δὲ διάμετρον τοῦ κύκλου σπιθαμῶν δύο. ἔστω δὲ ὁ κύκλος ἐπὶ τῇ 15 περόνῃ βεβηκώς ὡς μήτε ἀκίνητον εἶναι μήτε ῥαδίως κινούμενον τῷ 20 μίαν εἰ τύχοι γραμμὴν κινήσει τὸν κύκλον, ἢ δὲ σφοδρότερα κατὰ δύο ἢ καὶ πλείονας.]

46: K-R 202, Erck 85.

46: 1 μϚ' De: om. codd. || 2 πῶς MP: *περὶ τοῦ πῶς* SB, *qui hic res.* || 9 τὴν MP: τὸν SB || 19 ἀσθενεστέρα MP: *ἀσθενεστέρων* SB || 21 πλείονας K-R: *πλείονα* codd.: *des.* MP

S f. 111<sup>v</sup>  
B f. 91<sup>v</sup>

⟨μζ'.⟩

Πῶς δεῖ ταχέως βάλλειν.)

Τὸ δὲ ταχέως βάλλειν οὐ μᾶλλον τέχνη ἢ συνεχῆς γυμνασία 5 ποιεῖ. γίνεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οὕτως· ἀνὴρ τις τῶν ἐπὶ τοξείᾳ βαλλόντων 5 πυκνότερον κατὰ τοῦ δοθέντος σημείου συνεχῶς πεμπέτω τὰ βέλη. οἱ

[46.]

Training for Power of Fire.

Power of fire may be achieved either by using a bow which is not too easy to draw or a long arrow, which means the bow will have to be pulled farther. The best way of proceeding is by competition among the men in training. It may be done in the following way.

Set up a measuring rod vertically upon some sort of base. Fix a wooden disk at right angles to the rod. On the disk's upper surface draw a number of straight lines through the center, no less than 360. Stick a cylindrical iron pin in the center of the disk, and on this pin fix a circular wooden plate to be fitted over the disk as a target, no less than three fingers thick and the diameter of the circle about half a meter.<sup>1</sup> Let this circle be so attached to the pin that it will be neither too rigid nor too easily moved when shaken by arrows. Have some men fire at this circle, using arrows with blunt iron heads instead of points. The lines inscribed in the circle on the disk indicate the stronger or the weaker impact of the shot. A weaker shot will turn the circle, say, only one degree, the stronger blow two or more degrees.

<sup>1</sup>Two spithamai.

[47.]

Training for Rapidity of Fire.]

Being able to fire rapidly is less a matter of technique than it is of constant practice. It may be done in the following manner. Have one of the men who is very good at rapid shooting with the bow fire a continuous volley of arrows at a given

δὲ ταύτης τῆς γυμνασίας ἐχόμενοι κατὰ μίαν αὐτῶ εὐθείαν συντετα-  
 γμένοι στηκέτωσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τόξω χρώμενοι ὁμοίως τὰ βέλη κατὰ  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου πεμπέτωσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς βέλεσι γεγράφθωσαν τὰ  
 τῶν πεμπόντων ὀνόματα, ἢ ἴδια τούτων σημεία ἐχέτωσαν. ἢ δὲ ἀρχῇ  
 10 τῶν τοξευόντων καὶ τὸ τέλος οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης γινέσθωσαν,  
 ἀλλὰ διὰ τινος σημείου γνωρίζοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ  
 τέλος. τούτων γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους τρόπους τελουμένων καὶ τῶν  
 βελῶν ἐκάστου μετὰ τὴν τοξείαν ἀριθμουμένων, τοῦ μὲν τάχως βάλ-  
 λοντος πλείονα ἀνάγκη τὰ βέλη εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ βραδέως ὀλιγότερα, καὶ  
 15 τούτου ἕρις ἔσται τοῖς βάλλουσιν πρὸς τὸ λίαν πυκνότερον.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη τις μέθοδος γυμνασίας ἰδίως τῶν ἐν κινήσει  
 τοξευόντων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὕτως· λαβὼν τις (τὸ) τόξον καὶ τὰ βέλη  
 τῶν γνωρίμων εἰς τάχος κατ' εὐθείαν κινείσθω μὲν, πεμπέτω δὲ κατὰ  
 πλευρὰν εἰς μῆκος τὰ βέλη. εἶτα παυσάμενος ἀναλαμβάνετω τὰ  
 20 βέλη, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνων τόπους τιθέναι σημεία, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν  
 σημεία πρῶτα, καὶ τούτων πάλιν ἀπέναντι ἐν διαστάσει εἰ τύχοι  
 ὀργυιῶν τριάκοντα ἕτερα σημεία ἃ δὴ δεύτερα ὀνομάζω. κατὰ δὴ  
 ταῦτα τὰ δεύτερα σημεία οἱ γυμναζόμενοι ἕτερος ἑτέρῳ κατακολου-  
 θούντες σπουδαίως κατὰ τῶν προτέρων σημείων τὰ βέλη πεμπέ-  
 25 τωσαν μέχρις ὅτου τὸ τελευταῖον σημεῖον καταλάβωσιν. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ  
 τελευταῖον σημεῖον οὐκέτι τόξω χρήσονται ἔστ' ἂν πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς τῶν σημείων γίνωνται.

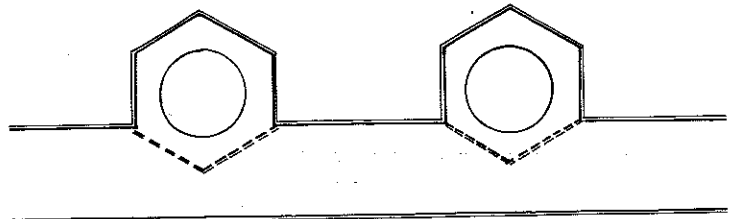
47: K-R 204, Erc 86.

47: 1 μζ' De: om. codd. || 2 πῶς . . . βάλλειν K-R: om. codd. || 3 ἢ K-R: om. codd. || 9 ἐχέ-  
 τωσαν S: om. B || 17 τὸ K-R: om. SB || 18 κινείσθω μὲν πεμπέτω δὲ K-R: κινήσωμεν καὶ πεμ-  
 πέτω SB || 19 παυσάμενος K-R: παυσάμενων SB || 25 τελευταῖον K-R: τέταρτον SB || 26 χρή-  
 σονται K-R: χρήσεται SB || 27 γίνωνται K-R: γίνεταί SB

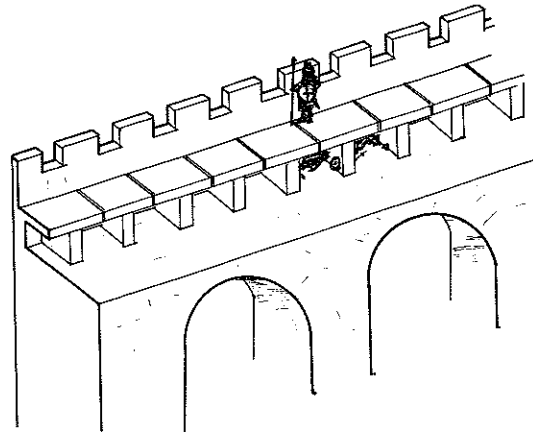
signal. The other participants take position on a straight line with him and draw back their bows. They should also shoot their arrows at the same target. Let the arrows be marked with the archers' names or some distinctive device. The shooting begins and ends not when the men feel like it, but they commence firing and cease firing at a definite, prearranged signal. When they have finished shooting in this way, the arrows belonging to each man are counted, and it is obvious that more arrows will be found belonging to the man who shot more rapidly and less to him who shot more slowly. This will instill competition among the men to see who can shoot more rapidly.

There is another method of training, specifically for shooting while in motion, which is done in the following way. A man who is known for his rapid shooting takes his bow and arrows, moves out in a straight line, and fires arrows off to his side for some time. When he stops, the arrows are picked up and a marker left in place of each. This is the first line of markers. Opposite these at a distance of approximately fifty-six meters<sup>1</sup> place another set of markers, calling it the second line. Along this second line of markers, then, the men in training follow along one after the other, firing arrows at the first line of markers until they reach the final marker. When they pass the last marker, they put down the bow until they get back to where the markers begin.

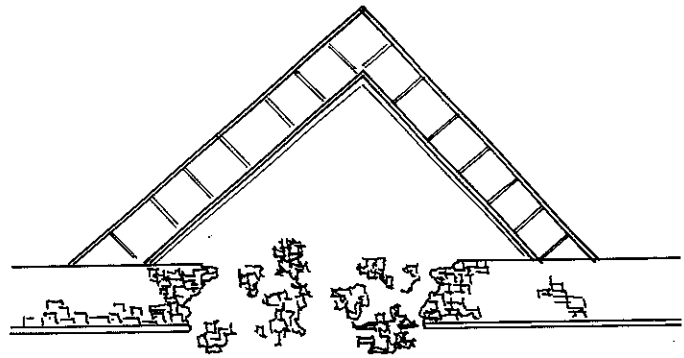
<sup>1</sup>Thirty orgyia: Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 22-23.



1. Plan of Towers (after Spaulding, p. 3)



2. Section of Wall (after Garlan, *supra*, chap. 12, note 3)



3. Breach in Wall

Treatise on Strategy