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PREFACE

The people whom we call Byzantines are generally regarded as having been preoccupied with religion and rhetoric, and we expect this to be reflected in the books which they read and which they wrote. They were, indeed, deeply interested in theology and in classical Greek literature, as well as in other things. But for a thousand years their primary concern was with survival and security, and it must be admitted that, considering the times in which they lived and the adversaries they faced, they managed remarkably well. They did not, however, rely on rhetorical flourishes to drive the wild Pechenegs away or to repel an Arab razzia. It was their practical diplomatic and military skills that preserved the empire and their civilization. While always striving for peace, they knew they had to be prepared for war, and, when it came, they were determined to wage it as effectively as possible. For, just as the ancient Romans whose name they perpetuated, the Byzantines were an eminently practical people. Sure proof of this are their handbooks of diplomacy and tactics that have come down to us, unfortunately all too few.

The three treatises presented here reflect the practical concerns of soldiers entrusted with the tasks of going on campaign and defending the frontiers. The first, The Anonymous Byzantine Treatise on Strategy, seems to have been composed by a retired army engineer about the middle of the sixth century—a prosperous period and, in general, one of success on the battlefield. This booklet is more systematically organized and more theoretical than the others. The writer is familiar with the military authorities of antiquity and cites passages from their writings, yet he has obviously been in combat and knows from experience how to construct fortifications and siege machinery. His compilation is an interesting mix of theory and practice.

The second and third treatises were composed toward the end of the tenth century, also a period of prosperity and military successes. Both are brief and to the point, containing little of theory. The first of these, Skirmishing, deals with the details of border warfare in the mountains of eastern Anatolia and was written by a man with years of experience in such fighting.
The other, which I have titled *Campaign Organization and Tactics*, concentrates on the progress of an army with the emperor himself in command and its setting up camp in hostile territory, namely, in Bulgaria. Numbers, details, and precise measurements are provided by the author, who had obviously participated in such expeditions.

In reading the more formal literature of the Byzantines with its often stilted and artificial prose we can see the Byzantines themselves only darkly, in a glass, “a distorted mirror.” These three treatises, however, written in a more down-to-earth language, introduce us to real people—the retired officer with his collection of books on strategy, the hardened veteran from the mountains far from the imperial capital, the efficient administrator who sees to every detail. They tell us of soldiers that are more interested in farming and of others that are harassed by tax collectors. While explaining about tactics and weaponry, these writings also provide valuable information about Byzantine life and institutions, especially in the provinces. Not only do they discuss the practical measures taken to defend the empire, but they give us an insight into what motivated the men that stood guard on its borders. These treatises, in short, help us understand how the Byzantine Empire and its citizens survived so long and, in doing that, kept so much of what is basic to our own civilization from perishing.

Each of the treatises is composed in a distinctive style and approaches its subject from a different perspective. Although each by itself is perhaps too short to fill a printed volume, the three comprise a characteristically Byzantine book on tactics, and they are found together in the same series of manuscripts. A list of abbreviations and one of signs follow this preface. Each treatise is then presented with its own introduction. The text and apparatus are accompanied by an English translation with a few notes.

In producing this book I was not alone. A scholar is never alone. I have been aided by many I have never met—Graux, Köchly, Rüstow, Vári, Kulakovskij, Hase, Dain, Spaulding, Higgins, Erck. In return, I can only hope that my own efforts may be of some help to those who come after. In the meantime let me express my gratitude to those whose assistance has been more immediate. My thanks go first to Irene Vaslef, librarian at Dumbarton Oaks, for first apprising me of Erck’s work on the *Anonymous* and urging me to complete it. That it and the other treatises were completed and improved my thanks are due to Peter Topping, Alexander Kazhdan, John Duffy, and Frances Kianka. For consistent and prompt assistance I must also thank the staff at Dumbarton Oaks and at the Mullen Library of the Catholic University of America. I would never have identified most of the locations in the second treatise without the kind help of Robert Edwards. My thanks
are also due to Michael Dechert for his generosity in taking time to draw most of the diagrams given below. I am grateful that much of my research was done at Dumbarton Oaks during the tenure of Giles Constable as its director. In uncounted ways he made it a place in which scholarship could truly prosper and move forward. We are all in his debt. Finally, to all my colleagues and confreres who have supported me in one way or another my thanks.

Washington, D.C.  
May 1984

George T. Dennis, S.J.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS


*ByzF*: Byzantinische Forschungen

*BZ*: Byzantinische Zeitschrift


CFHB: Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae


*DOP*: Dumbarton Oaks Papers

*GRBS*: Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies


Kekaumenos: *Soviety i Raskazy Kekavmena*, ed. G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972)


Leo the Deacon: *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis historiae libri decem*, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828)

Listes de préséance: *Les listes de préséance byzantine des IXe et Xe siècles*, ed. N. Oikonomidès (Paris, 1972)


*RE*: Paulys *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new rev. ed. by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll (Stuttgart, 1893–)

*REB*: Revue des études byzantines


ST: *Studi e Testi*

*TM*: Travaux et Mémoires

*VizVrem*: Vizantijskij Vremennik
LIST OF SIGNS

A = Codex Ambrosianus graecus 139 (B 119 sup.)
M = Codex Mediceo-Laurentianus graecus 55, 4
V = Codex Vaticanus graecus 1164
S = Codex Scorialensis graecus 281 (Y-III-11)
B = Codex Barberinianus graecus II 97 (276)
P = Codex Parisinus graecus 2522

Erck = T. Erck, Anonymi Byzantini Peri Strategikes (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1937)
K-R = H. Köchly and W. Rüstow, Byzantini anonymi Peri strategikes, in Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller (Leipzig, 1855), 2, 2
Hase = C. B. Hase, Leonis Diaconi Caloensis historiae libri decem et liber de Velitatione bellica Nicephori Augusti (Bonn, 1828), 179–258
H = paginae editionis Hase
Graux = C. Graux, "Traité de Tactique . . .," Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 36 (1899), 71–127
Vári = R. Vári, Incerti scriptoris Byzantini Liber de re militari (Leipzig, 1901)
T = paginae editionis Vári
De = G. Dennis
◊ = suppleta ab editore
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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 Ur-bikios and concluding with the more practical instructions offered by Maurice. About the middle of the century a book of modest proportions, proferring 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.” 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. In the 1930s, however, two Americans, one a doctoral

1See Hunger, Hochsprachliche profane Literatur, 323–40; Dain, “Stratégistes.”
2“Des byzantiner Anonymus Kriegswissenschaft,” in K–R.
3This 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.  

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. 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
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. 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, “stratégès en chambre.” 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.” 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

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

7Dain, “Stratégistes,” 343.

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.”

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.

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. Subsequent research on the textual history of the Strategikon of Maurice confirmed Dain’s analysis. 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-


11 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.\(^\text{12}\) The Anonymous is found on fols. 104–130\(^\text{v}\). 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.\(^\text{13}\) 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\(^\text{v}\), 175\(^\text{v}\)–176\(^\text{v}\).

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\(^\text{v}\)–111\(^\text{v}\). 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 Barberianus graecus II 97 (276) (= B). It is in the latter that the incomplete text of the Anonymous is found on fols. 81\(^\text{v}\)–91\(^\text{v}\).

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 (ω) between it and the exemplar. As in the case of Maurice's Strategikon, the relationship between these manuscripts can be sketched as follows.\(^\text{14}\)

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\(^{14}\) Dennis, Strategikon, 33–36.
The third recension found by Dain, the one used by Leo VI which, designated as λ, was important in reconstituting the text of Maurice, has not preserved the Anonymous.\(^\text{15}\)

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.\(^\text{16}\) 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 (fol. 8–21\(^*\)) 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.\(^\text{17}\) 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-

\(^{15}\)Ibid., 36–39.


\(^{17}\)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.\textsuperscript{18}

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.

\textsuperscript{18}Jules Africain, Fragments des Cestes, xliii–xlvi.
(Περὶ Στρατηγίας.

α'.

Τι ἐστὶν πολιτεία καὶ πόσα μέρη αὐτῆς.)

Μ 104

... γραμματικοῖς, ῥήτορεσ, ἰατροῖς, γεωργοῖς, καὶ ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι.

Τὴν δὲ γε ἰερατικὴν δόξει μὲν ἂν τὸς ἴσως τέχνην εἶναι, ἢμῖν δὲ ὅποτε δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ ἐπιστήμην, ἐπειδὴ θείον τι χρημα ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμὰς φύσεων ύψηλότερον, εἰ μὴ τὶς ἀπλῶς ἐπιστήμην τὴν γνώσιν καλεῖ. ὀσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὴν νομικὴν, ὅτι μὴ ἂει ὀσαύτως ἔχει, νῦν μὲν οὕτως περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, νῦν δὲ ἔτέρας, πρὸς τὰς διαθέσεις τῶν νομοθετομένων προσώπων, ἀποφαίνομένων τῶν νόμων.

Ἐμπορικῶν δὲ, οίνον συσσωλαῖ, οἶνοπώλαι, κρεοπώλαι. ἕλικόν δὲ, τὸ ἐκάστου εἰδοὺς παρεκτικόν, οἴνον συδηροτελεῖς, χαλκοτελεῖς. ὑπηρετικῶν δὲ, τὸ ὑπηρετοῦν τοὺς γυνομένους πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν, οἴνον εὐλοφόροι, λυθοφόροι. ἀχρηστὸν δὲ, τὸ μηδοτιούν συντελεῖν δυνάμενον πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν χρείαν, οἶνον ἀσθενεῖς, γέρουτεσ, παιδὲσ.

Καὶ πολιτείας μὲν μέρη τοσοῦτα. εἰποὶ δὲ ἂν τὸς καὶ μέρος πολιτείας, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ μηδὲν ἐνεργεῖν ἴσως ἄργον ὅνομάσεις, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντως καὶ ήμῖν ἄρμόσιε μέρος πολιτείας τοιοῦτος. ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος οὐκ ἔνι μέρος εὐρεῖν πάσης χρείας ἀπηλλαγμένον, οὐσὶ καὶ πολιτείας ἀρίστης οὐκ ἂν δεόν μέρος εἶναι τοιοῦτον, ὅ δὲνται μὲν συντελεῖν ἐπὶ λυθοτελεῖς τῆς πολιτείας, οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ δὲ, ἀλλὰ πάντως καὶ αὐτὸ καθ' ἐν τοιὸν εἰρρημένων τετάξεται, ἵνα μὴ ἄργει δυνάμενον πρὸς ἀκολασίαν καὶ κλοπῆν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κα-25 κίαιν ἀποκλίνοι.

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ΜΡ 1: K–R 42, Erck 22.

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1: 1–3 peri . . . αὐτῆς De: inc. mut. codd. || 4 iatroi M: om. P || 19 τοιοῦτον De: τοσοῦτον MP
... 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 ἐπενοήθησαν τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μέρη.)

'Επενοήθη δὲ τὸ μὲν ἱερατικὸν διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείαν, τῆς πρώτης γενουκωτάτης ἀρχῆς, παρ’ οὗ καὶ δι’ οὗ πάντα γέγονε καὶ οἰκονομεῖται, οἷς μόνος ἐκεῖνος ἐπίσταται τρόποις τῆς ἀγαθότητος.

Τὸ δὲ νομικὸν διὰ τὸ δίκαιον, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τὰς στάσεις. στάσεις δὲ ἐστὶ πλήθους ὀμοφύλων κατὰ γνώμην διάστασις μικραῖς ἀφορμαῖς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ μέχρι φῶνων ὁδιέουσα. τὰ γὰρ ἄλληλων κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἀνθέλκοντες ἀνθρωποὶ, ἔστα πρὸς τὴν βλάβην τῶν γειτόνων ἐμμενουτες, πρὸς στάσιν ἐμφυλιον καὶ μάχην θανατηφόρον διηγομένοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῆ τοῦ γένους ἀναίρεσιν ἦπειλε τὸ πράγμα, διὰ ταῦτα ἐπενοήθησαν νόμοι καὶ δικασταί, ἵν’ ὑπὸ τούτων τὰ πλήθη κρινόμενα αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους εἰρήνην ἔγοιν.

Τὸ δὲ σύμβουλευτικὸν διὰ τὸ συμφέρον. τὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἀνεπεμφύλομεν ἐτοιμότερον εἰς καταλήψιν. ηὐξῆθη δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τοὺς πολέμους, οὓς συμφωνούσαν καὶ γνώμαι γεννώσα πολλῶν, κατὶν’ θοῦσι δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

Τὸ δὲ χρηματικὸν ἐστὶ μὲν ὦτε καὶ ἄλλων ἑνεκεν κοινωφελῶν πραγμάτων ἐπικείμενωτα, οἷον ναυτηγίας, τειχοποιίας, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τὰ ἀναλώματα τῶν στρατιωτῶν. τῶν γὰρ κατ’ ἑτος δημοσίων εἰσόδων ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλείστα καταναλίσκεται.

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

Τὸ δὲ ἐμπορικὸν διὰ τὴν χρείαν. οὐ γὰρ πάντες πάντα ἔχοντες δι’ ὅν ἐκαστὸς εὑπορεῖ διὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας τὸ λείπον ἀναπληροῦ τῆς χρείας.

Τὸ δὲ ὑλικὸν ἦτοι τὸ εἰδοὺς παρεκτικῶν, ἕνα μὴ τῆς χρείας καλούσης ἐπιλήτη τὰ πράγματα. πολλάκις γὰρ χρημάτων μὲν εὑποροῦμεν, τῶν εἰς χρείαν δὲ πραγμάτων ἀπολειπόμεθα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν σῖδηροι, οἱ δὲ νάφθαν, οἱ δὲ ἀλλο τί τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ ή ἀργυροῦ ἦμιν προσπορίζοισιν.

Τὸ δὲ ὑπηρετικὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν κελευσμένων ύπηρεσίαν τε καὶ συμπλήρωσιν. τὸ δὲ ἀχρηστὸν προβέβληται μὲν ὑπὸ τε τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς τύχης, θεραπεύεται δὲ παρὰ τῆς κεχρεωστημένης φιλανθρώπου γνώμης, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴ δώρων ἐστὶ φύσεως καὶ Θεοῦ πρότερον.
Holy orders have been established for the worship of God, the first and universal 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 contending 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 particularly 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 principally 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.
Τι μέν οὖν ἐστι πολιτεία καὶ πόσα μέρη ταυτῆς τυγχάνει καὶ τίνων χάριν ἐπεννοήσατο, εἰρήνη διὰ τῶν φθασάντων. ἔπει δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐκάστῳ τῶν εἰρημένων μερῶν ὑπ’ ἡγεμόνι τετάχθαι, ἀναγκαῖον περὶ ἄρχοντων εἰπεῖν πρότερον, ὅποιοις αὐτοῖς εἶναι χρή καθόλου τε καὶ κατ’ εἶδος, καὶ τίνων κεφαλαίων δεῖ φροντίζειν, καὶ ὁποίους εἶναι χρή τοὺς ὑπηρετουμένους αὐτοῖς.

Περὶ γὰρ ἰερέων ὁποίων καὶ αὐτοὺς εἶναι χρῆ, ὅτι δὲ ἐμπείρωσιν εἶναι νόμων Θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ἡθον κρηστοῖς, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρετουμένους αὐτοῖς ὅτι χρή καὶ αὐτοὺς καθαροὺς εἶναι καὶ πραότητι μετ’ εὐκοσμίας μεταχειρίσμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἰερέων ἑγκελευμένα, οὐχ ἡμετέρων, ἀποστόλων δὲ καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἐκείνους βεβιωκτῶν.

Ἄπαντας δὲ ἄρχοντας εἶναι δεόν φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, ἀγαθοῖς τῶν τρόπων, ἐμπείροις τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτοῖς πραγμάτων, θυμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ χειρὸς ὁμοίως κρατοῦντας, καὶ οὐδὲν μάλλον ἑαυτῶν ή τῶν ὑπὸ χείρα φροντίζοντας.

Τοὺς δὲ συμβούλους εἶναι χρῆ γονίμους τοῖς ἐνθυμημάσας καὶ διακριτικοὺς τοῦ συμφέροντος, φίλους τὰ κοινὰ, ἐμπείρους τὰ πολιτικά, μνήμονας τῶν τελουμένων, ἐνδείας καὶ τρυφῆς ἱστος ἀπέχοντας, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἴσχυν| τοῦ σώματος, ἐν’ ὑπηρετώσι καὶ διαρκώσι τοῖς λογισμοῖς δαπανῶμενοι, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὸν κόρον, κόρος γὰρ πολέμως λογισμῶν. καὶ μήτε ὑπὸ μακρῷ καταφέρεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ "οὐ χρή παννόθινοι καθεύδειν βουλήγορον ἄνδρα," μήτ’ ἄλλωσ φροντίσοι

Συνεχομένους καταδαπανάν τὴν ἐν τοῖς λογισμοῖς δύναμιν. εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἡλικιαν γηραιοῦς, “βουλή γὰρ καὶ μύθος τὸ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων,” ἢ καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ὀρῶντας διὰ τὰς ἐπιποντέρας κινήσεις τοῦ σώματος, καὶ μήτε διὰ συγγένειας ἢ χρήματα ἢ ἐχθραὶ τινοῦ ἢ φιλίαι βουλευσθαι, μόνον δὲ ἐνεκα τοῦ τῇ πολιτείᾳ συμφέροντος.

Τοὺς δὲ δυκαστὰς εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς κριτικοὺς τὴν φύσιν—πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐνθυμημάτων μὲν εὔποροντο, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ κρείττονος ἀμαρτάνουσαν—ἐπιστεύονασ μὲν οὐ μόνον τῶν νόμων περι οὐς καταγίνονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα συντελοῦσι πρὸς τὴν τῶν νόμων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ χειρὸς μὲν καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ἡδονῆς ὁμοίως κρατοῦντας, καὶ κατεί ροβῷ καταπτήσεσθαι μήτε χρήματα μήτε δελεάζεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ φοβεροὺς μὲν τοῖς καταφορνητάῖς, προσήχεις δὲ τοῖς εὐπειθέσιν.

Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὰ χρήματα τεταγμένων χρῆ τοὺς μὲν τιθέντας τοὺς φόρους δικαίους εἶναι τὸν τρόπον, μετρικῆς δὲ μάλιστα καὶ γεωπονικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ λογιστικῆς μετέχειν. αἱ γὰρ θέσεις τῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων γίνονται μὲν κατὰ πωσὸν τῆς γῆς, ἀναλόγως δὲ καὶ κατὰ
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." 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." 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 contemn 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 ἔχῃ πρὸς εὐφοριάν καρπῶν ἢ γένεσιν μετάλλων. ὅραν δὲ δει καὶ κράσεις ἄερων καὶ τόπων, πόλεων τε καὶ ποταμῶν ναυσιπόρων καὶ θαλάσσης γεινίασιν καὶ πηγῶν ἀινῶν χορηγίαν, ὡστε τῷ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς καὶ ὡς διὰ βάθους, ὡστε ταῦτα πάντα βλέποντας τοὺς πέρι ταῦτα τεταγμένους τοὺς φόρους τίθεσθαι.

Τοὺς δὲ φορολόγους χρηστοὺς μὲν τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν οὕσιν τοσοῦτον εὐπόρους εἶναι, ὡστε, εἰ ποτὲ συμβαινῇ κακῶς αὐτοῖς δι- 

φηκέναι τῶν κανόνα, μὴ ἀπορεῖν οἴκοθεν καταβαλεῖν τὸ δημοσίω τὸ ἴκανόν. εἰ δὲ ὑπολήψεως μὲν εἰσὶν ἀγαθῆς, χρημάτων δὲ ἀπορούσι, μὴ ἂν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι ή τῶν μαρτυροῦντων αὐτοῖς εὐπόρουν καθεστηκότων καὶ οἰκειομένων τῆς τοῦ κανόνος ποσότητα. εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐμπειροὺς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἐπικεμένων αὐτοῖς χαρακτηρῶν, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς εὐπόρους θερμοτέρους εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἀπαίτησιν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπόρους | μετὰ τῆς ἐγχωρούσης αὐτοῖς ἀνοχῆς προσφέρεσθαι.

Τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τινὸς χρόνους ἐπισκεπτομένους τὰς τε ἀλόγους αὐξήσεις καὶ ἀποκοπὰς καὶ μεταβέσεις τῶν δημοσίων φόρων καὶ προσεῖτο τοὺς τε ἀδεσπότους ἀγροὺς, ὥν ἐκλειπεῖ τὰ τελέσματα, καὶ τὰς ὑποστάσεις τῶν μετρημένων αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα μὲν ἀληθείας ἐραν καὶ ταύτη σεμώνεσθαι καὶ διὰ ταύτην τιμᾶσθαι ἐλπίζοντας, ἐξεταστικοὺς δὲ εἶναι καὶ διερηνητικοὺς πραγμάτων καὶ οἰκονόμους ἀγαθοὺς, ὡς μήτη τὸ δημόσιον λυπεῖν, μήτη τοὺς δεσπότας τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀδικεῖν.

Τοὺς δὲ διανέμοντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπεριέργους εἶναι καὶ ἄπλοὺς τὸν τρόπον, μάλιστα δὲ πιστοὺς, ἐκ τῆς κατ’ ὅλην δοκιμασίας μαρτυρηθέντας τήν πίστιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὰ πολλὰ πρὸ τῶν ὁλίγων ἐγχειρισθέντας, τοὺς δὲ λόγους τῆς διανομῆς μὴ διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ βραχέος, ὡστε τὴν μνήμην τῶν κελευθέντων καλῶς διασώζεσθαι.

Τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τέχνας ἀπηχολημένους φύ- 

σεως εὐ ἐχεῖν πρὸς τὸ σπουδαζόμενον. δυνατὸν γὰρ τὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ μαθήματι οἰκείως ἔχοντα ἀλλοτρίως ἐχεῖν ἐν ἄλλῳ, διὸ καὶ Πυθαγό- 

ραν φαί τὰς φύσεις τῶν μαθητῶν διερευνώμενον τάττειν αὐτοῖς τὰ μαθήματα.

Τοὺς δὲ τῆς ἐμπορίας ἐφόρους δικαίως εἰναι τὸν τρόπον καὶ 

δι’ ὅλων πραγμάτων ἐμπείρους, ὡς μήτη τοὺς πράττας κατασφοίζε- 

σθαι τῶν ἀγοραστῶν ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ χείρονος, μήτη τὴν ἀμετρίαν τῶν κερδῶν συγχωρεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐδωδίμων, ἐνθα καὶ κολνά- 

ζευν προσήκει τοὺς πρὸς ἀμετρίαν ἐκκλίνωτας.

Τοὺς δὲ τὴν ὑλὴν παρεχομένους εὐπόρους εἶναι καὶ ἐπιστήμονας 

tῶν τελωμένων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς ἀλλ’ οὐ πόρρωθεν χαίρετο συλ- 

λέγοντας, καὶ ταυτὰς παρέχειν κακίας πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένας. πολ- 

λοί γὰρ οἱ μὲν ταῖς ὑλαῖς ὑλὰς παραμιγνύντες, οἱ δὲ παρὰ καίρον
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
to 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 pos-
sible 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. 3

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, ἀγρήστοις αὐτὰς καθιστάσιν. οὔτε γὰρ κομάντα
φυτὰ πρὸς δενδροτομίαν τῷ τέκτονι χρήσιμα, οὔτε βάλσαμον ἐπὶ τῆς
αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας ἐλαίῳ παραφθείρομενον.

Τοὺς δὲ ἀγρήστους εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀνεπιτηθείσους πρὸς πᾶσαν
ἐργασίαν ἰδίαν τε καὶ κομωφελῆ εἰτὲ διὰ γῆρας ἢ λάβην σώματος ἢ
παραφροσύνην ἢ ἀτέλειαν, καὶ τούτων τοὺς ἐπιστατοῦντας εἶναι
μάλιστα φιλανθρώπους, εὐπόρους, ἐπιεικεῖς, κοινωνικούς, καὶ τὰ
πάθη ἰδιὰ ποιομένους ἢ ἐξουσι τὴν φροντίδα, καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τὴν
φιλανθρωπίαν λογιζομένους.

Τοὺς δὲ υπηρετάς τῶν εἰρημένων ἄρχοντων εἶναι μήτε γέρον-
95 τας, εἰ μὴ τις διὰ πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν πράγματος ύπηρετοί τῷ ἄρχοντι,
μήτε ἄγαν νέους. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἡθη χρηστοὺς, ὡστε φρονίμως καὶ
ἰκανῶς ἔχειν μετ’ εὐκοσμίας πρὸς τὴν τῶν κελευμένων συντέλειαν.
τοὺς δὲ γε λοιποὺς ἀπάντας υπηρετάς νέους εἶναι, οἶον ξυλοφόρους,
ἄχθοφόρους, ὡστε δυνατῶς ἔχειν διὰ τὴν ἱσχὺν τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὴν
100 τῶν κελευμένων υπηρεσίαν.

Ῥωμαίοι δὲ καὶ τὶ ἔτερον τούτοις προστιθέασι πολιτείας μέρος,
ὁ δὴ θεατρικὸν καὶ θυμελικὸν ὀνομάζεται. ἔστι δὲ οἶον ἀρματηλάται,
μουσουργοί, υποκριταὶ καὶ τὰ ὁμοια. χρώνται δὲ τούτως ἐπὶ τε γεν-
εθλιῶν καὶ ἀναρήσεων βασιλεῶν καὶ ἐγκαίνιων πόλεων, μάλιστα
105 δὲ ἐπὶ θριάμβους, οὐς δὴ ποιούσι μετὰ τὴν νίκην, πολεμίους διὰ
μέσον τῶν θεάτρων διαβιβάζοντες. τὸ δὲ πολλαῖον οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαίοι,
άλλα καὶ Ἐλληνες καὶ πολλά τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτοις ἐχρώντω.


3: 2 περὶ ἄρχοντων De: om. codd. || 63 τὸ Κ–Ρ: τῶν MP || 74 τῶς M: τοὺς P || 85 καθιστάσιν
Κ–Ρ: καθιστάσιν MP

73–74 locum non invenit Erck, nec ego.

δ'.

(Περὶ στρατηγικῆς.)

Τί μὲν οὖν ἔστι πολιτικῆ, καὶ πόσα ταύτης τὰ πρῶτα καὶ κα-
θολικώτερα μέρη, εἰς πόσα τε καὶ τίνα διαμείβεται τῶν πολιτευμένων
5 τὸ πλῆθος κατὰ τὸ άδιπλόν μέρος, καὶ ὡς τοιοῦτα πολλοὶ τοὺς τε ἀρ-
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. In former times not only the Romans but the Greeks and many other peoples had a place for this class.

1Homer, Iliad, 2, 24.
2Ibid., 4, 323.
3The source of this statement is not known.

4.

[Strategy.]
χοντας αυτων και των αρχομενους, δια των φθασαντων ημιν ειρηται.
φερε δη λοιπων και περι στρατηγηκης ερουμεν, η και αυτη μερος εστι
κρατιστων της ολης πολιτικης. αρξομαι δε ένειθεν.
Μεγα κακων εν οιδ' οτι ο πολεμος και πέρα κακων' επει δε
νομον προτροπην και άρετης τελειωσιν οι έχθροι πεποιηται τα
ημετερα αιματα, χρη δε παντως έκκαστον της ιδιας πατριδος και των
ομοφυλων αντεχεσθαι και λογους και γραμμασι και πράγμασι, περι
στρατηγηκης γράφεων ειλόμεθα, δι' ης ου μονον μάχεσθαι άλλα και
κρατειν των εχθρων δυνησόμεθα.
Στρατηγηκη των έστιν μεθοδος, καθ' ην τις στρατηγων τα μεν
οικεια φυλαξειν, των δε πολεμων καταγωνισαιτο, στρατηγος δε ο
κατα στρατηγηκην τεχνην διαπραττόμενος.
Οινον δε δει των στρατηγων ειναι ειρηται μεν και δε' ων άπλως
τους αρχοντας προτερον υπεγραψει. δει δε προς έκεινος των
στρατηγων ειναι ανδρειον τη γνωμη, ευφυη τα στρατηγικα, ενθυμη-
ματικσον, κριτικων, δυνατων τω σωματι, φερετων, άκαταπληκτων,
ειτα τοις | μεν άπειθεσι φοβερον, τοις δ' άλλοις επιχαρη, προσηνη,
τοσουτον των κοινων έπιμελουμενων, ως μηδεν των ένδεχομενων
παραλιπειν εις την του κοινου λυστελεων. άστε αναγκη των στρα-
τηγων απο των πραξεων δοκιμαξεσθαι και δια ταντας μαλλον την
αρχην δεχεσθαι.

4: K-R 54, Erck 27.

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’ ἄνωφρος τε καὶ προφυλακός τάττομεν καὶ πυρσοῦς ἀνάπτομεν καὶ φρουρίων ἑπιμελοῦμεθα τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφανείας καταμηνύντες.

Δεύτερος δὲ, καθ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπελεύσεις δεδουλῶσ τείχη τε καὶ προτειχίσματα ἐγείρομεν καὶ τάφρους ἀνορρύττομεν, ὡστὲ ἐν καρῷ ἐπιστασίας ἐχθρῶν ἐπισυναγαγεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ πλῆθη ἐπὶ τε αὐτά καὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τά σπῆλαια καὶ τὰς νῆσους δούσα φυλάττουν δύναται τοὺς εἰς αὐτὰ καταφεύγοντας.

Τρίτος δὲ, καθ’ ὑπὲρ φυλακτικοῦ τῶν ὅπλων κεχρήμεθα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ποιοῦμεν χαρακώματα, τάφρους, τριβόλους, βόθρους, σκόλοπας, καὶ τὰ ὅμως.

Τέταρτος δὲ, καθ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπεμβαίνοντων καὶ ἡμῶν ἀδυνατοῦντων πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντησιν, τῇ ἀντιπεριστάσει κεχρήμεθα, ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς παρακειμένους τῶν ἑθῶν καθ’ αὐτῶν διεγείροντες καθὰ ποικ. καὶ ἡμέτερος πεποίηκε βασιλεύς, ποτὲ δὲ αὐτὸι εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀντεισαγόμενοι, οὐ τοῦ ποιήσατα χάριν, ὅ καὶ αὐτὸ πολλάκις γίνεται, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀποστῆσαι αὐτοὺς τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐπεὶ καὶ πλαττόμενοι τούτῳ πολλάκις ἀφέλησθεν. οἰον βουλόμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναχώρησιν ἐπεισε τινας τῶν δεσμωτῶν ἢ τῶν ὑποκείμων ἐν σχήματι αὐτομοίλων φυγόντων ἀπαγείλαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εἰσελαύνειν τὸν στρατηγὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν, οἱ δὲ φυλακῆς τῶν ὑποκείμων ἔνεκα ἀφέντες τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνέστρεφον.

Μ. f. 107 25

Πέμπτος δὲ, καθ’ ὑπὲρ πᾶσι τρόποις ἀπορούντες τοῦ μάχεσθαι, τὸ εἰρηνεύειν αἱροῦμεθα, κἂν τυχῇ ἡμῖν τνά ἡμῶς ἐντεῦθεν ἐπαγχεῖσθαι. δύο γὰρ κακῶν προκειμένων ἀἱρετῶτερον τὸ κουφότερον ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἀν τὰ τὰ oίκεια φυλάξειν, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ εἰρηνεύειν ἔλουτο.

30 Εἰ καὶ τελευταίοι ἡμῖν τέτακται, ἄρχῃ δὲ καὶ τέλος πάσης φυλακῆς τὰ τε στιὰ καὶ τὰ pόματα, ὅν χρῆ καὶ μᾶλλον φροντίζειν εὲ τε τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.
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. 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.

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1 Probably Justinian (527–65), as mentioned in the Introduction.
Τούς μὲν οὖν τᾶς φύλακας καὶ προφύλακας ἑμετερευμένους ἀναγκαίως εἶναι φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, ἀνδρείους, στοχαστικοὺς, ἀγρύπνους, δυνατοὺς, κούφους τὰ σῶματα, ἐχεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκαδὲ γυναῖκας τε καὶ παιδίας καὶ περιουσίαν τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν διαφέρονταν. καὶ ἦμερας μὲν τὸ πλέον καθεύδειν, νυκτὸς δὲ τὸ ἔλαττον, οὐ πάντας ἀμα ἄλλα τοὺς μὲν πρότερον, τοὺς δὲ ύστερον. δωρεάς δὲ λαμβάνειν ὅποτε μάλιστα θεμιστοὺς κρατοῦντος τὴν ἐχθρῶν παρουσίαν μηρύσωσι. ἀνάγκη δὲ διορίσαι καὶ τοὺς τόπους, τίνες ἀν τούτων εἶν εἰς κατασκοπὴν ἐπιτήδειοι.

Τῶν τοίνυν τόπων οἱ μὲν εἰσὶ γνωμοὶ τε (καὶ) καθαροί, οἱ δὲ σύν-δενδροί, οἱ δὲ ἐλώδεις. χρήσιμοι δὲ τούτων εἰσίν εἰς κατασκοπὴν οἱ ὁμαλοὶ τε καὶ καθαροὶ τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ τόπων ἔχοντες ὡστε μὴ λανθάνειν τοῖς φύλαξι τῆς ἐχθρῶν ἔξοδον. εἰ δὲ ὁμαλοὶ μὲν τε καὶ καθαροὶ οὐκ εἰσίν ἀλλὰ λοφώδεις, καταμανθάνειν τὰς ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν λόφων κοιλότητας εἰ δὲ αὐτῶν διαβιβαζόμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι λανθάνειν τοὺς φύλακας δύνανται.

Τοὺς δὲ ἐπτρόπους τῶν τὰς φύλακας ἔχοντων ἀνάγκη βλασίας τε εἶναι καὶ ταχείς, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ χρεμετίζειν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ κατα-λαμβάνεσθαι φεύγοντας.

Πολλάκις δὲ τοὺς φύλακας κατασχεῖν βουλόμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι, αἰχμαλώτους ἑαυτοὺς πλάττονται σχηματιζόμενοι τὰ ἥμετέρας οἱ ἐπιδᾶν ἐπὶ τὰς φύλακας ἔλθουσιν, συνέχουσιν αὐτούς. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ἀλλοθεὶς εἰσὶντες εἰτα κατὰ νότων τῶν ἥμετέρων γενόμενοι συλ-λαμβάνουσι τοὺς φυλάττοντας, ὡς καὶ μάλιστα ἐπικινδυνών ἐστὶ τοῖς φυλαττομένους.

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

Περί πυρσῶν καὶ ὀπως οἰκονομητέων αὐτῶν.

Τοὺς δὲ πυρσοὺς ἀνάγκη παρὰ τῶν ἐνδοτέρων ὀρᾶσθαι τόπων, ἀφ' ὄν \[ \dot{\epsilon} \] ἐτεροὶ ἐκ μακροῦ γνῶναι τὸ σημεῖον τῆς φλογὸς ἢ τοῦ κάπων δύνανται. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς τῆς φροντίδα τῶν πυρσῶν ἔχοντας ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοὺς φύλαξι καὶ μᾶλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν, όσ ὡς μὴ φόβῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πρὸ καὶ ἄνθρωπον καταλυμπάνειν τὸ διὰ πυρὸς καὶ καπνοῦ καταμηνύειν τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔφοδον, προαποτίθεσθαι δὲ φρύγανά τε καὶ καλάμην καὶ δὲνδρων ἀκρεμόνας, καὶ χόρτου, φέρειν τε μεθ' ἕαυτῶν καὶ λίθων πυρίτην. ποιεῖ δὲ μάλιστα φλόγα τε καὶ καπνὸν δασὺν τε καὶ εἰς ὕψος ἀιρόμενον στύπτη κατὰ πυρὸς ἐπιχειρομένην.

Ἀνάπτειν δὲ τοὺς πυρσοὺς διὸς μὲν ἀδήλου τοῦτον ὄντος εἰτε θηρίων ἢ τὸ κίπημα εἰτε προσφύγων εἰτε πολεμίων. γνωρίμου δὲ ἀναφανέντος τοῦ ὅτι ἐχθροὶ καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἐξίοντες, τρυπλασίάζειν ἡ τετραπλασιάζειν τὰς ἀναφλογώσεις, πλειόνων δὲ ὄντων πλειστάκις. δυνατὸν δὲ, ὀσπερ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς τῶν ἁρχαιοτέρων εἰρήται, μετὰ τοῦ ὅτι ἐχθροὶ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν διδάξει τῶν χιλιάδων αὐτῶν, τοσαντάκις τοὺς πυρσοὺς ἀνάπτοντες ὑπόσας καὶ χιλιάδες ἄνδρῶν εἶναι δοκοῖεν.

Χρῆ δὲ εἰδέναι ὃς οἱ πολέμιοι πολλάκις ἐμφανίζονται μὲν ἡμέρας, ἐπιστρέφουσι δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τινὰς ἡμέρας καθησυχάζοντες, καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι πολλάκις. οἱ δὲ πυρσοὶ καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀναπτόμενοι φυγαδεύουσι τοὺς ἱδίους. οἱ δὲ καταφρονήσαντες τῶν πυρῶν ἄτι ὁ διαφευγομένων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀίκων ἀναπαύονται. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐξίοντες ἀπαντᾶς ὀμοῦ συλλαμβάνοντο. χρῆ οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τὰς μὲν πρώτας καὶ μερικὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφάνειας ἀπαξ ἢ δις ἀνάπτοντας ἡμελεῖν, εὐπρεπίζεσθαι δὲ πρὸς φυγὴν τὰ πλῆθη, οὐ μή τῶν ὀίκων ἀναχαρεῖν. πολλοὺς δὲ ἀναφαινομένους διπλασιάζειν ἡ πολυπλασιάζειν, νυκτὸς μὲν τοὺς πυρσοὺς, ἡμέρας δὲ τοὺς καπνοὺς, ὡστε ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ πλῆθη εἰδέναι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν σημείων δηλοῦμενα. κοινὰ δὲ τάντας σημεῖα ταῦτα ἔστωσαν τοῖς τε μηνύονσι καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν.
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.¹

Περί φρούριων.

Τά δὲ φρούρια ἐξηύρηται πρῶτον μὲν κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν ἑχθρῶν παρουσίας, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν αὐτομόλων ὑποδοχήν, τρίτον διὰ τὸ κατέχειν τοὺς ἑμετέρους φυγάδας, καὶ τέταρτον διὰ τὸ ἀθρόων ἐμπίπτειν ἡμᾶς τοῖς τά ἀκρα οἰκοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ μάλλον λείας ἕνεκα ἡ ἀνακρίσεως τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἑχθροῖς τελουμένων καὶ περὶ ὧν ἄν αὐτοὶ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν βουλεύονται.

Δεῖ δὲ τὰ φρούρια πλησίον ποιεῖν τῶν ὅρων καὶ μὴ πόρρω ἀφεστήκοτα τῶν ἑχθρῶν τῆς παροδίας, ὡστε μὴ λαυθάνειν τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς κατοικοῦντας τὴς τῶν ἑχθρῶν παρόδου, μὴ δὲ οὕτω πλησίαζειν τοῖς ἰαναπεταμένοις χωρίοις ὡστε τῶν ἑχθρῶν ἐκ τοῦ λιῶν σύνεγγυς ἐπί μακρὸν ἐκείστε προσεδρευόντων διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων ἐπιτηδεύστη διηδένα τῶν ἰανετέρων συγχωρείσθαι, εἰ δὲ λεία οὐκ ἄν γένηται, μὴ ἐκείνα κατὰ φρούριον μηδὲ αὐτῶν ἐκείσε σέλοντας ἐξίσταται.

Ασφαλίζεσθαι δὲ αὐτά ὁ μᾶλλον τεχνικὴ ἡ φυσικὴ ἤχυρότητι, καὶ μὴ ἀποσίθεσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς πλοῦτον μὴ δένει συνάγεις πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων, ἕνα μὴ ὁ πλῆθος τούτων ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι παρακαθημένοι. ἐνθα διαχερεῖς μὲν ἡμῖν ἐτοιμὰς τοὺς ιδίους συνάξας πρὸς πόλεμον, αὐτοῖς δὲ βάρον προπαρασκευασμένοις τὴν ἔξοδον.

Τοὺς δὲ οἰκοῦντας κατ’ αὐτά τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα, ἔτυμον πάσα ἡ τοῦ φρουρίου φρονίς ἐμπετυμέτευται, γνώρισαν μὲν ἐπὶ εὐσέβεια τυγχάνειν μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ὡσα πρέπει ἀρχουσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖστε κατοικοῦντας μὴ ἔχειν μὲθ’ ἑαυτῷ τὸς τὰ γυναικάς καὶ τοὺς παιδὰς αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἔχειν πάντως τὸ πλείστον αὐτῶν μέρος ἐν ἐτέρᾳ ἐπαρχίᾳ, ἵνα τὸ πόθο τούτων μήτε ἐπὶ τῶν ἑχθρῶν φεύγοιν μὴτ’ ἀλλὸς προδίδοιεν τὰ φρούρια. μένει δὲ οὐκ ἄει τοὺς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν χρόνους ἐναλλάσσεθαι, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκίας ἀναστρεφόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκῶν ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια παραγενομένων. εἰ δὲ τῶν σφόδρα ἀσφαλεστάτων ὑπάρχει τὰ φρούρια οὕτω κατ’ οὐδὲν τρόπον πολυρκεῖσθαι, συνεδοτείθαι δὲ ἀνεμποδίστως δύνανται παρ’ ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ τὰς ἱδίας φαμηλίας αὐτοὺς ἑχοντας ἐκείσε οὐκ διὰ βίου τελείων.
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.
'Όσοι δὲ τῶν κατοικοῦντων τὰ φρούρια ύπό τῶν ἐναντίων ἔλη-
φθησαν ἢ ἐκ τῶν συγγενῶν αἰχμαλώτων παρ' αὐτοῖς δύναται κέκτημ-
ται, τούτοις οὗ δεῖ καταπυτεύειν τὰ φρούρια, οὗδ' εἰ τις ἄλλος ἐπ'
ἐγκλήματι ληφθεὶς κατεκρίθη. ὡς τοὺς δὲ μάλιστα χορηγίαν διὰ παν-
τὸς ἔχειν αὐτὰ καὶ τροφῆς ἄρκουσίς τῷ καιρῷ καθ' ὁν παρα-
κεκαθηκέναι αὐτοῖς τὸ πολέμιον δύναται.


' 

Περὶ οἰκοδομῆς πόλεως.

Δεῖ δὲ μέλλοντας πόλεις κτίσειν πρῶτον μὲν κατασκοπήσαι τὸ 
χώριον, εἰ τὸ μέλλον ἐπ' αὐτὸ κτίζεσθαι τείχων ἀνεπιβούλευτον ἔσται
5 ποτὲ τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου θέσιν.

M f. 108v

Δεύτερον δὲ πειράσατε τὸ ὅδωρ καὶ | γνώναι εἰ πρὸς πόσῳ ἀκίν-
δυνον καὶ εἰ ἀρκοῦντος ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως χορηγίαν καὶ τῶν
ἀλλών ὅσοι καταφεύγειν εἰς αὐτὴν μέλλοντες ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως.
εἰ δὲ ἐκτὸς εἰπ' τοῦ τείχους τὸ ὅδωρ, ἀνάγκη ἢ παρατείσθαι τὴν
10 κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως ἢ μὴ κωλύεσθαι τοὺς ἀντλοῦντας ἐπιδημοῦντων
τῶν πολέμιων.

Τρίτον δὲ καὶ εἰ λίθον ἔχει τέμνεσθαι δυνάμενον ἡ τετμημέ-
νον ἢδη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πόρρωθεν μετὰ πολλῶν συναγόμενον τῶν κυ-
δύνων, ὅσαυτος καὶ εἰ τὸ ἐξολοῦ ὡς λίθων μακρὸθεν μηδὲ διὰ δυσβάτων
15 τόπων ἀποφέρεται ὡσεὶ ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων
συντελείαν.

Καὶ τέταρτον, εἰ τιτοφόρας ἡ χώρα καθέστηκεν ἢ καὶ ἄλλοθεν
συτοδοτείσθαι δύναται, ὡμοίως δὲ εἰ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκεῖθεν τρέφεσθαι οἱ
πολίται δύναται. κἂν μὲν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχῃ, θαρρεῖν τῇ κτίσει, εἰ δὲ
20 μὴ, λυπιτελεῖς ταύτην παρατείσθαι.

10: K–R 68, Erck 32.

STRATEGY

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.
Ποῦ δὲ ἵκτειν πόλιν.

Χωρία τοιῶν ἐπιτηδείᾳ ἐστὶν εἰς κτίσιν πόλεως, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μέλλοι πλησιάστερα κείσθαι τῶν ὄρων, ὁσα κατὰ λόφων κεῖται, κρημνοὶ δὲ κύκλῳ τὴν ἀνοδον ἀποφράττουσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁσα ὑπὸ μεγίστων ποταμῶν κυκλοῦται ἢ κυκλοῦσθαι δύναται οὐ δυναμένων ἀλλοθι μεταφέρεσθαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁσα ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἢ μεγίστων ποταμῶν κείμενα ἱσθήμων ἔχει θέσιν ὀλίγῳ παντελῶς μέρει τῇ ἡπείρῳ συναπτόμενα.

Χρὴ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐρήμενων θέσεων μὴ καθ’ ὑδάτων κείσθαι τὸ τείχος, ἤδη γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ διὰ νεῶν καὶ κατενεχθεῖν κάτωθεν ὑπορύπτουτος καὶ καταβαλέων ἀνωθεὶ ἐπιτρέχοντας, ὥστε φανερῶν τούτῳ ἐν τοῖς πολιορκητικοῖς. ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τὸν ὑδάτος τὸ τείχος μὴ’ ἐλαττον πηχὼν λ’, ὥς ἢ μὴ τῶν ναυῶν πυργοποιοῦσαντες εἰτα μηχαναί τις χρώμυνοι ἐκείθεν ἐπιβαίνονει ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει, μήτε πάλιν πλέων πηχών ρ’. λυστελέες μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀσύμφορον νῦν μὲν ἐξουῦσι τῶν πλοίων μετὰ πλείστων τῶν τραυμάτων, νῦν δὲ ἐπαναστρέφουσι καὶ καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα μετὰ πλείστων τῶν κυδίων. φθάνει γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὡςαῦτας τὰ βέλη καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βαλλόμενοι λίθου, οὗ γὰρ οὕτω μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ τάχους τῶν νεῶν ἀποβήσορνται καὶ αὐθίς ἐπὶ αὐτᾶς ἀναβήσονται ως κατὰ πεῖδιν τρέχοντες, εἰτα ἐπαναστρέφοντες καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι σκεπτόμενοι. καὶ (peri) μὲν ἀσφαλείας τόπων, ὡσπον ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν τόπων φυσικῆς ὑχρότητος, ταύτα.

Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι πολλοὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν εὐδαιμονίας ὥροντες καὶ ταῦτην διὰ παντὸς ἐστάναι νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὰν πόλεις μεγάλας ποιεῖν ἐμελλον, οὐ μάλλον τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἢ τῆς εὐπρεπείας ἐφροντιζόν, διὰ κατὰ πεῖδιν τάδε πολλάκις ἀνωκοδόμων κήποις τε καὶ παραδείσοις καὶ λευμώσων ὀραίζομενοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἄδηλον τῶν ἐπισυμβανόντων ὥροντες καὶ τὴν ἀσφαλείαν μᾶλλον τῆς εὐπρεπείας προκρίνοντες ἐκεὶ ταύτας ποιεῖν βουλευώμεθα καὶ ταύτα περιβαλεῖν, ἐνθα ἢ τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων ἀδυνατεὶ μηχανήματα.

Γένοιτο δ’ ἂν ποτὲ καὶ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ πόλει ὀχυρα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν λιθῶν καὶ τὴν ἀκοδομήν καὶ προσέτι τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ἀλλην ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ μὴ ποταμοῖς ἢ θαλάσσῃ ἢ κρημνοῖς βοηθήται. δει δὲ τάς ταὐτὰς πόλεις πρῶτον μὲν πορρωτάτῳ τῶν ὄρων κτίζειν διὰ τάς αἰφνιδίας καὶ λανθανούσας ἐπιδρομᾶς, δεύτερον δὲ ὀικοδομεῖν αὐτᾶς τῶν ὑποκείμενου 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.¹ 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.² 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.

¹The text has “30 picheis.” Two Byzantine feet made up one pichys, which is equivalent to 62.46 cm.: Schilbach, Metrologie, 21.
²That is, 100 picheis.
36

κατασκευασθαι ἡ έπι τῶν τειχῶν  

οὐς τὸν μέν πᾶχος τῶν τειχῶν έ&<

έχειν, τὸ δὲ ύψος πηχών έκοσι, τὸ μέν εἰς τὸ μὴ κατασκευασθαι η ἡ κροὶς διαστάσεις ἡ λίθων βαλλόμενα οὐς πετροβόλου μηχαναί ἀποτέλεσμα, τὸ δὲ ίνα μὴ αἱ κλίμακες ράδιως τῷ τείχει προσπίπτουσι καὶ οἴ δι' αὐτῶν ποτὲ ἀνώνυτες έκώσι τὴν ἀνάβασιν.

Συμβάλλεται δὲ καὶ μάλλον τοὺς τοιούτους τείχεσιν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν σχημάτων τῶν πύργων καὶ τοῦ τείχους βοήθεια. δεὶ γὰρ τοὺς πύργους ποιεῖν κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐξω αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ ἀπέναντί τῶν πολυκούντων ἐξαγώγου τοῖς καὶ ἱσοπλεύρους, τῶν μὲν δύο εὐθείων ἀναρρομένων υφ' ὧν ἡ ἐντός γωνία γίνεται, μᾶς δ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐπιζευγνωσθῆς τῶν παραλλήλων εὐθείας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνδοθεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν κυλινδρείδες, ἀρχιμένον μὲν τὸ σχήματος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους, λήγοντος δὲ κατ' ἴσον τοῦ κέντρου τῆς ὁροφῆς πληροῦσι τῇ μησοφαιρίᾳ ἐφ' ὃ βεβήκασιν οἵ κατὰ τῶν πολυκούντων ἀγωνιζόμενοι.

Τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπάλξεις ἐγγυνίων γίνεσθαι, ὡστε ὑποβλέφαρα ἔχειν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔχοντα τὸ βάθος σπιθαμῶν τριῶν, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὸ ἵσχυρότερα εἶναι τὰς ἐπάλξεις ὡς τῇ πάντες μᾶς ὑπάρχεις ῥάδιως τοῖς τῶν λιθῶν βολαίς, τούτῳ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐντός αὐτῶν ἀναμοίρασθαι τους ἐπὶ τούς ἐπάλξεως τεταγμένους καὶ μῆτε συμπα"-τείσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν παρερχομένων μήτε μῆν ἐμπόδων ἐκείνοις καθίστασθαι.

Παντὸς δὲ τοῦ ύψερ γῆς κτίσματος τὰ κάτω ἄχρι πηχῶν ἔπτα, εἰγε εὐποροῖμεν, διὰ μεγίστων λιθῶν οἰκοδομεῖσθαι. τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους λιθῶς μεγίστως καὶ σκληροῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀρ-μόζοντας καὶ τὰ μήκη κατὰ βάθος ἔχειν τοῦ τείχους εἰς τὸ μὴ ράδιως ύπὸ τῶν κριῶν διαστείσθαι ή ὑπὸ τῶν χελώνων διορύγησθαι. ἢ ἀσφαλὲς δὲ καὶ προτειχισμάτων φρονίμες, τούτο μὲν ύπο- δοχής ἐνεκα τῶν οἰκείων, ἐπειδὰν ἀγρόθεν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καταφεύ- γοις, ὡς μὴ πάντη στενοχωρεῖσθαι τὴν τόλμην, τούτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταφεύγοντας δύνασθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπο- μάχεσθαι, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὸ προσκόπτειν τὰς χελώνιας καὶ τοὺς κριῶς αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ράδιως κατὰ τοῦ τείχους χωρεῖν. 

Καλὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦτο τάφρον ἀνορύττειν ὡστε 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. 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.

The battlements on the walls should be at right angles. They should have undercut recesses no less than seventy centimeters 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 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 τείχος φυλάττεσθαι. τὴν δὲ τάφρον ποιήσομεν τὸ μὲν πλάτος οὐκ ἔλαττον πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ βαθὸς πλέον ὡς ὑπόστον ἄν ἔχοι τὸ βάθος τῶν θεμελίων, ἵνα ὑπογείους τὰς ἐπιβούλιας κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντες οἱ πολέμων, ἐπειδὰν τὴν διώρυχα φθάσωσιν, ἀνακαλυπτόμενοι διελέγχουν. τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς διώρυχος ἀναφερόμενον χόου ἀναγκαίων μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος ἀπωφέρεω καὶ καθομαλίζειν, ἤνθα που οἱ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπομαχόμενοι διὰ τὸ ὄψιν καὶ τὸ εὐρός τοῦ τόπον ἐπιτηδειώτερον τῶν πολεμίων καταγωνίστουται.

Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ βαθὸς τῆς διώρυχος γινέσθω κατὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὡς ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ κεῖνται, καθόλου δὲ, ὡς τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ λόφων κεῖνται, δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀνώτερον τού πολεμίους, οὐ μᾶλλον διὰ τάφρων ἔξοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἢ ὡδὲ πῶς ποιοῦντον ἡμῶν. ἀποστάντες τοῦ τείχους πηχῶν τριάκοντα ἡ τεσσαράκοντα, εἰτα κύκλῳ κατὰ κάθετον περιελόντες τὸν χόον ἔξω θήσομεν αὐτῶν ἐπί τὸ πρανές, ὥστε δύο ταῦτα γίνεσθαι καλύνοντα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἀνοδον, τὴν τε τομὴν τῆς οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ βάθος ἔχουσαν ἡ πῆχεις τρεῖς καὶ τὸν πλησίαζοντα τόπον αὐτῆς δύστερον τε καὶ δυστανάβατον τῇ ἐπιχώσει γενόμενον.

12: K–R 72, Erck 34.


ιγ’.

(Πώς δεὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς τῶν πολιορκοῦντων.)

'Επει δὲ οὐ μόνον κτίζων πόλιν θέλομεν, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς μηχανὰς τῶν πολιορκοῦντων, φέρε δὴ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν εἰτωμεν. διορύπτουμεν οἱ πολιορκοῦντες τὰ τείχη τους μὲν λίθους τοῦ τείχους (σωρη) δὸν λαμβάνοντες ἢ μεγίστους ὄντας καταλαξεύοντες, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνους τόπους ὀρθίας δάδας ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξύλων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια υψιστάνοντες τὸ ὑπερκείμενον τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ὑπερείδουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἀθρόον κατενεχθῇ καταλάβῃ τοὺς διορύπτουντας. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἰδὼς τὸ τείχος πτῶσιν ἀπελουθήσατο, ἀνάφαστες τὰς δάδας καὶ τὰλα τῶν ξύλων ἀναχωροῦσι· τῶν δὲ ξύλων ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλωθέντων καταπίπτει τὸ τείχος. ποιοῦσί δὲ τούτο ποτὲ μὲν ἀσπά-
tion, forward wall and ditch, for the main wall. We should make the ditch no less than twenty-five meters wide\(^3\) and either deeper or at least as deep as the foundations. Thus, if the enemy wants to damage the wall by mining, they will be discovered 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 soldiers 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\(^6\) from the wall, we remove the dirt around the hill in a circle, digging vertically to make it slope downhill. 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,\(^7\) and the very steep and difficult slope rising up out of it.

\(^1\)In the text, five and twenty picheis.  
\(^2\)See Fig. 1, *infra*, p. 136.  
\(^4\)Seven picheis.  
\(^5\)Forty picheis.  
\(^6\)Thirty or forty picheis.  
\(^7\)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
λακός δίκην τὴν γῆν ὑπορύπτοντες μέχρι τοῦ τὸ τείχος ὑπὸ γῆν κατα-
λαβείν, ἐκείθεν τὴν ἁρχὴν ποιούμενοι τοῦ ὁρύγματος ἐνθα φθάνειν
ἀδυνατοῦσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν τείχων βαλλόμενοι λίθου καὶ τῶν βελῶν ὡσα
χρήσιμα ἔστι κατὰ τῶν πολιορκοῦντων. ποτὲ δὲ τὰς διωρυκτήρας
χελώνας κατασκευάζοντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ταύτας τῷ τείχει
προσάξαντες τὸ τείχος δὲ αὐτῶν διορύπτουσι, τὰ δυοῖα τοῖς εἰρήμε-
νοις διαπραττόμενοι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ τείχος κατενεχθὲν οἱ πολιορκοῦ-
τες ἱδοῦν, σὺν μεγίστῃ βοᾷ κατὰ τοῦ κατενεχθέντος τείχους συνέρ-
χονται. καὶ ἡ μὲν τῆς διώριχος αὐτία τοιαῦτη.

Ὀπως δὲ ἀπαντήσαι τοὺς πολίτας κατὰ τοῦ τοιούτου μηχανή-
ματος ἀκολούθως μηθήσεται. μητέον δὲ πρότερον ὅτι οἱ τῶν χῶν
ὑπορύπτοντες, ὅποι μὴ τοὺς πολίτας εὑρωφατού αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ μηχάνημα,
προκαλύψασι τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ὁρύγματος κέχρηται τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐπι-
καλύπτοντες. ἐστὶ δὲ καταμαθεῖν τὸ τοιοῦτον μηχάνημα ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχ-
θρων τελόμενον, ἐπειδὰν ἱδομεν οἱ τῶν χῶν ἐπιστοβαζόμενον ἢ
προπετάσμασι χρωμένους τοὺς ἐναντίους. ποιοῦσι δὲ τὴν διώριξιν οἱ
πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐπὶ εὐθείας ἀεὶ, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ λοξὴν, ἵνα μὴ
γνώριμον ἢ τὸς πολίτας πρὸς ὁ μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀποτείνουντα. διὸ
δὴ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα πτέχεις ἀποστάντες τοῦ τείχους ποιήσομεν
tάφρον τῷ τείχει παράλληλον, τὸ δὲ βάθος αὐτής ὁπόσον ἢ ἢ τὸ
βάθος τοῦ ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκοδομήματος τοῦ παρακειμένου τείχους: ἀνάγκῃ
gὰρ καταλαβεῖν τοὺς ὑπορύπτοντας. ἀπειλούμεθα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑδατι
αὐτοὺς κατακλύζοντες ἢ καταπνῆσαι τοῖς. τάχα δὲ καὶ πρὸς γῆν
των κατακλύζοντος καὶ πρὸς αὐτή τήν ἁρχήν ἐπιστήσασθαι νῦν μὲν
ἐντάθθαι, νῦν δὲ ἄλλοχον εἰς αἰσθησιν τῶν ἐν βάθει θόρυβον δεξα-
σθαι, κἀντεῦθεν πυθόμενον εἰς ἑρεννα ἀκριβεστέραν καὶ ἀντί-
στασιν τῶν ὑπορύπτοντων καθίστασθαι. χρήσιμον δὲ τούτῳ ἢ τὸ
μέχρι τοῦ | τείχους κατέλαβον οἱ ὑπορύπτοντες, αὖ τὸ μῆτ σος τὸ γὰρ
εἰσενέαθελον θέλοντας ἀνακόψομεν τῆς ὀρμής καὶ τοῖς εἰσινοῦν τῇ ἔξοδον
ἀποφράξουν.

Τὸν δὲ ἀναρριπτόμενον χῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἀποπέμπειν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἔτεραν πλευράν τῆς διώριχος, ως μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν πά-
σχειν τοὺς τῶν τάφρον ἀνορύπτοντας φυλαττόμενοσ ὑπὸ τοῦ χῶματος,
καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀνεπιβούλευτον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διαμένει κωλυμένων τῶν
πολιορκοῦντων κατὰ τὸ τείχος προσφέρεσθαι τούτῳ μὲν διὰ τὸ
χώμα, τούτῳ δὲ διὰ τὴν τάφρον.

Καὶ ταύτα λέγομεν, εἰ μὴ τάφρος τὴν πόλιν κυκλοί. εἰ γὰρ
ἐστίν, αὐτήν ἐκείην ἀπορύπτοντες ῥαδίως τοὺς ὑπορύπτοντας κατα-
λαβάμονες. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἐρράγη λαθανούντων τῶν
ἐναντίων ἡμᾶς δία πολλῆς πάντως τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀμέλειαν,
ἀποστάντες ἐρ' έκάτερα τοῦ παθόντος τείχους ποιήσομεν διὰ τάχους
οἰκοδομή των ἐνδοθεν ἄρχομένην μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ υψίως τείχους ἀβατέ-
ρου μέρους, λήγουσαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτερον. 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 μᾶς λεπτοῦσθα πλευράς ἢν ποιεῖ τὸ πολεμοῦμενον τείχος, ὥς, εἰγε καὶ τοῦτον περιγένευστοι οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλ' οὔ πάντως καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸ περιγενήσονται κανοῦ κτίσματος. οὔτε γάρ πετροβόλοις μηχανήμασι κατ' αὐτοῦ χρήσαιτο, οὔτ' ἄλλως εἰσίεναι δυνήσονται κατ' αὐτὸ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ τείχους βαλλόμενοι.

Τὸς δὲ διωρυκτῆρας καλουμένας χελώνας ὁπώς γίνονται ἐν τοῖς πολυρρηκτικὸς ἡμῖν ἐκπεπόνται· ὡς δὲ χρῆ κατ' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων γνωσόμεθα. ῥήτεον δὲ πρότερον ὡς οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν κατὰ χελώνας ἡγοῦντο. ποτὲ μὲν ὑδάτα ἀνωθεν θερμὰ χέονοι αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ δὲ πίσσαν διαλυθείσαν πυρί, ἔστι δὲ ὅτι καὶ πυρὶ ταῦτας ἀνάπτουσιν. τὰ πλείστα δὲ δοκοῦσι τις ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἀναβιβάσαται καὶ ξῖρος περιβέντες κατὰ τὸ ἀκρον κατ' αὐτῶν ἀκοντίζουσιν τινὲς δὲ τέφραν ἢ ἀσβεστον λευμένην κατὰ τῶν ἐλκόντων ταῖς χελώναις ἀνώθεν ἀποπέμπουσιν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, ἥμεις δὲ καὶ τι πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξεύρομεν, ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότως ὅν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐνεργήσειν. διὸ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔρουμεν.

Καὶ πρότερον γε ὡς χρῆ τὰς χελώνας κατασκευαζομένας ὁρώντας τοῦ τείχους καταστοχαζέεσθαι καθ' οὐ πάντως ἐλεύσονται, ὡς εἶπον πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων υφάσματος τοῖς ἐκ τριχῶν ἢ ἐρίων ἢ καὶ λίνων ἐπὶ τούτῳ ποιήσωμεν πρὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων· χαλάν ἄνωθεν, τὸ μὲν μήκος ἔχοντα ὅσον ἄν τις ἐθέλοι, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὅποσον καὶ σκέπεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν βελῶν δύναται τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἐφεστηκότας. τὰ δὲ εἰρήμενα υφάσματα ἀνώθεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀποδήσαντες πασσάλοις τὰ κατώ τοῦ υφάσματος πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀποπέμψαμεν ἐρείδομένοις τῷ τείχει, ὡς µήτε ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν τῶν πολεμίων πάσχειν ἡμᾶς σκέπομένως ὑπὸ τῶν υφασμάτων, καὶ ἡμᾶς µὴ κωλύσει καθ' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ πλησίασάν τῷ τείχει, ἢ τὴν τάφρον καταχωμόντες ἢ καὶ ἀλλὰς μηχανὰς τινὰς κατὰ τοῦ τείχους προσφέροντες πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι ἀσπίσις ἐαυτοὺς κατακαλύψαντες τολμῶσι κατόπιν τῶν πολυρρηκτικῶν μηχανημάτων κατὰ τοῦ τείχους χωρεῖν, οἱ μὲν σφενδόνες, οἱ δὲ βέλεσι τοὺς ἐφεστηκότας ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀποδιώκουσες, ἕνα µὴ ἀνωθεν τοὺς μηχανήμασιν ἀντιπράττωται. µήπω δὲ τὰ υφάσματα προπαρασκευασσαμένους ἡμᾶς ἀναγκὴ ἀντ' αὐτῶν χρήσαι τοὺς ἐγκομιστέρως σκεπάσασμαν οἷς οἱ πολιταὶ χρύνται καθεδόντες, ἢ ἐστὶ καὶ μᾶλλον εὐπόριστα. καὶ τούτῳ µὲν πρότερον.

Εἰτὰ τάφρον νυκτὸς ἀνορύζομεν τῆς προτέρας ἐνδότεραν· τὸν δὲ ἐκείθεν λαμβανόμενον χοῦν ἔλκεων ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος, ὥς µὴ ῥβίδως τὰς χελώνας κατὰ τοῦ τείχους προσφέροντες ἄλλα προσκόπευντο νῦν µὲν τῇ τάφρῳ, νῦν δὲ καὶ τῷ πρὸς τῷ τείχῳ χώματι. εἰ δὲ γε καὶ ταῦτα καθομαλίσεων οἱ ἐχθροὶ τῇ χελώνῃ ὄδουσοντες, ῥάθμισα τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν µὲν ἀναπληροῦντες τὸν δὲ καθαιροῦντες, ἄλλα τοὺς γε πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀποβαλλοῦνται θανάτῳ ἐκ τοῦ λίαν σύνεγγυς ἀνωθεν
one side left open, the side where the breached wall is.\textsuperscript{2} 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 ἄλλα καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς κωλύσεως καὶ
αὐτοῖς παρασκευασθησόμεθα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα, εἰ εἰς τι καὶ ἀπα-
ράσκευοι ὑπεσ ἑπνύχασμεν.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν τάφρον τῇ συννεχείᾳ τοῦ πολέμου ποιεῖν διακωλύ-
μεθα, οὐδὲν ἐλαττον τὴν χελώνην κωλύσομεν ἀνωθὲν χῶμα πρὸ
αὐτῆς κατατέμποντες· οὐ γὰρ προβῆσαι δυνῆσται κωλυμένη ὑπὸ
tοῦ χάματος. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο καρτεροῖν οἱ πολέμιοι—δεδο-
σθω γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο παντελεῖ βραβεῖα ἢ ἀπογνώσει τῶν πολιτῶν—χάρτον ἢ
φρύγανα ἢ καλάμην ξηρὰν κατὰ τῶν χελώνων (ἄν)ωθεν καταπέ-
μποτεσ διαπρήσομεν αὐτάς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο (περὶ) γενέσθαι δυνή-
στον ὁ οἱ πολέμιοι, κἂν διὲ μάλιστα τολμητία εἰσὶ καὶ (θανάτῳ) τοὺς
cαταφρονοῦτες, πολλοῦ διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῆς ὀλίθης ἀναπτομένου | τοῦ πυρὸς
καὶ καταράγειν δυναμένου τῇ διανομῇ οὐ μόνον τὴν χελώνην, κἂν
πίλοι αὐτάς διάβροχοι περιδέδωται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτάς.
εξαίρει δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν φλόγα καὶ φοβερὰν ἀπεργάζεται τεάφη
ἐπιπασμένη.

Τὴν δὲ φορὰν τῶν λίθων ἀποκρονύμεθα, οὔς δὴ (αἱ) πετροβόλοι
μηχαναί πέμπουσιν, οὕτως. σχοινία εἰς σχήματα δικτύων πλέξαντες
οὐκ ἐλαττον διακύριον τὸ τάχος ἔχοντα χαλώμεν αἰώνθεν ἐπὶ δυσὶ τῇ-
χεις τῶν τειχῶν προβαλλόμενα καὶ μεταφερόμενα ἐπὶ τῶν πάσχοντα
τόπον τῇ γὰρ ἐνδόσει τούτων τὸ σφοδρὸν τῆς κωνήσεως τῶν λίθων
ἀποκρονύμεθα.

Τὰ δὲ κατὰ χελώνων εἰρήμενα κἂν τοῖς κριοῖς εἰκότως ἄν γέ-
νοιτο. κράτιστον δὲ καὶ λίθον μέγιστον διὰ τινος μηχανῆς εἰς ὑφος
ἀναβιβάσαντες ἀφίεναι κατὰ τῆς χελώνης ἢ τοῦ κρίου. ἢ δὲ μηχανῆ
τοῦτον ἐχέτω τὸν τρόπον. ἔστω τις βάσις ξύλων τετράγωνος, τροχιὰς
ἔχουσα. ζυγοί δὲ ἀνὰ δύο τὰς πλευρὰς συνεκτέσωσιν, στόλως δὲ καθ’ ἐκάστης γονίας ἐφεστηκότες καὶ εἰς ἄλλης ἀποκλωνόμενοι ὁμοίως
tοις κἀτὰ ζυγοὶς συνεδέθησαν. κεραία δὲ τὶς ἐκ μέσου τῆς βάσεως
κατὰ κάθετον ἀνατεινομένη συνεχέσθω ὑπὸ τῶν μεσαίτατων τετρα-
γώνων ἢ δὴ ποιοῦσιν οἱ ζυγοί οἱ τὰ τετράγωνα συνέχουσαν. ταύτῃ
tοινυν τῇ ὀρθῇ κεραίᾳ συνεδέθησαν καὶ τὶς ἐτέρα πλαγία ἐκ μέσου
κοινωμένη, ἢς τῶν ἄκρων τῷ μὲν ἀποδήσαντες τὸν λίθον, τὸ δὲ κα-
θελκώσαντες, εἰς ὑφος τοῦ λίθου ἀναβιβάσομεν, ἐστ’ ἀν κατὰ κορυφὴν
tοῦ μηχανήματος γενόμενος ἀφεθῇ. ἀφίεται δὲ οὕτως· τὰ συνέχουσαν
tὸν λίθον σχοινία εἰς ἐν συναξήνητα διὰ τινος καρύου κρατεῖσθα κα-
tωθεν, ἃςτε ἀφιεμένου τοῦ σχοινίου τὸν λίθον καταφέρεσθαι.

13: K–R 76, Erck 36.
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. 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.

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1Ten picheis.
2See Fig. 3, infra, p. 136.
3Two picheis.
Τακτική ἐστιν ἐπιστήμη καθ' ἣν τις πλήθος ἀνθρώπων μεθ' ὁπλων συντάξασι τε καὶ κυνῆσαι κατὰ καυρὸν δύναται. τῆς δὲ τακτικῆς μέρη ἐστὶ τέσσαρα: σύνταξις ἀνθρώπων πρὸς πόλεμον ἐπιτήδειος, ὁπλων διανομῆ πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστοτε χρείαν ἄρµόδιος, κίνησις ἐνόπλου στρατεύματος τῷ καυρῷ πρέποντος, οἰκονοµία πόλεµον, προσώπων τε καὶ πραγµάτων, τρόπων τε καὶ αἰτίων ἐξέτασιν μετὰ τοῦ συµφέροντος ἔχουσα. ἔστι δὲ πολέµων εἰδὴ ἐστὶ δύο, ναυµαχία τε καὶ πεζοµαχία, ἀνάγκη καθ' ἐκάτερον τούτων δεῖξαι τὰ τῆς τακτικῆς μέρη. οὐ γὰρ ὄµοιος ἐν τῇ πεζοµαχίᾳ καὶ ναυµαχίᾳ συνιθεοµέθα, οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς σχῆµατι χρώµεθα, οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοµεν διαίρεσιν τοῦ στρατεύµατος οὐδὲ τοὺς ἤγουµένους οὐδὲ τὰ τοῦτον ὄνοµατα, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη διαφόρων ὄντων τῶν εἰδῶν τῆς μάχης διαφόρῳ καὶ τῷ εἰδή τῆς τακτικῆς χρήσασθαι. ἦν δὲ µὴ συγκεχυµένους ἢµῖν ὁ λόγος ἢ, ἰδίως περὶ ἐκάστου τούτων διαληψίαµα, καὶ πρὸτερὸν γε περὶ πεζοµαχίας. Τεσσάρων τούτων ὄντων τρόπων καθ' οὓς ἀλλοτε ἀλλοι ἐπὶ γῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων διηγωνύζοντο, καὶ γὰρ οἱ µὲν πεζοί, οἱ δὲ ἐφιπποί, οἱ δὲ ἀρµάτων, οἱ δὲ ἐλεφάντων τοὺς πολέµους ἐστοιούν, ο µὲν περὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἀρµάτων τρόπος ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀφείσθω τι γὰρ ἄν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐρούµεν, ὅπως µηδὲ µέχρι ρηµάτων τὰ τῆς τακτικῆς σώζεται; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἰδίως καλοµεµένης πεζικῆς καὶ ἱππικῆς δυνάµεως ὁ λόγος γινέσθω. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα καλῶς γυµνασµένους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας χρήσασθαι κάκτοι τούτων ἐπιτηθείως ἐξεῖν πρὸς τὰ λοιπά.

Τακτική ἐστιν ἐπιστήμη καθ' ἣν τις πλήθος ἀνθρώπων μεθ' ὁπλων συντάξασι τε καὶ κυνῆσαι κατὰ καυρὸν δύναται. τῆς δὲ τακτικῆς μέρη ἐστὶ τέσσαρα: σύνταξις ἀνθρώπων πρὸς πόλεµον ἐπιτήδειος, ὁπλων διανοµῆ πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστοτε χρείαν ἄρµόδιος, κίνησις ἐνόπλου στρατεύματος τῷ καυρῷ πρέποντος, οἰκονοµία πόλεµον, προσώπων τε καὶ πραγµάτων, τρόπων τε καὶ αἰτίων ἐξέτασιν μετὰ τοῦ συµφέροντος ἔχουσα. ἔστι δὲ πολέµων εἰδὴ ἐστὶ δύο, ναυµαχία τε καὶ πεζοµαχία, ἀνάγκη καθ' ἐκάτερον τούτων δεῖξαι τὰ τῆς τακτικῆς μέρη. οὐ γὰρ ὄµοιος ἐν τῇ πεζοµαχίᾳ καὶ ναυµαχίᾳ συνιθεοµέθα, οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς σχῆµατι χρώµεθα, οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοµεν διαίρεσιν τοῦ στρατεύµατος οὐδὲ τοὺς ἤγουµένους οὐδὲ τὰ τοῦτον ὄνοµατα, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη διαφόρων ὄντων τῶν εἰδῶν τῆς μάχης διαφόρῳ καὶ τῷ εἰδή τῆς τακτικῆς χρήσασθαι. ἦν δὲ µὴ συγκεχυµένους ἢµῖν ὁ λόγος ἢ, ἰδίως περὶ ἐκάστου τούτων διαληψίαµα, καὶ πρὸτερόν γε περὶ πεζοµαχίας. Τεσσάρων τούτων ὄντων τρόπων καθ' οὓς ἀλλοτε ἀλλοι ἐπὶ γῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων διηγωνύζοντο, καὶ γὰρ οἱ µὲν πεζοί, οἱ δὲ ἐφιπποί, οἱ δὲ ἀρµάτων, οἱ δὲ ἐλεφάντων τοὺς πολέµους ἐστοιούν, ο µὲν περὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἀρµάτων τρόπος ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀφείσθω τι γὰρ ἄν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐρούµεν, ὅπως µηδὲ µέχρι ρηµάτων τὰ τῆς τακτικῆς σώζεται; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἰδίως καλοµεµένης πεζικῆς καὶ ἱππικῆς δυνάµεως ὁ λόγος γινέσθω. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα καλῶς γυµνασµένους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας χρήσασθαι κάκτοι τούτων ἐπιτηθείως ἐξεῖν πρὸς τὰ λοιπά.
14.

Tactics.¹

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 ὄμοια, οὗς οὐ μόνον διὰ τᾶς 
πολιορκίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τάλλα συνεπιφέρειν ἀνάγκη, τὸ δὲ χορηγὸν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οἶον ἄρτοπώλαι, οἰνοπώλαι, κρεοπώλαι καὶ τὰ ὄμοια.

14: K–R 88, Erck 40.

14: Cf. Aelianum, 2.

ιε’. 
Περὶ φάλαγγος.

Φάλαγξ δὲ ἐστὶν ἄνδρῶν ἐνόπλων ποιὰ σύνταξις εἰς ἔχθρῶν ἀμμαν. καὶ σχήματα μὲν φάλαγγος ποικίλα, οἶον κύκλος, ῥόμβος, 5 ῥομβοειδεῖς, ἐμβολὸς τε καὶ κολέμβολος, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτερα, περὶ δὴ λέγειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀφείσθη διὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἄρτι πρὸς τακτικὴν ἀγώμαστον. δὲ τούτων μᾶλλον τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστὶ γνώριμα καὶ πρὸς παράδοσιν τοῦ παρόντος μαθήματος ἐπιτηδειότερα ταῦτ’ εἰπεῖν καὶ διδαξάει καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δειξαὶ τὴν τακτικὴν ὡς οἶον τε διὰ βραχέων πειρασμάτων. ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν διαληψίμεθα.

Γνώριμα δὲ ταύτα τοῖς πολλοῖς λέγο, οὐχ ὅτι νῦν τακτικὴ κεχρήμεθα, — τίνος γὰρ δὲν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς παρούσης συγγραφῆς ἐδεηθήμεν; — ἄλλ’ ὅτι νῦν πολλάκις παραταττόμενοι τετραγώνοις τε καὶ ἐπιμηκεστέρους χρῶνται τοῖς σχήμασι. τὸ γὰρ ὅπως δὲι συντεταχθὲι τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ τάς τοιαύτας φάλαγγας καὶ τάλλα ὅσα δ’ αὐτῶν ἔξεσις μαθησόμεθα, οὐδ’ ὅτι τῶν μέρος κατὰ θεωρίαν τακτικὴν ἡμῖν υπολέιπεται. ἔξεσις δὲ ρητέον ἐκ τῶν καὶ ὅπως μερῶν καὶ ὅπως ἢ τε τετράγωνοι καὶ ἐπερμήνησις συνιστάται φάλαγξ, καὶ πῶς ἔκαστὸν τῶν μερῶν ὁνομάζεται καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν, καὶ πρότερον γε 15 περὶ τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτῆς, αἱ τὸ πᾶν συνεχόμουσι τοῦ στρατεύματος.

Μ. f. 112’

Οἱ πολαίοι ζῷοι τῆς φάλαγγας ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσιν ἀπεκάλυσι την μὲν κατ’ ὅψιν τῶν πολεμίων πρόσωπων ὁνομάζουσι, την δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ μέτωπον καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ στόμα καὶ ἄραρόν καὶ πρωτολοχίαν ὁνομάζουσιν. την δὲ κατόπιν καὶ τελευταίαν οὐράν, τὰς δ’ παρ’ ἐκάστερα οὐ μόνοι κοινῶς καθάπερ τὰς εἰρημένας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑίδος πλευρᾶς ἀπὸ μεταφοράς τῶν τοῦ ζῴου πλευρῶν ὁνομάζουσιν, καὶ τὸ μὲν μεσαίτατον τοῦ μετώπου, καθ’ ὅ ἡ διχοτομία τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου ἐπ’ οὐράν γίνεται ὄμφαλόν λέγουσι, τὰ δ’ παρ’ ἐκάστερα τῆς διχοτομίας δῦο 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.


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
δεξίων καὶ κέρας εὐώνυμον λέγουσι, καὶ δεξίων μὲν τὸ ἐν δεξιᾷ τεταγμένον, εὐώνυμον δὲ τὸ ἐν εὐώνυμοις.

'Ανάγκη δὲ τοὺς μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἑσταμένους κατὰ πλευρὰς ἀλλήλους συντετάχθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἑναντίους ὀρῶντας, καὶ τούτους τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔτεσθαι. συνετίθεσι δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄταν πλήθος εἰς τὸν ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν ἄκρων τόπον, οὐχ ὃς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ στίχους ὀρθίους τε καὶ ἐγκαρσίους τοῖς ἄκροις συνυνεύοντας, ἀστεί ἐκαστὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατὰ δύο στίχους συνετᾶν. λέγω δὲ ὅρθιον μὲν στίχον, ὡς καὶ λόγος προσαγορεύεται, τῶν ἄρ’ ἐνὸς οὐν δὴ ποτὲ πρωτοστατοῦντος ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπέναντι καὶ τελευταῖον λαμβανόμενον, ὡς οὐραγός ὀνομάζεται, ἐγκάρσιον δὲ τῶν ἄρ’ ἐνὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπέναντι τῆς ἀριστερᾶς λαμβανόμενον ἤ τοῦντιον, ὡς καὶ ζυγὸς λέγεται ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ κατὰ νάντων τῶν βοῶν ἐπικειμένου ἔξων ἐπειδάν ἀροτρίῳν ἣ καὶ ἀμάξας ἐλκουσιν, ἡ αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸν τῶν παντῶν στρατεύματος δυστάξει περιέχεθαι,

ζυγῷ τε καὶ στίχῳ, ὧν’ ὃν στηριζόμενοι δυσκαταγώνιστοι γίνονται. καὶ ζυγοῖ μὲν εἰσίν ὀπόσοι καὶ ἀνδρεῖς καθ’ ἕνα στίχον εἰσὶ τεταγμένοι, ὡστ’ ἀνάγκη ἵσαριθμός εἶναι τοὺς τε ζυγοὺς πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς στίχους.

Στοιχεῖν δὲ λέγεται ἐπὶ μέρους μὲν τὸ τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ πάντας τῶν στίχων | κατὰ μίαν εὐθείαν κείσθαι τοῖς ἄκροις ἵσον ἀτ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντας, ὡμοίως καὶ ζυγεῖν τὸ τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ πάντας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰλιοῦ κατὰ μίαν εὐθείαν κείσθαι τοῖς ἄκροις τῷ αὐτῷ διαστῆματι ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντος, καθόλου δὲ ὅταν πάντες οἱ τε στίχοι καὶ οἱ ζυγοὶ κατ’ εὐθείαν κεῖσται τοῖς ἄκροις.

Καὶ μήκος μὲν φάλαγγος λέγεται τὸ ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν πλευρῶν διάστημα λαμβανόμενον, βάθος δὲ τὸ ἐκαστὸν στίχου, καὶ πάντες μὲν οἱ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ζυγὸν συνετάμενοι πρωτοστάται τῶν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὁμοίωσαν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον ἐπιστάται τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν, καὶ πάλιν οἱ κατὰ τὸν τρίτον πρωτοστάται τῶν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, κάκεινοι ἐπιστάται τῶν ἵδιων πρωτοστάτων, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔφεξ’ ὡμοίως μέχρι τῶν οὐραγῶν.

'Εκαστὸς δὲ τῶν στίχων καθ’ ἑαυτὸν λόγος προσαγορεύεται καὶ ὁ τούτον ἀφγούμενος λογαρίζος, οἱ δὲ δύο λόγοι διολεχία καλοῦνται καὶ ὁ τούτον ἄγομενος διολοχίτης, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες λόγοι τεταρχία καὶ ὁ τούτον ἄγομενος τεταρχίας, τὸ δὲ διὸ τοσοῦτον ταξιάρχια καὶ ὁ τούτον ἄγομενος ταξιάρχεις, τὸ δὲ διὸ τοσοῦτον συνταγμα καὶ ὁ τούτον ἄγομενος συνταγματάρχης, τὰ δὲ δύο συντάγματα καλοῦνται πεντακοσιαρχία καὶ ὁ τούτον ἄγομενος πεντακοσιάρχης, αἱ δὲ δύο πεντακοσιαρχίαι καλοῦνται χειλαρχία καὶ ὁ τούτον ἄγομενος χιλιάρχης, αἱ δύο χιλιαρχίαι μεραρχία καὶ ὁ τούτον ἄγομενος μεράρχης, αἱ δύο μεραρχίαι φαλαγγαρχία καὶ ὁ τούτον ἄγομενος φαλαγγαρχίας. συνάγεται οὖν ἐνετείθεν μέρη μικρά 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 protostates 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 protostates in relation to those behind them, but epistates in relation to their own protostates, 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 syntagmatarch. Two syntagnata make up a pentekosiarchy led by a pentekosiarach. Two pentekosiaraches 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 ὁνὸν
μερῶν καὶ οὕσων ἡ φάλαγξ συνιστάται καὶ ὡς σύγκειται, καὶ πῶς
ἐκαστὸν τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς ὑνομάζεται καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν, διὰ
tούτων ἰκανῶς ἦμιν παραδέδοται.

'Ιστέον δὲ ὅτι ἡ παρούσα διαίρεσις γέγονε τοῦ στρατεύματος,
kai τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν τὸ πλήθος, διὰ τὸ ῥαδίως τελείσθαι τὰ κε-
κευόμενα. πᾶν γὰρ πλήθος τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ δυσπεριάγωγον καὶ διὰ
tούτῳ χρῆ κατὰ τὸ ῥακοσίκον ἔθος πλείονος εἶναι τοὺς ἐξηγομένους
tοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ τῶν μὲν λοχαγῶν ἀπευθύνειν τὸν ἰδίον στίχον
καὶ τηρεῖν τὰ κατ’ αὐτῶν διαστήματα, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἡγουμένων ἐκα-
στον συνλοχεῖν τοὺς ἰδίους στίχους καὶ διὰ πάντων καταλοχεῖσθαι τὸ
πᾶν τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἔστι δὲ συνλοχισμὸς μὲν ὅταν λόχος λόχῳ
οἰκείως παρατηθῇ, καταλοχισμὸς δὲ ὅταν πάντες οἱ λόχοι πρὸς ἀλ-
λήλους οἰκείως ἔχωσιν.

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρωτοστάτας, οὕς καὶ ἱλάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς
ὁνομάζομεν, διαφέρειν παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν τε ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ
ῥώμῃ σώματος | διὰ τὴν κατ’ ὅψιν καὶ ἐπὶ χείρας μάχην καὶ τὰ βάρη
tῶν ἐπιφερομένων αὐτοῖς ὀπλῶν. τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους μείζονας ἡγεμόνας
οὐχ ἦττον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὺς τὴν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ ῥώμην ἔχειν τοῦ σώμα-
τος, μάλιστα δὲ ἐμπειρία πολέμου καὶ φρονησία διεννυχεῖν τῶν
ἄλλων, καὶ τούτων ἐκαστὸν ἔτερον ἐτέρου ὁπότου καὶ πλείονών ἀρ-
χοὺσι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς πρωτοστάτας τοὺς ἐπιστάτας αὐτῶν, τοὺς ἐστὶ
tοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου ἱγνοῦ τεταγμένους, καὶ γὰρ πιπτόντων τῶν ἐν
tαῖς συμβολαῖς τῶν πρωτοστατοῦντων αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνους εἰσίασι
τάξειν.

Τοὺς δὲ οὐραγοὺς οὐκ ἐλάττωσι μὲν εἶναι τὴν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ
tὴν ῥώμην τοῦ σώματος τῶν κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον θυγόν τεταγμένων,
μάλιστα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐμπειρία καὶ φρονησία διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων,
tὸ μὲν ἵνα τὴν τάξιν τηρῶσι καὶ συνέχωσι τοὺς εὐτός, τὸ δὲ ἵνα ἐν τῷ
καρῷ τοῦ ἀγώνος συνωθῶσι τοὺς ἐμπροσθείσων, ὡστε βαρυτέρως καὶ
δυσαντιχώσωσιν τὴν φάλαγγα τῇ πλήρεσι κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν γίνε-
σθαι, καὶ τρίτων ἀ’’ αἰφνίδιον κατὰ νάτον τῆς φάλαγγος προσπι-
πτοῦντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐστίν ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐπιστραφέντες κατὰ τῶν ἐχ-
θρῶν πρωτοστατοῦντων ἀναπληρώσωσι χρείαν.

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς οὐραγοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρῶν τῶν στίχων τετα-
γμένους εἰτ’ οὖν τὰς πλευράς, διὰ τὰς ὑπερκέρασεις τε καὶ ὑπερ-
φαλαγγώσεις τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ προσέπτες τὰς αἰφνίδιας ἐπιθέσεις αὐ-
tῶν, αἱ πολλάκις καὶ κατ’ αὐτῶν γίνονται. κατὰ δὲ πέμπτην τάξειν
tοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμιλοχίων διὰ τὸ ἀπευθύνειν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς στί-
χους, συνωθεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθῆναι ὁμοίως τοὺς οὐραγοὺς, οἱ δυνα-
μένων ἐκείνων | τὸ πῶς βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος συνωθεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τού-
tους τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίτου θυγοῦ, εἰτὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πέμπτου, εἰτὰ τοὺς
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 ὅμοιώς. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀρτίων ξυγῶν ἀναπληρωθήσονται, τούτ' ἐστιν ὁ τέταρτος, ὁ ἐκτος, ὁ ὀγδοος, καὶ ἐφεξῆς μέχρι τῶν οὐραγών.

MP VSB (partim) 15: K–R 90, Erck 41.


15: Cf. Aelianum, 7–9; Asclepiodotum, 2–3; Arrianum, p. 10–16.
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,\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) 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
νάν τήν τῶν στρατιωτῶν δύναμιν. εἶναι δὲ τοιαύτα οὐ μόνον διὰ τήν ὑλὴν λυπητελοῦντα ἄλλα καὶ διὰ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τήν λειτοτήτα, ἵνα διολυσθαι τά βέλη προσπίπτοντα, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τήν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀπόστασιν. δει γὰρ αὐτά ἐπικείσθαι οὐκ ἐπὶ χιτώνισκων, ὅ τινες ποιοῦσιν τὸ βάρος τῶν ὀψιῶν φεύγοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἰματίων οὐκ ἔλαττον δακτύλου τὸ πάχος ἔχοντων, τὸ μὲν ἵνα μὴ λυπητεραίον τῇ σκληρότητι ἀλλ' ἐφαρμότοι τῷ σώματι καλῶς ἐπικείμενα, τὸ δὲ ἵνα μὴ ῥάδιας ἀπττεῖαι τῶν σαρκῶν τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βέλη ἀλλ' ἐμποδίζειτο, τούτο μὲν, ὅσο εἰρηταί, διὰ τὸν σίδηρον καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τήν λειτοτήτα, τούτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τήν πρὸς τήν σάρκα τοῦ σιδηροῦ ἀπόστασιν. δει δὲ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν καὶ ἔφως κατὰ κορυφήν ἔχειν οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ ψός δακτύλων τριῶν, ἵνα εἰ τύχου ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς οἱ στρατιώται καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζοντο καὶ φοβηρώτεροι τοῖς ἐχθρίσ
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 τῇ σκληρότητι, ὑποκείσθωσαν καὶ αὐτοῖς περιστηθίδια, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σιδηρών ὑπωρακών καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλέγομεν. ὥφελῆσθε γὰρ καν- ταῦθα τῇ παχύτητι ταῦτα, οὐ ραδίως τῶν βελῶν διερχομένων ἢ οὐ σφόδρα φθανόντων τὸ βάθος τοῦ σώματος. καὶ περὶ μὲν πεζικῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τοσούτων.

MP A VSB (partim) 16: K–R 100, Erck 45.


ις’.

Περὶ ἰππικῆς φάλαγγος καὶ ὀπως δεῖ συντάττειν αὐτὴν.

Τῆς δὲ ἰππικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ οἱ πρωτοστάται καὶ οἱ μετά τοὺς πρωτοστάτας ἄκρι τοῦ τετάρτου ξυγοῦ τεταγμένοι καὶ οἱ οὐραγοὶ καὶ 5 οἱ ἀκροὶ τῶν στίχων καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνους ταττόμενοι οὐ μόνον τὴν αὐτὴν ποιότητα τῶν πεζῶν ἐχέτωσαν κατὰ τὰ ἀνδρείαι καὶ ρώμην σώματος καὶ ἐμπειρίαν πολέμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τάξιν καὶ προσετί τῶν καθοπλισμῶν. τινὲς δὲ ἐτέρως αὐτοὺς συντάττουσι πυκνόστεως ἕνεκα, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ἰππῶν τοῦ δευτέρου ξυγοῦ μεταξὺ 10 τῶν ὁμών τῶν ἰππῶν τιθέασι τοῦ πρῶτου ξυγοῦ, οἱ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν πλευρῶν.

Δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἰπποὺς τῶν πρωτοστατοῦντων μὴ τ’ ἀγαν νέους εἶναι μῆτε θορύβων ἀπέρεως, χέρεν τε αὐτοὺς προμετώπιδα τε καὶ περι- στερία χαιρήσα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ περιπράξηλια, ὅστε καταφράττειν αὐτοὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην μέρη τῶν ἰππῶν | εἰς τὸ μῆ καὶ αὐτοὺς πά- σχοντας ἀνατράπτεσθαι τε καὶ καταβάλλειν τοὺς ἰππέας. τὰς δὲ γε βάσεις τῶν ποδῶν τῶν ἰππῶν καὶ αὐτῶς ὀμοίως σιδηροὶς πετάλους 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.

1Seven spithamai.
2The 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
τῆς φαλάγγος τοῖς τριβόλων καὶ τῶν άλλων.

20 Διαφέρει δὲ τῆς τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγος ἡ ἑπτική. ἡ μὲν γὰρ διά-
λον πεπίκυκται καὶ δυσαντέρειστον ἔχει τὸ βάρος ἐν τοῖς πιλή-
σεσίν, συμβούτων ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν, ἡ
dὲ ἡραίωταί τε καὶ χωρίς πιλήσεως γίνεται, ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ αὐτὴ
σφοδρότητος κατὰ τῶν προσβολῶς ἐπειδὰν μὴ βάδην τε καὶ κατ’
dόλιον προσπίπτη τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἄξεντέρου τοῦ κινήματος.

Α. 9ν

30 όμεν οὖν δεῖ συντάσσειν φάλαγγα καὶ πώς ὅπλίζειν ἑκαστὸν
tῶν ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι τεταγμένων διὰ τοῦτον ἡμῖν εἰρήται. ἔπει δὲ οὗ

17: K—R 104, Erck 47.


η'.

Κατὰ πόσους τρόπους κυνείται φάλαγξ.

Κυνείται τοῖνοι φάλαγξ κατὰ τρόπους πέντε: καθ’ ὀδοιπορίαν,
κατὰ στροφήν τοῦ μετωποῦ, καθ’ ἐναλλαγήν τοῦ καθ’ αὐτὴν σχήμα-
τος, καθ’ ἐνωσιν διηρήμενης φάλαγγος, κατὰ διαίρεσιν ἐνοειδοῦς
φάλαγγος.

Περὶ ὀδοιπορίας φάλαγγος.

Ὀδοιπορία ἐστὶν φάλαγγος κίνησις ἐνόπλου στρατεύματος ἐπὶ
tοὺς πολεμίους ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φέρουσα. ἦν γὰρ πρὸς πᾶσαν
10 ὀδοιπορίαν στρατεύματος καλώδιακοῦν ἐξωμεν, ἀνάγκη περὶ χωρίων
dιαλαβεῖν πρότερον καθ’ αἱ διέρχεται τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ πρὸ γε
tούτων εἰπεῖν περὶ τε παραγωγῆς καὶ ἐπαγωγῆς. ἔστι δὲ παραγωγῆ
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 εἰκώνυμοι. ἐπαγωγή δὲ ἐστιν ὅταν φάλαγξ φάλαγγι κατ’ οὐρὰν ἔπηται.

Τῶν δὲ χωρίων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν εὐρύχωρά τε καὶ ὀμαλά, τὰ δὲ στενά τε καὶ ὀμαλά καὶ ἀμφίλοφα, τυνά δὲ αὐτῶν κρημνώδη τε καὶ ἀνώμαλα, τὰ δὲ ὑάλιδε τε καὶ κατάδενδρα. ἐάν μὲν ὦν εὐρύχωρα ἢ τὰ χωρία καὶ ὀμαλά, κατὰ παραγωγὴν χρή διαβιβάζειν τὰς φάλαγγας, ἐάν δὲ στενά τε καὶ ὀμαλά καὶ ἀμφίλοφα, κατ’ ἐπαγωγήν, τὸ μὲν μῆκος αὐτῶν ὑποτέμουσα, τὴν δὲ κατὰ βάθος τάξιν οὐ λύοντας. χρή δὲ πάντως ἀνάλογος τῷ πλάτει τῶν τοιούτων χωρίων τῶν ἔμηγών ποιεῖν, μὲν τούτῳ κατασχότες οἱ πολέμιοι κωλύσωσιν ἡμῶν τὴν διάβασιν.

Εἰ δὲ κρημνώδη τε καὶ ἀνώμαλα εἶν τὰ χωρία καὶ πολύν ἀπειλοῦντα τοῖς ἐλευθομένοις τῶν κίνδυνον, ἀπαραίτητος δὲ ἡ τούτων διάβασις, καθαιρέω τε καὶ ὀμαλίζεω αὐτά ἐφ᾽ ὦσιν ἀκυνδύνως διελθεῖν τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ μίαν ἅλην ἢ καὶ δύο. πολλακις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις πορείαις ἐνέδρας ποιεῖν εἰδῶσαν οἱ πολέμιοι διὸ δὲ πρότερον διάσκεψαι τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους εἰς ἐνέδρας καὶ τοῦτον προκαταλαβῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ τούτους κατασχόντες οἱ πολέμιοι κωλύσωσιν ἡμᾶς τὴν διάβασιν. Εἰ δὲ ὑάλης τε καὶ κατάδενδρος ὁ τόπος εἰς, χρῆ πρότερον τοὺς χθαμαλωτέρους κλάδους τῶν δένδρων κατατεμόντας ἀνάπτευν—ὁ γὰρ κατοικεῖν ἀναδιδομένη φλοξ καὶ τὰ υψι τῶν δένδρων εὐχερῶς κατανέμεται—καὶ οὕτως δὲ αὐτῶν διέρχεσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα χρῆ φέρειν μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἔκαστον τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἀξίνας διεπλήν ακμὴν ἐχοῦσα, τὴν μὲν ὀρθίαν, τὴν δὲ πλαγίαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν ὀρθίαν πρὸς δένδρων τομάς, τὴν δὲ πλαγίαν διὰ τοὺς καθομαλισμοὺς τῶν στενοχώρων καὶ ἐπικυνδύνων ὀδῶν.

'Εστιν δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ κατὰ πετρῶν δῆ ἀνάγκης ἔχομεν πορεύεσθαι. γίνεται δὲ τούτῳ τριχώς, ἢ τῆς ὀδοῦ παρατραπτέντες ἀγνοία τῶν τόπων παρατείσθαι τὴν ἐν ποισίν ὕπον ὑπάκουειν, ἢ λαβεῖν κατὰ τὴν εὐσίδον τοὺς πολέμιους βουλόμενου, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διωκόμενοι καὶ φερόμενοι οὐχ ὅποι καὶ θέλομεν. διὸ δὲ δέχει τὰς πέτρας καταρράκταντας εἴτε πυρόσταντας διὰ τῶν παρακείμενων ἔξων ἀκινδύνων παρέχειν τῷ λαῷ τὴν διάβασιν ἢ τε γὰρ πέτρα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄξονος καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς λυομένη καὶ τέφρα τῶν ἔξων ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας πιπτονσά ἀλυπον παρέξει τῷ στρατῷ τὴν ὄδουριαν. ποιεῖ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Ἄννιβας ὑπὸ Ἰρωμαίων τὴν ἔξοδον 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.¹

¹Livy, 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. Festugièere (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.”


A f. 10v

ιθ'.

Περὶ διαβάσεως ποταμῶν.

'Επει δὲ ὀδοιπορία γίνεται οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ ξηρὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' υδάτων, ῥητέον καὶ περὶ διαβάσεως ποταμῶν. τῶν ποταμῶν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ λάθος ἔχουσι, καθάπερ Ἰστρός, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ἔλαττον, καθάπερ Ἐυφράτης. οὗτοι τόινυν τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ βάθος ἔχουσι, τούτων διαπλέοντας ράδιον· τὰ γὰρ ἀγαν εἰς βάθος καθήκοντα γαλημένων ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ῥέουσιν. εἰ δὲ μήτε σφόδρα βάθος ἔχουσι μετὰ πολλῆς δὲ τῆς ῥύμης φέρονται, ἀνάγκη τέχνη προσχρήσασθαι. διὸ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν ποταμῶν βούττες συζεύξαντες, οἱ δὲ ἡμικιβωτίους χρησάμενοι τῶν ποταμῶν διεπέρασαν.

'Αμείνων δὲ καὶ εἰ διὰ κιβωτίων ὑποστέγων διελθεὶν τῶν ποταμῶν ἔχομεν λυσιτελεῖς γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ εἰ τινὲς παρὰ τάς ἐναντίας ὀχθας τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐφεστηκότες πειρώνται κατέχεν τῶν πόρων ὀλγίωτεροι ἡμῶν ὑπερ. οὗ τε γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τῆς στέγης τῶν κιβωτίων ἐφεστηκότες ὡς ἐν ἐπάλξεως σανίσων μέχρι τῶν στέρνων φυλαττόμενοι βέλει τε καὶ πτεροβόλως μηχανῶς ἀποπέμπειν αὐτοὺς δύναται, καὶ οἱ κάτω τούτων πάντοτε πῦλα ἔχουσι δι' αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσονται. καὶ λόγον δὲ καὶ σχοινίας τῆς κιβωτίων διαδήσαντας κατέχεθεν εξωθεν, ὡς ἐν αὐτὰς εἰς ἀσύμφορον ὑπὸ τοῦ βεῦμας ἀπελανυμένας εἰς ἑαυτοὺς πάλιν ἔλκειν καὶ συνέχειαν δυνάμεθα.

'Αλλοι δὲ καὶ σχεδίας κέχρηνται. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ καὶ μιᾶ σχεδία βουλεῖται διαβιβάσαι τὸ στράτευμα. ποιεῖ δὲ ὁδὲ διαμετρῆσας 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. He proceeds in the following man-
κατά τόν ἐγχώρουντα τρόπον πλέον ἢ κατὰ τούτο τῆς σχεδίας τὸ μῆκος ποιεῖ. οἰκοδομεῖ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑδατοῦ ὁ γειτονεύει τῇ γῇ, ἀνάστησι δὲ καὶ πύργου καθ᾽ ἐν τί τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῆς, ὃ δὴ πρὸς τό ἄνω μέρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ τέτακται καὶ ὁ προκαταλαβέων τήν ἀντικρίσις ὀχθῆν βουλεῖται. ἀνεγείρει δὲ καὶ τεῖχος ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἐκ ἔνων κατεσκευασμένον καὶ κλίμακας ἐπιτίθεσιν αὐτῷ. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταὐτὴν εἰς τέλος ἀγάπη, τὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῆς συνεχεῖν ἐκτὸς | βουλεῖται, τὸ δ’ ἔτερον ἄκρον, δὴ βλέπει πρὸς τό ἄνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέρος, ἀποθεῖν καὶ ἀποστέμπει κατὰ τοῦ ἱεῦματος. τῆς δὲ σχεδίας πλαγιάς κατὰ μοῦν φερομένης παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἂν αὐτὴν δύνασθαι, θάτερον μὲν τῶν ἄκρων κατεχομένου, θάτερον δὲ προσπεσόντος τῇ ὀχθῇ τῶν ἑναντίων, διὰ τὸ πλέον ἔχειν αὐτὴν μῆκος ἢ τὸ πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. εἶτα καὶ τοῦ ἔτερου αὐτῆς ἄκρου ἀφειμένου κατὰ τοῦ ὑδατοῦ παράλληλον ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι τὴν σχεδίαν τῇ ὀχθῇ τῶν ἑναντίων, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀναβάντας διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων ἐπὶ τε τῶν πύργων καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς πολεμίους εἴς ὑπερδεξίου πάλλοντος ἀποδιώκειν.

Καὶ ἡ μὲν φαντασία τοῦ ἔργου λόγον ἵσως ἔχει, ἀγνώρι δὲ εἰ καὶ τὰ πράγματα συνακολουθήσει τῷ λόγῳ. καὶ ὀρα μοι. εἶτε γὰρ στενὸς ἐστιν ὁ ποταμός, κωλύει πάντως | εἰ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι τὴν κτίσιν τῆς σχεδίας τῶν ἑναντίων τὸ βέλτικ. εἰ δὲ μὴ φθαίνει, οὐκ ἂν τηλικοῦτον μέγεθος σχεδίας γενέσθαι ἢ κυνηγήσαι δυνησθαι. τὸ τε γὰρ πλάτος τῆς σχεδίας ἀνάλογον πάντως ἔσται τῷ μῆκει αὐτῆς, ὃν μή ταύτην καθ᾽ ἐκάτερον τῶν ἄκρων ἀπομεμερήνη ἐκατέρου τῶν ὀχθῶν καθάπερ τι τοῦ-ξου συνάξῃ τὸ βέβαια καὶ που καὶ διακόψῃ. ἔσται δὲ πάντως καὶ τὸ βάθος τῷ πλάτει ἀνάλογον, ὅποτε καὶ μάλιστα πύργων καὶ τεῖχος ἔχει τῇ σχεδίᾳ συμπαρατεωμένου καὶ πλήθος στρατοῦ πολεμήσαι δυνάμενον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ βάθος τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἡ κτίσις ταύτης πάντως ἀδύνατος εἶτε γὰρ τεναγώδες ἐστὶ τὸ μέρος ἐκείνῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν ὃ τῆς σχεδίας οἰκοδομήσωμεν, οὐκ ἂν κατ’ αὐτὸ ἡ σχεδία πλεύσαις δυνησθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ σφόδρα τεναγώδες ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον βάθος ἔχει, εἰ μή καὶ πλέον εἰπεῖν, ὅποσον ἂν τῇ τῆς σχεδίας ἔστιν, καὶ βέβαια ὃς που πάντως ἔχει ὁ διακολύτει τῆς κτίσιν τῆς σχεδίας αἰειώς φερομένων.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλλον ἀσφαλέστερον ἐδοξῆ νανοῖ χρῆσασθαι, ὡς οὖν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ποταμῶν ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἀδείας | αὐτῶς εὐκαίρως ναυπηγήσωμεν. ἔπειδάν δὲ ταύτης καλῶς συναρμολογήσωμεν καὶ τρῆσωμεν κατὰ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους τόπους, εἶτα καταγράψωμεν ἐκαστὸν τῶν μερῶν ὅπῃ ἐκατοντάν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ συνθέσει τοῦ πλοίου τέτακται, τότε τὰ μὲν ἐκ’ ἀμαξῶν ἐπιφορτίσατες τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ὑποζυγίων μεθ’ ἐαυτῶν ἔλκο-μεν, ἐν ὃτε τὸν ποταμὸν καταλάβωμεν πάλιν εἰς ἄλληλα τὰ τῶν νεῶν ἔνωσα συναρμολογήσαντες τε καὶ συμβιβάσαντες εἶτα πίστης τε ἡ κηρῷ καὶ στέατι τὰς ἀρμονίας τῶν ἔνων ἀσφαλισάμενοι τὰς ναῦς 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. 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 τοιαύτα μερικαὶ διαβάσεις τῶν στρατευμάτων γίνονται όταν μὴ τὸ πολέμιον ἀντικάθηται ἢ τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτον ἑστὶν ὅσον καὶ ὅιον πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀποδιώκειν δυνάμεθα, εἴτε διὰ τῶν πλοίων, εἴτε διὰ τῶν ἄλλων δι᾽ ὄν ἐλέγομεν. περὶ μὲν οὖν πλεομένων ποταμῶν ταῦτα.

Τοὺς δὲ γε ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς φερομένους καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους τε καὶ ἐξόδους ἀνεμποδίστους ἔχοντας, εἴτε ἐξ ἰένωσιν εἴτε μή, καὶ εἴτε τὸ πολέμιον ἀντικάθηται εἴτε καὶ μή, βαθίων διελθεῖν ἐάν ἄρα καὶ δυνατῶς ἐχωμεν πρὸς πάντας αὐτῶν ἀντιμάχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν Περσῶν καταλαβώντων τὸν πόρον αὐτός διὰ τοῦ ὁδατος μαχεσάμενος τὸν ποταμὸν διεπέρασεν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ γυμνοὶ μόνα τὰ ἐν χερσίν ὁπλα φέροντες, εὐσελόντες εἰς τὸ ὁδωρ μέχρι θώρακος καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ θώρακα ταῖς ἀστίσι κατακαλύπτατε διὰ τοῦ ὁδατος ἀγωνισάμενοι παρῆλθον τον ποταμόν.

Δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ διώρισκας εἰς σχῆμα ἡμικυκλών ἀνορύξατο παρὰ τὴν ὀχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀρχομένας μὲν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνωθεν καὶ αὐθίς εἰς αὐτὸν κάτωθεν ἐπιστρεφόμενα, ἐλκύσα τε τὸ ὁδωρ ἐκείθεν καὶ διελεῖν καὶ αὐθίς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιστρέφασι, ὅστε ὑπομηθέντος τοῦ βάθους τῇ διαφέρει τοῦ ὁδατος καὶ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἐλαστήθεν τοις ἀκυκλών ἐκείθεν διαβιβάζατο τὸ πάν τοῦ στρατεύματος. Κύρος πρώτος τούτο ποιεῖ, δύο τυνάς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἀποβεβλη| κὼς καὶ ἀστραγάλῳ γυναικὸς περατὸν ἐσεσθαὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπελήςας.

Πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ ὁδατος μὴ κολύωντος διὰ τὰς ὀχθὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαθείας οὔτας ἀδύνατος ἐδοξεῖν ἢ διάβασις. ἐστὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατος, τὰς γὰρ παρ’ ἐκάτερα ὀχθὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἠρέμα πως διορύστουν τας καθόδους τε καὶ ἀνόδους ἀπέναντι αλλήλους ποιεῖν δυνησόμεθα, δι’ ὧν διαβιβάζομεν τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἴον δὲ αὐτὸς τούτῳ γενόμενον καὶ κατενοδύμενον. εἰχε δὲ καὶ το δισχερές ἢ διάβασις, καὶ γὰρ ἄλυπως πολλὸν πρότερον διαβεβηκότων κατασταλόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν παριόντων αἱ ἀνοδοὶ τελματῶδες ἐγίνοντο. καλὰμη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῦτὰς ἐπιστρωνυμένη καὶ κλάδοι ἄλυπων τῶν ἐξίς τῆς διάβασιν ἐποίησαντο. δοκοὶ δὲ ἢν μάλλον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνοδοῖς ἐπ’ εὐθείας προτιθέμεναι καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτάς ἐτεραι πλαγια καθηλώμεναι ἀσφαλεστέραν παρέξουσι τῆς διάβασιν.

Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τῆς ἐναντίαν ὀχθὴν κατέχοντας καὶ κολύωντας τὴν διάβασιν (ἀπατήσαντες) ἀκωλύτως διήλθον τὸν πόρον. νυκτὸς γὰρ ὑπὸ λόφον γενόμενον ὡστε ἐν ἡμέρα μὴ φαίνεσθαί, ἀπὸ μωρᾶν τῶν στρατεύματος πέμποντος ἵπποι κόπρον ἐπιφερομένους καὶ ταῦτην ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἀναδραμόντας τὸν ποταμὸν ρίψαι κατὰ τοῦ ῥεύθου κελεύσωσιν. τῆς δὲ καταφερομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος οἱ τὸν πόρον κατέχοντες ἱδόντες αὐτὴν καὶ πεισθέντες ἀνωθεν 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. 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.

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.

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 τῶν ποταμῶν καταλιπόντες, οἱ δὲ τῶν λόφων προκύψαντες καὶ τὸν πόρον διελθόντες κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξώρουν.

19: K–R 110, Erck 50.


(κ’).

Πὼς δεὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὰς αἱρετικὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις.

Δεῖ δὲ πάντως ὀδομοροῦντας ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὲ ἔχθραν καὶ ὑγρὰν, ὅπου καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν πολεμίαν κινοῦμεθα ἢ τοῖς ἐχθρῶις πλησιάζομεν, μὴ ἄνυππότως ἔχεις πρὸς τὰς αἱρετικὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις, ἀλλ’ ὑφοράσθαι ταῦτα. τὸ γὰρ "οὐκ ὑμῖν," ὥς τις ἔρη τῶν παλαιῶν, οὐ πάνω στρατηγικῶν. διὸ δὴ τῆς αἱρετικοῦ ἐπιστᾶ| σίας τῶν πολεμίων φειδομένους ἡμᾶς νῦν μὲν ἔπιθεν, νῦν δὲ | ἐκείθεν κατὰ τὰς πλευρὰς τοῦ στρατεύματος τάπειν ἀναγκαίων τοὺς ἠγεμόνας, οἱ δὴ στόματα καὶ πλευραὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ὄνυμαζονται, οὐχ ὅτι πέραται εἰσιν οἱ ἠγεμόνες τοῦ στρατεύματος, οὐδ’ ὅτι παρ’ ἐκάτερα τῆς φαλαγγος τάπειν καθ’ ᾧ πρότερον αὐτὰ ὄνυμαζομεν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι συνέχουσιν καὶ φυλάττουσιν τοὺς οἰκείους διὰ τῶν ἠγεμονικῶν κατορθωμάτων τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιτάξωμεν.

15 Ὁθεν μονόπλευρος φάλαγξ καὶ δίπλευρος καὶ τρίπλευρος καὶ τετράπλευρος ὄνυμαζομαι, καὶ μονόπλευρος μὲν φάλαγξ λέγεται ἢ κατὰ μίαν πλευρὰν τοὺς ἠγεμόνας ἔχουσα τεταγμένοις, δίπλευρος δὲ ἢ κατὰ δύο πλευρὰς τοὺς ἠγεμόνας ἔχουσα τεταγμένους, ὡσαντως
doned their position at the river. The troops hidden behind the hill then forded the river and went after the enemy.

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1 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.


3 This may refer to Alexander’s fighting his way across the Granicus River in 334 B.C.: Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 1, 14–15.

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

5 Xenophon (*Education of Cyrus*, 7, 5, 9–20) records the diverting of the river but not the boast of Cyrus.

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[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 unawares. As one of the ancient authors said, a general should never have to say “I didn’t think of that.” 1 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 qualities 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 τρισπλευρὸς καὶ τετράπλευρος ἢ κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρας πλευράς
tοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσα τεταγμένους. καὶ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἐμπροσθεν
μέρος ὁ ἔχθρος μάλιστα ὑποτεύθυται, ἐκείσε τὸν στρατηγὸν τε-
tάχθαι, ἀν δ' ἐπὶ νότον, κατόπιν ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ δὲ κατὰ μίαν τῶν
πλευρῶν, καὶ ἐκεῖνην καὶ αὐτὸν φέρεσθαι. εἰ δὲ πάντως μὲν ὑπο-
πετεύεται, ἀδηλον δὲ καθ' ὁ μέρος ἐπιστήσεται, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα ἐπὶ
tοῦ ἱδίου στήσεσθαι τόπου, ἐπιστήσεται δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν ἄλλων
πλευρῶν καθάπερ τις ὑποστρατήγους συνθηροῦντας τὴν ἐν αὐταῖς
tάξιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἔχθρων ἀπάντησιν ἐντερπιζομένους.

Χρῆ δὲ πρὸς τούτους καὶ φύλακας ἀναγκαίον ἔχειν παρ' ἐκάστηρα
τῆς φάλαγγος τεταγμένους, τοὺς μὲν πόρρωθεν κατασκοποῦντας τάς
τῶν ἔχθρων ἐπιφανείας, τοὺς δὲ πλησιαίτερον παραθέουντας, ὡς ἄν
τάχιον ἡμῖν δ' αὐτῶν ἀπαγγέλληται ἢ τῶν ἔχθρων παρούσια, τοὺς δὲ
φύλακας εἶναι δέον ἐπιτότας εἰς τὸ μὴ τρίχω τρίχῳ ἀλισκεσθαι μῆτε
βραδύνειν πρὸς τὴν ὀραθέντων ἢ ἀκούσθεντων ἀπαγγελιῶν, φρο-
νίμους τε τὴν φύσιν καὶ ἐμπείρους θορύβων τε καὶ κατασκόπης καὶ
μάλιστα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν οἷς ἢ τοιαύτῃ φροντὶς ἐπιτέρραται,
ὡςτε μὴ τοὺς τυχόν | τασ ἐπὶ τούτο τάττειν καὶ ὅσιν τάλλα κατωρθο-
κότες, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους οἰ καὶ πρῶτερον ἐπὶ τούτο σταλέντες εὐδοκιμη-
kότες γυνώσκοντα. δεδ' εἰ διάτους καὶ τῶν τῶν ἐμπείρων εἶναι καθ'
οἷς τῆς φάλαγγος προπορεύονται ἢ παραπορεύονται, ἢν μὴ κατ' ἀγ-
νουμένων τῶν φερόμενοι πολλάκις κινδύνευσιν ὅποτε ὑπὸ τῶν
ἔχθρων μάλιστα γνωσθέντες καταδιώκονται. καλὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπι-
kυνδυστέρους τῶν τῶν ἀπογράφειν, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ | καὶ ὅσιον εἰς
ἐνέδρας εἰςιν ἐπιτίθειοι, ἦν' αὖθις ἐν καιρῷ ἐκείσε διαβαίνοντες
φυλαττόμεθα.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὅδουπορίας στρατοῦ ὅπως γίνεται κατὰ τε ἐπὶ τῆς
καὶ ὑγρᾶν, καὶ ὅπως χρή τῶν ἔχθρων φυλάττομαι τὰς αἱρετικῶς ἐπι-
στασιάς δι' ὑποψίας αὐτῶν ἐχομεν, ἰσανός οὖσαν ἐν ἔχειν δόξειν τὰ
παρόντα. ὅπως δὲ τῶν ἔχθρων κατὰ πλευρὰν ἢ νῦτα ἐπιφανέντων
ἡμῶν κλίνειν τε καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ διελέπτειν ῥαδίως τὴν φάλαγγα
dυνησομέθα, ὡστε αἱ τῇ τῶν ἔχθρων φαλαγγὶ ἀντιμέτωπον τὴν
ἡμετέραν καθίστασθαι, διὰ τούτων ῥηθησεται.

20: K-R 120, Erck 53.
20: 1 κ' Δ: om. codd. || 2 πῶς . . . ἐπιθέσεις Δ: πῶς δεὶ φυλαττεσθαι K-R: om. codd. || 9
παραπορεύονται A: om. MP || 47 αὐτάς 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.

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1 The expression is found in Polyaenus, 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.
κα'.

Περὶ στροφῆς τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος.

Στροφῇ δὲ ἔστιν μετάθεσις τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος καθ’ ἐν ἢ καὶ πλείονα μέρη. ἡ μέρη δὲ λέγω τὸ ἐμπροσθεν, τὸ ὅπισθεν, τὸ δε-5 χιόν, τὸ εὐώνυμον. μέλλοντας δὲ περὶ διαφορᾶς στροφῆς διελθεῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν πρότερον τὴν αὐτίαν δι’ ἢν ἡ φάλαγξ στρέφεται. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῇ πολλάκις οἱ πολέμιοι ὁδοιποροῦσι τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου αὐτῆς ἐπελθεῖν ἀδύνατῳν, αἰφνιδίᾳ ἐπιφανειάσται αὐτοῖς νῦν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, νῦν δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων, ἔστιν ὁτε καὶ κατὰ νότων. τήν οὖν ἐνευθεῖαν βλάβην οἱ τακτικοὶ ύπορώμενοι μεθόδους τινὰς ἐξεύρον δι’ ὅν ἄν τις ῥαδίως στρέφων τὸ μέτωπον τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ τὸ λυπόν ἰπαν πλῆθος αὐτῆς φυλάττεσθαι τάς ἐπι- 
φανείας | τῶν ἑχθρῶν δύναται.

Στρέφεται δὲ φάλαγξ κατὰ τρόπους τέσσαρας: κατ’ ἄνδρα, κατὰ 15 στίχον, κατὰ ἵνα, καθ’ ὀμάδα. καὶ κατ’ ἄνδρα μὲν ὅταν τῶν ἄλλων ἔρμοντων εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ κινούμενος καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκαστος, κατὰ στίχον δὲ ὅταν τῶν ἄλλων ἔρμοντων μόνον ὁ πρῶτος στίχος κυνηγᾶται καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκαστος τῶν ἄλλων στίχων, ὀμοίως καὶ κατὰ ζυγόν. καθ’ ὀμάδα δὲ ὅταν ὅλη ὡς ὁλη ἡ φάλαγξ κυνηγᾶται. κα-20 λείται δὲ ἢ μὲν καθ’ ἄνδρα στροφή κλίσεις, ἢ δὲ κατὰ στίχον ἐξελιγμός, ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ ἢ κατὰ ζυγόν, ἢ δὲ καθ’ ὀμάδα ἐπιστροφή.


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.

Κλίσεις ἐστὶν μετάθεσις κατ' ἄνδρα τῆς ὅλης φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῆς τόπον οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη τοῦ τόπου μετατιθε-μένης ἐκάστης πλευρᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑτέρα. ἀνάγκη γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν κλίσεων ἐκάστην μεταποεῖ τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν ἐπὶ δόρυ κλίθεισαν μετώπων γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὀπισθίαν δεξιὰν, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον ὑπουρίαν, εὐώνυμον δὲ τὴν ἐμπρόσθεν. ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα τὴν μὲν εὐώνυμον μετώπων, τὴν δὲ ὀπισθίαν εὐώ-νυμον, καὶ ἐφεξής. τεσσάρων δ' ὀντων | μερῶν, ὥσπερ εἰρήται, καθ' ἀ κυνέται ἡ φάλαγξ, συμβαίνει κλίσεις εἶναι ὀκτὼ, τέσσαρας μὲν ἐπὶ δόρυ, τέσσαρας δὲ ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα. λέγοντων δὲ ἐπὶ δόρυ μὲν τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν διὰ τὸ τὸ δόρυ κατέχειν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ, ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ διὰ τῇ λαϊξ χειρὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα κατέχειν.

'Εστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ κατὰ δύο συνεχεῖς κλίσεις τὴν φάλαγγα στρέ-φομεν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη, οὐκ ἀναπαύοντες αὐτὴν καθ' ἐκάστην κλίσιν καὶ ἐπιστροφὴν ἀλλὰ κατὰ συνεχεῖαν αὐτὴν κλίνοντες, καὶ οὐ μὸνον κατὰ δύο κλίσεις, ὀπερ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ οὐράν στρέφαι τὸ μέτωπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τελευταίον κατὰ τέσσαρας. καλοῦνται δὲ αἱ μὲν κατὰ συνεχείαν δύο κλίσεις μεταβολῆ, ἃν τε ἐπὶ δόρυ κλίνειν τις θέλῃ, ἃν τε ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα: ἐστὶ γὰρ μεταβολὴ δύο κατὰ συνεχείαν κλίσεως ἀπὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τὴν κατ᾽ οὐράν ἐπι-φάνειαν ἢ ἀπὸ ταύτης | ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἁρχῆς ἐπιφάνειαν. γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἀλλας μεταβολὴ ὅταν ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν μερῶν τῆς φάλαγγος κατὰ συνε-χειαν κλίνοντες ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον στησόμεθα τῆς φάλαγγος μέρος καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, ὡς τινας εἰκότως ἂν τις καλέσοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἄρχομενη μεταβολὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀντιστροφὸν αὐτῆς μεταβολὴν ἐξ εὐώνυμων. αἱ δὲ τρεῖς κατὰ συνεχείαν κλίσεις πε-ριστροφῆ λέγεται, αἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἀποκατάστασις, ἢ δὲ ἀντιστροφὸς ἐκάστης κλίσεως ἀναποδισμὸς.


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.
κν'.

(Περὶ ἐπιστροφῆς.)

Τὴν δὲ ἐπιστροφὴν ὄριζονται οἱ παλαιοὶ οὕτως· ἐπιστροφὴ ἐστὶν ὅταν πυκνώσασθε τὰ συντάγματα κατὰ παραστάσεις καὶ ἐπιστάσεις 5 ὅλα τὸ σύνταγμα ὡς ἑνὸς ἄνδρος σῶμα ἐπὶ δόρυ ἢ ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα κλίνομεν. διαφέρει δὲ κλίσις ἐπιστροφῆς τῷ τὴν μὲν κλίσιν κατ' ἄνδρα γίνομεν, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστροφὴν ὅλην ὡς ὅλην κινεῖσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα. γίνεται δὲ καὶ αὕτη κατὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους περὶ κλίσεως τρόπους, ὡστε τοσαῦτα εἶναι τὰς μεταβολὰς ὁπότες ἢν καὶ τὰς κλίσεις 10 ἐλέγομεν εἰναί.

'Η δὲ ἀντίστροφος ἐκάστης ἐπιστροφῆς ἀναστροφὴ ὀνομάζεται ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀναστροφὴ ἀποκατάστασις τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς εἰς ὅν προκατείχεν τὸ σύνταγμα τόπον. ἀι δὲ δύο ἐπιστροφαὶ περιστασμὸς λέγεται, ἀι δὲ τρεῖς ἐκπεριστασμὸς. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκπεριστασμὸς, ἐν' 15 αὕται ταῖς τῶν παλαιῶν χρησκῶμεθα λέξεσιν, ἦ ἐκ τριῶν συνεχῶν ἐπιστροφῶν τοῦ τάγματος κίνησις, ὡστε μεταλαμβάνει, ἡν μὲν ἐπὶ δόρυ γένεται, τὴν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἡν μὲν ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα, τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν. ἡ δὲ ἐκ τεσσάρων (συνεχῶν ἐπιστροφῶν κίνησις ἐπικατάστασις ὀνομάζεται. ἡ δὲ ἀντίστροφος ἐκάστης ἐπιστροφῆς) 20 ἀναποδοσμός.
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.]

1The 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
κινηθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρισθέντα τόπον κατὰ τάξιν αὐτῷ ὁ λοιπὸς τῶν στίχων ἐπακολουθῶσαν, κατὰ ζυγοὺς | δὲ ὅταν ἐνὸς τῶν ἄκρων ζυγῶν προπορευμένου καὶ τῶν ὀρισθέντα λαμβάνοντος τόπον ὁ λοιπὸς τῶν ζυγῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν ἐπακολουθῶσαν αὐτοῖς.

10 Ἐξελιγμὸν δὲ γένε ταῦτα ὁ παλαιὸς ὅνομάζοντις. ἐκατέρω δὲ τούτων εἰδή φασὶ τρία, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν καθ’ ὁ μεταλαμβάνοντες τὸν ἐμπροσθεν τόπον ἐπὶ τὴν κατ’ οὐρὰν ἐπιφάνειαν τὸ μέτωπον τῆς φάλαγγος στρέφομεν· Μακεδῶνα δὲ τοῦτο προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπειδή Ἐὐρίππου τοῦτο φασίν ἐξευρηκότα, ζητὴσαθαι. δεύτερον δὲ εἰδὸς ἔξελιγμοῦ καθ’ ὁ τῆς φάλαγγος τὸν ὀποσθεν τόπον μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν κατ’ οὐρὰν ἐπιφάνειαν τὸ μέτωπον στρέφομεν· Λάκων δὲ καὶ οὗτος παρ’ αὐτοῖς κέκληται. τὸ δὲ τρίτον εἰδὸς τῶν ἔξελιγμῶν οὐκ ἀμείβει τὸν τόπον τῆς φάλαγγος ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ταύτην τηρεῖ, τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τῶν οὐραγῶν μετάκαγον, τοὺς δὲ οὐραγοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τῶν λοχαγῶν, ἀφετέρως δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐπιφανείας ἀπολαμβάνων τὴν ὀποσθεν χορείος δὲ οὗτος καὶ Κρητικὸς καὶ Περσικὸς ὅνομάζεται.

Γίνεται δὲ ὁ Μακεδῶν κατὰ μὲν στίχον ὅταν ὁ λοχαγὸς ἐνὸς τῶν ἄκρων στίχου παρατέρχων πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος, ἑπακολουθοῦντων αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ στίχου κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἑκάστου τάξιν, ἀντιμέτωπος γένηται τοῦ λοχαγοῦ τοῦ ἔτερου ἄκρου καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἔφεξείς οἱ λοιποί, ἔτερος ἔτερου κατὰ στίχον ἔχομενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος τοῦ λοχαγῶ ήτο τῷ πρωτοστάτῃ συνενεύοντες. ἀφετέρως δὲ καὶ κατὰ ζυγὸν ὅταν ὁ ἄκρος τοῦ πρῶτου ζυγοῦ παραπορευόμενος τὸ τῆς φάλαγγος μετάποι καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποὶ ἀντιμέτωποι γέννων τοῦ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ μῆτω εξελιχθέντος. τὸν γὰρ ἐμπροσθεν τόπον τῆς φάλαγγος διὰ τῆς ἐξελίξεως λαμβάνειν βουλόμενοι κατὰ τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον, οὐς μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν λαμβάνομεν ἐπὶ τὰ εὐόνυμα μετατίθεμεν τῆς ἐξελιπτομένης φάλαγγος, οὐς δὲ ἐκ τῶν εὐόνυμων ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ τῆς ὅλης ἐξελιχθείσης | φάλαγγος, ἐνα μένωσιν πάλιν οἱ δεξιοί δεξιοὶ καὶ οἱ εὐόνυμοι ἀφετέρως.

Ὁ δὲ Λάκων γίνεται κατὰ μὲν στίχον ὅταν ὁ οὐραγὸς ἐνὸς τῶν ἄκρων στίχων προπορευμένος καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνου κατότιν ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐστὶ τοῦ λοχαγοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ | δόρυ στρεφόμεθα, ὁ μὲν οὐραγὸς ἀντιώτως στῇ τοῦ οὐραγοῦ τῆς εὐόνυμῳ πλευράς ή καὶ αὐτὸς μεταβέβληται, ὁ δὲ ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ὀμοίως πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἐστὶ τοῦ λοχαγοῦ, εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα, ὁ μὲν ἄκρος τῆς εὐόνυμῳ πλευράς ἀντιώτως στῇ τοῦ οὐραγοῦ τῆς δεξιάς πλευράς καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἐμπροσθέν οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ στίχου καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνους τῶν στίχων ἐκαστος. κατὰ δὲ ζυγὸν ὅταν ὁ ἄκρος τοῦ τελευταίου ξυγοῦ προπορευμένος καὶ τούτου κατότιν πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ζυγὸν τεταγμένοι καὶ ἐφεξῆς οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ζυγῶν ἀντιώτως εὐαυτοῖς 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 ἐξελεγμός, οὗ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν ὦρα-
γῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱλαρχῶν ἐξελισσόντων ἡμῶν καὶ τελευτώντων ἐφ᾽ ἑνα τῶν τελευταίων ὦραγῶν, καὶ κατὰ στίχον μὲν οἶνον ὅταν ὁ πρῶτος τοῦ δεξιοῦ στίχου ἐπὶ δόρυ προπορευόμενος καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ στίχου ἀντίωσι τοῖς πρῶτοι στίχῳ τῆς εὐωνύμου πλευρᾶς γένωνται, κατὰ δὲ ξυγὸν ὅταν ὁ ἄκρος τοῦ πρῶτον ξυγοῦ προπορευό-
μενος καὶ μετ᾽ ἑκείνου οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ξυγοῦ ἀντίωσι τοῖς ὦρα-
gωις γένωνται, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ ἑκείνους πάντες ξυγοὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τάξιν φυλάττοντες.

"Ὁ δὲ χορείος καὶ αὐτός γίνεται κατὰ μὲν στίχον ὅταν ὁ ὦραγὸς
τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς κατὰ νῦν τῶν ὦραγῶν προπορευόμενος ἐπη-
κολοθοῦντων αὐτῷ κατόπιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ αὐτοῦ στίχου, ὁ δὲ
πρωτοστάτης τῆς εὐωνύμου πλευρᾶς προπορευόμενος τὸ τῆς φάλαγ-
γος μέταπον ἐπακολουθοῦντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοὺς ἀλλήλων ἀντι-
λάβωσι τόπους, ὡμοίως καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν στίχων μεταλαμβάνοντες
ἀντὶ τῆς ἐμπροσθεὶν ἐπιφανείας τὴν ὁπίσθεν. | κατὰ δὲ ξυγὸν οὕτως
ὅταν ὁ μὲν τῶν λοχαγῶν ξυγός ἐπὶ δόρυ προπορευόμενος τοῦ δεξιοῦ
στίχου τῆς φάλαγγος, ὁ δὲ τῶν ὦραγῶν ξυγός προπορευόμενος τοῦ
στίχου τῆς εὐωνύμου πλευρᾶς ὁ μὲν τῶν λοχαγῶν ξυγός καταλάβη τοῦ
τοῦ ὦραγοῦ, ὁ δὲ ὦραγός τῶν τῶν λοχαγῶν, ἐπομενῶν αὐτοὶς καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ξυγῶν καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντων ἀντὶ τῆς ἐμπροσθεὶν ἐπιφανείας
τῆς ὁπίσθεν.

Ταῦτα περὶ κλίσεως καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ ἐξελεγμοῦ καὶ τῶν
ὡμοίων καθ᾽ ἀ στρέψθαι τὴν φάλαγγα λέγομεν.


24: 1 κδ' Μ: ὄε' A: om. Ρ || 25 αὐτῷ Α: αὐτῶν MP || 26 λοχαγοῦ ... ἄκρου MP: ἐπέρου
ἀκρου τοῦ λοχαγοῦ A || 30 γένωσι ΜΡ: γίνωσται A || 34 τῆς ἐξελισσόμενης φάλαγγος MP: om.
A || 68 τῶν τῶν Α: τῶν τῶν MP || 71 ἐπιστροφῆς Κ–Ρ: περιστροφῆς codd.

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.

Κατ' ἐναλλαγὴν δὲ σχήματος κινεῖται φάλαγξ ὅταν ἀπὸ σχήματος εἰς ἅ ἐτερον σχήμα τὴν φάλαγγα μεταβάλλωμεν, οἷον ὅταν ἐκ τετραγώνου εἰς ἑτερομήκης ἦ τοῦναντίον. κατὰ δὲ διαίρεσιν ἐνοεί-δοὺς φάλαγγας ὅταν εἰς δύο τὴν μίαν διέλωμεν, κατὰ δὲ ἐνωσὶν οἷον ὅταν τὸς δύο εἷς μίαν συνάπτομεν.

Χρώμεθα δὲ τῇ μὲν ἐναλλαγῇ τοῦ σχήματος ὅταν κατὰ τὰ σχήμα παραταξαμένων τῶν ἑκτρῶν τῷ λυσιτελοῦντι καὶ ἡμεῖς χρώμεθα σχήματι ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἄλλους φάλαγγος συμβάλλεται σχήματα. οἷον (εἰ) ἐχρήσατο οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιμηκεστέρᾳ τῇ φάλαγγι καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμοίως ἐκείνους ταύτης χρησόμεθα, εἰ μή τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡμῶν κατὰ πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἡλάττωσι τοῖς μικροῖς γὰρ ἡ φάλαγξ παρατεινομένη λεπτύνεται τε καὶ τὸ βάθος αὐτῆς ὑποτέμεται, δὲ πολὺν φέρει τοῖς κεχρημένοις τὸν κίνδυνον. διαμορύμεν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ὅλην ὅταν κατὰ διάφορα συστήματα καὶ μέρη ὁρῶμεν τοὺς ἐναντίους καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπερχόμενος, συνάπτομεν δὲ οἷον ὅταν κατὰ μονοφαλαγγίαν ἡμῖν προσβάλλει οἱ πολέμιοι μέλλωσιν.


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

κζ'

Περὶ μηνσόρων

ἢ ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν οὐ μόνον κινηθῆναι τὴν φάλαγγα χρῆ ἄλλα πάντως αὐτήν καὶ διαναπώσασθαι, ἀναγκαίως εἶπεῖν περὶ συγκατα-

5 σχηματίσως καὶ πρὸ γε ταύτης περὶ μησόρων, οῖ τοῦ στρατοῦ προ-

τρέχοντες εὔπρεπίζουσι τὰ στρατόπεδα. δεὶ γὰρ [αὐτοὺς εἰδέναι καὶ
diὰ πείρας καλῶς ἔχειν εἰ τὰς ἐστὶν πόλεις ὅποιοι ἄβρωτοι, μᾶ-

λισταὶ δὲ ἱθανάσιμοι, ὡστε τόσοιν αὐτῆς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, δεὶ ἑτέρων
dὲ τῶν ἵππων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πρόοποιαν καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατευ-

10 μάτων ὑποδοχὴν. πειράζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑδατα, τὰ μὲν ῥευστὰ εἰ ἄλωθη
ἡ πυκρὰ ἢ πότημα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐστάσα, καὶ πρὸς τούτους καὶ εἰ

φθοροποιά κατὰ φύσιν ἢ κατ’ ἐπιτήδευσιν τῶν ἑκτρῶν, ὡστε κἂν
tούτους τῶν βλαστόντων ἀπέχεσθαι. ἔχειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ μέτρα πρὸς
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.

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."

Quartering Parties.

It is obvious that the phalanx cannot 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
τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ χώρησιν κατὰ τε ἀραίωσιν καὶ πάνωσιν, οὐ σχοινίωσιν χρωμένωσιν, γελοιοῦν γὰρ ἂν ἓσωσ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ βελῶν ἀφέσεσιν, ὡ δὴ τάχιστον ἐστὶν πρὸς τὴν εἰρημένην ἀναμέτρησιν.

Δεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐκάστου τάγματος ἐχεῖν λόχον Ἥνα μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν μεθ’ ἐνός σημείου τοῦ ἱδίου τάγματος, ἦν μετὰ τὸ ἀφορισθῆναι τὸ στρατόπεδον, καθ’ οὓς ἄν τόπους συντάξουσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ μήνσορες, ὡμοίως τῇ τάξει τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐκεῖστε τὰ σημεῖα προκαταπῆξαντες δι’ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἱδίους ὑποδείξουσιν ἐνθα χρῆ τούτων ἐκαστῶν οἰκεῖως διανὰ παύσασθαι.

Ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἱππεὰς εἶναι διὰ τὸ προτρέχειν τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ ποιν καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μικρὸν ἐπιτρέχειν, ἐσθ’ ὅτε δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν διωκομένους μὴ βαδίως ἀλίσκεσθαι. δει δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ γῆ μὴ πόρρωθεν προτρέχειν τῆς φάλαγγος ἀλλ’ ὅσον ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ὀράσθαι, διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις.


(kζ’)

Περὶ συγκατακτικηνώσεως.

'Επει δὲ τὰ περὶ μηνσόρων οὕτω πως ἔχειν ἡμῖν ἐδοξέων, ἀκολούθως καὶ περὶ συγκατασκηνώσεως λέξομεν. καὶ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι δὲ πάντως τοὺς κατὰ μίαν ἢ περὶ υποκάθισεσθαι τὴν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον τάξιν οὐ λύουτος, ὡστε συνεσθίοντάς τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ συγκαταθέσθαι πολλήν ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν συμφωνίαν, καὶ κοινῆν μὲν τὴν ζωῆν κοινὸν δὲ ἡγεῖον τῶν θάνατον, ἔχειν τε βαδίως πρὸς τὴν ἐν ταῖς φάλαγξι σύνταξιν.'

A f. 16'

Τούτων δὲ τῶν τρόπων μετ’ ἀλλήλων διάγωντες χρῆ τὰς μὲν τρο-φὰς συνάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τὰ μὲν δόρατα ἀπέναντι τῶν ποδῶν καταπηγνύσαι, τὰς δὲ ἀσπίδας ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἀνακλίνουν ὡστε τὴν κοίλην αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐνδόθειν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀρὰν, ἵν’ ἀναστάντεσ ἐκεῖνοι ἐτοίμας ταῦτα ἀναλαμβάνον. ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τὰλλα τῶν ὀπλῶν κεῖσθαι μὲν ἐπ’ ἀριστέρα χείρι τῶν στρατιώτων 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 κνῆμας, εἶτα τοὺς μήρους, εἶτα τὸν θώρακα, εἶτα τὴν περικεφαλαίαν, καὶ μετ’ αὐτὴν διεξόθησαν τὴν τε ῥομφαίαν καὶ τὸ τόξον καὶ τὴν φαρέ- 20 τραν καὶ τελευταίον τοὺς βραχίονας. η’ αἰτία τῆς τοιαύτης τάξεως ὡστε μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον ἔκ τῶν προλαβόντων συμβαίνειν τῇ τῶν δευ- τέρων ὀπλῶν περιβολῇ.

"Ἀναγκαίον δὲ τοὺς καθ’ ἐκάστην σκηνήν καὶ φύλακας ἔχειν νυκτὸς, τούτο μὲν διὰ τὰς κλοπάς, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὸ ἕκ τῆς τοιαύτης συνθείες ἐγχρηστὸτέρους τε καὶ ἔτοιμοτέρους πρὸς τὰς ἀπαιτήσεις τῶν πολεμίων καθίστασθαι.


κη’.

Ποῦ δὲὶ τάττειν τοὺς πεζοὺς κατασκηνοῦν μέλλοντας καὶ ποῦ τοὺς ἱππεῖας.

Δεὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς τάττειν κατὰ τὸν χάρακα πλησιαίτερον 5 τὰς σκηνὰς ἔχοντας· οὔτω γὰρ ἄσφαλτος ἔξει τὰ κατὰ τὸν χάρακα, οὔτε ἱππων φροντίδα τοὺς πεζοὺς ἔχοντας οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσα τούτων ἔνεκα φέροντο στρατιώται. τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖας κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατο- 10 πέδου διὰ τὰς νυκτερινὰς τοξείας τῶν ἥχθρων, ὥστε ὁι ἱπποι πολ- λάκις τραν | ματιζόμενοι οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ κακῶς πάσχουσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα συνταράττουσιν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀναγκαίον καταλιμπάνειν δύο εὐθείας ὁδοὺς κατὰ τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ τεμνοῦσας ἀλλήλας, καθ’ ὅς οἱ βουλό- 15 μενοι διὰ τῶν προσηχοῦσας ἐκάστῳ χρείας ἔξειναι τε καὶ εἰσιναι δι’ αὐτῶν | ἔχουσι, καὶ πρὸς ταύταις ἑτέραις περέχουσαν τὸ πᾶ τὸν στρατεύματος, ὡστε τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπισκεπτόμενον τὸν χάρακα κατ’ ἐκείνην περιέμενας καὶ τοὺς παρεκμείνους ἐκείσε διαβιβάζε- σθαι. χρῆσομεν δὲ κατὶ τῶν τιμημάτων ἐκαστον, ἀ δὴ πουόσον αἱ εἰρημέναι ὁδοί, ὁδοὺς ὁμοίως καταλιμπάνειν τὸν ὁμοίων τρόπων' λυντελεῖς δὲ τούτο μᾶλιστα ὁπόταν πυκνότερον ἀλλήλας τὰς σκηνὰς 20 καταπήξωμεν. χρῆ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας ὁδοὺς μέχρι τοῦ χάρακος ἱστα- σθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ παρέρχεσθαι καθάπερ ἐπί 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 δὲ τοὺς κατασκόπους, τὸ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλεια τοῦ χάρακος εἰς τὸ μῆτη πολλαχοῦ κατατέμνεσθαι.

Ανυιδελές δὲ τὸν χάρακα έκ τῶν παρακεμένων συντάττειν 25 σκηνῶν οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἦλθεν ἐλεγομεν, κύκλῳ τῶν ίδίων σκηνῶν ἔχειν τὰ δὲ δόρατα καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας, ἀλλ’ ἐκάστην ἰλήν τῶν κατὰ τὰ πέρατα τεταγμένων τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ δόρατα καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας εἰς τὸν κοινὸν χάρακα συντάττειν, ὡστε κύκλος ἐστὶν ἐνοπλος καὶ 30 περίβολος συνέχως τὸ στράτευμα. μὴ ἐναλλάττεως δὲ αὐτοῦς ἄλλα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἂν ἐμπεπιστευθήσθαι τὸν χάρακα, ὡστε διὰ πείρας τὴν φυλακήν ἔχοντας μὴ μάτην ταράττεσθαι μήτε ταῖς τυχοῦσαις ἀφορμαῖς εἰς πόλεμον ἀνίστασθαι τε καὶ διεγείρεσθαι.

Ἀναγκαίον δὲ μόναις κεχρὴσθαι ταῖς εἰρήμεναις εἰσόδοις τε 35 καὶ ἐξόδως καθάπερ τοις τοῦ στρατοπέδου πύλαις, τούτο μὲν καὶ δὲ ἀλλασσάλλας αἰτίας, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τοὺς κατασκόπους, οἱ ἐπειδὰν τῶν πυλῶν ἐντὸς γένοιται ὅτε δὴ ἐξειν ὑπὸς τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος ὦδὲ κακεὶ βλέποντι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνέχονται καὶ ἐπερωτώνται ἐκαστοὶ αὐτῶν ποιᾶς ἤλης ἐστὶν καὶ τίνα τὸν ἰλάρχην κέκτηται καὶ τίς 40 ὁ τούτων δεξιός καὶ τίς ὁ ἐνώνυμος εἰς παράταξιν, κἂν μὲν τούτους ἐπαληθεύονε ἀφίενται, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, κατεχό | μενοι τῷ στρατηγῷ παραδίδονται. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐξελέγχῳ τοὺς κατασκόπους δύνασθαι τῷ τοιούτω ἄλλα καὶ προαναστέλλειν αὐτῶν τὰς ἐφόδους, ἀτε δὴ παρ’ 41 ἠμῖν ἐρευνωμένων τε καὶ | συνεχομένων.


(κθ’.

Περὶ χάρακος καὶ φυλακῆς.)

Debe δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας κατασκηνώσαντας εἴτε τροφῆς μετασχόντας εὐθέως ἀνίστασθαι καὶ διορύττειν τὰς τάφρους, καὶ τὸν μὲν 5 χοῦν ἐντὸς ἀναρρίπτειν ἑφ’ δὲ τὸν χάρακα μετὰ τὴν διώρυγα ἀνελθεῖν τόδας τρεῖς, πλάτος δὲ τῇ τάφρῳ παρέχειν καὶ βάθος ὀμοίως τόδας πέντε. ἡ δὲ τάφρος καὶ ὁ χάραξ ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἤ ἐτερομήκει
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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. 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
οχήματι διατετυπώθησαν ὡστε τάς σκηνάς ἀλλήλων ἔχεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς φάλαγξι σύνταξιν καὶ τὸν χάρακα δὲ ἀσφαλέστερον ἔξευν· οἱ γὰρ κατὰ μίαν πλευρὰν τεταγμένου πάντες ἀμα πολεμεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔπιοντας δύνανται, ὅτερ οὐκ ἐν γένους εἰς κύκλων σχηματιζομένου τοῦ χάρακος, ἀλλʼ ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι τῆς μάχης ἀνθίζονται καθʼ ὄν ἐπέστησαν οἱ πολέμιοι. χρῆσιμον δὲ καὶ καθʼ ἐκάστην πλευρὰν τοῦ χάρακος ἀφορίζειν στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ νυκτὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων καταλαμβάνειν τὸν πάσχοντα τόπον καὶ συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἱδίοις ἅλα μὴ πάντας συμφώρεσθαι χωρὶς προστάγματος ὅδε κάκει φερομένους.

Τάς δὲ πύλας τῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου όδων νυκτὸς ἀνορύτευν ὡστε τὸν ὅλον ἐπιξενηθήναι χάρακα καὶ τὴν τάφρον, ίνα μὴ τῷ ἀνεμποδίστῳ τῆς εἰσόδου τολμᾷ πρὸς νυκτομαχίαν κατʼ αὐτὰς θαρρήσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. ἀσφαλές δὲ καὶ παρ’ ἐκάτερα τὰ μῆρα τῆς ὁδοῦ ᾧ δὴ παρά ταῖς πύλαις εἰς ὅν τάττει στρατιώτας ἀνὰ δέκα ἐν σχήματι χάρακος καὶ αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ὡς εἰ τις τῶν πολεμίων τὴν τάφρον παρελθὼν ἐντός τοῦ χάρακος γένηται ὑπὸ τούτων συνέχεσθαι.

'Αναγκαίον δὲ καὶ τριβόλους προτιθέναι πρὸ πάσης τῆς τάφρου ἐπὶ πῆχες κ’, καὶ τούτων πάλιν ἐκτὸς σπάτρια λεπτὰ πασσάλοις διατετυμένα ἀφ’ ὅν κάθων εὐτυχόν ἀπομηνήμενοι, ίνα τῶν πολεμίων ἡρέμα νυκτὸς | ἐπιτιθεμένων καὶ διασειότων αὐτοὺς τὴν τούτων παρουσίαν καταμηνύσωσιν. χρη δὲ ἐκαστὸν ἱλάρχην τῶν ἐφεστηκότων τῆς τάφρος ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τοὺς τριβόλους τῆς ἱδίας ἰλῆς, τὸ μὲν ἐν’ ἔχοι τάτα καὶ μὴ ἐπιλείπη τῆς χρείας καλούσθη, τὸ δ’ ίνα μὴ τοὺς ἱδίους βλάπτη κατὰ τὴν ἔξοδον.

'Ασφαλές δὲ καὶ τινὰς ἱλαίς τοῦ χάρακος προκαθέξεσθαι καθάπερ τινὰ προπύργια, κατὰ στίχους δύο πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς βλέποντας, οὐ διηρημένας ἀλλὰ συνημένας τῷ χάρακι, οὐδ’ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀναπαυμένας ἀλλὰ κατὰ ξυγα συγκαθεύοντας οἶον πρῶτον μὲν τὸν | ιλάρχην καὶ τὸν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, εἰτὸν τὸν καὶ τὸν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφέστι ὀμιῶς ἄχρι τῶν ἱδίων υἱογών, ἡς εἰ γε συμβαίνει μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ἱλῶν κατὰ τοῦ χάρακος χωρῆσαι τοὺς ἐναντίους, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκατερωθεὶν βάλλοντας καὶ μᾶλλον τραυματίζειν αὐτοὺς. οὐκοῦν ἀναγκαίον καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς διορύτευν τάφρον καὶ τὰλλα ἐπὶ τούτο πολεῖν ὀμιῶς τῷ χάρακι.

Καλὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἐχθρῶν ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς ἥλιον ἐκ τῶν παρακεκλείμενων ἱλῶν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καθ’ ἐκάστην αὐτῶν ἔξευναι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπὶ δύο ἢ καὶ τρεῖς τοῦ ἀναίον βολάς μετὰ των μετρίων σφόδρου, κακεῖθεν νυκτὸς ἦδη γενομένης ὑποστρέφειν ἡρέμα ἐπὶ τὰς ἱδίας σκηνὰς πρὸ τοῦ κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τοῦτο γὰρ δηλομένου τοῖς ἐναντίους νυκτομαχίων καὶ μᾶλλον φεύγονται ὑποπετέουντες κατὰ νότον αὐτῶν ἔχεσθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν τῆς φά-
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. 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.

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1 The Byzantine foot was equal to 31.23 cm., a fraction longer than an English foot: Schilbach, *Metrologia*, 20.

2 Twenty picheis.

λ'.

Περὶ τῶν ὑπηρετούμενων τῷ στρατηγῷ.

Δεὶ δὲ καθ' ἐκαστὸν σύνταγμα ἀφορίζειν ἄνδρας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τέσσαρας, ὥν οἱ μὲν ἀνθρωπῖνη φωνή, ὁ δὲ διὰ σάλπιγγος, ὁ δὲ διὰ 5 σημείων δηλοῦσι τὰ κελευόμενα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ μὲν δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς παρόντας, ὁ δὲ δι' ἐτέρων τοὺς ἄπόντας κελεύει, ἀνάγκη εἶναι τινας παρ' αὐτῷ δι' ὄν ἢν ἢν | αὐτὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τὰ λυστέλουντα προτρέπεται. πάλιν τῶν κελευόμενων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ μερικά, τὰ δὲ καθολικά, καὶ μερικά μὲν λέγω τὰ πρὸς ένα ἄνδρα ἢ καὶ πλείονας δι' ἐτέρου τὴν προτροπὴν ἢ ἀποτροπὴν φέροντα, καθολικά δὲ τὰ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας. τὸν μὲν οὖν τὰ μερικά ὑπηρετούμενον προ- στάγματα ὑπηρέτην οἱ παλαιοὶ δομαλόζουσιν, τὸν δὲ τὰ καθολικά στρατοκήρυκα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἢν ἡρεμία πάντοτε ὡστε διὰ τῆς τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῆς ἀποφέρεσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι τὰ προστάγματα ἀλλ' ἢν ὅτε καὶ θρόνου καθεστώτος οὗκ ἐξηκούετο ἢ του κήρυκος φωνή, ἐπενόησαν τὰ σημεία, ἀφ' ὄν καὶ σημειώφοροι λέγονται, ἔνα — νῦν μὲν οὕτως νῦν δὲ ἐτέρως κινούμενων αὐτῶν καθώς συνθήκας περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξουσιν ὁ μὲν στρατηγὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας — μανθάνονε τὰ παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κελευόμενα. ἔτι, ἐπεὶ ποτὲ μὲν ὁμίχλη καταλαβοῦσα, ποτὲ δὲ κοινοτός ἀνεγγυρμένος ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ σημεία υπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ διεκώλυσαν, ἐπενόησαν τὰς σάλπιγγας, ἐνα καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς δύναται μηνύειν τῷ στρατῷ | ὁ πράττειν αὐτοὺς ἐγκελεύεται. καὶ γινωρμιστήρα ἢ τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῆ ἡσυχίας ἐνούσης, πολυφωνοτέρα δὲ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἄν τε καθαρός ἢ ὁ ἀήρ, ἄν τε μῆ, καὶ τῶν σημείων τοῖς πολλοῖς χρησιμοτέρα. τάς μὲν γὰρ ὄψεις πάντων μόνης ἂν τις πείσειν προσέχειν τοῖς σημείοις ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ περιστρεφόντων τὸ ὁμα, 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 αισθήσονται καν ὁ μὲν ὃδε, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ τὸν ὄρθαλ‐
μὸν περιτρέπῃ.

30: K–R 146, Erck 64.

30: 1 λ’ De: ω’ A: om. MP || 18 συνθήκας K–R: συνθήκης codd. || 27 προσέχειν A: προ‐
σέχει MP || 29 αἰσθήσονται A: ἥσθησονται MP || 30 περιτρέπῃ A: περιέπη M: περιέσπη P

λα’.

Περὶ οἰκονομίας πολέμου καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῆς κεφαλαίων.

Εἴτερ ἄλλο τι μέγιστον τῶν τῆς στρατηγικῆς μερῶν ἢ περὶ τοῦς
πολέμους οἰκονομίας οὐκόν περὶ αὐτῆς διαλαβεῖν ἢ μέλλοντες πρό‐
τερον ἐρόμεν μὲν τὰ ἵστον φάλαγξ ἡρθη, φάλαγξ πλαγία, λοξῆ, πρόταξις
ήταν πρόσταξις, ἐνταξις, ἐπίταξις, ὑπόταξις, παρεμβολή, διπλασια‐
σμός, ὑπερκέρασις, ὑπερφαλάγγωσις, πλίνθιον, πλαίσιον, φάλαγξ
ἀντίστοις, ἀμφιστομός, ἑτέροστομος. ἔτι διοριστέον τί ἔστω διφα‐
λαγγία συνημμένη καὶ τίς διηρημένη, καὶ τῆς συνημμένης τίς ἔστω
ἔμβαλος καὶ τίς κουλέμβολος, καὶ τίς ὁμοίοστομος, καὶ τίς μηνοείδης,
καὶ τίς κυκλειδής.

ὁρθὴ φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ πολλαπλάσιον ἔχουσα τὸ βάθος τοῦ
μήκους, πλαγία φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ πολλαπλάσιον ἔχουσα τὸ μήκος τοῦ
βάθους. λοξῆ φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἢ βάτερον κέρας προτεινομένη τῆς φα‐
λαγγος καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸ τοὺς ἐναντίους συμπλεκομένη, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ὑπο‐
κρατοῦσα ὅσον μὴ παρελθεῖν τὸ βάθος τοῦ προλαβόντος. πρόσταξις
ἔστω ὅταν ἐκ τῶν παρ’ ἐκάτερα πλευρῶν προστάξωμεν τους μετώπου
τῆς φάλαγγος. ἐπίταξις ἔστω ὅταν ἐτὶ ἀπίκουν οὐσίας τῆς φάλαγγος
εἰς τὰ κενὰ αὐτῆς διαστήματα ἄνδρα παρ’ ἄνδρα τοὺς ψυλόνς τάτ‐
τωμεν, οὐ σφενδόναις χρωμένους ἀλλ’ ἀκουτίος καὶ βέλεσιν. ἐπίτα‐
ξις ἔστω ὅταν κατόπιν τῶν οὐραγῶν τοὺς ψυλούς τάττωμεν. ὑπόταξις
ἔστω ὅταν παρ’ ἐκάτερα μέρη τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς ψυλούς τἄττωμεν.
παρεμβολὴ ἔστω ὅταν προτεισχύνειν τῷ θεὸν ἐν ἀποστάσει ἀλλήλων
εἰς τὰ μεταξὺ τούτων διαστήματα παρεμβάλλομεν ἕπ’ εὐθείας ἐκ
τῶν ἐπίτειταγέμενων τῆ φάλαγγι.

Διπλασιασμὸς ἔστω ὅταν τὸ μήκος ἢ τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος
κατὰ ἀριθμὸν προσώπων ἢ τότον διπλασιάσωμεν. γίνεται δὲ τούτῳ
cata μὲν ἀριθμὸν ὅταν ἀφαιροῦντες ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ βάθει ἐπιστατῶν
μεταξὺ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν αὐτοὺς παρεμβάλλομεν, κατὰ δὲ τότον 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, amphistomos, 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 extended 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 position in the still empty space light-armed troops, one man at a time, armed with javelins 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
τελουμένης πάντες αἰσθῆσονται καὶ ὁ μὲν ὦδε, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν περιτρέπῃ.

30: K–R 146, Erck 64.


λα'.

Περὶ οἰκονομίας πολέμου καὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῆς κεφαλαίων.

Εἴτεπερ ἄλλο τι μέγιστον τῶν τῆς στρατηγικῆς μερῶν ἢ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους οἰκονομίας οὐκοῦν περὶ αὐτῆς διαλαβεῖν ἢ μέλλοντες πρὸ- 5 τερον ἔροιμεν τι ἐστὶν φάλαγξ όρθή, φάλαγξ πλαγία, λοξή, πρόταξις ἢτοι πρόσταξις, ἑνταξις, ἑπιταξις, ὑπόταξις, παρεμβολή, διπλασιακός, ὑπερκέρασις, ὑπερφαλάγγωσις, πλινθιον, πλαϊσιον, φάλαγξ ἀντίστοιμος, ἀμφίστοιμος, ἑτέροστοιμος. ἔτι διοικήσατο τι ἐστὶν διφα- 10 λαγγία συνημμένη καὶ τις διηρημένη, καὶ τῆς συνημμένης τις ἐστὶν ἐμβολος καὶ τῖς κοιλέμβολος, καὶ τις ὤμοιστομος, καὶ τῖς μυκοειδής, καὶ τις κυκλοειδής.

'Ορθή φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἡ πολλαπλάσιον ἔχουσα τὸ βάθος τοῦ μήκους, πλαγία φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἡ πολλαπλάσιον ἔχουσα τὸ μήκος τοῦ βάθους. λοξή φάλαγξ ἐστὶν ἡ βάτερον κέρας προτεινόμενη τῆς φα- 15 λαγγος καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῖς ἐναυτίους συμπλεκομένη, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ὑποκρατοῦσα ὃς ὑπὸ παρεθεῖν τὸ βάθος τοῦ προλαβόντος. πρόσταξις ἐστὶν ὅταν ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἐκάτερα πλευρῶν προστάξομεν τοῦ μετώπου τῆς φάλαγγος. ἑνταξις ἐστὶν ὅταν ἐτι ἀπόκυκνον οὐσία τῆς φάλαγγος εἰς τὰ κενά αὐτῆς διαστήματα ἄνδρα παρ' ἄνδρα τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάττουμεν, οὐ σφενδάναις χρωμένους ἀλλ᾽ ἀκονίτους καὶ βέλεσιν. ἑπιτα- 20 εξις ἐστὶν ὅταν κατόπιν τῶν οὐραγῶν τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάττουμεν. ὑπόταξις ἐστὶν ὅταν παρ' ἐκάτερο μέρη τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς ψιλοὺς τάττουμεν. παρεμβολή ἐστὶν ὅταν προτεταγμένων των ἐν ἀποστάσει ἀλλήλων εἰς τὰ μεταξὺ τούτων διαστήματα παρεμβάλλωμεν ἐπ᾽ εὐθείας ἐκ τῶν ἑπιτεταγμένων τῆς φάλαγγι.

Διπλασιασμὸς ἐστὶν ὅταν τὸ μήκος ἢ τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος κατὰ ἀριθμὸν προσώπων ἢ τόπων διπλασιάσωμεν. γίνεται δὲ τούτο κατὰ μὲν ἀριθμὸν ὅταν ἀφαιροῦντες ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῷ βάθει ἐπιστατῶν μεταξύ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν αὐτοὺς παρεμβάλλωμεν, κατὰ δὲ τόπων ὅταν
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αφαίροντες ἐκ τοῦ βάθους τῆς φάλαγγος ὑποτάξωμεν αὐτῇ καθ' ἐν ἢ καθ' ἐκάτερον τῶν μερῶν αὐτῆς, ἢ ὅταν αφαίροντες ἐκ τοῦ μῆκους τῆς φάλαγγος προσθῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸ βάθος αὐτῆς μετὰ τοὺς οὐραγοὺς αὐτοὺς τάπτοντες, ὅπετο μάλιστα κατεπίει θὸ πόλεμος. ὑπερκέρασις ἐστιν ὅταν βατέρῳ τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ μῆκους τῆς φάλαγγος βάτερον τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ μῆκους τῆς φάλαγγος πολεμίων ὑπερβαλόμεθα. ὑπερφαλάγγωσις ἐστιν ὅταν ἐκάτερο ὁ τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ μῆκους τῆς φάλαγγος ἐκάτερο τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ μῆκους τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν ἐναντίων ὑπερβαλόμεθα.

Πλυθίων ἐστίν ὅταν κατὰ διαφόρους ἐπιφανείας ἀναφανέντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν καθ' ἐκάτερν αὐτῶν οἰκείων ἀντιτάττωμεν φάλαγγα ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχῆματι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄριθμον τοῦ πλῆθος ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐξουσιαῖς, τὸ δὲ πλαίσιον ὄριζον οἱ πολλοὶ οὕτως: πλαίσιον ἐστὶν εἰς πρὸς πᾶσας τὰς ἐπιφανείας πᾶς ὀπλίτης παρατασθῇ ἐν ἐπερμήκη σχῆματι. γίνεται δὲ τούτῳ ἡ κατὰ μονοφαλαγγίαν ἡ κατὰ δι-φαλαγγίαν ὀσσάτως καὶ τριφαλαγγίαν καὶ τετραφαλαγγίαν· ὀπόσας γὰρ ἐν τετράγωνοις φάλαγξιν ἐπὶ τοῦ πλυθίου χρήσασθαι βουλθείν πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφανείας, τοσάται καὶ ἐπερμήκησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πλαισίου εἰκότως ἦν χρήσαιτο.

Φάλαγξ ἀντίστομοῖς ἐστὶν ἡ κατὰ μετωπων καὶ οὐράν τοὺς ἡγε-μόνας ἐχουσα. ἀμφίστομος φάλαγξ ἐστίν ἡ καθ' ἐκατέραν τῶν πλευ-ρῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὅμοιος ἐχουσα. ἐπερστομίους ἐστὶν ἡ κατὰ δύο συνημμέναν πλευρᾶς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐχουσα τεταγκέμενα.

Διωφαλαγγία συνημμένη ἐστίν ὅταν φάλαγξ φάλαγγι κατὰ με-τωπων ἡ οὐράν συναπτόμενα καθ' ἐτερων τοῦτων ἀπ' ἀλλῆλων κατ' ὅλον διύσταται. διωφαλαγγία διημμένη ἐστὶν ὅταν φάλαγξ φάλαγγος κατὰ πλευρὰν καθόλου διώστατα. διωφαλαγγία ἐμβολὸς ἐστὶν ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἡγούμενα συνάπτοσα, τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα διαστέλλοσα τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἐκτὸς ἔχει, τοὺς δὲ οὐραγοὺς ἐντὸς· ἢ δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀμφίστομος λέγεται. διωφαλαγγία κολέμβολος ἐστὶν ὅτις τοῦντοιν τὰ μὲν ἡγούμενα διαστελλόσα, τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα συναπτόσα τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἐντὸς ἔχει, τοὺς δὲ οὐραγοὺς ἐκτὸς· ἀντίστομος δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ ὀνομάζεται. | διωφαλαγγία ὁμοιόστομος ἐστὶν ὅτις ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μὲρη ἐκατέρας φάλαγγος τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἔχει.
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.
Χρητέων δὲ τῇ μὲν ὀρθῇ φάλαγγι ἐν ὀδοιπορίαις, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν πολέμῳ οὐ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν οἴς ὀπίσθεν διὰ τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος δύνανται. τῇ δὲ πλαγίᾳ ὅταν τοὺς ἐναντίους ὅρμων 5 ὑπερκεράν ἡ ὑπερφαλαγγίζει καθ’ ἠμῶν διανοούμενος, ἢ ὅταν ἠμείς τοῦτο πράττειν κατ’ ἐκείνον διανοώμεθα. τῇ δὲ λοξῇ ὅταν ἦτοι ἀραὶωσα τὴν πύκνωσιν τῶν πολεμίων ἠθέλωμεν ἢ λάνα τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν ἐπειγόμεθα ἢ καταπολεμῆσαι καθ’ ἐνός τούτων φερομένους ἢ τοῦ ὑποκρατηθέντος παρ’ ἠμῶν κέρως ἢ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ προλαβόν- 10 τος εἰς πόλεμον. εἰ δὲ τοῦναντίον χρήσασθαι καθ’ ἠμῶν τῇ λοξῇ φά- λαγγί διανοεῖται τὸ πολέμον, δένοι μὲν συγκεχυμένοι ἐπελθεῖν κατὰ τοῦ ὑποσταλέντος κέρως, ἀλλ’ ἠγεμόνας προαφορίζαντας ἢ τινὰς ἄλ- λους τῶν ἀρίστων εἰς πόλεμον παραστήσαι τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ ἠδίου κέρως, ἢν προβαλλόντων ἠμῶν κατὰ τοῦ ὑποσταλέντος κέρως τὸ μὲν 15 μετώπου ἐπέλθη κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου τῶν ἐναντίων, ἢ δὲ πλευρὰ κατὰ τῆς πλευρᾶς κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς διπλεύρου φάλαγγος.

Ἐπὶ χρησόμεθα τῇ μὲν προσταστεύει τὸ καθ’ ἄθροιν προσβαλεῖν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων διανοώμεθα ἢ ὅταν προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἠγεμόνας τῶν πολεμίων βουλώμεθα συμβαίνει γὰρ ἐκ τούτου τῆς μὲν οἰκείαν φάλαγγα προσβεθεῖν τεταγμένων τῶν ἠγεμόνων ἐκάστου ἐπὶ τῆς ἠδίας τάξεως καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἑσχύροτερον αὐτῶν ἀπομαχομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἠγεμόνας τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικείμενον κατὰ τῶν προτεταγμένων μὴ ἅρμιάν ἀναστρέφοντας ἐπὶ τὸν ἠδίον στήσασθαι τόπον, ἀφ’ ὧν αὐτοὶ ἑσχύρως ἀπομαχοῦνται καὶ οἱ τούτοι ἐσπόμενοι. γίνεται δὲ προ- στασίας οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῶν παρ’ ἐκάτερα ἰλῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ψυλῶν ὅταν ἢ ἀρπ. ἡπ. ἡμῶν ἢκαστερα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ψυλῶν ὅταν ἢ ἀρρ. ἡπ. καθ’ ἠμῶν ἢκαστα οἱ πολέμοι, ὡς ἂν σφενδόνας αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἔπους αὐτῶν καταδουλοφθαντες διελίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγάγωσιν. χρὴ δὲ τούτῳ | ποιεῖν μέλλοντας κενοὺς τινὰς τόπους μεταξύ τῶν συνταγμάτων καταλιμπάνειν ἐφ’ οὐς οἱ ψυλοὶ καταφυ- 20 γοντες κατὰ παραγωγήν ταῖς φάλαγξι συμμαχησοῦν. 25 τῇ δὲ ἐντάξει ὅταν ἄπεναντί τοὺς ἐναντίους ἰππέας ὅρμων, οὐ γὰρ ψυλάξαξι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἔπους ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀπὸ τῶν βαλλόντων δυνήστωσιν, ἢ ὅταν βαθύνῃ τὴν φάλαγγα θέλωμεν. τῇ δὲ ἐπιτάξει ὅταν ἄβαθος οὔσῃς τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ ψυλοὶ συμμαχεῖν δύνανται τοῖς 30 κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἀγωνιζόμενοι. | τῇ δὲ ὑποτάξει ὅταν οἱ πολέμοι παρ’ ἐκάτερα τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἰππέας τάττωσιν, καθ’ ὃν οἱ ψυλοὶ ταῖς
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
σφενδόνιας χρώμενοι τοὺς ἰπποὺς ἀναταράξοντοι καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα διαλύσοντος. τῇ δὲ παρεμβολῇ ὅταν ἰσχυροτέραν τὴν πρόσταξιν γενέσθαι διανοώμεθα, πρὸς τούτοις χρησόμεθα τῷ μὲν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν διπλασιασμῷ ὅταν πυκνώσαι τὴν φάλαγγα βουλήθωμεν, τῷ δὲ κατὰ τόπων ὅταν ἐπιμηκεστέραν ἢ βαθυτέραν ταυτὴν γενέσθαι θελήσωμεν.

'Εαν ὑπερβάλλωμεν τῷ πληθεὶς τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ δὲ τρόπῳ τούτῳ οὐκ ἐλαττούμεθα συμβαλλομένων εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ τοσοῦτον τῇ ύπερκεράσει χρησόμεθα καθ' ὅσον τῷ πλήθει τῶν πολεμίων διενεργόχαμεν. εἰ δὲ τι καὶ τούτων πλέον κεκτήμεθα, οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ ύπερφαλαγγία χρήσασθαι. εἰ δὲ τούναντιον τῇ ύπερκεράσει ἢ τῇ ύπερφαλαγγώσει χρήσασθαι διανοεῖται καθ' ἡμῶν τὸ πολέμιον, εἰ μὲν τοσοῦτον καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστι στράτευμα ὁπόσων ἀν τῶν ἐναντίων γνώσκεται, δεόν παρατείνει τὴν φάλαγγα ἄστε κατ' οὐδέτερον κέρας ἐκπίπτειν ἡμῶν τῶν πολεμίων. εἰ δ' ἐπ' ἐλαττον ἐκείνων ἢ τῇ ἡμέτερον στράτευμα, μὴ λεπτύνει τὴν φάλαγγα ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν πεζοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ ύπερκεράν μέλλοντες, πεζοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἐφεστηκόσω τῆς φάλαγγος, εἰ δὲ ἱππεῖς, τριβόλοις τούτους διατειχίσαντες ἄκοντιοι καὶ βέλεσιν κατ' αὐτῶν χρήσονται.

f. 21 55
Τῷ δὲ πλινθίῳ καὶ τῷ πλαισίῳ χρώμεθα ὅταν ἄδυνατοντες προϋπαντήσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις καθ’ ἐκάστην αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειων πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀντιώτως τὰς οἰκείας συνάγωμεν φάλαγγας πολλήν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος βοήθειαν προσλαμβάνοντες φυλάττεται γὰρ ἐτέρα ὑπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας. μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστης φάλαγγος τάττεται τοὺς ψυλοὺς φυλαττόμενοι μὲν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, αὐτῶν δὲ συμμαχοῦστων ἐκατέρωθεν τοὺς κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον συγκαταχωμένους. καὶ ποὺ ἀνάγκης κατ’ αὐτῶν φερομένης χωρεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν ἐντὸς τόπον ὡς ἐκάστης πλευρᾶς τῶν ὑπάγων ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἢ ἐτερομήκει σχῆμα περιγράφεται, τοὺς δὲ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπικειμένους κατακόντιζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστης φάλαγγος.

f. 124f
Τῇ δὲ ἀντιστόμῳ καὶ ἀμφιστόμῳ καὶ ἐτεροστόμῳ φάλαγγι οὐ μόνον ἐν ὀδοτορίας χρώμεθα, ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄγωνι, ὅταν τετραγώνως καὶ ἐτερομήκεσθαι ἀντιπαρατάττομεθα φάλαγξει. διαφέρουσι δὲ ὅτι ὑπὸ μέν ταῖς ὀδοτορίας καθ’ ἐν μέρος κωνῦνται οἱ ἑγεμόνες καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα, ἐν τῷ τῶν ἄγωνι καθ’ ἐκάστην τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφάνειαν. τῇ δὲ συνημμένῃ διωφαλαγγία χρώμεθα ἤτοι τῇ ἐμβόλῳ καὶ κοιλιμβόλῳ ἐπειδὰν λύσαι τὴν τάξιν τῶν πολεμίων διανοώμεθα, τῇ δὲ διηρμημένῃ διωφαλαγγία χρώμεθα καθ’ ἐκάτερων τῶν ἐχθρῶν φάλαγγα προσερχόμενοι ἢ κατὰ μᾶς καὶ οὕτως τῆς μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, τῆς δὲ κατὰ πλευρᾶς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεμβανοῦσης—καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦμεν ὅταν περισπάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους βουλώμεθα—κατ’ ἐπακολούθησιν δὲ ὅταν θατέρας προλαμβανούσης καὶ συμπλεκομένης ἡ ἑτέρα ἐπακολούθη ὑπὸ προθύμιας τὸ δὲ ἀσφαλείας τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἕνεκα.
make the horses uncontrollable and so break up the phalanx. Parembole 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.
λγ'.

Πότε δεί πολεμεῖν καὶ πότε οὐ δεί.

Δεί δὲ πρὸς πόλεμον εὐτρεπτιζομένους ἀνερευνᾶν καὶ καταμανθάνειν διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τῶν αὐτομῶλων | καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τάς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεις καὶ ταύτας ταῖς ἡμέτεραις παραβάλλοντας προτρέπειν ἢ ἀποτρέπειν τῶν πόλεμον. λέγω δὲ παραβάλλει πρῶτον μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἐκατέρω στρατεύματος, ὅσον ταῦτα ἡμέτερον καὶ ὅσον τῶν ἐναντίων, δεύτερον τὴν τῶν προσώπων ἐκατέρω μέρους ποιότητα, ὅπως ἔχουσιν πρὸς τα ἀνδρείαν καὶ βρώμην σώματος καὶ πέιραν πολέμου, ἐτὶ δὲ τὸν καθοπλισμὸν ὁμοίως ἐκατέρω μέρους, καὶ ὅπως οἱ στρατώται προσέδεσαν ἔχονσι εἰς τὸν προκείμενον πόλεμον. κἂν μὲν βέλτιον ἔχειν δοκῇ τὰ ἡμέτερα, προτρέπειν τὸν πόλεμον οὐ καταφρονοῦντας τῶν ἐναντίων πολλάκις γὰρ μεγάλα δυνάμεις ὑπ' ἐλαττῶν ἠττήθησαν, καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν Ἀθηναίοι τέτρασιν χιλιάσιν ἐν Μαραθώνι εἰκοσι μυρίάδας Περσῶν καταπολεμήσαντες. εἰ δὲ τούναντιν βέλτιον ἔχειν δοκεῖ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, οὔδενος μὲν ἐπομένου μεγάλον κακοῦ ἀποτρέπει τὸν πόλεμον.

Εἰ δὲ ἀφύλακτα ἢ τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ μέγας κίνδυνος τούτοις ἀκολουθεῖ παραιτομεμένοι ἡμῶν τῶν προκείμενον πόλεμον, πολεμεῖν μὲν προτρέπειν, οὐ μὴν ἄπλος οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν τυχόντα καύρον ἢ τόπου, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας μὲν οὕσα ἐν στενοὶς χωρίοις ἀντιπαρατάσσεται ἐνθα παρ' ἐκατέρω σοὶ υφομένοις οὐδὲ κατὰ νότων αὐτομορίαν τινὰ τῶν πολεμίων καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπικειομένην, νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναπαυομένοις αὐτοῖς καὶ καθευδουσίν

Εἰ δὲ ἐξισοῦται τὰ ἐκατέρων ὡστε τὴν νίκην ἀμφίβολον εἶναι, μὴ | πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην χωρεῖν πρὶν ἢ ἡμῶν χείρονα κατὰ τι γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ὅταν ἦδη 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 ὀδοιπορίαν ἀνύσαντας ἢ κατὰ πε- 30 τρῶν καὶ λόφων περιπάτησαντας, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἄσυνντάκτους αὐτοὺς καταλάβωμεν ἢ κατασκηνοῦντας ἢ τὰς σκηνὰς καταλύοντας, καὶ προσέτι ὅταν δὲ ὅλης νυκτὸς διὰ τινῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοὺς κατακρα- 40 ξαντες καὶ καταθροβήσαντες ἔσθεν κατ’ αὐτῶν τῶν πόλεμων συγκρο- τήσουμεν, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν κατὰ φάλαγγας διαμισθεῖσαν τῶν πολε- μίων σπάνε τῶν ἐπιτήδειων ἢ καὶ δὲ ἄλλας αἰτίας κατὰ μίᾶς τοῦτων προσβάλλωμεν. τούτῳ δ’ ἐποίει καὶ Βελισάριος· ἐπεί γὰρ ἀντωσχείν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τού πολεμίους οὐκ ἦδυνατο, πρὸ τῆς ἑκείνων παρα- σίας ἐδήμου τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὧν διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῆς χρείας διαιρεθεί- σας ἀπ’ ἄλληλων τῶν ἐναντίων τὰς φάλαγγας ἄλλων ἄλλοθεν διερ- 45 χωμένων καθ’ ἐκάστης τοῦτων καταγγέλθηταί. ταύτα ἐστίν δι’ ὑπ’ ὑπ’ ὑπ’ ὑπ’ ὑπ’ ὑπ’ ὑπ’ μεγάλα πολλάκις στρατεύματα ὑπὸ ἐλαχίστων ἦττήθησαν, μὴ ὅτι γε ὑπὸ τῶν ἰῶν τε καὶ ὁμοίων.

Σοφὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τὴν ἦτταν εὑλαβουμένους ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς ἠλιοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους συμπλέκεσθαι, τὸ μὲν ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν κατατίθεσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἄλλα τούτων φαίνεσθαι διὰ πολλῆς τοῦ πολέμου προ- 45 θυμιάς καταφρονοῦτας τοῦ καιροῦ, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ μὴ σφόδρα πα- 
θεῖν ἔνεκα. καλύπτει γὰρ εὖ οἶδ’ ὅτι τὴν διώξει τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ σκότος ἑπιφερόμενος.

33: K–R 160, Erck 70.


〈Λδ’.〉

Πῶς δὲι πολεμεῖν μέλλοντας συντάττειν τὰς φάλαγγας.

Παρατάττονται τοῖν εἰ πολέμῳ ποτὲ μὲν μᾶ φάλαγγι, ποτὲ 5 δὲ δυσίν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ πλείοσιν χρῶμενοι. Χρὴ τοιαροῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας ἢ μᾶ πάντως ἢ δυσίν ἢ καὶ πλείοσιν φάλαγξι κατ’ αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι. έναν οὖν μονοφαλαγγίας 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 μονοφαλαγγίας κατ’ αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι, ἵνα μὴ τῷ μῆκει ἢ τῷ βάθει τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν ἐλατ-

tώμεθα. εἰ δὲ κατὰ πολὺ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν πολεμίων διενηνόχαμεν, οὐ
mᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος ἢ τὸ βάθος τῆς φάλαγγος προσθήσαμεν, εἰ μὴ ἀρα
dιὰ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βάθους οἱ ὁπισθεν συμμαχεῖν ἀδυνατοῦσιν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεῖν χρῆ γὰρ βαθείας οὕσης τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς 

προστιθέναι διὰ τὰς ὑπερκεράσεις τε καὶ ὑπερφαλαγγώσεις.]

Εἰ δὲ καὶ διπλάσιον τὸ πλῆθος ἔχομεν ἢ καὶ ἐπέκεινα, οὐδὲν καλύει καὶ διφαλαγγία κατ’ αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι. φευκτέον δὲ τὰς δὲ
dὸλον κυκλώσεις, ἵνα μὴ τόπον φυγῆς μὴ ἔχοντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἵσχυ-

ρότεροι ἐαυτῶν καθ’ ἡμῶν γένοντο. εἰ δὲ κατὰ πλείονα μέρη προ-

σβάλλειν ἡμῖν μέλλονε τὸ πολέμιοι, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ μᾶς κατ’

αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι φάλαγγι κατ’ ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τάτ-

τοντες καθ’ ἠφερονται καθ’ ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐκεῖνων 
tὴν ἴδιαν ἀντιτάττοντες φάλαγγα καθάπερ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ πλυθιόν καὶ τοῦ 

πλασίον πρότερον ἡμῖν διηγόρευται.

34: K–R 164, Erck 71.


(λε’.)

Πῶς χρῆ συντάττειν τὰ στρατεύματα καθ’ ἐν μέρος ἡμῖν 

προσβαλλόντων τῶν ἐναντίων.

Χρῆ δὲ καθ’ ἐν μέρος προσβαλλόντων ἡμῖν τῶν ἐναντίων συν-

τάττειν τὰ στρατεύματα τῶν ὑποκείμενον τρόπον, οὐ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ 
pολλοί τῶν παλαιοτέρων ἐχρήσαντο, τὴν μὲν πεζικὴν φάλαγγα κατὰ 
tὸ μέσον τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος τάττοντες, τὴν δὲ ἰππικὴν παρ’ 

ἐκάτερα τῶν πεζῶν. τινὲς δὲ τούναντιν ἐποίησαν. ἄμεινον δὲ παρ’ 

ἐκάτερα τῆς πεζικῆς φάλαγγος τὴν ἵππον τάττειν ἤν’ ἐν καρῷ ῥάδιῳ 

ἐχοιεν πρὸς τε τὴν δίωξιν καὶ τὴν ἀναστροφήν ἐκατέρωθεν τῇ πεζικῆ 

φάλαγγι συνταττόμενοι, ἐκεῖ καταφεύγοντες οὗθεν ἐξήστασαν. ἐν μὲν 

γὰρ τῷ διόκειν οὐδὲν δυσχερές ἐξιέναι τοὺς ἰππεὰς καὶ ἐκ μέσου 

ἐκατέρας φάλαγγος τῶν πεζῶν, τὸ δὲ ἀντιδικομένους ἐκεῖσε αὐθῆ 

ἀναχωρεῖν οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον. ἀλλων γὰρ ἀλλοθεν συνελαυνομένων 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.

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 συνρρέοντων τόπον καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν θο-
ρῶν καὶ κοινοτοῦ τόν ἀέρα σκοπίζοντος, πῶς ἂν ἐκεῖ ῥαδίως καὶ
ἀκινδύνως ἀποκατασταίειν ἄλλα μὴ φθαρεῖν ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων συμποδι-
ζόμενοι; τραπέντων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν χρὴ τοὺς μὲν κοινοφόρους τῶν ἱπ-
pέων ἐπικείσθαι πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς παρ’ ἐκάτερα τοὺς
καταφράκτους ἐξοιτάσκει τοῖς κατότιν ἀκολουθεῖν τοσοῦτον κυνομένους
ὅσον μὴ διαλύσαι τὴν φάλαγγα, ὡστε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναστραφέντων
κατά τῶν ἱππεῶν καθάπερ εἰς τι τείχος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τάς πλευράς τῶν
πεζῶν καταφεύγοιες.

20 Τὴν δὲ τῶν ψυλῶν τάξιν οἱ καυροὶ διδάσκουν. Ἁλλοτε γὰρ ἀλ-
λὴν τὴν σύνταξιν δέχονται, ποτὲ μὲν κατ’ οὐρὰν τῆς φάλαγγος ἑπό-
μενοι, ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ πλευρὰν αὐτὴν συνταττόμενοι. ὅταν μὲν οὖν
βαθεία ἡ φάλαγξ ἢ, | κατὰ πλευρὰν αὐτὴ οἱ ψυλοί τάττονται ἵνα μὴ
cata νότον βάλλοντες τοὺς ἱδίους μᾶλλον ή τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τραυμα-
tίζωσιν. ὅταν δὲ πλαγία καὶ πτενή, κατ’ οὐρὰν διὰ τὸ τὰ βέλη καὶ
30 τοὺς λίθους προπίπτοντα πολυτέλων τῆς φάλαγγος φθάνειν τε καὶ
tραυματίζειν καὶ καταπλήττειν τοὺς πολεμίους. ἔστω δὲ ὁτε καὶ τῶν
ὁπλιτῶν οἱ ψυλοί προτρέχοντες λυσιτελεστάραν τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐπ-
oίησαν καθ’ ἱππεῶν ἄγωνιζόμενοι καὶ σφενδόναις ὡς τὰ πολλά τῶν
ἐχθρῶν τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἀναταράττοντες.

35: K–R 166, Erck 72.

35: 1 λε’ De: om. codd. || 4 προσβαλλόντων SB: προβαλλόντων MP || ἡμῖν MPS: om. B || 9
tήν MP: τῶν SB || 14 ἀναχωρεῖν SB: χωρεῖν MP || 15 συνρρέοντων MPS: γυρρέοντων B || 27 βαθεία
ἡ φάλαγξ MP: ἡ φάλαγξ βαθεία SB || 28 βάλλοντες SB: βάλλετες MP || τραυματίζωσιν MP:
tραυματίζοντας SB || 29 πτενή MP: πενή SB || 30 προπίπτοντα MP: προσπίπτοντα SB || πρα-
πανέων SB: φθάνει MP || 31 τραυματίζειν SB: τραυματίζει MP || καταπλήττειν SB: καταπλήττει MP || 34
tοὺς MP: om. SB

(λξ’.)

Πῶς καθ’ ἱππεῶν ἀγωνιούμεθα πεζικῇ φάλαγγι χρώμενοι.

Παραταττόμεθα τοῖνυν καθ’ ἱππεῶν πεζικῇ φάλαγγι χρώμενοι,
tῶν μὲν κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον ξυγὸν τεταγμένον συνεχῶς
5 κατὰ τῶν ποδῶν τῶν ἱππῶν τῶν πολεμίων χρωμένων τῷ τόξῳ,
tοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ παντὸς πλήθους εἰς ύψος βάλλοντος ὡστε κατὰ κάθετον εἴς
ὑψοὺς τὰ βέλη φερόμενα καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτοὺς τραυματίσειςν, οὐ
δυναμένων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀστιςί ψυλλάττεσθαι.
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.
'Ως ἂν δὲ πόρρωθεν ὅρωντες οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιούσαν τὴν πεζικήν
φάλαγγα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεζοὶ καθ’ ἡμῶν χρήσιμωτο, χρὴ τινας τῶν
ἵππων προτάσας τῷ πεζῶν ὡστε δοκεῖ τοὺς πολέμιους δι’ ἵππων ἠμᾶς
βούλεσθαι τὴν προσβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσασθαι, ἢδη δὲ
tῶν πολέμιων ἐγγίζοντων τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας παρ’ ἐκάτερα χωρεῖν τῆς
πεζικῆς φάλαγγος κατὰ τὰς πλευρὰς συνταττομένους, τοὺς δὲ εἰ-
ρημένους τρεῖς ξυγοὺς καταθεμένους ἐπὶ γῆς τὰ δόρατα συνεχῶς κε-
χρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα τῷ τόξῳ. οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοὶ διαμαρτάνοιες
βάλλοντες διὰ τὸ βάθος τῶν πολεμίων τῆς φάλαγγος. εἰτὰ τῶν ἱππῶν
tῶν ἑναρτῶν κατατοξευθέντων καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ πρόσω κινήσων ἀνα-
βαλλόμενον, οἱ πεζοὶ ἐκ γῆς εἰς χεῖρας ἀναλαβόντες τὰ δόρατα
σπουδαιότερον καὶ θαρραλεότερον (ἄν) κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων χωρίεν.

36: K–R 170, Erck 73.

36: 1 λξ'. De: om. codd. || 4 τῶν . . . τεταγμένων K–R: τοὺς . . . τεταγμένους codd. || 10 πεζοὶ SB: πεζῶν MP || 13–14 τῆς πεζικῆς φάλαγγος SB: τῇ πεζικῇ φάλαγγι MP || 14 συντα-
tατομένους SB: συνταττομένου MP || 16–17 αὐτοὶ διαμαρτάνοιες βάλλοντες conj. Erck: αὐτοὺς
SB || 20 ἂν K–R: om. codd.

(λξ').

Πῶς κατὰ πλῆθους τῶν πολεμίων ἀγωνιούμεθα.]

'Εστιν δ’ ὅτε καὶ πλῆθος ἡμῖν πολεμίων αἱρενίως ἐφίσταται
πρὸς δ’ ἀντισχείν οὐ δυνάμεθα, οὔτ’ ὅλως παραπερεύθη τὸν πόλεμον
ὑπ’ αὐτῶν συγχωρούμεθα. διώ δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἑρόμεθα. ἀνάγκη
γὰρ ἐπὶ λόφους ἀναβιβάζει τὸ στράτευμα, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐπι-
κεμένων μετὰ τὴν ἄνοδον σφενδόνας αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς ἐκ χειρῶς βαλ-
λομένων λίθοις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διακρούεθαι, νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναχωρεῖν. εἰ
dὲ καὶ αὕτως καταλάβωσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμοι, τὰ δομοί τοῖς προτέροις
διαπραξόμεθα, | νυκτός μὲν ἀναχωροῦντες, ἡμέρας δὲ τῶν ἑθρῶν
καταλαμβανόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς υψηλοτέρους τόπους τῶν παρακειμένων
χωρίων ἀναβιβάζουσι τὰ στρατεύματα.

Εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τούτῳ ποιεῖν συγχωροῦσιν ἡμῖν οἱ πολέμοι, τῶν
ὑποκειμένων τρόπον τὰς οἰκείας διατυπώσωμεν φάλαγγας, δι’ οὓς πολ-
λοὺς τὴν πολεμίων τῆς συμμαχίας τῶν ἱδίων κολύσωμεν. ποιῶμεν δὲ
ὁδε: λαβώντες διό τι καὶ τρεῖς φάλαγγας καθ’ ἐν μέρος ἑχούσας τὰ
μέτωπα τοσοῦτον αὐτός ἀπέχειν ἀλλῆλων ποιήσομεν ὁπόσον 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. εἰτα παρεμβάλλομεν εἰς τοὺς ἀναμεταξὺ
tῶν ἐκατέρας φάλαγγος ζυγοὺς δύο ἡ τρεῖς, οἱ δὴ κατ’ εὐθείαν
στηρίζονται τῶν ἐμπροσθίων ζυγῶν ὡς ἂν μία τις συνεχὶς τοῦ παντὸς
πλῆθους ἢ φάλαγξ εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίους δοκοῖ. γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο μά-
lυστα ὅταν τὰ μὲν ἐμπροσθὲν τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ υψηλοτέρων, τὰ δ’
ὀπισθῆνεν ἐπὶ ταπεινοτέρων βέβηκε τῶν. ἢδη δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγ-
γυλοντων χρῆ τὰς μὲν φάλαγγας κατ’ ὀλίγον προβαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ
παρεμβελημένους ἐκάστης φάλαγγος ζυγοὺς ἐπέχειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐστ’
ἀν ἐπτ’ εὐθείας τῶν τελευταίων ζυγῶν γένοιται, τούτων γὰρ τὸν τρόπον
διατυπωμένου τοῦ πλῆθους οἱ μὲν ἀπέναντι ἐκάστης φάλαγγος τῶν
ἡμετέρων φερόμενοι καθ’ ἐκάστης αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζονται, οἱ δὲ ἀπέ-
nαντι τῶν μεταξὺ ἐκάστης φάλαγγος φερόμενοι τῶν οὐκ ἂν πολε-
μοίεν ἦς χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς μεταξὺ τῶν πολλῶν τραυμάτων πείραν
λάβωσι μικρὸν καὶ πάντως οὗσι δολαι βαλλόμενοι.

Μέμψαιτο δ’ ἂν τις ἢμᾶς τοὺς μεταξὺ ἐκάστης φάλαγγος
βεβλημένους ζυγοὺς ἐπέχωσαν τοῦ πολέμου ἐγγίζοντος. ἐρεί γὰρ’ εὐ?
οῒ ὅτι ὡς ἀφορμῇ τοῖς ἄλλοις δειλίας γενήσεται τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
προχωροῦντων ἐπί τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτῶν δὲ οὐ συνακολουθοῦντων.
διὸ δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν μέλλουσα τοῖς ἢμῖς προλέγειν τὸ μέλλον ὑπ’
αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι ὡστε μηδὲν αὐτοῦς εἰς ὠστερὸν ἐκ τούτου παθεῖν.
ζητητέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, τί δὴ ποτὲ μικρὸ καὶ εἰς ὀπλα ἡκόντων τῶν
πολεμίων ἐπέχειν ἔφαμεν τοὺς εἰρημένους ζυγοὺς ἄλλα μὴ πέρρωθεν
εἰς τοῦτο παρασκευάσασθαι. ἢ δὴ λοῦν ὡς ἂν μὴ πόρρωθεν ὁρῶσει οἱ
πολέμιοι γυμνοὶ τοὺς μεταξὺ τῶν ἐκάστης φάλαγγος καὶ αὐτοὶ
dιαφερθόσιν οἱ μὲν καθ’ ἐκάστης φάλαγγος προσερχόμενοι, οἱ δὲ
ἐξωθεὶς κατὰ πλευρᾶς ἢ νῶτον γενόμενοι.
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.
Δεί δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγγύζοντος ἀφορίζειν ἄνδρας ἵππότας ἄν-
5 δρείους, ἐμπείρους πολέμων, καὶ τούτους τάττειν κατόπιν τῆς φάλαγ-
γος ὡς ἀπὸ μιλίων δύο ἰλ τριῶν, εἰτε ὑπὸ λόφων εἰτε ὑπὸ δένδρων
σκαζομένους, εἰτε καὶ ὑπὸ κρίτην ποταμοῦ ἔχραν ἢ ὑγρὰν γενο-
μένους, ὥστε πρὸ τῆς ἐντελοῦς διώξεως μὴ πόρρωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
καταφαινεσθαι. ἐντελάθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτο ἢ ἐπειδὰν ἰδὼς τοὺς
10 ἱδίους τραπέντας καὶ ἄλλους ἀλλαχοὺ φερομένους, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους
τούτους διώκοντας καὶ καθ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν φευγόντων διαιρομένους,
ἐξιόντας αὐτοὺς ἀνακόψαι τούτων τὴν δίωξιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χωρία ἐφ' ἢ
ὁ πόλεμος γίνεται ἀναπεπταμένα τέ ἐστι καὶ γυμνὰ καὶ πολλή τὴν
περιοχήν ἔχοντα, ὡστε μηκέτι αὐτοὺς πρὸς πόλεμον ἀφορίζειν, ἀλλὰ
15 μόνον ἐκ τριῶν ἢ καὶ τεττάρων μιλίων πόρρωθεν ἀναφαινεσθαι, ὡς
μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καταλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦτοις
πόρρωθεν ὄρωντας μετὰ φεῖδους ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίωξιν. δὲν δὲ πρὸς
τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ τόπου θέσιν διαγενομένον μὴ κρείττονα τὴν ἐπι-
λογήν τῶν στρατιώτων ποιεῖσθαι, ἀτε δὴ πόρρωθεν ἱσταμένους καὶ
10 πρὸς πόλεμον ὁ συμβάλλων καὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχ-
θρῶν οὐ δυναμένους διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς διαστάσεως, χρήσιμον καὶ τὸ
τούς μέλλοντας τὰ νάτα φυλάττειν τοῦ τῆς φυγής δοθέντος σημεῖον
φέρειν μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τριβόλους, ὡστε τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων κατα-
νόστου διασπείρειν τοὺς τριβόλους εἰς τὴν τῶν διωκόντων ἀνακοπήν.
20 φεισονται γὰρ εὖ οἷον ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο οἱ διώκοντες καὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἀνα-
κόψουσιν, ἢ κατὰ τριβόλων φερόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς φεύγον-
τας βλάψουσιν.
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.
Περί νυκτοπολέμου

Τὸν ἐκ νυκτὶ πόλεμον δοκοῦσι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπλοῦν τε εἶναι πράγμα καὶ οὐκ ἀκριβοῦς μελέτης καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξιον ἔστι δὲ οὗ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ᾽ οἶνον καὶ πολλῆς οἰκονομίας δεόμενον. δεῖ δὲ νυκτομαχεῖν μέλλοντας πρῶτον μὲν εὐφρεῖν τοὺς στρατιῶτας οἳ λέγουσι προθύμως ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν μάχην, δοῦναι τε αὐτοῖς ὄρκους καὶ λαβεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἡμῶν μὲν ὄμνοντων ώς τεῦξονται αὐτοὶ τῶν ἄξιων γερῶν πληροῦντας τὰ κελεύομενα, αὐτῶν δὲ ὀμολογοῦντων θάνατον εἰ παρατήσαντο τὸν ἐν νυκτὶ πόλεμον. δοτέον δὲ αὐτοῖς δ᾽ ὄρκων καὶ τούτῳ, ὡς εἰ τις αὐτῶν πολεμῶν ἀποθάναι, οἱ κληρονόμοι αὐτῶν λήψονται τὰ τούτων ἁξία γέρα.

Δεύτερον ἐπιζητείν | τοὺς εἰδότας τὴν νυκτερινὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀσφάλειαν ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν θέσιν τῶν τε πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιεῶν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ἐκάτερον πλήθος τάπτεται, καὶ ταῦτα παρ᾽ ἑκείων ἀναμανθάνειν καὶ προσέπτε τὸ χωρίον ἐν ὑ ὑπερποδεύονται καὶ τὴν ὄδον καθ᾽ ἦν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀφιξόμεθα, ός μῆτε τῆς ὀρθῆς παρατραπῆναι ἡμᾶς μηδ᾽ ἄλλως ταύτην κρημνώδη τε εἶναι καὶ δυσδιάβατον.

Τρίτον ἁσέληνον ὑπάρχει τὴν νύκτα ἵνα μὴ πόρρωθεν ἡμᾶς ἐπιπόντας θεάσωμει οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ βλέποντες προευπρεπίζονται ἢ καὶ προφυλάσσοντες ἡμᾶς. εἰτα καθαροῦ μὲν ὄντος τοῦ ἄερος σημειοῦσθαι μακρόθεν ἀπὸ τινος χωρίων τὸν ἀπέναντί ἀστέρα ἢ ἀστέρας, πρὸς οὐς ἀνεύξωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔπνευσι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιτηθησόμεθα. κατανέφου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ ἄερος ὡστε παρ᾽ ἡμῶν μὴ ὁράσθαι τοὺς ἀστέρας, προάγειν ἡμῶν τοὺς τε μάλιστα τὴν ὄδον γυνώσκοντας καὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, ἐπὶ δοράτων ἀνηρτημένα φανία κατέχοντας. τὸ δὲ φανίον ἐστὼ στράτηγος, δέρρεστε τεσσάρεις περιειλμένον. τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν αἱ μὲν τρεῖς μελαίναια ἐξέτωσαν δέρρεις, μία δὲ λευκὸν δὲ οὐ τὸ λαμπάδιον διαφαινεῖτα τοῖς κατόπιν βαδίζουσιν. δέον δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀστιδᾶς φέρειν μικρὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν περιεχοῦσα τοῦ σώματος, εὐνέβουσθαι δὲ σιδηρίους τὰ τὸ υπὸ κημίων καὶ τοὺς ταρπαί τῶν ποδῶν, ἡνὴ δὲ σιδηρὰ καθυποκείσθαι τοὺς πέλμασι διὰ τοὺς τριβόλους ἢ καὶ τοὺς σκόλοπας. ἐπέρχεσθαι δὲ τινὰς κατόπιν αὐτῶν, τοῦτο μὲν προσβομάς τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐνεκα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φόβου τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν φεύγοντα.

Πρὸς τούτους χρῆ ἀπόμοιραν τινα στρατιωτῶν ἐκατέρθεσθαι παραστήσας τοῦ στρατόπεδου τῶν ἐναντίων, τοὺς μὲν σάλπιγγας ἐπιφερομένους καὶ πυκνότερον κατασαλπίζοντας ὡςτε δοκεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους πολὺ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπέρχεσθαι πλήθος, τοὺς δὲ τῇ γλώσσῃ τῶν ἐναντίων χρωμένους ἐπιφανεῖν τινας τῶν οἰκείων καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καλεῖν δὴθεν φεύγοντας, ὡςτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀκούοντας τῶν κραξῶν των καὶ
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 οίκείους αὐτῶν εἶναι διὰ τὸ ὁμόγλωστον, ἀφέντας τὸ στρατόπεδον κατόπιν τούτων ἀκολουθεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἔτερον μέρος δὲν ἦμιν ἐπέστησαν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν φέρει καταλίμπαν, ἵνα εἴχοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τῶν φυγῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄν-

dreioτέρους ἑαυτῶν | καθίστασθαι ἀπορουμένους τὴν ἔξοδον.

39: K–R 178, Erck 76.


<μ'.>

Περὶ ἑνέδρας.

Τὰς ἑνέδρας ποιοῦσι μὲν καὶ οἱ σήμερον Ῥωμαίοιτε καὶ Ἀραβεὶς καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἑθῶν οὐ μὴν, ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, συμφερόντως αὐτοῖς. 5 υποκρύψαντες γὰρ ἀπόμοιραν τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτοὶ εἰς τοὺς μαραμένες ἐξήσπασαν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκκαλούμενοι. καὶ τίς τούτων ἐχὼν ὅρων ἀυτοὺς ὁλίγους παυτελῶς οὔτας καὶ κατὰ πολλῶν ἥκοντας οὐχ ὑποπτεύεστι τούτων τὴν ἑνέδραν; διὸ δὴ φειδομένως τούτους διώκουσι καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ποιοῦνται τὴν δίωξιν.

10 Χρὴ οὖν διὰ ταύτα τοὺς μὲν ἐμφανιζόμενους μή ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο φαίνεσθαι παραγεγονέναι ἄλλ’ ἀκουστικοὶ καὶ κατὰ τύχην ἐμπυτυντας, τοὺς δὲ κεκρυμμένους μήτ’ ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς παυτελῶς, μὴτ’ ἐκ τοῦ λιαν πόρρω προκαθήσατο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκδεχομένους. οἰ τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς παρεδρέωντες, ἐπειδήθητε οὕτω οἱ διώκουτες διηρθήσαν αὐτ’ ἄλληλων, οὐκ ἄν αὐτοὺς συντάδον διώκοντας ἀπαντήσαν, καὶ οἱ πόρρω ἀφετηκότες οὐκ ἄν καὶ αὐτοὶ βοηθήσασιν τοῖς οἰκείοις πρὸ τῆς τούτων συμμαχίας καταληφθεῖσι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀποστάσεως.

Πιθανὸν δὲ πρὸς δόξαν φυγῆς καὶ τὸ διωκόμενος ἀποβάλλε- štoι τινὰ τῶν ἵδιων, οὗν θῆκας μαχαίρων κασσατέρῳ ἄστερ δι-
ηρυψωμένας καὶ πῆρας διπλὰς πάντωθεν κατηγορίσιμένας. χρῆσι-
μον δὲ τούτῳ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ ἔλκειν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς διώκοντας δει-
lλαν ὑποκρυμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀνακοπὴν διώξεως. γένοιτο δ’ ἀν ποτὲ καὶ νίκης αὐτῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διώκοντων 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. 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 ἱππῶν τὰ λάφυρα ἐλκὼσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνθέλκωσιν. καὶ ποὺν πολλὰκις κατ’ ἄλληλων ξίφος ἀναχριστιζοῦσιν, ὡστε τοὺς φεύγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων πρὸς ἄλληλους στάσιν κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι.

"Ὅπως μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἑνεδρεύσωμεν εἰρήνηι. εἰ δὲ τούνακ-
30 τίνος τῇ ἑνέδρᾳ καθ’ ἦμων οἱ πολέμοι χρήσασθαι βουληθείσιν καὶ τούτο ἦμιν ὑπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν ἢ τῶν αὐτομόλων προαπαγγέλλεται, χρῆ πάντως ἀπόμοιρὰν τινα στρατεύματος δὲ ἑτέρας προαποστέλλοντας ἀντενεδρεύσαι τούτων τῇ ἑνέδρᾳ. εἰ δὲ μὴ πρὸ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τῶν ἑχθρῶν ταύτην ἐτομέμην γνωσόμεθα, ἀνάγκη ἢ μὴ διώκειν ἐπι-
35 φανέντας αὐτοὺς ἢ συνημμένους πολείσθαι τὴν δίωξιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ συνδιερείσθαι τοῖς φεύγουσιν. ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ καὶ εἰ κατόπων τῶν διω Κόντων ἑτέρους ἐπαποστέλλομεν εἰς τὴν τῶν προλαβόντων βοήθειαν.

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40: K–R 182, Erck 78.

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〈μα’.〉

Περὶ αὐτομόλων.

Τοὺς αὐτομόλους ὑποδέχεσθαι μὲν ἀναγκαίον, ἐνεργετεῖν δὲ ἄξιον. δεὶ δὲ πάνως τούτων φυλάττεσθαι, εἰ καὶ τιμᾶσι τὰ παρ' ἦμῖν 5 θρησκευόμενα καὶ γάμους ἢμῖν νομίμους συμπλέκονται. διὸ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἑνδοξότερους αὐτῶν κατέχειν ἐν πόλεις εἰ γε βουλόμεθα, πλὴν δὲ ὑπονοῖς ἔχειν αὐτούς, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συνέρ-
10 χεται τὸ πολέμιον ἂρ ων ὁποῖο πρὸς ἦμᾶς ἔπωτομολήσαν. τοὺς δὲ εὐτελεστέρους αὐτῶν ἀπάγειν τῶν πόλεων, εἰ καὶ μαστυγίαι εἰσὶν ἢ καὶ ἦκρωτημασμένοι τὰ σώματα, ἀτε δὴ ταύτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἱδίων αὐτοῖς πεπονθότες.

Χρῆ δὲ οὐ μόνον τούτων φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀσοὺς εἰς δου-
15 λείαν ἦμῖν προφάσαι δωρεάς πέμπονσιν οἱ πολέμοι, ἔπει καὶ Πέρ-
σαι ποτὲ τριακοσίους ἄνδρας ἐν σχήματι δουλείας δωρεάν στει-
λαντες δὲ 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.

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.

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. 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.  

1 This presumably envisions the deserters becoming Christians or possibly, if heretics, becoming orthodox Christians.

2 The source of this story has not been found.
41: K–R 186, Erck 80.


(μβ').

Περὶ κατασκόπων.

Ἡ τῶν κατασκόπων ἐπινενόηται χρεία, ὡς ἂν δι’ αὐτῶν μανθάνομεν τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ὅσα λυσιτελεῖ ἡμῖν τῷ εἰδέναι ἢ πρὸς αἱρε- 
5 σὺν ἀγαθὸν τινὸς πράγματος ἢ φυγὴν τοῦ λυποῦντος. εἰσὶ δὲ ταύτα οἶνον εἰ παρασκευάζεται καθ’ ἡμῶν τὸ πόλεμον ἢ καθ’ ἔτερων τῶν 
νειτόνων στρατεύεται, ἢ κατ’ αὐτοῦ τινος τῶν γειτόνων στρατεύτων, εἴ τις τούτων ἐπιτήδειος ἡμῖν ἔστιν εἰς ἐνέδρας ἢ 
10 φανερὸν πόλεμον καὶ λυσιτελῆς ἡμῖν, ἀν τε διώκωμεν, ἀν τε φεύγωμεν. ὑπὸν δὲ καθ’ ἔτερων στρατευομένως τοὺς ἐχθρούς ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλληται τῷ 
μείζονι μέρει, λυσιτελές καὶ ἡμᾶς τὴν πολέμιαν ληξίζεσθαι, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ κατ’ αὐτῶν στρατεύων ἔτεροι. εἰ δὲ ἐμφύλιος ὁ πόλεμος ἢ δὲ τῶν 
15 γειτόνων, ἡρμοῦν ἀμεινον εἰρήνευσι γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλά πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ὁμόφυλοι ἐπιστόμων τῶν ἀλλοφυλῶν.

Debe δὲ μέλλοντας ἐξείναν τοὺς κατασκόπους ἑνὶ τούτων ἐκατόν 
20 τῶν οἰκειοτάτων μυσταγγωγεῖν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποστολήν, ἅμως δὲ μετ’ 
αλλήλων ἀσφαλῶς συμπερατνηκέναι ὡς δὲ πάντως αὐτὸς συνελθείν 
καὶ ὅπου καὶ τίνα τῶν τρόπων. ἔστω δὲ τόπος μὲν ἢ ἄγορα καθ’ ἡμῖ 
1 M. f. 129 25 λοι το τε ἡμέτερον καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων συνέχονται, τρόπος δὲ τὸ 

tῆς ἐμπορίας ἐπιτίθεμα. ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ μᾶλλον λαθεῖν τοὺς πο 
λεμίους δυνῆσται, ὁ μὲν τὰ ἡμέτερα προτεινόμενοι πωλῶν ἢ ἀν 
ταλλάτταν αὐτά, ὁ δὲ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιδεῖοι καὶ δηλῶν ἡμῖν οἶ 
1 μεν καθ’ ἡμῶν βουλεύονται οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐκείνων ἔχει.

Debe δὲ πάντως τοὺς κατασκόπους μὴ ὁμοφυλῶς εἶναι τῶν ἐναν 
30 τίων, μηδ’ ἄλλως τι παρ’ ἡμῶν πεπονθέαν τῶν μεγάλων κακῶν, 
ἐχεῖν τε παρ’ ἡμῖν ἢ γυναίκας ἢ παιδᾶς ἢ γονεῖς ἢ ἀδελφοὺς, ὃν ὁ
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 αυτοὶς οὐκ ἂν εἰς ἀεὶ μένειν παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συγχωρήσειν οὖν ἄλλως τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ πάντως αὐτούς εἶναι φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, τὰ ἐθή τῶν πολεμίων καθ’ οὓς πέμπονται καλῶς ἑσκημένους καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον ἠκριβώμενοι αὐτῶν, εἰτὰ ἐμπείρους τῶν τόπων καθ’ οὓς διαβήσονται. χρὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦς παραγενομένους εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν φεύγειν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀναγνωρισθῆναι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐνεκα. πολλοίς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων περιτυχάνοντας τῶν μὲν πονηροτέρων τε καὶ φρονιμωτέρων τάχιον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, τοῖς δ’ ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀπεριέργοις καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀπλοῖς συνομίλειν τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καταλύειν.

42: K–R 188, Erck 80.


(μυ’.)

Περὶ πρέσβεων.

Πρέσβεις ἢ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστέλλονται. ἕαν μὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστέλλωται, χρῆ φιλοτίμως τε καὶ δαυλώς τοὺς ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ γὰρ τιμῶσι πάντες αὐτοὺς. τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρετομένους αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀσφαλείας ἔχειν εἰς τὸ μηδενὶ τι διδάσκειν ἐπερωτομένους αὐτούς. κἂν μὲν τῶν λιῶν ἀφεστηκότων οἱ πρέσβεις εἰεν ὠς μεταξὺ ἐκείνων τε καὶ ἡμῶν εἰλαὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐμφανίζειν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑπόσα καὶ οία βουλόμεθα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ πλησιοχωροὶ μὲν ἡμῶν καθεστήσεσθαι, ἐνδεώς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔχουσι δύναμιν. εἰ δὲ κατὰ πολὺ ἡμῶν διεννύχασιν εἴτε πλήθει στρατόν εἴτε ἀνδρεία, χρῆ μήτε πλούτου μήτε γυναικῶν κάλλη ἐμφανίζειν αὐτοῖς, πλήθη δὲ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπόλων ἐυκοσμίαν καὶ τείχων υψώματα.

Εἰ δὲ παρ’ ἡμῶν πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλονται, χρῆ τούτους πρῶτον μὲν ἐπ’ ἐντεξεῖσθαι γνωρίζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐπ’ ἐγκλήματι κατηγορηθέντας ποτὲ δημοσίᾳ κατακριθῆναι. εἰναι δὲ φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, εὐνοὺς τὰ κοινά ὡς καὶ προκυψυκέναι ἐθέλειν τῶν ἑαυτῶν, καθάπερ Ῥήγον-
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, unsuspicious, 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 προθύμως ἄλλ’ οὐ βεβαιασμένους, καθάπερ ὁ Ἀείνυ|πτιος ἱατρὸς. δν ο μὲν παρὰ Καρχηδονίους δέσμιος ὡν καὶ πρὸς
19 Ῥωμαίους περὶ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσων ἀπεσταλμένοι ὀμνυσιν ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν εἰρήνην οὐ καταδεχομένων,
ἐπει δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίκετο, ἀπαγορεύει μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν εἰρήνην ἀσύμφορον αὐτοῖς οὕσαν, τείθει δὲ αὐτοὺς (ἐὰν) ἀνελθεῖν
αὐτὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους τοῦ ὅρκου φειδόμενος. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ βα-
σιλέως τῆς Ἀείνυπτον τὸν Πέρσην κινήσας τὰ Αἰγυπτίων διόλωσε.

Χρή δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις παραγεγομένους πρὸς οὓς ἀποστέλλονται φαίνεσθαι ἐπίχαρεῖς, μεγαλοψίχους, ἐνεργείσις τὰ εἰς δύναμιν,
ἀμφότερα τὰ τε οἰκεῖα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ἐπαίνει ποιομένους ἀλλὰ
μὴ τὰ ἑκείνων ἐνδιαβάλλοντας.

40 Οἰκονομεῖν δὲ δεὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ τοῖς καυροῖς ἐπακολουθεῖν
ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης πράττειν τὰ κελεύομενα, εἰ μὴ τι πράξαι πάσι
τρόποις παρεκελευθῆσαι. οἷον ἀπεστάλη τις ὧς φίλοις δῶρα τοῖς
γείτονι ἐπικοιμίζομενοι, ὁ δὲ τούτους καταλαβὼν τὰ τῶν ἔχθρων
πράττοντας τὰ μὲν δῶρα σὺν τῷ γράμματι παρακατέσχε, λόγους δὲ
φιλίας ἀνί τῶν δώρων ἐπεκοιμισάτο. ἔρει γὰρ τις εἰκότως ὡς ἔχρη
μᾶλλον ἐπιδοῦναι τὰ δῶρα καθημεροῦντα τῶν πολεμίων τὸ ἄγριον,
ἡ τὰ μὲν τιμίωτερα παρακατέσχεν, τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ ἐπιδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ
πάντα κρατεῖν, ὡς μήτε τοὺς ἔχθρους πλούτειν ἔθελειν καὶ τὸ πολὺ
tῆς ἔχθρας ὑποτέμνειν τῶν πολεμίων. δοκιμάζεται δὲ πρέσβεις καὶ
πρὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς ὑποτιθεμένως αὐτῷ τῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ἔρωτώ-
μενος ὅπως περὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν οἰκονομήσειν, οὕτως ἐντέρως αὐτῷ
τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπισυμβαινόντων.

43: K–R 192, Erck 82.

43: 1 μυ’ De: om. codd. || 3 μὲν MP: om. VSB || 6 αὐτοῖς VSB: αὐτοὺς MP || μηδενί τι MP: μή
dε τι VSB || 12 αὐτοῖς K–R: αὐτοὺς codd. || 13 εὐκοσμίαν B: εὐκοσμία MPVS || 17 ρήγου λος VSB:
codd. || 22 ἀπαγορεύει MP: ἀπαγορεύει VSB || 23 ἀσύμφορον MP: ἀσύμφορον VSB || ἀσύμφορον MP: ἀσύμφορον
|| 24 αὐτῶν MPB: om. VS || τοῦ ὅρκου Erck: τοῦ ὅρκου codd. || 25 διόλωλεν MP: διόλυν MPVSB || 27 φαί
des. SB || 34 παρακατέσχες K–R: παρακατέσχες MP || 35 ἐπεκοιμίσατο Erck: ἐπεκοιμίσατο MP || 36

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.\(^1\) The physician stirred up the Persian to anger against the Egyptian king and brought about the downfall of Egypt.\(^2\)

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.

\(^1\)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.

\(^2\)Herodotus, *History*, 3, 1.
Cap. 43: iam ed. e codd. recc. a D. Hoeschl, Eclogae legationum (1603); reimpr. I. Bekker et B. Niebuhr, Dexippi, Eunapii, Petri Patricii, Prisci, Malchi, Menandri historiarum quae supersunt (Bon- 
nae, 1829), 6–8.

\(\mu\delta\).

**Peri to\'e\'ias.**

Ἐπὶ τῆς το\'ε\'ιας τρία τούτα ξητούμεν, τὸ εὐστόχως βάλλειν, τὸ ἰσχυρὸς βάλλειν, τὸ ταχέως βάλλειν. χρησιμον δὲ τοῦτο ὑπὸ μόνον ἀντικαθισταμένοι τοῖς πολεμίωσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγουσι καὶ διώκουσι. βάλλουσι δὲ ή ἐστῶτες κατά ἐστῶταν, ή κατὰ ἐστῶταν κινούμενοι, ἢ κατὰ κινούμενον ἐστῶτες, ἢ κατὰ κινούμενων κινούμενοι. ἔστι δὲ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον μὲν εἰ κατὰ ἐστῶτων ἐστῶτες βάλλουσιν, ἂτον δὲ τούτων εἰ κατὰ ἐστῶτων κινούμενοι βάλλουσιν, εἰτὰ ἢ κατὰ κινούμενων ἐστῶτες ἢ κατὰ κινούμενων κινούμενοι.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν κινήσει χρωμένων τῷ τόξῳ ἀσφαλέστερον βάλλουσιν ὅσοι κατ’ εὐθείαν ἀπέναντι ἄλληλων τοξεύοντες. γίνεται δὲ τούτῳ ὅταν ὁ διώκων κατὰ φεύγοντος βάλῃ ἢ ὁ φεύγων κατὰ τοῦ δι’ ὄκοντος, ἀμφότεροι ἐφ’ ἵππων τοξαίοντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν εὐχερέστερον βάλλουσι τῶν κατὰ διώξει καὶ φυγῇ οἱ κατὰ πλευρὰν βάλλουσιν. ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ παρερχομένων βάλλουσι τῆς ἐπιτυχίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεύ¬
στον διαμαρτάνουσι.

Τῶν δὲ τοξεύοντων οἱ μὲν τρισὶ τοῖς μέσοις δακτύλοις τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκουσιν, οἱ δὲ δυτὶ, καὶ τούτοις οἱ μὲν τὸν μεγίστον ἐπίκειμένου τῷ λιχανῷ, οἱ δὲ τούσκατόν, οἱ καὶ μάλλον τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκουσι καὶ πέμπουσι τὸ βέλος σφοδρότερον. δεῖ δὲ καθ’ ἐκαστον τοιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων τροπῶν γυμνάζειν ἐαυτὸν ἐκαστὸν, ὡστε πασχόντων τῶν προτέρων δακτύλων ζυγοχείας τῆς τάσεως κεχρησθαι τοῖς ἀλλοις.

Κάμπτομεν δὲ τὸ τόξον ποτέ μὲν κατὰ ἀτός, (ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ τραχήλου,) ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ μαξοῦ τὴν νευρὰν ἐλκοντες. φέρεται δὲ τὸ βέλος ἰσχυρότερον μὲν ὅταν κατὰ ἀτός τὴν νευρὰν ἔλκωμεν, εἰτὰ ὅταν κατὰ τραχήλου, ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ὅταν κατὰ μαξοῦ αὐτὴν ἔλκωμεν. διὸ καὶ τάς Αμαζόνας φασὶ κατὰ τόν ἁπάντων τῆς νευρᾶν ἔλκειν, οὐ δυναμένας δι’ ἀσθενειαν φύτευσις ἐπὶ πλεύον κατακάμπτειν τὸ τόξον καὶ διὰ τούτου καυσηπαλεύοντας τὸν μαξοῦ.

Debe δὲ βάλλουσες κατὰ πεζῶν ἢ ἵππων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου συνταχγείμονες μὴ ἐπὶ εὐθείας ἄλλα λοξοῖς χρησιμοὶ τοῖς τοξεύ-μασιν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα κατὰ ποδῶν τῶν ἵππων βάλλουσιν ἐκαστος γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῶν ἀπέναντι ἔχθρών τοῖς ἀσπίσι φυλάττεται.

χρησιμον δὲ τούτο οὖ μὸνον συμβαλλονσυν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγουσι καὶ διώκουσιν.
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.¹

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.²

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.

¹See Maurice, Strategikon, I, 1, 5–9; also A. Bivar, “Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates Frontier,” DOP, 26 (1972), 285.
²Diodorus of Sicily, 2, 45, 3.
30 Diodorus Siculus, 2, 45, 3.

(με').

Πώς δεῖ γυμνάζειν ἑαυτὸν εὐστόχως βάλλειν.

Τὰ σημεῖα καθ' ὃν οἱ γυμναζόμενοι βάλλουσι τοῖς μὲν ἀρτὶ γυμναζόμενοι πλάτος τε καὶ μῆκος ἐχέτωσαν, ὥστε μὴ ἀποτυγχάνοντας τοὺς τοξεύοντας βάθυμείν. εἰτα περιελόντας κατ' ὀλίγον τὸ πλάτος εἰς λεπτὸν συστέλλειν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ παρ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ σημείου ἀποτυγχάνουσι βάλλοντες, ἄλλ' οὐ πάντως καὶ κατὰ τὸ μῆκος μετὰ τὴν πρώτην γυμνασίαν διαμαρτήσουν. τελευταίον δὲ καὶ τό μῆκος κατ' ὀλίγον περιελόντας περιφερέσθη χρήσασθαι τοῖς σημείοις.

Εἰτέ κατὰ στερεῶν βάλλουσιν, εἰτέ κατὰ κενῶν εἰτ' οὖν κατὰ τρημάτων, ὅν πολλή τοῦ μεγεθοῦς διαφορά, νῦν μὲν κατὰ τῶν μειζόνων, εἰτέ κατὰ τῶν μέσων, καὶ τελευταίον κατὰ τῶν ἐλαττῶνων βάλλοντες.

Γυμνάζοντας δὲ χρῆ κατὰ κινουμένων φύσει καὶ τέχνῃ, φύσει μὲν κατ' ὀρνέων ἢ ζῴων ἀγρίων βάλλοντας, τέχνῃ δὲ | οἴον τῶν διὰ σπαρτῶν πόρρωθεν ἐλκυμένων σημείων, οίον σφαιρῶν ἢ τινως τῶν τοιώντων. οὕτω μὲν οὖν καθ' ἐκάστην γυμναζόμενος ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας εὐστόχω τῇ τοξείᾳ χρήσασθαι.

45: K–R 202, Erck 85.
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.
(μζ').

Πῶς δεῖ ἱσχυρῶς βάλλειν.

Τὸ ἱσχυρῶς βάλλειν συμβαίνει ἡ διὰ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα ῥαδίως κάμπτεσθαι τὸ τόξον ἢ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ βέλους ἐπὶ πλέον καμπτομένου τοῦ τόξου. ποιεῖ δὲ μάλιστα τούτῳ ἢ τῶν γυμναζομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρισ. γίνεται δὲ οὕτως.

'Εστω τις κανῦν κατὰ κάθετον ἐπὶ τινος βάσεως ἐστηκὼς, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτον δίσκος ἔχυλος κατ᾽ ὀρθὰς γωνίας τῷ κανόνι συνταττόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνω αὐτοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν γεγράφθησαν εὐθείαι διὰ τοῦ κέντρου ἡγεμόνα, οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις ἐξήκοντα. πεπήχθου δὲ κατὰ τὸ κέντρον τοῦ δίσκου περόνη κυλινδροειδῆς συ- δηρα, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῇ τῇ περόνῃ ἑβεθηκέτω κύκλος ἔχυλος τοῦ δύσκου κατὰ στημεῖον ἀπτόμενος οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ μὲν πάχος δακτύλων τριών, τὴν δὲ διάμετρον τοῦ κύκλου σπιθαμών δύο. ἔστω δὲ ὁ κύκλος ἐπὶ τῇ περόνῃ βεβηκὼς ὁ γὰρ ἀκίνητον εἶναι μήτε ῥαδίως κινούμενον τῷ διὰ τοξείας κινοῦντι αὐτὸν. κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν κύκλον ἔστωσάν τινες βάλλοντες ἀντὶ αἰχμῆς κεφαλίδας σιδηρᾶς ἐχούσας. στημεῖα δὲ τῆς σφοδροτέρας καὶ ἀσθενεστέρας τοῦ βέλους κρύσσεως αἱ ὑποκείμεναι τῷ κύκλῳ κατὰ τὸν δίσκον γραμμαί· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενεστέρα κατὰ μίαν εἰ τῶν γραμμῶν κινήσει τὸν κύκλον, ἢ δὲ σφοδροτέρα κατὰ δύο ἢ καὶ πλείονας.


91

(μζ'.)

Πῶς δεῖ ταχέως βάλλειν.)

Τὸ δὲ ταχέως βάλλειν ὁμ μᾶλλον τέχνη ἢ συνεχῆς γυμνασία ποιεῖ. γίνεται δὲ καὶ τούτῳ οὕτως· ἀνήρ τις τῶν ἐπὶ τοξεῖα βαλλοῦντων σπκνότερον κατὰ τοῦ δοθέντος στημείου συνεχῶς πεμπέτω τὰ βέλη. οἱ
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.\(^1\) 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.

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\(^1\) Two spithamai.

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 ἔχομενοι κατὰ μίαν αὐτῷ εὐθείαν συντεταγμένοι στηκέτωσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸξ χρώμενον ὅμοιος τὰ βέλη κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου περιπέτευσαν. ἐτὶ δὲ τοῖς βέλεσι γεγράφθησαν τὰ τῶν πεμπόντων ὅνωματα, ἢ ἰδιὰ τούτων σημεία ἐξέτωσαν. ἢ δὲ ἀρχῇ τῶν τοξευόντων καὶ τὸ τέλος οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείων γυνόμης γυνασθώσαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν σημείων γυνρίζοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆν ἀρχῆν καὶ τὸ τέλος. τούτων γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους τρόπους τελουμένων καὶ τῶν βελῶν ἐκάστου μετὰ τὴν τοξεῖαν ἀριθμομένων, τοῦ μὲν τάχεως βάλλοντος πλείουν ἀνάγκη τὰ βέλη εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ βραδέως ὀλυγότερα, καὶ τούτου ἔρις ἦσατο τοῖς βάλλουσιν πρὸς τὸ λίγαν πυκνότερον.

'Εστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλη τις μέθοδος γυμνασίας ἰδίως τῶν ἐν κυνήσει τοξευόντων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ οὕτως· λαβῶν τις (τὸ) τόξον καὶ τὰ βέλη τῶν γυνρίμων εἰς τάχος κατ' εὐθείαν κινεῖσθω μὲν, πεμπέτω δὲ κατὰ πλευρὰς εἰς μήκος τὰ βέλη. εἶτα πανσάμενος ἀναλαμβανέτω τὰ βέλη, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνων τόπους τιθέναι σημεία, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν σημεῖα πρῶτα, καὶ τούτων πάλιν ἀπέναντι ἐν διαστάσει εἰ τύχοι ὄργων τριάκοντα ἑτερα σημεία δὲ δὴ δεύτερα ὁνομάζω. κατὰ δὴ ταῦτα τὰ δεύτερα σημεῖα οἱ γυμναζόμενοι ἑτεροὶ ἐτέρῳ κατακολούθοντες σπουδαίως κατὰ τῶν προτέρων σημείων τὰ βέλη πεμπέτωσαν μέχρις ὅτου τὸ τελευταῖον σημείον καταλάβωσι. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ τελευταῖον σημείον οὐκέτι τὸξ χρήσονται ἐστ' ἀν πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν σημείων γίνονται.
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 meters¹ 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.

¹Thirty orguiæ: 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*
SKIRMISHING

INTRODUCTION

In the second half of the seventh century fanatical Muslim armies swept over what had been the Roman Empire in the East, including most of Asia Minor. With naval support they even besieged the imperial capital, but after failing in their last attempt in 717 it was clear that they would not conquer the whole empire. It was equally clear that the Romans, whom by this period we may call Byzantines, could not inflict a decisive defeat upon the forces of Islam. Military expeditions alternated with periods of peace as the Byzantines slowly recovered most of Asia Minor and organized it into themes, military provinces. For some time the situation stabilized with neither side able to obtain any permanent advantage. The Taurus Mountains formed a rugged border through which Christians and Muslims passed to raid each other's lands.¹

Early in the tenth century, as the Abbasid power in Baghdad declined, Syria came under the control of a strong semi-Bedouin dynasty founded by Hamdan ibn-Hamdun in the previous century.² Two brothers of this family helped reinstate the caliph in Baghdad after an attempted coup. One of them, Hassan, was rewarded with the title Nasir ad-Dawla, Defender of the Dynasty, and the other, 'Ali, who began his rule in northern Syria in 936, received the title Sayf ad-Dawla, Sword of the Dynasty. In Byzantine sources he is usually referred to by some variation of his real name, 'Ali ibn-Hamdun. He entered Aleppo in 944 and consolidated his control over Syria.

Warfare between the Muslims, led by emirs such as 'Ali ibn-Hamdun, and the Byzantine Empire was seasonal. Cultural contacts and commercial relations continued, as is clear from the present treatise. Almost every year, however, and some-

²See Canard, Hamdanides.
INTRODUCTION

times two or three times a year, large raiding parties, small armies in fact, would cross into Byzantine territory in Cilicia and Anatolia. They would devastate the countryside, sack what towns and villages they could, and return home before winter with prisoners, flocks, and booty. The Byzantines would sometimes retaliate, as in 942–43 when they devastated the area around Edessa and carried off the sacred *Mandylion*, a cloth bearing a venerated image of Christ, which was conveyed to Constantinople in 944 with great solemnity.

Invading armies had to traverse deep defiles, passes, and valleys, through the Taurus and other mountain ranges. This treatise pictures it as ideal country for ambushes and surprise attacks. To defend their territory the Byzantines organized the passes and mountainous areas into small border provinces called *kleisourai* under a local chieftain or commander. By the middle of the tenth century these *kleisourai* had been transformed, at least in name, into themes, some of which were entrusted, somewhat reluctantly, it would seem, to Armenians. The sources, in fact, distinguish between the "large, Roman themes" and the "Armenian themes." The approach of hostile forces was observed by scouts in forward positions and relayed back to the nearest headquarters by beacons and fast riders. Various methods of defense are described in this treatise. The one preferred by our author, which must have been hard on the inhabitants of the region, was to allow the raiders to ravage and pillage Byzantine territory and then, as they were making their way home loaded with captives and plunder, all worn out from the expedition, to ambush them in the mountain passes. If they were hit hard enough, it was hoped, they would not dare even think of invading imperial territory again.

Most of Asia Minor was divided into themes, that is, provinces in which the military and civil authority were combined. The governor was also commander (*strategos*) of the armed forces in the theme. In addition to these provincial forces, there was the regular standing army, the tagmatic army, based around the capital, but which joined with the thematic forces on campaign. The commander of the tagmatic forces was the domestic of the schools, a title originally held by the commander of the imperial guards.

In the decade spanning the middle of the tenth century, 944–55, the Muslims led by Sayf ad-Dawla continued their devastating raids and won some major victories over regular Byzantine armies. While the imperial forces successfully carried out a few important ambushes, generally it was the Muslims who were on the offensive. In 950 Sayf got as far as a week’s march from the Bosporus, but was caught in


an ambush on returning to Syria. In 953 he inflicted a severe defeat on the domestic Bardas Phokas at Mar'ach (Germanikeia). Bardas was wounded, and his son Constantine, governor of Seleukia, was taken prisoner. Bardas was again defeated in 954 and 955 before retiring and being replaced as domestic by his son Nikephoros, strategos of the Anatolikon theme. For the next few years the tide turned decisively in favor of the Byzantines. Nikephoros, his brother Leo, strategos of Cappadocia, and John of Tshemeshgadzak (Tzimisces), governing the theme of Mesopotamia, won several major victories and devastated sections of northern Syria.\(^5\)

Nikephoros spent the years 960–61 in reconquering Crete, and during his absence Leo commanded the armies in the East. On his return Nikephoros ravaged northern Syria up to Aleppo. In March of 963 he was proclaimed emperor to succeed Romanos II. That same year and in 964 he attacked Muslim lands, capturing Massisa, Adana, and Tarsus. In 966 he devastated the countryside about Aleppo, even besieging Antioch. The following year Sayf ad-Dawla died in Aleppo. In 968 Nikephoros led another destructive expedition through Syria and along its coast. Aleppo and Antioch were taken in 969, but on 10 December Nikephoros was murdered and succeeded by John Tzimisces.

It is in this context that the treatise on hit-and-run warfare, or skirmishing, was written. Although it has been attributed to Nikephoros Phokas, the preface makes it clear that he was not its author. But he did give orders that such a work be composed, entrusting that task to the author. This man, who speaks in the first person singular, mentions in the preface that he had commanded troops in the West. He also claims to have received much of his training in hit-and-run tactics from Bardas Phokas, which would appear to make him a contemporary of Nikephoros. It is clear that the author was an officer of high rank, perhaps strategos, for he gives instructions to the general as though to a colleague. He was very close to, if not a member of, the Phokas family.

While the author praises Bardas Phokas and Nikephoros for their brilliant use of the hit-and-run tactics he writes about, it seems that most of the tactics and victories described in the work are those of Leo Phokas, brother of Nikephoros. In 960, for example, while Nikephoros was off subjugating Crete, Sayf ad-Dawla led a large force into Byzantine territory. To repel this invasion the emperor dispatched Leo, then Domestic of the West, that is, in command of the troops in Europe. After bestowing high praise on him, Leo the Deacon adds: “He was never defeated by an enemy, but always emerged victorious.”\(^6\) On the European front he had encountered the Magyars several times but, since his forces were inferior, he had to resort to


\(^6\) Leo the Deacon, 2, 2; p. 18.
dividing his men into three groups, sneaking into the enemy camp, and then attacking violently,\(^7\) tactics which are described in Chapters 8 and 14 of this treatise. On arriving in Asia Minor in 960 he surveyed the situation and, realizing that he was greatly outnumbered, had his troops occupy high ground, guard the roads, and catch the Muslims in an ambush.\(^8\) His manner of doing this is described in Chapters 3 and 25. Two of the three great Byzantine victories sketched in this work were gained by Leo. The work was written by one who was close to Emperor Nikephoros, who was trained by Bardas Phokas, and who had commanded troops in both East and West. While members of the Phokas family are extolled, there is no mention of Leo. It is, then, not impossible that this treatise may have been composed, or at least inspired, by Leo Phokas. During the reign of John Tzimisces (969–76), who had had Nikephoros murdered, or perhaps during that of Basil II (976–1025), it may not have been prudent to attribute anything to Leo Phokas.

At the very beginning the author admits that his treatise might not be needed, since the Muslims have been beaten back and no longer pose a serious threat. This must refer to the late 960s, after the death of Sayf in February 967 or the capture of Aleppo and Antioch in the fall of 969. In the preface Bardas is referred to as “the blessed Caesar,” makarites, that is, in Greek usage, “the late Caesar.” The title had been bestowed on him by his son Nikephoros on ascending the throne in 963. In September 969 a monk foretold that Nikephoros would die within three months. Nikephoros accordingly began to prepare himself. “During these days,” Leo the Deacon reports, “it happened that the Caesar Bardas, the father of the emperor Nikephoros, departed this life, after living more than ninety years growing old in the military ranks (in which he had served) since his youth.”\(^9\) Nikephoros was assassinated on 10 December 969. In the work he is spoken of as the “revered” (aoidimos) emperor, a term which had come to be used of deceased rulers. The reference to Bardas and the author’s statement that Nikephoros had entrusted him with the task of describing the method of combat incline one to place the composition of this work, at least of its preface, not very long after the emperor’s death.\(^10\)

In establishing the Greek text only three manuscripts, nearly identical ones at that, need concern us. All the other extant codices have been copied from one of these three, two in Rome and one in the Escorial. They are: codex Vaticanus graecus 1164 (V); codex Scorialensis graecus 281 (Y-III-II) (S); codex Barberinianus graecus II 97 (276) (B). They were produced in the same scriptorium in

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\(^7\)Leo the Deacon, 2, 2; p. 19.
\(^8\)Leo the Deacon, 4; pp. 21–22.
\(^9\)Leo the Deacon, 5, 5; p. 83. In 968 Liutprand of Cremona had seen Bardas at an imperial banquet and remarked that he looked a hundred and fifty years old: Liudprandi relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana, ed. J. Becker (Hannover, 1915), c. 28, p. 190.
Constantinople early in the eleventh century and have been described and studied in
detail. It has been shown that S is a copy of V, while B derives from a lost manu-
script which stems from the same exemplar as V. Examination of the sections of
these three containing the present treatise tends to confirm these conclusions. V and
S share about sixty errors, with S adding twelve more of its own, including a few
omissions and repetitions. V has \( \varepsilon \pi \omega k \nu \tau o v \) (17, 63), which S copied, then cor-
rected by adding \( \delta u \) above the line; V wrote \( \pi o v \) (17, 81), which S copied and like-
wise corrected by adding \( \tau o \) above the line. B and S have about fifteen common
errors, with B having some ten of its own, including three omissions. V and B do
not preserve the same sections of the text, which makes a comparison impossible.

The Escorial manuscript is the only one of the three to preserve the full text;
some pages of V are missing, as is most of B. The three manuscripts are very close,
however, and are not far removed from the original. Basing one's judgment on the
proportion of scribal errors occurring in other military works, one could estimate
that two, perhaps three, copies intervened between the writing of the original
treatise and the copying of V.

The text was first edited and published, along with the History of Leo the
Deacon, by C. B. Hase in Paris in 1819, Leonis Diaconi Caloensis historiae libri
decem et liber de Velitatione bellica Nicephori Augusti, and reprinted in the Bonn
Corpus in 1828 (pages 179–258). Hase based his edition on four manuscripts:
Paris. gr. 2437, 2445, suppl. gr. 26, and Vat. Palat. gr. 393, all of which date from
the sixteenth century. A critical edition, clearly, must be based on the manuscripts of
the early eleventh century, VSB.

The language of the treatise, while not elegant or pretentious, is certainly lit-
erate, and the author must have had some education. His writing is straightforward,
practical, and to the point. This edition retains those characteristics, without at-
ttempting to correct or polish the author's Greek, except for some obvious standar-
dizing of the orthography. The translation has endeavored to reproduce the tone as
well as the content of the text. Some words have no clear equivalent in English—
turmarch, tagma, saka, foulkon—and have been left as written. Brief, explanatory
notes accompany the translation.

Maurice, Strategikon (ed. Dennis), 20–21.
12 Maurice, Strategikon, 35–36.
4. Map of Byzantine Empire in Tenth Century
TEXT and TRANSLATION
Περί παραδρομῆς
Τοῦ κυροῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ βασιλέως

α'. Περὶ βιγλῶν, καὶ πόσον διάστημα ὅφείλει ἄπ' ἄλληλων μία ἕκαστη διάστασθαι.

5 β'. Περὶ τῶν καμινοβιγλῶν καὶ κατασκόπων.

γ'. Περὶ κινήσεως ἐχθρῶν (καὶ) τοῦ προκατασχεθῆναι τὰς δυσ- χωρίας.

δ'. Περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖσθαι λάθρα τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις, καὶ περὶ τοῦ προσπαθεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς τὴν ἴδιαν ἐπανα- στρέφοντας.

ε'. Περὶ προκατασχέσεως ὑδάτων τῶν ἐν τοῖς στενώμασιν ὄντων.

ζ'. Περὶ παραδρομῆς τῶν μονοκύρσων καὶ στοχασμοῦ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν ποσότητος.

η'. Περὶ συναθροίσεως καὶ κινήσεως φοσσάτου, καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρα- χωρεῖν τοὺς πραγματευόμενα εἰσέρχεσθαι καὶ κατασκοπεῖν.

θ'. Περὶ τῆς κινήσεως τοῦ κούρσου καὶ ἀκολουθήσεως.

ι'. Περὶ τοῦ διαχωρισμοῦ τοῦ κούρσου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ὁπισθεν ἐπα- κολουθοῦντος.

20 ἢα'. Περὶ τοῦ ἐνθεν κάκειθεν ἱστασθαι τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν ταῖς δυσ- χωρίαις.

Η 182

ιβ'. Περὶ ἀθρόας ἐξελέυσεως τῶν πολεμίων πρὸ τοῦ τὰ Ἀρωμαίκα ἐπισυναχθῆναι στρατεύματα.

ιγ'. Περὶ τοῦ ἐνεδρεύσαντος κατὰ τῶν λεγομένων μινσουρατόρων ἐν τοῖς ἀπλήκτοις.

ιδ'. Περὶ τῆς ὑποχρήσεως τῶν ἱππέων ἀπὸ τῶν πεζῶν, ὅδοιποροῦν- των ὅμοι.

ιε'. Περὶ ἀσφαλείας.

ιζ'. Περὶ διαχωρισμοῦ τοῦ τούλιδου.

ιζ'. Περὶ τῶν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτρεχοντῶν πολεμίων τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς μετὰ ἐγκρυμμάτων παρασκευῆς.

ηγ'. Περὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκ δύο μερῶν τῶν πολεμίων παραδρομὴν ποιῆσαι.

θ'. Περὶ καταστάσεως καὶ ἔξοπλίσεως καὶ γυμνασίας στρατοῦ.
SKIRMISHING

By the Emperor Lord Nikephoros

1. Watch posts. How far apart they ought to be from one another.
2. Watch posts on the road, and spies.
4. Making unexpected attacks on the enemy. Confronting the enemy as they are returning to their own country.
5. Controlling the water in the passes ahead of time.
6. Skirmishing tactics in single raids and estimating the number of men in one.
7. The assembling and movement of the army. Making use of merchants to go out and spy.
8. Shadowing and following an army.
9. Movement of raiding parties and following them.
10. When the raiding party separates itself from the troops following along behind.
11. Stationing the infantry on both sides in defiles.
12. A surprise attack by the enemy before the Roman forces can be mobilized.
13. Laying an ambush for the so-called mensuratores by their campsite.
14. Withdrawing the cavalry from the infantry when they are marching together.
16. Separating from the baggage train.
17. When the enemy ride into our country with a large force. Preparing an ambush.
18. When it is necessary for the general to skirmish against the enemy from two sides.
19. The condition of the army. Its armament and training.
35 κ'. Περὶ τῶν ἐγχρονιζόντων πολεμίων κατὰ τής χώρας ήμῶν, ἵνα (ὁ) ἡμέτερος στρατὸς κατὰ τής χώρας αὐτῶν ἐπέλθῃ.
κα'. Περὶ πολορκίας κάστρου.

B f. 235v kβ'. Περὶ διαχωρισμοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ἡμισέων πολεμίων ἣ καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μέρους.

40 κγ'. Περὶ τῆς ύποστροφῆς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ κατασχέσεως τῆς κλεισούρας.

κδ'. Περὶ νυκτοπολέμου.

κε'. Περὶ ἔτερας κατασχέσεως όδοῦ τῆς εἰς κατάβασιν δυσχωρίαν ἀποτελούσης.

SB (V abest) Index: 6 καὶ Hase: 18 τοῦ λαοῦ Hase: τοῦ τούλδου SB || 24 μιο-

σουρατόρων Hase: μισουρατόρων SB || 26 ὄδοιπορούντων Hase: ὑποχωροῦντων SB || 35 δ ὁ Hase: om. SB || 43 εἰς De: εἰς τὴν SB

S f. 281 B f. 236 H 183

Περὶ Παραδρομῆς
tου κυροῦ Νικηφόρου του βασιλέως

Τὴν τῆς παραδρομῆς μέθοδον παραδούναι βουλόμενοι, εἰ τάχα καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν μὴ χρειώδης ἐστὶν εἰς τὰ τῆς ἕως μέρη, 5 ἀτε Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἄλληνον Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τὸ πολὺ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν δύνα-

μεως καὶ ἵσχυς τῶν τοῦ Ἰσμαηὴλ ἐγκόνων ἀμβλύναντος, καὶ τὰς ἐρόδους αὐτῶν ἀναχαιτίσαντος· ἀλλ' οὖν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν λήθην καὶ ἄγνοιαν ἐπεισάγαγων ὁ χρόνος φθείρῃ τὸ ταύτης | ἐπωφελές καὶ ἐξαφανίσει, δεῖν ἡθῆμεν γραφὴ παραδοῦναι ταύτην ἐν', εἰ ποτὲ ταύτης δεήσει Χριστιανοῖς, καιρῷ τυπὸς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον καλοῦ-

τος, ἐτοιμός ἐστὶ συνεργός ἀγαθὴ τῷ τε κοινῷ παντὶ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς μεταχειρίζομενοι.

'Ημεῖς γοῦν ταύτην οὗ μονονοῦ ἀκοὴ παρειλήφαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πείραν τινα παρ' αὐτῆς ἐδιδάχθημεν· τὸ μὲν αὐτοῖς σχόντας δια-

σκάλως καὶ παιδευτὰς τοὺς ταύτην, σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐφευρόντας τὴν μέθοδον· τὸ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μόνοι ταύτην χρησάμενοι καὶ πείραν αὐτῆς ἐγκολπισαμένοι τινα κατὰ τὸ ήμίν ἐρθότων, αὐτὴ τοῖς κατὰ τοῦτο ἔχει τὸ χρήσιμον, ὅτι περὶ ταύτην μετήλθοσαν μετ' ὅλιγον μαχίμων λαοῦ μέγιστα καὶ ἀξιωμημόνων τοῦτον ἐξετέλεσαν ἐργα. καὶ γὰρ ἄπω 

μὴ κατορθώσας ἵσχυς την ἐποίλησαν ἡ Ρωμαίων σύμπασα στρατιά ὃτε τὰ τῶν Κυλίκων καὶ τοῦ Χαμβδά ήκμαζεν, εἰς ἑνίοτε τῶν ἀρίστων στρατηγῶν σὺν μόνῳ τῷ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῶν θέματος λαῷ φρονίμως καὶ ἐμ-

πεῖρῳ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιτηθεόνταμεν, καὶ συνετῶς διατεθεὶς καὶ
SKIRMISHING

20. While the enemy delay in our country our army can invade theirs.
21. The siege of a fortified town.
22. Separation of half or a third of the enemy army.
23. Retreat of the enemy and occupation of the mountain passes.
24. Fighting at night.
25. Another method of occupying the road and making descent difficult.

Skirmishing

By the Emperor Lord Nikephoros

Although it is our intention to set down instructions about skirmishing, we must bear in mind that they might not find much application in the eastern regions at the present time. For Christ, our true God, has greatly cut back the power and strength of the offspring of Ismael and has repelled their onslaughts. Nonetheless, in order that time, which leads us to forget what we once knew, might not completely blot out this useful knowledge, we think we ought to commit it to writing. If in the future, then, some situation should arise in which Christians need this knowledge, it will be readily available to assist those who have the responsibility of using it, as well as the entire commonwealth.

We have acquired this knowledge not simply from hearing about it but also from having been taught by a certain amount of experience. For one thing, the men who instructed and trained us in this method were the very ones, you might say, who invented it. Then, on our own, we have put it into practice and, as best we could, almost made it a part of us. This method has the following advantage. By making use of it some commanders with only a small fighting force have achieved prodigious and truly remarkable results. Let me give an example. The entire Roman army could not find the daring or the strength to restore order at the time when everything was working out in favor of the Cilicians and Hamdan. It was then that one of the best generals of the day, accompanied only by the men of his own theme, relying on his intelligence and experience, took action against the enemy. He laid his plans carefully, campaigned against them, and by himself brought the situation under control. We say this not because we prefer a small fighting force to a larger one or because we think this method is better than all other stratagems and tactical procedures, but because it has proven itself to be extremely helpful for the best generals. When the situation is such that they cannot confront the enemy directly, they may employ this method, and they will preserve both themselves and their country free from harm.
στρατηγήσας μόνον ἀπήρτησε. τούτο δὲ φαμεν οὔχ ὅτι τοῦ πλείονος
τὸ ὀλίγον προκρίνομεν μάχιμον, οὔδ' ὅτι ταύτην ἐξαίρομεν τῶν
λοιπῶν στρατηγημάτων καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς τακτικῆς, ἀλλ' ὅτι
στρατηγῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις αὐτὴ συνεργὸς ἀρίστη καθέστηκεν· ἵν', ὅτε
μή κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντιτάτησθαί δύναντο, ταύτῃ τῇ
μεθόδῳ χρώμενοι, ἀβλαβεῖς τε ἐαντούς καὶ τὴν ἵδιν συντηροῖεν
χώραν.

Ταύτην Βάρδας ὁ μακαρίτης Καίσαρ, ὅσα ἐμὲ γυνώσκειν, εἰς
ἀκρον κατώρθωκε, καὶ παντελῶς ἀφανισθεῖσαν ἀνενεώσατο— ἵνα μὴ
τοὺς παλαιοὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπαριθμήμας καὶ ἐκαστόν, μόνοις δὲ
tοὺς πάσι γυνώσκοι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς— δς ἐν τοῖς γευτονοῦσι | η Ταρσῳ
θέμασι, τῇ τε Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τῇ 'Ανατολικῇ στρατηγῶν, μυριάκις
τὰς τῶν Ταρσεῶν καὶ λοιπῶν Κιλίκων δυνάμεις ἐτραμαμάθησε, καὶ
μέγιστα κατ' αὐτῶν ἀνεστήσατο τρόπαια. παρ' οἷ καὶ ἥμεις ταύτῃ
γυμνασθέντες τὸν μέθοδον τὴν ταύτῃ καὶ ποσῶς παρειλήφαμεν
πείραν. πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος Πατρίκιος, ὁ Μαλείνος ἐπί-
κλησις, χρόνους πλείστους Καππαδοκῶν στρατηγήσας καὶ ταύτῃ
συνεργὸν ἔχων, οὐκ ἐλάχιστα ἀπειργασάτο κατορθώματα.

Σὺν τούτοις καὶ ο λύρις Νικηφόρος, ὁ άοίδιμος βασιλεῦς, ταύτῃ
ἀκρως μετῆλθεν· ὁς δὴ ποιον στρατηγῶν καὶ ταύτῃ χρώμενος πάμ-
pολλα καὶ άξιάγαστα ἐργα πεποίηκε, μυριάκις, ὡς εἰπείν, τοὺς πολε-
mίους τρεφάμενος, καὶ μέγιστα τούτων στρατεύματα κατακώπας. οὐ
tὰς ἀριστείας, καθ' οὗ ἐστρατιήγη καιρὸν, συγγράφειν ἢ ἀπαριθμεῖ-
σθαι χρηστῶν ἐσται τοῖς ἐνυγχάνουσι διὰ τε τὸ ὑπερβάλλον πλῆθος
καὶ τὸ παρὰ πολ | λῶν γυνώσκεσθαι. οὐ ταύτῃ ἐργῇ μεμαθηκὸς
εὑχρηστον ὅσαν, ἐγγράφους πρὸς κοινὴν λυστελείαν, ὅπως δὲι
χρῆσθαι ταύτῃ, ἐξέθετο καίμοι παρηγγύνησε, καθ' οὗ οῖον τε ἀκρι-
bβῶς περὶ αὐτῆς συγγράφαι καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς μεθεξῆς. μή μόνον
δὲ περὶ ταύτης τῆς τῇ ἐπὶ προσηκούσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῇ ἐσπέρα
 φελίμου καθεστηκίας, διὰ το ἐν αὐτῇ πλειστά τε στρατηγῆσαι,
καὶ πείραν, ὅσον οἰον τε ἓν φύσει τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἀθροίσαι, ἀλλὰ περὶ
ἐκείνης μὲν ἴδια καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις εἰρήσεται, νυνὶ δὲ σκοποῖς ἦμῖν περὶ
tῆς ἑτέρας διαλαβεῖν. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἑκείνου τηρῶν ἐνετόλην, συνεργῷ
tῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι χρώμενος, ἤτοι ἐν ἀπασὶ συνεπιλαμβάνεται τοῖς
καλοῖς, ὁδέ τως ἀπάρχομαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως.

pref.: 16 μέθοδον B: μέθον S || 21 χαμβάδα B: χαμβαδά S || 52 ἕς 1 S: om. B
To the best of my knowledge, it was Bardas, the blessed Caesar, who brought this method to the summit of perfection. I do not want to enumerate all the ancient commanders but shall limit myself to those in our own time whom everyone knows. When this method had completely vanished, it was Bardas who brought it back. When he was general in the themes bordering on Tarsus, namely, Cappadocia and Anatolikon, thousands of times he inflicted harm on the forces of Tarsus and the rest of Cilicia and gained tremendous victories over them. It was by him that I too was trained in this method, even though I also acquired a good deal from experience. In addition to him there was Constantine the Patrician, whose surname was Maleinos. For many years he was general of Cappadocia and made regular use of this method, achieving great results.

In their company belongs Lord Nikephoros, the revered emperor, who pursued this method to the highest degree. When he was the commander and used it, he accomplished a great number of admirable deeds. Thousands of times, so to speak, he routed the enemy and cut down huge armies of them. The reader might find it tiresome if we were to describe or even list his valiant deeds during the period of his command, since there are so very many of them and they are so well known. By putting it into practice he realized how useful this method was and decreed that instructions on employing it should be written down for the benefit of all. He entrusted me with the task of describing the method as accurately as possible and handing it on to those who would come after us. Not only should I write about what applies in the East but also about what should prove helpful in the West, since I spent a long time commanding troops there and acquired as much experience as I could and made it part of me. That aspect, however, will be treated separately in another place. Our purpose now is to discuss the East. So, then, observing his command and relying upon the assistance of God's grace, which is always bestowed upon men of goodwill, I now begin with the subject.

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1. Ismael (Ishmael), son of Abraham and Hagar (Gen. 16:15), regarded by the Byzantines as the forefather of the Arabs and, as such, of the Muslims.
3. This may refer to the ambush and defeat of Sayf's army in 950 on its return from an extensive plundering expedition, but there were so many victories and defeats in this period that one cannot be certain.
4. Bardas Phokas was appointed to military command by Empress Zoe in 915; he was general of the themes of Cappadocia and Anatolikon, and was named domestic of the schools for the East in 944, but he seems to have lost more battles than he won. He retired in 955, was given the title of Caesar in 963, and died late in 969.
5. He was present with Leo Phokas at the ambush of 960: Theophanes Continuatus, ed. J. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 479. He may be the ibn-al-Mala'ini defeated by the Tarsians in 962: Canard, Hamdanides, 776. Not much else is known about him. Michael Maleinos was a maternal uncle of Emperor Nikephoros, and, some years later, Eustathios Maleinos was involved in a rebellion against Basil II.
6. He succeeded his father, Bardas Phokas, as domestic of the schools for the East in 955. led the expedition that reconquered Crete in 961, was proclaimed emperor by his troops and crowned in Constantinople on 16 August 963, and assassinated on 10 December 969.
Περὶ βιγλῶν, καὶ πόσον διάστημα ὁφείλει ἀπ’ ἄλληλων μία ἐκάστη διῳστᾶσθαι.

Τοὺς τῶν μεγάλων ἀκριτικῶν θεμάτων τὴν πρόνοιαν ἀναδεχο-

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μένους, καὶ ύπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπικράτειαν τὰς κλεισοúρας ἔχοντας,  

πάση μηχανῇ καὶ προθέσει καὶ ἀγρύπνω ἐπιμελεῖα προσήκει σπου-

δάξειν καὶ ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώρας διαφυλάττειν τῆς 

τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομῆς ἁσυνείς καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους, βιγλάτορας |

ἐρηστῶντας ῥωμαλέους καὶ ἐπιτηδείους, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἰς ἄκρον 

ἐπισταμένους. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὅρη εἰσὶν υψηλὰ | καὶ δύσ|βατα διορίζοντα 

τὴν πολεμίαν, ἐν τούτοις τὰς βίγλας ἱστασθαι· ἄπεχεν δὲ τὰς στά-

σεις διὰ τῶν βιγλατόρων ἄχρι μιλῶν γ’ ἡ δ’. καὶ ἡρίκα τοὺς ἔχθρους 

ἐξερχόμενους θέασονται, δρομαίως ἀπέρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐτέρων στασι-

Διον καὶ ἀπαγγέλλειν ἡ ἐθθάσαντο, κάκεινως πάλιν πρὸς τὸ ἐτέρων 

στασιδίου σπουδὴ πολλή· καὶ οὕτω καθεξῆς μηνύεσθαι τὰ τῶν κα-

βαλλαρίων στασιδία εἰς τοὺς ἑφωμάλους τόπους ἱστάμενα, καὶ δ’

αὐτῶν ἀναμανθάνειν τὸν στρατηγὸν τὴν τῶν ἑθῆν ἔφοδον.

Καρτερείν δὲ αὐτῶν ἡμέρας πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς τῇ τῶν ὁδῶν φυ-

λακῆ, ἐπιφερομένους καὶ τὴν διαρκοῦσαν αὐτοῖς τροφὴν τῶν αὐτῶν

ἡμερῶν. εἰδ’ οὕτως ἀπέρχεσθαι ἐτέρους εἰς τὴν τούτων ὑπαλλαγήν, 

καλῶς ἄνθυμομαξένους καὶ ἐνυπηρετομένους παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, 

καὶ σφῶς καὶ ἀνελλυπτεῖς κατὰ τὸν τυπώθεντα ἀριθμὸν ἀποστελλο-

μένους, καὶ μὴ δὴ αἰσχρὸν κέρδος οἴκοι καθεξῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀρχό-

ντων αὐτῶν ἐθαθὼς.

25 Ἐξεστὶ δὲ τοὺς βιγλάτορας ἄφοράν ἐν οἷς ἀπλήκτα τῶν πολε-

μίων ἀρμόζει γίνεσθαι. ἐκεί γὰρ τὰ ἀπλήκτα ὡς ἐπίπτων εἰσθε 

γίνεσθαι εἰς οἷς ὑδρῷ ἐστὶ διαρκές καὶ τόπος ἑφώμαλος. ἐτέρους δὲ βλέ-

πειν ἐν οἷς ἡ ὁδὸς ἀποτελεί στένωμα· ἄλλους δὲ ὅπου ποταμὸς ὑπάρ-

χεί δισπέρατος. καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς φυλαττότων, οὐ δυνὴ-

σονται οἱ πολέμιοι λάθρα ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐξέλευσιν. ἀποστέλλειν 

τε πιστοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐμπειρότατους τοῦ ἐφοράν αὐτοὺς, εἰ γε 

καλῶς καὶ ἀγρύπνως τὰ κατατόπια αὐτῶν διαφυλάττουσι. καὶ οἱ τυ-

πώθεντα βιγλάτορες σώοι τῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ μὴ ἐλλυπεὶς ἀπέρχονται, 

καὶ μὴ καταλαμπὰνοι τὰς στάσεις αὐτῶν, ἐν αἷς βλέ|πειν καὶ φυ-

λάττειν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐτάχθησαν, μὴ τροχίζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς στασι-

δίοις, ἀλλ’ ἐναλλάσσειν τοὺς τόπους καὶ ἄλλαχοι μεταβαίνειν ἵνα 

μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ χρονίζοντες τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις, διαγινωσκόμενοι εὐά-

λωτοί γίνονται τοῖς ἔχθροις.
Watch posts. How far apart they ought to be from one another.

Commanders who have assumed responsibility for the large border themes and who have authority over the mountain passes should use every device, take every step, and never relax in their concern to labor and fight to preserve the territory of the Romans secure and unharmed from the incursions of the enemy. To this end they should station sentries who are in good physical condition, competent, and who know the roads perfectly. If there are high and rugged mountains on the frontier with the enemy, they should place the watch posts on them. The posts for the sentries should be about three or four miles apart. When they observe the enemy moving out they should quickly hurry off to the next station and report what they observed. In turn, those men should race off to the next station. In this way the information will eventually reach the cavalry posts situated on more level terrain. They will then inform the general of the alien incursion.

The men should spend fifteen days in watching the roads, bringing enough provisions with them for that number of days. Lists of soldiers should be carefully drawn up and the men gotten ready by the officers, so that replacements may be sent to relieve the men at the posts. The full complement of troops as set down in the lists must be sent out on a regular basis, and nobody should be allowed to stay at home by the officers because of shameful gain.

The sentries should be on the lookout for places in which the enemy are likely to make camp. These are usually places in which the ground is level and there is plenty of water. Other men should look for places in which the roadway narrows, and still others where there is a river difficult to cross. If they guard these places carefully, the enemy will not be able to move out secretly. Trustworthy and very experienced men should be sent out to check and see if the sentries are guarding their areas carefully and without slackening. The exact number of sentries as listed should go out with none missing; they should not leave the posts to which they have been assigned to observe and guard the roads. They should not stay in the same station for a long time but should change and move to another place. Otherwise, if they are too long in the same place, they will be recognized and might easily be captured by the enemy.

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1 The length of the Byzantine mile varied, but the most regular seems to have been 1574.16 m.: Schilbach, Metrologie, 32–36.
Περί τῶν καμινοβιγλίων καὶ κατασκόπων.

Ἀναγκαία δὲ ἢ τῶν καμινοβιγλατόρων ὑπάρχει ὀφέλεια. καὶ
χρῆ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τούτων πολλὴν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν,
καὶ ἐν ἑπιτηθείσοις τόποις ἐφιστῶν τὰ καμινοβιγλία τῶν ὑπων; ἢνίκα
κίνησις τῶν ἑχθρῶν γένηται, καὶ οἱ βιγλάτορες ταύτης αὐτῶν καὶ
diὰ τῶν καμινοβιγλίων, καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ἐξέλευσιν τῶν ἑχθρῶν
προγνώσκῃ, καὶ ποιῶν ὄδον ἐξελθεῖν μέλλωσι, καὶ αἱ ἱκάραι δὲ
αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκσπηλατόρων καταμηνύομεναι, τοῖς ὀνομάσαται
καταφεύγωσι καὶ τὰ τούτων θρῆματα.

Εν δὲ ταῖς ἄκραις τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν θεμάτων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀρμενίοι
οὐ καλῶς ὤνθε ἀσφαλῶς τὴν τῶν βιγλῶν ἐκτελοῦσι δουλείαν, ὄφειλο-
μενὸν ἐστὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν ἀπὸ παλαιών κρατήσαντα τῦτον ἐν ταῖς
βιγλαῖς τῶν Ἀρμενίων. καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐπιλέγεσθαι καὶ ἀπογρά-
φεσθαι ἑπιτηθείσοις, λαμβάνοντας μισθὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπι-
σωρευόμενοι, ὑπὲρ ὃν ὁ τοιοῦτος στράτης τῆς τῶν βιγλῶν λειτουργίας
ὑπηρετεῖν ὀφείλει, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀνώνυμον ἐκάστῳ μηνὶ τὴν τετυ-
πωμένην, καὶ ὑπαλλάττειν αὐτούς καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν μήνα, καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν
τὰς ὀδοὺς ἐν αἷς οἱ πολέμοι ἔξερχονται φυλάττετος ἀσφαλῶς.

Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὐθέν αὐτῶν οἱ μετὰ μισθὸν καὶ ἀνώνυμος, Ἀρμενίωι
οὐνεῖ, καλῶς τῆς τῶν βιγλῶν ὑπηρετοῦσι δουλεία, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστελ-
λομένων κατασκόπων χρὴ τὰς κατηγοίς τῶν φοισατῶν ἀναμανθά-
νειν. καὶ τραπεζίτας ἐπιλέγεσθαι γενναίους καὶ ἀνδρείας, οἷς οἱ
Ἀρμενίωι ταυταραίους καλοῦσι, καὶ ἐν ματρικίοις ἀπογράφεσθαι,
καὶ ἀρχηγοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐφιστῶν, οἷς πρὸς τῇ ἀνδρεία καὶ πολλῇ ἐμ-
πειρίᾳ τῶν ὄδων καὶ τῶν τῆς Συρίας χώρων πρόσεστι. καὶ τούτους διη-
νεκὼς ἀποστελλόντας τοῦ κατέρχεσθαι εἰς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας καὶ
καυνοτομεῖν αὐτάς καὶ βλάπτειν, καὶ εἰ ποὺ δυνήθοις τοῖς κατα-
σχεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἀρχὴν διέποντα στρατηγὸν
ἀποκομίζειν, ὡς ἐκ αὐτῶν τὰς τῶν ἑχθρῶν κατηγοίς καὶ βουλαὶς
ἀναμανθάνην.
Watch posts on the road and spies.

The role played by the sentries along the roads is essential. The general must devote a good deal of attention to these also and set up their posts in suitable locations, so that when the enemy begin to move the sentries will learn of it from the posts along the road. The general will have advance knowledge that the enemy are moving out and what road they plan on taking. The people in the countryside, then, warned by the sentries and the expilatores,\(^1\) may take refuge with their animals in fortified locations.

On the borders of the Armenian themes in which the Armenians may be acting as sentries, the regulations which have been in force from ancient times should be observed, since the Armenians carry out sentry duty rather poorly and carelessly.\(^2\) Select and sign up qualified men as sentries, whose wages should come from the funds the army should have set aside for their services. They should receive the stipulated allowance each month. They should also be rotated each month. Their duty is to guard the roads along which the enemy may approach.

But even with the salary and monthly allowance, these men are not very likely to perform the sentry duty well, for, after all, they are still Armenians. We must, then, rely on spies for information about the movements of the armies. Select some good, courageous trapezites, those whom the Armenians call tasinarioi.\(^3\) Enter their names onto the rolls. Set officers over them who should be courageous and who should, in addition, possess excellent firsthand knowledge of the roads and of the Syrian countryside. These men should be sent out constantly to charge down on the lands of the enemy, cause harm and ravage them. If possible, they should also capture some of the enemy and bring them back to the commanding general, so that he might obtain information from them about the movements and plans of the enemy.

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\(^1\)Expilator, a Latin word, means a robber or plunderer but here seems to designate a scout of some sort. In these border areas the distinction was probably minimal.


\(^3\)These seem to have been fast-riding warriors, organized in small units, and employed in scouting and raiding. In the West they were known as Chosarioi, which developed into the term *hussar*. They are mentioned a century later by Kekaumenos, 9, p. 134. See M. Canard, “Sur deux termes militaires byzantins d’origine orientale,” *Byzantion*, 40 (1970), 226–29; repr. in *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient* (London, 1973), xxi.
Περί κυνήσεως ἐχθρῶν καὶ τοῦ προκατασχεθῆναι τὰς δυσχωρίας.

Ἀναδιδασκόμενος δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν κυνήσεις,
5 ὅφεσθε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἱδιὸν λαὸν ἐπισυνάγει καὶ ἑξοπλίζειν, καὶ
πρὸς τὸς ἄκρας παραγίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν ἄπαν ἐπισυνάγειν
πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν, καθ’ ἣν ὀρμήσοντοι οἱ πολέμιοι ἑξελθεῖν. καὶ εἰ μὲν
μετ’ ὅλη γῆς δυνάμεως τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἑξέρχεσθαι ἀναμάθη, σπευστῶ
προσπαντῆται αὐτοῖς, καὶ καταπολεμῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ πεζικοῦ λαοῦ |

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10 καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν, εἰ γε τὸ τῶν πεζῶν στρατεύμα συναγαγεῖν καὶ
συντῆσαι δεδώνται.

Καὶ ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰ στενώματα καὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐπιτηδεῖοτέρος
ἔστων ὁ μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν πόλε|μος, δεόν ἐστι προκαταλαμβάνει καὶ
κατέχειν τὰ υψηλότερα τῶν ὅρων μετ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ εἴ ἀμφότερον
15 μερῶν, εἴπερ ἡ θέσις τοῦ τόπου ἔστιν ἐπιτήδειος, τάς πεζικὰς διϊστῶν
παρατάξεις. ἐν οἷς δὲ ἱππῶν ἀρμόζει πόλεμος γίνεσθαι συνείναι
τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς, ἵνα τὴν τοιαύτην παρασκευὴν καὶ κατάσχεσιν
τῶν στενωμάτων ἀκούντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἡ τῆς ὄρμης ἐπισχύονται τὰ
φορὰν τῶν ἡ καταγωγισθῶσι Θεός συνεργία. ὅπου δὲ οὐκ εἴ ἁμφο-
20 τέρων τῶν μερῶν ἡ τοῦ τόπου θέσις προσβαλεῖν πόλεμον ἀρμόζει,
ἀλλ’ εἰς ἐνός, ὡσαυτὸς κάκεινο υπερέχου τὸ μέρος προκατασχεῖν
dei. ἐν οἷς δὲ τὴν προσβολὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἄρ’ ύψηλοι βουνοῦ τοῦ τοῦ
τόπου ἀνεπιτήδειον γενέσθαι διακαλύπτε, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν τι προσανα-
φερῆς ἔστω ὡδὸς καὶ τραχεία, ἔχουσα καὶ ὑπάκας, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τοῦτων
στενωτάτην καὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύσκεσθαι, χρὴ τὴν τῶν πεζῶν παρατάξειν
ὑσαυτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν υψηλότερων παρασκέψειν, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν κρατεῖν
καὶ ἀποφράττειν δι’ ὀπλιτῶν ἀστισθηφορῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν· ὀπισθεῖν
dε τοῦτων τοὺς ἐκ χειρῶν λίθους βάλλοντας, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ τοξότας
καὶ σφενδονήτας. καὶ μετὰ τὴν πρῶτην παράταξιν καὶ δευτέραν

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25 ἐπομένῃ αὐτὴ παρασκέψεις. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως τῆς
φυλαττόυσης τὴν μέσην (ὁδόν), ἀκοντιστᾶσα καθιστᾶν, ψιλοῦς τε καὶ
σφενδονής.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρας ὁδοὺς λέγεται εἰναι δεξιὰ καὶ εὐωνύμῳ τῆς
παρατάξεως τῆς φυλαττότως τῆς δημοσίας ὁδὸν μὴ σύνεγγυς ἀλλὰ
πόρρωθεν, ὅσ’ οἱ ἄκροι ἄτραποις καλοῦντο, δεόν ταῦτα κρα-
τεῖσθαι μετὰ πεζῶν, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι ἀκριβῶς· μὴ ποτὲ, μαθα-
νόντων τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ κρατεῖσθαι
μετὰ πλήθους λαοῦ, εἰς ἐτέραν τῶν ἐκ πλαγίων ὀρμήσονται, καὶ, εἰ μὴ
καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττεται, εὑρὸντων ἐκείθεν πάροδον, καὶ γεννη-
θῶσιν ἐκ πλαγίων ἢ καὶ ἐκ νότου | τῶν παρατάξεων, καὶ περισπα-
σμον καὶ φόβον τῷ Ρωμαϊκῷ στρατῷ προεξήνησθαι. ἀμφότερων δὲ
SKIRMISHING

3.

Enemy movements. Occupying difficult terrain in advance.

Upon learning that the enemy have begun to move, the general must assemble his own troops, make sure they are armed, and proceed to the border areas. The entire infantry force should advance toward the road along which the enemy will soon move out. If he learns that only a small enemy force is riding out, he should make haste to meet up with them and have the foot soldiers together with the cavalry overwhelm them, if indeed he has been able to assemble and organize the infantry.

Since the infantry is more suited for fighting on narrow and difficult ground, it is necessary to make use of it to occupy the mountain heights in advance and to hold on to them. If the terrain permits, infantry units should be stationed on both sides. In sectors which are also suited for cavalry action, have the horsemen join with the infantry. When the enemy hear about our preparations and that we have occupied the passes, they will either slow down their advance or, with God’s help, they will be beaten back. In case the ground is not suited for launching an attack from both sides but only from one, then that elevated part ought to be occupied in advance. In places which are not suitable and which do not allow us to launch our attack from a high mountain, but in which the road rises gradually and is rough and made narrow by little streams, the infantry units must still be positioned on higher ground. They should seize the road and block it with soldiers bearing shields and javelins. Behind them should be archers, men who can throw rocks, and more slingers. Get a second line organized to stand behind the first. On both sides of the line guarding the road down the middle, station men with javelins, light-armed troops, and slingers.

If they say that there are other roads, of the sort which the border guards call atrapoi, off to the right or to the left of the line guarding the public road, not close by but further off, these too should be seized by the infantry and tightly guarded. Otherwise, if the enemy find out that the public road is securely held by a large number of troops, they will advance along one of those off to the side. If this should not be well and securely guarded, the enemy will use that to find a way through and will appear to the sides or the rear of our formation, injecting confusion and fear into the Roman army. But if both sides are tightly guarded, then the enemy will
αὐσφαλῶς φυλαττομένων, ἢ πρὸς máχην τῶν πολεμίων ὃρμώντων Θεοῦ συνεργίας κατασχεθήσονται, ἢ ὀρρωθία κατασχεθέντες διὰ ἄλλης ὀδοῦ πολλῶν ἥμερῶν διάστημα ἀπεχούσης τῆς ὁρμῆς ποιήσονται.

Καὶ ᾧς ἐνετέθεν δύο κακὰ προσγένωνται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς: εὖ μὲν, ταλαιπωρηθήσει τῷ τῶν πολλῶν ἥμερῶν διαστήματι, καταλιπτοῦσι τὰ τούτων ἀπληκτα καὶ τὴν εὐθείαν ὁδὸν ἔτερον δὲ, τὸ καὶ ἀπώλεσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπάγον, τὸ αὐτοῦς μὲν δειλανδρήσαι καὶ θυμία ὑποβληθῆναι τοὺς δὲ (Ῥωμαίους) προβεβλητέρους καὶ εὐτολμητέρους πρὸς τὸν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις Ἀλή τῷ νῷ τοῦ Χαμβδά ἐκ τρίτου παθεὶς συμβέβηκεν δι᾽ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ προνικάκαρος Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννητοῦ βασιλέως, ἀπαξ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμανοῦ του μακρίτου νῦν αὐτοῦ. καὶ πάντες σχεδὸν τὴν τότε γενομένην πανολθρίαν τῶν ἀνυπήρτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστανται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς τῶν Ταρσείων καὶ τῆς τῶν Κιλίκων χώρας ἐν διάφοροις τόποις τῶν στενωμάτων παρὰ τῶν τότε τῆς ἀκρας προνοομένων στρατηγῶν κατετροπώθησαν.

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H 192

(δ').

Περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖσθαι λάθρα τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις, καὶ περὶ τοῦ προσυπαντᾷν τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς τὴν ἱδίαν ἐπαναστρέφουτας.

5  Ἡρη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διὰ σκοποῦ καὶ μελέτης ἐχειν τὸν στρατηγὸν, καὶ πάσαν στροφὴν τίθεσθαι, λάθρα καὶ ἀδοκήτως, εἰ οἶον τε, τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεις ποιεῖσθαι. τοῦ γὰρ τουυότου ἐπιτηδεύματος τυγχάνων ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλυγοστοῦ λαοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν πολεμίων κατατροπῶσεται. εἰ δὲ, ἡς ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται, καὶ τόπου ἐπιτίχῃ ἐν τοῖς στενώμασι, ἐκ δύο μερών τοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πόλεμον τὸ ἐπιτίθενον ἔχοντο, ἀδιστάκτως ἐχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ καλῶς συντάσσων τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν λαὸν, Θεοῦ συνεργίας κατὰ κράτος τοὺς πολεμίους τροπῶσεται.

15  Πλὴν κατὰ πολὺ ἐστὶ λυσιτελεστερον καὶ ἀρμοδιώτερον ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσυπαντὰν τοὺς πολεμίους μέλλοντας ἐξεῖναι κατὰ Ῥωμανίας, ὅτε μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἥμετέρων χωρῶν πρὸς τὴν ἱδίαν ἐπαναστρέ-
either charge into battle and, with God's help, will be put to shame, or, struck with terror, they will take another road a number of days distant.

The enemy will then face two problems. The first is that they will be worn out by marching for several days away from their camp and the good road. The second, which will be their ruin, is that they will be demoralized and fall into despair, while the Romans will become more daring and more eager to do battle with them. This is what happened three times in the past to Ali, the son of Hamdan, twice in the reign of the revered and thrice-blessed emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus and once in that of the good emperor Romanos, his blessed son.² Virtually everyone knows all about the complete destruction of the adversaries of Christ at that time. In various sections of the defiles the men of Tarsus and the land of Cilicia were put to headlong flight by the commanders of the time who planned everything so well.

¹The word means a shortcut or, in general, a path.
²The first of these took place in 950. 'Ali left Aleppo in late summer with over thirty thousand troops. His army penetrated deeply into Asia Minor, forded the Halys River, and defeated a Byzantine army commanded by Bardas Phokas. On his return, encumbered by many prisoners and vast amounts of booty, he had to pass through narrow defiles. Lying in ambush, Leo Phokas allowed the vanguard to pass, then blocked the way with tree trunks and boulders. 'Ali was deserted by his men and barely escaped with his life, losing many soldiers and all the loot. The Arab poet Mutanabbi, who was present, has described the entire campaign. See Canard, Hamdanides, 763–68; “Mutanabbi et la guerre byzantino-arabe,” Mémoires de l’Institut Français de Damas (Beirut, 1936), 99–114. The second defeat occurred in the fall of 958 at the hands of Byzantine forces commanded by John Tzimisces; Canard, Hamdanides, 795. The third and most famous defeat was inflicted upon 'Ali in November 960 by Leo Phokas, who followed the tactics prescribed in this chapter very closely. It is described in some detail by Leo the Deacon, 2, 5; pp. 16–17; see Canard, Hamdanides, 801–3.

4.

Making unexpected attacks on the enemy. Confronting the enemy as they are returning to their own country.

The general must make it one of his highest priorities and concerns to launch secret and unexpected attacks upon the enemy whenever possible. If he is successful in this sort of operation, with only a small group of men, he will put large numbers of the enemy to flight. If, as described above, he finds a place in the mountain passes which is suitable for fighting the enemy from both sides, he should attack without hesitation. With his troops in proper formation, and with God's help, he will force the enemy to turn to flight.

Still, instead of confronting the enemy as they are on their way to invade Romania, it is in many respects more advantageous and convenient to get them as they are returning from our country to their own. They will then be worn out and much
ησύχασεν. τότε γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πολὺ χρονοτριβῆσαι αὐτοὺς ταῖς Ἄρωμαικαῖς χώραις, μεγάλως συντρίβονται | καὶ ταλαπωροῦνται. εἰ τάχιστον δὲ καὶ πλῆθος προαγμάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ἐπιφέρονται καὶ κτημών, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ὑποι αὐτῶν κατάκοποι ὄντες, ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου ἐκλελυμένου εὐρίσκονται, σπεύδοντες καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες τάχιον τὴν ἰδίαν καταλήψεσθαι χώραν. ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἄρωμαίων στρατεύματα ἐν τῇ τῶν ἡμερῶν παρατάσσει ὠο μόνον τὰ πλήσιον τῶν κλεισορών τάχιον ἐπὶ | ἑστραφέντα, ἄλλα καὶ τὰ πόρρω τυγχάνοντα· καὶ εἰς πλῆθος ἐπισυνιστάνται ἰκανοῖ καὶ καλῶς πρὸς πόλεμον καὶ ἐξαρτύνονται καὶ παρασκευάζονται. καὶ τότε μάλλον, καθάπερ προέφημεν, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ ὁ κατ’ αὐτῶν πόλεμος ἀδιστάκτων ἔχει τὴν νίκην.

Διὸ χρή τῶν στρατηγῶν μηδέπω ἐν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ καταλληλότερως. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξελεύσει τῶν πολέμικῶν παρασκευάζονται προσυπαντάν αὐτοίς πρὸς πόλεμον ἐν τοῖς στενώμασιν, ἀνεπιτηκτικῶς μὲν ἐστι, καὶ εἰς μάτιν ἰδίως τὸν κόπον συνέβη γίνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπό τῶν συντόμως δι’ ὁλίγων ἡμερῶν δύνασθαι τὸ πεζοῦσαν συναθροισθῆναι στράτευμα καὶ καλῶς παρασκευάσθηναι. ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἀκμῆτες ὄντες καὶ ἀπαρόπλιστοι δυσκαταγώνιστοι ἐστονται. κατὰ τούτο δὲ τὸ ἀφέλμον ἔχει καὶ χρῆμα, καθὼς ἐμφοβοῦντας αὐτοὶς γίνεσθαι, ὡσκάς ἀν βουληθῶσιν ἐξελθεῖν, τῇ κατασχέσει τῶν στενωμάτων, καὶ τὴν μετ’ ὁλίγον ἐκκοπεῖν κατὰ τῶν Ἄρωμαίκων θεμάτων συνεχὴ ἐξέλοντος.

4: 12 συντάσσεται B: τάσσεται S || 21 ἐκλελυμένοι Hase: ἐκλελυμένου SB || 36 ἐμφοβοῦς Hase: ἐμφοβοῦς SB || 38 ὁλίγον Hase: ὁλίγον SB

(ε').

Περὶ προκατασχέσεως ὁδῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς στενώμασιν ὄντων.

Ἐν οἷς δὲ τῶν στενωμάτων καὶ κλεισουρῶν πρὸς πόλεμον ὁ στρατηγὸς παρασκευάζεται, εἰπέρ ἐν τούτοις πηγὴ ἐστὶν ὕδωρ βρύσεως, ὅτι δὲ τοῦ ἴδιον λαοῖ τοῦτον σπούδασε κατασχεθῆναι, ὥστε τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ὕδωρ τῶν λαῶν ἀπαρέσκει. εἰ δὲ τάχιστον ὤλγοστον εἶναι, σπούδασε μὴ ἐπιθυμοῦσθαι τούτο, | (ἐπει) καὶ οὐ μικρὰ ὡς ἐκ τούτου λυπεῖ τῶν λαῶν καὶ ἀνάγκη ἐπισμηνύσεται. πηγής δὲ ἐγγυστὰ μὴ ὁποίης ἔστιν τῇ πόσιν καὶ ἀναφηχθῶν ὁ λαὸς ἔφευ └ ήπισκεψε καὶ μάλιστα ἐν καιρῷ θέρους, ἄσκοις διοριστέων ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἑκατονταρχίᾳ δέκα ἐπιφέρεσθαι, καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ κομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐν ὅρᾳ

B f 239 S f 284 H 194 B f 239
the worse for wear after having spent such a long time in the Roman lands. They are likely to be burdened with a lot of baggage, captives, and animals. The men and their horses will be so tired that they will fall apart in a battle. They will also be in a hurry and anxious to get back to their own country rather quickly. Delaying a few days, moreover, allows time for the Roman armies to be assembled, not only from the neighboring mountain passes but also from those farther away, and in sufficient numbers and with proper equipment to be well prepared for battle. Then is the time, as we have said, by either day or night, to fight them, and there is no doubt that we shall win.

The general, therefore, must never let them return home unscathed. Getting ready to encounter the enemy in battle in the defiles as they begin their invasion is less expeditious and can be very much of a wasted effort. For one thing, it is not possible to assemble the infantry units so quickly in a few days and to see that they are properly prepared. In addition, the enemy will then be fresh, well armed, and difficult to fight. But attacking them as they return has this advantage. It will instill in them the fear that each time they want to invade, we will occupy the passes, and after a while they may cut out their constant incursions into the Roman themes.

5.

Controlling the water in the passes ahead of time.

In those sections of the defiles and mountain passes in which the general is preparing for combat he should make sure that any spring of water flowing there should be occupied by his own men, so they can draw off the water from it. If there happens to be only a small amount flowing, he should make sure that it does not get muddied, which would cause serious harm to the men and place them in real difficulty. But if there is no spring in the vicinity to provide drink and refreshment for the troops, especially during the summer months, let him order each company to furnish ten bags and use them to carry water, so that during combat it may be dis-
τῆς μάχης εἰς πόσιν καὶ ἀναψυχήν τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀγωνιζομένους ἐπιχορηγεῖσθαι.

'Αλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς στενώμασι μελλόντων πρὸς πόλεμον ἐξαρτύνεσθαι ἴκανῶς εἰρήσθω. εἰ δὲ καὶ νυκτόπολεμον δείησε ἐν τοῖς τοιαύταις δυσχωρίαις γενέσθαι, καὶ τούτῳ πάνυ ὑφέλιμον. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἑτέρῳ διηγησθεὶς δηλώσω. τῆς δὲ παραδρομῆς ἁρξομαι τὴν εἰσήγησιν, ἢτις ἐπαφελῆς καὶ ἀναγκαία τυγχάνονσα, δι’ ὀλίγου καὶ εὐφιλιμήτου λαοῦ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμίων πλήθη ἀπρακτεῖν παρασκευάζει, Θεοῦ δὲ νεῦσει ὡς τα πολλά καὶ καταγωνίζεται.


(<φ’.>)

Περὶ παραδρομῆς τῶν μονοκούρσων καὶ στοχασμοῦ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν ποσότητος.

Τὰ τῶν πολεμίων κοῦρσα τὰ λεγόμενα μονόκουρσα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας ἐξερχόμενα, πεζῶν ἄνευ, ἔθος αὐτοῖς σπουδὴ τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μηδεμοῦ ἀπληκτεύοντας τὴν ὀλίγη νύκτα διαβιβάζων ἀλλὰ πρὸς μικρὸν τοὺς ἔποντο διαισκευέω, πρὸς τὸ τὸς ταγάς καὶ μόνον τούτους ἐπιδοῦναι. ὡς ἐπίπταν γὰρ τὰ μονόκουρσα μετ’ ὀλιγοστοῦ καὶ ἐκλεκτοῦ λαοῦ τὴν ἐξέλευσιν ποιοῦνται. στενοῦσι δὲ τάχιστα καταλαβεῖν ἐν ὧς χωρίοις τὴν ἐπίθεσιν καὶ ἐκδρομὴν ἐβουλεύσαντο ποιήσανται.

Τοῦ οὖν στρατηγοῦ παρὰ τε τῶν καμινοβιγλίων καὶ τῶν βιγλατόρων τὴν τούτων ἐξέλευσιν ἀναμανθάνοντος, σπουδῆ πολλῆ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἄκραις | καταλαμβανότως χωρία, προκατοστέλλων τουρμάρχην εἰτε ἐτερον ἀρχοντα τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων καὶ χρησίμων μετὰ ἐκλεκτῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ καλοπαρατῶν τὸν προσπαντήσας, καὶ μετὰ ἐμπειρίας τούτους θεασάσθαι καὶ παραμείνειν καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ καταμηνύειν ἐν ὧ τότε κατάλαβον εἰ δυνατῶν διασκεισε καὶ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν ποσότητα. οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς | θέας δυνατῶν ἐστιν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ καταστοχάσαισθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τούτων ὀπλῆς. πλήθος γὰρ χόρτων ἑρημίας ὑπάρχον καὶ τοῖς ποτὶ τῶν ἀλόγων καταπαυσμένων, οἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐμπειροτάτοι δύνανται ἐκ τούτου τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ποσότητα, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἄκριβῶς, καταστοχάσασθαι. ὥστε καὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ποταμῶν περάμασιν ἄκριβεστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τούτων ἀπλήκτων, ἣνικα ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαῖροντον.

'Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τοῦ κούρσου τῶν πολεμίων ἀφείς ἀναμανθά-
tributed to the men engaged in the fighting for drink and refreshment.

Enough, however, has now been said about how to go about waging war in the passes. If it should be necessary to fight at night in such difficult terrain, this can be very useful. But I shall explain about that in another chapter. Now I shall begin our discussion on skirmishing. This should prove beneficial, even essential, inasmuch as it prepares a very small number of troops to disable a large multitude of the enemy and, for the most part, with God’s favor, to overwhelm them.

6.

Skirmishing tactics in single raids and estimating the number of men in one.

The type of enemy raid which we call a single raid sets out from their country without infantry. They usually ride along rapidly and keep going the whole night without camping anywhere, but make brief stops to rest their horses only in order to feed them. In general, these single raids start out with a very small but select body of troops. They make an effort to move most rapidly to the territory they want to raid.

When the general, therefore, learns from the road sentries and guards that they have started out he should move with all haste to the areas on the frontier. He should send ahead a turmarch or another officer, a very experienced and competent man, with some selected junior officers and good horses. They should catch up with the enemy, keep a close and experienced eye on them, follow them along, and report back to the general if it is possible in the place they have reached to observe the number of soldiers in the party. It is not only by visual observation that one can estimate the numerical strength of the enemy. First, there are the hoofprints of the horses. For when there is a large amount of grass in a deserted area and if it is all trampled down by the horses’ feet, experienced scouts can form an approximate estimate from this of the quantity of troops. In like manner, one can examine the ground at river crossings. A more precise estimate can be formed from the enemy’s camp after they have vacated it.

When the general learns of the approach of an enemy raid and figures out
νων, καὶ τῶν ἐν οἷς τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ποιήσασθαι μέλλουσι στοχαστικοῖς, πλησίον τούτων γυνέσθαι. καὶ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ ἐκατὸν ἀποκρύφιας μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, βίγλας τε καβαλλαρίων παντοχώ ἀποστείλας, ἢνίκα περὶ αὐτῶν καταμηνυθείη, καὶ θεαθῶσιν ἐξελαύνοντες καὶ διασκορπιζόμενοι, ἐξέλθη εἰς τὸ σκότος μα, καὶ τούτως ἐντυγχάνων ἀπόνως αὐτοῦς καταγωνίστηται. εἰ δὲ συμβῆ τινας τῶν ἁρωτῶν κρατηθήναι παρ’ αὐτῶν πρὸ τοῦ ἐξελάσαι, καὶ ἀναμαθεῖν τὴν τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παρουσίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁρωτῶν ἐκστή- λευσιν, καὶ οὐθαρρήσουσιν ἐξελάσαι, ἀπρακτοι σπουδαίως πρὸς τὴν ἰδίων ὑποστρέψουσιν χώραν, μόνον τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν συντριβήν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν ὑποστάντες.

6: 36 κόπον B: σκόπον S

H 196

(ζ΄.)

Περὶ συναθροίσεως καὶ κινήσεως φοσσάτου, καὶ περὶ τοῦ παραχώρειν τοὺς πραγματευτάς εἰσέρχεσθαι καὶ κατασκοπεῖν.

Παρασκευὴν δὲ καὶ κίνησιν μεγάλου φοσσάτου ἀκούσων, ἐν ὧ 5 καρφὸς μάλιστα εἰσέθει τὰ μεγάλα συναθροίζεσθαι φοσσάτα, ἢγουν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ μηνί. ἐν γὰρ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ καρφῷ ἀπὸ τε Αἰγύπτου, Παλαι- στίνης τε καὶ Φωκίκης, καὶ τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας, πλήθη ἀνήρχοντο ἐν Κιλίκια, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις Ἁρμοσκεῖας, τοῦ Χάλεπτε, καὶ προσλαμ- βάνοντες καὶ Ἅραβας τῷ Σεπτεμβρίῳ μηνὶ τὴν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπ- οιούντο ἐξέλευσιν. ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τοῖνυν καρφῷ, ὅτε ἡ συνάθροισις τοῦ φοσσάτου τῶν πολεμίων μέλλει γίνεσθαι, συνεχέστερον τοὺς τρα- πεζίτας ἀποστέλλειν ἦτοι τὰ τασινάκια, καὶ κατασκόπους πλείστους τῶν χρησίμων καὶ πιστῶν.

Παραχώρειν δὲ καὶ πραγματευτὰς εἰσέρχεσθαι προσποιεῖσθαι 10 δὲ καὶ φιλίαν | πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἀμηράδας τῶν ταῖς ἄκραις ἡμῶν παρακειμένων κάστρων, καὶ γράφειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀνθρώπους μετὰ κανονικῶν ἀποστέλλειν, ὡς διὰ τῆς πολυειδοῦς ταύτῃς πολυ- παραγμοσύνης δυνηθῆ σκόρφος ἀναδιδόσκεσθαι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων βου- λαῖς καὶ μελέτας, καὶ τὰ πλῆθη τῶν ἐπισωρυνομένων φοσσάτων ἵπ- πεων τε καὶ πεζῶν, καὶ τοὺς τοῖνυν ἄρχηγους, καὶ ἐν ποιαὶς χώραις τὴν ἐπέλευσιν ποιεῖν βουλοῦνται.

Καταμηνύομενος δὲ τὴν τοῦ φοσσάτου ἀποκίνησιν, καὶ διὰ ποιας ὀδοῦ τὴν ἐξέλευσιν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ποιεῖσθαι μέλλει, ἐπι- συνάγειν | ἀπαντα τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄκρας παραγι-
which regions they intend to invade, then he should move closer to them. Finding a good location to conceal himself and his men, he should send out mounted scouts in all directions. When he has obtained information about them and they have been observed riding out and scattering all over, then, while they are disorganized, he should march out after them, and he should have no difficulty in defeating them. If the enemy happen to have captured some of the local inhabitants before beginning their raid and they find out that the general is in the vicinity and has the area well scouted, they will not even dare to ride out, but without having accomplished anything and having gained only toil, wear and tear, and misery, they will beat a hasty retreat back to their own country.

7.

The assembling and movement of the army. Making use of merchants to go out and spy.

The general should be on the alert for news about the equipping and movement of a large army, especially at that time of the year when one expects large armies to be assembled, usually in August. In that month large numbers would come from Egypt, Palestine, Phoenicia, and southern Syria to Cilicia, to the country around Antioch, and to Aleppo, and adding some Arabs to their force, they would invade Roman territory in September. In this period when the enemy are beginning to assemble their army, the general ought to send out trapezites, also called tasinakia, more frequently and a good number of competent and trustworthy scouts.

He ought also to have the businessmen go out. He should pretend to make friends with the emirs who control the castles in the border regions. He should also write to them and send out men with gift baskets. As a result, with all this coming and going, the general might be able to get a clear picture of the plans and intentions of the enemy. He should find out how many men make up their army, how many horse and how many foot; he should find out about their commanders and the area in which they plan to make their attack.

After receiving the report that the army has moved out and knowing their projected invasion route into Romania, then he should assemble his whole army and
25 νεσθαὶ, ἀποστέλλειν δὲ τουμμάρχην ἐμπερότατον εἶτε ἔτερὸν· τῶν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ χρησίμων ἄρχοντων μετὰ ἱππέων ἐπιλέκτων προσ-
υπαντήσαι τοῖς πολεμίωσι πρὸ τοῦ τῆν εἰσβολὴν εἰς τὰς ἡμῶν χώρας ποιήσασθαι, ἣν καὶ ἐπακολουθήσωσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ παραμένωσι, καὶ τὰς ἀποκυνήσεις αὐτῶν τῷ στρατηγῷ καταμηνύσωσι.
march toward the border. He should send out a very experienced turmarch or another high-ranking, competent officer, along with picked horsemen, to intercept the enemy before they penetrate our territory. They should follow along, keeping up with them, and report their movements to the general.

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2See *supra*, Chap. 2, note 3. *Tasinakia* must be another form of *tasinarioi*.


8.

Shadowing and following an army.

Shadowing the enemy should be done in the following manner. The general with all his troops should ride off to a good, strong location. The *expilatores* should get the inhabitants of the area with their animals to take refuge in the fortified towns or, if there are none, in very strong and secure positions high up in the mountains. About the second or third hour of the day he should send out the people who are to do the shadowing. On receiving his orders from the general,1 the commander should gather his troops together, along with the spare horses, and ride quickly to the road along which the enemy are marching. Their baggage and the grooms for the horses should be left behind with the general. The only supplies they should bring with them are food for one day, not too much of that, only bread and cheese, or some dried meat, and fodder for the horses and mules.

When they encamp in a village and find what they need, as well as fodder for the horses, then the commander should have his men and horses relax there until the ninth hour of the day while watch posts are set up in higher locations. The commander of the unit ought to go into a watch post high up and personally observe and look for clouds of dust raised by the enemy and smoke. From these signs he should be able to form an estimate of their route of march and where they are likely to camp. Experienced men should be able to pick out suitable camping sites.

When they find the place in which the enemy have set up camp, they should immediately inform the general. He, in turn, should set out on the road with the army under his command, and over their armor they should wear the sort of surcoat we call *epanoklibana* of a dark color,2 and each man should carry his weapons in his hands. After sunset, when the enemy who had left the camp for raiding are returning to their tents and the groups guarding them are posted, then they should advance and move closely to the enemy camp. They should march with deliberation and
σκοποῦ δὲ ὁδοιπορεῖτω καὶ προσοχῆς ἀκριβοὺς καὶ λαθραῖς, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑποκρυπτέτω τοῦ μῆθει θεαθηναι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. νυκτὸς δὲ ἡ καταλαμβανοῦσης, πλησίον γενέσθω τοῦ ἀπλήκτου· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ βουνὸς υψηλὸς ἐν ὑ ἕνεκαι πολεμικαῖς, τῶν ἑνὸς μέρους ἡ καὶ ἐκ δύο πλησίων τοῦ ἀπλήκτου αὐτῶν ἀπόνως τὴν παραμονὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ φυλάξουσιν. ἀποβάντες γὰρ τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ πεζῶν ἐν τῷ βουνῷ ἄνευχωμενοὶ ἀνδρεῖς δύο τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἡ καὶ τρεῖς, καὶ πλησίαζοντες τῷ ἀπλήκτῳ, ἀπὸ τῶν υψηλῶν ἐκείνων καὶ ὄχυρωτάτων βουνῶν τῶν μή δυναμένων ἀνοδον εὐχερή παρέχειν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὄραν τὸ φοσσάτον καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐνωτίζοσθαι, καὶ καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ ἡμῖνων χρημετισμοῦς. ἀποστέλλεις δὲ καὶ ἕτερα τέσσαρα τετράδια ἱστασθαι ἐφίππους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔθεν κάκειθεν τοῦ φοσσάτου ἀπ’ ἄλλην διακεχωρισμένα, ὡστε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀκούειν τοὺς χρημετισμοὺς τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ ἡμῖνων καὶ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ὀχλαγωγίαν.

Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τόπῳ τοιοῦτος ὄχυρωτάτος βουνὸς οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ ὑσυνότως τέσσαρα τετράδια ἀποστέλλεσθαι, τοῦ ἐνθὲν κάκειθεν τοῦ φοσσάτου ἑσύχως ἱστασθαι, καὶ σύσσημα παρέχειν ἀλλήλους σημαντικὰ υποχωρήσεως, εἰγε δῆσις, εἰτε διὰ συρμοῦ, εἰτε διὰ λόγου καὶ ἐπιλαξίας. ὑπαλλάττεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς παρ᾽ ἐτέρων, εἰτε δεύτερον τῇ νυκτί, ἡ καὶ ἀπαξ, πρὸς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς αὐτῶν διαναπαύσθαι. ἀπέρχεσθαι δὲ τὸν τουρμάρχην, εἰτε ἐτέρα τις κεφαλῆς, εἰς τὴν τούτων ὑπαλλαγὴν, καὶ ἐπιβλέπειν τοῦ καὶ πῶς ἱστανται, καὶ τοὺς ἀντὶ ἐκείνων πάλιν καλῶς ἐφίππων ὑποστρέφειν ἐν ὑ ἤ καὶ ἱστατο πρότερον. ταραχῆς δὲ ἐξαιτουμένης κίνησιν δηλοῦσι τοῦ κούρσου, τὰ τέσσαρα τετράδια μικρὸν ἀναποδείχτωσαν, μὴ μέντοι δὲ μακρόθεν γινέσθωσαν. τῷ δὲ τουρμάρχῃ μηνέωσαν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἁποκίνησιν. αὐτὸς δὲ μηνεύετο τῷ στρατηγῷ ὀδοὺ ὁ δὸ τὴν ὀρμήν ἐποίησαντο καὶ ἐν ὑ ὧρα, ἵνα τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τῆν ὥρα τῆς ἀποκινήσεως αὐτῶν ἀναμινάναμον ὁ στρατηγὸς δίνησαι στοχάσασθαι ἐν οἷος χαρίσις καταλάβωσιν ἄχρι πρωίας. οἱ δὲ ἀποστελλόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ τουρμάρχου καταμηνύσατο τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐν ὑ τόπῳ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἦλθεῖτο τῇ τοῦ κούρσου ἄποκινήσαν. εἶπαν δὲ (ἢ) οὐχ εὐρήσων εἰκείστην αὐτῶν ἀλλίποδοχοί τούς παρ᾽ αὐτὸν καταλεικέσθατας, δέν οὐκ ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ γενόμενον φανέσθαι τοὺς δὲ ὑποδοχαίροον ἀκριβῶς διασκοπούμενος, ἤνικα τῆς φωνῆς αἰσθητῶν, ἐνοθήμεν, καὶ διὰ τάχους τῷ στρατηγῷ τούτους προσάχει, εἰτε εἰς ἐτέρους πάλιν ἐκείνην ὑποδοχαίρους, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἔσως πάλιν μετακινήσατος. χρῆ γὰρ αὐτῶν, εἰτε ἀπαξ εἰτε καὶ διὰ ἐν νυκτὶ μεταπληκέσθαι διὰ πολλὴν ἄσφαλειαν, πρὸς τὸ μῆ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐνεδρευθῆναι, ἐχειν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ βίγλας διπλᾶς εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἄσφαλείς.
careful attention and stealthily. The commander should keep in hiding, so he will not be observed by the enemy. After nightfall he should move closer to the encampment. If the enemy have made their camp on a high mountain, they should be able to keep them under surveillance in that place without any difficulty, from either one or two areas near their camp. Two or three men should get off their horses, ascend the mountain on foot, and move close to the camp. From those high and very secure positions on the mountain to which the enemy have no easy access, they should observe the army, listen to the voices of the troops, hear the neighing of the horses and mules. They should also send out another four units of four mounted men each who should station themselves here and there around the camp at a distance from one another, so they too can listen to the neighing of the horses and mules and the murmuring of the troops.

But if in the vicinity of the camp there is no such secure mountain, still, in the same way, send out the four four-man units to station themselves silently here and there around the camp. They can give each other special signals, either by whistling or by a spoken command, if it becomes necessary to withdraw. They should be relieved by other troops twice or at least once a night, so they and their horses can get some rest. At the time of this relief a turmarch or some other high-ranking officer should inspect the location and operation of the post, and after having properly installed the new men in place of the others, he should return to his previous post. On hearing the noises which indicate that a raid is beginning, the four units of four should withdraw a little, but not too far away. They should report to the turmarch that the enemy are moving out. He should then let the general know what road they have taken and at what time. If he finds out the precise time of their departure, the general should be able to guess how far they will have gotten by morning. The men dispatched by the turmarch should inform the general in his encampment of the departure of the raiding party. But in case they should not find him there, but only the camp guards left behind by him, they should call out on arriving. On hearing the shouting the guards will examine them closely, join them, and lead them quickly to the general or to yet other camp guards in case the general has moved again. For he should, once or even twice a night, change the location of his camp for the sake of good security, so they might not be ambushed by the enemy. He should have two sets of watch posts to assure his protection.

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1 *Euche* usually means "prayer" or "wish," but is here used in the sense of "orders," "command," equivalent to *prostaxis*, as in *Campaign Organization and Tactics*, 19, 32.

2 *Epanoklibana* or *epilorika*, both of which mean "on top of armor," were large surcoats or cloak-like garments worn over one's armor to cut down glare from the polished metal and to serve as a protection against the elements: Leo, *Tactical Constitutions*, V, 3; VI, 4.
Περὶ τῆς κινήσεως τοῦ κούρσου καὶ ἀκολουθήσεως.

Τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῖς τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ κούρσου ἀναμαθάνοντος, παρατικα καὶ ἑτερον ἁρχοντα μὲθ’ ἱππέων ἐκλεκτῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ τοῦρμάρχῃ τῷ ἀκολουθοῦντι τῷ κούρσῳ ἀποστέλλειν, πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἔχων μὲθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ἀποστελλόμενος ἔνα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ τοῦρμάρχου πεμφθέντων, καταμηνύσαι τὴν τοῦ κούρσου κίνησιν τῷ στρατηγῷ, τοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ὀδηγηθῆναι εἰς τὸ εὐχερὸς ἐνωθήναι. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ὀπισθὲν τοῦ ἀποστελλομένου ἁρχοντος ἀποκινησάτω μετὰ τοῦ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν λαοῦ, καὶ σπευσάτω καταλαβεῖν τὸν τοῦρμάρχην, ὅπως ὀπισθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ τοῦρμάρχου τῷ κούρσῳ τῶν πολεμίων ἀκολουθῆ. ἣ γὰρ ἀκριβῆς καὶ ἀπαταστῶς ἀκολούθησις έκ τῶν ὀπισθῆναι τῶν πολεμίων ἄφειλε γίνεσθαι, κατὰ τὰ ἐκεῖνων ἐνιχθυντα καὶ τὴν ὁδαῖς | βίαν.

'Ο δὲ τοῦρμάρχης ἤρικα τὸ κούρσον τῶν πολεμίων ἀποκινήσῃ τρία ζευκτὰ, ἔμπειρος καὶ ἐπιτηδείους ἄνδρας ἀναλαμβανόμενος, παραγινέσθω τῇ ὀξὺ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τυπώσας τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ζευκτῶν πῶς ὀφείλοισι περιπτατεῖν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίωις κατακολουθεῖν, ὑποστρεφόσθω πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ζευκτὸν πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων περιπτατεῖτω, ἄκουσαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ὠχλαγωγίαν καὶ τοὺς χρεμετησιμοὺς τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον, τὸ τοῦ πρῶτον ἀκόλουθον, ὀδοιπορεῖτο ὁσον δύνανται ὅραν τὸ ἐμπροσθέν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀράσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μῆτε πλησίον γίνεσθαι, μῆτε μακρύνεσθαι, ὡστε μὴ ὀράσθαι.

Τρία δὲ τετράδια ὀπισθὲν τῶν τριῶν ζευκτῶν ἀποκαταστήσει, ὅραν τὸ πρῶτον τετράδιον τὸ τρίτον ζευκτῶν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τετράδιον ὡσαντῶς ὅραν τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ δὲ τρίτον τετράδιον, τὸ ἀκόλουθον τοῦ δεύτερου, εἶς ἐχέστω ἄνδρας, ὅποι εἰς αὐτῶν δύο τά ὑπὸ ζευκτῶν μηνούμενα ἀποκομίζωσι τῷ τοῦρμάρχῃ, ὃ δὲ τοῦρμαρχῆς τῷ στρατηγῷ. εἶν γὰρ ἑδότερον βαδίζονσι οἱ πολέμιοι, ὀφείλει μηνύει τὸ πρῶτον ζευκτῶν περὶ τοῦτο, ὅπως καὶ ὁ τοῦρμαρχῆς καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ὑπέρτεροι καὶ αὐτοὶ βαδίζοσι, καὶ μῆ ἐπὶ πολὺ μακρύνωσι τῶν πολεμίων. εἰ δὲ σχολαίτεροι πάλιν βαδίζουσι οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ὁ τοῦρμαρχῆς καὶ ὁ
9.

Movement of raiding parties and following them.

Upon learning that a raiding party has begun to move, the general should immediately send out another officer with some selected cavalrmen, assigning him to the turmarch who is following the raiding party. This junior officer should be accompanied by one of the men who had been sent by the turmarch to inform the general of the raiding party’s movement. This man should serve as a guide so he can reach the turmarch more quickly. The general himself, together with his troops, should march out behind the officer he is sending and make haste to catch up with the turmarch. He should then stay behind the turmarch who is following the enemy raiding party. This following behind the enemy ought to be carried out with precision and without deviation, adhering to their tracks and line of march.

When the enemy raiding party moves out, the turmarch should pick out three teams of experienced and competent men and with them proceed to the road used by the enemy. He should give instructions to the first, second, and third teams about how they are to proceed along and follow after the enemy, then return to his own troops. The first team should march close enough to the enemy so that they hear the murmurings of men and the neighing of the horses. The second should follow along at a distance at which it can see the first team ahead of it and also be seen by it. They should get no closer than that and not get far enough away to be out of sight.

Three units of four men each should then be organized behind the three teams just mentioned. The first of these should remain in sight of the third team, the second unit of four in sight of the first. The third unit, the one following the second, should have six men, so that two of them may relay to the turmarch the information uncovered by the teams. The turmarch may then report it to the general. If the enemy should quicken their pace, the first team ought to pass on this information, so that the turmarch and the general may quicken their own pace and not fall too far behind the enemy. If, on the other hand, the enemy should slow their march, the
στρατηγός ὡσαίτως σχολαίωτερον περιπατεῖτωσαν, ἵνα μήτε πλη-
σίον γνώμενοι διαγνώσκανται, μήτε μακρινόμενοι οὔτε τὴν τῶν
ἐπακολουθοῦντων διοίκησιν ἐπιγνώσκαν, οὔτε παρ' ἑκείνων ἐπι-
γνώσκανται, ὅπερ | οὗ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐπάγει βλάβην.

Ἄλλως τε δέ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπληκενόντων πρὸς τὸ ταγίσατι
tους ἔπους, καὶ περὶ τούτου καταμηνυόμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς, καὶ αὐτὸς
ἐν ἐπιτηδείᾳ τῶπο ἀπληκενέτω πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἔπους ταγίσαι, ἐξω-
βιγλα ἀποστέλλων εἰς φυλακὴν ἕαντον. καὶ ἥνικα πάλιν τὴν κίνησιν
tῶν πολεμίων καταμηθὴ, παραντίκα καὶ αὐτὸς κινήσει ἐπακο-
lουθῶν, ἑνθὲν κάκειθεν ἕαντον ἀποστέλλων ἀνὰ τριάκοντα ἦπεις,
μὴ πόρρω, ἀλὰ σύνεγγος, τὰς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ φωνὰς ἐνωτιζομένους.
καὶ ὅπερ οὐτότι ἐπακολουθοῦντα ἔρχοντα ἔχετο μὲν ἐπὶ ἐπεῖν, οὐς δὴ
σάκα ὀνομάζοντι. μήκοθεν δὲ ὀδουπορεῖτω ὁ στρατηγός, καὶ πάσαν
ποιεῖτω ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ μὴ διαγνωσθῆναι ὡς ὁπισθὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπακο-
lουθεὶ, ἀλλ’ ἀσφάλως μὲν περιπατεῖ καὶ τοὺς πλησίον τῶν πολε-
mίων ἀκολουθοῦντας παραγγέλλων τοῦ ἀκριβῶς ἀποσκοπεῖν, μὴ
λόχους τινὰς οἱ πολέμιοι καταλείψωσι εἰς ἑνδραί τῶν ἐπακολο-
lουθῶντων αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ὅπερ παρὰ τῶν Ταρσιτῶν
πολλάκις γέγονε. καὶ ἐπακολουθοῦντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ τουρμάρχου, καὶ
μὴ ἀκριβῶς τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν σκοτοῦντος ὑμάς καὶ τοὺς τόπους τοὺς
dυναμένους λαὸν ἀποκρύπτειν, ἀπροώτως τῇ ἑνέδρα τοῖς πε-
rυπετάκωσι. διὰ ταύτα πολλῆς δέσται ἀγχυνοίας καὶ ἀκριβείας ὁ
ἐπακολούθων, ἕνα μὴ τοιούτων τι συμβῆ γενέσθαι.

Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ διαγιάζασι δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν, ἔπει διέγνω τὸ ἐν
ποίοις τόποις καὶ χωρίοις ἔξελάσαι μέλλουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, εἴτε δεξία
eἰτε εὐθύμα αὐτῶν ἐπικλίναι, ἐν οἷς ὀχυρώτερος αὐτῷ τόπος καθορά-
ται. καὶ ὃς ὀπετοι οἰκίσας καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων αὐτῶν γενόμενοι ὡς | ἀπὸ
μιλίων δύο πρὸ τοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς λέξειται, διαγνάσει, ἵνα μὴ
tὸν κοινοτὴν ἑθαλάμημεν οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπι-
γνώσωσι, τὸν ὄχρον τόπον ὁ στρατηγὸς καταλαμβάνων τὸν ἱδιὸν
ἀποκρύπτατο λαὸν. κάκεινος μὲτ’ ὅλιγοις ἐπίτωπῃ πλησίοστερον γενέ-
σθω τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ εἰς υψηλὴν περιωτὴν ἀνερχόμενος καθαρῶς
ὅρας τῶν πολεμίων σπευσάτω. καὶ τούτων εἰς ἐξέλευσιν ὄρμων
των καὶ διασκορπιζόμενων πρὸς λείαν, καταρτησάτω ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐν
ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ ἄχρι τρίτης ἡ καὶ τετάρτης (ἀράς) τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ
tὴν παράταξιν τοῦ Ἀμηρᾶ θεωρῶν, καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὸ πλήθος τοῦ λαοῦ
στοχαζόμενος. ἐπεὶ (δ”) οἱ μέλλουσιν ἐξέλασαι πόρω πνῆ ἔπος τῆς
παρα-
tάξεως | τοῦ Ἀμηρᾶ γεγονόταν, ὡς μὴ δυνατὸν ἐστὶ πάλιν τούτως
ὑποστρέφειν ἢ ἐπιγνώσαί τοὺς τὰς τῆς παρατάξεως τοῦ Ἀμηρᾶ ἀνα-
φέντα πόλεμον, ἐκατον σπεύδων τὰ χωρία καταλαβεῖν, καὶ λείαν
ὅτι πλειστὸν πορίσασθαι τὰς ἱδιὰς παρατάξεις ὡς δεὶ εὐτρεπίσας,
κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Ἀμηρᾶ παρατάξεως ὀλγυανδροῦσθης τὴν ἐπέλευσιν
SKIRMISHING

turmarch and the general should likewise slow down in their own marching. Otherwise, they may get too close and be detected. They should not fall so far behind that they can no longer observe the operation of the units following the enemy or no longer be observed by them, which can cause serious problems.

It is very important that the general be informed when the enemy make camp in order to feed their horses. Let him then find a good location to set up camp and feed his own horses. He should establish guard posts out a bit to protect himself. When he is informed that the enemy have begun to move again, he should immediately set out to follow. He should send about thirty horsemen here and there around him, not far, but fairly close, within hearing distance of his troops. To his rear there should follow an officer with cavalrymen, a unit they call a saka.¹ Let the general ride along at a distance and take every precaution to avoid being discovered following behind. He should proceed very cautiously and should order the units following the enemy more closely to keep a sharp eye out in case the enemy have left some detachments behind to ambush the men following them as well as the general himself. This has been done often by the men of Tarsus. When the turmarch was following them and was not carefully looking out for streams up ahead and for places capable of concealing troops, he unexpectedly fell right into an ambush. This means that the units following must be very shrewd and careful to keep anything of this sort from happening.

The general should have figured out the places and villages which the enemy plan to attack. Before dawn, then, he should angle out to either the right or the left of them, whichever appears to him as providing safer ground. Quickening his pace, he should move out from their flank about two miles. As mentioned, this should be done before daybreak, so the enemy will not see the clouds of dust and become aware of the general's presence. On reaching safe ground, the general should conceal his troops. With a few horsemen, let him draw more closely to the enemy. He should mount a high vantage point and hasten to get a good look at them. As they move out for attack and scatter for plunder, the general should remain in that spot until the third or fourth hour of the day. He should study the battle formation of the emir and form a careful estimate of the number of his men.² When the troops going out to raid have gotten far enough away from the emir's battle formation so they cannot retreat to it again or so they will not even be aware of an attack upon the formation, since each man will be rushing to get to the villages and gather as much booty as possible, then the general should set his own battle line in proper order and launch his attack against that of the emir, now undermanned, and with the aid of
ποιησάτω, καὶ Θεοῦ συνεργία τῆς νίκης κρατήσει, (καὶ) τελείαν πανο-
λεθρίαν τοῖς πολεμίωις ἐργάσεται.

Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐπελθεῖν οὐ βαρρῆσει, πολλὴν καὶ
ἀξιόλογον δύναμιν ὄρων ἐν αὐτῇ, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱδίας. τότε ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ
μακρόθεν διὰ κρυπτῆς καὶ ἐπιπετρείσας ὀδοῦ ὀρμάτω σὺν ἐλασίᾳ τῇ
προσισκούσῃ καταλαβεῖν τὸ σκόρπισμα τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ
dι᾽ ὅλης τῆς ἁμέρας ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀγωνίσεται διεσκεδασμένος
οὕς καὶ ἀξιόλογον ἔργον, Θεοῦ συμμαχία, ἐπιτελέσει. ὥρειλε ὑπὸν
καὶ ἀρχοντὰ τῶν χρησίμων μετὰ ὀλγοστῶν ἱππέων ὁπισθὲν ἔχειν,
βλέποντα | καὶ ἀποσκοποῦντα τὴν τοῦ Ἀμήρα παράταξιν, καὶ τὰ
περὶ αὐτῆς ὡς ἀν ὀδοπορεῖ καταστήσειν αὐτῷ.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ φοῖλκον, τὸ εἰς φυλακήν τῶν διασκορπιζομένων πρὸς
λειαν πολεμίων ὑπάρχῃ, συναντήσει ὁ στρατηγὸς πλήθος ἔχων,
δικῇ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ διέλῃ, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν μὲν ἀποστείλῃ τοὺς ὁφει-
λοντας μετὰ τοῦ φοῖλκου συνάφαι πολέμου. τοῦτων δὲ συρραγεῖν τοῖς
εὐθὺς καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς μετὰ τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτοῦ πλησίον ἐπακο-
λουθὼν ὄξεις καὶ εὐτόλμως μετὰ κρανυῆς καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ σὺν ἐλα-
σίᾳ κατ’ αὐτῶν ὀρμησάτω, καὶ τούτους, Θεοῦ βοηθεία, τροποφό-
μενος καταδιέξει καὶ τελείας κατασχοῖσεται.

Εἰ ὁνὸς Θεοῦ συνεργία εὐδοκῆ ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ τοὺς εἰς λειαν
ἐκδραμόντας πολεμίων κατατροπάσεται, εἰ μὲν μεγάλην καὶ ἀξιό-
λογον δουλειαν ἐργάσεται, εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς πρὸς τὴν ἱδίαν
χώραν ὑποστρέψαι μετ’ αἰσχύνης. εἰ δὲ ἔτι ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ χρονίσαι
μελετῶσα, τὸν ἱδίον λαὸν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀναλαβόμενος μήκοθεν γενε-
σθω τῶν πολεμίων, ἐν ἐπιτηδείοις δηλοντὶ χωρίοις, καὶ τὸν λαὸν
αὐτοῦ κατάκοπον ὄντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς διαναπαυσάτω μόνον τοὺς
παραμένεις ὁφείλοντας, ὡς ἣδη ἐξεθέμεθα ἀποστέλλων ἐκάστῃ
ἡμέρα. πρὸς ὑποστροφῆς δὲ ὀρμώνας τούτους ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπιγνώσας,
παραντία τάχει πολλῇ ἄρχοντα τῶν χρησίμων ἀποστελέας, τὸ πεζο-
κόν στράτημα εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν ὀχὼν ἐπισυνευσάτωσαν καὶ
αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς στενάσατο, (μη) ἐν νυκτὶ μηδὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐαυτοῦ
ποσῶς ἀναπαύσατο, ἀλλὰ σὺν τάχει πολλῇ ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν γενέ-
σθω, καὶ καλῶς παρασκευάσατο ἅπαν τὸν πεζῶν καὶ ἰππέων αὐτῶν
στράτευμα, τὸν κατ’ αὐτῶν πόλεμον διάθεστο, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω ἐπὶ
λεπτῷ ἐξεθέμεθα. καὶ οὕτως ποιῶν, χάριτι Χριστοῦ, καὶ δυνάμει καὶ
προσβείαις τῆς παναχράντου αὐτοῦ μητρὸς, τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρων
μάχης κρατήσει, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως.
God he will be victorious and bring about the complete and utter destruction of the enemy.

If he does not feel confident enough to attack the battle line directly, inasmuch as he notices that it is very strong, significantly stronger than his own, then he should move off at a distance to the side by a good, but secret, road and with due speed reach the enemy soldiers who are dispersed about. During the whole day he should charge in upon them and fight them, as they are scattered all around and, with God on his side, he will accomplish memorable deeds. He should leave a capable officer with a few horsemen behind to keep an eye on the battle formation of the emir and to report back to him whatever he observes there, such as if it sets out on the road.

If the general should meet up with a large foulkon assigned to protect the enemy as they are scattered about for plundering, he should divide his own force in two, sending on ahead one group to attack the foulkon. After they have joined battle, the general, following closely with his own battle line, should immediately charge into the foe with great speed and spirit, shouts, and battle cries. With the help of God, he will turn them back, pursue them, and utterly defeat them.

If, therefore, with the assistance of God, the general is successful, he will overthrow the enemy who have ridden out to plunder. After he has performed such a great and noteworthy service, it is likely that the enemy will ignominiously retreat to their own country. But if they should still be thinking of spending time in our territory, the general should then assemble his own troops, move a distance from the enemy to a suitable site, and there let his weary men rest for three days. Each day he should sent out only those who, as we described above, are to shadow the enemy. When the general finds out that the enemy are beginning to retreat, he should immediately and in great haste dispatch a capable officer to mass the infantry along the difficult sections of the road. He too should hurry, allowing himself no rest by day or by night, and with great speed get in front of the enemy. After properly organizing his entire army, foot and horse, he should engage them in battle, as we have previously explained in detail. If he does it in this way, by the grace of Christ and by the power and intercession of his undefiled mother, he will be victorious in the struggle against the enemy. Enough about this now.

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2The "emir" probably refers to Sayf ad-Dawla.

3Foulkon, related to German Volk, generally designates a body of troops in very close or compact order, sometimes forming a solid defensive wall with their shields overlapping and their spear points sticking out. See H. Mihăescu, Revue de linguistique, 14 (1969), 264; also Nikephoros Ouranos, ed. de Foucault (see supra, note 1), 289; Maurice, Strategikon, et alibi.
Περί τοῦ διαχωρισμοῦ τοῦ κούρσου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ὑπισθὲν ἐπακολουθοῦντος.

"Α δὲ ἡμεῖς ἑθεασάμεθα ἐκθέθαι τὸν πολεμίδον διαφόροις, οἱ τὴν πόλιν ὑπακολουθοῦντο καὶ ἐπὶ δυσίν ἡμέρας ὑμεῖς, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἢπείκει οἱ τὸν ἡμετέρας χώρας κατατρέχεις καὶ λεγόμεναι βουλόμενοι προδρόμουν ήμερῶν τοιού των διαστήματος.

τοῦ πεζικοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότες, διὰ τὸ σπεύδον αὐτοὺς ἁμηντεῖ τοὺς οἰκήτορας τῶν χωρίων καταλαβεῖν, οἰκοί μένοντας, τὸ δὲ τουλίδον μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῆς τούτων ἀποσκεύης ὑπισθὲν ἐπιμελεῖν, ἤνικα τὰς δυσχωρίας καὶ τὰ στενὰ διήλθεν, ἐπιτίθεντον διασκοπῆς τόπον πρὸς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν, τὰς σκηνὰς πηκάμενον ἐν αὐτῷ ἡμιλίζοντο, τοὺς εἰς κούρσον ἐκδραμόντας ἢπείκει ἐκείστης προσεκδεχόμενοι, ἵνα τοὺς ὑποστρέφοντας καλῶς τὰς δυσχωρίας διαβιβάσας.

"Ο οὖν στρατηγὸς τὴν ἐξέλεσεν αὐτῶν καταμηνύμενος τὰς παραμονὰς ἀποστελλέτω, καὶ πάντα ποιεῖτο κατὰ τὴν ἀνωτέρω διάταξιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν εὐχερές ἐστιν τῷ στρατηγῷ, τοὺς εἰς τὴν λείαν ἐκδραμόντας διεσκεδασμένους καταλαβεῖν, καὶ τούτους καταστρώσατο, ἔργῳ τούτῳ σπευδάτῳ πληρώσας. εἰ δὲ διὰ τινα σφαλματον ἀποστολῆς ἐναντιώσεις ἐμπόδιον προςυπαντήσει αὐτῷ, εἰς τὸν κατὰ τὸν φοσσάτον πόλεμον παρασκευαθῶ. καὶ τὸν τόπον ὑπὲρ τὰς σκηνὰς ἐπίπεσαν ἀκριβῶς διασκοπησάτω, μὴ ποτὲ ποταμὸς ἐστίν | ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῶν προξένων ή ρύαξ. καὶ πρὸς τὴν θέσιν τοῦ τόπου δεῖ καὶ αὐτῶν παρασκευαζόμενοι, καὶ σπουδὴ πολλὴ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὸ πεζικὸν στρατεύμα, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐπισυναγείην. προσδοκώντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς τούτων ἀποκίνησιν καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἀπλήκτω μεταβαίνειν, ἢ τυχὸν δὲ αὐτομόλων τούτῳ πυθαμανέων,

δέν ἢπείκει ἀποστείλαι νυκτὸς ἄρχηγος ἐχοντας τῶν ἐμπείρων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἄξιον ὁμαλῶς, καὶ δύο ἐγκύμματα παρασκευάζασι ἐνθεῖν κακείθεν τῆς ὀδοῦ, διʼ ἡς γενήσεται ἡ τῶν πολέμων διέλευσις. εἰς αὐτῶν δέ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων ἐκατὸν ἄνδρας ἐπιλεξάμενος εἰς λόχον καταστησάτω, χωρία φιλάττοντας τὰ πλησίον τῆς παρόδου τῶν πολέμων διακείμενα. καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν χρὴ ἐν ἑπιτηδείᾳ τῷ ποτήρᾳ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱστασθαι κεκρυμένου, καὶ ἐκ περὶ τῆς ἐφοράντω τῶν πολέμων διάβασιν, οἱ οὖν ἢπείκει τῶν πολέμων εἰς συναγωγὴν χρεῖον τῶν χωρίων διευρύνωμεν τὰ πλησίον τούτως συμπαρακείμενα, ἢνικά εἰς τοῖς φυλαττομένους χωρίους εἰσέλθωσι, τῶν ἢπείκων ἀποβάντες (τόσο) οἰκίας ἀναψηλαφώσι τῶν χωρίων, κατ’ αὐτῶν οἱ εἰς τὸν λόχον ἱστάμενοι ἔκατον ἢπείκει ὀρμησάτωσαν.
When the raiding party separates itself from the troops following along behind.

We will not be the least bit hesitant in writing down what we have actually observed. In various ways the army of the enemy, cavalry together with infantry, has departed from its own cities and country and, after riding along together for a couple of days, sometimes more, have separated from one another. The horsemen, who want to ride through and plunder our country, separate themselves from the foot soldiers and move on a few days’ distance ahead, since they are in a hurry to attack the inhabitants of the villages before they can be warned and while they are still in their homes. The baggage train with the infantry and their equipment follows behind. After passing through defiles and difficult terrain and searching for a site which would assure their protection and safety, they pitch their tents and set up camp. There they await the return of the horsemen who had ridden out to raid, so they can escort them safely through difficult terrain.

Now, then, when it is reported to the general that they have broken out, he should dispatch the scouts and do everything as laid down above. If it can be done easily, the general should attack the men who have ridden out to plunder while they are scattered, and he will make them turn to flight. He should be quick to put all this into action. But if there has been some blundering and he has run into problems, then let him get ready to do battle against the encamped army. Let him carefully reconnoiter the sectors in which they have pitched their tents, in case there is a river or stream which may offer them protection. He ought to make his preparations with the nature of the terrain in mind, and, if possible, he ought to make every effort to get the foot soldiers to join him. Should the general suspect that they will move off and change the site of their camp, or perhaps learn this from deserters, he ought to dispatch horsemen at night under experienced and proven officers to prepare two hiding places on either side of the road along which the enemy will have to pass. He should then select a hundred men from that group and set them in ambush, watching the villages near the route to be taken by the enemy. He should station himself and all his troops in a convenient, concealed location and from a good vantage point observe the enemy as they ride along. The enemy horsemen would be searching about the villages in the vicinity collecting what they need. As they enter the villages watched by our men and dismount and search the houses of the inhabitants, then let those hundred horsemen lying in ambush charge out, kill as many as they
ὅσους ἀνελείν δυνηθῶσιν εἴτε ζωγρῆσαι, παραντικά πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρμήσοσιν, ὑπορείγοντες τὴν ὀδὸν | τὴν ἀναμεταξῆς τῶν δύο ἐγκρυμ-μάτων διερχομένην ἐφελκομένοι τοὺς πολέμιους πρὸς διωξίν. καταδι-ωκόμενοι δὲ ταῖς ἐνέδρασις περιπεσεῖν τοὺς πολέμιους παρασκευά-σουσι. τότε οὖν ἐξερχάσθωσαν τὰ ἐκατέρθηθεν ἱστάμενα ἐγκρύμματα, καὶ σφοδρῶς τὴν κατ’ αὐτῶν ὀρμὴν ποιησάσωσαν, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἔργον μαχαίρας ποιήσονται.

Τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς ταῦτα ὅρωντος, παραντικά καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν πλευρῶν τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ λαοῦ σὺν ὀρμήματι σφοδροτάτῳ τὴν προσβολὴν εἰς τὴν παράταξιν τῶν πολεμίων ποιεῖται. τοὺς δὲ γε ὑπολοίπους τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ νότου τῶν πολεμίων γενέσθαι, καὶ συνάψας πόλεμον παρασκευάσεται. καὶ εἰ μὴ τι ἐμπόδιον εὗ ὑμε-τέρων ἀμαρτητῶν γένηται, | τῶν πολεμίων ὑπερισχύσθησαν, εἰ δὲ γε ἱσχυρὸς μαχόμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι ἀντισχεῖν δυνηθῶσι, καὶ στώσιν ἐν (κῶ) αὐτῷ τόπῳ τὰ ἀχθορφά ἑώρα ἀποφορτίσεται, ἀπελθηκον δὴθεν ποιώμενοι ἐκ πολλῆς πετριτάσεως, καὶ πειρώνται τοῦ ἀντιπαρατά-ζοςθαι, πολλὴν ἐκ τούτου ἐφεύρωσι τὴν δυσχέρειαν. ἀλλʼ ὦμος χρή καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κύκλω κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπαγαγεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ πεικόνοις λαοῖς τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρᾳ καταλαβεῖν τάχει πολλῆ παραγενεθήσατο τοῦτο παρασκευάσαι. εἰ δὲ τούτῳ ἄδυνα-τόν ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ πόρρω τούτους τυγχάνειν, τοὺς προσήκοντας τῶν ἑπί-πεσων τῶν ἑπτῶν ἀποβήναι διορίσαται, καὶ πεζῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις μετὰ τῶν ἑπιτωτῶν μάχεσθαι, τόδε καὶ σφενδόσει καὶ δόρατι σὺν ἀστίσι 50 χρωμένους, δεῖ οὖν τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποσκευὴν ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ τὸ τούλιδον εἰ γε πλησίον τυγχάνει, καὶ σύνεγγυς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπληκύνεται εἰς | ἐκπληξίν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπόγυνωσι. εἰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ τόπῳ ὑδρω τὸ παράταν οὕτω ἐστι, καὶ τοῦτο πολλὴν ἀθύμιοι αὐτοὶ προεξῆνει. καὶ εἰ μὴ τελέως τούτους καταγωνίσεται, ἀλλʼ οὖν πολ-λοῖς γε τούτων ἁνδραιοδίᾳ, πλείοστοι δὲ καὶ θανατώθη καὶ τραυ-ματίας έργάσεται, καὶ τὸ ἀλαζονικὸν αὐτῶν καταβάλῃ φρόνημα, ὥστε μὴ ἀδεώς κατατομάμι κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων χωρίων ταῖς ἔφοδος ποιεῖσθαι.

Εἰ δὲ μὴ πρότερον ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπιγνώρ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου 75 αὐτῶν ἐν ἔτερῳ ἀπλήκτῳ μετάβασιν, ἦ, ὡς ἐφην, διʼ αὐτομόλων ἡ διὰ δεσμωτῶν, ὅπως ἐν νυκτὶ ἀποστείλας παρασκευάση ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ αὐτῶν τὰ ἐγκρύμματα· καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀδοιποροῦντων τῶν πολεμίων φανερῶς παρασκευασμένοι τὸν κατ’ αὐτῶν διάθηται πόλεμον, εἰ γε οὖ πάντη ὅλυγοστον καὶ εὑαρίθμητον κέκτηται στράτευμα.

80 Ὁ γὰρ κατὰ (τοῦ) τούλιδον αὐτῶν πόλεμος συντόμως οὐδὲπτοτε ἐναντίως ἡ βλάβην τῷ ἡμετέρῳ στρατῷ προβέβηκεν, ὀλγὴς ἔχον μαχώνας ἑπείς εἰς φυλακὴν ἐστάτω, ἀλλʼ ὡσάκας ἐν κατ’ αὐτῶν συνήθη πόλεμος, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς καὶ ἴνδρα-ποδιστὸ καὶ ἀνείλε. καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὑποξυγίων καὶ ἡμίων αὐτῶν
can, or take them prisoner. The enemy will immediately turn to flight, seeking refuge down the road which passes between the two ambuscades, with our men in pursuit. They pursue the enemy in such a way that they get caught in the trap. Then the men who have been stationed in hiding on both sides of the road should ride out and charge upon them with great force, and they will put a large number of them to the sword.

When the general sees all this, he should immediately, with most of his men, launch an attack as vigorously as possible on the enemy battle line. Let the rest of his men move toward the rear of the enemy and get set to join battle there. Unless our sins cause something to prevent it, they will overpower the enemy. Still, by fighting fiercely the enemy might be able to hold their ground. They might make their stand in that very place, unloading the pack animals and throwing up a sort of rampart of all the things lying around, and form up for battle against us. This would cause great difficulty. Nonetheless, the general must continue the battle against them by forming a circle. If possible, our infantry force should really rush to get there on the day of the battle so they may join in preparing this maneuver. If this is impossible because they are too far away, some of the capable horsemen should be ordered to dismount and fight the enemy on foot, along with the other horsemen, making use of bows, slings, spears, and shields. The general should have his equipment and baggage train brought up, if they happen to be nearby, and should set up camp near the enemy to their consternation and despair. If there is absolutely no water in that place, this too will cause them to become demoralized. Even if he does not completely defeat them, he will, nonetheless, take many of them captive, very many he will kill or leave wounded, and he will destroy their warlike spirit. They will not dare launch an attack against Roman settlements again.

If the general does not know in advance of their moving from one campsite to another, either, as I said, through deserters or prisoners, which would give him time to send out ambushing parties at night along their route, then during the daytime, as the enemy are marching along openly, he should prepare to launch an attack against them, unless, of course, his army is absolutely too small and undermanned.

An attack against the baggage train, to put it succinctly, never leads to resistance or damage to our army, for it is protected by only a few horsemen. In fact, every time we have gotten into battle with them, the army of the Romans has captured and killed large numbers of them and has also made off with many of their pack animals and mules along with their loads. If the infantry force should arrive on
Περισυμμένα ἀνελάβοντο. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζοῦν στρατευμα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου τίχη, τὸ ὑπολογεῖμον δηλονότι καὶ πρὸς πολέμους ἑγγεγυμναζόμενον, καὶ κύκλῳ κατ' αυτῶν στρατηγικός παρασκευάζῃ τὸν πόλεμον, τελείω τούτους ἀφανισμῷ παραδῷ. τοιαῦτα γὰρ γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ τούλῳ τῶν πολέμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, καὶ ἑθεσάμεθα καὶ ἐν ἰστορικὸς | ἀνέγνωμεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαιότερων μεμαθηκαμεν. διὰ ταύτα μὲν οὖν ὧφελίμος ὁ κατὰ τούτου πόλεμον ἡμετέρῳ τινὰ βλάβην ἢ ἐναντίως, μάλλον δὲ νίκην καὶ εὐκλειαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ τὴν νικῶσαν εὐρή εἰς τὸν κατ' αὐτὸ πόλεμον ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς, ἀλλὰ οὐδεμίαν βλάβην ὑποστήσεται.

Εἰ δὲ ἐν ὧ τόπῳ πρότερον ἦλιον διέμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ, μηδαιμός τῶν ἐκείσε ἀπάραντες διὰ τὴν τοῦ τόπου ὁχυρότητα τὸ κούρσον ἀπεκδεχόμονοι, καὶ ὡσαυτῶς ὁ στρατηγὸς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπάξει τὸν πόλεμον, μῆτη ποτὲ ἐμβραδύνωντος διὰ τὴν τοῦ πεζοῦν ἱδίου λιαοῦ ἐπισώρευσιν, ἢ δὲ ἄλλην τινὰ πρόφασιν, ὑποστρέψῃ τὸ κούρσον καὶ διακωλύσῃ τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτως δὲ χρή τὸν στρατηγὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ἔπελθεῖν. διασκόπησαι διὰ τῶν ἀποστελλομένων βυγλατάρων τὰ συμπαρακείμενα χωρία, καὶ σύνεγγυς ὄντα τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τῶν πολεμίων, κάκεισε ἀποκρύψαι ἰππεῖς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ μετά ἀρχοντος ἐμπειροστόν καὶ ἀνδρέων. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰσέρχοντα τροφὰς διερευνώμενοι κατ' αὐτῶν ὀμορφατῶσαν. ἔτερονς δὲ ἱππεῖς εἰς λόχον ἀπαρτίσαι εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἀποσταλέντων. καὶ εἰ γε τούτως βουληθῶσαν ἐπιδιώξει οἱ τῶν πολεμίῶν ἱππεῖς, ἐπίθυνται κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τρέψοντα καὶ καταδιώξουσαν, διὰ τὸ δεῖστο πλησίον εἰς τοὺς ἱππεῖς, τοὺς εἰς φυλακήν τοῦ τούλου τῶν πολεμίων καταλίμπανομένους.

Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις μὴ εἰσερχομένων, εἰ καὶ ἀδύνατον τοῦτο τυχχάνει, διορισάτω ὁ στρατηγὸς τούς ἀποστελλομένους παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐμπείρων ἀνδρῶν βυγλατάρως, καὶ διασκόπησαι τοις ἐν ὧ μέρει τοῦ ἀπλήκτου αὐτῶν τὰς καμήλους οἱ πολέμιοι εἰς νομίμην ἐξάγονοι. καὶ διαχωριστάτω ἐτετοιχαρέχθην ἐτετοιυτηρῆν χρήσιμον μεθ' ἱππεῶν ἀνδρείων. καὶ σκοπησάτωσαν φύκα, εἰ εὗροται | εἰς τῷ τόπῳ ἐπιτίθεσιν, καὶ παρασφηρῶσαν εἰς αὐτῷ κεκρυμμένοι, ἐς οὐ πλησίον γένωται. καὶ τότε φανερώς κατὰ τῶν καμήλων τῆς ἐπίθεσιν ποιήσωται. εἰς δύο δὲ τῶν λαὸν οἱ ἀποσταλέντες διαμερίσατοκαὶ οἱ μὲν ἡμέρεις τῶν νομοσχεδίων καμήλους καὶ τὰς ὄνοις ἀναλαβέτωσαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ ἐκδίκησιν καὶ βοήθειαν αὐτῶν ἐστωται. καὶ εἰ τῇ χόλῃ φούλκον ἐξόν του φοσσάτου τῶν πολεμιῶν ἱστάμενον καὶ ἐπέλθη κατὰ τῶν εἰς τὰς καμήλους ἐπιθεμένων, ἦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φοσσάτου ἐξέλθωσον ἱππεῖς καταδιώκτειν, οἱ ὀψιθεὶν ὄντες τούτους καταγωνισώσται. παραντικα δὲ καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς, οὐ πόρρω ὡς, ἀλλὰ πλησίον εἰς τῷ ἐγκρυμματί, κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξελθέτω. καὶ καθὼς ὀρᾶ συναφθέννα τῶν πολέμων, οὕτω καὶ διατεθήτω, ἢ σφοδρῶς κατὰ
the day of battle, presumably equipped and in good condition for combat, he
should, as a good general, prepare an attack in a circle against them, and it should
end up with their being annihilated. That this has been done against the baggage
train of the enemy, as well as by them against ours, we have witnessed, read about
in history books, and have learned from our predecessors. For these reasons an at-
tack on the baggage train works out well. It does not result in resistance or any
damage but in victory and glory. For even if the Roman army should not be vic-
torious in battle against it, at least it will not suffer any damage.

If the enemy remain in their original campsite, reluctant to depart because the
place is so strong, and they wait for the raiding party there, in like manner the gen-
eral should launch his attack against them. He should not delay in order to assemble
his own infantry or on some other pretext, for the raiding party might return and
forestall the attack. This is how the general should move against them. He should
send out scouts to reconnoiter the surrounding settlements, especially those close to
the enemy camp. Select horsemen under an experienced and courageous officer
should be placed in concealment in a suitable location in the area. Then, as the en-
emy troops who have been out foraging for supplies come into them, they should
attack. Place other horsemen in ambush to support and augment the troops sent out
ahead. If the enemy horsemen should actually try to pursue these troops, they will
be set upon, put to flight, and pursued. After all, the number of horsemen left be-
hind to guard the enemy’s baggage train is always very small.

In case the enemy does not come into the region, so that this plan is not fea-
sible, then let the general order those more experienced scouts, whom he had dis-
patched previously, to find out on what side of the camp the enemy lead the camels
out to graze. Let him then detail a turmarch or a suitable substitute with some coura-
geous horsemen to look about for a stream, if a convenient one can be found in the
place. Staying hidden, they should sneak along it until they get close. They should
then come out and attack the camels. The troops on this mission should be divided
into two parties. Half of them should take the camels and asses while they are graz-
ing. The other half should provide protection and aggressive support for them. Even
if a fouikon of the enemy is stationed outside the camp and should move up against
the men attacking the camels, or horsemen should ride out of the camp and pursue
them, the troops left behind will engage these in battle. Then, too, the general, who
should not be far away but in concealment nearby, should immediately move out
against them. As he observes the battle which has been joined, he should so
τῶν πολεμίων ἐπέλθη, ἦ τῶν ἁποσταλέντων τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπι-
κρατεστέρων οὐτων, εν τάξει καὶ μὴ διεσκεδασμένως τὴν ἐπέλευσιν
κατὰ τοῦ ἀπλήκτον τῶν πολεμίων πούσσεται. καὶ ἁπαντα τοῦ λαοῦ
αὐτοῦ, ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἄγαγων, ἐπεὶ τὴν τοῦ τόπου θέσιν ἐξε-
πιστᾶται, διαμερίσει τὰ κατατόπια ταῖς τάξεσι πάσας τῶν τε ἁπ-
τῶν καὶ πεζών, καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτῶν διάθηται πόλεμον, εἰ διὸν τὲ
ἐστι, κύκλῳ.

Εἰ δὲ ποταμὸς ἔστιν ἦ ῥύαξ, ὥς ἀνωτέρω εἰρήκαμεν, αὕτη χά-
ρακος τοὺς πολεμίους φυλάττων, εἰ μὲν ὅπωςον πόρον δέχεται, κα-
κείθεν λαὸν ἐπιστήσει. παρασκευάσει νὲ δὲ καὶ σκηνᾶς | αὐτῶν πήξαι
πρὸς τὸ ἐνδείξασθαι μέλλοντα αὐτὸν ἀπλήκεσθαι ἐκεῖσε εἰς ἐκθρό-
σιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὕτως ποιεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ εἰ καλῶς καὶ εὐνά-
κεως καὶ ἀνδρείως διάθηται τὰ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου μεγάλως εὐῳδωθή-
σεται. εἰ δὲ γε τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐ δυνήσεται τούτους κατατροπώσασθαι,
ἰαχυρᾶς αὐτῶν ἀντισταμένων καὶ πεικὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἁπὲς τῶν ὄντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ τόπου θέσεως βοηθούμενων, δέον καὶ παραμείνη αὐτοῦς καὶ
πλείου πεζοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι. καὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τοὺς ψυλῶς καὶ
αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς σφενδούσας βάλλειν παρασκευάσει καὶ πυρὰ πλεῖ-
στα αὖππετε γύροθεν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνδρείως καὶ εὐτόλμως παρανέ-
σαι τοῖς ψυλοῖς τοῦ ἕχοιρος μάχεσθαι καὶ προκυνδυνεύειν ἕως ἃν
εἰςελθωσιν ἐνδον τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἔπποις καὶ ἡμῶ-
νος καὶ τινα πράγματα νυκτὸς ἀναλάβωμαι, πλήττοντες συνεχῶς καὶ
ἀναρουντες τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ εἰ ὅλως Θεοῦ βοηθεία τοιοῦτον
πρὸς ἐν μέρος γένηται, καὶ θεαθῇ καὶ ἐπιγνωσθῇ ὅτῳ τῶν ἅλλων τά-
ξεως, ὄρμησον καὶ αὐτῶν θανάτον καταφρονοῦντες εἰς ἐρασηῦ τῶν
λαφύρων διὰ τὴν τοῦ κέρδους ἐλπίδα, καὶ περγέννωται τούτων τῇ τοῦ
Χριστοῦ χάριτι ῥαδίως. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ τελέως τοῦτοις κατατροπώσεται
dia τινα τυχόν σφάλματα καὶ ἀποτυχίας, ἀλλ’ οὖν πολλοὺς τούτων καὶ
χειρώσεται καὶ ἀναρίση, καὶ λάφυρα πλείστα ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ λήψεται.

Οὔτως δε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὰ περὶ τῶν πολέμων τοῦ φοσσάτου διε-
νεργοῦτος, χρῆ καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν χρησίμων καὶ ἐμπείρων μετὰ τεσ-
σαράκοντα ἵππεων μήκοθεν ἀποστεῖλαι, φυ | λάττειν τὴν ὄδον ἢν
ὑποστρέφει μέλλει τοῖς πολέμιοι κούρσον. καὶ ἴνα καὶ τούτως
θεάσεται πρὸς τὸ φοσσάτων αὐτῶν ἐρχόμενοι καὶ ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν,
ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ταρσίταις, τὸ λεγόμενον παρ’ αὐτοὺς βέρεδον, ἐρ-
χόμενον σύνεγγυς αὐτῶν, καταμηνύεται τῷ φοσσάτῳ τῆς τοῦ κούρον
αὐτῶν παροισίαν. εὐθέως ὁ εἰς τὴν βίγλαν ἀποσταλεῖς ἄρχων
μηνυέτω τῷ στρατηγῷ. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔδη τὸ βέρεδον μήκοθεν πολὺ τῆς
παρατάξεως τοῦ κούρον ἐρχόμενον, ἀποστεῖλῃ ἄρχοντα τῶν χρησί-
μων μετ’ ἐκλεκτῶν ἵππεων, ἐπιθέσασθαι κατ’ αὐτῶν, εἰ δυνάτων, ἀδο-
κήτως, καὶ κατακυριεύσει τούτων ῥαδίως. εἰ δὲ πλησιον καὶ σύνεγγυς
tῆς παρατάξεως τοῦ κούρον ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν περιπατεῖ, μὴ ἀπο-
στειλάτω κατ’ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀρκεσθήτω πρὸς ἡ Θεοῦ αὐτῶ
organize his forces either to charge fiercely against the enemy or, if the troops sent out are more numerous than his own people, he should keep them together in formation and make his attack against the enemy camp. Presuming that he knows the lay of the land, he should lead out all of his people, cavalry and infantry. He should assign sectors to all the units of horse and foot and then launch an attack against them, if possible, in a circle.

If, as we mentioned above, there is a river or a stream which can protect the enemy in place of a rampart, and if there is some sort of ford, he should station his men there. He should be sure to have them pitch their tents to make it quite clear that they intend to camp there, which should frighten the enemy. If he makes his dispositions for battle in a good, orderly, and courageous manner, he will achieve great success. But if he should be unable to put them to flight on the first day, since they might put up a fierce resistance and be aided by an infantry force and the terrain, then he ought to remain nearby and call in more infantry. He should also get light troops and slingers to fire at them during the night, and he should light a large number of fires all around them. He should exhort the light troops to join in hand-to-hand combat and face danger bravely and boldly until they make their way inside the enemy camp. Then at night they can take the horses, mules, and other things, continuously striking and slaughtering the enemy. If, with God’s help, this is exactly how things are going in one sector, the other units in line will see this and know what is happening. They will then rush over and, contemning death in order to seize plunder and hoping to pick up something, they will easily overcome them, by the grace of Christ. If, owing to some blunders or ill fortune, his troops do not utterly defeat them, they will, nonetheless, capture and kill many of them and will take a huge amount of booty.

As the general is directing operations around the enemy camp, he ought also to send a competent, experienced officer with forty horsemen out a good distance to guard the road down which the enemy raiding party is likely to return. When he observes them riding toward their camp, moving closer to our men, and, as is customary with the people of Tarsus, with what they call a veredon out in front of them to announce to the troops in the camp that the raiding party is coming, the officer who had been detailed for scout duty should immediately inform the general. If he sees that the veredon is a good distance ahead of the main body of the raiders, he should dispatch a competent officer with select horsemen to attack them, if possible, by surprise, and he will easily overpower them. But if the veredon is advancing just a little bit ahead of the main body of raiders, nobody should be sent out against them. He should, rather, be satisfied with the help that God has given him in
συνήργησεν εἰς τὸν κατὰ τοῦ φοσσάτου πόλεμον, καὶ ύποστρεφέσθω
μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπιλαμβανόμενος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ ὄχυ-
ρωτέρων τῶν.

'Επει δὲ τοῖς πολεμίων φοσσάτον διὰ τοῦτο διήλθε πάσας
τάς δυσχωρίας, ἐκδεχόμενον τὴν τοῦ κούρσου παρουσίαν, ἦν τὰ
παρὰ τοῦ κούρσου κατασχεθέντα, εἰτε ἀνδράποδα εἰπεν εἰτε κτήνη,
καλὸς σὺν αὐτοῖς διασώσῃ διαβιβάζων τὰς δυσχωρίας· δέον τῶν
στρατηγόν ἀγωνίασθαι ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς στε-
νωποὺς κατασχεῖν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων, καὶ τὸν
κατ’ αὐτῶν πόλεμον ἐπιμελέστερον ἀπαρτίσει, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω δε-
δήλωσε καὶ μηδέποτε τοὺς πολεμικούς ἀπὸ τῆς πολεμικῆς κατα-
λειψθῶν. εἰ γὰρ καλὸς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίας διάθεσε,
μεγάλως αὐτοὺς καταρρίψεται εἰ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν πλείστην καὶ
ἀξιόλογον πεζικὴν δύναμιν, ἄνθ’ ἄλλ’ οὕν τέως οὔσπερ ἥξιολωτευσαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάν-
tασ, ἀναρρύσεται καὶ τὰ αὐτών, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοις τῶν πολεμίων αὐτῶν
ἀπαντα τραματίσουσι καὶ δορωλώτως ποιήσουνται.


(τα')

Περὶ τοῦ ἐνθεν κάκειθεν ἰστασθαί
toўς πεζοίς ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις.

Χρὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἄλλως ἀγωνίσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους
5 τροπώσασθαι, εἰ καὶ ὀλίγος ἐστιν ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν λαός. τόπον διασκο-
πησάτω ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ ὄχυρώτατον, εἰ τύχη καὶ πλήσιον κάστρον,
ὡς ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ὄγχορος τοῦς θέσιν μετὰ πεζῶν κρατεῖσθαι,
καὶ ἐνθὲν κάκειθεν τῆς ὕδως εἰς λόχους τὸ πεζικὸν ἀποκρύπτων στρά-
τευμα, τοῦ δὲ πεζικοῦ ὅπως οἱ στρατηγὸς σύνεγγυς μετὰ τοῦ ἰπ-
τικοῦ στρατεύματος στήτω, πάντων τῶν πεζῶν ἐγχιστα. ἔχειν τε καὶ
toῦ ἰπτικοῦ ἐγκρύμμα καὶ πεζοὺς πλησίον αὐτοῦ και σχεδόν συνη-
νωμένως κατὰ τὸ ὅπως μέρος ἰστάσθω.
the battle against the enemy’s army, and he should return with all his people, seizing very strong and suitable sites.

When the enemy army has passed through the difficult areas and awaits the arrival of the raiding party in order to escort it through those difficult areas and, along with them, preserve intact their booty, whether this consists of captives or flocks, the general must strive to get there ahead of them and with all his men, foot and horse, occupy the passes. He will be able to direct the fighting against them all the more carefully, as has been explained above. When they turn back they should not be allowed any respite at all from attack. If he does good work in organizing the fighting in the difficult areas, he will absolutely overwhelm them. But if, because he does not have a sufficient or worthwhile infantry force, he is unable to rout them completely, he will, nonetheless, rescue many, if not all, of our people who had been taken captive as well as their property. His troops will certainly wound a good number of the enemy themselves and take captives.

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1 This appears to be a technical term which must signify some sort of encircling movement.

2 Veredon probably comes from the Latin veredus meaning horses used by envoys, couriers, and others, paid for by public funds. See, for example, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae, I, 89, ed. I. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), 400. Here it is used for an advance party of horsemen.

11.

Stationing the infantry on both sides in defiles.

Even if he has only a small number of troops with him, the general should make use of another method in his efforts to defeat the enemy. Let him search for a suitable and very secure location, if possible, with a fortress nearby. The natural defenses of the site should allow it to be occupied by infantry. Units of them should be concealed in ambuscades on both sides of the road. Let the general take position close behind the infantry, very, very close behind them, and with him the cavalry units. A concealed cavalry force and the infantry should be close to him, and his own position should be almost in the rear ranks of the infantry.
Αποσταλήτωσαν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀνδρέας ἐπίλεκτος καὶ ἰπποὺς τραχεῖς ἔχοντες ἀξρὶ τῶν ἑκατον, ἀρχηγὸν ἔχοντες ἀνδρεῖον καὶ ἐμπειρότατον καὶ γινώσκοντα χωρίων ἐπιτήδειον ἐν φι κρύφη τῶν ἱδίων λαὸν. νυκτὸς δὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον ὅποτον καταλαμβανότω, καὶ καλῶς αὐτοὺς ἀποκρυφάτος. ἥνικα δὲ διαναγάση, εἰς περιπτήν ἀνελθοῦν βλεπέτω τῶν πολεμίων περιπατοῦντων τὴν τούτων διάβασιν. ὃρων δὲ τοὺς εἰς λείαν ἐκτρέχοντας καὶ τὰ χωρία διερευνώντας, | πρὸς τὸ ἐπισυναγαγεῖν λάφυρὰ τε καὶ χρήματα, καὶ εἰ τι ἔτερον ἐφευρεῖν δυνηθοῖ, καρτηρησάτω ἐως ἃν θεάσηται αὐτοῖς τῶν ἰππῶν ἀποβαίνοντας, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χωρίων ἀνεφεύγωνος, τότε τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἰππέων εἰτε ἐβδομήκοντα ἡ ἐξήκοντα, πλείους δηλοῦντι τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν πολεμίων δύνας—πλείονες γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων τῷ ἀριθμῷ εἶναι ὑφεῖλον οἱ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ—διωρισάτω τοὺς ἄνδρείον ὀρμήματι σὺν δεξιάτη τῶν ἰππέων ὀρμή ἐπιθέσθη τοῖς ἀντάπλοι καὶ Θεοῦ συνεργίας εὐδοκιμήσεται. εἰ δὲ συμβῇ τούτου ἐπιδιώκθηναι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, δέον προσπαντῆσαι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων αὐτῷ τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατασχεθέντας δεσμώτας ἡ ἀναφέρῃ ἡ ἐμπροσθεῖν ἀποστείλαι, ἀπελθεῖν τάξιν καὶ τὸ ὀχύρωμα καταλαβεῖν.

Κάκεινοι ἐμπείροι μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀνθιστάμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ὑποστρέφων κατ’ αὐτῶν, ποτὲ δὲ ὑποφεύγων, ἐρεθίσει αὐτοὺς πρὸς δίωξιν, καὶ εἰ ἄχρι τῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀποδιχώσων ἐν οἷς οἱ πεζοὶ ἀποκρύπτονται, καὶ τούτους τυνές τῶν πολεμίων διέλθοντι, τότε οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν ἐγκρυμμάτων ἐξερχόμενοι ἀντιστήσονται τοῖς διώκουσι πολεμίοις, καὶ ἀποδημοῦνται, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς διελθόντας πολέμιοι ἐμπροσθεύνται τῷ ἐγκρύμματι τῶν ἰππέων, καὶ ἀρδην ἀπαντεῖς ἀπολούνται. ὅπω γὰρ τοῦ ἀποκρύπτοντος οἱ πεζοὶ βοηθοῦμενοι οὐκ ἔσονται τοὺς διώκοντας διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν διώξιν καταλείψουσιν (καὶ) ἁπρακτοῖ πάντως ὑποστρέψοντες, τοὺς ἡδὴ προκατασχεθέντας τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολέσαντες.]
Up to a hundred selected men should be dispatched by the general to prepare ambushes. They should have rugged horses and be commanded by an experienced and courageous officer who knows suitable locations for hiding his men. He should occupy such a place at night and carefully hide them. At daybreak let him go up to an observation post and observe the movements of the enemy as they march about. When he sees them riding out to plunder and searching through the villages to gather booty and money and whatever else they can find, he should hold tight until he observes them dismounting and searching through the houses in the villages. Then with sixty or seventy horsemen, his own men, obviously outnumbering the enemy (for the general’s force ought to be more numerous than the enemy), he should command them to charge courageously with the full impact of cavalry upon their adversaries, and with the cooperation of God they will be successful. But if it should happen that they are pushed back by the enemy, they should bring the remaining forty horsemen into action. Prisoners should either be killed or sent on ahead, so our men can move out quickly and reach the fortified place.

That officer, meanwhile, shows his experience by continuing to fight against the enemy. At times he charges into them, at times he begins to run away, and he provokes them into pursuing. If they pursue up to that place in which the infantry is concealed and some of the enemy pass right by them, then our men should charge out of their hiding places and check the pursuing enemy, who will be repelled. The enemy who do make their way through our infantry will fall right into the ambush set up by our cavalry and will be annihilated. The infantry, taking advantage of the terrain, will not allow the pursuers to pass through, but they will leave off the pursuit and all turn back without having accomplished anything, and they will have already lost their own men who had been captured.
Περί ἀνθρώπου ἐξελεύσεως τῶν πολέμιων πρὸ τοῦ τά
Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἐπισυναχθήμαι στρατεύματα.

Εἰ δὲ γε τῶν πολέμιων ἐξέλευσις ἀνθρώπα καὶ σύντομος γένηται,
οίᾳ πολλάκις παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσέχει γίνεσθαι, μήπω τῶν βασιλικῶν
στρατευμάτων ἐπισυνεθεῖτων, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, μηδὲ
αὐτὸν δυναθέντος διὰ τὸ σύντομον τῆς αὐτῶν ἐξελεύσεως τῶν ὁλῶν
λαὸν τοῦ ἱδίου θέματος ἐπισυναχαγεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁλίγον ἔχει καὶ εὐαριθ
θυμοῦν. ὃ γὰρ τοὺς πολέμιους πρὸς λείαν σπείροντας καὶ ἐπειγομέ
νους. ἐπιγνῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν ἣ τὴν ὀρμὴν ποιοῦται μήπω
ἐκστηθευθεῖσαν, καὶ εἰς τὰ κάστρα ἢ εἰς τὰ ὀχυρώματα φυγαδε
θεῖσαν χρῆ τῆς τοιαύτης χώρας εἰτε τὸν τουρμαρχὴν εἰτε ἐτέρους
ἀρχηγοὺς σπονδὴ πολλὴ ἀποστείλαι, καὶ ἐμπροσθεν τῶν πολέμιων
γενέσθαι καὶ, ὡς οὖν τε ὡστε, καὶ τοὺς τῶν χωρίων οἰκήτορας καὶ τὰ
τούτων κτήνη καὶ φυγαδεύσαι καὶ ἐκστηθεύσαι.

Ὁ ὀροντα δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοὺς πολέμιους ἡδὲ μέλλοντας πρὸς
tὸ τῆς ἡμέρας διάφραγμα τοῖς χωρίοις ἐπιθέσθαι, ὑπίσθεν αὐτοὺς ἐπα
cολουθοῦντα, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω εἰρήκαμεν, τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ δεῖ ἐμφα
νισθῆναι τοῖς πολέμιοις, πρὸς πόλεμον δὴθεν παρασκευαζόμενον ὑ
όσ ἐκ τούτων δυνηθῇ τὴν ὄρμην αὐτῶν ἀναστέλλαι καὶ ἀβλαβῇ τὴν
χώραν διατηρῆσαι. καὶ εἰ μὲν ποταμὸς ἑστὶν ἐν τῇ ὅδῷ δυσπέρατος,
καὶ μέλλουσι τούτων διαπεράν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ στένωμα ἢ δυσχωρία ἐν
tῇ ὅδῇ, ἣν ηκὼ τὸν ποταμὸν οἱ πλείους διαπεράσσωσιν ἢ εἰς τὸ στέ
νωμα χωρῆθωσι, εἰς τὸν ὑπισθέν | λαὸν αὐτῶν ἀποστείλαι. καὶ αὐτῶν
ἐκεῖνον τὸν στρατηγὸν παραγενέσθαι μετὰ ἑκλεκτῶν ἀρχιών καὶ
καλοππαράτων, καὶ ἐμφανισθῆναι τοῖς πολέμιοις, καὶ πρὸς μάχην
dήθεν κατ' αὐτῶν παρασκευασθῆναι, τὸν συμβαλεῖν πόλεμον τοὺς
παραππαράτους καὶ ἐνταγμοστάτους διαχωρίζων ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς
ὀχυρώματα εἰτε κάστρον ἀποστέλλων, εἰ τύχη πλησίον, εἰ δὲ πο
tαμὸς οὐκ ἑστὶν οὔτε δυσχωρία ἐν τῇ ὅδῷ καὶ ὠσαύτως δεῖ μικρὸν τι
παραβουλεύσασθαι καὶ πρὸς μάχην ὀρμῆσαι, ἔως οὖ καὶ ἐπιδιωχθῇ
παρ' αὐτῶν τῇ νυκτί ἴνα διαγινώσκοντες σαφῶς οἱ πολέμιοι τὸν
στρατηγὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντα συνταλάσσωσι, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐξελάσαι τολ
cομήσωσι καὶ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν κατὰ τῶν χωρίων ποιήσωσι. καὶ τούτων
γενομένων, τῆς μελλούσης γενέσθαι ἐπιδρομῆς ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις καὶ
αἰχμαλωσίας ὥστεται αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐλευθερώσει.

Μετὰ πολλῆς δὲ ἀκριβείας καὶ διασκέψεως ποιεῖτω τὴν ἐνδείξιν
καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν προσβολῆν δι' ὅλιγων καὶ ἑκλεκτῶν, ἡς ἔφημεν, ἀπ
πέων, καὶ ἐνθέως ὑποστρεφόντως φεύγοντες πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν
καὶ τὸ ὀχύρωμα. καὶ μὴ ἀμέτρως καὶ παρὰ τὸ δέον ἐφορμάτωσαν
κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, λαοῦ γὰρ ἵσως παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
SKIRMISHING

12.

A surprise attack by the enemy before the Roman forces can be mobilized.

What can be done if the enemy launch a sudden, concentrated attack, which is the sort of thing they frequently do, before the imperial forces have been assembled, and there is only that of the general and, owing to the suddenness of their attack, he has been unable to muster all the troops of his own theme, but all he has is a very few? He sees the enemy energetically rushing about for plunder, and he also realizes that the country in which they are making their raid has not yet been evacuated and the people have not yet taken refuge in the fortresses and strong places. He ought to dispatch the turmarch of that region, or other officers, with great speed to get ahead of the enemy and, as best they can, evacuate and find refuge for the inhabitants of the villages and their flocks.

When the general sees that the enemy are already planning to attack the villages at daybreak, he ought to follow behind them, as we have explained above. That same night he should give the enemy the impression that he is getting ready for battle right then. By doing this he might succeed in forestalling their attack and preserve the region unharmed. If there is a river on their route which is difficult to get across but the enemy are trying to cross, or if the road should narrow or become very rough, then when most of the enemy have crossed over the river or passed through the narrow place, the general should send his troops out behind them. He himself should advance with selected officers and good horsemen and give the enemy the impression that he has been making preparations to fight against them in order to launch an attack. He should send away the grooms and foragers to a strong place or fortress, if there is one in the vicinity. If there is no river or rough ground along the road, he should still expose himself a bit and advance as though to fight, until he is pursued by them at night. In this way the enemy will be very much aware that the general is following them, and they will hold back and will not dare ride out at all and attack the villages. By such procedures he will save the villagers from impending assault and from captivity, and they shall keep their freedom.

With great precision and foresight, let him make his appearance and charge against them with a few selected horsemen, as we have said. These will immediately turn tail and retreat to the strong place and the general. They should not make such charges against the enemy too often or more than is necessary, for the troops could perhaps be taxed beyond their strength and fairly soon perish need-
φορτισθέντος, πολεμίας χειρός θάττων γενήσονται παρανόλωμα, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ τιχθὶ πανσέληνον εἶναι τὴν νύκτα. εἰ δὲ ἀφεγγῆς ἔστι καὶ ἄφωδης, ἀβλαβῶς τὴν τοιαύτην πράξιν ἐργάζονται, καὶ δύοιν θάτερον πάντως φανεῖν κατονθηκότας· μὴδ’ ὅλως ἐξελάσαι πρὸς λειαν τοὺς πολεμίους παρασκευάσαντες, ἥ, εἴπερ καὶ ὅλως ἐκδράμωσιν, ἄχρι τοῦ αὐγάσαι τὴν ἡμέραν | τελείως οὐδαμῶς ἑξελάσαι κατατολμήσουσι, καὶ τότε ὁλίγοι τινές, οἱ γάρ πλείους τὸν | παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πόλεμον ύφοράμενοι τῆς τοῦ Ἀμηρᾶ παρατάξεως οὐκ ἀποστήσονται, καὶ οὕτως ποιοῦντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ἐκφύγωσιν οἱ τῶν χωρίων οἰκήτορες εἰς τὰ ὀχυρώματα καὶ τὰ κάστρα, καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς διατηρηθῶσιν.

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(ἐγγ.)

Περὶ τοῦ ἐνεδρεύσαι κατὰ τῶν λεγομένων μυσσουρατώρων ἐν τοῖς ἀπλήκτοις.

Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων φοσσατικῶς τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν δηούντων, καὶ κούρασα πόρρωθεν μὴ ἀποστελλόντων, ἂλλ’ εαυτοὺς ἀσφαλειζομένων, σπουδάσει δι’ ἔτερας μηχανῆς πραματίσαι αὐτούς. διασκοπήσαι σε χρή καὶ στοχάσασθαι, ἄρ’ οὗ τόπου (τὸ) τῶν πολεμίων ύπάρχει ἀπληκτον καὶ ἐν ποίῳ τῇ ἐπισύνη μέλλει ἀπληκθεῖν. καὶ εἰ μακροτατὸν ἐστι τὸ διάστημα τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, ὅσοι μελίων ἕξι καὶ δέκα καὶ ἐπτεκναι, ὥστε τὸ τῆς ὁδὸς μῆκος δύνασθαι κατακόπτους αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς αὐτῶν ἑργάσασθαι. πλησιον καὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐν ὃ μέλλουσθην καταλύειν διασκοπήσας, καὶ εὑρὼν λόχὸν ἐπιτηδείον, μαχάμους καὶ ἐκλεκτοὺς ἄνδρας ἱππότας τριακοσίων ἢ καὶ τοῦτον ἔλαττον ἀπολεξάμενον, ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκρύψεις. καταστήσεις δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν ἐνεδραν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ, ἔχωμεν καὶ ὀχυρωμα εἰς ἀσφαλεῖαν αὐτοῦ. εἰ δὲ καὶ κάστρον πλησίων τούτων, ἔστι καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς περισσότεραν σου σωτηρίαν καὶ ὀχρελείαν. καὶ εἰ χρεία γένηται τῶν πεζῶν, ἐξελθόσωσιν καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦ κάστρου συμμαχοῦντες καὶ ἐπιβοηθοῦντές σοι.

15 ὅπισθεν De: ὅπισθεν VS || 20 ὅπισθεν De: ὅπισθεν VS
lessly at the hands of the enemy. They have to be especially careful on nights when
the moon is bright, but on moonless, dark nights they will be able to carry out these
operations without injury. They will surely achieve either of two results. Either they
will have made sure that the enemy do not ride out to plunder at all or, if they should
actually go out, in no way will they dare to do so before full daylight, and then only
a few will go. Most of them, suspecting that the general will attack, will not leave
the emir’s battle formation. While the general is doing all this, the villagers may
escape to the strong places and fortresses and be preserved from harm.

13.

Laying an ambush for the so-called mensuratores
by their campsite.¹

When the enemy are ravaging our country without breaking their military for¬
mation and not sending their raiding parties out to any great distance, but playing it
very safe, then the general will have to devise other ways of injuring them. You
ought to reconnoiter and form an estimate of the place in which the enemy’s camp is
presently located and the place in which they are likely to set up camp the next day.²
If the distance from the present camp is very long, say sixteen miles or further, so
that the length of the road is quite likely to wear out both them and their horses, then
investigate the ground in the vicinity of the place in which they will probably en¬
camp, find a good place for an ambush, carefully pick out three hundred or fewer
combat-ready horsemen and conceal them there. You should set up another am¬
buscade with all of your people in a suitable location that is protected by some for¬
tifications. If there is also a fortress in the vicinity, this will be a big help and will
greatly increase your security. If foot soldiers are needed, have them come from the
fortress to assist you in the fighting.

The enemy usually send an advance party of troops, whom the Romans gener¬
ally call mensuratores, ahead to the site to get the camp arranged for them. While
they are engaged in this, have the soldiers whom you had earlier stationed in the first
αὐτοὶ ἀπλήκτων προκαταστάντες ὅξεις σὺν ἐλασίᾳ πολλῇ, καὶ τοῖς
25 βοηθεῖς Ἡθοῦ χειρώσωνται. καὶ εἰγε τούτους οἱ ἑχθροὶ καταδίώ-
ξουσίν ἐως τοῦ τόπου ἐν ὑπερ δυνάτον ἐξκρυμμα κατέστησας, ἐξερ-
χόμενος κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀνδρικῷ καὶ γενναίῳ ὀρμήματι ὑπερρυθήσεις τῶν
dιωκόντων, καὶ τρόπαυον μνήμης ἄξιον ἀνεγειρεῖς. καὶ εἰγε συμβῆ
δυνάμεις τῶν πολεμίων καταλαβεῖν ἀντίμαχο | μένας σοι, ἔχων τὴν
tοῦ ὁχυρώματος βοήθειαν καὶ τῶν πεζῶν, οὕτως κατασκυύνεις αὐτοὺς,
καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν οἰκείων ἀποβαλόντας ἀπράκτους παρασκευάσεις
ὑποστρέψαι.


(ἰδ').

Περὶ τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως τῶν ἔπεων ἀπὸ τῶν πεζῶν ὁδοιποροῦντων ὁμοῦ.

Χρη ὦν καὶ τούτῳ σε ἀκριβῶς, ὥστε στρατηγεῖ, σκοπεῖν, καὶ τῶν
5 πολεμίων ἀγωνιζόμενοι διαλαβεῖν σε, καὶ κούρσα ἀποστέλλει καὶ
tὰς χώρας ἡμῶν λῃστασθαί, ἀγρυπνὸν ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν, μὴ ποτὲ σὲ τῇ
ἐπίνοια καὶ μπαχμένη αὐτῶν διαλάθη· ὀπερ γὰρ λέξιν καὶ ἐν ἀλλοις οἱ
αὐτοὶ ἐξειργάσαντο.

'Ομοί γὰρ αὐτῶν τῶν τε ἔπεων καὶ πεζῶν σὺν τῇ ἀποσκευή
10 ὁδοιποροῦντων, καθὼς ταῖς ὁπίσθεν καὶ διελθοῦσαι ἡμέραις ἐποίον
οἱ εἰς κούρσα ἐξελάσασθαι βοηθῶν, ἥνικα πρὸς δυσμᾶς ὁ ἡλίος κα-
tαντῆσει, ἡ μὲν ἄτο | σκευὴ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπαν τό ὑπουργικὸν σὺν τῷ
πεζῷ τοῦτῳ στρατεύματι, καὶ τῶν εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν καταλιμπανο-
mένων πολεμιστῶν ἔπεων τὰς σκηνὰς πηγάμενοι, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς
ἀπληκτέονσιν. οἱ δὲ εἰς κούρσον ἔτοιμασθέντες καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας
χώρας καταδραμεῖν βουλόμενοι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ κοινοτρίων αὐτῶν φανῆναι,
ἀμφὶ δείκνυν ὑφίαν πρὸς κούρσον ὀρμῶσιν. οὐ δὲ παραμείναι ὀρθῶν
tῶν πολεμίων ρωστάτω, εἰτε τουρμάρχῃ ἐςτίν εἰθ' ἐτερος ἄρχον, 
μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν ἐρχόμενον χρῆ πλησίασαι τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ὧν 
15 αὐλί-
ζονται. ἐπειδὴ τῆς νυκτὸς καταλαμβανοῦσης ὁρείλουσι τότε κατὰ
tὸ εἰῶθός εἰσέρχεσθαι, καὶ πλησίαζεν ταῖς σκηναῖς αὐτῶν, μετὰ 
πρώτην ὠραν ἥ καὶ δευτέραν τῆς νυκτός. καὶ ἔαν ὦν ἐυρήσωσιν ἐν
tῷ ἀπλήκτῳ τὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἔπεις, διὰ τὸ ἣδη αὐτοὺς εἰς κούρσον
πορευθῆναι, οὐκ ἔστων δυνατὸν ἄλλος τούτους, τοὺς τὴν παραμονὴν

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ambuscade near their camp charge out fiercely with great force, and, with the help of God, you will subdue them. Even if the enemy should pursue them to the place in which you have stationed your strong ambush force, then with a noble, brave charge you will assail and overpower the pursuers and gain a memorable victory. Even if it happens that enemy forces arrive to fight against you, you will have the support of the fortifications and the infantry, and so you will put them to shame. You will force them to retreat without having accomplished anything and having lost many of their own men.

1Mensuratores, literally “measurers,” were surveyors or quartering parties who went ahead to lay out the campsites: see Maurice, Strategikon, II, 12, in which they are called minsores. Mensuratores or minsoratores came into use by the tenth century: “. . . whom people now call minsoratores” (Leo, Tactical Constitutions, IV, 24).

2The author changes from the third to the second person singular, which he retains for the rest of the treatise.

14.

Withdrawing the cavalry from the infantry when they are marching together.

It is your duty, General, to search very carefully for the enemy who are making a serious effort to avoid you so they can send out their raiding parties to plunder our lands. Your mind must be alert so that no plan or trick of theirs will ever get by you. For what I am now going to discuss has also been done by the enemy in other places.

When both cavalry and infantry are marching along together with their baggage, those who are planning to ride out raiding do what they have been doing the last few days. Toward sunset their baggage, all the camp servants, and the infantry units, along with the warriors on horseback who have been left behind to guard them, all pitch their tents and make camp as they usually do. The men preparing for the raid and getting set to ride roughshod over our country race out to raid around early evening so their presence will not be betrayed by a cloud of dust. The officer, then, whose duty it is to keep the enemy camp under surveillance, whether he be a turmarch or of some other rank, should, with his men, approach the place in which they are encamped. At nightfall they ought to move in as usual and get close to their tents after the first or second hour of night. If they do not find the enemy horsemen in the camp because they have already gone out raiding, the only way in which the
πεπιστευμένους ἄρχοντας, τούτο ἀκριβῶς διαγινώσκει καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ τὸ ἀλήθες καταμηνύσαι, εἰ μὴ ὤντος ὡς λέξω.

Δεὶ τοῖνυν τοὺς καθ᾿ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν πρὸς παραμονῆν ἀποστελλόμενους, ἐκ τῶν παραμεινόντων τὰς ὁπισθὲς καὶ διελθοῦσας ἡμέρας τὸ | φοσσάτον, καὶ εἰς τετράδια ἱσταμένους, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω εἰρήκαμεν, δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐμπειροτάτους καὶ ἀνδρείους τῶν εἰς τὴν παραμονῆν ἀπερχομένων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λαμβάνειν ὡς καλὸς παρ᾿ αὐτῶν ἀναδιδάσκαντο, οἷα πρότερον κάκεινοι ἐνήργησαν καὶ ἐθεάσαντο. αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς δύο ἀναμίξας ἐν τῶν τεσσάρων τετράδιων ὁ τουρμάρχης ἀποστειλάτω κατὰ τὸν προεκτεθέντα | τύπον τῆς παραμονῆς, ἐγγύσα τῷ φοσσάτῳ πρὸς τὸ ἀκόουν τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς τῶν ἱππῶν. οἱ οὖν δύο ἄνδρες οἱ πρότερον παραμεινόντες ἐν ἀλλοις ἀπλήκτους τῷ φοσσάτῳ, ὅτε καὶ ὁ λαὸς αὐτῶν ἀπεσινῆν καὶ συνηλήκενε, δυνήσαται στοχάσασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ ὁχλαγωγίας καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ τοῦ χρηματισμοῦ τῶν ἱππῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἐν δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς ἐπῆξαντο. οὐ γὰρ εὑρεθῆσαι ὁ κύριος τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐχθὼν, ὅν ἐν τοῖς ὀπισθὰν ἀπλήκτους κατείχον, ὅτε ἀπαντήσας ὁμοὶ συνηλθήκενον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δυνατὸν ἐστὶ στοχάσασθαι καὶ κατανοῆσαι ὡς ἐπιλείπεις ὁ λαὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χώρῳ, καὶ μὴ εἶναι σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀπλήκτῳ. καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν τούτῳ στοχάσασθαι, ὥστεν εἴ οἱ χιλιάδες ἀνδρῶν, πλείων ἡ ἔλασσον, καὶ ἱππῶν ἀχρὶ τῶν δώδεκα ἐπιλείψεων ἐκ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, οὐς πάντας ὁμοὶ εἶναι ὁ πρώτῃ παραμεινόντες ἐώρῳ καὶ κατεστοχάζοντο;

Διὰ οὖν τὸ ἀμφίβολον πρὸς τὸ καὶ τελείαν λαβεῖν τοὺς παραμένοντας περὶ τούτου τῆς ἀλήθειας καταλήψειν, δέον καὶ τοῦτο (τὸν) εἰς τὴν παραμονὴν ἀποσταλέντα τουρμάρχην διαπρέξασθαι. ἢπότας ὁκτὼ ἄνδρας τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων καὶ τὰς ὀδοὺς εἰς ἄκρον ἐξηκοσιμένους ἀπολεξάμενος διορίσασθαι, εἰτη δεξία εἰτε εὐώνυμα ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθὲς, ἐν δὲ τὸ τουρμαρχίας ἵσταται, ἐμπροσθεὶς γενεάς τῶν πολεμίων, ἀμφιστάμενος τῶν σκηνῶν μιλίῳ τὸ ἡμισὺς, καὶ ἐμπροσθεὶς γενομένους ἀκριβῶς ἐρευνήσαται καὶ τὰς ὀδοὺς ἀναψηλαφήσαται. καὶ εἰ ἄρα οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς διήλθον, καὶ ἄχρι τῶν διακοσίων ὑπήρχον, διαγνώσωσι τὴν τούτων διάβασιν οἱ ἀποσταλέντες, | μῆνι τὸ γὰρ ἀχρὶ τῶν δώδεκα χιλιάδος ἱππῶν, πλέον ἡ ἔλασσον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξήν τῶν το- σούτων ἱππῶν, ὡς προσφάτως διελθόντων, | σαφῶς οἱ ἀποσταλέντες διαγνώσωσιν, καὶ τάχει πολλῷ πρὸς τὸν τουρμάρχην ὑποστρέφουσι περὶ τούτου ἀπαγγελάτωσαν, καὶ διὰ ποιῶς ὁδὸν τὴν ὑμῆν ἐπουθῆσαν. ὁ δὲ τουρμάρχης παραντίκα σπουδὴ πολλῆς τῷ στρατηγῷ καταμηνυσάτω περὶ τούτου, καὶ διὰ ποιῶς ὁδὸν ἐπορεύθησαν. δεὶ οὖν τὸν στρατηγὸν πρὸς τοῦτα βουλεύσασθαι μετὰ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῶ στρατηγῶν καὶ λοιπῶν ἐμπειρῶν.
officers entrusted with this type of scouting are able to make an accurate determination and a truthful report to the general is that which I am about to explain.

The men assigned to this scouting of the enemy army at close range should be grouped in units of four, as described above. Those who are to do the scouting each day should take two men, very experienced and courageous, from those whom the general has detailed to do the scouting on previous days. These should be thoroughly informed by those about what they accomplished and observed the previous day. The turmarch should assign these two to one of the four units of four and send them out, in keeping with the regulations for shadowing previously set forth. They should get close enough to the camp to hear the voices of the men and the neighing of the horses. The two men who had been scouting the army in other camps when all of their people were encamped together will be able to form an estimate from the commotion and murmuring of the men, the neighing of the horses, and the area in which the raiders had pitched their tents. It will be seen that the place does not have a third of the space which the men had in their previous campsites when all the enemy troops were camping together. From this it is possible to form a good estimate of the number of enemy troops who are missing in that place and who are no longer with those in the camp. How would it be possible not to get a good estimate, when six thousand men, more or less, and their horses, up to twelve thousand, are missing from the camp, all of whom the previous scouts had observed together and so made their estimate?

Still, to resolve any doubt that these scouts might not have gotten a sure grasp of the facts of the situation, the turmarch who has been dispatched to the scouting party should also take the following steps. He should select eight good horsemen, very experienced and with excellent practical knowledge of the roads. They should be separated, either on the right or the left, from those in the rear, among whom the turmarch is stationed. They should get in front of the enemy, staying about half a mile away from their tents. Once they have gotten in front of them, they should carefully investigate and examine the roads very closely. If, indeed, enemy horsemen have ridden by, numbering up to two hundred, our scouts will realize that these men who have passed by are by no means the estimated twelve thousand or so horses. For the scouts would surely notice the tracks of so many horses if they had recently passed by. With all due speed they will return to the turmarch to inform him of this and along which road they made their advance. The turmarch should immediately and in great haste report this to the general and tell him which road they were riding along. The general ought to consult about all this with the other commanders with him and with other experienced men.
Καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ ἀντι-παρατάξασθαι τῷ τῶν πολεμίων φοσσάτῳ, πρὸς τὴν κατ’ αὐτῶν μάχην παρασκευασθῆτω, εἰγε πλησίον ἔστι καὶ τῷ τῶν πεζῶν αὐτοῦ στράτευμα, δυνάμενον τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνωθῆναι αὐτῷ. εἰ οὖν ἔστιν ὁ χώρος ἐν ᾧ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐλίζονται όχυρωμα ἐχων εἰς ἐκείνων ἀσφάλειαν, ἣ ῥύσακα δυσδιάβατον, οὐ χρὴ πρὸς τὸν κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐξαιρέτωςθαι πόλεμον. εἰ δὲ ἐφομαλός ἔστι πανταχόθεν, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν δυναμένων καταλαβεῖν εἰς ἡμέρα τῆς τοῦ πολέμου προσβολῆς, παρασκευασθῆτω πρὸς τούτο. εἰ δὲ ὁ χώρος όχυρότητα ἔχει, ὡς ἐφημεν, καὶ τῷ πεζικῷ στράτευμα ἐπιλείπει, δεν ὁρμήσαι τάχει πολλῷ πρὸς τοὺς κουρασθήσατος τῶν πολεμίων καταλαβεῖν. καὶ ἄρχοντα μὲν χρήσιμον ἀποστείλαι τὸν ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῶν ἵππων τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐκδρομὴν τοῦ κούρου ὁμημάτων πολεμίων. αὐτὸς δὲ

μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκ πλαγίων περιπτατῶν σπεύσατο ὀξύτερον βαδίζων πλησίων γενέσθαι, καθὼς τάς ὰδοὺς ἐξεπίσταται εἰς αῖς οἱ πολέμιοι περιπατοῦσι. καὶ μετὰ ἀσφάλειας περιπατεῖται. ἡ ἡρίκα |

dὲ τὸ διάφανα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγγύση, ἀποστειλάτω βιγλάτορας εἰς κατασκοπήν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ εἰς ὑψηλοὺς βουνοὺς ἀνερχομένους ἀγωνισάσθωσιν θέασασθαι αὐτοὺς. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς, ἡμέρας γενομένης, τὸν ἑαυτὸν λαὸν ἀποκρυπτεῖ, ἕνα μή, τὸν κοινορρόταν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι θεασάμενοι, μᾶλλον ἐνδεδυθη σπορ' αὐτών.

Καταμημόνευσεν δὲ ἡ παρὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθοῦντων τῷ κούρσῳ ἢ παρὰ τῶν εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν καὶ βίγλαν ἀποσταλέντων, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἡ

παράταξείς ἐστι τῶν πολεμίων ἡ τῶν ἁρχηγῶν αὐτῶν ἔχουσα, ὀλίγους τινὰς μὲν ἐαυτοῦ λαβών ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ εἰς ύψηλῆς σκοπιῶν ἀνερχόμενος, | σπεύσατο ὀικείους ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς τῶν πολεμίων παρατάξεως θέασασθαι. ταῦτην δὲ θεασάμενον, ἐπει καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν διεσκοπήσθη πρὸς λείαν, στοχαζόμεθα μετά τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ πλῆθος τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τῇ τῶν ἱδίου λαοῦ ἵσχυν, καὶ εἰάν πλεῖον ἔστι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα τῶν πολεμίων, ὀρμητάτου κατ' αὐτῶν, ὡς ἦδη ἀνωτέρω διευπόσαμεν καὶ εἰ παράσχη αὐτῷ Θεος βοηθεῖαν, καὶ δυνηθῇ τὴν παρατάξειν αὐτῶν τραματίσαι καὶ καταδίωξαι, μέγα ἔργων καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον ἐπιτελέσει.

Εἶ δὲ πλῆθος ἐστὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἑχθρῶν παρατάξει, δεν ἔστι σπουδᾶσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐμπροσθεῖν γενέσθαι, ἐν οἷς χωρίοις οἱ πολεμίοι τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἐποίησαντο, ἐκ τῶν ὄπωσθεν αὐτῶν γενομένων. καὶ τούτων διεσκεδασμένων ἐπιπυγχάνων καὶ τῇ ἐλασίᾳ ἐκλε-λεμένων καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰππῶν αὐτῶν, εὐχερῶς τούτων κατα-γινώσκεται δ’ ὀλὴς τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀναψηλαφών αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις. κάκεινοις μὲν λόγῳ ἀνδραπόδων καταστήσει, καὶ ως | βούλεται τοῖς κατ’ αὐτῶν χρήσεται, τοὺς δὲ γεωργοὺς ἐλευθερώσει τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, καὶ εἰ τι ἐν ἔτυχον τῶν αὐτῶν λαβέιν. εἶ δὲ γε καὶ φούλκα συναντήσῃ τῷ εἰς φιλακτήν ἐπακολουθοῦντι τῶν ἐξελαυνόντων, παρα-
If the general sees that his own army is strong enough to face up to the enemy's army, let him get ready to fight against them, at least if his infantry force is close by and can join up with him that same day. Now, if the place in which the enemy are encamped is protected by a fortification or a stream which is difficult to cross, he should not prepare to attack them. But if the ground is level all around, and especially if the infantry can also get there on the day of battle, let him prepare to fight. If the place is fortified, as we said, and the infantry units are missing, he should rush with great speed to overtake the enemy raiding party. He should also send out a good officer to take up the tracks of the enemy who have been racing along to keep the raid going quickly. He himself with all his troops should march rapidly off to the side, hurrying the march to get closer, depending on how well he knows the roads on which the enemy is marching. He should advance with caution. At daybreak the general should send out scouts to spy on the enemy. They should ascend some high mountains and make a good effort to observe them. During the day the general should conceal his men, so that the enemy will not see the cloud of dust they would raise, which might lead them to ambush him instead.

After the men following the raiding party or the scouts sent out to observe report back to the general the location of the enemy battle formation which includes their commander, the general takes a few men with him and goes up to a high observation post and makes it a point to study the enemy battle line with his own eyes. After observing it, since many of their people would be scattered about plundering, he and his staff should estimate the size of the enemy battle line and the strength of his own troops. If his own army is more numerous than that of the enemy, let him attack it, as we have stipulated above. If God grants him help and he is able to inflict damage upon their line and put them to flight, he will accomplish a great and memorable deed.

If there is a large number of troops in the enemy battle formation, the general should hasten to get in front of them, in those villages in which the enemy had made their attacks, that is, from their rear. Finding them scattered about and with both themselves and their horses worn out from the riding, he should have little difficulty in beating them down and chasing them through the villages throughout the day. He will make prisoners of them and do with them as he wishes. He will free the farmers from captivity together with any property they might have taken from them. If he should meet up with a foulkon following along to protect the raiders, he should be
110 σκευασθήτων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τὸν φούλκου πόλεμον, καθὼς ἔμπροσθεν ἐξεθέμεθα, καὶ Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ τῆς κατ’ αὐτῶν μάχης κρατήσει.

Εἰ δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ παραμένειν σταλαίτοι τοῖς πολέμιοις ἐναντία ἀπηντήκασι συναντήματα, διὰ τὸ μῆκος προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τοὺς τόπους γενέσθαι εἰς τὸν φοσσάτον βλέπειν ἐδυνάντο, καὶ τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν ἔνωσιζον. τὸ κοῦρσον αὐτῶν προεξῆλθεν, ὡς ἔρημην, καὶ διὰ τὴν περὶ τούτου ἄκριβη λαβείν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἁληθείας καταλήψιν. ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον συναντήματος βραδύναι καὶ χρονίσας συνέβη τῆς πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποστελλόμενην βεβαιῶσιν ἀπαγγελθῆναι τούτοις πράγματος, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν στρατηγόν ἀποστελλόμενον μανδάτον. εἰ μὲν πρὸς ὅραν ἐννάτην τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἐπέκεινα καταμίμησθη δ ἡ στρατηγός περὶ τούτου, καὶ ὃρα τὸ στενὸν τοῦ καραυροῦ, ἐπεί καὶ τὸ κοῦρσον | τῶν πολέμιων τῇ διελθοῦσῃ ἐτὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπικρατούσης τῆς κίνησιν ἐπούσησα, καὶ δὲ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς πόρρω που γενέσθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ οὐ δυνατὸν τούτους διεσκέδασμένους καταλαβεῖν, χρῆ αὑτῶν εἰς τὸν κατὰ τὸν φοσσάτον εὐτρεπισθῆναι πόλεμον. καὶ εἰ μὲν διημερεύτωσα βουληθῶσιν ἐν ὡς αὐλίζονται τόπῳ, παρασκευασθῆναι αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν κατ’ αὐτῶν μάχην, καθὼς ἀνωτέρω τὸν κατὰ τὸν φοσσάτον πόλεμον γενέσθαι ἐξεθέμεθα. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν διημερεύσωσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ | χώρῳ, διὰ τὸ κατεπείγοσθαι ταῖς ἐπιπικαίς αὐτῶν δυνάμεσι τοῖς εἰς λειαν ἐκδραμοῦσαι τάχιον ἐνωθῆναι. καὶ ὅδουποροι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτυγχάνων ὁ στρατηγὸς προθῆκες εἰς τὸν κατ’ αὐτῶν ὁρμησάτω πόλεμον, καθὼς καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐν ὥδουπορίᾳ τοῦ φοσσάτου διακεχωρισμένον τοῦ κοῦρσον προειρήκαμεν. καὶ πάντα ἐπιμελεῖς ποιοῦντος τὸν στρατηγὸν κατὰ τὴν προτέραν διάταξιν, τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχουν βοήθειαν καὶ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ παναχράντου μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεοτόκου, μεγάλην καὶ ἀξιόλογον δουλείαν ἐπιτελέσει.


(με').

Περὶ ἀσφαλείας.

Δεῖ οὖν σε, (ὅ) στρατηγέ, πάσαν ἀσφαλείαν καὶ φυλακὴν ἔχειν τοῦ μὴ αἰφνιδιασμὸν ὑποστήρισι, καὶ ἄδοκτος τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ 5 σοῦ τὴν ἐφοδον ἐγχάσασθαι. ἔξεις δὲ τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφαλείαν,
prepared for battle against it, as we have set forth earlier, and with the help of God he will win the battle against them.

Suppose the men assigned to keep a watch on the enemy during that night should run into some obstacles. Perhaps they have not yet caught up with them or reached a place from which they could observe the enemy camp and hear the voices of the men. Perhaps, as we said, the raiding party had gone out ahead in order to obtain accurate and factual intelligence about the army. Problems such as these slowed them down and caused them to delay in reporting accurately about the matter to the general. Now, if at the ninth hour of the night or later the general should be informed about this, and he sees that the time is short, since the enemy raiding party made its move the previous day while it was still light and should have gotten a good distance away during the night, and it would not be possible to overtake them while they were scattered about, then he has to prepare to attack the main army. If they should plan to spend the whole day in the place in which they are encamped, he should make ready to fight against them, as we explained above in discussing launching an attack against an army. But they might not spend the day in the same place because they are in very much of a hurry to get together with their cavalry forces who have gone out to plunder. As they are riding along, and the general runs into them, he should energetically launch an attack against them, as we have already said in treating of the separation of the raiding party from the army on the march. If the general carries everything out carefully according to the above program, with the help of God and his holy and undefiled mother and Theotokos, he will perform a great and noteworthy service.

15.

Security.

You must, General, make use of thorough security measures and be watchful so you do not fall victim to a surprise attack or let the enemy succeed in coming upon you unexpectedly. You will have security and protection if each day you send
εἰγε καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀποστελλόνται παρὰ σοῦ οἱ ὄρειλοντες παραμένειν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων φοισάτω, ἐν ὃ τόπῳ αὐλίζονται. ἔκει


νοι γὰρ διὰ σπουδὴς θυμεμένων καὶ πάσαν μηχανήν καταβαλλό-


μένων ἀδοκίτως σοι ἐνυξεῖ τοῦ καταγωνίσασθαι (σε) εἰς βλάβην


μὲν καὶ ἀπώλειαν τοῦ χρυσωνύμου λαοῦ καὶ ἀδοξίαν τῶν κραταστά-


των Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἑπαρσίν δὲ καὶ γαυρίαμα τῶν ἀλαζώνων τῆς "Αγαρ


νίων καὶ ἄρνητῶν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.


Συμβαίνει γὰρ κατασχεθῆναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς δεσμώτας τῶν ἡμε-


tέρων, ἢ καὶ αὐτομόλους γενέσθαι, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν ἐν τοῖς


tόποις αὐλίζῃ. ἣν’ οὖν μὴ νυκτὸς [τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν ἀνελό-


μένοι ἐξελάσασθοι καταλαβεῖν σε. καὶ ἀδοκίτῃς ἐπιτέσσωρα· διὰ ταῦτα


dέον τοὺς παραμέ[νοντας, ἡμίκα τῆς ταραχῆς τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν πολεμίων


αἰσθοῦντα πρὸς κίνησιν, εὐθέως τάχει πολλῷ καταμηνύσαι, ὅτι τοῦ λαοῦ
dιεσταράξῃ πρὸς κίνημα. πάλιν δὲ ἀποκινοῦντων, δῖ οἶνος ἄν


ὁδοῦ τὴν πορείαν ποιῶνται· καὶ αὕτης καταμηνύειν ὅτι τε πλῆθος λαοῦ


ἀπεκινῆσαι, καὶ τὴν ὅδον πορεύονται, εἰτε ἀπαντεῖ σὺν τῷ πεζικῷ
eιτε οἱ ἱππεῖς μόνοι.


Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς μὴ ἀπαρείτω μόνον εἰς τὰ ἐρχόμενα πρὸς αὐτὸν


μανδάτα τῶν παραμενόντων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ βίγλας ἐχέτω


dιπλάς, ἐξωβιγλα καὶ ἐσωβιγλα, ἔστων ὅτε καὶ τριπλάς. καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ


μὲν τὰς ὀδοὺς φυλάττειν, καὶ ἐν οἷς τόποις διάβασις ύφορᾶται πολε-


μίων. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ μὴ μόνον τὰς ὀδοὺς φυλάττειν τοὺς βιγλάτορας,


ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τόπους ἀνέρχεσθαι ύψηλότατος, πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι


αὐτοὺς εὐχέρως ὅραν μὴ μόνον καπνοὺς καὶ κονιορτοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ


λαοὺς τῶν πολεμίων, εἰτέρ ἔρχονται. πλείωνας δὲ εἶναι τὰς βίγλας


ἐφημεν, διὰ τὸ, εἰ ποτε συμβῇ τὴν πρώτην ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀλώναι


ἡ μετ’ ἐκείνην, τοὺς πολεμίους θεωροῦσα, τῷ στρατηγῷ τῆς τῶν


ἐχθρῶν καταμηνύειν ἔλευσον.


Καὶ διὸ δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ μεταπληκτεῖν δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐν


ἡμέρᾳ ὑστατώς. καὶ μεταπληκτεῖν μὲν τοὺς βιγλάτορας μετ’ αὐτοῦ


λαμβανόντω καταλιμπανότω δὲ ἐν ὃ τόπῳ ἐπιλίζετο ἐξ ἄνδρας ἡ ὁκτώ,


τοὺς ὑποδοχαίρους καλομένους, μετά καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντοὺς τῶν χρησί-


μῶν, ἵνα οἱ πεπόμενοι παρὰ τῶν παραμενόντων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μαν-


δάτα φέροντες προσέρχομεν δι’ αὐτῶν τῷ στρατηγῷ | ἀποκομί-


ζωνται. ἐν ὧ δὲ πάλιν τόπῳ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπληκτεῖται, τὰ ἐξωβιγλα


ἀποστελλεῖτω. ἑστωσαν δὲ ἀνὰ τέσσαρες ἄνδρες ἐν ἐκάστῳ σταδίῳ,


ίνα, τῶν δύο καθευδόντων νυκτὸς οἱ δύο γρηγορῶσιν.
out men to observe the enemy army closely in their campsite. For the enemy it is a matter of great importance, and they will make use of every device to assail you when you do not expect it, so that they may overwhelm you, to the harm and destruction of the people of Christ, the dishonor of the mighty Romans, and the exultation and swollen pride of the arrogant sons of Hagar,¹ who deny Christ our God.

It could happen that they might learn from some of our men whom they have taken prisoner, or who have even deserted to them, the place in which you are camped. Now, to prevent them from assembling their cavalry forces and riding out at night to reach you and fall upon you unexpectedly, when your scouts perceive the commotion among the enemy troops as they get ready to move, they must immediately and with great speed report that the troops are all stirred up to move. Again, when they do move out and begin their march along one of the roads, they should once more report the number of troops that has moved out and which road they are marching along, whether it be the whole army including the infantry or the cavalry alone.

The general should not rely only on reports coming to him from the scouts close to the enemy, but he should also set up double watches, outside and inside watches, and sometimes triple watches. They should guard the roads at night and the places in which he suspects the enemy may move up. Then, during the day, not only shall he have sentries guard the road but also go up to very high places, so they may have a better view of the smoke and clouds of dust, and especially if the enemy troops are coming. The reason why we stated that there should be several watches is that in case the first one happens to be captured by the enemy, the next one, on seeing them can inform the general of the approach of the enemy.

The general should change camps twice during the night and likewise during the day. When he changes camp, let him take the sentries with him. In the place in which he had been camping let him leave behind six or eight men with a good officer, who are known as the reception party. When the men who are scouting close to the enemy, then, bring in their reports, on arriving there, they will be shown the way to the general. When the general establishes himself in a new camp, he should detail outside guards. There should be about four men in each post, so that when two are sleeping at night, two can be on watch.

¹Concubine of Abraham, mother of Ismael, regarded as the ancestor of the Arabs; see Preface, note 1.
Περὶ διαχωρισμοῦ τοῦ τούλδου.

Δεῖ οὖν σε, ὁ στρατηγεῖ, καὶ τοῦτο παραφυλάττειν, καὶ ἧνικα πλησιάσαι μέλλησι τοῖς πολεμίωσι, τὸ τούλδον ἀπὸ σοῦ διαχωρίζειν καὶ ἀποστέλλειν μήκοθεν ἐν όχυρῷ τόπῳ ἢ ἐν κάστρῳ, ἀνδρὰ τινὰ τῶν χρησίμων καὶ ἐμπείρων ἑφαίστων, προνοεῖσθαι | αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἰππεῖς μαχιῶν ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγους τινὰς παρέχειν τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦ τούλδου, ὡστε δὲ αὐτῶν αἱ βίγλαι κρατᾶται εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ τούλδου. ἧνικα δὲ πάλιν ἐν χρείας τοὺτον γένη, καταμηνύειν τῷ ἐμπειστευμένῳ τῆς πρόνοιας αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντι, ἐλθεῖν ἐν ὧ τόπῳ διωρίζθη τοῦ ἔνωθήναι σοι. τοῦ μέντοι τούλδου ἀπὸ σοῦ διαχωριζομένου, ἀναλαμβάνειν σε δεῖ ἐπιστησύμον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ταγάς τῶν ἴππων δύο ἡμερῶν ἢ τριῶν βα- σταζόμενας εἰς ταχεῖς ἡμιόνους, ἢ καὶ ῥπειοῦ ἐν τοῖς σαγμοσελλίοις. ἧνικά δὲ μέλλῃς κούρσῳ τῶν πολεμίων ἀκολουθήσαι νυκτὸς,
16.

Separating from the baggage train.

You must be sure to observe this, General. When you are getting close to the enemy, you should separate the baggage train and send it far off to a fortified place or a fortress. Name a competent and experienced man to be in charge and to be responsible for it. This commander of the baggage train should also be provided with a few combat-ready horsemen to augment the guards assigned to protect the train. When you need it again, inform the officer entrusted with its responsibility, so he may come to join you in a designated place. After the baggage train has separated from you, you should gather provisions for the troops and fodder for the horses, enough for two or three days, and have them transported on fast mules or in saddlebags on the horses.

When you intend following a raiding party of the enemy at night, the entire fighting force should have its armor on, and each man should have his proper weapon in hand ready for battle. Be sure, moreover, to have the so-called saka following along behind you. Now, if the enemy’s route takes them through difficult terrain, then each theme, or even tagma,1 if present, ought to march separately. The general ought to go on ahead but behind the turmarch who is following the enemy a good distance further on. In this manner then the rest of the force, whether they be from the themes or tagmatic, should follow along one after the other, and they will march smoothly during the night without noise or confusion. Orders should be given to the turmarch following the raiding party to be very cautious, in fact, to be overly cautious and alert, so that if the enemy ever perceive that they are being followed by you, they might have picked fighting men, more than the turmarch has under his command, move out and hide themselves in an ambush and unexpectedly attack you. We remember an ambush of this sort made by the people of Tarsus in the villages further on. The general at that time observed clouds of dust from the troops riding out to plunder. But it was not a real raiding party, only a simulated one composed of a few worthless men. He pressed on to attack them, but the turmarch following the raiding party had been negligent and had not done a good job of looking out for ambushes, and quite unawares the general fell right into one.

To prevent anything of this sort happening to you, General, you must take every precaution. Have some cavalrymen with swift horses and who thoroughly know the region investigate the hollows and other hiding places in the area. About daybreak divide the army in two if it is large and numbers up to three thousand. Send the grooms and the men carrying the fodder for the horses away to a strong
τάς τῶν πολεμίων ἀδοκίτους ἐνέδρας. καὶ ἢ μὲν πρώτη ἐχέτω ἄρχη-
γόν τῶν ἁξιολογητέρων στρατηγῶν, καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τοῦ ὑπὸ σε
λαοῦ, καὶ ὁπουσθὲν μὲν τοῦ τουρμάρχου ὀδοιπορεῖτω. σὺ δὲ μετὰ τῆς
μεγάλης παρατάξεως ἐπακολουθεῖ τῇ πρώτῃ, ἐξων καὶ τὸ σάκα ὄπω-
σθὲν σου μετ’ ὄλιγων ἐπτέων ἐπακολουθοῦν· ἵνα, εἰ συμβῆ κατά σου
ἐνεδρεύσαι τοὺς πολέμιους, καὶ τοὺς πλείονας αὐτῶν μαχιμός ἀν-
δρας εἰς λόχους καταστήσαι, καὶ ἐπελθεῖν τῷ αὐτοῖς ἐπακολουθοῦντι
tουρμάρχῃ, δέξηται τούτον ἐπιβοηθοῦσα ἡ πρώτῃ καὶ ἐμπροσθὲν
σου περιπατοῦσα παράταξες. εἶτα πολέμου μετ’ αὐτῆς συνρραγέντος,
καὶ τῶν πολεμίων διασκορπιζομένων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τὴν τάξιν
λυόντων, εὐρών αὐτοῖς διεσκεδασμένους ὑπερισχύσεις αὐτῶν.
Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἐνέδραν μὴ παρασκευα-
σθέντων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐκδραμεῖν καὶ τὰς χώρας ληίσασθαι κατε-
πεταγομένων, χρῆ πρὸ τοῦ διαγγάσαι τὰς τάξεις τοῦ ὑπὸ σε στρατεύ-
ματος εἰς τόπους ἀποκρύψαι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ τοὺς πολέμιους φωραθῆναι,
καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἑγκρύμασαι καρδηρεῖται ἄχρι τρίτης ὥρας ἢ καὶ
tετάρτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἡτὸς ἢ ὅτι πολέμιοι πρὸς λείαν ἐξελάσσωσι. καὶ
tοῦτον πόρρω γνομένων τῆς τοῦ Ἀμηρὰ παρατάξεως μετ’ ὀλίγων ἀν-
δρῶν καταλιμπανομένης, καὶ μὴ πλῆθος ἔχονσης λαοῦ, κατ’ αὐτῆς
ἐπελθεῖν. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἐμπροσθὲν παρατάξεις ἀποστείλαι ἰσο-
μετώπους προσβάλειν πόλεμον. σὲ δὲ μεθ’ ἐτέρων τρώγ’ ἢ καὶ τεσ-
σάρων παρατάξεων ταῖς πρώταις ἐπόμενον πλησίον ἐπακολουθεῖν.
καὶ ἤνικα αἱ πρῶται παρατάξεις τῆς ἐκ χειρῶν μάχης ἄρξωνται, κα-
θὼς ὅρας τοὺς οἰκείους ἄγωνιζομένους, ὥστε καὶ βοηθεῖαν παρέχειν.
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τάς ἐνθὲν κακεῖθεν σοι συνεπομέναις παρατάξεις
προσποτείλαί τοῖς πολεμίοις συναφθῆναι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄκρων, εἰ δυ-
νατόν, καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων προσβάλλειν, ἐκ χειρὸς μάχεσθαι εἶτα
καὶ σε αὐτόν, εἰ χρῆ, συμβαλέιν, εἰτέρ ἀρα μὴ ἐπικρατέστερος ὁ
ὑπὸ σε λαὸς γέγονεν. ἀλλὰ μετ’ ὀλίγου λαοῦ, ὡς ἐφημεν, τῆς παρατά-
ξεως τοῦ Ἀμηρὰ καταλιμπανομένης, οὐ δυνηθεῖται ἀντισχεῖν περὶ
tάς τρεῖς χιλιάδας τὸ ὑπὸ σε ἀραβομομένων στράτευμα. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
μὲν ὡς ἢ πείρας διδάσκει εἰκτίθεμεν σὲ δὲ πρὸς τὴν κατεπείγουσαν
tοῦ καιροῦ χρείαν τε καὶ περίστασιν διατεθῆναι δει. οὐ γὰρ ἡ παρα-
δοσις δίδοσιν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνσυχὴσει βοήθεια, ἡ τοῦ πολέμου
ἐκβασις ἐπακολουθεῖ.
Εἰ δὲ μετὰ μόνον τοῦ ἴδιου δέματος ἑπάρχεις, ὁ στρατηγεῖ, καὶ
ὁλίγων ἔστι τὸ ὑπὸ σε στράτευμα, καὶ ὅσαυτός δεί σε μετ’ ἀσφα-
λείας πόρρω τὴν τοῦ κούρσου τῶν πολεμίων ἀκολούθησιν ποιεῖσθαι,
πρὸς τὸ μὴ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπιγυνωθῆναι, καὶ κατὰ μόνων τῶν εἰς τὰ
χωρία ἐξελαυνόντως καὶ διασκορπιζομένων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ποιεῖσθαι,
καθώς ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται.
place. In the event of unexpected ambushes laid by the enemy, the battle formation ought to be set up in the following manner. Let the first have as its commander one of the more outstanding generals and a third of the troops in your army, and he should march behind the turmarch. You follow the first with the main part of the formation, keeping the saka following behind you with a few horsemen. If it happens that the enemy lie in wait for you and station large numbers of their fighting men in ambuscades, and attack the turmarch following them, the first formation, the one marching ahead of you, will come to his support. Then when battle has been joined with them, the enemy become scattered about in the fighting and break ranks. When you find them dispersed like this, you will overwhelm them.

But when the enemy have not prepared themselves for an ambush of this sort, and are anxious only to ride out and ravage the countryside, then before dawn you should conceal the units of your army in places where they will not be visible to the enemy. They should stay in these ambuscades until the third or fourth hour of the day, until the enemy have ridden out to plunder. Once they are a good distance away from the emir’s battle formation, in which there are only a few men left, not many at all, then attack it. First send out three formations of equal size to begin the onslaught. You should remain with the other three or four formations following closely along behind the first three. When these three begin the fighting in close, as you see your own men struggling, so you should provide support. First of all, have the formations following along on either side of you advance to join battle with the enemy, attacking, if possible, from the wings and the flank and fight hand to hand. Then, if necessary, you yourself should attack if your troops are not, in fact, proving the stronger. Actually, though, with only a few troops, as we said, left in the emir’s battle line, it will not be able to make a stand against your army which numbers about three thousand. All this we are setting forth as experience teaches. It is up to you to apply it to circumstances and the urgent needs of the time. For tradition alone does not do it, but it must be reinforced by the assistance of God, and only then will the outcome of the battle be assured.

If you are present with only your own theme, General, and the force under your command is a small one, then you should follow the raiding party of the enemy cautiously at a good distance, to avoid being detected by them. You should launch your attacks only against those charging into the villages and spreading about, as explained above.

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1 Theme is the province or, in this case, the army of the province. Tagma here designates a unit of the regular standing army, usually based around Constantinople, but which would join the thematic army on campaign.

(ὑζ'.)

Περὶ τῶν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτρέχοντων πολεμιῶν
tῶς χώρας ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς μετὰ ἐγκρυμμάτων παρασκευῆς.

Εἰ δὲ γε τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαν, ἰππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἀθροισμὰ
5 μετὰ μεγάλης καὶ βαρείας δυνάμεως τὰς ἡμῶν χώρας ἐξελθον ἐπι-
τρέχει τε καὶ λητέται, καὶ ἐμβαθύνεται καὶ διερευνήσασθαι ταύτας
dιαμελετα. εἰ τύχῃ δὲ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαϊκὸν κατὰ | τὸν αὐτὸν καυρὸν
στρατεύμα ἐπισυνηγμένον εἶναι, καὶ τὴν τούτον παρουσίαν ἄκου-
tυσθὼσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀσφάλειαν μὲν πολλὴν τοῦ ἱδίου λαοῦ ποιοῦ-
ται, μὴ ἐωτέρις τινας φυλακῆς ἀνευ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις διασκορπίζονται.
ἔνεβρας δὲ μᾶλλον κατὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου λαοῦ ἐξεργάζεσθαι μηχα-
νῶνται, καὶ καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀδοκίτως σπεύδουσιν, διάξει τε καὶ
catapagniασθαι. ὑφελεῖς καὶ αὐτὸς πάσαν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπίδει-
κνυσθαι τοῦ μὴ ἀδοκίτως εὐρεθῆαι παρ' αὐτῶν, ἀντιμηχανήσασθαι
10 δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ τροπόσασθαι, καὶ γενναίον τι καὶ ἀξιό-
λογον ἐργάσασθαι. καὶ αὐτῶν τραματιζομένων παρὰ σοῦ, οὐδαμῶς
χρονίσουσι τὰς ἡμετέρας χώρας λησιόμενοι.

Χρεὼν οὖν ἐστὶ σοι, διασκοπήσαι χωρία ἐπιτίθεεια ἐν οἷς οἱ ἐκτρέχοντες τῶν πολεμίων εἰσέρχονται τροφῶν καὶ λαφύρων ἀνα-
20 ἤφαλφησον ἕνεκα, καὶ λόχον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἵππικοι καταστήσατο τὸν
κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιθέσατο μέλλοντα. ἐστότησαν δὲ οἱ ἰππεῖς οἱ εἰς τὸ
λόχον ἀποστελλόμενοι τῶν διακοσίων ἐπέκειναι ἄρχηγον ἑξοντες ἀν-
nдрεῖον, καὶ πάντα εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐνέβρας ἐμπειροτάτον.

'Ὁ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου στρατεύματος ἄρχηγός εξ ἥ πέντε χιλιάδας ἵπ-
pέων ἑξον πολεμιστὰς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν, οὐ πλειόνων ἐν
χρείᾳ γενήσεται.

Ταῦτα τοῖνυν διήκ διελὼν τοὺς μὲν δυσχειλίους ἐμπροσθεῖν εἰς
ἐπιτίθενεμον λόχον καταστήσατο, ἐν ὧ καὶ σκοπῖα ἐστίν ὑψηλή ἀπό-
βλεψιν ἑχουσα, τοῦ μήκοθεν τοὺς διωκομένους τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ
diώκοντας ὄρας. ὅπωςθεν δὲ τῶν δυσχειλίων τοὺς τρισχειλίους, καὶ
πεζῶν στράτευμα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ τόπῳ εἰς ἐνέδραν κατα-
στήσαι δεῖ, τοῦ τούτων ὁχυρώτητα ἑχων|τος. εἰ τύχῃ δὲ καὶ κάστρον
πληθών, ἐξει κάκεινο βοήθειαν. μὴ σκοπεῖτο δὲ ἐν στρατηγός μηδὲ
κατὰ νοῦν τοῦτο ἐχέτω, εάν πλῆθη πολεμιών ἐπιτεθώσων αὐτῷ καὶ
17.

When the enemy ride into our country with a large force. Preparing an ambush.

If the entire enemy army, cavalry and infantry, gets together and with great and heavy force breaks out into our country, riding about and plundering, and if it is planning to penetrate more deeply and search around more thoroughly, and if it should happen that the Roman army has been gathering at about the same time, and the enemy are made to hear about its presence, they will exercise great caution with their troops, not allowing any of them to scatter about in the villages without protection. They will then devise ways of setting up ambushes against our own people and will strive to take them by surprise, pursue, and overwhelm them. For your part, you have to display the utmost caution so that you will not be caught by surprise by them, and in turn you must devise countermeasures to defeat them. You will accomplish something noble and memorable. Once they have been injured by you, in no way will they spend time plundering our lands.

It is your task, therefore, to reconnoiter likely locations in which the invading enemy will ride in search of food and booty. Station mounted ambuscades in those places, all set to charge out against them. Let the number of horsemen assigned to the ambush be over two hundred, and their commander should be brave and have a great deal of experience with ambushes of this sort. The commander of the whole army who has five or six thousand warlike horsemen and the assistance of God will not need anything more.

This army should be divided in two. Two thousand should be stationed further ahead in a suitable ambush that has a high observation post with a good view, so he can see his men far off being pursued and pursuing. Behind the two thousand should be the three thousand, and the infantry units with them ought to be posted in a concealed place, which has some natural protection, as an ambush. If there happens to be a fortified town nearby, that will be helpful to him. But even if the general is attacked by a large number of the enemy and the fighting becomes fierce, he
σφοδρός γένηται πόλεμος, ἐνδοθεν τοῦ καστροῦ γενέσθαι πρὸ τοῦ τῶν ἰδίων περισσῶσι λαοῖν. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἄδοξίαν καὶ καταφρονησίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλάβην ἐπάγει καὶ τῆς χώρας ἁφανισμὸν καὶ πανολεθρίαν. ἀλλ’ ἐξοθέν ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι τοῖς πλησίον τοῦ καστροῦ μετὰ τοῦ πεζικοῦ στρατεύματος ἵσχυρῶς ἀντιμαχέσθω ἀνάγκη περιπετείων, ἄτε πολλὴν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου ἔχων βοήθειαν καὶ τὸν τοῦ καστροῦ πεζῶν λαὸν εἰς συμμαχίαν αὐτῶν.

Οὐν ἄρχηγὸς τῶν τριακοσίων, τῶν εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν χωρίων ἀποσταλέντων, εἰς περισσὶν ἱστάμενος καὶ ὄρων τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις εἰσερχομένους, ἡνίκα τῶν ἰππῶν ἀποβάντες τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χωρίτων ἀναφηλαφῶσι, ἐκατόν καὶ μικρὸν τι πλέον ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν τριακοσίων διαχωρίσας ἀ|ποστειλάτων, διορισάμενος αὐτοῖς ὀξέας κατά τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιθέσθαι. πλείονες δὲ ἔστωσαν οἱ ἀποστελλόμενοι τῶν εἰς τὰ χωρία εἰσερχομένων πολεμίων. καὶ κατ’ αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐπιθέμενοι χάριτι Χριστοῦ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀνέλωσι, καὶ

δεσμώτας λάβωσιν. οἱ δὲ περιτεύοντες τοῦ λαοῦ ἡμῶν, ὅσοι τῶν πολεμίων τῶν ἱδίων ἰππῶν ἐπιβήναι δυνηθοῦσι καὶ φυγῇ χρῆσονται, ἐπιμελῶς τούτους ἐπιδιώκουσι εἰς αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν ρουκών τῶν πολεμίων, τῶν ἱστάμενοι εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτῶν, ἐπιδιωχθῶσιν. ὄρων δὲ τοὺς διώκοντος ὑπὸ τῶν τριακοσίων ἄρχων μὴ εἰς πλήθος ὅπας,

ἀλλ’ ἀσυντάκτως καὶ ἀκρατῶς διώκοντας καρπηθησάτω ἐν τῷ ἑγκρύματι, ἐὼς οὐ ὅι διωκόμενοι τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καταλάβωσι καὶ διέλθωσι. εἰδ’ οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς σφοδρῶς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑγκρύματος ἐξελθὼν μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ὀρμησάτων, καὶ εὐνοωθησάτω τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει καὶ χάρτῃ. λήψεται γὰρ καὶ δορυλῶτος, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀναφησεὶ καὶ τραυματίσει.

Τῶν οὖν πολεμίων ἐπὶ προστεθμένων καὶ εἰς πλῆθος αὐξανομένων, καὶ σφοδρῶς ἐπιδιωκόντων, τοὺς μὲν κατασχεθέντας δεσμίους, τοὺς δὲ ἰπποὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ὀπλα ἐμπροσθεν ἀποστειλάτων, τοῦ καταλαβεῖν ἐν ὑ τῶπῳ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἴσταται. κάκεινος εὔνατκως ὑποφευγέτω μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐρεβίζων τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς δίωξιν καὶ ἑμπείρως ἐφεκόμενος. μὴ δει τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ γνωσκέτω ὅ ὅις τόποις τὰ ἑγκρύματα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἴστανται, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὅ ἄρχων αὐτῶν. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐπιτεθμένων αὐτῶν μετὰ πλῆθος λαοῦ καὶ ἀκρατῶς διωκόντων, ὑποστροφάς ποιεῖτοσαν οἱ ὅντες ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ γενναίητασαν, καὶ ἰπποὺς εὐτόνους ἔχοντες καὶ πληττέοντας τοὺς διώκοντας· ἱνα καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας τῶν ἰδίων διασώσωσιν καὶ ἰππῶν ἀποικόων τῇ καὶ πληθομένων ἑτέρων ἐπιβήναι παρασκευάσωσιν. εἰδ’ οὕτως ἐπιδιοῦσας τοὺς χαλικοὺς τῶν ἰππῶν μετ’ ἐλασίας μακρυνθῶσας μικρὸν τῶν διωκόντων. ἱνα καὶ τοῦ βάρους τοῦ ἐπικειμένου αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων μικρὸν κοψιμῆσθω, κακεῖνοι θέστερον τοὺς ἰπποὺς ἐλαύνοντες πρὸς δίωξιν ἄτόνους καὶ λειποφυκὸντας ἐργάσωνται. ἐγγιζόντων· δὲ τῷ ἑγκρύματι τῶν διωκόμενων τοῦ λαοῦ.
should never even think of getting inside the fortified town before he has seen to the safety of his own people. For that would not only be dishonorable and despicable but would lead to damage and the devastation and utter destruction of the country. But if he has fallen into serious trouble, then outside in the strong places near the fortress he and his infantry should fight back strenuously. He should be greatly helped by the terrain, and he also has the support of the foot soldiers in the fortified town.

The commander, then, of the three hundred men who had been dispatched to guard the villages may stand in an observation post and see the enemy riding into the villages. When they dismount and start searching through the houses of the villagers, then he should take a few more than a hundred out of his three hundred men and send them off with orders to attack the enemy vigorously. The men sent on this mission should outnumber the enemy raiding the village. They should fall upon them and, by the favor of Christ, they should kill many and take many prisoners. Those of the enemy who have been able to get back on their own horses will take to flight. The rest of our men should then carefully pursue them, until they are chased by the units of the enemy posted to protect their comrades. If our man commanding the three hundred notices that those pursuers are not numerous and are carrying out the pursuit in a disorderly and undisciplined manner, then he should wait in the hiding places until his own men who are being chased arrive and pass by. Then he should ride out fiercely from the hiding place and, with his troops, charge upon them, and, by the power and favor of Christ, he will be successful. He will take prisoners, and he will kill and wound many of the enemy.

Should more of the enemy arrive and their numbers keep increasing, and should they carry out their pursuit more vigorously, then he ought to send the prisoners he has taken, along with their horses and weapons, on ahead to the place where the general is stationed. In good order, then, he and his men should withdraw, provoking the enemy to chase them and skillfully drawing them along. None of his people should know the places in which the general is lying in ambush, but only the commander. Should a large number of the enemy attack him and should their pursuit be disorderly, he should have some of his men, brave, outstanding, and with vigorous horses, wheel about and strike the pursuers. This will allow him to get his own wounded to safety and let the men whose horses have become weary or wounded mount others. Then, giving rein to their horses, they ride faster to put a little more distance between themselves and their pursuers. In this way they obtain a little relief from the constant pressure of the enemy on them. The enemy, for their part, will spur their horses on in pursuit, which will only make them weary and faint. Then, as our people who are being pursued approach the ambuscade, let them pass to the
ήμων, εἰτε δεξιά εἰτε εὐδώνια διελθέτωσαν, ἵνα τοῦ ἐγκρύμματος ἐξερχομένου μὴ κατὰ τόπον αὐτοῖς συναντησοῦσι καὶ ἀλλήλους παραβλάψωσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν διωκομένων σὺν αὐτοῖς οὗτοι ἐν τῷ ἐγκρύμματι ὑποστρέφοντων, καὶ ἐκ δύο μερῶν τῆς ὀρμῆς αὐτῶν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων γινομένης, εἰς ὥφελειαν καὶ τοῦτο τῷ ἡμετέρῳ στρατοῦ γενῆσται.

'Εστω δὲ ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἐγκρύμματος ἐπιτήδειος πρὸς τὸ καλὸς αὐτοῖς ἀποκρύπτειν στέναμα δὲ ἡ δυσχωρίαν εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον μηδικῶς ἔχετω, ἀλλ' ἐφόρμαλος ἔστω καὶ εὐφύχυρος, μηδὲν παρεμποδίζων τὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτῶν ὀρμῆν καὶ ὤξειν ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς διαχείλους οὐναὶ. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀριθμὸν πλατείαν καὶ εὐθείαν εἶναι δὲ τὴν ἔξοδον τοῦ τοιοῦτον χώρῳ, καὶ ἡ περιωπτὴ δὲ ἐν ἡ ἤταται βλέπων ο τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐγκρύμματι ἄρχηγος ἐπιτήδεια ἔστω, ὡστε καθορᾶν ἀπὸ πολλῶν διαστήματος τοὺς διώκοντας πολεμίους, καὶ τὴν ποσοτήτα τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν στοχαζοῦσα καὶ κατανοεῖ, καὶ ὅπως τὴν δίωξιν ποιοῦνται. ἐγγυσάτων δὲ τῶν διώκοντων ἐπὶ τῷ ἐγκρύμματι, ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν, ὥξει καὶ σφοδροτάτῳ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ ὄρμηματι μετὰ κρανγῆς καὶ ἀλαλομοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν ὀρμησάτωσαν, ὑποστρέφεσθοσι δὲ καὶ οἱ διώκομενοι. καὶ ἐκ δύο μερῶν τῆς ὀρμῆς αὐτῶν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων γεγενημένης, εἰς ὥφελειαν καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ἡμετέρου στρατοῦ γενῆσται. καὶ εἰ ἀκολούθως πάντα κατὰ τὸ παρόντα πραχθεῖν διορισμοῦ, ἔχοντες πρὸ πάντων καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν συνεφαρμομένην αὐτοῖς, οἰᾳ τότε καταστροφὴ καὶ διέλθος τῶν πολεμίων γεγονούση τε, οἱ πείρας τῶν τοιούτων ἔχοντες ἱκασι τὰς γὰρ ἄρα, τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῇ μάκρᾳ καὶ συντόνῳ διώξει ἠτονήκοτον, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῷ πολλῷ τονῷ τῆς μάχης ἔκλεισαν οὐτ' τὰς κακιν ἔσχατα τοιοῦτοι συμβήσεται;

Εἰ δὲ, ὅπερ πάντη ἀνέλπιστον ἔστων, ἵσχύσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτοῦ τινος δυνάμεως ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτο πολέμῳ παραγενομένης, καὶ καρτερὰ μάχη γένηται παντοτριτὶ αὐτῶν μαχημένων, διὰ τὸ τὴν ᾿厚度ν αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσασθαι, καὶ κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον τούτο συμβῇ, δεί τοῦ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀρχηγῶν ἀπὸ συνθήματος τοὺς καὶ διωρισμοῦ καὶ σάλπιγγος ἀνακλητικῆς διαχωρίσαι τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς ἐκ χειρῶν μάχης, νῦν διδοὺντων αὐτῶν—πλὴν μὴ σὺν ἔλασσι καὶ φυγῇ ἀκόσμῳ ἀλλ' εὐτάκτως—ἐρεθίζειν τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς διώξιν, ἐπικεκυμένων δὲ τῶν παρατάξεων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ διωκομένων, τῇ μείζονι ἐνέδρα περιπέσωνται, καὶ διωκόμενοι ἐν ἐνὶ μέρει τῆς ἐνέδρας, ὥς ἔρχεμεν, διερχόμενοι, ὅποταν κατ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐνέδρᾳ ὅπερ ὀρμήσωσιν, ὑποστρέφεσθοσι παραντικα καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι, καὶ εὐρεθήσονται ἐκ δύο μερῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις μαχημένοι καὶ πολλὴν τοῦτο τῷ στρατῷ προεξονεῖται τῇ ὥφελειαν. εἰ οὖν οἱ διώκοντες ἄρχη τῆς ἐνέδρας καταλάβουσι, καὶ ἀπρόοπτως ταύτῃ περιπέσωσι, καὶ πολυπρός καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ ὄρμηματι απὸ τοῦ ἐγκρύμματος
right or the left, so that when the men in ambush charge out at that place they will not run into them and end up injuring one another. After this the troops being pursued should join with those in the ambush and wheel around. Having the attack against the enemy come from two sides will obviously be to the advantage of our army.

Let the site of the ambush be such as to provide a good hiding place for our soldiers. The exit must not be narrow at all or the ground rough but level and broad, so nothing will obstruct their charge and swift attack against the enemy. This is particularly important if about two thousand men are involved. For so many men the exit in such a place has to be wide and straight. The observation post in which the commander of the troops in the ambuscade is stationed should be suitable for observing the enemy in pursuit at a great distance, estimating the number of their troops, and studying the way in which they are making the pursuit. When they come close to the ambuscade, then our men invoke the aid of God and with shouts and war cries charge out with great force, speed, and courage against them. Our men who were being pursued wheel about, so that the enemy are attacked from two sides, which is clearly to the advantage of our army. If everything is carried out in accord with the present instructions and, most important, with the assistance of God, then the enemy will be overthrown and destroyed. Anyone with experience in these matters knows this. For with the horses worn out from a long and intensive pursuit and the men so fatigued from the strenuous labor of fighting, how can they possibly avoid the worst of evils?

But if, and we certainly do not hope for it, the enemy are strong enough to hold their ground and bring all their strength to bear in such a struggle, and the battle keeps going as they fight with their whole army, trying to come back from defeat, which would be contrary to our plans, the commander of the army must by some sort of prearranged signal or command or by the trumpet sounding retreat withdraw his own men from the close fighting, have them turn their backs, but not in haste or in disorderly flight but in good order, and so provoke the enemy to pursuit. Then, as the enemy lines press on chasing them, they will fall right into the larger ambusc. Our men who are being pursued should, as we said, ride by on one side of the hiding place, then, when the troops in the large ambuscade charge out, our men being pursued should immediately wheel about, and they will find themselves battling the enemy from two sides. This will, of course, prove greatly advantageous to our army. If the pursuers, therefore, get as far as the ambush and unexpectedly fall right into it, and our troops charge out from the hiding place boldly and
κατ' αὐτῶν ἐφορμήσωσι, τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι κατὰ κράτος τούτων ἦττησουσί, καὶ μέγα κλέος ἐαυτοῖς περιποιήσονται.

Εἰ δὲ διὰ τινα σφάλματα μὴ τελέως δυνηθῶσι τῶν παρατάξεων τῶν ἐχθρῶν περιγενέσθαι, ὡς δύναμιν βαρείαν ἐχόντων καὶ ἰσχυρῶς πανοστρατεί αὐτῶν μαχαίρων, ἔχων καὶ τὸ πεζὸν στρατεύμα συμμαχοῦν σοι, σὺ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ὑπερισχύσεις. καὶ εἰ μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἠττηθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπων πολλοὺς αὐτῶν μαχαίρας ἔργον ἐποίησεις, πλείονας δὲ τούτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ κατάσχης, καὶ φόβῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ καταπλήξει ὑποβληθῶσιν ὃς μηκέτι τολμῶν ἀδεῶς τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν κατατρέχειν καὶ ληξίζεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ σπεύσοσθι τὴν ἰδίαν καταβασθείν.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, καθὼς ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἡμῖν παρέδωσαν, καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ μακρὸν χρόνου ἐμπειρία, συνεγραφάμεθα. σοὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν εἰκὸς ἐπερχομένην περίστασιν προσήκει διαγενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ὡς αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βουλαί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡ ἀνωθὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόνοια ὑπὸ καθ' ἐκαστοῦ ταλαντεύση, καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἔπειται πέρας.]


V f. 258v

Περὶ τοῦ πότε δεὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ δύο μερῶν τῶν πολεμίων παραδρομὴν ποιῆσαι.

Εἰ δὲ ἐτί ἐπιμείνωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὅπερ ἀνέλπιστον ἐστὶ μετὰ τὸ οὕτως τραυματισθῆναι, τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν φοσσατικῶς περιπολοῦντες, κατακαίουντες τε καὶ διαφθείροντες, μηδαμοῦ εἰς κοῦρον μῆκος τῶν λαῶν αὐτῶν τολμῶντες ἀποστέλλειν, χρὴ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀξιόλογον δύναμιν εἰς τὸ ἔτερον μέρος τῶν πολεμίων ἀποστεῖλαι, ἵνα ὡς αὕτος μὴ παρατρέχῃ. καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐξεσάρων μιλίων τοῦ φοσσάτου παρεκτρέχουσιν ἐνθεῖν κακεῖθεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ τραυματίζων, πρὸς τὸ διακωλύειν αὐτῶν τροφᾶς ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἵνα ὡς ἐκ τούτου σπάνει ἔχοντες τροφῶν ἀναγκασθῶσιν ὑποτρέψαι.

Εἰ δὲ ὁρᾶς, ὃς στρατηγεῖ, τοὺς πολεμίους ἑτί ἐαυτοῖς παραφυλάτ-
bravely against them, then, by the favor of Christ, they will utterly defeat them and will achieve great glory for themselves.

But if some blunders keep them from completely overcoming the battle formations of the enemy, since they might have a very strong force and their whole army might be battling fiercely, yet if you have an infantry force fighting along with you, it is you who will prevail over them. Even if they are not utterly defeated, nonetheless, you will put many of them to the sword, more of them you will hold as captives, and they will be bowled over by great fear and terror. The result will be that they will never dare to ride through and ravage our lands with impunity. They will, instead, be in a hurry to get back to their own land.

In conclusion, then, we have done our part by writing down these things just as our predecessors handed them on to us, as well as from our own experience, which goes back a long time. It is up to you, now, to apply it to the circumstances that are likely to arise. The outcome of war is not brought about according to the will of men but, just as the affairs of each one are weighed, by the providence of God on high.

18.

When it is necessary for the general to skirmish against the enemy from two sides.

If the enemy are still around, which one would not expect after they have been so severely mauled, and if they are wandering about our country in organized bands, burning things down and destroying but not at all daring to send their men out to any distance for raiding, then the general ought to send a sizeable force to the other side of the enemy, the side on which he is not marching. When some of the enemy ride by about three or four miles from their army, this detachment should attack and harass them here and there in order to prevent them from gathering food. When food becomes scarce, they may be compelled to turn back.

If you notice, General, the enemy still on their guard, not allowing their men
τοιοτάς, καὶ μὴ πόρρω ἐξελαύνειν τοὺς εἰς συλλογὴν χρείαν ἀποστελ- 15 λομένους παραχωροῦντας, καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐνέδραν εἰς βλάβην αὑτῶν ἐπινοήσα|σθαι δεῖ. τὰ φούλα διασκοπήσαι τῶν πολεμίων τά εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν ἐξεχρήμενα καὶ πόρρω τοῦ φοσσάτου ἱστάμενα. καὶ οἷον εἶ αὐτῶν βραδύτερον ὑποστρέψει εἰς τὰς σκηνὰς αὐτῶν, ἵσας καρτεροῦν ἐως οὗ ὁ τὰ πλήθην αὐτῶν χώρια ἀνερευνώντες ἕταρχοι αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰς σκηνὰς αὐτῶν ὑποστρέψουσιν, κατ' αὐτὸν ἐνεδρεύσαι ἐπείξηθη. καὶ δὲ ἐμπείρων βιγλατόρων εἰ δυνατὸν στοχάσασθαι τὴν ποσότητα τῶν εἰς τὸ φούλλον ἱσταμένων πολεμίων, καὶ τούτων πλείονες μαχίμως ἄνδρας τῶν ἰππέων ἀπολεξάμενος λόχων γενέ- σθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παρασκευάσεις, ἀρχηγὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐφιστῶν ἄν- δρεῖον καὶ ἐμπειρότατον, διορίσασθαι τε αὐτῶν ὀλίγους τινὰς τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῶν λαοῦ χιτῶνας ἀμφιάσασθαι γεωργῶν, συμμείξει τε αὐτοῖς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἁγροτῶν καὶ γεωργικῶν. ἀόπλους δὲ πάντας εἶναι καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀσκέτους, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἀνυπόδετους, ἐφίππους δὲ ἀπαντᾶς, ἐυλοκόντια κατέχοντας πάνυ κοῦδα πρὸς τὸ ἀπατήσαι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ δόξαν αὐτοὺς ἐμπούηται ὡς οὐκ εἶν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀλλὰ γεωργοὶ τινὲς, οἱ λεγόμενοι οἰκοφύλακες. μὴ πλείονες δὲ τού- τους εἶναι τῶν εἰκοσί. εἰσαγαγεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν χωρίοις ἀνὰ ἕξ ἀ καὶ πλείονα πληθυσμὸν ἀλλήλων, ἔχοντας κτήνη τινὰ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χωρίων, εἰτε ὑποζύγια εἶν καὶ βόσε ἐἰθ' ἵπποι τε καὶ ἡμίονοι. περὶ δὲ 30 ἐνδεκάτην ὀραν τῆς ἡμέρας διορίσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐμφανισθήναι τοῖς πολεμίων, ἄπο χωρίον πρὸς ἔτερον χωρίον δρομαίως εἰσερχόμενον καὶ περισταμένους, ὅπως τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν ἀναλάβωνται καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὄχρωματα διασώσωσι. τούτους τοῖς τινὲς ἡμικα (οἱ) εἰς τὸ φούλλον ἱστάμενοι πολέμιοι θέασωνται, τὰ μὲν τῶν κτηνῶν αὐτῶν παρέλκο- ται, τὰ δὲ ἀπελαύνοντας, καὶ ἀγρόται εἶναι καὶ γεωργοῖς τούτως ὑποτοπήσουσιν, ἀκρατῶς καὶ ἀφυλακτῶς τούτως ἐπιδιώξουσι. δι- 35 οκόμενοι δὲ οὶ τοῦ σχῆμα τῶν οἰκοφύλακων καὶ γεωργῶν ὑποδύντες, σπουδάσουσι καταλαβεῖν, ἐν ψυχρομμα ἱσταται καὶ τούτως οἱ πολέμιοι διώκουνες περιπετεύονται τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ ἀπαραφυλάκτως. ἐπὰν 40 δὲ τοῖς λοχησάσι προσεγγίσωσιν, εὐτάκτω φρενί καὶ ὀρμὴ κατ' αὐτῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐφορμήσαστες συναγείτασιν. καὶ δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἀντατήριστοι κἂν πρὸς μικρὸν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλὰ νῦν δῶντες πολ- λοὶ τούτων καὶ ἀναμεθήσονται, καὶ δορυάλωτοι γένεται.

Εἰ δὲ σύνεγγυς ὁ χώρος εἰτή τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν στρατιάς ἐν ὧ τὰ 45 τούδε τελεῖται, καὶ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν διωκομένων ἐξέληθη, χρῆ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ὅπισθέν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνέδρας καὶ ἔτερον λαόν τόπων ἐπιτιθέδειον εἰς ἐγκρυμμα καταστή- σαι, ἀπέχου τῆς προτέρας ἐνέδρας μίλια δύο. καὶ εἶγε, ὡς ἐφιέμεν, τοὺς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐνέδρᾳ λαὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδιώξει, οἱ τοῦ δευ- 50 τέρον ἐγκρυμματος ἐξερχόμενοι κατ' αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους περι- σώσουσι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους κατατραγματίσουσι καὶ βανατώσουσι.
to ride out very far to gather food, then you must make plans for an ambush to hurt them. Find out about the foulkons of the enemy which have gone out to guard them and which are stationed far from the camp. Observe which one of them is slower in returning to their tents, perhaps just taking their time until their comrades who have been searching out the nearby villages should return to their tents, then make haste to ambush them. Have experienced scouts estimate, if they can, the number of enemy troops in the foulkon. Select a larger number than these of brave horsemen and prepare an ambush for the enemy, appointing a brave and very experienced man as commander. Have him order a few of the men under him to dress like farmers, and mix in some real farmers and herdsmen with them. All of them ought to be unarmed and their heads uncovered. Some should be barefoot. All should be on horseback, carrying very short wooden staffs. Do all this to deceive the enemy and to give them the impression that these men are not from the army but just some farmers, of the sort called stewards. There should not be more than twenty of them. They should go into six or more villages close to one another in which they have some herds, whether beasts of burden, cattle, horses, or mules. About the eleventh hour of the day order them to let themselves be seen by the enemy, going from one village to the other on the run and moving about as though they were rounding up their animals and conveying them to safety in strong places. Now then, when the men forming the foulkon see these people, some of them leading their herds along, others driving them off, they will surmise that they are peasants and farmers and will follow them relaxed and off guard. Our men, then, who are disguised as farmers and peasant stewards, when the enemy have begun to follow them, should hurry to reach the site of the ambuscade. There the enemy who are following them, caught off their guard, will fall right into the ambush. When they draw near, the men waiting in ambush should charge out vigorously and in good order against them and fall upon them. It is clear that the enemy will not stand up against them, not even for a little while. But they will turn tail, and many of them will be killed or taken captive.

If the place in which all this happened is near the enemy army, and a number of their soldiers should ride out to avenge the troops who have been defeated, the general should have more men stationed in a good spot for an ambush behind the first ambushing party, two miles away from it. If indeed, as we said, the enemy force should pursue the troops in the first ambush, those in the second ambush, riding out against them, will come to the rescue of their own men and will slaughter
δεί οὖν τὴν τοιοῦτην μηχανήν, ὅ ἔστατος ἦλιον ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἵνα, εάν πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων ἐπίθωσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ, ἣ νῦν καταλαβοῦσα καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διαλύσασα, ἀβλαβὴ τὸν ὑπὸ τέλειον διατηρήσῃς.

18: 22 τῶν Hase: τῷ VS || 33 πλείωνα De: πλείωνας VS || 38 οἱ Hase: om. VS || 46 τοιούτων Hase: τοιούτο VS || 52 ἐπιτήδειον εἰς De: εἰς ἐπιτήδειον VS

(ἐθ’.)

H 238

Περὶ καταστάσεως καὶ ἐξοπλίσεως καὶ γυμνασίας στρατοῦ.

V f. 259v

Εἰ δὲ γε ἑπαρθῇ οὖν κοῦροιν διαχωρίσαι, εὐφρῶς δεῖ σε τοῦτον ἐπιτήδευσάσθαι, ἀποστέλλοντα τῶν ὑπὸ σε τινὰ ἄνδρεια καὶ ἐμπειρία κεκοσμημένον, μετὰ καθωπλισμένον λαοῦ καὶ ἐξαρκοῦν- 

tος, τοὺς διεσκεδασμένους τῶν πολεμίων κατατρέχειν, καὶ ἀναίρειν καὶ δεσμώτας ποιεῖν. σοῦ δὲ μηδέποτε καταλυτῶν ἡ παράταξις, ἵνα, εἰ συμβῇ φοῦλκος πολεμίων περιτυχεῖν πλήθος ἔχουσι λαοῦ, πρὸς 

φυλακὴν δηλαδὴ τῶν ἐξελαφυνόντων πολεμίων ἑπακολούθουσι, τῆν ἰδίαν ἔχων παράταξιν συνισταμένην, πόλεμον μετὰ τοῦ φοῦλκον συνάπτον ἀρχηγίων καὶ ἐμπειρώς, ὡς ἐξεθεμεθα, καταγωνίσθ 

tοῦτος, καὶ τελείως παραδώσει ἄφαντομφ.

Ταῦτα δὲ εἰς ἀν’ (τὴν) σήμαν ἁσφάλειαν, ὁ στρατηγε, καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ 

φυλάττεσθαι ὑπεμνήσαμεν, εἰγε διλυγοῦστον ἠστι τὸ ὑπὸ σε στρατευμα καὶ ἐναριθμημένον, καὶ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων κατὰ πολὺ ἐλαττοῦ-

μενον. εἰ δὲ περὶ τάς ἐξ ἡ πέντε χιλιάδας ἀπαριθμεῖται τὸ ὑπὸ σε 

μάχην, μᾶλλον κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀντιτάξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπει-

χθην. καὶ οὕτως διὰ μηχανικῶν στρατηγημάτων καὶ ἐπιτήδευσεων, εἰ χρῆ, καὶ ἄδοκιν κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπιθέσεως, καὶ εἰ καλῶς καὶ ἐμπει-

ρως τὸν κατ’ αὐτῶν μηχανήσῃ πόλεμον, ἔχων τὴν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀκαταμάχητον βοηθείαν συνεπαμύνουσαν, μεγάλα κατὰ τῶν 

ἐχθρῶν μυκῆς ἐργάσθη τρόπαια.

Οὕτω ἔνδον δὲ ἄλλως στρατηγικῶς καὶ ἐμπειρῶς τρός τῶν πόλεμοι

παρασκευασθήσῃ σε, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐξοστάθησιν καὶ ἐκπαιδεύσεις 

τὸ ὑπὸ σε στράτευμα, ἐθίδων αὐτὸ καὶ ἐγχυμάζων εἰς τε ἡ πὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν μεταχείρισιν καὶ πόλων καὶ ταλαντωρῶν τὸ δριμύ τε καὶ ἐπι-

πονον καρπερεύν καὶ μὴ χανόντες καὶ ῥαθυμία, μὴθε τε καὶ τρυφαῖς 

καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀσωτίαις τὸ έσαντι πῶν ἐπιτρέπειν. προσήκει δὲ 

μὴ τάς τε βόης αὐτῶν καὶ συνεργεία ἄνελλησι πολύτους λαμβά-

νειν, ἄλλας τε ὁφρεάς καὶ ἐνεργεσίας πλείους τῶν ἐθίμων καὶ δια-
and inflict serious injury upon the enemy. You ought to employ such a trick, General, around sunset, so that if large numbers of the enemy attack the men in the ambush, nightfall will break up the battle, and you will preserve the men under your command unharmed.

19.

The condition of the army. Its armament and training.

If they should dare to dispatch a raiding party, you must get set to deal with it in a suitable manner. Send out one of the men in your command, one noted for his courage and experience, with a sufficient number of well-armed troops. Have them swoop down upon the enemy while they are scattered about, slay some and take others captive. But by all means never break up your formation. If you happen to run into very large enemy foulkons, who are, of course, following along to protect the mounted enemy raiders, keep your own formation tightly drawn up and join battle with the foulkon, relying on sound strategy and experience, as we have explained. You will beat them down and effect their complete destruction.

We are recalling these matters, General, for your protection and that of your men, if the army under your command is really quite small and very much inferior to that of the enemy. If the fighting men under you number about five or six thousand, then you should hasten to draw them up in formation directly facing the enemy. Make use, then, of devices, stratagems, special operations, and, when necessary, surprise attacks against them. If you call upon your experience and thoroughly plan your warfare against them, with the invincible assistance of Christ our God as a protection, you will achieve great, victorious triumphs over the enemy.

There is no other possible way, as far as strategy and experience are concerned, for you to prepare for warfare except by first exercising and training the army under your command. You must accustom them to and train them in the handling of weapons and get them to endure bitter and wearisome tasks and labors. They should not be allowed to become slack or lazy or to give themselves completely to drunkenness, luxury, or other kinds of debauchery. They certainly ought to receive their salaries and money for provisions regularly, as well as gifts and bonuses, more than are customary or stipulated. Not lacking anything, therefore,
τετυπωμένων, ἵνα τὸ ἀνενδέχεστε ἐξοντες ἐκ τούτων δύνανται καὶ ἐπιποῦσ
καλλίστους ἐπικτάσθαι, καὶ τὸς ἄλλας αὐτῶν πανοπλίας, (καὶ) χαι-
ροῦσῃ ψυχῇ καὶ προθύμῳ καὶ ἀγαλλῳ | μένῃ καρδίᾳ προκυπτο
αἰρώνται τῶν βασιλέων ἡμῶν τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ Χριστια
νικοῦ πληρώματος. τὸ δὲ κρείττον πάντων καὶ ἀνέγκακτουρεν, ὀπτέρ
τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτῶν διεγείρει, καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αἰτεῖ, καὶ τῶν ἀτολ-
μήτητον ἐρεθίζει κατασταλόν, τὸ τελείαν ἔχειν ἐλευθερίαν τὰς ἐαυτῶν
οἰκίας καὶ τῶν ὑπερτουμένων αὐτοὺς στρατιώτων καὶ τοὺς περὶ
αὐτοὺς ἀπαντασ. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀρχήθηκε καὶ ἀπὸ παλαιοὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ
συνετῆρειτο καὶ διεφυλάττετο. καὶ εὐρήσεις τούτῳ νευμοθετημέν

καὶ τῶν πάλαι ἁγίων καὶ μακαρίων βασιλέων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τακτικοῖς
βιβλίοις αὐτῶν ἐγγεγραμμένου. πρὸς δὲ γε τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ χρή αὑτοῖς καὶ
τῆς δούλως ἀπολασθεὶς τιμῆς καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀτμούσθαι.
αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ εἰπεῖν καὶ τύπτεσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους ἄνδρας,
tους μὴ προτιμώντας τῆς ἡδονῆς ὑπὲρ θεραπείας τῶν ἁγίων βασι-
λέων καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἐκδικήσεως. καὶ ταῦτα
παρὰ φορὸ|λόγων ἀνθρωποίων, καὶ μηδεμίων τῶν κοινὴς προεξού-
νων ὀφέλειαν, ἀλλὰ ἡ μόνον ἐκπιεζόντων καὶ ἐκτριβόντων τῶν πε-
νητας, καὶ ἐξ ἀδικίας καὶ πολλῶν αἰμάτων πενήτων ἐαυτοῖς πολλὰ
τάλαντα ἀρχεῖον ἐπισυναγωγόντων.

Δεῖ δὲ αὐτοῦς μηδὲ παρὰ τῶν θεματικῶν κριτῶν ἀμοῦσθαι, καὶ
ὡς ἀνδράστοδα κατασύρεσθαι καὶ μαστίζεσθαι, δεσμά τε καὶ κλοιαι
—ὁ τῆς συμφόρας—περτίθεσθαι τοὺς ἕδικους καὶ, μετὰ Θεόν,
σωτῆρας Χριστιανῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁγίων βασιλέων καθ' ἐκάστην,
ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀποθνήσκοντας· αὐτῶν τοῦ νόμου παρακελεύοντος ἔκαστον
ἀρχοντα τοῦ ἱδίου λαοῦ ἐξουσιαζέων καὶ τούτοις κρίνεων. καὶ τίνων
ἐτέρου ἀρα λαὸς οἰκείος ὁ τοῦ θέματος, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ,
ὅν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἁγιος ἐν αὐτῷ προεριστεία; διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀρχαιοστῶν Ἡρωμάτων Ἡρωμάτων, καὶ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἱδίου θέματος ἐξουσιαν

ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκκέκτητο, κρίνων τῶν ἐγκαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιω-
τικοῖς πράγμασιν, καὶ διοικῶν τὰ ἐν τῷ θέματι ἀνακύπτοντα, ἐχὼν συν-
εργον τὸν κριτὴν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ συνεργούμενος· συνεργῶν δὲ καὶ τῷ
πρωτονοταρίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν τῶν δημοσίων δουλείας ἐγκε-
χειρισμένοις. εἰ χὲ δὲ καὶ τὸ τουμαρχῆς τῆς ἱδίας αὐτοῦ τούρμας

παρὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς προστάξεως ἐπ' ἐξουσίας τὰς
κρίσεις, κατὰ τοὺς ἐπικρατήσαντας τύπους καὶ τῶν τοῦτων προνομία.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πάλαι κατάστασιν ὁ τῶν ἁγίων βασιλέων λάβη

στρατός, καὶ τὰ λυπόμενα καὶ εἰς πενίαν αὐτῶν ἄχοντα πόροι γε

νώτα τοὺτων, μεγάλην λήψω ται προθυμίαν καὶ χαρὰν καὶ ἀγαλ-

λισαν, καὶ γενναίοτεροι καὶ εὐτολμότεροι ἀποστασίαν, ἀκαταγώνυστοι
tε καὶ ἀκαταμάχητοι τοῖς πολεμίως ὑβή|ςοντα καὶ τούτων οὕτως

γινόμενον, οὐ μόνον τὰς ἱδίας οἱ ἁγιοὶ ἡ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκδικήσουσιν
χώρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτερας πλείστας τῶν πολεμίων καθυστεράζουσιν.
they will be able to use these to obtain the best horses and the rest of their equipment. With a joyous spirit and a willing and exultant heart they will choose to brave dangers on behalf of our holy emperors and all the Christian people. But what is more important than all else and more basic, what arouses their enthusiasm, increases their courage, and incites them to dare what nobody else would dare is the fact that their own households and those of the soldiers serving them and everyone about them possess complete freedom. This has provided them security and protection from the beginning and from antiquity. You will find that this has been legislated by the holy and blessed emperors of old and is written down in the tactical books. In addition to freedom, though, they should enjoy proper respect and not be despised and dishonored. For, I am ashamed to say, men such as these are beaten, men who do not value their own lives above service to the holy emperors and for the freedom and vindication of Christianity. And these things are done by tribute-levying manikins who contribute absolutely nothing to the common good, but whose sole intent is to wear down and squeeze dry the poor, and from their injustice and abundant shedding of the blood of the poor they store up many talents of gold.

These men ought not to be dishonored by the thematic judges either, dragged off as prisoners and whipped, bound in chains and—oh, what a terrible thing—pilloried. Yet these are the defenders and, after God, the saviors of Christians who, so to speak, die each day on behalf of the holy emperors. The law itself stipulates that each officer has authority over his own men and can judge them. Does anyone else have authority over the men who live in the theme beside the general alone, whom the holy emperor has appointed? For this reason, from the most ancient Romans and from the law, the general possesses authority over his own theme. He judges cases in matters that affect the soldiers, and he manages affairs that come up in the theme. He has a judge to cooperate with him and with whom he too cooperates. He also cooperates with the protonotary and the others assigned to public service. The turmarch, as is clear from the law and imperial decrees, has also had authority to judge in his own turma, according to the regulations in force and their precedents.

If, in conclusion, the army of the holy emperors should attain its ancient condition and can rid itself of those elements dragging its men into poverty, they will be full of enthusiasm, happiness, and good cheer. They will be better soldiers and more courageous and will appear to the enemy as absolutely invincible. When this comes to pass, our holy emperors will not only defend their own lands but will make many other lands of the enemy subject to themselves.

1 "Emperors" is used in the plural, for the oldest sons of the reigning emperors were crowned and bore the title of emperor, even though, as Basil II and Constantine VIII, they might be mere children.

2 Tactical books must here refer to legal collections (taxeis, diataxeis). Romanos I Lekapenos seems to have been the first emperor to recognize the problems resulting from the increasing alienation of the soldiers' property and attacked the practice in a law (novel) of 922. Subsequent emperors did the same with varying success. In general, see G. Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State, trans. J. Hussey (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), 272–88, with further references. Exactly what the author is
Περὶ τῶν ἐγχρονιζόντων πολεμίων κατὰ τῆς χώρας ἦμῶν, ἑναὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι στρατὸς κατὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐπέλθη.

Τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ μεγάλης καὶ βαρείας δυνάμεως τὰς χώρας ἦμῶν περιπολοῦντων, ἐκτριβόντων τε καὶ ἀφανιζόντων, καὶ πολυρρίκιας κάστρων διαμελετώντων φυλαττομένων δὲ τοῦ μῆ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατευμάτων ἐνεδρεύουσαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐνεδρεύσαι μηχανωμένων εἰ μὴ ἀξιόλογος Ῥωμαϊκὴ δύναμις εἰς ἄντι-παράταξιν τούτων ἐστίν, δυναμεῖν τούτοις καταγωγίσασθαι, τούτο δεῖ σε, ὦ στρατηγε, διαπράξεσθαι, ὥπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνῶν χρόνοις γέγονε, καθὼς ἡ συντεθείσα στρατηγική βίβλος παρὰ τοῦ ᾿Αοίδιμου καὶ συφωτάτου βασιλέως Λέοντος διαλαμβάνει. ἦ καὶ οἱ ἐνυχυόντες σαφῶς τὰ περὶ τῶν λεχθησομένων ἐπίστανται.

Περὶ τῶν ὠρεινών πολεμίων κατὰ τῆς χώρας ἦμῶν: ἐπέλθη οἱ ἡμέτεροι στρατὸς κατὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν.
referring to in the following account of injustices and indignities suffered by the soldiers is not fully clear.

3 On the relationship between the military and civil officials, see H. Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration," Etudes administratives, 100–101.

20.

While the enemy delay in our country our army can invade theirs.

When large numbers of the enemy wander about our country ravaging, destroying, and making plans to besiege fortified places, they will indeed be on their guard to avoid being ambushed by the Roman units; in fact, they will be devising plans to ambush us. If a Roman army, large enough and capable of defeating them is not there to confront them, then you, General, must take action such as was taken in the past and which is described in the strategical book composed by the revered and most wise emperor Leo.1 Those who have read it will understand clearly what we shall be discussing.

About that time all the men of Cilicia, a huge force, invaded the theme of Anatolikon and were vigorously besieging the fortified town of Mistheia.2 The emperor ordered the commander of the army at that time to take thematic and tagmatic units and campaign down in the country of the Cilicians. Two generals, the one of Anatolikon and the one of Opsikion, were left behind to confront the enemy and defend the fortified town and the rest of the country as best they could. Now, the supreme commander of the armies, Nikephoros Phokas, made his invasion along the road called after Maurianos against the country of Adana and took huge amounts of plunder.3 The garrison of Adana came out to confront this army and about two miles outside their city formed for battle. As soon as they fell upon one another, the sons of Ismael turned tail in disorderly flight, immediately scattered, and rushed back to the city. The commander of the Roman armies cut down with the sword or led into slavery all the Ismaelites he found who had been unable to get inside the gates. He set up camp there near the town, chopped down vines, trees, and everything that bore fruit, and razed the elegant and beautiful suburbs. The next day his
αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπὸ πλείστην καὶ κτήμα τάμπυλλα ἀναλαβόμενοι, καὶ
d οἵ ὀλής τῆς ὁμαρας ὀδοιπορῆσας, ἐν τῷ Κύδων θομαμ, ὡς καὶ Ἰέραξ
ἐγχώριος κέκληται, ἐξώθεν τῆς γεφύρας ἐν ἣ ἡ ὄδος πρὸς Ἀδανᾶ
φέρει ἥπληκευσε. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἀπάρας ἐκείθεν, τῆς ἱδίας κατα-
λήψεσθαι ἐπορεύετο. τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοίνυν ὦ τὴν Μισθείαν περι-
καθήμενοι πολέμοι κατὰ τῆς ἐαιτων χώρας ἐπίθεσιν ἀκοντισθέντες,
tὴν πολιορκίαν λύσαντες τάχει πολλῷ πρὸς ἐκδίκησιν τῆς ἱδίας
χώρας ὑπέστρεψαν. ἀλλ' ἀπρακτήσαντες τῶν ἀμφοτέρων δυνάμων,
ὁ γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατευμάτων ἡγούμενος μετὰ πολλῶν σκύλων
τε καὶ λαφύρων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων διὰ τῆς ὄδος τοῦ Καρυδίου λεγο-
μένης τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη κατέλαβε.

45 Πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατηγήσαντες τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν καὶ
Καππαδοκίας ἐν τοῖς ἁγίων, τῶν Ταρσίτων κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς
χώρας τὴν ἐξέλευσιν ποιομένων, δὲ ἄλλας ὄδοι ἐν ταῖς χώραις
αὐτῶν εἰσέρχομεν, ποτὲ μὲν αὐτοὶ ἐκείνοι, ποτὲ δὲ τινὰς τοῦ λαοῦ
αὐτῶν ἀποστέλλοντες, κατὰ τὸ ἐγχωροῦν τούτους κατετραμμάτζον.

40 'Ο δὲ γε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Λυκαντοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείστε ἀκριτικῶν
θεμάτων ἐγκεχειρισμένοι ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις, ὡσάκις ἐν Ἀλῆ ὁ
νῖος τοῦ Χαμβδά κατὰ Ῥωμανίας τὴν ἐξέλευσιν ἐποίησατο, ἢ ἐν τῇ
ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ χρείας ἀναγκαίας αὐτὸν κατεπείγοντος μετέβη, κατὰ τῆς
χώρας τοῦ Χάλεπε καὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπιτιθέμενος, μεγάλην ἐν
αὐτοῖς βλάβην εἰργάζετο. καὶ τοῖς συγγενεῖσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρχηγοῖς
τῶν φοσσάτων μεγάλους καὶ περιφανεῖς δορυφόρως εἰλε, καὶ τοὺς
tούτους μαχίμους ἄνδρας καὶ πλείστα φρούρια. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ
τῶν Κιλίκων χώρας διεπράττετο, ὡς τῇ Λυκαντῇ συνοροῦση.

50 Καὶ αὐτοῖς τούνων, ὁ στρατηγή, ὡς μετ' ἐπιτηδεύσεως καὶ ἐνε-
δρας τραυματιζέν τους πολέμους ἀπορήσεις, διὰ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἐπι-
μελῶς ἀσφαλίζεσθαι καὶ παραφύλατεν, οὔτε δ' αὐ τάλλων ἀξιόλογον
ἐχεις δύναμιν, πρὸς τὸ φαινεῖτο αὐτοῖς ἀντιμάχεσθαι. τούτο δὲι σε
dιαπράττεν. καὶ εἰτε αὐτόν σε κατὰ τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων (ἐπεί-
γεσθαι, καταλλημάνοντα) ἄνδρα | τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἀξιολο-
γώτερων, μετὰ καὶ στρατεύματος τοῦ πρὸς παραδρομὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν
tῶν θεμάτων ἐξικανοῦντος· εἰτε, σοῦ | τὴν παραδρομὴν ποιοῦτος, τὸν
κρείττονα τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ επτ' ἄνδρειας καὶ πολυπερίριος ὁμο-
στόν καὶ ἐπαινοῦμεν, μετὰ ἰππικῆς καὶ πεζικῆς ἄξιολογον δυνά-
μεως κατὰ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἀποστέλλειν χώρας, καὶ χρονίζειν ἐν
αὐτῇ καὶ πυρπολεῖν καὶ ἀφανίζειν καὶ κάστρα πολιορκεῖν ἕνα τούτῳ
ἀκούοντες οἱ πολέμωι, καὶ μὴ βουλημένοιν τοῦ ἁρχῆγον αὐτῶν, ἀνα-
γκάσωσιν αὐτὸν ἐπαναλείψαι πρὸς τῆς ἱδίας χώρας ἐκδίκησιν.

55 Ὄποτάν δὲ τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν καλὸς ἐκστάσεις, καὶ φυγα-
deύσῃ καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἴκουντα λαὸν καὶ τὰ τούτων θρέματα
ἐν ὅρεσιν ὑψηλοῖς καὶ δυσβάτως, καὶ βουληθῶσιν οἱ πολέμοι ψηλα-
φῆσαι καὶ ἀνερευνηθόησαι τὰ τοιαῦτα ὅρη, κακείθεν τούτους ἄνδρα-
army drove on to the sea, taking a very large number of captives and many flocks. They marched all day to the Kydnos River, which is called Hierax locally. The army encamped beyond the bridge over which the road to Adana runs. The day after that he left there and began the return journey to his own country. When the enemy, now, who were camped around Mistheia heard of the Roman invasion of their country, they abandoned their siege and with great speed turned back to defend their own land. But they failed and gained nothing in both places. For the commander of the Roman divisions, with a large amount of spoils, booty, and prisoners, returned to the abode of the Romans along the road called Karydion.

Long ago, moreover, when the men of Tarsus were attacking Roman territory, the men who then commanded Anatolikon and Cappadocia sometimes took another road and went out among the villages by themselves, and other times dispatched some of their troops and caused as much injury to them as they could.

Then there was the man who had been entrusted with the command of Lykanudos and of the frontier themes there at the same time. Every time that 'Ali the son of Hamdan would invade Romania, this commander, even when pressured by dire necessity in his own country, left there and attacked the country around Aleppo and Antioch and did a great deal of damage. He took captive some of 'Ali’s kinsmen and some great and illustrious leaders of his armies as well as numbers of their fighting men and many fortresses. He did the same thing in the country of Cilicia, which borders on Lykanudos.

Therefore, General, when you are at a loss about how to injure the enemy with stratagems and ambushes, because they are very cautious and guard themselves carefully, or if, on the other hand, it is because your forces are not up to facing them openly in battle, then this is what you ought to do. Either you march quickly against the lands of the enemy, leaving the most responsible of the other generals behind, with enough troops for skirmishing and for the security of the themes. Or else, if you carry out the skirmishing, then send your best general, well known and esteemed for his courage and vast experience, with a significant force of cavalry and infantry down to the country of the enemy. He should stay there a while, burning, destroying, besieging fortified towns. When the enemy hear of this, they will force their leader, even if he is unwilling, to get back to defend their own country.

If you evacuate the area well and find refuge for the inhabitants and their flocks on high and rugged mountains, then if the enemy want to investigate and search about those mountains to take them captive, and if they intend to move close with their whole army to such an area and pitch their tents there, then you ought to draw close to that region to defend your own people. Now, if you notice that the spot in which the enemy have encamped has a mountain or high ground from which you can attack them at night, then you should make plans for this. Thoroughly investigate the lay of the land and take advantage of it. Then make ready your night attack with your infantry force and the cavalry, as explained below in the section on night fighting. You will seriously injure them, terrify them, and cause them to withdraw
ποδίσασθαι, καὶ παναστατὶ πλησιάσατο τοῖς τοιούτοις τόποις θελήσωσι, καὶ τὰς σκηνάς ἐκείστω πῆξασθαι ὀφείλεις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκεῖνος πλησίον γενέσθαι εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἠκείων. καὶ εἰγε τῶν χώρων θεώσῃ, ἐν φ' οἷο πολέμου αὐξάζονται, ὅρος ἔχοντα ή τόπον ψήλον καὶ ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς τὸ νυκτὸς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιθέσαι, τοῦτο μελετήσεις. καὶ διασκοπήσας καλῶς τὴν τοῦ τόπου θέσιν, καὶ βοηθεῖαν ἐκείνων ἔχον, τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν παρασκευάσῃς πόλεμον νυκτὸς μετὰ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἰππέων, καθὼς περὶ νυκτοπολέμου κατωτέρω εἰρήται. καὶ μεγάλως αὐτοῖς τραυματίσεις καὶ ἐκθρονίσεις, καὶ παρασκευάσεις ἐκείθεν ὑποχρήσαι. καρτεροῦντος δὲ ἐπὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χώρῳ, καλῶς ἐαυτοῦς ἄσφαλιζόμενοι καὶ παραφυλάττοντες, καὶ βουλομένων ἀνερευνθῆσαι τὰ ὀργὴν ἐν οἷς τὰ καταφύγια τῶν χωρίων τυγχάνειν, | δεόν φυλαχθῆναι καὶ προκατασχεθῆναι παρὰ σοῦ τὰς εἰσόδους διὰ τέ αἰκανιστῶς καὶ ψιλῶν. καὶ τοῦτον καλῶς φυλαττομένων ἐν οἷς ἡ καταφυγὴ τῶν γεωργῶν σὺν τῶν φαμίλιων καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν γέγονεν, εἰ βουληθῶσι διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ δυσβάτων ἐκείνων όδων εἰσελθεῖν ἡττηθῆσαν; καὶ μάλιστα πεζικῆς (δυνάμεως αὐτοῦς ἐπιθεμένης. εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ μετὰ πεζικῆς) βουληθῶσιν ἐπελθεῖν, καὶ τὰ ὀργὴ διερευνηθῆσαι, ἐν ἐνδοτέρως καὶ ὀχυρωτέρως καὶ ἀνεπίβουλωσι τόποις εἰσαγαγεῖν τοὺς τῶν χωρίων οἰκήτορας ἐπείχθητι καὶ σοῦ μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τᾶς εἰσαγωγάς κατ' αὐτῶν ὄδους δηλαδὴ καταλαμβάνωντος τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διαφυλάττοντος.


(κα').

Περὶ πολυρρίας κάστρου.

Πρὸς πολυρρίαν δὲ κάστρον κατανοῶν εὑρετείνεμένοις τοῖς πολείμοις, δεόν καὶ σε, (ὡ) στρατηγεῖ, ὡσα πολυρρίκεισθαι δυνατὸν—

5 εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ παλλὰ κάστρα μὴ δεδομὰ πολυρρίαν—ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξελεύσεως παρασκευάσαι τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς καταφεύγοντα λαὸν μηνῶν τεσσάρων τροφὰς καθένα ἐκαστὸν, εἰ δυνατὸν καὶ πλειώνων, καθ' ὅσον συνορφῆς ἐστεσθαι τὴν πολυρρίαν, ἀποτι-
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from there. But if they still manage to hold on in that place, owing to good security and keeping on guard, and if they still want to search around the mountains in which the local people have taken refuge, then the roads into the area must be taken beforehand and protected by javelin throwers and light troops. With those places well guarded which have become the refuge for the farmers with their families and children, then, if the enemy should decide to advance along those narrow and rugged roads, they will be defeated, especially if an infantry force is sent against them. But if they want to attack with their own infantry and search about the mountains, then make haste to lead the inhabitants of the villages to more remote, stronger, and more defensible places. You then take all your men, occupy the roads leading to them, and guard them securely.

1This is mentioned twice by Leo: (1) “We know that our general Nikephoros accomplished this when we sent him down to Syria with a good-sized force. He went there and pillaged right in the middle of the enemy's country, while the Saracen, that is, the barbarian, forces were being led somewhere under the command of the eunuch Aboulfer. He ravaged the enemy country and preserved intact the barbarian prisoners and all the other booty he had” (Tactical Constitutions, XI, 25). (2) “While Aboulfer, the Saracen emir, overran Cappadocia, our general Nikephoros devastated Tarsus and all Cilicia, inflicting heavy losses on the Saracens” (ibid., XVII, 83).

2Although there is some dispute about the date, it probably occurred in the year 900: see R. Jenkins, B. Laourdas, C. Mango, “Nine Orations of Arethas from cod. Marc. gr. 524,” BZ, 47 (1954), 1-40, esp. p. 15; see Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State, 257.

3This Nikephoros Phokas is the grandfather of the emperor: see H. Grégoire, “La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas,” Prophora eis S. P. Kyriakides, Hellenika, 4 (1953), 232-54.

The Kydnos (Hierax) is the present Tarsus Çay (Arabic: Baradan) which rises near Lampron in the region of the Bulgar Dağı and flows south through Tarsus to the Mediterranean.

4From Podandos (modern Pozanti) Nikephoros led his forces to the southeast along the trail by the Çakit Suyu. This the Maurianos road which leads directly to Adana. After defeating the Arabs, the Byzantines marched east toward Tarsus. When they reached the Kydnos, they turned north and followed the Karydion road through the Cilician Gates: see E. Honigmann, Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071 (Brussels, 1935), 80-92; F. Hild, Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien (Vienna, 1977), 57-59; Tabula imperii byzantini, 2. Kappadokien, F. Hild and M. Restle (Vienna, 1981).

5Constantine Porphyrogenitus recounts the origins of the theme of Lykandos and some of the exploits of its general, Melias: De administrando imperio, 50, 133 ff; pp. 238-40; also DAI Commentary, 189; Costantino Porfirogenito De Thematibus, ed. A. Pertusi (ST, 160; Vatican City, 1952), 75-76, 143-45; Tabula imperii byzantini, 2. Kappadokien, 224-26.

The siege of a fortified town.

On learning that the enemy are getting ready to besiege a fortified town, General, you ought to determine which ones are open to a siege, for many fortified towns have no reason to fear a siege. In places subject to a siege, before the ap-
θεσθαι. καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς κυστέραις ὑδάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν πάντων, ὡς πολυορκουμένων ἐκδικεῖν καὶ βοηθεῖν δύνανται. ταῦτα γὰρ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς παρούσης γραφῆ ἐκθεῖναι κατὰ μέρος ἐστομεν. περὶ γὰρ τοιούτων καὶ ἐτέρων πολυορκητικῶν μηχανη-
μάτων, καὶ τοῦ, πῶς χρῆ τοὺς ἐνδοὺς ἐξοθεν ἀντιμαχεῖσθαι, ἀκριβῶς πρὸ ἡμῶν καὶ λελυγμένως οἱ τὰ τακτικά καὶ στρατηγικά ἀναγραφόμενοι ἐξέθεντο. ἡμεῖς δὲ περὶ παραδρομῆς καὶ κατασχέ-
σεως κλειστορών προσταγθέντες εἰπεῖν, τὰ ταὐτὰ συντελοῦντα καὶ ἐφαρμόζοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐνδόν ἐκθεῖναι κατεπειγόμεθα.

Τῶν πολεμίων τοῖνοι τὸ κάστρον περικαθισάντων, καὶ πρὸς πο-
λυορκίαν χωροῦντων, εἰ μὲν, ὡς θὸς ἐστὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις στενο-
χωρεῖν τοὺς πολυορκουμένους, ἀπληκεύσουσι δηλονοτὶ τοῦ κάστρου κυκλόθεν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τινὰς τῶν ἠμετέρων μίτη εἰσέρχε-
σθαι μὴν ἐξέρχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ἐν χυροῖς τῶν καὶ δυσβάτως σχεδὸν τὰ πλείω ἡμῶν ἱδρυται κάστρα, εὐχερῶς τούτους οὕτως ἀπληκεύ-
σουσιν χάρακος καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἀνεν, ἱσχύσεις, ὡ στρατηγία, καθ’ ἐν μέρος νυκτὸς μετὰ πεζίκου στρατεύματος ἐπιθέσθαι, μετὰ συνθή-
ματος ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοὺς ἐξελθεῖν. καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ἐχῶν βοήθειαν, παρασκευάσατος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁρχῇ καὶ συνάψας αὐτοὺς εἰ δύ-
νατον πόλεμον (καὶ) τοῦτος καταγωγίσῃ. ἐργον δὲ τοῦτο προνοίας Ἐθεοῦ.

Εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν τοῦ χώρου δυσχέρειαν καὶ σκληρότητα οὐ θαρ-
ρήσαντοι οὕτως κυκλὸ | θεν καὶ διεσπαρμένως ἀπληκεύσαντι, ἀλλ’ ἐκ δύο μερῶν ἢ ἐξ ἐνός ἀπας ὁ λαὸς αὐτῶν στρατοπεδεύσει, δέον πρό-
tερον πάσαν τροφὴν ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἀλόγων τυπολήσαι καὶ τε-
λείως ἐξαφανίσαι, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς χρείαν ἀλόγων ἢ ἀνθρώπων πλη-
σίον τοῦ κάστρου ἢ πόρρω καταλιπεῖν εἰς τῶν χαρίων. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ξυλὸν ἐπιλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ὄρους μὴ ὄντος, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ στέγη τῶν οἰκημάτων | τυπολήσαι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ξυλὸν ἐν χρεία γένονται οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ τροφῶν ἐνδεεις ὄςων, ἀνάγκη τῶν λαῶν αὐτῶν ἐξέρ-
χεσαν μακρότερον πρὸς συλλογήν τῶν χρείων.

Σοῦ δὲ ἐμπείρας καὶ στρατηγικῶς διατιθημένου, δυνήσῃ τοῦ-
tος μετὰ ἐγκρυμμάτων πραματίζει καὶ κατατροποῦσθαι. ὡς ἐκ τοῦτο, τῇ τῶν τροφῶν ἐνδεεις ἀναγκαζόμενοι, τὴν πολυρκίαν λύ-
σουσιν. εἰ δὲ ὀρίες αὐτοὺς ἐπικαρτεροῦντας, καὶ τῇ πολυρκία ἐπιμε-
νοντας, καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοὺς στενοχωρουμένους, δέον καὶ πρὸς νυκτοπο-
λέμους δημοσίους χωρῆσαι, πεζίκων συναγγειοχώς στράτευμα ἀμα ἱππεύσαι. ἀρμοζότως κατὰ τὸν τῆς τοῦτος θέσιν τούτους συνταξά-
μενος, τὸν ἐν νυκτί πόλεμον παρασκευάσεις γενέσθαι, καθὼς παρα-
katων περὶ νυκτοπολέμου δηλώσω. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ τρόπῳ καταγωγίσῃ αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀναγκάσεις τὴν τοῦ κάστρου πολυρκίαν λυθεῖν.

Εἰ δὲ τις αἰτία τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς πόλεμον διακωλύσῃ, καὶ οἱ ἐνδοὺς πολυορκουμένοι ἐνδεεις λαοῦ τοῦ βοηθοῦντὸς εἰςτ, τροφῶν δὲ στάνων
proach of the enemy you should make sure that each person who seeks refuge in the place puts aside enough food for four months, more if possible, depending on your estimate of the duration of the siege. Take care that there is water in the cisterns and that everything else is there which can aid and protect people under siege. Since there are so many points to consider, we will dispense with exposing them in detail in the present treatise. Matters such as these and other devices used in sieges, and how the people inside should fight against those outside, have been carefully and precisely explained before us by the authors of books on tactics and strategy. But we have been commanded to discuss skirmishing and the holding of the mountain passes. To the best of our ability, then, we shall concentrate on setting forth what is useful and conducive to that end.

The enemy, therefore, surround the fortified town and prepare to begin the siege. As is usually done by those who want to reduce the besieged to dire straits, they will obviously camp in a circle around the town to prevent any of our people from entering or leaving. Since most of our fortified towns are built in strong, rugged locations, they will set up camp out there, neglecting security or fortifications. You will easily be able, General, to have your infantry force attack them in one sector at night. At the same time, at a prearranged signal, the men inside the fort should charge out. Taking advantage of the terrain, you should be ready in that very hour to engage them in battle, if possible, and you will defeat them, which, of course, should be attributed to God's providence.

But if the rough and difficult nature of the ground keeps them from setting up their camp scattered about in a circle, and the entire army encamps on either one or two sides, then the first thing you ought to do is completely destroy and put to the torch all the food for men and horses, so that no necessities are left for them either near the fortified town or further away in the villages. If the area is not mountainous and wood is lacking, then burn down the very roofs of the houses. For if the enemy are in need of wood and are short of food, their people will be forced to go out further away to gather necessities.

Putting your military experience to good use, then, you should be able to cause them harm by ambushes and put them to flight. The result should be that the scarcity of food will compel them to lift the siege. But if you notice that they are sticking with it and keeping up the siege and that the people in the city are in more difficult straits, then you should turn to regular night battles with a combined army of infantry and cavalry. Draw them up in conformity with the nature of the ground and make ready to attack at night in the manner I shall explain later on in treating of night fighting. By doing this you will defeat them and will force them to abandon the siege of the fortified town.

If some reason prevents the attack at night, and the people inside under siege are in need of reinforcements but have no shortage of food, you should be able to get
ούκ ἔχουσιν, δυνήτι καὶ ἐτέρων ἄνδρῶν προσθήκην ἐπαγαγείν, ὥσπερ καὶ τροφῆς, εἰγε ἐνδεικεῖ εἰεν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. συναγαγὼν ἀπαν τὸ ὑπὸ σε στράτευμα καὶ διικὴ αὐτοῦς διελών, οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις τούτων ἀναλαβέτωσαν καθεὶς ἀνά σιτον μοδίους τέσσαρας εἰς οὓς ἐποχοῦν· ταῖς ἑπταετέρων αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐξάνους ἐτέρους ἐπιπεῖς μηδέν ἐπιφερομένους πλὴν τὰ ὀτλα αὐτῶν, καὶ πρὸς μόνην αὐτῶν φυλακὴν εἶναι. σὺ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ λοσποῦ μαχίμου στρατεύματος ἐν ἑτέρῳ μέρει κατὰ τὴν ἄραν, ἡν οἱ τὸν σίτον ἐπιφερόμενοι πλησίον τοῦ κάστρου μέλλουσι γενέσθαι, περὶ μέσην νῦ | κτα ἀθρόως μετὰ κρανγῆς καὶ σαλπίγγων φανηθῆ, ὡς ἡδη πολεμίσων αὐτοῦς. τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸν σὸν πόλεμον παρασκευαζόμενον, καὶ τὴν ὅρμην πρὸς σε ποιομένον, ἀδειαν εὐρόντες οἱ τὸν σίτον ἐπιφερόμενοι, ἀποκομίζοντι τε αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ, καὶ ἀσυνείς πάλιν νοστήσουσι. καὶ διὰ τῆς τοιούτης μηχανῆς καὶ ἄνδρῶν ἐπιβολῆν καὶ τροφῆς παράσχης αὐτοῖς, εἰγε ἄμφιβορων ἐν χρείας εἰσί, καὶ σωτηρίας οἱ πολιορκοῦμενοι τίχασιν.

21: 2 κάστρου add. alia m. in loco στρατοῦ q. canc. || 4 ὧν De: om. S || 13 τοῦ Hase: τὸ S || 28 καὶ De: om. S || 30 σκληροτάτα Hase: σκηνοτάτα S

〈κβ'.〉

Περὶ διαχωρισμοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ἡμισέων ἢ καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μέρους.

Εἰ δὲ μὴ πρὸς πολιορκίαν κάστρων εὑτρεπίζωσιν οἱ πολέμοι, ἄλλα μετὰ πολλῆς καὶ ἄδρας δυνάμεως τὰς ἡμετέρας χώρας περιυποτοῦσι, χρῆ τὸν στρατηγοῦντα τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἐπιμελῶς τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἢτοι τοὺς τῶν χωρίων πολίτας καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀπαντα παρακελεύσασθαι τε καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι, ἐν κάστρωι καὶ ὥρως τοῖς διασώσασθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς λείαν ἐξεραμένους ὡς νοννεχή καὶ ἀγρινύνον συνεκχὸς τραυματίζειν· ιν' εἰεν δεδοκότες πόρρω τοῦ στρατεύματος αὐτῶν ἐξελαίνειν, καὶ τροφὰς ἐπικομίζεσαν, καντενείν στενοχωρίας τροφῶν συνεχεθεῖσονται. πλὴν, ὡς ἐξημεν, πλήθους λαοῦ ἐχοντες ἐτέραν ἰτως μέθοδον μετελεύσονται. διαχωρίζοντες ἐνίοτε τοὺς ἡμίσεις τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν, ἢ καὶ τὸ τρίτημον, ἀποστελλόμενον πόρρῳ ἡμέρας ὁδὸν διάστημα, ἢ καὶ ἑπέκεινα ἀπέχοντες τοῦ φοσσάτου αὐτῶν ἐν χωρίοις τισίν, ἐν οἷς ἐλπίζοντι πλείονας διαπάνας ἐφευρεῖν. καὶ ἀνάγκη τοῦ|τοὺς ἐπὶ δισυν ἡμέραις ἢ καὶ τρισίν ἔξω τοῦ φοσσάτου αὐτῶν διάγεν. τούτο γοῦν πυθόμενος
additional men through to them as well as food, if they need some, by the following method. Assemble the entire force under your command and divide it in two. In one half let each man take about four sacks of grain upon the horses they are riding, providing them also with unloaded horses. They should not carry any weapons except what they need to defend themselves. With the rest of your fighting men you should get to the other side by the hour that the men carrying the grain are getting close to the fortified town. About midnight let out one loud shout and a blast of trumpets as though you were attacking them right then. While they are getting set to fight against you and rushing to attack you, the men carrying the grain will find they are safe and will convey it into the town and will be able to return unharmed. By this device you will provide them with reinforcements and food, if they should be in need of both, and the besieged will obtain deliverance.

22.

Separation of half or a third of the enemy army.

If the enemy should not be getting ready to besiege a fortified town but are wandering around our country in large numbers, then the commander of the Roman forces should make careful preparations and give orders to the farmers or the citizens of the villages to take refuge along with everything they have in fortified and strong places. As an intelligent and alert commander he should ceaselessly inflict damage on the enemy when they come out to plunder. As a result they should be afraid to ride out far from their own army to obtain food. This will cause them to be very hard pressed for food. Yet, as we said, since they have a large force, perhaps they will try to use another method. Sometimes they divide their army in two or even in three sections and send one out as far as a day's march or even further, and while away from their camp they stay in some villages in which they hope to find a greater supply of provisions. They may have to remain outside their camp for two or
καὶ νοήσας, ὃ στρατηγεῖ, δέον κατ' αὐτῶν ἐνεδρεύσαι μετὰ λευκο-
σμένης διασκέδασθε, καὶ πλησίον αὐτῶν ἐν νυκτὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ τόπον
ἔπιτήδειον ἐφευρίσκων τὸ ἱδίον στρατεύμα ἀποκρύψαι. ἔπει οὖν οὐκ
εἰς δύο καὶ τρία χωρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πλείονα ἐφευρήσουστε τροφὰς
dιασκορπίζονται, εἰκὸς δὲ ἔστι καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον φούλκον εἰς φυλακὴν
αὐτῶν ἱστασθαι. δεῖ τὸ ὑπὸ σε στράτευμα διχῇ διελεῖν, ὁσφάλειαν
ποιούμενος, μὴ φωραθῆναι ἡ διαγνωσθῆναι σε παρὰ τῶν ἀνερευ-
νώντων πολεμίων τοὺς λόχους, ἢν μὴ ἵπτ' αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἐνεδρευθῆς.
καρτερῆσαι δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγκρυμματὶ ἀρχὶ ἐνδεκάτης ὁρα ὑπὸ τῆς ήμέρας,
ἡδη τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς δύσιν ὄντος. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑπέστρεψεν, ὡς ἐδήθη,
τὸ φούλκον ἐν οἷς χωρίοις αὐλίζονται οἱ ἐταὐροί αὐτῶν, ἐν τοῖς μη-
κοθένῳ χωρίοις ἀποστ᾽ τελείς οὕς ἐμπροσθέν διεχώρισας ὁπισθὲν
αὐτῶν ἐπακολουθῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς αὐτῶς παρεπώμενος. καὶ
ὡς ἔν ἡ τοῦ τόπου θέσις δίδωσι, λάθρα καὶ ἄνευ κραυγῆς ὥσεως
πορεύμενος ἀπόκρυφον ἑαυτόν, ἑώς οὐ ἔγγιστα γένη τῶν χωρίων.
ὅτε δὲ οὐ δυνατὸν ἔστων ἀποκρύπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ μύακος τὸν ὑπὸ σε
λαόν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη εἰς φανερὸν γενέσθαι: τότε σὺν ἱππασίᾳ νεανίκῃ
cατὰ τῶν εἰς τὰ χωρία ὀντῶν πολεμίων ἡ ὀρμή παρὰ τῶν ἐμπροσθὲν
ἀποσταλέντων γενέσθαι. καὶ ἀδόκητος τούτοις ἐπιθέμενοι καὶ ἀναι-
rήσουσιν πωλούσι, τινάς δὲ καὶ ἔστων ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ κατάσχοσιν.
εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ φούλκον τὸ εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν ἐξώθην τῶν χωρίων ἐπὶ
ἱσταται, κατ' αὐτοῦ πρώτον τὴν ὀρμήν ποιεῖται περὶ ὑμᾶς ἡλίου, ὡς ἐφην,
οἱ ἐμπροσθὲν ἀποσταλέντες. καὶ σοῦ ὁπισθὲν παρεπώμενον μετὰ τῶν προηγομένων σοῦ, πρὸς πόλεμον συμβαλεῖν συντεταγμένος, καὶ αὐτός ὀρμήσεις κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ καταγωνίσῃ
tούτους τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι. εἰ δὲ γε οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἀρχηγοὶ οἱ
ἐκεῖστε ὅλες πολλὴν ἔχοντες δύναμιν συντηνά τυχθῆσαι, καὶ τὴν
ὑπαξι ἀνακαλέσασθαι ἄγωνίσωσται, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον ἔστι, τῆς νυκτὸς
ἔδη ἐπιλαμβανομένης οὐδὲν συμβῆσται σοι τῶν ἔναντίων. οὕτως
tοῖς ποιούστοι σου, καὶ θαυμάσσονται σοι οἱ πολεμίοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀδεώς
θαρρήσουσιν ἐξέρχεσθαι τοῦ φοσσάτου αὐτῶν καντεύθεν ἀνάγκη τούτους τροφῶν ὑστερήμενον πρὸς τὴν
ἰδίαν παλιωστῆσαι χώραν.

22: 7 χωρίων Hase: χωρίων S ‖ 10 νομεχή καὶ ἀγρύπνου De: νομεχεῖς καὶ ἀγρύπνους S ‖
30 ὁπισθὲν De: ὁπισθὲν S ‖ 41 ὁπισθὲν De: ὁπισθὲν S
even three days. At any rate, General, when you get all this information, then, after thoroughly studying the situation, you should lie in wait for them. Move up close to them at night and find a suitable place to conceal your own army. Since it is not just in two or three settlements that they are foraging for food but are scattered about in several more, then it is likely that the so-called *foulkon* will be assigned to defend them. You should then divide the army under your command in two, but be very careful to avoid being detected or recognized by enemy units on the lookout for ambushes, so you will not be ambushed by them instead. Remain in your hiding place until the eleventh hour of the day, when the sun is already setting. If the *foulkon* returns, as it usually does, to those settlements in which their comrades are encamped, then send to those distant villages the troops you dispatched earlier, with yourself following behind and staying close to them. As the lay of the land permits, keep advancing secretly, without loud shouting, and stay concealed until you get very close to the villages. When you can no longer keep your men hidden by following a stream but have to come out into the open, then have the troops you had dispatched earlier make a charge with fresh horses against the enemy in the villages. By attacking them unexpectedly you will kill many and you will take others alive as captives. But if the *foulkon* supposed to defend them is still in position outside the settlements, then have the troops dispatched earlier, as I said, first make the charge against it around sunset. You follow along behind your advance party, all drawn up to launch an attack, then charge against them, and by the favor of Christ you will defeat them. But if the enemy commanders present there have a large force, they may be able to hold their ground and will struggle to come back from defeat, which is impossible, for with night already falling nothing untoward will happen to you. If, therefore, you do things in this manner, the enemy will be amazed and terrified of you, and they will not dare to ride away from their army without fear. Finally, the lack of food will force them to return to their own country.
Περὶ τῆς ὑποστροφῆς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ κατασχέσεως τῆς κλεισούρας.

'Ὑποστρεφόντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῆς ἐπειγομένων
καταλήψεως, δέν τάς πεζικάς δυνάμεις πρὸς τᾶς κλεισούρας προ-
αποστείλας, καὶ τὰς ὄδους, δι' ὧν μέλλουσι διελθεῖν, κατασχέσει. δι' ὧν
γὰρ ὄδου διελθεῖσαν βουλήθησιν, ἀπὸ τὸ τῶν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ κλει-
σούρων καὶ τῶν 'Ἀνατολικῶν θέματος, καθὰ τὰ Ταυρικὰ ὥρη τῆς
tε Κυλικίαν διορίζουσιν, Καππαδοκίαν τε καὶ Λυκαντόν πρὸς τούτος
καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα Γερμανίκειν τε καὶ 'Ἀδαταῖν, καὶ τὸ Καρποῦν
καὶ τοῦ Δανοῦθ, Μελιτῆν τε καὶ τὰ Καλούδια· καὶ τὰ πέραθεν τοῦ
Εὐφράτου | ποταμοῦ διορίζοντα τήν τε τοῦ Χανζήτη λεγομένην χώραν
καὶ τῆς πολέμου | ἄχρι 'Ῥωμαίονπόλεως. ἐν ὅλοις τοῖς τοιούτως
θέμασι, δι' ὧν ὢδὸν ὑποστρέφοντες διελθεῖσαν πρὸς τῆς ἐπειγομένης
βουλήθωσιν, ἀδυστάκτως τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπείχθητι
διαθέσατο πόλεμον, καὶ τὴν νυκτίζαν εὐρήσεις τῇ αὐτόν χάριτι.

'Ἡνίκα δὲ πρὸ τεσσάρων σταθμῶν ἦτοι ἀπλήκτων ἐπιγνώσι τῆν
ὀδὸν δι' ἣς ὤρμησαν οἱ πολέμοι, σοὶ μὲν τῷ τοῦ παντοῦ λαοῦ ἡγεμό-
tάχει πολλῷ ἐμπροσθὲν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι προσήκει, καὶ καταλαβεῖν
τὰς πεζικὰς δυνάμεις, τὰς ἐν τῇ κλεισούρᾳ ἀποσταλεῖσας. καταλα-
βεῖν δὲ τὸν κρείττονο τῶν λοιπῶν στρατηγῶν, πρὸς τὸ παρατρέχειν
αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὰ ὄπισθεν κοῦροι καὶ τὰς ἐκδρομάς αὐτῶν. ἔχειν δὲ μεθ' ἕαστον καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἱππικὸν στρατεύματα πεθόμενον τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ,
kαὶ διορίσατο αὐτῷ, ὡς ἥνικα οἱ πολέμοι ὡς ἀπὸ δύο ἀπλήκτων τῇ
κλεισούρᾳ πλησιάσωσι, καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος
διελθεῖν, καὶ καταλαβεῖν ἐν φ' τόπῳ ὁ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξαρτύνεται πόλε-
μος. σοὶ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντος ἐν τῇ κλεισούρᾳ καὶ τὰς πεζικὰς τά-
ξεις ἐνουμένου, δέον σπουδάσαι, καὶ ἐτέρων μάλιστα πεζικὸν λαὸν
ἐπισυνάξῃ, ὅσον ἀν δυνηθῆσα παρανέσατε τα αὐτοῖς παρατηρεῖ, πρὸς
ἀνδρεῖαν αὐτοὺς ἐπαλείφων καὶ εὐτολμῶν, ἐπιστρέψῃ δὲ καὶ τὸ
πρόθυμον αὐτῶν, οἰα στρατηγὸς ἁριστος, μελισταγεὶ παρανέσεις
"Ἀνδρέας," λέγων, "Ῥωμαιοῖ, στῶμεν ἀκλινὸς καὶ ἑδραίως· στῶμεν
ἀνδρικὸς καὶ γεναιώς. δειχώμεν ἐχθροὶ βραχλοὶ καὶ ἰσχνοῖ δεῖ-
χωμεν ὡς πρὸς κρείσσονας τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐξοσμῆν, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς βάλλειν
μᾶλλον ἢ βάλλεσθαι μέλλοντας παραταττῶν| τα. μὴ γὰρ λίθος φύσιν
αὐτοῖς ἢ χαλκὸς, ὡς μὴ τραύματα δέχεσθαι μὴτε ἐκ στιδῆρον τὸ
σώμα, ὡς μὴ τῷ κόπῳ ἐκλύσεσθαι καὶ ἀποναρκῶν."
SKIRMISHING

23.

Retreat of the enemy and occupation of the mountain passes.

When the enemy are withdrawing and are hastening to reach their own country, our infantry forces should be dispatched beforehand to the mountain passes to hold the roads along which they will be passing. The road which they may plan on taking might lead from the passes in Seleukia and the theme of Anatolikon, up to the Taurus Mountains which border on Cilicia, as well as Cappadocia and Lykandos. In addition, there are the regions about Germanikeia and Adata, also Kaisun, Danoutha, Melitene, and Kaloudia, and the regions beyond the Euphrates River bordering on the country called Chanzeti, and the hostile territory as far as Romanoupolis. In all of these themes, then, along whichever road the enemy may wish to pass in returning to their own land, rely on God’s help, do not hesitate at all, quickly make your arrangements to attack them, and by God’s favor you will find victory.

When you are four stations or campsites away and know the road along which the enemy are marching, it is your duty as leader of the whole army to get in front of them right away and join up with the infantry forces you had dispatched to the mountain passes. Leave the best of the other generals behind to ride after them to deal with their raids and forays to the rear. Keep the rest of the cavalry force with yourself under your command. Arrange things in such a way that when the enemy get to about two days’ march from the pass, then you and your entire army should march through and arrive at the place in which preparations are being made for the battle against them. Now, when you get to the pass and join up with the infantry units, you must be sure to assemble another force, mostly infantry and as large as possible. In eloquent language exhort them, urge them on to bravery and boldness, stir up their enthusiasm. As a perfect general, address them with honeyed words. “Roman men, let us stand steadfast and unswerving; let us stand in a manly and noble fashion. Let us show the enemy our arm and our strength. Let us show them that they are attacking stronger men, that they are drawn up facing men who will strike rather than be struck. For they are not made of stone or bronze which cannot be wounded, nor is their body of iron which does not break down under exertion and which feels nothing.”

In addition, point out to them the rugged terrain in which they will soon be getting set for combat and how much it works to their advantage. After you have incited and aroused them and made them more eager and daring, have them proceed
ἐν οἷς τόποις ὅφει | λουσὶ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς μάχεσθαι, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῶν ὄρεων καταλαβεῖν, καὶ πάσας τὰς ὄδους κρατήσει καὶ ἀσφαλίσσεσθαι: ἐν αἷς δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐγχορεῖ σὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς μάχεσθαι, καταστήσεις καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐπιτηδείους τόποις. ἐν πάσαις δὲ σοφὶ τὰς παρατάξεις ἀρχηγοὺς τῶν χρησίμων ἐπιστῆται σε δει, καὶ ταλλα πάντα φυλάξαι καὶ πράξει, ὡσ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου περὶ τοῦ, πῶς δεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις μάχεσθαι, ἐξεθέμεθα.

Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων πλησίον καταλαβανόντων, καὶ αἰσθομένων τῆς παρά σοι γενομένης ἄσφαλείας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, καὶ ὎σ' ἀμήκναιον διέλθειν αὐτοὺς, εἰπερ παραβολότερον τούτο τολμήσουσι πράξαι, οὐκ εὐνυχῶς αὐτοῖς τὸ βούλευμα παραστήσεται. ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ λαοῦ δρώμενοι τε καὶ συμπυγνώμενοι, καὶ ἀκόντες τὰ νάτα δώσουσιν, ἐπεύδουνς δι' ἑτέρας ὁδοὺ τὴν ἴδιαν καταλήψεσθαι. τούτων δὲ οὕτως ὑποστρεφόντων ἄγεννος καὶ ἄκοσμως, ὁ λαὸς σου, τούτους θεώμενοι, οὐσὶς χαρᾶς καὶ θυμηδίας πλησθήσονται, λόγῳ παραστήσασι τούτῳ ἀδύνατον.

Τῶν οὖν πολεμίων, ὥς λέλεκται, ὑποστρεφόντων, τότε καταδίωξον ὅπισθεν | αὐτῶν, ἐμπροσθεν ἀποστέλλων ἵππεῖς μετὰ ταχέων ψιλῶν καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξύπερ περιπατῶν τοῦ καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπείχεται. οἱ δὲ ἔχθροι διὰ τὸ φεύγειν αὐτοῖς τάχει ταῖς δυσχωρίαις διέλθειν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς διαφυγεῖν πόλεμον, καὶ τὴν ἴδιαν καταλήψεσθαι. ἐπεὶ πλησίον τῆς κλεισούρας γενήσονται, τοῦθ᾽ ὑποπτεύουντες, πρὸς τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἐμπροσθεν βίωντον αὐτῶν τὰς πεζικὰς τάξεις γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν κατασχεῖν ἄν ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν ὁδοποιίαν περαθώσι πονήσασθαι, συντόμως τοῦτους καταλάβῃς, τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν ἄτοννο-σάντων ἀπὸ τῆς χρονίας ὁδοποιίας, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκλεισοῦσων ἐπιτύχῃς νυκτὸς ὁδουπορίας. εὑρεῖς, στρατηγεῖ, τὸ ἀεὶ σοι ἐπι-ζητούμενον. καταλαμβάνοντος σου δὲ τοῦτους νυκτός, δέουν παραντικὰ πόλεμον συνάψαι εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον σάκα μετὰ πεζῶν, συνεπακο- λουθοῦντων αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς. ἑτέρους δὲ τῶν ψιλῶν μεθ᾽ ἱππεῖς ἐνθὲ ἀκάεθην τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐμπροσθὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπό- στειλον, καὶ ἐκ πλαγίῳ καὶ | αὐτοὺς πόλεμον προσβαλεῖν πρό- σταξον. καὶ οὕτως ποιοῦντος σου, οὐ δυνήσονται ἀντιστηναι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς φυγήν ὄρμησον, καὶ εἴ τοῦτο νυκτὸς πράξουσι, καταδίωξον αὐτοὺς, καὶ τελεῖω τούτους παραδώσεις ἄφανσιμῷ.
to their battle stations to await the enemy. First, occupy the high points of the moun-
tains; hold and secure all the roads. On those in which cavalry are able to fight
alongside the infantry, find a place for them too. You must put your best officers in
command of each of your units. And you must observe and put into practice all the
other things we set forth in the beginning of this book about fighting the enemy in
difficult country.

When the enemy draw near they will notice the security measures you have
taken on the road and realize that there is no way to pass through. But if they dare to
take such a risk, that decision will not produce good results for them. They will be
cut down and throttled by your people. They will be forced to turn tail and race back
to get to their own country by another road. As they retreat in great disgrace and
disorder, your men will look on them and be filled with joy and gladness of heart
impossible to describe in words.

Now, then, when the enemy are retreating, as has been said, follow along be-
hind them. Send horsemen on ahead together with fast light troops. You should
quicken your own pace and hurry to catch up with them. In their flight they will try
to get through the difficult areas quickly and steer clear of any fighting as they try to
reach their own country. When they draw closer to the mountain pass they become
apprehensive about the infantry units getting in front of them again and blocking
their route, and they may attempt to travel at night. If so, you should overtake them
quickly, for their horses will be worn out from the long march, and the men will be
exhausted from having to journey at night. You will find, General, what you have
always yearned for. When you catch up with them at night you should immediately
make an attack on what is called the saka with your infantry and then have the
horsemen join in after them. Dispatch other light troops with cavalry to station
themselves on both sides of the road ahead of the enemy and order them to mount an
attack from the side. If you do all this, they will not be able to resist but will rush
into flight. If they do so at night, pursue them and you will annihilate them.

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1 On these places see Honigmann, Ostgrenze (supra, note 5), 80–92; Tabula imperii byzantini, 2, Kappadokien, s. vv.
Περὶ νυκτοπολέμου.

Εἰ δὲ εἰς ἑτέραν ἔλθωσι βουλῆν, κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς, λυσιτελοῦσαν, καὶ ἤνικα σε καταλαβόντα αὐτθωνται νυκτὸς ἀπληκεῦσως τὰς σκηνὰς πηξάμενοι, τότε νυκτοπόλεμον κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐργάσῃ. πλὴν οὕτως σε τὸν κοτ᾽ αὐτῶν χρῆ διαθείναι πὸλεμον. σὺ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὤπισθεν μετὰ πεζικῆς παρατάξεως τὴν προσβολὴν ποιήσεις. τὰς δὲ λουπᾶς πεζικὰς τάξεις διελεῖν εἰς ἐξ μερίδας, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξίων τῶν πολέμιων ἐκ πλαγίων αὐτῶν, τρεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον καταστήσαι, εἰγε εἰς μῆκος ἥ τοῦ τόπον θέσις τὸ ἑαυτῶν ᾿απλήκτουν καταστήσαι καταναγκάσῃ, ἀπεχούσας ἀλλήλων ὡσεὶ τόξον βολῆν, ἢ καὶ μικρὸν ἔλαστον, μόνην ἀνεφιγμένην καὶ ἀφύλακτον καταλυμάνουσα τὴν ὀδὸν τὴν πρὸς τὰ οἴκεια τοὺς πολέμιους διασώζουσαν ὅπως σφοδρωτάτον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτεθέντος τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὴν ὀδὸν ἀνεφιγμένην ἐφευρηκόσι, ἀπάτη τοῦ διασωθῆναι καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διαφυγεῖν καὶ τὴν ἰδιὰν καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβάσω τῶν ἔπων, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῆς πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρμῆσοι, μόνην ἐκαστὸς τὴν ἰδιὰν περιποιοῦμενος σωτηρίαν.

Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπίμηκες πεποίηκεσαν τὸ ἑαυτῶν ᾿απλήκτουν, ἀλλ᾽ ἦ τοῦ τόπον θέσις κυκλοτερεῖς αὐτὸ ἀπειργάσατο, χρῆ σε τὰς πεζικὰς ἰστάντα παρατάξεις γυρόθεν, παρασκευασθῆναι τούτας προστάξεις πρὸς πόλεμον μόνην δὲ, ὡς ἐφημεν, τὴν ὀδὸν ἄφετον καὶ ἀνεφιγμένην καταλυμάνη τὴν πρὸς τὰ οἴκα τοῦτων φέρουσαν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ διατάξασθαι τοὺς πεζοὺς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, παραπληκεύσαι τοῖς πολέμιοις προστάξεις, καὶ πυρὰ εἰς πλῆθος ἀνάψαι πολλὰ. ἐν μιᾷ δὲ ἐκάστη παρατάξει τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα καταστήσεις τῶν χρησειων καὶ ἀνδρείων, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἵππαις ἐν μιᾷ ἐκάστῃ παρατάξει, ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσθεν ἵσταμένους, εἰγε καὶ ὁ χῶρος διδῶσιν, ἔχοντας ἄρχηγον ἀνδρασ ἀξιολόγους. πείθεσθαι τε αὐτοῖς προστάξεις καὶ ἀπαντᾶ τῶν λαὸν τῶν πεζικῶν τάξεων.

Μετά δὲ τὸ ὦτως παρασκευασθῆναι, διαχωρίσαι τῶν ψιλῶν ἀνδρείων καὶ ταχεῖς τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ ἐμπροσθὲν ἀποστείλαι, τοῦ στριγμῆς κατελθεῖν καὶ ἐγγιστὰ τῶν πολεμίων γενέσθαι, καὶ διορίσασθαι αὐτοῖς, ἐνα πρῶτον μὲν οί ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἵσταμεν τὴν προσβολὴν ποιῆσωμαι, εἰθ᾽ ὦτως οἱ ἐμπροσθὲν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν ἢ τοῦ τόπον θέσις ὑπηλοτέρως φέρει τὰς πεζικὰς τάξεις κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων (προσβάλλει ποιήσεις ἢ ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ) βαλλόμενοι οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς ἐκ χειρῶν καὶ σφενδονῶν λίθοις καὶ τόξοις ἀνώθεν ἐς ἐκατέρω, εὐχερῶς καταλυθήσονται. εἰ δὲ μὴ ὦτως ἔχει ἡ τοῦ τόπου θέσις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ἐνὸς μέρους τὸ ύψηλὸν ύπέρκειται, καὶ ὠσάντως ἐκείθεν εὐχερότερον τῶν λίθων καὶ τόξων τὰς βολὰς κατ᾽ αὐτῶν
If the enemy should form another plan which they hope will work to their advantage, once they become aware of your presence, that night they will pitch their tents and set up camp. Then you should attack them at night, making sure to prepare the assault as explained. You should launch your attack from the rear with infantry units. Divide the remaining infantry into six divisions; station three off to the right side of the enemy and three off to the left. If the nature of the ground requires that their camp be set up in an extended way, they should be about a bow shot apart or a little less. Leave open and unguarded the road, and that alone, which provides safe passage for the enemy toward their own land. After they have been vigorously assualted and they discover the open road, beguiled by the idea of being saved, of fleeing the battle, and of getting back to their own land, they mount their horses and race along that road to escape, each man concerned only about his own safety.

If they have not set up their camp in an extended way but have been compelled by the nature of the ground to make it in a circle, you must form your infantry units in a circle around it and get them ready for battle. Be sure, as we mentioned, to leave only that one road free and open which leads to their own country. After you have drawn up your foot soldiers in this manner, have the units set up camp close to the enemy and light a large number of fires. Over each one of the infantry units station a brave and competent officer. Each unit should also be accompanied by some horsemen under outstanding officers stationed to the rear, as space allows. You should also order all the infantry troops to obey them.

When preparations have been made in this manner, pick out some brave and fleet-footed, light-armed troops and send them ahead. They should silently move up as close as possible to the enemy. Give orders that those stationed in the middle are to lead the attack, then the troops in front. If the ground rises higher on both sides, have the infantry attack the enemy from both directions. As the enemy are struck by stones hurled by hand or slings or arrows from above on both sides, they will quickly fall apart. If the nature of the ground is not such but rises up only on one side, in like manner it is easier to have them hurl rocks and shoot arrows against
πεμπέτωσαν. πλὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐφομάλου ἐπιμελέστερον ἔχεσθαι δεῖ τῆς μάχης. εἰ δὲ βουλήθωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιβῆναι ἵππων καὶ κατʼ αὐτῶν ὀρμήσαι, οὐδὲν μὲν τοῖς ψυλοὶ δεινὸν ἐργάσονται, τοῦ τὸπον βοηθοῦντος αὐτοῖς· ἐαυτοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον μεγάλην προξενήσουσι βλάβην. συγκαταβῆσαν δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ πεζοὶ καὶ τάξεις εἰς ἀμφότερον τῶν μερών, καὶ σαλπισάτωσαν ἀπασαὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ ἀλασμοῦ. ἔπειτα καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκ τῶν ὁπίσθεν ἴσχυρῶς ἄψατο τῶν πόλεμουν.

Καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ καρποτρούσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς φυγήν ὀρμήσουσιν, οἱ ταχεὶς ψυλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐμπροσθεν ἀποσταλέντες παρορμηθῶσαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν, ἐνδον εἰς τὰς σκηνὰς χωρῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων. εὐχερές γὰρ τούτο ἑσται αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ τόπου σκηνρῆ
tης. καὶ ἠνίκα ἀρχώταν ἀναλαμβάνειν ἱπποὺς ἢ ἡμιόνους καὶ πράγματα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀνδραποδίζειν, καὶ ἀρχή τοιαύτη γένεται, ὀρμήσοντων ἀπαντεῖ εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην διαρμαγήν καὶ ἀφείεις ἐνδόν χωρῆσαι τῶν σκηνών, εἶρε αὐτοὺς κατακόπτοντες. καὶ τότε πρὸς φυγήν ὀρμήσοντων ἀπαντεῖ, ὅσοι μὲν ἰσχύσοντων ἐπιβῆναι ἱπποὺς, οἱ δὲ καὶ πέζη, ὥς ἂν δυνηθῶσι ὁρεῖ τε καὶ ψάραγι κρυβῆναι, καὶ σωτηρία τυχεῖν.

55 Καὶ εἰ τοιοῦτον τῇ· ἑποθείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ γένεται τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας διὰ προσβεγίων τῆς παναχράντου μητέρος αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεοστόκου, δόχαν μὲν οἱ ἄγιοι βασιλεῖς λήψωσίντα, καὶ κράτος ἄπαν τὸ Ῥωμαικὸν στράτευμα· μηκέτι τῶν πολεμίων κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν στήναι δυναμένοιν.

60 Εἰ δὲ γε ὅμοιον ἐπιτύχωσι χώρου τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιμανινότητος, καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν καταλύσωσι τὰς σκηνὰς πτημάτων, καὶ οὐκ εὐχερές ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τόπῳ τῶν ἐν νυκτὶ πόλεμον ἀρμόζει γενέσθαι, δεί τὴν στρατηγὴν μετὰ πασῶν τῶν πεζικῶν τε καὶ ἱππικῶν δυνάμεων ἐμπροσθεν πάλιν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ υψηλότερα τῶν ὄρων κατασχεῖν, καὶ τὴν διάβασιν τῆς ὅδος ὁμοίου ἀσφαλίσασθαι. καὶ ἐπεὶ πᾶσαι, ὃς ἐρημεῖ, οἱ ὅδοι αἱ πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν εἰσάγουσιν διὰ τῶν ὅλων ὄν ἀπηρμημέναν θεμάτων καὶ οἰκεῖοι χρυσοὶ ἄφθολμοι ἐθεασάμης, δύσβατοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐν ὁρεί τοῖς διορίζοις τὰς ἄμφω χώρας, σπεύδει προκαταλαβεῖν τὴν διάβασιν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν ἀδιστάκτως διατίθεσθαι πόλεμον. καὶ χάριτι Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ὑπερισχύσεις αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦτος καταβαλὼν τελείῳ παραδώσεις ἀφανισμῷ.

them from that direction. If the fighting is on level ground, though, it is necessary to exercise greater care. If the enemy want to mount their horses and charge against our light-armed troops, they will not cause them any serious harm, because the terrain will help them. But, rather, they will inflict great damage upon themselves. Have all the infantry units descend from both directions and have all the trumpets sounded, and raise a shout and battle cry. Then the general coming up from the rear should join battle with all his strength.

If the enemy still hold out and do not dash into flight, then the fast light troops and the ones who had been sent out ahead should be aroused by their officers to go into the tents of the enemy. The rugged terrain will make this easy for them. When they start taking the enemy's horses, mules, and other belongings and start taking men captive—when this sort of thing begins, they will all rush in to join in the pillaging. They will go through the tents sparing nobody, cutting them down with the sword. Then the enemy will rush to escape. The ones who can do so will mount their horses, and others will be on foot as they try to hide and find safety in the mountains and ravines.

If such is the end of the battle, it should be ascribed to the help of God through the intercession of his undefiled mother, the Theotokos. Glory will accrue to the holy emperors, and the whole Roman army will gain in power, for the enemy are unable to stand up and face them.

At break of day they might come to some level ground, halt for a rest there, and pitch their tents. But since such a place is not at all suitable for launching an attack at night, the general should take all his infantry and cavalry and again move in front of them. He should occupy the mountain heights and also secure the road passing through. And since all the roads, as we said, leading to the enemy's country through all the themes which we have listed and which we have seen with our own eyes are difficult to travel, being in the mountains which form the frontier between both countries, hasten to seize the passes before they do and without delay launch your attack directly against them. By the grace of Christ our God you will overpower them, hurl them down, and annihilate them.
Εἰ δὲ γέ ή ὁδός ἦν ὑποστρέφουσιν εὐβεθή φέροντα τόσο πολε- 5 μώς ἐκ τῶν ἀνωθὲν, καὶ ἐφόμαλος ἐστὶ μὴ ἔχονσα δυσχωρίαν, τοῦ 10 κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν ἀντιστήναι. ἂλλ’ ἦνικα πρὸς τὸ καταφερέ- 15 σης εἰπικήνη, τότε στενή καὶ δῦσβατός ἐστι, συγχέοισα τὰς παρατά- 20 ξεις αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅλιγος διερχεσθαί ἀναγκάζοντα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 25 ὁμοίους παρασκευάζειν ἑπακολουθεῖν καὶ διερχεσθαί· ἐν ἐκείνοις 30 τοῖς στενωποῖς δέον πεζικός τάξεως καταστήσατε ἐνθέν κάκειθεν τῶν 35 πολεμίων, δῦν μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξίων, δῦν δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον, ἀπ’ ἀλ- 40 λήμαν διακεκριμένας. ἄλλα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὄπισθεν εἰς λόχον καταστή- 45 σας πεζικοῦ λαοῦ δύναμιν, μεθ’ ἱππεῶν καὶ ἀρχοντος ἄνδρειον καὶ 50 ἐμπειροτάτοι—εἰπέρ τὸ λεγόμενον σάκα αὐτῶν ἀνωθὲν κατέλητον, 55 ἰσταθαί καὶ τὴν ὑδόν φυλάττειν—ἄλλα μὴ σύνεγγυς, πρὸς τὸ μή δια- 60 γνωσθῆναι. καὶ εἰ μὲν οἱ εἰς τοὺς λόχους ἰστάμενοι ἀνωθέν πρόθυμοι | 65 εἰςοι παρασυνάψαι πόλεμον, ἢνικα αἱ κάτωθεν παρατάξεις ἡμῶν 70 ἰστάμεναι κατὰ τῶν ἐμπροσθέν διερχομένων πολεμίων τὴν προσβο- 75 λὴν ποησώσατε, ἐξερχόσθωσαν καὶ οἱ εἰς τὸν λόχον ἰστάμενοι πεζοὶ 80 τε καὶ ἱππεῖς, καὶ συναπτέσωσαν πόλεμον μετ’ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τῶν 85 πολεμίων. εἰ δὲ οἱ θαρρήσωσιν οἱ εἰς τὸν λόχον ἰστάμενοι κατ’ αὐτοῦ 90 ἐπελθεῖν κάτωθεν, σάκα εἰς ἐφόμαλον τόπον ἰσταμένου, καρπηρή- 95 σουσιν εἰς τὸν λόχον. καὶ ἐπεί αὐτὸ διελθεῖν κατεπείγεται καὶ τοὺς 100 ἰδίους καταλαβεῖν—οὐ γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἐνδεχόμενων ἐκείστε ἐπί πολὺ 105 ἰστασθαί—ἡνικά τῆς εἰς κατάβασιν φεροῦσης ὁδοῦ | ἐπιλάβηται, καὶ 110 ἐξερχόσθωσαν οἱ ἐν τῷ λόχῳ. καὶ τὴν ὑδὸν κατασχόντης καὶ ἐκ τῶν 115 ἀνωθεν αὐτῶν γενόμενοι, κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀρμησάτωσαν. καὶ οὐ δυνῆσο- 120 νται ἀντιστηναι καὶ ἀμίσθασθαι παρ’ αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, τοῦ τόπου 125 αὐτοῖς ἐναντιμενοῦν, ἀλλά στενοσυνοι τοὺς ἰδίους καταλαβεῖν, πολε- 130 μούμενοι ἐν τοῖς στενοσᾶκα παρὰ τῶν κάτωθεν ἡμῶν ἰσταμένων 135 παρατάξεως, ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι διελθεῖν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν καταλαβεῖν. ἀλλ’ 140 οὐδ’ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἐπιτύχωσιν, εἰπέρ δὴ ὡς ἐξεθέμεθα ὁ κατ’ αὐτῶν 145 παρασκευασθή πόλεμος, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἀπτηθήσεται, ἐπὶ 150 τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν· ὥ δέξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ νίῳ καὶ τῷ 155 ἄγιῳ πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ ἄει, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἄμην. 160

Τέλος σὺν Θεῷ τοῦ τακτικοῦ.
Another method of occupying the road and making descent difficult.

It may indeed happen that the road along which they are retreating leads from higher up down to the enemy and becomes level without any difficult sections in which to confront them directly. But it may also slope downward, become narrow and rough, confusing their formations, not allowing more than a few men to pass through at a time, and making the others wait to pass through in their turn. In these narrow places the infantry units ought to be stationed on either side of the enemy, two on the right and two on the left, separated from one another. To the rear, however, station an ambuscade composed of foot soldiers with some horsemen and a brave and very experienced officer—especially if they leave what is called a *saka* further up to stand and guard the road—but not close, so they will not be recognized. If the men stationed in the ambuscade further up are eager to engage in battle, when our units stationed down below make their attack against the enemy passing through up ahead, let the men stationed in the ambuscade, foot and horse, also move out and join them in fighting against the enemy. But if the men in the ambuscade are not bold enough to go down and attack the *saka*, which is located on level ground, they can stay on in the ambush. And when it hurries down to pass through and join up with its own people—for it is not possible for it to remain there for long—when it gets on the road leading downward, then have the men in the ambush charge out. They should occupy the road and charge against them from above. The enemy will not be able to resist or defend themselves under attack, the location itself being against them. But they will hurry to rejoin their own people, as they are attacked in the narrow passes by our units stationed below. They will hope to get through and arrive in their own land. But they will never make it, if the combat has in fact been prepared as we have proposed. Rather, they will be thoroughly defeated by our God who is true, to whom be the glory and the power, with the Son and the Holy Spirit, now, and forever, and for the ages of ages. Amen.

With God's help, the end of the Tactics.
This work, which is found in the manuscripts without a title or author's name, deals with military operations to the north of the Byzantine Empire, particularly in the mountains of Bulgaria. The writer pictures campaigns in which the emperor himself takes part and which involve large armies. He is concerned with the details, even the precise measurements, of setting up camp and providing for its security. He prescribes the procedures which the expeditionary force should follow in marching through hostile territory, through mountains, and in crossing rivers. Siege warfare, training, armament, and other practical matters are also dealt with. The extant text does not have a proper introduction or conclusion, although the original composition may once have included them.

There are obvious similarities between this treatise and the one on skirmishing, which were probably written within twenty-five years of each other. Both writers, while clearly educated men, are practical and to the point and not concerned with the niceties of style. They make some use of earlier tactical books, but they know almost everything they write about directly and from experience.

There are also obvious differences between the two treatises. The one on skirmishing deals with the eastern frontier and the Arabs, while this one is concerned with the west (north) and the Bulgarians, Pechenegs, and Russians. The former still reflects the defensive tactics of the Byzantines in the eastern mountains, whereas in this treatise the Empire is clearly on the offensive. The work on skirmishing almost gives the reader the feeling of being present during the fighting in the mountains. Its author was clearly close to the scene and is able to give names of people and places. He also deals with a very limited topic, border warfare and raids. The author of this treatise, on the other hand, gives few names and has a broader viewpoint. His tactical stipulations are addressed directly to the emperor and have more universal application.

The first and longest chapter of this little book provides instructions on setting up camp and includes some sketches. These, as explained below, do not correspond well with the description in the text. Byzantine camps, unfortunately, were made of earth and perishable materials, and very little meaningful archaeological evidence
remains. One must also bear in mind that Byzantine writers often tend to speak of the ideal rather than the actual, and the camps here described may be of that sort. In any event, a note on the plans for a camp and some efforts at reconstructing them are appended to the present work.

In the preface to his edition (p. xxi) R. Vári proposed that the author of this treatise and the one on skirmishing was the same person, the general Nikephoros Ouranos. But, as J. Kulakovskij noted in his review of Vári’s edition (pp. 556–58), there are significant differences of tone and presentation, such as those just mentioned. There are also differences of language and style, which make it quite clear that the works were written by two authors independently of one another. Kulakovskij believes that this second treatise was composed by Nikephoros Ouranos. He may be right, but it cannot be proved with certainty.

The importance of the emperor’s presence on the campaign is stressed throughout the work. His tent is at the center of the camp and of the army’s operations. Reports are brought to him, and he issues orders. Yet the author uses the imperative in telling the emperor how to proceed. He speaks to him as a trusted advisor, almost as an older relative or friend. The emperor, it is clear, is in command, but he still has a good deal to learn. Nikephoros Phokas and John Tzimisces were both veteran commanders when they campaigned against the Bulgarians and would probably not be the recipients of advice from another general. Kulakovskij suggests that the emperor envisaged in this treatise is most likely Basil II and that the situation described is that which existed in the period from 991 to 995.

In 986 the Byzantine army had been defeated by the Bulgarians, and Basil was occupied in repressing rebellion at home. But in 991 he was able to take the offensive against the Bulgarians. He was young enough, about thirty-three, to be given advice by an experienced, older commander and at the same time old enough to exercise command himself. By the time of his major campaigns a decade later he was a seasoned veteran and no longer in such need of advice. For four years he campaigned in Bulgaria and then, when matters to the east demanded his attention, he left Nikephoros Ouranos in charge there.

Kulakovskij’s identification of the emperor in the treatise as Basil II has not gone unchallenged. Vári thought that it was composed during the lifetime of


3 “Novoizdannyj vizantijskij traktat,” 657; “Vizantijskij lager’,” 63; *BZ*, 11 (1902), 555.

Nikephoros Phokas. V. Kučma, who has studied this treatise in some detail, finds that Kulakovskij’s arguments are not persuasive and that the references to the Russians in the work are too brief and vague to lead to firm conclusions. It could also be, he suggests, that in addressing the treatise to an emperor the author is simply employing a rhetorical device. While readily conceding that firm conclusions can rarely be reached in questions of this sort, the present editor, after considering all the evidence, is inclined to agree with the older Russian scholar. As did Kulakovskij, this reader receives the clear impression that the treatise is concerned with an emperor who is, or is expected to be, physically present on the expedition. That this was Basil II and the circumstances such as described above still seems most likely. Impressions and likelihoods, obviously, are not proofs but, until something more convincing is discovered, they must suffice.

This treatise is found in the same series of closely related manuscripts as the treatise on skirmishing, which immediately follows it. These are: codex Vaticanus graecus 1164 (V); codex Scorialensis graecus 281 (Y-III-11) (S); codex Barberinianus graecus II 97 (276) (B). The other extant codices derive from one of these. The three manuscripts were produced in the same scriptorium in Constantinople in the first half of the eleventh century, perhaps as early as about 1020, and have been studied in detail by scholars. V contains only half the treatise, while the other two have it in full. S is a copy of V, and B comes from a lost manuscript deriving from the same exemplar as V. As with the work on skirmishing, it seems that one or two, possibly three, copies were made between the original writing and V; S and B would then be another copy further removed. The text as found in these manuscripts, then, is close to that written down by the author or his secretary.

This treatise was known to older scholars and was cited by Meursius and Du Cange, who referred to it by the title of its first chapter: Peri katastaseos aplēktou, De castrametatione. Charles Graux discovered the work in some sixteenth-century manuscripts and in 1875 edited and translated Chapters 13, 15, and 18. Fourteen years later, after his death, his edition of the entire treatise appeared. It was based on S and several sixteenth-century codices and included a number of conjectures and emendations made by Graux or his students, many of which have been retained in the present edition. In Budapest, meanwhile, Rudolf Vári prepared an edition of
this work independently of Graux, and this appeared two years later in the Teubner Greek series. He was able to incorporate the corrections of Graux and added several of his own, too many, according to Kulakovskij in his review (p. 550).

The edition of Vári is based chiefly on V and S, which, of course, makes it an improvement over that of Graux. Vári recognized that S is a copy of V and relegates it to a place among the recentiores. These more recent manuscripts, however, add little to our knowledge of the text and unduly clutter the apparatus. In the text as found in VSB the first chapter is followed by five full-page diagrams, four of which illustrate the plan of a fortified camp. Neither Graux nor Vári reproduce these, and they have remained unpublished.

The present edition is based on V, the oldest and best of the extant manuscripts. But V comes to an end in Chapter 14 of the treatise. From that point the text is based on S and B, with more confidence being placed in S, which is much more accurate than B and which is copied from V. Those corrections of previous editors which have been adopted are noted in the apparatus, but not all their conjectures. When necessary, the orthography has been standardized.

The illustrations are presented as they appear in V. S and B have slight variations, but are later and less important. How close these copies are to the original drawings is difficult to say, but they are probably not far removed. In any event, while they may give a good general picture of the layout of a camp, they do not provide accuracy of detail. None of the sketches corresponds exactly with the specifications given in the text, and the scale, if any, is not clear.

\(^{10}\textit{Incerti scriptoris Byzantini Liber de re militari} (Leipzig, 1901).
Τ 1

(‘Ανωνύμου Βιβλίον τακτικόν

α’.)

V f. 233

Περὶ καταστάσεως ἀπλήκτου, καὶ ὡς ὁ στρατηγός ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇς ταξιαρχίαις τεταγμένων δύναται τῇν ὀλην τοῦ ἀπλήκτου διαγωναὶ καὶ ἀπαρτίσαι περίμετρον.

Ὁὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄριστοι καὶ πολλῆς ἐμπειρίας τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ συνλεξάμενοι κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ χάραι τεταγμένων δύναται τῇν περίμετρον τοῦ τόπου, εἰς ὃν τὸ ὅλον στρατεύμα τῶν ἰππεῶν καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀπληκτεύει, μέλλει, ἀκριβῶς προδιασκοπεῖ καὶ διαγωνίσκειν. εἰ τοῖς ἐπκαΐδεκα ταξιαρχίαις εἰς ἐν τῇ ἐκστρατείᾳ ὀπλίται ἔχουσαι ἀνὰ πεντακοσίων, ἀκονιστάς δὲ ἀνὰ διακοσίων καὶ τοξοτὰς ἀνὰ τριακοσίων, δύναται ἐν τῷ ἀπλήκτῳ τῷ ὅλῳ στρατεύμα τῶν τε σταμάτων καὶ πάντων τῶν θεμάτων εὐχερῶς περικυκλῶν, καὶ ἄσφαλῶς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ διαφυλάσσειν. τάσσονται δὲ, εἰπέρ αἱ (ταξιαρχίαι), ὡς εἰρηται, ἐκ-καΐδεκα τυγχάνοντο, ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρεις μέρεσι, διὰ τὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ψυλῶν τε καὶ ἀκονιστῶν, ἐν ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν χιλίαδες δ’, ἐν τετραγώνῳ καὶ τετραπλεύρῳ σχῆματο τοῦ ἀπλήκτου ἀπαρτίζομένων. τοῦτο γὰρ κρείσσον τῶν ἄλλων σχήματων πρὸς ἀπλήκτου, ὡς μὴ δυνατοὶ οὖντος εὐχερῶς ἐν μάχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κυκλούσθαι, ἢ γὰρ ἀπὸ μᾶς πλευρᾶς ἢ ἀπὸ δύο τοῦτο ἐπιθῆσονται ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τριῶν πλευρῶν ἢ καὶ τεσσάρων εἰ προσβαλεῖς βουληθεῖν, | διασπόται αἱ τάξεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ εὐκαταγώμαστοι γίνονται τὸ δὲ στρογγύλων ἐπισφαλέως, ὡς εὐχερῶς ὑπὸ τῶν δυσμενῶν κυκλούμενων, καθὼς καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς δεδοκάμοισται· εἰ μὴ ποῦ ἡ τοῦ τόπου θέσις βιώσαιτο εἰς ἑτέρου σχῆματος εἴδος ἀποτελέσας τὸ ἀπλήκτον. περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνε-πιτηδείων καὶ στενῶν τόπων, πῶς δὲ εἰ αὐτῶς διαβέβαιε τοῦτο ἀσφαλῶς, κατωτέρω λειχθήσεται.

Τ 2

Ὅρειλεὶς οὖν ὁ στρατηγός εἰς τέσσαρα ἴσα μέρη διαιρεῖν τῇν πεζικήν στρατιὰν ἵσον ὄσον ἀλήλης γένονται καὶ ἐκαστὸν μέρος ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρεῖς τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τιθέμεναι πλευρίσι καὶ γὰρ, εἰπέρ ἱσο-δυναμούσιν ἀλήλης τὰ μέρη, χρησιμώτατα καὶ ἐφελιμικτάτα εἰς τὰ ἀπλήκτα καὶ τὰς ὀδοιπορίας | καὶ τὰς πολυειδεῖς μάχας εὐρίσκουν-
Setting up camp. From the number of soldiers drawn up in the taxiarchies the general is able to form an accurate estimate of the circumference of the entire camp.

The best generals and those who have acquired a good deal of experience over a long period can study the size of the body of troops drawn up within the fortifications and determine well in advance the precise circumference of the site in which the whole army, horse and foot, is going to encamp. If, for example, there are sixteen taxiarchies on the campaign, with about five hundred regular soldiers, two hundred javelin throwers, and three hundred archers, they can easily encompass the whole army in the camp, the tagmatic as well as all the thematic troops, and guard them securely night and day. If, as projected, there are sixteen taxiarchies, they can be assigned to the four quarters, with the regular soldiers, the light-armed troops, and the javelin men numbering four thousand in each quarter, presuming that the camp has been organized in a square or rectangular shape. In setting up camp this is a stronger formation than the others. In time of battle it cannot be easily surrounded by the enemy. Their attack has to be directed against one side or perhaps two. If they attempt to launch their assault from three or four sides, their formations will be all broken up; they will be weakened and easily defeated. The circular shape is not safe, for hostile forces can easily surround it. This is also the opinion of the ancient authorities. The only exception would be if the lay of the land compelled us to adopt another shape in setting up camp. The manner of establishing camps securely in unsuitable and narrow places will be explained below.

The general should, therefore, divide the infantry into four sections of equal strength and assign each section to one of the four sides of the camp. Making all the sections equally strong will prove to be extremely helpful and practical in camp, on the march, and for many kinds of combat. Two thousand regular soldiers should be
τοι. καὶ ὁπλίται μὲν εἰς ἐκαστὸν πλευρῶν ἄφορίζονται χιλιάδες β’. ἵστανται δὲ ἐν ἐκάστῃ ὀργυᾷ εἰς τὸ μέτωπον ὁπλίται β’, κατόπων δὲ τούτων εἰς βάθος οἱ ἄκοντισται καὶ τοξόται, καὶ χρὴ ἀμφοτέρους, καθὼς ἐν ταῖς δεκαρχίαις συντάσσονται εἰς τᾶς μάχας ἰστάμενοι, οὕτως εἰς τὰ ἀπλήκτα τοὺς δεκάρχους εἶναι συσκήνους καὶ συνεστίους καὶ τούτως ἐν ἀπασί πειθεσθαι.

'Επει δὲ συγχύλων ὁπλίται, ὡς ἐφημεν, καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν ἵστανται, δύο δὲ ὁπλίται ἐπέχουσιν ὀργυῖαν μίαν, ἄφορίζονται ἐκαστῷ πλευρῷ ὀργυῖαν χιλιαν’ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀναμετρήσεως τῶν χιλιών ὀργυίων διαγινώσκεται καὶ ἀριθμεῖται ἡ τοῦ ὀλού ἀπλήκτου περίμετρος. δεῖ δὲ καὶ μινσουράτωρ ἐπιλέξασθαι ἀριστον καὶ ἐμπειρότατον καὶ σχοινίων μέτρων χιλιών ὀργυίων ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτῷ ἀποστέλλειν τε εἰς ἔρευναν ἐπιτηδεῖον τόπον πρὸς ἀπλήκτων. ἔχετο δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος μεθ’ ἕαυτον καὶ τοὺς λυποῦσι τῶν ἄρχοντων μινσουράτωρας· πλὴν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ μετὰ καὶ βιγλῶν καὶ τῆς προσηκούνης αὐτῷ φυλακῆς προπορενεσθω.

Ποιεῖτω | δὲ τὸ ἀπλήκτον μὴ ἐγγυστὰ ὀρυσὶ ἡ ὑλὴς δασείας ἢ βουνοῦ ἔχοντος διόδους, ἄφ’ ὡς οἱ πολέμιοι ἔπελθόντες μετὰ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως καταβάλψωσι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἄλλα σκοπειτω ἐπερ ἐστὶ ποταμὸς δυσπέρατος ἡ λίμνη ἢ κρημνὸς ἢ φάραγγες ἀσφάλειαν παρέχων ἐνί μέρει τοῦ στρατόπεδον εἰτε καὶ δυσεῖ, κάκεισε ποιεῖτο τὸ ἀπλήκτον. εἰ δὲ μικρὸς εὐρηθῇ ποταμὸς ὡστε εὐκόλως περαυδόθαι, ἐνδόν τοῦ στρατόπεδον δεὶ περιλαμβάνειν αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ ἱπποὺς εἰς τὸ κάτωθεν μέρος ποτίζειν, ὅπως τὸ ἀνωθὲν καθαρὸν φυλάττεται.

Διασκοπείτω δὲ ὁ μινσουράτωρ εἴπερ ἐφεύρω ἐπιτήδειος καὶ εὐσύνοπτον τόπον, εἰ δὲ ἀρμόζει στήνα τῇ βασιλικῇ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πηγνύσθω τῷ βασιλικῷ ψάθους. καὶ τότε μετὰ τοῦ σχοινίου ὁ ἐπιφέρεται τῶν χιλιῶν ὀργυίων (αὐτά) πεντακοσία ὀργυίας κατὰ ἀνατολαῖς μετρήσας, ἐκεῖσε πηγνύσθω τοῦ ταξιάρχου τὸ φλάμουλον, τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς δύσων καὶ ἄρκτων καὶ μεσημβρίαν τὰς ἀνα πεντακοσίας μετρήσας ὀργυίας πεζῶτο καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τρυσὶ μέρεσι τὰ τῶν | ταξιάρχων φλάμουλα. καὶ τὸ ἀποκλήρουμεν ἐνδόν ἔστω εἰς ἀπλήκτον ἀπάθης τῆς ἰσπίκης τε καὶ πεζικῆς στρατιάς. χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν λυπῶν ταξιάρχων τὰ μεγάλα φλάμουλα εἰς τοῖς κατατοπίοις αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐν τὰ χάρακα ἱστασθαι.

'Οτε δὲ δύο ὁπλίται ἐν μιᾷ ὀργυίᾳ ἵστανται, ὀργυῖαι σὺν’. τῆς δὲ ταφροῦ ὀρυσσομένης τυχοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος. ἐπ’ ὁ δ’ ἄριστοτέρος ταξιάρχος τὰς σὺ’ ὀργυίας ἀπορρίσθη ὀρύσσων. ἐκατάτω τόπων ἀνόρκτων, ὡκτῶ ὀργυίων διάστημα | ἔχοντα, ἐν ᾨ ἡ εἰσόδος καὶ ἡ ἔξοδος εἶναι ὀφείλει τοῖς λαοῖς. καὶ οὕτως ἀρχέσθω τοῦ ὀρύγματος ὅ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦτο ταττόμενος προταττόμενος τοῦ εὐωνύμου κατὰ μὲν ἀνάτολας ὀργυίας ὡκτῶ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν βόρρην ῥωσαῖτος ὀργυίας ὡκτῶ, ὡς
assigned to each quarter and should be stationed about a meter apart along the front.² Behind them, to the inside, should form the javelin men and the archers. Inasmuch as both of these have their battle position in the dekarchy, so in camp they must share the same tent and hearth with the dekarchs and obey them in everything.

Now, since two thousand soldiers, as we said, are assigned to each of the four quarters, and each of them occupies the space of one meter, two thousand meters should be measured off on each side. Starting, then, with this measurement of two thousand meters, the circumference of the whole encampment is determined and measured. A very good and experienced mensurator must be chosen, given a measuring cord of two thousand meters, and sent out to locate a suitable site for a camp.³ This person should be accompanied by the mensuratores of all the other officers. In hostile territory, however, he should move out ahead only when escorted by scouts and with proper protection.

The camp should not be situated very close to a mountain or a dense wood or a hilly area with roads going through it.⁴ Enemy infantry could launch an attack from such locations and cause serious harm to our encampment. But search for a place which might have a river that is difficult to cross, or a lake, a cliff, a ravine, which provides protection on one or even two sides of the encampment, and there set up camp. If the river there is only a small one, easy to cross, then have it flow inside the campsite. Water the horses downstream, so the river may be kept clean further up.

The mensurator should search about to find a suitable, prominent location which would be just right for the imperial tent, and there raise the imperial standard. Then, with the measuring cord of two thousand meters which he is carrying, he should measure up to a thousand meters off to the east and there plant the banner of the taxiarch. He should then do the same off to the west, the north, and the south. After measuring up to a thousand meters he should erect the banners of the taxiarchs in those three locations. The interior of the camp is thus apportioned off for the entire army, cavalry and infantry. The great banners of the remaining taxiarchs must then be set in their positions in the camp.⁵

When each soldier is positioned in one meter, this makes five hundred meters. As the ditch is being dug along the left side, when the taxiarch on the left completes digging the section of five hundred meters, let him leave a section unexcavated, sixteen meters long, which can serve as the entrance and exit for the troops. The man stationed to the right should then begin his digging in this way, lining up out in front of the left side sixteen meters to the east, likewise sixteen meters to the north,
κατά νότον αυτοῦ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς εὐωνύμου ταξιαρχίας ὑποτάσσεσθαι. καὶ ἀποτελεῖται ἡ εἰσόδος ἐκ τοῦ εὐωνύμου μέρους κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν τύπον πλαγιὰ καὶ οὐ κατ᾽ εὐθείαν. ἀπογαμματιζέτω δὲ ὃ αὐτὸς ταξιαρχὸς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὀπλιτῶν κατὰ νότον τοῦ ἱσταμένου πρὸς ἀνατολὰς λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀχρὸς ὑκτὸ ὀργῦνων πρὸς τὸ φυλαττεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὴν εἰσόδον ἀσφαλῶς ἐκατέρωθεν. γενέσθωσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μετώπῳ ἔτεραι δύο εἰσοδοι τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν (αὐτὴν) στάσιν φυλάττονταί: τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς τρισὶ μέρεσιν ἐκτατήσθωσαν οἱ πεζοί, καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἀριθμῶν τῶν πυλῶν ἔχετοσαν.

Ὁ δὲ χάραξ βάθος μὲν ἔχετω ποδῶν ἐπτὰ ἡ ὀκτὼ κάτωθεν εἰς στενὸν ἄπολήγην, εὑρὸς δὲ ἐχέτω πόδας πέντε ἢ καὶ εξ: τὸ δὲ χώμα τοῦ χάρακος τῷ ἔνδον μέρει παρατίθεσθω. ἐπειδὴ δὲ χιλίας ὀργῦνας τὸ μῆκος τοῦ ἀπλήκτου ἐντύπωθη, εξ αὐτῶν καταλιμπάνονται εἰς τὰ κενὰ χωρία τὰ ἔνδον μὲν τοῦ χάρακος, κύκλῳ δὲ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν πεζῶν ἀφοριζόμενα, ὀργῦναι κβ’ ἀκολουθῶς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἀπλήκτα ἔτεραι ὀργῦναι κβ’ ὠμοίως καὶ ἢ ὁδὸς ἤ διαφοροῦσα τὰς αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἵππων σκηνᾶς ὀργῦνας εξ ὑφαιρεῖται, καὶ δι’ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπαριθμοῦνται καθ’ ἐκατόστων μέρος ὀργῦναι ν’. ὑπεξαριστάτων ὁπότ’ ὑπὸ τῶν χιλίων ὀργῦνων τὸ τέ ανατολικὸν καὶ τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος ὀργῦνας ἐκατόν, καὶ ὑπολιμπάνονται τῷ λοιπῷ ὅλῳ ἄπλήκτῳ ὀργῦναι ἐνακόσια, αἰτίως τριχῇ διαφοροῦνται. καὶ τὸ μείν βασιλικὸν ἀπλήκτου σὺν πάσαις ταῖς ἐταιρείαις καὶ τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ἀφαιρεῖται ὀργῦνας τ’, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐγκαρσίας δημοσίας ὁδὸ τῆς διαφορας τῆς μεγάλης ἐταιρειάς καὶ τὸ τάγμα τῶν σχολῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς αὐτὸ ἀφοριζόμενα ἄχρι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς τεμνοῦσας τὰς τῶν πεζῶν σκηνᾶς ἐτεραὶ ἀφορίζονται ὀργῦναι τ’. ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ τηρεῖσθαι ἀκρίβεια κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῶν τ’ ὀργῦνων καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς τρισὶ μέρεσιν καθὼς καὶ ἡ ἐκτεθεῖσα τοῦ ἀπλήκτου σχηματογραφία σαφῶς παριστᾶ.

Τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς κατὰ μέσον πτηνυμένης, γύροθες τῆς κόρης κενὸς ἀφοριζόθη χῶρος ἱκανός χωρεῖν καὶ τούς ἐν νυκτὶ παρα-μένουντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ συνερχομένους εἰς τὴν κόρην. ἐκτὸς δὲ τοῦ τοιοῦτον χωρίου κατὰ τὸ ἐνδοῦν μέρος πτηνυμένης ἦ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου σκηνῆς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ ἐπί τῆς τραπέζης: ὁπόσθεν δὲ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου ἦ τοῦ φύλακος καὶ καθεξῆς κοιτωτῶν καὶ ἐβδομαρίων καὶ λοιπῶν τῶν διακονοῦντων οἰκείως τῇ βασιλικῇ ὑπηρε-σίᾳ, ἀχρὶς οὐ τὰ τρία μέρη τὸ τε δεξιῶν καὶ εὐώνυμον καὶ δυτικῶν πληρωθῆ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀνατολικὸν μέρος ἐμπροσθεῖν τῆς κόρης σκηνῆ πτηνυμένω τὸ ἀρχονταρεῖον, ἐμπροσθεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτὸς οἱ τοῦ στάβλου ἀρχοντες σὺν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἰπτοὺς ἱπτᾶσθωσαν, οἱ δὲ μαγκλαβίται κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος ἐμπροσθεῖν τῆς τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου σκηνῆς. κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεξιῶν ἀνατολικῶτερον τῆς τῆς τραπέζης οἱ παρθένωτα, ὁ δὲ πρῶξμος καὶ ὁ κόμης τῶν βουκίνων σὺν τοῖς μαγκλαβίταις στη-
so that the edge of the left taxiarchy is formed to his back. The entrance is then completed in the ancient manner at an angle from the left side and not in a straight line. Let the same taxiarch form a gamma with his own soldiers to the rear of the troops stationed to the east for a distance of sixteen meters, so the entrance can be safely defended on both sides by the soldiers. Two other entrance ways should be made on that same front, preserving the same shape and position. The foot soldiers should follow the same procedure in organizing themselves in the other three quarters, and they should have the same number of gates.

The trench should be seven or eight feet deep, tapering toward the bottom, and it should be five or even six feet wide. The dirt from the trench should be heaped up on the inside. Since it was stipulated that the width of the camp should be two thousand meters, from those leave forty-four meters for the empty spaces within the wall, separating it all around from the tents of the infantry; for the camp-site of the infantry, forty-four more meters. Likewise, for the road dividing their tents from those of the cavalry, subtract twelve meters. Numbering these from both sides, then, we arrive at a hundred meters in each. From the two thousand meters, therefore, deduct two hundred on the east side and on the west. That leaves for all the rest of the camp eighteen hundred meters, which should be divided in three parts. First, six hundred meters must be reserved for the camp of the emperor with all his corps of guards and the Immortals. Then, from the slanting main road which goes between the troops of the great hetaireia and the tagma of the Schools, forming a border on the east until it reaches the road marking off the tents of the infantry, measure off six hundred more meters. The same accuracy is observed in measuring the six hundred meters in the other three quarters, as is made clear in the diagram of the camp published below.

The imperial tent should be pitched in the middle with a courtyard around it. Let an empty space be marked off large enough to allow the men remaining on duty at night to move about and to allow people to enter the courtyard during the day. Outside this space off to the left the tent of the protovestiarios should be pitched, and to the right that of the epi tes trapezes. Behind the tent of the protovestiarios should be that of the guard and then, in order, that of the chamberlains, the hebdomaries, and the rest of those engaged in the personal service of the emperor. In this way the three sections, the right, the left, and the west will be filled up. Then, on the side to the east, in front of the courtyard, erect the archontareion. In front of this the officers in charge of the stable should be stationed, along with the imperial horses. The manglavitai, in turn, should be placed to the left, in front of the tent of the protovestiarios. Farther east, off to the right, are the pantheotai of the epi tes trapezes. The proximos and the count of the trumpets should be stationed with the
κέτωσαν οί δὲ δουκάτωρες μετά τοῦ πρωξίμου ἐστώσαν ἢ μεθὲ ἐτέρῳ τυός, εἰς ὅν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἄγιος πληροφοριάν ἔχει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν στάσιν τῶν τοῦ στάβλου ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν σταβλοκομήτων ἡ μεγάλη ἑταρεία πρὸς ἀνατολάς ἀπληκνεύτω, κατά δὲ τὸ βόρειου μέρος ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ἑταρείας ὁ λογοθέτης καὶ ὁ πρωτοαστηρητὴς καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τεταγμένοι ἀπληκνεύτωσαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ νότιον αὐτής οἱ κατεπάνω τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀνδρῶν.

Τριῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὁδῶν καθ' ἐκαστὸν μέρος ἐκτεθεισῶν ἢ μὲν μεσαίατή καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος εἰς ἀνατολὰς ἔρχομένη καὶ κατ' V f. 235'130 εὐθείαν πρὸς τὴν κόρτην | διήκονος ἐως τῆς μεγάλης ἑταρείας ὁφείλει τὸ πλάτος τῶν εἰς ὄργυνων ἀποσώζειν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑταρείαν στενῶσθαι καὶ μόναι τρεῖς ὄργυναι ταυτή ὑπολομπανέσθωσαν, καὶ ἀποληγέτω εἰς τὸ ἀρχοντάρειον. τῆς δὲ τοιαύτης μέσης ὁδοῦ, ἀνατολικάτερον τῆς μεγάλης ἑταρείας, ἔσβη κάκειθεν τὸ τάγμα τῶν σχολῶν τὰς σκηνὰς πτηνύνθη διή διαμορφομενοι καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δεξίῳ μέρει μέσον τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα τοῦ λαοῦ βάνδων ὁ τοποτηρητής τῶν σχολῶν ἀπληκνεύτω, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐθνύμῳ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ὁ χαρτοναύς, τὴν μέσην χώραν καὶ αὐτὸς ἑπέχων. εἰς δὲ τὰ χείλη τῆς τοιαύτης μέσης ὁδοῦ ἔσβην κάκειθεν κόμηται ἀνά ὁκτὼ κατ' εὐθείαιν ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς σὺν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δομεστικοῖς τὰς σκηνὰς πτηνύνθωσαν, ἐκαστος δὲ κόμης μέσον τῶν ἱδίων δομεστικῶν καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν σκηνὴν ἔσβην.

Εἰς δὲ τὰς λεχθείσας ἑτέρας δύο δημοσίας ὁδοὺς τὰς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν μέχρι τοῦ δυτικοῦ χάρακος δικυνομενας, κατὰ τὰ ἐνδὸν τῶν ὁδῶν χείλη κόμητες ἀνὰ ἐπτὰ κατ' εὐθείαιν σὺν τοῖς ἱδίοις δομεστικοῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς σκηνὰς πτηνύνθωσαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος καὶ ἀνατολικὸν δυσὶν ὁδοίς ἐγκαρισίαις διορίζεται τὸ τάγμα τῶν σχολῶν, καὶ ἡ μὲν δυτικὴ ἡ καὶ τὴν ἑταρείαν ἔσβην πρὸς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀπλήκτον ἀφορίζουσα δημοσία εὐθίνη, ἢ ἀναστολικὴ ἢ τὸ θέμα ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου τάγματος διακρίνουσα μερικὴ ἐστὶν ὄργυνας ἐχουσα δύο. ἐν ταῦται όν ταῖς δυσίν ὁδοίς πρὸς τὰ ἐνδόν χείλη κόμητες οἱ παραβαίνουσι τὰς σκηνὰς κατὰ τὸ εὐθὺ τῶν ὁδῶν ἱστάτωσαν. ὁφείλουσι δὲ καὶ ἐνδόν οἱ τοῦ τάγματος μικρὰς ὁδοὺς ἀφορίζει τὰ λεγόμενα μονοπάτια, δι' ὕπ ἀστενοχωρήτους οἱ τοῦ τάγματος μελλοντιν εἰσέρχεσθαι, αἱ δὲ σκηνοὶ αἱ κατὰ τὰ χείλη τῶν ὁδῶν ἱστάμεναι παρακυμομέναι στηκέτωσαν, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι τινα ἄνευ ὁδοῦ εἰσέρχεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἐνδόν του ἀπλήκτον ἢ ἐξέρχεσθαι.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν σχῆμα πρὸς ἀνατολάς τῆς στάσεως τῆς μεγάλης ἑταρείας καὶ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν σχολῶν | δέον ἐστὶ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐτέρα τρία μέρη τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἀπλήκτον ἐνδόν μὲν τῶν δημοσίων ὁδῶν τὰς ἑταρείας ἀπληκνεύειν καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους, ἐξωθεὶ δὲ τῶν ἑταρειῶν τὰ λοιπὰ τάγματα μετὰ καὶ τοῦ δρουγαρίου τῆς βίγλας, καὶ ἐτὶ τούτων ἐξωτέρω τὰ θέματα εἰς τα σταυροειδὲς σχῆμα καὶ τὰς
manglavitai. The doukatores should be located with the proximos or with someone else in whom the holy emperor has full confidence. After the officers of the stable and the constables are situated, then the great hetaireia should encamp to the east. To the north the logothete of the great hetaireia, the protoasekretis, and their subordinates should encamp. To their south should be the officers of the Imperial Men.

Three public roads should be laid out in each section. The one down the middle goes from the eastern rampart in a straight line toward the courtyard until it comes to the great hetaireia, and ought to retain the width of twelve meters. At the hetaireia it should narrow to only six meters wide for the rest of the way, ending at the archontareion. On either side of this same middle road, farther to the east of the great hetaireia, the tagma of the Schools should pitch its tents in two sections. On the right side, in the middle of fifteen banda of troops, have the topoteretes of the Schools camp. With the other fifteen banda on the left the chartoularios should have the central position. On both sides along this middle road about eight counts together with the domestics under them should pitch their tents in a straight line to the east. Each count should have his tent right in the middle of his own domestics.

Along the other two public roads, already mentioned, which cross from the east to the western entrenchment, on the inside edges of those roads have about seven counts with their own domestics set up their tents in a straight line. In both the western and the eastern sections the tagma of the Schools is divided by two slanting roads. The western one which runs on the inside of the hetaireia, marking it off from the imperial encampment, is public. The eastern one, which separates the theme from this tagma, is an individual one of four meters. Along the inside edges of those two roads, therefore, the parabantitai counts should set up their tents in a straight line along the roads. On the inside the troops in the tagma should line up small roads, footpaths really, along which they can pass without being crowded. They should erect their tents close together along the sides of these roads, so that nobody will be able to go inside the camp or leave it except by a road.

According to the plan presented here, to the east of the location of the great hetaireia and of the tagma of the Schools there should also be in the other three sections of the imperial encampment, on the inside of the public roads, campsites for the hetaireias and for the Immortals and, to the outside of the hetaireias, the rest of the tagmatic forces along with the drungarios of the Watch. Farther to the outside of these should be the thematic forces in a cross-shaped formation, in the angles as far as the road which passes between the cavalry and the infantry camps, as is presented more precisely and clearly in the illustrations. In the tent of the drungarios of the Watch the aides of the generals and the other officers should be in attendance night and day.
γνώνιας ἀχρὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ τῆς διειρύσσης τὰ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ πεζῶν ἀπλήκτα, καθὼς ἡ διαγραφεῖσα ἱστορία ἀκριβεστέρον παριστάτε καὶ σαφέστερον. ἐν δὲ τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ δρουγγαρίου τῆς βίγλας αἱ παραμοναὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχοντων ἐν τε ἤμερᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ προσεδρεύεσθαι.

Χρῆ δὲ μετὰ τὸ κενὸν χαριῶν τὸ ἑνὸν τοῦ χάρακος καθεξῆς εἰς τὰς ἐτέρας εἰκοσιδύος ὀργιῶν τὰς ἀποκληρωθεῖσας πρὸς τὸ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἀπληκνύεται εἰς μὲν τὴν ἀνὰ τολικήν δημοσίαν καὶ μέσην οὕσων ὀδοῦ τοὺς μέσους τοῦ μετώπου ταξιάρχους ἕνα μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτῆς, ἕνα δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τὰς σκηνὰς αὐτῶν πῆξαι, εἰδ' οὕτως εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ κενοῦ χαριῶν καὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ τῆς διειρύσσης τὰ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ἀπλήκτα, οἱ ἐκατόνταρχοι καὶ πεντηκόνταρχοι τὰς σκηνὰς αὐτῶν πυργίσωσαν. καὶ καθεξῆς οἱ λοιποὶ κυκλόθεν τῶν ἰππέων, καθὼς ὁ τύπος ἐξετέτθη, ἀπληκνεύτωσαν ἑνὸν ἑχοντες τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἀλογα. μέσον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐξέτωσαν μονοπάτια τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀποτενύομενα τὰ δὲ ἐγκαρσίως πρὸς τὸ μὴ στενοχωρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τὰς δὲ δημοσίας ὀδοὺς καὶ τὰς μονοπάτια εἰς τὰ ἀπλήκτα αὐτῶν διερχόμενα μὴ ἀποκλείσωσαν ἀλλ' ἀνεψισεν ἑστωσαν, ἵνα οἱ εἰς τὰς διακονίας βουλόμενοι ἰππεῖς ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλωνταῖ.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ τέσσαρες ταξιαρχαί πυλῶν εἰς μὴ συνταττόμεναι τοῖς ὑπόλαται εἰς τὰς τέσσαρας γνώνιας τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τῶν πεζῶν γαμματοειδῶς ἀπληκνεύτωσαν, ὡς δὴ λοι τὸ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου διάγραμμα. ἐκαστὸν τὸ τάγμα καὶ θέμα ὀφείλει διακεκριμένων εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ γειτονοῦντος θέματος ᾧ τάγματος ὀδοὶς ἐκατέρωθεν τέσσαρας, τὸ μὲν εἰ τύχοι τάς δημοσίαις, τὸ δὲ ταῖς μερικαίς· ἐξέτωσαν δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕαυτος μονοπάτια, ὡς ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀλύτως ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις χρείαις καὶ διακονίαις διερχονται.
After the empty space within the fortification, it is necessary that forty-four meters more be allotted for the infantry to camp along the eastern public road and the one that runs down the middle. The taxarchs should set up their tents in the middle of the front, one on the right side of the road and the other on the left. Then, in like manner, at the edges of the empty space and of the road dividing their camp from that of the cavalry, the hekatontarchs and the pentekontarchs should pitch their tents. The rest of the cavalry who have their own horses should then encamp in proper order in a circle inside, as laid forth in the regulations. In their midst should be pathways, some straight and some at a slant, to keep the men from being crowded together. The public roads, as well as the pathways running through the campsites, must not be closed off but remain open, so that the horsemen who want to go out to perform their duties may not be hindered.

If there should also be four taxiarchies of light-armed troops not lined up with the regular soldiers, they should encamp in the form of a gamma in the four angles of the infantry camp, as the present diagram of a campsite makes clear. Each tagma and theme ought to be separated from the neighboring theme or tagma by four roads, whether public or individual, on either side. They should also have pathways of their own, so that without hindrance or disturbance they may go about attending to their needs and their duties.

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1 As defined here, a taxiarchy at this period comprised a thousand men under the command of a taxarch or chiliarch. The five hundred regular soldiers (hoplites) were infantry troops generally armed with lance, shield, and sword, and often recruited from foreign peoples. See Nicephori Praecepta militaria, ed. J. Kulakovskij (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 19, 3; Kekaumenos, 174–76, et alibi; V. Valdenberg, "Taxiarchos," VizVrem, 24 (1926), 134–37; V. von Falkenhausen, Untersuchungen über die byzantinischen Herrschaft in Süditalien von 9. bis ins 11. Jh. (Wiesbaden, 1967), 115–16; Listes de présence, 335.

Tagmatic troops were units of the regular standing army, based mostly around Constantinople and accompanying the emperor on campaign. The thematic troops were those of the provinces (themes).

2 Literally, two soldiers to an orguia, which was a measure of about two meters, from 187 cm. to 210 cm.: Schilbach, Metrologie, 22–23. Although the Greek text uses the orguia, this translation gives the measurements in meters.

3 Mensurator (minsorator) designated a surveyor who went ahead to lay out the campsites.

4 The manuscripts have swamp (helous), which may well be a copyist's error for wood or forest (hylēs), a mistake which occurs elsewhere.

5 On such banners see G. Dennis, "Byzantine Battle Flags," ByzF, 8 (1982), 51–60. In his edition Vári believes that several lines are missing at this point in the text, but J. Kulakovskij (BZ, 11 [1902], 551) is not convinced of this, nor is the present editor.

6 The Byzantine foot measured 31.23 cm., a fraction longer than an English foot: Schilbach, Metrologie, 20.

7 Hetaireia was a term used for several imperial guard corps. The Immortals were a special corps founded by John Tzimisces (969–76): Leo the Deacon, pp. 107, 132; see Listes de présence, 332–33.

8 The great hetaireia was the most important of the hetaireiai, and was distinguished from the small and the middle (mikra, mesē). Tagma is used to differentiate this corps from the provincial units, themata. The schools (scholai) formed the most important element of the imperial army. They were commanded by a domestic who, from the tenth century, was also commander in chief of the entire army.

9 The protovestiarios was in charge of the imperial wardrobe, which also came to include the private treasure of the emperor. It was a very prestigious position, reserved to eunuchs, but its direct power
is not clear. Its titulary accompanied the emperor on campaign. See Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 216–36; *Listes de présence*, 305. The épites trapezes, "in charge of the table," maître d'hôtel, was also a position reserved to eunuchs. This one was in charge of the imperial banquets, including arrangements, invitations, and entertainment. He too accompanied the emperor on campaign and was responsible for procuring provisions on the journey. See Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 237–41; *Listes de présence*, 305–6.

10 The chamberlains served in the imperial sleeping quarters. The hebdomadaries (also called hebdomadaries, dietaries) were on the staff of the grand papias, the concierge of the palace, and apparently supervised the janitorial services: Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 252; *Listes de présence*, 130.

11 This must be the place reserved for the officers (archontes), a sort of staff room or headquarters. The word is not common.

12 The manglavitai formed a sort of security force in the imperial palace. Armed with a mace or club (manglawia), they cleared the way for the emperor through the crowds. They were connected with the hetaireia and could also wield other weapons. See Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 305; *Listes de présence*, 328.

13 Pantheotai would seem to be connected with the pantheon, a hall in the imperial palace, and may indicate soldiers, perhaps junior officers of a guard unit. See von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen*, 106, 122. Skylitzes mentions an officer (commander?) of the pantheon: Ioannis Skylitzae Synopsis historiarum, ed. I. Thurn (CFHB, 5; Berlin, 1973), 390, 81.

14 The proximos (Latin proximus, also proexemos) was a lower-ranking officer, chief of the mandatores, who conveyed the orders of the domestic of the schools to other officers. Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 433. The count of the trumpets is not otherwise attested in the sources, but one can easily imagine that his responsibilities had to do with the trumpeteers who sounded the orders.

15 Doukatores (Latin ducator, docto) served as leaders or guides for the army: see infra, Chap. 14.

16 The officers (archontes) of the stable were on the staff of the count of the stable (constable), whereas the stable counts (stablokometes) served under the protostrator: Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 469, 480; *Listes de présence*, 338–39.

17 The logothete generally had financial responsibilities, including procurement, perhaps similar to the modern quartermaster. The protoasekretis had the chief clerical position in the military unit.

18 The Imperial men were palace guards under the command of a katepano (at times, a domestic): *Listes de présence*, 328.

19 The topoteretes was the lieutenant who assisted the domestic and who commanded the provincial detachments of the schools: Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 432; *Listes de présence*, 329. A bandon was supposed to contain about three hundred troops, but at this period was probably closer to two hundred.

20 Just below the topoteretes in rank, the chartoularios commanded half the troops of the schools on campaign: Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 433.

21 Each count commanded a bandon, subdivisions of which were under domestics, officers of lower rank: Guillard, *Recherches*, 432–33; *Listes de présence*, 329.

22 Perhaps this originally read parabanditai, alongside the banda, but it is not clear precisely who these counts were or what their duties were. They do not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.

23 The watch (vigla) was one of the four imperial tagmata and provided security for the palace and the law courts. Its commander came to be called grand drangarios and presided over the imperial tribunal. This important position was once held by the historian John Skylitzes. See Guillard, *Recherches*, 1, 563–87.

24 The aides were to convey his orders to the generals: cf. *De cerimonii* (Bonn ed.) 1, 452. The word may also mean bodyguards or perhaps only personal servants.

25 These were subordinate officers in the bandon. According to their titles, the hekatontarch should command one hundred men and the pentekontarch, fifty.
5. Plan of a Camp (V, fol. 236v)
6. Another Camp Plan (V, fol. 237)
7. Another Camp Plan (V, fol. 237v)
8. Another Camp Plan (V, fol. 238)
9. Sketch of War Machines and Animals (V, fol. 238\textsuperscript{v})
Τ9

V f. 239

Ο δει ό δει ἀπληκεύειν ἢ ἐτέρου θέματος ή τάγματος λαόν εἰς ἐτέρου θέματος ή τάγματος ἀπλήκτων.

Οὔ δει δὲ ἀφ' ἐτέρου τάγματος ή θέματος ή βάνδου ή τούρμας εἰς ἐτέρου θέματος ή τάγματος ή βάνδου ή τούρμας εἰς ἐτέρου θέματος ή τάγματος ή βάνδου ή τούρμας ἀπληκεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸν μετὰ τοῦ άρχοντος αὐτοῦ, ἵνα δουλείας τῇ τάξει έκείνῃ αἰφνιδίως ἐπερχομένης σῶν ἔχῃ καὶ ἀνελλιπῇ τὸν λαὸν αὐτῆς. ὄμοιως καὶ τὰ ήμερήσια ἀδυνάμια, καθὼς ἐδος ἥν τοῖς παλαιοῖς, χρή γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐκαστὸν τῶν μικρῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἰσπέττων τε καὶ πεζῶν τὸν ὑπ' αὐτούς λαὸν καθ' ἐκάστην βλεπέτωσαν, ἵνα τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν ήμερήσιων ἀδυναμίων συντελλόμενοι ἔπι τό αὐτό ἀπληκεύωσι καὶ μὴ τολμᾶ τις ἀπολειφθῆναι τοῦ ἰδίου ἄρχοντος, τούτον δὲ γινομένου καὶ εἰπέρ τις εἰσελθεῖν δυνηθῆ τῶν κατασκόπων εὐχέρως φωραθῆσεται. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἰσπέττων οὕτω τυπωθήτωσαν ἀπλήκτα ἶνα, ὡσπερ ἔπι παρατάξεως μέλλωσιν ἱστασθαι, οὕτω καὶ ὄδοιπορώσι καὶ σύνεγγυς ἁλλήλων ἀπληκεύωσαν.

'Εχέτω δὲ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς ἐκαστὸς τριβόλους ἀνὰ ὀκτὼ ἐξηρτημένους σχοινίων λεπτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκάστη δεκαρχία σκόλοπα μικρῶν σιδηρῶν ἐχέτω, εἰς δὲν ἡ ἄρχη ὄρειλει τῆς τῶν τριβόλων σχοινιῶν ἀποδεσμεύσοντες μιστέσθωσαν δὲ ἄπο ὀργυίων δέκα τῆς τάφρου πηγυμένου τοῦ σκόλοπος ἐν τῇ γῆ. ὁρυτέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ λάκκοι οἱ λεγόμενοι ποδοκλάσται, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς οξεῖς ξύλινοι σκόλοπες καταπηγυμένωσαν. ἐκτὸς δὲ τῶν τοιούτων γνώρισμά τι γινέσθω ἡ τάφρος μικρὸς ἢ ἀπό χαλ. μάτων βουνίτζα μικρά ἡ λιθοσωφρείαι, ἵνα μὴ ἀσκόπως τινες τῶν τοῦ ἰδίου στρατεύματος περιπέτευσαν τοις τοιούτοις καταβλάπτωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥάβδοις μικράς ἐν τῇ γῇ πηγυμένω τῶν καύσων καὶ κώδωνας εἰς σχοινία δεδεμένους τῶν ῥάβδων ἀπαφρείωσαν κύκλῳ παντὸς τοῦ χάρακος, ὅπως οἱ λανθάνοντες πολέμιοι ή κατάσκοποι τάς βίγλας περιπετεύχαντος τοῖς τοιούτοις εὐκόλως ἐπιγυμνώσκονται.

Troops belonging to one theme or tagma ought not to encamp with those from another theme or tagma.

Troops from one tagma, theme, bandon, or turma should not encamp with those of another tagma, theme, bandon, or turma. Each one, rather, should remain with its own commanding officer. In case that unit, then, has to report for duty all of a sudden, it will be right up to strength with nobody missing. The daily assignments must also, as was the custom among the ancients, be done in like manner. Each subordinate cavalry and infantry officer should check the men under him each day, making sure they are encamped closely together in the same place, so the daily assignments will be carried out exactly, and nobody should dare to separate himself from his own commanding officer. If this is observed, any spy who manages to get inside will easily be detected. The campsites for the cavalry should be so arranged that they may march out in the positions they will be forming in for battle, and so they should camp close to one another.

Each infantryman should have about eight caltrops strung out on a small rope, and each dekarchy should have a small iron stake to which the end of the rope with the caltrops should be tied. After fixing the stake in the ground they should throw the rope twenty meters from the ditch. Have them also dig pits, the sort called footbreakers, and fix sharp wooden stakes in them. On the outside of such traps there should be some sort of sign, a small ditch, a mound of dirt or a pile of rocks. Otherwise, some of our own troops might fall right into them and be injured. Small rods should also be stuck in the ground and bells tied together by string hung on them in a circle all around the camp, so that when they stumble on these, any enemy soldiers or spies trying to elude our sentries will easily be detected.

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1 Tagma originally designated the basic army unit of about three hundred soldiers, but can be used for a military unit in general. Here it seems to signify a unit of the regular imperial army. Theme is an army from one of the provinces. Bandon was the same as tagma, a unit supposed to have about three hundred men. A turma was supposed to have about three thousand troops, according to the Tactical Constitutions of Leo VI, and three of them would make up a theme.

2 The caltrops, highly recommended by Maurice and other military writers, were objects with three or four protruding spikes intended to trip up horses. The dekarchy was a squad of ten soldiers.
Περί τῶν ἐν νυκτὶ ὄφειλουσῶν γίνεσθαι

φυλακῶν ἤτοι κερκίτων.

Δεῖ δὲ τὰς ἑνδον τοῦ χάρακος ἐν νυκτὶ φυλακάς ἤτοι κέρκιτα ἐπι-
μελῶς γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ κενῷ χωρίῳ, καὶ ἐκαστὸς μὲν τῶν ταξιάρχων
φυλακῶς δι’ ὅλης νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἐχέτω λαόν. οὗ δὲ ὀπλιτάρχης
ἀπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν τῶν μὴ τεταγμένων εἰς τὰς ταξιαρχίας ἀναλαμβανό-
μενος ἄνδρας ἐκατόν ἐως μεσονυκτίον, καὶ τούτους ὑπαλλάττων δι’
ἐτέρων ἐκατόν, ἀχρὶ πρωίας ποιεῖται τὴν ὄφειλομένην φυλακήν ἑνδον
τοῦ χάρακος ἐν τῷ κενῷ χωρίῳ κυκλεύων τὴν στρατιάν. τὸ γὰρ κενὸν
χωρίον τούτου | χάριν ἐκ προμηθείας πρὸς λυσθέλειαν ἀφορίζεται,
ὅπως μὴ μόνον ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ κέρκιτα γίνονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμίων
ἐνίοτε προσβαλλόντων τῷ χάρακι καὶ βέλη κατὰ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου πε-
μόπτων εἰς αὐτὸ καταπίπτωσι καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἑνδον ὑπίπους ἢ τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους λυμαίνωνται: πολλά γὰρ ἐναντία τοῖς στρατεύμασι ἐκ
τοῦ τοιοῦτον τρόπον συνέβησαν. πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ, ἵνα καὶ οἱ | εἰς τὰ
ἀκρα ἀπληκέουσι τε στρατηγοῖ, εἰ συμβῇ πόλεμον συμπεσει τοῖς
tοῦ χάρακος, εἰτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εἰτε ἐν νυκτί, πεζῇ μετά τοῦ μαχίμον
αὐτῶν λαοῦ παραταττόμενοι ἐν τῷ κενῷ χωρίῳ ἐπιβοσθήθωσιν αὐτοῖς.

δεῖ δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀκρίτας στρατηγοὺς σὺν τῷ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν λαῷ
ἐξωτέρῳ πάντων τῶν θεμάτων καὶ πλησίων τῶν πεζῶν σκηνῶν μόνῃ
διειργομένους τῇ μέσῳ κειμένῃ ὤδῃ τῇ ὀριζούσῃ τὰ τῶν ἵππων καὶ
πεζῶν ἀπλήκτα (ἀπληκέουσα), ἵν’ ἐν τοῖς ἀπρόοπτοις καὶ αἰφνίδιοις
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπερχομένους πολέμους εἰς ἔτοιμον καὶ προχείρως

δυνεῖ τοῖς τοῦ χάρακος συνεργῆσαι καὶ συναστήξωνται. ὁ δὲ ὀπλι-
tάρχης μὴ μόνον δι’ ὅλου ποιεῖτω τὰ κέρκιτα, ἀλλ’ ὑπαλλαττέσθω διὰ
tῶν πολύν κόπων, ἀνθρώπων πιστῶν ὡς εἰκὸς ἀποστελλομένων παρὰ
tοῦ βασιλέως ἥμων τοῦ ἁγίου.

3: B f. 220. 5 κενῷ VS: κενῷ B || 14 καταπίπττων Graux: καταπίπττων VS || 18 πεζῇ
VSB: an πεζῇ legendum Graux || 22 τῇ ὀριζούσῃ VB: τῆς ὀριζούσης S || 23 ἀπληκέουσα Vāri: om. VSB

Περί τῶν ὄφειλουσῶν γίνεσθαι ἐν νυκτί καὶ ἡμέρᾳ βυγλῶν.

Τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἐθνῶς ἐξώβυγλα καὶ ἐσώβυγλα τὰ καὶ πλησιέστερον

5 ἵσταμενα δεῖ ποιεῖν ἀπὸ ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν πεζῶν. τὰ δ’ ἐσώ-
The guards or patrols which should be posted at night.

The guards or patrols inside the entrenchment at night should be carefully positioned in the empty space. Let each taxiarch see that his own troops have guards during the entire night. The hoplitarch should come up with a hundred men from among the light-armed troops who are not assigned to the taxiarchies. These should be on duty until midnight and then be relieved by another hundred. The hoplitarch should go about the camp seeing that they perform guard duty until dawn in the empty space inside the ramparts. Now, the empty space is measured off with regard to our advantage, so that not only are patrols assigned to it, but also whenever the enemy attack the fortifications and fire projectiles into the camp, they may fall in the empty space and not harm the horses or the men within. Some armies have sustained great damage from this sort of action. In addition to this, in case an attack should be made against the men on the ramparts, either during the day or at night, then the commanders who are encamped along the edges can form up on foot along with their fighting force in that empty space and come to their assistance. These commanders who are posted on the edges, along with the troops under them, should camp further to the outside of all the thematic troops, closer to the tents of the infantry, separated only by the road running down the middle which marks off the campsites of the cavalry and of the infantry. Then, in case of a sudden or unexpected enemy assault, they will easily be in a good position to link up shields and to support the troops at the ramparts. The hoplitarch should not only see that the patrols are made regularly but also that they are changed because of the great exertion involved, presuming, of course, that only trustworthy men are sent out by our holy emperor.

The hoplitarch, also called archégetès, seems to have commanded the infantry on campaign and was superior to the taxiarchs: *Listes de préséance*, 335.

The watch posts which have to be manned at night and during the day.

The customary outside watch posts and the ones that are located closer in should be staffed by infantry, javelin throwers, and archers. The inside ones should
βιγλα ἐχέτω ἀνδρας ὅκτω, διυστάμενα ἐκαστα ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ὦσεὶ τὸσον βολὴν ἢ καὶ μικρὸν τι πλέον. τὰ δὲ ἐξωβίγλα μακρότερον στηκέ-
 τωσαν ἀπέχοντα τῶν ἐσωβίγλων μὴ πλέον λίθον βολῆς’ ταῦτα δὲ ἀπὸ τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἐστωσαν, ἀτίμα καὶ καλούνται τετράδια. ἐκάστη
dὲ ταξιαρχία εὐτερπείζειν ὄφειλει ἀνὰ πέντε ἐσωβίγλα καὶ ἐξωβίγλα διυστάμενα κατὰ πλάτος ἀλλήλων ὦσεὶ ὀργυιάς πεντηκοντα.

Αἱ δὲ ἐτὶ μακρότερον ὑφείλουσα γίνεσθαι βιγλα διὰ τοῦ ἐπ-
pικοῦ μαχίμου γινέσθωσαν, καὶ αἱ μὲν μετὰ | τοὺς πεζοὺς ιστάμεναι
πρῶτα καὶ αὐταὶ δὲ· ἐξ γινέσθωσαν ἰπποτῶν ἀπέχουσαν τῶν τε πεζι-
kῶν ἐξωβίγλων, εἰ ὦμαλός ἐστὶ καὶ καθαρός ὁ τόπος εἰς ἱκανοῦ δια-
στήματος. αἱ δὲ πορρωτέρῳ γυμνοῖναι, αἱ καὶ εξωβίγλα καλούνται,
tετράδια ἐστωσαν· αὐταὶ δὲ ἐτὶ φαίνοντο τοῦ ἥλιον πρὸς τὴν τετα-
γμένην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπίτωσαν. εἰ δὲ δύσβατος εἰς καὶ δασὺς
ὁ τόπος καὶ ἀνευ ὀδῶν οὐχ οἶος τε ἐστὶ περὶ | πατείσθαι, μόναι αἱ
ὀδοὶ ἀσφαλῶς μὴ πόρρω τοῦ ἀπλήκτου φυλαττέσθωσαν, καὶ μᾶλλον
ἐκεῖναι, ἀφ’ ὅν υπόληψις ἐστὶ πολεμίως ἐπελθεῖν εἰς μόνα δὲ τὰ
μέρη, ἀφ’ ὅν, ὡς εἰρήτατι, ὑποφία ἐστὶν ἐπελεύσεσθαι ἐναντίους, οἱ
ἰππόται φυλαττέτωσαν, τὰ δὲ λυπᾶ, τὰ κύκλω, διὰ μόνων γενέσθω
τῶν πεζῶν.

Ἐξέτωσαν δὲ καὶ ἀρχηγοὺς τῶν χρησίμων, ἣν καὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν
deότως αἱ βιγλα τὰς στάσεις λαμβάνουσι καὶ κερκυτεύονται πρὸς τὸ
μὴ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀμελεῖν. εἰ δὲ τυχα ἀπαγγελίαν αἱ βιγλα κομίζουσι,
μὴ περιδεός ἢ ἀπάκτως ὃς ἔνυχε περιπατεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀσφαλιζέ-
σθωσαν τοῦ μήτε τοὺς κόδωνας διασεῖται μήτε τεταραγμένως εἰς τῶν
χάρακα εἰσελθεῖν, κανεύτερη δειλίαν ἐμποήσει τοῖς ἔνυδον, ἀλλ’
ήρεμα τοὺς κόδωνας ὑπελθόντες ἀπαράξαχς τῷ ἴδιῷ ταξιάρχη καὶ τῷ
ὀπλιτάρχῃ ἀπαγγέλλετοσαν τὸ συμβάν, καὶ παρ’ εὐθὺ ὁ μηνύων
στελλέσθω παρ’ ἑκεῖνων τῷ ἀγίῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεί. καὶ ταύτα μὲν ἐν
νυκτὶ τῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ ἴππεις μόνοι τὰς βιγλας ποιεῖσθωσαν, πορρω-
tέρω δὲ καὶ μακρότερον, εἶπερ ὁ τόπος, ὡς εἰρήτατι, φανερὸς ἔστιν
καὶ ἐπίπεδος.

4: B f. 220". 5 τὰ δ’ ἐσωβίγλα Graux: τὸ ἐσωβίγλων VSB || 10 ἐσωβίγλα Graux: ἐσω-
VB: ἐπίποδος S
have eight men and should be situated about a bow shot, or a little bit more, from the fortifications. The outside watch posts, in turn, should be set up further off, but not more than a stone’s throw from the inside ones. These should be comprised of four men, and are called tetradia. Each taxiarchy should arrange to have up to five inside and outside watch posts spread out some hundred meters apart from one another.

The watch posts that are supposed to be set up still further out should be composed of cavalry. The first of these, which are posted beyond the foot soldiers, should be made up of six horsemen and should be a good distance removed from the outside infantry posts, if the terrain is level and clear. The others who are still further out, and are designated as outside watch posts, should have four men. While it is still daylight they should head off to their assigned guard post for the night. If the ground is rough and overgrown and is not passable without roads, then only those roads which are not far from the camp should be securely guarded, especially those roads which we suspect the enemy would use to mount an attack. To repeat, have the horsemen stand guard only in those areas in which we suspect the enemy will make their advance. In the other sectors around the camp, the guard posts should comprise infantry alone.

These troops should have capable leaders who will see that they get to their posts and carry out their patrols properly and that the guard duty is not neglected. If the men in these posts bring in some information, they ought not to move about in great fear or in disorder in any direction, but they should be careful not to tinkle the alarm bells or come into the camp in such disarray that the troops within will become nervous. They should, rather, quietly slip by the bells, and then calmly announce what has happened to their own taxiar and to the hoplitarch. These, in turn, should immediately send the man who has brought the news to our holy emperor. That is how it should be done at night. During the day the watch posts should be staffed by cavalry alone, a good distance further out, if, as was mentioned, the terrain is clear and level.
<e'.>

Πῶς δεῖ συμπρόσθεται τὸ ἀπλήκτον ὀλοκλήρου τῆς πεζικῆς στρατιάς ὑπαρχούσης, τῆς δὲ ἐπικῆς ὀλυγοστῆς; πῶς δὲ ταύτης πολλῆς οὐσίας, τῆς δὲ πεζικῆς ἐλαχίστης, ἀναπληροῦν τὸ ἐνδέου καὶ ἀσφαλῶς περιφυλάττειν τὴν στρατιάν.

Εἰ δὲ γε συμβῆ ὀλυγοστῶν εἶναι τὸ τῶν ἑπτῶν στράτευμα, τὸ δὲ πεζικὸν ὀλόκληρον, καὶ χῶρος κενὸς ἔνδον οὐκ ὀλίγος καταλιμπάνεται, δεῖ τρεῖς ὀπλίτας ἰστὰν εἰς τὴν μίαν ὄργυιαν καὶ ποιεῖν πύκνος, καὶ ἐκ τούτων συμπροσθήσεται ἀναλόγως τῷ πλῆθει τῶν ἑπτῶν ὁ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου χῶρος καὶ γεννήσεται σύμμετρος.

Εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐπικὸν πλειῶν εἰη, τὸ δὲ πεζικὸν ὀλίγον ὡς μη ἐξεικάνειν τὴν στρατιάν δύο Ἰσταμένων ὀπλιτῶν, δηλοῦντι καθ’ ἐκάστην ὄργυιαν, καθ’ ἐξεθέμεθα, διὰ τῶν ἡμίσεων ἀκοντιστῶν παχῶν τῶν ταξιαρχῶν μὴ ὑμοῦ Ἰσταμένων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πέντε ὀπλίτας ἐνός εἰσαγομένου ἀκοντιστοῦ καὶ κατὰ μέτωπον τούτων συνταττομένου ὁ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου μεγεθύνεσθαι τόπος: οἴδε γὰρ ὁ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἄριθμός ἐλαττῶν καὶ αὐξάνειν τὸ ἀπλήκτον.

5: B f. 221. 9 πύκνωσιν B: πύειν πύκνωσιν VS, sed S postea πύειν canc. || 14 ταξιαρχῶν Graux: ταξιαρχῶν VSB

<φ'.>

Περὶ τῶν δάδεκα ταξιαρχῶν.

Εἰ δὲ δύο καὶ δέκα ταξιαρχία ὄσων ἐν τῇ ἐκστρατείᾳ καὶ τούτων ἐκάστη τοὺς ἀνὰ πεντακοσίους ὀπλίτας καὶ διακοσίους ἀκοντιστάς καὶ τριακοσίους τοξότας ἔχει, ἀποτελοῦσί μὲν καὶ αὐτὰ τετράγωνον σχήμα: ἐκαστά δὲ τῶν πλευρῶν εἰς ὄργυια ἀνὰ ἐπτακοσίας πεντήκοντα τὸ μήκος ἀποτείνεται, δύο ὀπλιτῶν ἀνδραθὴ Ἰσταμένων ἐκάστη ὄργυια. ὁ δὲ μισονυριώτωρ κατὰ τὸν δοκῆντα αὐτῷ τοὺς μετέχειν ὀρθίει μετὰ τοῦ συχνίου ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ὄργυια τριακοσίας ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε, ὀμοίως καὶ πρὸς δύσιν, εἰτα καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ μεσημβρίαν τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ καὶ τότε | κατὰ μέσον πήξασθαι τὴν βασιλικὴν σκηνὴν, καὶ διδόει τοῖς μὲν βασιλικῶ ἀπλήκτων ὄργυια διακοσίας διεκακεῖ κατὰ τὰ εὐρός καὶ μήκος: ὀμοίως καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τέσσαροι μέρεσι τῶν αὐτῶν ἀποδιδότω ἄριθμόν. πεντήκοντα δὲ κύκλω ὄργυια, ὀσπερ εἰρηται, ἐν ἐκάστῃ μέρει ἄφοριζτω τοῖς τε
Reducing the size of the encampment when the infantry force remains at full strength but the cavalry force is small. And when the cavalry is strong but the infantry much less, how to make up for the deficiency and provide protection and security for the army.

If our cavalry force happens to be quite small, while the infantry is up to full strength, and this leaves a good stretch of empty space within the camp, then station three soldiers to two meters, bringing them closer together. In this way the space occupied by the camp will be reduced proportionately to the number of horsemen, and it will be of suitable size.

But if the cavalry is more numerous and the infantry force is so small that the army is not able to have one soldier stationed in each meter, as we had prescribed, then take half of the javelin throwers of all the taxiarchies and, instead of stationing them together, bring in one javelin thrower for every five soldiers and line him up with them along the front. This will expand the campsite. For it is the number of soldiers which makes the encampment smaller or larger.

Twelve taxiarchies.

If there are twelve taxiarchies on the expedition and each one of them has up to five hundred regular soldiers, two hundred javelin throwers, and three hundred archers, they should line up in the shape of a square. Each side should stretch out to some fifteen hundred meters in length, that is, one soldier to each meter. The mensurator ought to make his measurements according to the instructions given him with the cord, seven hundred and fifty meters from the middle to the east, the same to the west, then the same measurement to the north and to the south. The imperial tent should then be erected in the middle. Four hundred and thirty-two meters in width and in length should be given to the imperial compound. In like manner, the same number should be allotted to the other four sections. A hundred meters, as
κενοῖς χωρίοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν πεζῶν ἀπλήκτοις καὶ τῇ ὀδῷ τῇ δια-
κρινοῦσῃ τάς τῶν ἵππεών καὶ πεζῶν σκηνάς.

Δύο δὲ εἰσόδου, ὅτε δώδεκα ταξιαρχίας ἦσαν, καθ᾿ ἐκάστην πλευ-
ραν ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος εἰσίτωσαν, καὶ ἡ μὲν εἰς ἀνατολάς ἥ καὶ βορει-
τέρα κατέναντι τῆς τοῦ πρωτοβεσπιαρίου σκηνῆς μέχρι τοῦ κενοῦ
χωρίου τῆς κόρης φθάζουσα ἔσταται, ἐπιμιγνυμένη τῇ ἀπὸ ἀρκτών
ἐρχομένη ἀνατολικότερα καὶ δημοσίᾳ ὀδῷ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ
dεξιά ὁδοὶ, ἢ τε ἀνατολικὴ καὶ νότιος εἰς ἐναντία τῆς τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τρα-
πέξης σκήνης ἐπιμίγνυναι, παρόμοιον δὲ καὶ αἱ δυτικὴ ταῖς δυσὶ
πλαγίοις. ὥδε ἐνοῦνται γαμματοειδῶς, καθὼς ἢ ἐκτεθείσα ἱστορία
περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀναδιδάσκει. μέσον δὲ τῶν δύο
dημοσίων ὀδῶν τῶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ πλευρᾷ ἄποκεκριμένων, ὁδὸς ἀφορι-
ζέσθω στενή δύο ὅργυας εὗρος ἔχουσα καὶ τεμνότω τά τῶν ἵππεῶν
ἀπλήκτα καὶ ἄχρι τῆς κόρης ἀπευθυνομένη εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποληγέωτο,
ίνα εὐχερῶς καὶ ἀκόπος πρὸς τὴν κόρην συνέρχονται ἐκαστοὶ εἰς
τὰς τεταγμένας αὐτῶν διακοινίας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τῶν τόπων ἀνεπιτηδεύσεως οὐ συγχωρεῖ πολλάκις τὸ
ἀπλήκτοιν γενέσατα τετράγωνον—ὑπεσχομέθα δὲ ἀνωτέρω περὶ τῶν
στενῶν καὶ ἀνεπιτηδεύσεων τῶν ἐκθέσατο πῶς δεῖ τὸ ἀπλήκτουν ἐτέ-
ρος ἐν αὐτοῖς σχηματιζέσθαι—λέγομεν, ὅτι πολλάκις ἐτέρῳμεκες,
eἰτε καὶ τρίγωνον ἢ στρογγύλον πρὸς τὴν καταπείγουσαν χρείαν καὶ
τὴν τοῦ τόπου θέσιν ἀποτελείται. εἰ δὲ ἐτέ τὸ τόπος στενῶν πάντη | καὶ
ἐπίμηκες αὐτὸ ποιεῖ, | ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπερκείμενον ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς
όρου, εἰ μὲν τὰ ἐκ αὐτοῦ πεπόμενα βέλη φθάζουσι τὸ ἀπλήκτον, εἰ
τάχα καὶ ἐνδόν τοῦ χάρακος, εἰς τὸ κενὸν πίπτονσι χωρίοις, δύναται τὸ
οτραπόσεδον εἰς ἀνάγκης τοῦ ἀπλήκτου διατεθέντος πρὸς τὴν θέσιν
τοῦ τόπου μίαν νῦκτα εἰς ἐκείνουν τὸν ἐπισφαλῆ τόπον στήναι πλὴ
cαταχυροῦσθαι τὸ ὑποττὸν μέρος διὰ πλειόνων ὀπλών καὶ ψιλῶν, ἢ
εἰ ποτε οἱ πολέμοιοι ἐπιδραμοῦντες τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τόπῳ ποιήσανεν νυκτο-
πόλεμον, οἱ τοῦ χάρακος ἀσθενεὶς μὴ εὐθέως καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι. εἰ
dὲ τὰ βέλη εἰς τὰς σκηνάς εὐχερῶς ἐμπίπτειν δύνανται, ἀποφεύγει
δεὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀπληκέουν εἰς τοὺς τοιοῦτοις τόπους. πολλά γὰρ τῶν
οτραπόσεδων νυκτῶν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ἀπόλοντο. διὰ τοῦτο χρεία
ἔστιν ἐρευνῶν, ἐρωτῶν, προμελετῶν καὶ συμβουλεύονται μετὰ δω-
κατάρων ἐμπείρων, καὶ ἕαν εὐρίσκεται τῶν ἀπεπτηδεύτων, εἰ
tάχα καὶ μῆκοθεν ἔστιν, κυνείτω καὶ πρὸ τῆς αὐγῆς τὸ οτρατόπεδον
καὶ μικρὸν παρεπορεύεται, ἐως ἂν φάσης εἰς τὸν ἐπιτήδειον τό-
πον, πλὴν μετὰ τῆς καθηκούσης φυλακῆς καὶ ἀσφαλείας ποιεῖσθαι
tὴν ὀδοπορίαν. τούτῳ δὲ τάχα γεννήσεται πολεμίων ἐφόδων μὴ ὑφο-
ρομένης ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· εἰ δὲ πολέμου προσδοκῶνται, ἐν στενοῖς
καὶ δυσβάστωσι τοῖς νυκτὸς ὀδοπορεῖν οὐ συμφέρον. κρείττων γὰρ
εἰς τὸν πλησιότερον καὶ ἐπισφαλῆ ἀπληκέουν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τόπον καὶ
dύναμιν πελικῆν ἀποστέλλειν τοξῶτοι καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν πρὸς τὸ ἀνε-
mentioned, in each quarter should be set aside for the empty spaces all around and for the campsites of the infantry and for the road dividing the tents of the cavalry from the infantry.

With twelve taxiarchies there should be two entrance ways running from the rampart on each side. One entrance way on the east, or even slightly to the north, should go from opposite the tent of the protovestiarios up to the empty space of the courtyard, intersecting there with the more eastern public road coming from the north. The rest of the roads on the right should be lined up in like manner. The eastern and southern roads coming from opposite the tent of the epi tes trapezes should intersect. In like manner, the roads on the west should reach to the two sides where they are joined at right angles, just as set forth in the instructions published about these and other matters. Between the two public roads which are set apart on each side, mark out one narrow road four meters wide. Have it cut through the tents of the cavalry up to the courtyard, going in a straight line until it reaches there. This makes it easier and less troublesome for individuals to go to the courtyard for their assigned service.

Since the terrain may often be such that it does not allow us to organize the camp in the shape of a square, we admit that there are many times when it must be laid out in some other shape, even a triangle or a circle, depending on the urgency and the lay of the land. We promised earlier to discuss narrow and difficult terrain and how to design a camp differently in such places. Suppose, now, that the site causes the camp to be very narrow and extended and that a nearby mountain overhangs it. If missiles shot from it can reach the camp, and if they fall in the empty spaces within the ramparts, the army, presuming that the camp has had to be set up according to the nature of the ground, may spend the night in that precarious position as long as it employs large numbers of soldiers and light troops to fortify that exposed section. Then, in case the enemy should mount an attack at night by charging in at that place, the men at the rampart will not be found weak and unprepared. But if the tents are within easy range of the missiles, then we must not set up camp in such a place. Many armies have been destroyed by attacks of that sort at night. For this reason it is necessary to investigate, ask questions, think ahead, and consult with experienced doukatores. If a more suitable site be found, even though it might be a good distance off, have the army move before dawn and march along a bit until it arrives at the suitable site, making sure, of course, that it has proper protection and security while on the march. This is possible if it has no cause to fear an enemy attack on that day. But if the enemy are expected, we ought not to march through narrow and difficult places at night. It is better to set up camp during the day in a location which is closer, although less safe, and to dispatch an infantry force of
Δεῖ δὲ ἐπισφαλῶς τοσοῦτον ὄντος τοῦ τόπου ἡ ἀνάγκη καὶ δικῇ διαφθηβήναι τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐκαστὸν τῶν μερῶν ἐν εἰρήνη χώρῳ καὶ ἐπιτηδείῳ τῶπῳ ἀπληκεύσαι, τῶν κενῶν χωρίων καὶ τῶν τετυπωμένων διαστημάτων ἀκριβῶς ἐν τοῖς δυσὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τμῆ- ματι φυλαττομένων. τάξεως δὲ πεζικὰς τὰς ἀναλογούσας ἐκατέρθων τῶν ἀπλήκτων χρή διανεύμα πρὸς τὸ ἀσφαλῶς κύκλῳ ἀμφότερα διαφυλάξει, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξαρκοσθὰν οἱ ὀπλίται, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν δεῖ κατὰ μέτωπον τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὑπάρξει ἄχρις ἂν συμπεριλάβωσιν ἐνδον τὸ ὀλον ἑπτικὸν στράτευμα. αὐτή δὲ ἡ ἀκρίβεια εἰς ἀμφότερα, ὦσπερ εἰρήαται, τα ἀπλήκτα.

Προσήκει δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν ἐνδόξων συνέστει καὶ πείρα κεκο- σμημένων ἐπιστημά τὶ τῶν ἐτέρω τιμῆς τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὅστις κάκεινῳ τῷ μέρῃ ἐν ταύτῃ ἡ μυκτὶ τὴν ἐφαρμόζουσαν περιπονήσεται φυλακ- κὴν. κρείττον γοῦν ἐστὶ καὶ ὑφελμότερον τὸ διηρήμενὸς ἀπληκ- κεύσαι ἢ τὸ ἐφοριμένως καὶ τὸν ἱάρακα ἕχειν τοῖς ὀρεσὶ προσεγγί- ζοντα, κἀκεῖθεν τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν πεμόμενα βέλη εὐχέρως ἐμπίπτεν τῶν σκιναίς καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ μεγίστην προξενεῖν τῷ ἐπίθετον. εἰ δὲ τὸ διορίζουν ὄρος ἀμφότερα τὰ ἀπλήκτα διέλευσον δίδωσι τοῖς βου- λομένως ἀπὸ ἐτέρον διαβαίνοντα πρὸς ἐτέρου πρὸς τὸ ἀλλήλως ἐπιβοθεῖν εἰ τῷ ἐφορὸν γίνεσθαι πολεμίων, ἵστος οὖν δὲ δόξει διηρήμε- νον εἶναι τὸ ἀπλήκτων, ἀλλ’ ἄσων ἐκ τῆς συμμαχίας ὦσπερ ἡμών ἐμένον φανερώθησαν.

Τ. 17 δὲ αὐτὸ πάλιν τὸ διείργαν ὄρος καλύπτει τὴν πρὸς ἀλληλα τῶν ἀπλήκτων διάβασον, καὶ πορρωτέρῳ μακράν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων τὰ ἀπλήκτα | γίνεσθαι βιάσατο, εἰ ἄγρυπνως καὶ κατὰ τὸ δέον ἐντού τις περιφυλαξεῖν, καὶ οὕτως οὐδεμία τούτως τῇ τῷ Χριστῷ χάρι αὐτῶν συμβηθεῖσαν εἰς τῶν ἀπατῶν πληθυνὸς ἐνίοτε εἰσελάσαν ἐν τῇ πολεμίῳ
archers and javelin throwers to reconnoiter and to occupy those dangerous, overgrown, and difficult places. All possible steps should be taken to secure the area that very night so that nothing harmful will happen to the army.

[7.]

On encountering dangerous and constricted terrain the entire army must be divided in two and must camp in two groups.

When an area is so obviously unsafe, then the army must be divided into two sections, with each one of them setting up camp separately in a spacious and suitable location. The regulations regarding the empty spaces and the distances must be observed exactly in the two segments of the army. Infantry formations, proportionate in size to each camp, must be detailed to protect both securely all around. If there are not enough of the regular soldiers for this, then some javelin throwers must be lined up along the front with them until the entire cavalry force is encircled by them. To repeat, the regulations must be followed exactly in both camps.

An outstanding officer, noted for intelligence and experience, ought to be put in charge of each of the two segments of the army. During that night he should make sure that his section has proper protection. At any rate, it is better and safer to encamp separately than to be tightly packed together and to have the camp set up close to the mountains, from which missiles can easily rain down upon the tents and cause very serious damage to the army. But if the mountain separating both camps permits passage for the troops who want to go from one to the assistance of the men in the other in case of an enemy attack, perhaps the camp will not even seem to be divided but will, because of the men supporting each other, appear as though it were unified. On the other hand, if the intervening mountain prevents passage from one camp to the other and makes it necessary for the camps to be further apart from one another, then, if they protect themselves vigilantly and in line with the regulations, by the grace of Christ no harm will come to them. For, just as it is not only with a powerful force but also at times even with a very small number of men that our
τὸ ἡμέτερον στράτευμα οὐδεμίαν ὑπέστη βλάβην, ἀλλὰ καλῶς συνετρήθη, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐν μία νυκτί, εἰ τῇ προστηκοσφία χρήσονται ἀγρυπνία, οὐδεμίαν ἀπὸ τῆς διαμέρεσως ὑποστήσονται βλάβην.


(η‘.)

Περὶ τοῦ ὁπόσον ἄριθμὸν ὀφείλει ἐξείτω τὸ ἱππικὸν στράτευμα.

Τὸ δὲ ἱππικὸν μάχημον, εἴπερ ἐστίν ἄνδρῶν ὅκτω χιλιάδων καὶ διακοσίων τῷ ἄριθμῷ, εἰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας αὐτὸ τάξεις δεῖ διαφεύγει ἐχούσας ἀνὰ ἄνδρας τριακοσίως. ταῦτας δὲ τὰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας τάξεις εἰς τέσσαρα πάλιν δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἀπαντάς καὶ τῶν πεζῶν, ἴσον ποιμοῦντα ἀλλήλους, ἔχοντας ἀνὰ ἐξ παρατάξεις, ἵνα τῆς στρατιάς ὁδεγούσης ἀπάξιος εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τὸ τε ἐξπροσθέν καὶ ὅπουθεν καὶ τὰ πλάγια αἱ ἀνὰ ἐξ παρατάξεις ὀδοιπορῶς. ἡ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως παράταξις ἐκτὸς τούτων ἄριθμος ἠχοῦσα, ἵνα τοῖς πολλοῖς μέρεσιν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς ἰδιᾶς ἀποστέλλων παρατάξεως ἐπιβοβηθῆ.

Εἰ δὲ πλέον εἰς τῶν ὅκτω χιλιάδων καὶ διακοσίων ἄνδρῶν τὸ ἱππικὸν, αἱ εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη ἐνδὸν παρατάξεις αὔξησιν λαμβανέτωσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν βασιλέως ταξιδευόντος μὴ μόνον ὅκτω χιλιάδας ἄριθμον ἔχει τὸ ἱππικὸν στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείονας. ταῦτας γὰρ τὰ γόνατα χάριν τύπου μοῦν τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων ἐξεθέμεθα, ὅς χρησίμου δυντός τοῦ τοιοῦτον τύπου ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τῇ ὀδοιπορίᾳ κατὰ τούς εὐρυχάρους τόπους πολεμίαν ἀπροόπτως συμπεπόντων.

Εἰ δὲ ἐλάττων ἡ πληθὺς τῶν ὅκτω χιλιάδων καὶ διακοσίων ἄνδρῶν ὑπάρχει, ἐλαττωθείσαν καὶ αἱ τάξεις, καὶ ἀνὰ πέντε ἔστωσαν καθ’ ἐκαστὰ τὰ μέρη. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ εἰς ἔτοιμα ἀριθμὸν ἀπαρτίζεται τὸ ἱππικὸν στράτευμα, εἰς ἀνάγκης ἀνὰ τέσσαρας τάξεις ἐκαστὰ τὰ μέρη ἐχέτωσαν, πλὴν βασιλεώς ἐκστρατεύοντος καὶ ὅ τῶν τεσσάρων παρατάξεως ἀριθμὸς καθ’ ἐκαστὰ τὰ μέρη πάντων ὀλγοστὸς ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ εἰς ἐλάττων ἀριθμὸν τὸ ἱππικὸν ἀπαρτίζεται στράτευμα, οὐ δεὶ βασιλέα μετά τοιοῦτον ὀλγοστὸς πλήθους ἐκστρατεύειν.
armed forces have invaded enemy territory, and they have come to no harm but have survived handsomely, in the same way in one night, if they are as watchful as they should be, they will suffer no harm from dividing their forces.

[8.]
The number of troops required in the cavalry arm.

If the mounted fighting force numbers 8,200 men, it should be divided into twenty-four units of up to three hundred men each. These twenty-four units, in turn, just as with the infantry, should make up four groupings of equal strength, each with six combat units. In this way, when the entire army is on the march, these six units can proceed along covering the four directions, front, rear, and the sides. The combat unit belonging to the emperor, which should number a thousand, is not included in this reckoning. He should thus be free to send troops from his own unit to support units which may be hard pressed in battle.

If the cavalry takes in more than 8,200 men, the combat units in the four divisions should be expanded. For when the emperor is campaigning it is necessary that the cavalry arm have a total of not merely 8,000 men, but it should have more. We laid down the number eight merely as a model for the twenty-four combat units, since it is a convenient model to work with for combat and for marching in broad, open terrain in which the enemy might unexpectedly fall upon us.

If the total is less than 8,200 men, then the units should be reduced, and there should be only five in each division. If the cavalry arm ends up with an even smaller number, then each division will have to be limited to four combat units. When the emperor is on campaign, however, only four combat units in each division is not nearly enough. If the cavalry arm should end up with an even smaller number, the emperor must not set out on campaign with such a small force.
Πώς δεί ποιεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τοῦ
στρατοπέδου παντὸς ἀποκίνησιν.

Τοῦ δὲ στρατοπεδίου ἀπάραι μέλλοντος τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, μικρὸν τι
5 πρὸ τῆς αὐγῆς ἤχείτωσαν αἱ σάλπιγγες, ἵνα πρὸς τὸ ὅδοιπορεῖν
ἀπαντῆς εὑρετεῖται. τοὺς δὲ παρὰ ταῖς δημοσίαις ὀδοῖς ἀπλη-
κεύοντας ἄρχοντας ἥξεσι προστάτων τοὺς ἱδίου λαοῦ ἐπιβάντας
tῶν ἵππων παραφυλάττει τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ κωλύει καὶ μὴ συγχωρεῖν
συγμάρα ἢ παραπαράτους πληροῦν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἢ ἕξερχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ
στρέφειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀπλήκτα καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς κενὰς συντηρεῖν
πρὸς τὸ ἀκωλύτως διαβαίνειν τὸ μάχιμον.

Οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες, ὃ τε τῶν προηγομένων τῆς στρατιάς τάξεων
καὶ ὁ πλαγιώφυλάκων καὶ ὁ τοῦ σάκα ἀπερχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν κόρην,
5 ἡμέρα καὶ πρόσταξιν λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ
ἀγίου, πόθεν καὶ ὅπως δεῖ περιπατεῖν, | εἰς τὸν ἱδίου λαὸν ἀπερχό-
θαι χαμοῦ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς στρατιάς προπερνόμενος, ἢνικὰ τὸ δεύτερον
σαλπιρθῇ, τὰς τρεῖς ἀνὰ λαμβανόμενος μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ τάξεις καὶ δω-
kάτωρας, ἐξίτω τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, καὶ ἅρκο τού ἑοὶ θεῖα διάστημα ηῦ καὶ
tὸ μακρυνόμενον τοῦ ἀπλήκτου στηκῶν. στελλέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρ-
χοντες τῶν πλαγιώφυλάκων ἐκ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔθνον κάκειθεν ἀνὰ
20 μᾶς παρατάξεως καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ διάστημα τοῖς προπερνομένοις ποιή-
σαντες στητώσαν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ τοῦ σάκα ἄρχον ποιεῖτω μιᾶν ὄπι-
σθεν ἀποστέλλων.

Τούτο δὲ λέγομεν οὐ δι’ ὑποθύμαι ἐφόδου μεγάλου φοσσάτου. τῶν
25 γὰρ μεγάλων φοσσάτων οἱ ἐπελεύσεις τῷ πλῆθει ταχὺ διαγινώσκο-
tαι, καὶ εἰ μὴ πάντῃ ῥάθμῳ ἔστων ὁ στρατηγός, ἀλλ’ ἐγγύνορος, τὰς
φοσσατικὰς ἐφόδους οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσιν ποτὲ, ἀλλ’ ἑνα καὶ διὰ τὸ ὁλίγους
tῶν εἰ συμβῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀρπάζει τὰ λάθρα παραγενομένους συγκεκρι-
μένη τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ περισσαπατικῇ τυγχανοῦσῃ, διὰ τὴν κίνησιν
tαραχὰς τινα καὶ δειλιαν παράσχοντας.

Κατ’ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἤχην τῶν σαλπιγγῶν καταστεθὼς
ἡ βασιλικὴ σκηνή, εἰθ’ οὕτως καὶ αἱ λυπαί. οὖ γὰρ πρὸ αὕτης ἀρμό-
ζον ἐστὶν ἐτέραν στὴν ποτὲ παραγενομένου τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, οὗτε πάλιν
tοῦ πλῆθους καὶ εἰς μέλλοντας πρὸ τοῦτος ἔτεραν πεσεῖν. ὡμοίως δὲ
30 κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον σάλπισμα οἱ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἔκαστος, ἐπιφορ-
Organizing the movement of the entire army from the camp.

When the expeditionary force is about to depart from the camp, a little while before dawn have the trumpets sound to get everyone ready to march. The officers encamped along the public roads may then order some of their own troops to mount their horses and guard the roads to prevent the pack animals or the men handling the horses from cluttering up the roads. They should not allow them to depart but should turn them back to their campsites and keep the roads clear, so the fighting men can pass by without hindrance.

The officer in command of the advance units of the army, the one commanding the flank guards, and the one in charge of the saka should go off to the courtyard and receive their orders from our holy emperor about starting out and about the line of march and then head back to their own troops. When the trumpet sounds the second time the officer leading the army's march should ride out of the camp accompanied by three combat units and the doukatores. They should ride out to a distance of one or two bow shots from the camp and come to a halt. Let the commanders of the flank guards then send one of their combat units off to each side. They should go about the same distance as the ones who went out first, and then come to a halt. The officer in charge of the saka should do the same, sending one unit to the rear.

We are not prescribing this because we suspect that a large army may be about to attack. For assaults by large armies are quickly recognized because of their size. Unless he is unbelievably lazy, a general who is alert will never be unaware of an attack by an army. The reason for the above order is to keep small groups from sneaking up and stealing things while the army is distracted and confused by the process of moving. This would cause a disturbance and make the troops nervous.

Also at the second sounding of the trumpets, take down the imperial tent, and then all the rest. For, when camp is first set up it would not be proper for any other tent to be erected before it, so when everyone is getting ready to move, no other should come down ahead of it. Likewise, at the second trumpet blast, the men in the
τιξέτωσαν τοὺς ἀχθοφόρους ὄψις τῆς ἱδίαν ἀποσκευήν καὶ στηκέ-
τωσαν εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπλήκτα, ἀπεκδεχόμενοι τὴν τρίτην ἤχην τῆς
σάλπιγγος καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου σὺν ταῖς ἱππικαῖς
tαξεύσεων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπλήκτου ἐξοδοῦν. ἔπειδ' ἂν δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἤχηση, ἐπο-
χούμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἁγίος τῷ ἱδίῳ ἱππῷ ἐξῆτο τοῦ ἀπλήκτου
μετὰ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτῷ παρατάξεων.

Μεταβλητένως τοὺς ἀποσκευάζοντας ταξινομητὰς τοὺς ἔτους τῆς
ἱδίας ἀποσκευής καὶ τοὺς παρατάξεις αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τρίτον ἤ-
χηση, ἐποχούμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ ἱππῷ ἐξῆτο τοῦ ἀπλήκτου
μετὰ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτῷ παρατάξεων.

9: B f. 223. 5 αὐγής Graux; αὐλής VSB || 9 σαμμαρία Graux: σαμαρία VSB || 10 στρέφειν
B: τρέφειν VS || αὐτός Graux: αὐτάς VSB || 11 διαβαίνειν B: διαβαίνει VS || 29 περιεπασμένη
Vári: περισσαπεσμένη VSB || 31 καταυθέσθω Vári: τιθέσθω VSB || 35 ἐπιφορτιζέτωσαν VS: ἐπι-
φορτιζέτωσαν B

(ε')

Περὶ ὀδοποιίας.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀδοποιίᾳ αἱ μὲν ἐξ παρατάξεις ἄμα τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως
ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου προπορευόμεθα, ἀλλ' οἷς δίχα τὰ τέχνης, τοῖς γὰρ
ἡ μὲν μία ἐξ ἰκανοῦ διαστήματος ἐμπροσθεν ὑδευέτω πρὸς τὸ βλέ-
πειν καὶ κατασκοπεῖν καὶ ὅς ἂν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων στοχάσῃ καὶ ἐφεύρῃς
μηνύειν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ. τῶν δὲ ὑπολιμπανομένων πέντε αἱ μὲν τρεῖς προπορευόμεθα, οἱ δὲ δύο ἐνθὲν κάκειθεν τῆς
τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου παρατάξεως κατοί πιν τῶν ἐμπροσθὲν
τηταγμέναι τὴν ὀδὸν ἀννέτωσαν. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τῆς ὀδοῦ αἱ προφητεύμεναι
ἱππικαὶ τάξεις ἀπάρχονται, παρατύπα καὶ τὸ μέτωπον τῶν πεζῶν, τὸ
κατ' εὐθείαν τῆς ὀδοῦ κείμενον, κατὰ νότον αὐτοῖς ἐπέστρωθον. αἱ δὲ
πλάγιαι πεζικαὶ καὶ τὸ ὄπισθεν τῆς συντάξεως μέρος, εἰ ὁ τόπος
ὁμάλος ἐστὶ καὶ εὐρύχωρος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀπλήκτου θέσιν καὶ τὸ
σχῆμα ὀδουπορείτωσαν, περιέχοντα μέσον τὸ ὑπογρυγοῦν ἄπαν σὺν
τῶν ἀχθοφόροις χῶσις. ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ ἀποσκευή παινὸς προπορεύ-
εισθαν τὸ ὑπογρυγόν καὶ σημεῖον ἐχέστω χάριν γνωρίσματος καθεξῆς
δὲ ταύτη τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπακολούθει τῶν σκευοφόρων. αἱ δὲ τῶν πλα-
γιοφυλάκων παρατάξεις ἔσωσθεν μὲν πρὸς τὰς πλευρὰς τῶν πεζικῶν
τάξεων ἀνὰ τρεῖς ἐπόμεναι ἐτέρα θάτερα βαθιζότωσαν. ἔξωθεν δὲ
τοῦτον ὁμοίως κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑτεραὶ τῷ ὀμοίῳ σχῆματι ἀνὰ τρεῖς
προπορεύομεθα. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ ἐξώτεραι καὶ πλαγιοφυλάκες ἐξ παρατά-
xεις τῶν δύο μερῶν ἀνὰ τριάκοντα ἀνδρᾶς ἐκάστη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδίου λαοῦ
ἀφοριζότω καὶ μήκος τούτου ἐν τοῖς πλαγίοις στελλέτω, ἢν τὰ τῶν
πολεμίων πάντα διασκέπτωται ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν μέρεσι καὶ τοῖς μεγά-
λοις αὐτῶν ἀρχουσι πάντα διδάσκασιν.
camp, each one of them, should load their own gear on the pack animals, station themselves by their campsites, and wait for the third blast of the trumpet, signaling the departure of our holy emperor with his cavalry units from the camp. When it sounds for the third time, our holy emperor should mount his horse and ride out of the camp with his combat units following him.

\[1\] Saka, deriving from Arabic saqat, designated a sort of rear guard: see Skirmishing, Chap. 9, note 1.

[10.]

On the march.

On the march the six combat units together with that of our holy emperor should lead the column in proper order. One of these units should ride on ahead a fair distance to observe, reconnoiter, and figure out what the enemy might be up to and then report its findings to our holy emperor. Of the remaining five units, three should march on ahead. The other two should form on each side of the unit belonging to our holy emperor and march along behind the forward units. As soon as the advance cavalry units begin the march, straightaway the front ranks of the infantry, which are lined up along the road, should follow behind them. The flanks of the infantry and the section behind the combat unit should, if the terrain is open and broad, march along according to their arrangement and the layout of the camp. All the servants and equipment should be in the middle with the pack animals. The baggage train of the emperor should precede all the other gear and should bear a special standard so it can be recognized. In due order it should be followed by the rest of the train with the equipment. Some of the formations of the flank guards should be on the inside toward the flanks of the infantry units and about three of them should march along in sequence one after the other. In like manner, to their outside three more units should proceed along the flanks, keeping the same formation. These six units of outside flank guards on the two sides should each detail about thirty men from among their troops and send them far out on the flanks, so they can watch out for any enemy activity in those areas and report everything to their superior officers.
Το δε ἀρχων τῶν ἐτέρων ἡ τῶν ὀπισθῶν, τῶν καὶ σάκα κα-
λουμένων, ἄνδρας καὶ αὐτός ἀφορίσας ἐκατόν μεθ’ ἑγεμόνος τινὸς ἐμπείρου, εάτω ἀπὸ διαστήματος περιπατεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθῶν, ἱνα καὶ αὐτοὶ κατασκοπῶσι τοῦ μη κατὰ νάτον τοῦτοι ἀδοκήτως ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πολέμους. προσήκει δέ διὰ τε τῶν Ἀράβας καὶ τοὺς Τούρκους τοὺς θρασύτερον ἐφορμώντας ταῖς παρατάξεσι πρὸς ἀποτροπὴν αὐτῶν εἰς ἐκάστην τῶν ἐξωτέρω οὐσῶν δώδεκα παρατάξεων ἅνα ἐκατον πεντήκοντα τοξότας ἄνδρας πεζοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ταξιαρχῶν τῶν μονο-
μερῶς ἐχονσῶν τοὺς τοξότας ἀφορίσαντα διανείμαι τοῦ σύν αὐταῖς ὀδοποιεῖν.

Τὸ δε βασιλεὺς ἔχετω μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ τοξότας οὐσῶν ἃν βούληται·
ἐχέτω δὲ καὶ Ἡρῴς καὶ μαλαρτίους. εἰ δὲ που κατὰ πάροδον εἰνυχι
χωρίος τὸ στρατεύμα, ἐβάσατος τοὺς υπονύμους πρὸς πορισμῶν ἀπίέ
ναι χρείων. εἰ δὲ μικρὸν τὸ παρεξέλθωσι διὰ τὸ ἐκ πλαγίων καὶ ἐκτος
τῆς ὁδοῦ συγκείσθηκα χωρία, αἱ τῶν πλαγιοφυλάκων ἐξώτερα τάξεις ἀπίτωσαν πρὸς φυλακῆν αὐτῶν, τῶν σαλπίγγων τὸ ἀνά | κλητικῶν
χροσοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιῶν εἰργονίων τοῦ μη ὀδοποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ προ-
σμενένων τὴν τῶν υπονύμων ἄφιεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀθροισὼν ἐχέ-
σθω τῆς ὀδοποιίας.

Εἰ δὲ στενωπὸς ἀπαντήσει τότος, ἢ μακρότερον ἔστι τὸ ἀπλή-
κτον εἰτε διὰ χώρας ἀνεπιτηδεύστη τῇ δε’ ὑδάτων ἐνδειαν, καὶ τὸ
μῆκος τοῦ ἀπλήκτου ὀξυτέραν ποιοῦ τὴν ὀδοποιίαν ἀναγκάει λε-
πτυνθῆναι τὸν ἀπόλομον λαὸν καὶ διαλυθῆναι τὰς πεζικὰς τάξεις, ἀτε
εἰς μῆκος ἐπεκτεινομένων τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων, δεὶ τότε
ὡς μὴ ἐξικανοῦσας τὰς ἀνὰ τρεῖς πλαγίους πρὸς παραφυλακὴν αὐτῶν
δίκην ὀρμαθοῦ πάσας γενέσθαι καὶ ἀνὰ ἐξ ἐν ἐκατέρω τοῖς μέρεσιν
eἰς μῆκος γενομένας κατὰ νάτον ἐφέπτεσθαι τὰς τάξεις ἀλλήλαις. εἰ
de καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεκτείνονται καὶ ἀσφαλῶς παρὰ τῶν ἀνὰ ἐξ ἐφ’
ἐκατέρω τῶν μερῶν οὐ φυλάττονται, δέον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προπορεο-
μένων δύο τάξεις ἐνθεν κάκειδεν εἰσελθεῖν κατὰ στοίχοι, καὶ ἀπὸ
tῶν τοῦ σάκα ὁμοίως ἐτέρας δύο ὡς γενέσθαι τὰς πλαγίους ἀνὰ ὅκτω
στοιχῆδον πορευομένας, εἰτένων κατ’ ὀρθῶν καὶ διοισταμένας ἀλ-
λήλους ὄτε τόξου ἑ βολὴν ἥ καὶ δύο πρὸς τὴν κατεπείγουσαν χρείαν.

εἰ δὲ καὶ πλέον παρεκτείνοι ὁ λαὸς, μικρὸν ἀναμενέτα ὁ βασιλεὺς
ημῶν ὁ ἄγιος φθάσας τοὺς ὀπισθῶν, ἱνα μὴ τῷ τῆς ὀδοποιίας ὁξεῖ καὶ
συντόνω ἐκλύνονται, ἀλλὸς τε δε μὴ καὶ ἀφιλάκτους τούτους οὐσὶ
περιτυχόντες ἵστως οἱ Ἀραβὴς ἥ καὶ οἱ Τούρκοι καταβλάψους.

Μετά δὲ (τὸ) εἰς τὸ ἀπλήκτον ἀφικέσθαι μὴ παρ’ εἰθὲν αἱ τάξεις
καταλύωσαν, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν παρεκβάινουσα κυκλόθεν ἐστάσθωσαν
tοῦ ἀπλήκτου, ἵνα τὸ υπονύμων ἄπαν καταλαβὼν πῆξεται τὰς
σκηνάς. ἀφ’ οὗ δὲ τὸ ἀπλήκτον καταστῇ, αἱ μὲν λοιπὰ τάξεις εἰσί-
tωσαν ἀνὰ δύο δε ἐξ ἐκατέρω τῶν πλαγίων καὶ μία τῶν ἐμπροσθεῖ
ἐξωθεν ἐστάσθωσαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἄγιος μετά
The commanding officer of the other six units to the rear, called the *saka*, should detail a hundred men under an experienced leader. He should have them ride around a distance to the rear, so they too can be on the lookout and prevent the enemy from making an unexpected attack from behind. To ward off the very bold onslaughts of Arabs and Turks on our units, it is a good idea to assign about a hundred and fifty foot archers from those taxiarchies composed exclusively of archers to each of the twelve battle units on the outside and have them march along with them.¹

Let the emperor have with him as many archers as he wishes. Let him also have some Rhos and *malartiot*.² If the army comes upon some villages along its route, he may have some of the service units go off to procure necessities. If they have to go off for a short distance because the villages are off to the side and outside their line of march, the outside units of the flank guards should head off to protect them. At the same time, the trumpets should sound retreat to keep the army from continuing its march, and it should await the return of the men from the service units. On their return the army should resume its march.

The road may become narrow, or difficult ground or the lack of water may force us to plan on locating our next camp a good distance off. Such distance from the campsite may make the army quicken its pace and cause the number of noncombatants to be reduced and the infantry formations to be broken up, inasmuch as the distance puts a great strain on the infantry and the baggage carriers. In that case, since the three flanks are not enough to protect them, they should all line up like a chain, becoming about six long on each of the sides, the units following along one behind the other. But if they are still stretched rather thin and are not securely protected by the six units on each side, then two units from the advance party on each side should form in a column, another two from the *saka* should do likewise, so as to make eight flank units marching in column. They should remain in order, keeping at a distance of a bow shot or two from each other, depending on the urgency of the situation. If the troops are extended even further, then let our holy emperor wait a little so that the men to the rear can catch up and not simply fall apart because of the speed and intensity of the march. Otherwise, it is quite possible that the Arabs or even the Turks might fall upon these troops while they are unprotected and cause grave injury.

On arriving at the campsite they should not break up their formation right away, but some units should step aside a bit and stand in a circle around the campsite, in order that the whole service unit, once it has arrived, might set up the tents. As soon as the camp is set up, the rest of the units enter. But a couple of them from the flanking units and one from the forward units should take up their positions outside. Our holy emperor, however, with his entourage should, unless some other task demands his attention, station himself in a convenient place and get a good look at everything while waiting for the *saka*. When the *saka* arrives, everyone should go inside.
70 τῆς οίκειας, εἰ μὴ δουλεία τις ἔτερα πρόκειται ἀναγκαία, ἐν ἑπτηδείῳ τόπῳ ἰστάμενος πάντα κατασκοπεῖτο καὶ προσμενέτω τὸ σάκα, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σάκα ἄφιξει εἰσερχέσθωσαν ἀπαντες.

10: B f. 223v, 10 τεταγμέναι Vári: τεταγμένοι VSB || 12 αὐταίς Vári: αὐτής VSB || 20 ἑτέρα θάτερα Vári: θατέρα τῇ ἑτέρᾳ VSB: ἑτέρα τῇ ἑτέρᾳ Graux || 22 πορευέσθωσαν VS: προ-


(ια').

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖν ὅτε γνωσθῶσι πολέμιοι ἐν νυκτὶ βούλευθαι ἐπελθεῖν τῷ χάρακι.

Εἰ δὲ γε τοὺς πολεμίους νῦκτωρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦμῶν ὁ ἄγιος ἔπε-

λθεῖν | διαγνῆ, λόχους εὐτρεπισάτω μὴ πάνυ μακράν τοῦ ἀπλήκτου, ἱν' ὅτι ἂν αὐτοὶ συμβάλλωσι τοῖς τοῦ χάρακος, ἦ' ἐκ πλαγίων ἢ ἔκ τῶν ὁπίσθεν ἐπελθόντες ἐκεῖνοι τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων περιτρέψωσι κεφαλῆς, μετὰ δὲ τὸ τούς ἑχθροὺς τρέψασθαι τῇ κατ' αὐτῶν διώξει μὴ χρήσθωσαν ἀνωφελές γὰρ ἐν νυκτὶ τούτῳ.

Δεῖ δὲ καὶ συνθῆματα καὶ γνωρίσματα ἔχειν τοὺς | στρατιώτας, ὡσ' (μὴ μόνον) σκότους γινομένους πολέμιου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὁμίχλης ἢ κοινωτῶν ἐπεγειρομένων ἐκ τῶν εἰθισμένων παραστήμων ἐκατόστω τὸν ἄλλων ἐπιγνώσκοντες εὐδιάκριτοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμπλεκτο-

μένων δυσμενῶν ὑπάρχουσι.

11: B f. 224v, 6 ἢ ἐκ1 Vári: ἐκ VSB || 11 μὴ μόνον Vári: om. VSB

(ιβ').

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἰπὲρ ὀδοιποροῦσθης τῆς στρατιᾶς πολέμιοι μετὰ βαρείας δυνάμεως ταύτη ἐπέλθωσι.

Τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς ὀδοιποροῦσθης ἐὰν πολεμίων ἔφοδος δηλωθῇ τῷ ἄγιῳ ἦμῶν βασιλεὺς μετὰ (βαρείας) δυνάμεως ἐπιοῦσα, οὐ καλὸν ἔστι συμβάλλων τούτου ἀπτόμενον τῆς ὥδου, ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν προστά-

ζαι καταθέσθαι τὸν φόρτον τοῖς ὑπουργοῖς, εἰτα τῆς βασιλικῆς σκη-
At this period the Arabs would be the Muslims along the Byzantine borders in Syria and what is now Iraq. By Turks are meant the Hungarians (Magyars) north of the Byzantine frontiers in the Balkans. See G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* (Berlin, 1958), 1, 131–45; *De administrando imperio*, index; DAI Commentary, 13–14.

Since the ninth century Norsemen had traveled down the Dnieper to serve as mercenaries. Many became enrolled in regular units of the Byzantine army, of which the Varangian guard, founded about 988, was the most famous. Sometimes called Russians, the Greek sources usually refer to them as Rhos. See *De administrando imperio*, index; DAI Commentary, 16–23; S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, trans. and rev. by B. Benedikz (Cambridge, 1978).

The *malartioi*, as the Rhos, probably formed a tagma of perhaps three to five hundred troops. The word is otherwise unknown. A document of October 1079 concerning certain monks on Cos equates soldiers called *malartioi* with the *kontaratoi*, troops who fought with spear, sword, and shield, as opposed to archers: F. Miklosich–J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90), 6, no. 8, p. 23.

### [11.]

The procedure to follow when it is known that the enemy plan to attack the fortified camp at night.

If our holy emperor should find out that the enemy plan to attack at night, let him organize ambushes not very far from the camp. When the enemy charge up against the troops on the rampart, attacking either from the flank or from the rear, their hostile intentions will be turned around to fall on their own heads. But after repelling the enemy, let us not get involved in pursuing them, for at night this is useless.

The soldiers should have passwords and signs of recognition, so that, not only when fighting takes place in the dark but also in the daytime when it is foggy or clouds of dust are stirred up, by means of customary signs each man can recognize the other and they can be clearly distinguished from hostile combatants.

### [12.]

The procedure to follow if a very large enemy force attacks the army on the march.

If, while our army is on the march, it should be reported to our holy emperor that an attack by a very large enemy force is imminent, it would not be wise for him to attack them while still on the road. First, he should order the servants to put down
νήν, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων μεγάλων ἀνεγείραι, καὶ τότε δεόντως καθοπλισθείσαν καὶ συνταχθείσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ διδόντος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τρέψασθαι. Εἰτέρ ἐν ὃ ἐστησαν τόπῳ ὦδωρ οὐκ ἔστι, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δίωξιν ὁ τοῦ ύποπογού κατάρχειν λεωθεῖς ἥμων ἡγεμών δηλωθεῖς ἀπίτω πρὸς τὸ δηλωθὲν ἀπλῆκτον.

(ἑγ').

Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἀσύμφορον ἐστὶν ἐν ἀνύδροις τόποις ὀδοπορεῖν πολεμίων ἐπιόντων.

Καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰδέναι δεῖ, ὅτι πολεμίων προσδο-κωμένων ἀσύμφορον ἐστὶν ἐν ἀνύδροις τόποις εἰσάγα·

(δὶ').

Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἀπαντήσηι στένωμα ἡ γεφύρας καὶ
tοπαμοῦ βαθέος περαιώσις, τὶ δεῖ ποιεῖν.

Τῆς οὖν στρατιᾶς ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ οὖσης ὡς λέελεκται, εἰ παρὰ τῶν
dουκατώρων ὁ βασιλεὺς μάθοι τῇ ἐπισφύη στενῷ μέλλειν ἀπαντῶν
tόπῳ ἡ γεφύρα ἡ ποταμοῦ βαθὺν πόρον ἔχοντι, ἐν μὲν τῷ στενῷ τάξεις
the baggage, then the imperial tent. He should assemble some of the higher-ranking officers, and then, when the army is properly armed and drawn up, lead it out to battle. With God’s favor he will repel the enemy. If there is no water in the place in which they have stopped, after pursuing the enemy, our leader who has been left in charge of the baggage train should be informed, and he should head off to the designated campsite.

[13.]

The risk involved in marching through regions without water while the enemy is on the move.

In addition to other things, this too must be borne in mind: When the enemy are expected it is dangerous to lead the army through places in which there is no water, especially during the summer. In the winter the troops can often last for the whole day without water but in the summertime, not even to the noon meal. The men will perish along with the horses. It is a terrible thing to have to engage in two battles. I mean the one against the enemy and the one against the heat when water is lacking. If it should be necessary, however, they should choose a laborious route of three or four days to that shorter one which has no water. For it is preferable to march safely but laboriously along that long road which presents no danger than to choose the short one and fall into danger.

[14.]

The procedure to follow if the army comes to a narrow place or has to cross a bridge or a deep river.

With the army in hostile territory, as mentioned, suppose that the doukatores inform the emperor that on the next day it will come to a narrowing of the road, a bridge, or a river with a deep ford. In the case of the narrow passage, units of infan-
τέκνα προστελελέτω τούτων ἀσφαλῶς κρατήσαι, εἰ δὲ βούλιοτο
μὴ τελείαν παθεῖν τὰς τάξεις σύγχυσιν ἀναμιγνείσας ἀλλήλαις εν τῇ
dυσχωρίᾳ, χρὴ προστάξει ἀπὸ ἑστέρας πῶς δεῖ κατὰ τάξιν διελθεῖν
αὐτὰς. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἀφοριζέω ταξιαρχίαν καὶ κελευσότων αὐτῇ
οδεύσαι ἐμπροσθεν μετὰ τῆς προπροεμένης εξ ἑθος ἰππικής
πασῶν τῶν λοιπῶν τάξεων καὶ καθεξῆς τῶν πασῶν ἀλλήλαις ἐπο-
μένας τὰς τάξεις ἐν καταστάσει τὴν στενοχωρίαν διέρχεσθαι. εἰτα
καὶ ἀρχοντα τῶν ἐνδόξων προσταξῶν ἐμπροσθεν γενέσθαι καὶ
καταλαβεῖν τὴν προπροεμένην πασῶν τῶν τάξεων ἰππικήν καὶ
στήναι, εἰ μὲν γέφυρα τόχου, ἐν τῇ ἁρχῇ αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ πόρος, ἐν τῷ
χείλει τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὅπως παρασκευασθῇ ἀκινδύνως καὶ μετὰ τάξεως
dιέρχεσθαι τὸν λαῶν κάκεισε προσμενέτω εἰτε ἐκεῖνος ἢ ἄντ' αὐτοῦ
ἐπερος, ἐς ὡς ἂν ἀπας ὁ λαὸς περαμηθῇ.

Τῶν δὲ πλαγιοφυλάκων αἱ μὲν δεξιαὶ ἰππικαὶ τάξεις κατόπιν
genésthasan toun basilew kai met' auton dieulhatasain h de tou
autou merous pexikita tazes metata to dielethiin to tis falaigos meutos
kai auti kata noiton emomeni tou to porvenestha. metata de tahtηn
to twn skevoforou plēthos, ebth' outhos to opistheta tis syntazes meros,
kai met' auton to aristeron twn pezon plagion, apo' oυ de ta duo tauta
merη perioadhosi tis syntazes, diaphetaon ai plagiofilakes
aristerai twn ippewn tazes. eschatē de panwos, ωσπερ kai empro-
seve, taξiarxia mia pezon epakolouthteiν.

Καὶ οὐτώς ἐν τάξει τὰς στενοχωρίας διελθέτωσαν, καὶ μὴ ἐνοῦ-
σθωσαν αἱ τάξεις ετέρα τῇ ετέρᾳ συμμειγνύμεναι πρὸς τὸ σύγχυσιν
tina upostitha, μητε μὴν τῷ ὑπουργικῷ καὶ τοῖς ἁχθονοῖς ἀνα-
μιγνύσωσαν. ἀφ' οὐ δὲ τὸν στενωπὸν ἡ ποταμὸν ἢ ὁπερ ἄν τύχῃ δυ-
σκολον εἶναι διέλθοσι, τῶν ἰδίων ἐκαστος ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι τόπων
κατὰ τάξιν ὀδοιπορεῖτον.|
try should be sent out ahead to occupy it securely. If the emperor does not want his troops to become totally confused by getting mixed up with one another in the difficult terrain, he should issue orders in the evening about how they are to proceed through in an orderly manner. First, he should detail a taxarchy and command it to march on in front along with the cavalry unit which usually precedes all the other units. Let him then stipulate how the units, following one another, should pass through the narrow places in an orderly manner. A very good officer should then be ordered to the front, overtake the cavalry which is leading all the units, and take his stand. If it is a bridge we are crossing, he should stand at its head, if a ford, then on the riverbank, so he can make sure that the people will get across without danger and in good order. Let him, or a substitute, remain there until all the troops have crossed.

The cavalry units from the flank guards on the right should get behind the emperor and cross over after him. After the front of the phalanx has crossed, the infantry unit on the same side should proceed, following behind it. After this should come the train carrying the equipment. Next should be the rear section of the units on that side, with the left flank of the infantry behind it. As soon as these two divisions of the force have crossed, the cavalry units of the left flank guards ought to pass over. Last of all, as in the beginning, have one taxarchy of foot soldiers follow along.

In this way, then, have them pass through the narrow place in order. Do not let the units join together or get mixed in one with the other, which will only cause confusion, and especially do not let them get mixed up with the baggage train and the pack animals. Once they have passed through the narrow road or river, or whatever the difficult place might be, have each man get back to his own place, and continue the march in good order.

[15.]

Not leading a crowd of useless people in hostile territory.

It is extremely harmful, as it seemed to the ancient authorities and as experience has proven to us, to bring along a useless crowd of noncombatants in hostile territory, or more baggage than is really needed, or a large number of mules, asses,
όχλον ἡμῶν καὶ ὄνων καὶ καμήλων ἔχειν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἑβουλγάρων χώρᾳ, ἐν ἦ γομα κλεισοῦραι ὑλόδεις καὶ δύσβατοι καὶ ὁδοὶ στενότητα πολλὴν ἔχουσάν, ὡς εἰ μέλλει διαδέουν ἡ στρατιά, ἄργαν ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον ὑφίσταται τρόπου. τὴν γὰρ ὀδὸν τῆς μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ὅποτ' ἄν τὸ ἄργον ἐπιφέρηται πλήθος καὶ τὸν παράλογον καὶ τρυφῆλον φόρτων τὴν τε ἀνόνητον καὶ πολυτελῆ ἀποσκευήν, οὐδ' ἄν εἰς τέσσαρας ἔξανυσέοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποταμὸν τοὺς βαθείς καὶ τελματῶδες ἐν τῷ περαιώθησα ἢ γεφύρας διαβαίνειν ἄργαν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐκ τοῦ ἄργον πάσχει πλήθους. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰς τροφὰς, ἃς ἐχρήν καταναλίσκειν τὸ μάχημον μετὰ τοῦ συμμέτρου καὶ χρείωδος ὑπουργικοῦ, τὸ ἄργον πλῆθος καταδαπανῶν ἐνδεικνύειν ταχύτητι ποιεῖ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἀπρακτὸν ὑποστρέφειν καταναγκάζει καὶ ὅπερ πολλάκις οὐδὲ βαρεία ἐχθρῶν δύναμις κατορθώσαν ἢγχυσών ἂν, μόνη ἡ ἐξ ἀβουλίας ἐνδεικνύει κατεργάζεται. οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν κόπον ἀκηδυόντες καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεδιότες φήμας καὶ ἰόματα ἐξάγουσι ἄνδραν ἔστιν κατά πάντα μηχανώμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἐγχώρον αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνατρέψαι βουλᾶς καὶ σύντομον γενέσθαι τὴν ὑποστροφὴν.

15: 6 καὶ ὄνων Ὁ: om. B

(εἰς'.)

Περὶ τῆς ἀρμοζούσης πανοπλίας.

Οὐ καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἀποσκευήσαι καὶ περὶ τῆς πολυτελείας, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀχρηστίας τῶν τεθρυμμένων πανοπλιῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἄργου χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου τοῦ πρὸς κόσμον καταβαλλόμενου τῶν ἰπτων καὶ τῶν ἀνωφελῶν ἀργυρῶν σκευῶν τῶν διὰ περπερείαν παρ᾽ ἐνίων ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ βασταζομένων ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ περὶ τοῦτον τὰ προσθήκαι συμπληρώσαι. ἐκεῖνων μόνων ἐστὶν χρεία τῶν ἐπιπειδῶν πρὸς πολεμίων καὶ χρησίμων, ἰπτων ἀριστῶν, ἡθράκων ὀχυρῶν καὶ περικεφαλαίων φασγάνων τῷ καλλιστῶν, ἐν γάρ ὁ σίδηρος μόνος τῶν ἀλλῶν υλῶν πλεονεκτεῖ. ἡ δὲ ἀνόνητος πλησμονὴ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργύρου πρὸς τῷ ζημιών καὶ πεινῶν προεξεῖν τῷ στρατεύματι πάντῃ τῷ περιττῷ καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς ἐν τοῖς τῶν πολέμων καυροῖς ἔχει, καὶ εὐρός ἂν φιλοπόνος τὰς ἱστορικὰς βιβλίους ἀνεφευρώμενος τοὺς ἐγείραντας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις μεγάλα τρόπια "Ἔλληνας καὶ Ρωμαίους πᾶσαν λιτότητα εἰς τὰς διαιτὰς καὶ τὰ σκέψει καὶ τὰ ὀπλα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας."
or camels. This is especially true in the land of the Bulgarians, in which there are rugged, wooded mountain passes with very narrow roads. If an army plans to traverse these roads, such a crowd will greatly slow it down. When the army brings along a useless crowd, unnecessary baggage, luxury items, expensive equipment which serves no purpose, then a journey of one day will not be completed even in four. In crossing deep or swampy rivers, moreover, or passing over bridges the army will suffer no little delay because of the useless crowd. Then, too, there is the food supply which ought to be for the use of the fighting men along with a moderate number of necessary servants. But a useless crowd will devour that and swiftly reduce the army to want and force it to return home without having achieved anything. And so, often what even a strong force of the enemy has been unable to accomplish is brought about by want alone which stems from thoughtlessness. They are the very people who, growing weary of the work and fearful of the enemy, hasten to spread rumors and harmful stories, and they devise whatever tricks they can to overturn the plans which are in the interest of the emperor and to bring about a quick return.

[16.]

Proper armament.

We ought not to pass over in silence the extravagance, the uselessness rather, of luxurious suits of armor, and the idle decorations of gold and silver placed over the horses, and the useless silver vessels some people bring with them into hostile territory for vain display. Even about this it is helpful to be reminded of what is fitting. One needs only those things which are suitable and useful for fighting, namely, the finest horses, strong breastplates and helmets, the best swords, and the most important material in these should be plain iron. The useless abundance of gold and silver, in addition to causing harm and reducing the army to poverty, is entirely superfluous and of no benefit in time of war. If you study the historical books carefully, you will find that the Greeks and the Romans, who won great victories in their wars, were extremely plain in their life-style, equipment, and weapons.

(ιξ').

Περὶ τοῦ μη ἔχεων τοὺς εὑτελεστέρους τῶν ἄρχοντων σκηνᾶς.

Τὸ δὲ καὶ σκηνᾶς ἐν πολεμία τοὺς τῶν ἄρχοντων εὑτελεστέρους 5 ἐπιφέρεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων χώρᾳ, οὐδαμοῦ τὸ εὐχρήστον καὶ ἐπιτίθειον ἔχει, εἰ μὴ εἰς τὸ τοῖς μέλλοντι κατασκο- 10 πεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν φαντασίαν διδὸ | νοι μόνον πληθὺν οὐκ ὀλυγήν εἶναι λαοῦ. κατὰ δὲ τὸ τῇ χώρᾳν, ὡς εἴρηται, δυσπάροδον εἶναι καὶ 15 συτίων φέρειν ὀλυγότητα εἰς τοὺς εὐτελεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν βλάβην οὐκ ὀλυγήν φέρει. ἀνθ' ὅν γὰρ ὀρείλουσιν ἐπικούμεσθαι 20 χρείας, καὶ τὴν σκέψιν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ καλυβῶν ἔχειν λυγίνων ἐν τῇ ἑαρί καὶ καῦσων, ταῦτας μάταιον ἔχοντες φόρτον τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔλ- 25 λιπεῖς, ὅτε χρεία καλεῖ, καθίστανται.

17: 8 τὸ B: om. S || 11 ἐαρί Vári: ἀέρι ΣΒ

(ηθ').

Περὶ δουκατώρων καὶ κατασκόπων.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν συντεινόντων πρὸς κοινῆν τῷ στρατῷ λυσι- 5 τέλειων οὐ καλῶν ἄμελείν, δέον καὶ δουκάτωρας ἐμπείρους καὶ συνε- τοὺς ἔχεων, καὶ τούτους εὐρεγετεῖν παντοῖς τε προνοεῖσθαι καὶ ἀντι- 10 λαμβάνεσθαι, διὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τι τῶν ἁγαθῶν κατορθοῦταί, 15 τοιούτους δὲ φαμεν δουκάτωρας οὐκί τούς ἀπλῶς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπιστα- μένους—τούτο γὰρ καὶ τῶν εὐτελῶν τις καὶ (τῶν) ἄγροτῶν δύναται 20 ποιεῖν—ἀλλὰ τοὺς δυναμένους πρὸς τῷ τὰς ὁδούς ἐπιστασθαι (καὶ) 15 καλῶς κιβερνῆσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς τὴν τῶν κλειστωρῶν διέ- λεσιν, προνοεῖσθαι τε καὶ εἰδέναι τα σύμμετρα τῶν ἀπλήκτων δια- στήματα καὶ χώρως τοὺς ἐπιτιθείσους καὶ ὕδατων ἄφθοναν ἔχοντας 20 πρὸς τὸ ἀστενοχώρητον τὸ ἀπλήκτων γίνεσθαι, ἔχειν τε ἀκριβῆ
[17.]
The lower-ranking officers should not have tents with them.

Having the lower-ranking officers transport their tents along with them in hostile territory, especially in that of the Bulgarians, is by no means helpful or appropriate. The only reason would be to give potential spies the impression of a force of considerable size. But, inasmuch as the country, as mentioned, is difficult to traverse and does not furnish much in the way of provisions, this can cause no little harm to the lower-ranking soldiers. For if, instead of the necessities which they ought to be carrying, they bring wicker screens to use as a covering in the spring and in the heat, this would be a superfluous load, and they would find themselves short of provisions when the need arises.

[18.]
Guides and scouts.

Since it is not good to neglect any one of the factors which contribute to the common benefit of the army, it is necessary to have experienced and intelligent guides. We should treat them well, look out for them, and take good care of them, for without them nothing worthwhile will be accomplished. The men we call guides are not simply men who know the roads, for the lowliest peasant can do that, but men who, in addition to knowing the roads, are able to conduct the army through the mountain passes, who can plan ahead, and who know the proper distances for the campsites, locations which are suitable and which have plenty of water, so the camp will not find itself in dire straits. They should know the topography of the
γνώσιν καὶ τῆς θέσεως τῆς πολεμίας χώρας, ἦν τὴν στρατιῶν ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσάγοντες λησθήτω τὴν χώραν καὶ ἔξαιρατοδοιήσαται.

Τ 29

"Εστώσαν δὲ καὶ ὁ σάριῳ πλείστοι καὶ ἐπιτήδειοι παρὰ τῷ τῆς ἀνατολῆς λαῷ καλούμενοι τραπέζιται, καὶ συνεχῶς ἀλλοι ἀλλαχόθι τῆς χώρας εἰσίτωσαν πρὸ τοῦ αἰχμαλωτίζειν ἀνθρώπους, ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς αἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναδιδάσκονται βουλαί, εἴτε ἐπισυνάγονται ἢ συμμάχους δέχονται, καὶ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ἦν τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς μελετῶν μένων λανθάνῃ μηδὲν.

Οἱ δὲ ἀλήθεις τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ αὐτοὶ χρησιμώτατον εἰσώντες γὰρ εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν, δύναντας τὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἀκριβῶς μανθάνειν καὶ τοὺς ἀποστέλλουσι δῆλα ποιεῖν, οὐ μόνον δὲ εἰς τοὺς Βουλαῖς γάρφωροι ἐξεστὶ τῷ δομεστικῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀκρίταις στρατηγοῖς κατασκόποις ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ γειτονιόντα ἑθνη, εἰτούν εἰς Πατζιωκίαν καὶ εἰς Τούρκιαν καὶ Ἐρρίσιαν. ἦν μηδὲν τῶν ἐκείνων βουλευμάτων ἐγνωστόν ἢμῖν ἢ, οἱ δὲ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδίως ἀλλοκόμεροι αἰχμάλωτοι ἔνιοτε καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν κατασκόπων πλείον ὄψελθος.

πίστεις γὰρ λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδίως καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς κατασκοπὴν ἀποστέλλονται, καὶ μετὰ τὸ κατανοήσαι ὡς ἔχει τὰ τῶν ὀμοφύλων ἀπαντᾷ ἀποστέφοντες τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀπαγγέλλουσι.

---


(εθ').

Περὶ διελεύσεως κλεισοῦρας μὴ κατεχομένης παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

Τοῦ δὲ στρατοπέδου ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἰσελεύσεσθαι μέλλοντος πρὸ ἡμερῶν τῶν στελλέσθωσαν οἱ δουκάτωρες καὶ κατάσκοποι καὶ χωσάρμοι πρὸς τὸ πάσας καλὰς ἀνερευνήσασθαι τάς ὄδους καὶ γνώσιαν εἰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων κατέχονται. καὶ εἰ μὲν εὐρεθεῖν μὴ κατεχόμενα, καὶ οὕτως συμφέρον ἔστιν μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν τὸ στρατεύμα εἰς δυσχερίας· συμβαίνει γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπάρξασθαι τῆς εἰς τοὺς στρατιωτικὸς τόπους διαβάσασθαι ἐπελθεῖν πολεμίους. εἰ δὲ τὶς ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν κατεπείγοντα διὰ τῶν τουών ὄδων διελθεῖν, πεπέσχω πρὸς μίας ἢ καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν πεζικῇ δύναμις σὺν ἀνδρεῖς καὶ συνετῷ ἀρχοντὶ πλείονοι τοὺς τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστάς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔχουσα. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰππεῖς δυνατὸν ἐστὶν ἐκείστε ἐνεργῆσαι καὶ τοῖς πεζοῖς συνει-
enemy's country in detail, so they can lead the army into it to plunder and take captives.

There should also be a large number of good hussars, the men whom the easterners call *trapezitai.* They should constantly be going into the country, some here, some there, to capture men for the purpose of obtaining accurate information about the plans of the enemy, whether they are mobilizing or being joined by allies, and, to put it briefly, to make sure that nothing which they might be thinking of will escape us.

Actual spies, however, are the most useful. They go into the enemy's country and can find out exactly what is going on there and report it all back to those who sent them. The domestic and the generals along the border should be sure to have spies not only among the Bulgarians but also among all the other neighboring peoples, for example, in Patzinakia, in Turkey, in Russia, so that none of their plans will not be known to us. Sometimes prisoners captured together with their wives and children may prove more helpful than the spies. The general can give assurances of freedom for them, their wives, and children and then send them out to spy. After they have investigated how everything is going among their own people, they can return and report the facts.

1 Fast-riding warriors organized in small units, employed in scouting and raiding. See *Skirmishing*, Chap. 2, note 3.

2 Patzinakia, the land of the Patzinaks (Pechenegs) extended along the plains north of the Black Sea from Bulgaria to the Rus principality of Kiev. See *De administrando imperio*, index; DAI Commen-
tary, 12–13; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1, 87–90. Turkey at this time designated the territories oc-
cupied by the Hungarians, corresponding roughly to modern Hungary and Transylvania; see *De admin-
istrando imperio*, index; *Byzantinoturcica*, 1, 131–45. Russia, land of the Rus (Rhos) comprised basically the principality of Kiev along the southern reaches of the Dnieper in what is now the Ukraine.

[19.]
Marching through a mountain pass that is not occupied by the enemy.

Several days before the expeditionary force is about to move into enemy ter-
ritory, the guides, spies, and hussars should be sent to examine all the roads care-
fully and to find out if they are held by the enemy. Now, if they learn that they are not held by them, then it is expedient not to send the army into difficult terrain, for it can happen that after the army has begun its passage through such narrow places the enemy will attack. But if there is some pressing urgency to take such roads, then, one or two days ahead, send out an infantry force under a brave and intelligent officer and comprising more archers and javelin throwers than regular soldiers. If it is possible for cavalry to get into action there and accompany the foot soldiers, this

Περί κλεισούρας κατεχομένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

Εἰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οἱ στενωποὶ προκατελήφθησαν τόποι μετὰ παρασκευῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, ἐν ὀἷς μεμελέτητο (τὸ) στράτευμα.
will greatly boost their morale. Have some very experienced guides also go along with them, and taxiarchies from the west who know that sort of terrain more accurately than the others. The commander should make an effort to seize the highest point in the area, or even a fort, if there happens to be one already built in that place. From it let him not only securely hold the road along which the enemy plans to proceed, but also guard with great care all the other roads which could lead enemy troops to this one. In no way, then, will the enemy be able to attack the army while it is in difficult country and inflict harm upon it.

After securely occupying the road the commander should report to our holy emperor. Let the march then get under way. Let two taxiarchies be detailed to march on ahead of the horsemen, carrying axes and other cutting tools to clear the road wherever necessary. An imperial command should be given to the leader of these two advance taxiarchies that every time further along the road he might discover that it narrows or becomes difficult to traverse, he should leave some foot soldiers behind to occupy and guard it until the whole army has passed through. Following behind these infantrymen should be the cavalry units which regularly precede our holy emperor. After them come the infantry who accompany the emperor, that is, the Rhos, the malartioi, and the archers. Following them is our holy emperor with his entourage, and the cavalry units ride behind him. Then the rest of the army should pass by in order, as we have already explained in detail. But the two taxiarchies which had moved out ahead of the whole army should maintain the same order of march until they reach camp, as should the others. Behind everyone, even the saka itself, should come two taxiarchies of infantry. The commander who had been holding the roads in advance should not leave them until the entire army has passed by. Only after everyone has gone through should he, last of all, with the troops under his command, go through.

[20.]

A mountain pass occupied by the enemy.

If the narrow places through which our army had been intending to march should be seized by the enemy ahead of time, and they are well equipped and in
διελθεὶν, καὶ τοῦτο σαφῶς παρά τε τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ λοιπῶν τῶν ἀνωτέρω λεχθέντων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἄγιος πεληροφόρηται, χρῆ μὴ πλησιάσατε τῷ τῶπῳ ἐκείνῳ μὴτε μὴν εἰς ἑτέραν κατεχομένην παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων δύσβατον ὄδον παραβουλοῦσθεν καὶ ἐπικυνδύνως ἐμβαλεῖ τὸ στρατεύμα. τοῦτο δὲ φαμεν οὐχὶ τῷ τῶν ἑχθρῶν δέηε.

10 ἀλλὰ παραφώνυτε τήν μαχομένην καὶ κυνδυνώδη τῶν τόπων φεύγειν τραχύτητα. εἰς γὰρ τῶν ἀσθενῶν πολλάκις τῇ ὀχυρώτητι τοῦ χώρου ἐβοηθούμενος πλείοστοι τῶν ἄνδρεων καταγωνίζεται. ὅπου γὰρ ὑπὸ δυνατῶν τῇ χειρὶ ἢ τῷ ἱππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἁρμασὶ χρησιμοθεί, δυνατῶν τούτων τῷ πολέμῳ τυχάνοντος, προφανῆς ὁ κίνδυνος. κρείττον οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ συμφέρον εἰς ἑτέραν ἀπελθεῖν ἐλευθέρων, εἰ τάχα | τριῶν ἡ καὶ τεσσάρων ἠμερῶν ἀπέχει τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης διάστημα, καὶ δι’ αὐτής, εἰ μὴ κατέχεται, διελθεῖν ἀποστείλαντα πρότερον καὶ διὰ πεζῶν ταύτην κατασχόντα τῷ τρόπῳ ὥ παρεδέμεθα πρὸς τὸ διελθεῖν ἀκυνδύνως. εἰ δὲ τυχὸν καὶ αὐτὴ κατασχέθη παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, οἱ δουκάτωρες ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγών ἑτέρων ὄδων τῶν ἐνθέν κάκειθεν τῆς κρατουμένης ὀυσίων δύνανται διαβιβάζαι λαὸν πεζικὸν ἱκανὸν καὶ κατὰ νῦν ἐπὶ ἐκ πλαγών τῶν πολεμίων ποιῆσαι. καὶ εἰ μὲν περιγένωνται τῶν ἑχθρῶν καὶ τούτως πολέμῳ διώξωσιν ἡ ἐκεῖνων τὴν ἐκ τῶν πλαγών κατ’ αὐτῶν δειλιάσαντες ἐφοδοῦν μόνοι ὑποχρήσωσιν,

25 ἀφόβως τὸ στρατεύμα διελεύσεται.

Εἰ δὲ λόγου ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ ὄντος ἢ πέτρας υψηλῆς καὶ ταυτῆς δίκης φρουρίου ὀυσίς ἐγκρατεῖ διότε, οἱ πολέμοι καὶ τῇ ἐκείνης ἀνασαλζμένου ὄχυρῳ κατεροδίστην φυλάττοντες τὴν ὁδόν, εἰ μὲν ὅχι οὖν τε ἐστὶν ἐκ δύο ἢ καί ἀρ’ ἐνός τούτως προσβαλεῖ πάλιν, διὰ τῆς δημοσίας καὶ μεσαίατής ὁδοῦ ἐλαφροὶ τίνες καὶ ρωμαλέοι πεζοὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπελθέτωσαν, καὶ εἰ δυνήθωσι τούτως ἑρεθίσαι πρὸς μάχην καὶ τοῦ χυροῦ ὑπεξαγάγουσι τόπου ἑσχημασιμένην ὑποκρι-θήτωσαν φυγὴν, ὅ,τι οἱ ἐκ πλαγίων τῇ ἐκ τῶν ὁπίσθεν ἐπιδραμοῦντες καταπολεμήσωσι καὶ ἀπώλεσαν αὐτῶν κατεργάσωσαν. εἰ δὲ πάντη ἀδύνατον ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγίων ἐπελθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίωις, ἀβάτων τέλεων ὄντος τοῦ τόπου, ὡσπερ πολλοὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τοιαύτην ἑξουσίας θέσιν, διὰ μάς τῆς κρείττοστος τῶν πλαγίων ὄδων ἀκωλύτως τὸ στρατεύμα διελεύσεται μηδεμίας βλάβης ὑποφήν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔχον. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς δυσχερίας τοῖς ἀλλοτρίως συμβαλεῖν, οὕτω κάκεινοι ἀβατοῦν καὶ ἀδύνατον τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους διάβασαι ἐξομολογηθῆναι. παρέστησε δὲ ἡμῖν ἡ πείρα διδάξασα καὶ δι’ ὅρεων καὶ ὄδων μὴ συνήθως ἄλλ’ ἀγνώστως μὲν τοῖς πολεμίωις διὰ τό ἀτριβές, τοῖς δὲ ἐμπείροις δουκάτωρις γυναικομένως καὶ ἐπιτηδεύων ὄστῶν πρὸς διέλευσιν, καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀποφονήτων εὐκολώτερον καὶ ἀβλαβεστερον διήλθομεν ἡμεῖς τε αὐτοὶ καὶ μυρίοι ἔτεροι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν οἱ δουκστάρωρες εἶπεν ἀξίωποτοι καὶ πεπειραμένοι τοῦ καὶ ἑτερα μεγάλα | φοσσάτα δουκσταρεύς καὶ τοιούτων ὄδων
strength, and our holy emperor is fully informed of this by the spies and others mentioned above, then we must not get close to that place and certainly not send the army recklessly and at great risk through another difficult road which is occupied by the enemy. We do not say this out of fear of the enemy, but as a warning to avoid rugged terrain which involves struggling and danger. Often enough one weak person who has the advantage of a strong position can successfully fight against many brave men. For wherever you are unable to use your hands, your horse, and your weapons, while the enemy is able to do so, then the danger is obvious. It is better, therefore, and more useful to go off to another, unobstructed pass, even if that road happens to be three or four days distant, and to proceed through that, as long as it is not occupied. A detachment of infantry should first be dispatched to seize it in the manner we have prescribed for the passage to be without danger. But if it should happen that it too is seized by the enemy, the guides can then lead a good-sized force of infantry from the other side roads off to both sides of the one held by the enemy to attack their rear or their flanks. If they overcome the enemy and vigorously pursue them, or if the enemy are frightened by the attack on them from the sides and withdraw on their own initiative, the army will pass over without fear.

If there is a hill in that place or a high outcropping of rock similar to a fortress and the enemy occupy it, protecting themselves with its strength, and stay there guarding the road, and if they cannot be attacked from two or even from one side, have some sturdy light infantry advance against them along the public road right in the middle. If they can do so, they should provoke them into fighting and draw them out of their strong position. Let them make believe they are taking to flight, so our men may charge out from the sides or from the rear to overwhelm them and effect their destruction. But if it is not at all possible to attack the enemy from the sides, the place being completely inaccessible, as are many sites we have observed, then the army will proceed unhindered along one of the better side roads without any fear at all of being harmed by the enemy. For just as the rough terrain can make it difficult even for the natives to attack foreigners, so the enemy will believe that there is absolutely no way for them to reach our men. Experience has taught us about passing through the mountains and going along unfamiliar roads. Those roads, after all, are also unknown to the enemy because they have not used them. But they are known by experienced guides, and they are suitable for passage. Along those unsuspected roads, then, we, and thousands of others, have traveled without difficulty or injury.

If, therefore, the guides are trustworthy and experienced in guiding other large armies and they really know these roads, have an infantry force occupy them
ἐχωσιν εἰδήσων, προκατασχεθήτωσαν αὕτα διὰ πεζικὸν πλήθους κατὰ τὸν δηλωθέντα τρόπον, καὶ διαβήτησε ἐκείστε ὁ στράτευμα ἀφό-βως. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ταύτην ἡ ἐτέραν, ἣν ἄν διελθῇ ὁ ἡμέτερος λαὸς, φυλάττεσθαι μετὰ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως κρατούσης εἰς ἄσφαλειαν ἐσαυ-τῆς, ὡς εἰς συγκείμενα φρούρια ἢ τὸν υψηλότατον καὶ όχυρωτάτον τόπον. καὶ εἰ μὲν δὲ αὐτῆς ἢ ὑποστρέψας μέλλει ἡ χρείας εἰσφέρε-σθαι πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ ἀφροῦτιστον ἔξεν εἰ δὲ δὲ ἐτέρας, 

μηνυθήτω τούτο τῷ τῶν πεζῶν ἀρχοντὶ κάκεινην εὐρεθήσεται φυλάτ-των ὁδὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἀγίου ἐξέλευσιν, ἢπερ ἄν προσταγῇ.

Εἰ δὲ μῆ πεζικὸν μάχην κατελεύφη πρὸς τὸ τῆν κλεισούραν φιλάττευν, ἀλλ' ἀφέτος συνεχωρήθη, δεῖ τὴν ὡμίαν, καθὼς ἐρρήθη, 

τηρεῖν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ ἀσφαλείαν τῆς πολεμίας εξείλει καὶ ὑποστρέ-φειν μέλλοντι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πολὺ πλείονα. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ μῆ δήλην εἶναι τὴν τῆς στρατάς πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν εἰσόδου τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐν ὁποίῳ μέλλει τῆς χώρας εἰσβαλεῖν μέρει, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ φυγα-δεύσαι ἐκατον πάντα τὰ προσόντα αὐτῆς ἐπείγεσθαι, εἰκὸς ἄτιν 

ἀφυλάκτους τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ καταλείπειν τὰς ὁδοὺς. ἐπειδ' ἄν δὲ 

ἀπὸ χαρῆσαι τῆς στρατούς βούληται, τοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐκ ὅλην τὸτε φροντίς τοῦ προκατασχείν τὰς ὁδοὺς, καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ ἀλ-λότρια ἐν βραχεί συννημένα κομίσασθαι. συμβαινεῖ δὲ καὶ κατενο-δωθέντυ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πληθὺν ἀνδράποδων καὶ κτηνῶν ἐπιφερε- 

σθαι, καὶ περὶ ταύτα ἐκατον ἀσχολεῖσθαι. χρεία οὖν τότε πλείονοι 

φυλακῆς καὶ μείζονος.

'Ορ' ἄν οὖν τὴν στρατᾶν ὑποστρέφουσαν διὰ τῆς κλεισούρας διαβιβάσατε κέλλους, ἀναποδίσατε χρῆ ταύτην καὶ μη τεταλαυφητρη- 

μένην ἐκ τῆς ὁδούποριας καὶ μάλα μετὰ τῆς πεζικῆς ἐξάγειν πρὸς 

μάχην. εἰ όρα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἡ ὁδὸς κατασχεθῆ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπι- 

τηρεῖ τῶπω πλησίων τῆς κλεισούρας ὅτι ἄπληκτεσσαντα ἀναπαύσαι 

τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἢ καὶ τὴν ἐπούσαι, καὶ παραινέσταντα τούτοις 

καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ἐπαλείφαντα οὕτως τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν προέβλεψεν τῆς δια- 

βιβάσεως ἀπάρχεσθαι, καθὼς ἀκρίβως προκεκδότα. καὶ περὶ μὲν 

τοῦ ἀσγερεῖν καὶ ἀβλαβώς διελθεῖν τὸ στράτευμα τὰς κλεισούρας ὡς 

οἶνον τῇ τὴν ἐξεβεβηθα. τὸ κρείστον δὲ πάντων ἔστι καὶ λυσιτελέστερον 

δὲ ὀμαλῆς καὶ ἐυρυχώρου ὁδοῦ εἰσάγειν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἐξάγει 

τὸ στράτευμα καὶ μηδέποτε διὰ στενῶν καὶ δυσβάτων ὁδῶν τὴν 

βαρείαν δύναμιν τὸ τε πλῆθος τοῦ ὑπουργικοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀχθοφόρων 

diabibázē̃an.

Εἰ δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς, ἐν ἡ τὴν ἐξελεύσιν μέλλειν ποιεῖσθαι τὸ στρά- 

tευμα, στενὴ τοῦς ἐστὶν καὶ δύσβατος καὶ πλησιάζουσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐν 

tοῖς τοιούτοις στενώμασιν, εἰ μὲν διὰ τριῶν ὁδῶν ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ στε-

νώματος ἐξοδος, δει, εἰ ὅλως οὐκ ἂν ἀλλήλων μακρύνουσιν αἱ ὁδοὶ, 

στήναι τοὺς τρεῖς χιλιάρχους τοὺς οὐραίους ὀπίσθεν, καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς
in advance in the manner already explained. The army can then pass through there without fear. This road or some other along which our people might march must be held and guarded by a force of infantry to keep it secure in case there might be a fortress or a very strong place on the heights. Then, too, if we intend to return by that road or use it to bring up supplies to the army, we shall not have to worry. But if another road will be taken, let the commander of the infantry force be so informed, and he will go and guard that road, whichever one he is ordered to, when our holy emperor marches out.

But if a combat force of infantry should not be posted behind to guard the mountain pass, and it should be left open, it is still necessary to observe the same concern and security measures as when one is planning to leave the enemy country and return, as was noted, in fact, all the more so. For it is not obvious to the enemy which road we shall take on entering their country or what region we plan on invading. Each person, moreover, is under pressure to seek refuge with all his belongings. In such a situation it is reasonable to leave the roads unguarded. But when the army wants to depart from hostile territory, the enemy will then show no little concern to occupy the roads in advance and to bring all their own resources, as well as others, together in a short time. It also happens that an expeditionary force making its way along the road may be conveying large numbers of prisoners and herds, with each soldier devoting his attention to these. At that time, therefore, we need more and better guards.

Now, then, when we intend to have the returning army proceed through the pass we must have it rest and not send it, especially the infantry, into combat while it is exhausted from marching. If the road is occupied by the enemy, then make camp in a suitable location near the pass. Have the army rest for the remainder of the day or the next day too. Exhort the men, rouse them to bravery, and then have them begin their passage the next morning, as was explained above in detail. This is the best we can do in prescribing how the army should proceed safely and without harm through the pass. The best of all and the most advantageous is to lead the army into the enemy country and to leave it along a level and broad road. Never have a large force with a multitude of workmen and pack animals travel along a narrow and difficult road.

But if the road on which we intend having the army march out is constricted and difficult, and if the enemy are close by in such narrow spots, then if there are three roads leading out of the narrow place and they are not really too distant from one another, station the three rear chiliarchs behind. Have one chiliarch with his
χιλιάρχος μετά τού πεζικού αυτοῦ κρατείτω τήν μίαν στενωτόν τῆς ὄδος, ο̏̂ς δὲ ἐτερος τήν ἄλλην καὶ ὁ ἄλλος τήν ἐτέραν. ὡσπερώς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ μετοπαίω στηκότωσαν ἐτεροῖ τρεῖς, καὶ εἰς ἐκατέρω τῶν πλαγιῶν στηκότωσαν οἱ εἰς χιλιάρχους μιλάττουσες τήν τάξιν τῆς ἀνωτέρων ῥήθεισθαι τετραγώνων παρατάξεως, καὶ διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀμφοτέρων ὀδῶν χωρῆθητο τῷ καβαλλαρίκῳ καὶ περιπατεῖτω εντάκτως τῶν δηλωθεσῶν πεζικῶν παρατάξεων μιλάττουσων τῆν τοῦ στενοῦ διεξόδον μέχρι τῆς τοῦ καβαλλαρίκου διελεύσεως. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ στενοῦ φόβος ἐχθρῶν ὑποπτεύεται, δεὶ τούς μετοπαίαν πεζίους ἥγουν τοὺς τρεῖς χιλιάρχους προηγείσθαι ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ καβαλλαρίκου μέχρι τῆς συμπληγήσεως τοῦ στενοῦ, καὶ τοῦ στενοῦ πληρομένου δεὶ στήναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς πεζίους μέχρις οἱ διελθῆ τῷ καβαλλαρίκου ὅλον, καὶ τοῦ καβαλλαρίκου διερχομένου καὶ ὑποθεῖνεν πεζικών παρατάξεων πλησιμαζόσων τότε δεὶ εντάκτως ἀποκυψειν.

Εἰ δὲ δύο διεξόδοι εἰσὶ τοῦ στενοῦ, εἰτε καὶ μία, ὁμοίως ἡ αὐτὴ τάξεις μιλάττεσθω. εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦτο ἐπιτηδευθῆ καὶ κρατηθῶσα τά στενά παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐπακολουθοῦστω τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑποθεῖν, ἔτερας διεξόδου μὴ οὕτως χρη σκοπήσαί ἐπιτηθείς τόπος ὑδρ ἔχοντας καὶ ἐκεῖνη προσαναπαύσα τό στρατεύμα, καὶ τότε, εἰ μὲν οἱ ἐπακολουθοῦντες ἐχθροὶ πλησιμάζοσοι, δεὶ πρῶτον τάς τοῦ καβαλλαρίκου στρατοῦ παρατάξεις ἔτομάσαται καὶ ὄρμησαν κατὰ τῶν ὑποθεῖν ἐπακολουθοῦστων ἐχθρῶν. καὶ εἰ μὲν Θεοῦ συνεργία τραπέσαι, δεὶ αὐτοὺς καταδικάσαντα κατὰ τὰς ἀνωτέρω ρύθμισθείς διώξεις τῶν ἐχθρῶν μέχρις ὃ τελεῖ παραλυθῆσαι καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι |
infantry contingent hold one of the narrowings in the road and the other two, the two other sections. In this manner let another three take a position along the front, and on both sides station the six chiliarchs, thus maintaining the square formation of troops spoken of above. Send a cavalry force to the area between both roads and have it ride along in good order while the infantry detachments already mentioned guard the narrow passageway until the cavalry force has gone through. If there is reason to fear that the enemy are in front of the narrow passage, then the infantry along the front, that is, the three chiliarchs, should go on ahead of the cavalry until they get through the narrow pass. After they get through, then the same infantry units must stay until all of the cavalry makes it through. When the cavalry has passed through and the infantry contingents in the rear come close, then they should move off in good order.

If there are two exits from the defile, or just one, the same disposition should likewise be observed. But if the enemy should have anticipated this, and the narrow places should be occupied by the enemy following along behind, and there is no other way out, then you must look for a suitable location, one with water, and there have the army rest a while. Then, if the enemy who are following come close, first get the cavalry contingents ready and have them charge against the enemy following behind. If, with God’s assistance, they turn to flight, they must be pursued in the manner prescribed above for pursuing the enemy until their ranks are completely broken up and the survivors are unable to bring themselves together and turn back.

But if the enemy are numerous and they boldly take a stand, eager for battle, then the infantry contingents must follow the whole army, while the cavalry should close with them in a pitched battle. With God working on our side, they will be put to flight. As they flee, and our army returns with shouts of victory and rejoicing, the enemy troops occupying the narrow passageways will surely be seized by great fear and will themselves turn to flight. But if they cast off their fear and resolutely and boldly take their stand holding the passage through the narrow spot, then they must be investigated by the commander of the army. How many are they, of what quality, how are they organized? Depending on their quality and their numbers, then, infantry contingents must be gotten ready and sent out against them, three at a time. Now, if they are standing among stones and precipitous rocks guarding the roads below them, then javelin throwers and light troops, archers and slingers must be dispatched. If possible, too, some spearmen should come directly from the flat and more level places to circle around those precipitous places. With the enemy in good position we should not be anxious for battle and attack to no purpose, for the very
συμβάλλειν τοῦ τόπου βοηθοῦντος τοῖς ἑξθροῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐκ διαφόρων
tῶν την ἐπέλευσιν ποιήσασθαί κατ’ αὐτῶν καὶ περισπάσαι αὐτοὺς
μετὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστάς καὶ σφενδονιστάς. καὶ
έαν οὔτως ἐπιμένωσι βοηθοῦμενοι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τόπου ὀχυρότητος, χρή
μιὰν τὸτε παράταξιν ὁπλίτων εἴη καὶ δύο ἀποστείλαι διὰ τῶν πεδι-
νωτέρων τῶν ἐπελθεῖν κατ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ Θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος ἡ ῥοπή
αὐτῶν γενήσεται, καὶ εἰδ’ οὕτως ἄκωλτως διέλθῃ τὸ λουτὼν στρα-
τεύμα ὅλον τοὺς στενοὺς καὶ δυσβάτους τόπους ἐκεῖνος.
location is aiding the enemy. But we should launch our attack against them from various spots and harass them with those archers, javelin throwers, and slingers. If they still hold fast, assisted as they are by the strength of the site, then send out through the more level ground one or two formations of regular soldiers to attack them. With God aiding us, they will turn to flight. Then all the rest of the army will be able to proceed through those narrow and difficult places without hindrance.

[21.]

Siege warfare.

Those who want to take walled cities by storm and thus bring the enemy completely to their knees should conduct frequent raids against their country, employing raiders and *trapezitai*, called hussars by the westerners, and other groups of horse and foot for this purpose. By this constant damage and by unceasingly making captives of the enemy themselves and their allies, and by not allowing them the freedom of working their own land, but putting pressure on them in every way, they become easy to overcome. Unless their vines and fruit-bearing trees are first chopped down, their crops burned, and their animals taken away, so hunger will compel them to become wandering fugitives, it is extremely difficult to have any success in besieging strong cities, well stocked with supplies and with a multitude of fighting men. The commander who does not take measures of this sort against them, but who wants an easy way to turn the enemy’s strong places into spoils of war, will launch his attack against them in vain.

Just as one must see that the enemy are in want, so one must make sure that his own army has no lack of necessities. Suppose, for example, you plan on invading the land of the Agarenes, which has been emptied of foodstuffs by frequent devastations, so that food is scarce in that hostile country. It is not feasible, in turn, for an army to transport more than a twenty-four days’ supply of barley from its
τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀλόγοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας βαστάσαι, αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἃς πολυρκήσατε βεβουλήτηται πολυνάθρωποι τε εἰσὶ καὶ πλεῖονος καρυοῦ τροφάς ἔχουσι, λῦσι τὴν πολυρκίαν ὁ λιμὸς ἁναγκάσει, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἐπιχορηγοῦνται χρεία τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ὅποτ' ἀν δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν χώρᾳ τῇ πολυσφύρῳ καὶ τοσαύτῃ ἄρθρον παρεχοῦσθε γεωργίων, εἰπέρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐκ ἑπιστιχεῖται γῆς τὸ στρατεύμα, ἀδύνατον ἐπὶ συνήχι χρόνῳ καρπερήσαι καὶ τῶν ἐπανυμένων τί κατορθώσαι, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων χώρᾳ, ὅπου ἐνδείκνυ αὐτῶν τῶν ἁναγκαίων ἐστίν, ξαφνίτως δὲ τῆς κρύψης. εἰ γοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας αἱ χρείαι οὐκ ἐπιχορηγοῦνται τῷ στρατεύματι, ἀπρακτοὶ οὐκ χαίρεται ἀποστρέφουσι, καὶ ἃ οὐκ ἠφίλαταν ἄν εἰρήκῃ ἁγίας καὶ βαρεία δύναμις τῶν πολεμίων κατορθώσαι, ἢ τῶν ἁναγκαίων ἐργάσεται ἐνδείκνυ τῇ πολυρκίαν λῦσαι καταλαγκάσει.

'Εξετο τοῖς τινα τῶν κλεισοῦρων παρὰ λαοῦ ἡμετέρου κατέχεσθαι πρὸς τὸ τοῖς ἡμόνοις καὶ τὰ υπούγια τὰ κομίζοντα τὰς τῆς στρατιάς χρείας, εἰ τύχη, καὶ ἀμάξας | ἀκωλύτως διέχεσθαι, καὶ δὲ ἑτέρου αὐθεν ταῖς πεζικοὶ τε καὶ ἑπικοῦν κατὰ τὴν ὄδον ἑπακολουθοῦντα αὐτοῖς, εἰ φῶβον ἔχουν, φυλάττεσθαι, ἣν ἔχουσα τὸ ἀρκοῦν τῶν ἁναγκαίων ἡ στρατιά τῇ ἐπιμονῇ καὶ καρτερίᾳ πέρας ἁξιόλογον τοῖς βουλευθείσι Θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος ἐπιθυμεῖ.

'Ἐπ' ἀν δὲ ὁ στρατὸς πρὸς τὴν πολυρκίαν ὁρμῆσαι μέλλον, προοποστελλοῦν δεὸν λαὸν μετὰ στρατηγοῦ ἀνδρείου ἐπιδραμεῖν πρὸ τριῶν ἡ καὶ στεσάρων ἠμερῶν εἰ δυνατον ἀγνοοῦσι, | τοῖς πολεμίων καὶ αἰχμαλώτισαν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ζώα, ἢν καὶ αἱ τῶν πολεμίων βουλαὶ γνωσθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ δειλία αὐτοῖς ἐπευσέλθῃ, καὶ εἰ μὲν υποφία | πολεμίων οὐκ ἐστίν, ἑκέεισ προσμενάτω φῶβον δεῖ τοιοῦτον ἐπηρτημένου υποστρέφας τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὑπαντησάτω. ὃ (δὲ) βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἄγιος τῆς πολεμίας ἐπιβὰς ἐν τάξει ὁδοιπορεῖται, καθὼς ἐξεθέμεθα. ἤνικα δὲ τῇ πολυρκείσθαι μελλούσῃ πόλει πλησιάσωσι, ὡς ἀπὸ διαστήματος ἐξ μιλῶν ταύτης ἀπληκενέτω καὶ μίαν ἑπική τάξιν ὀλίγον λαὸν ἔχουσαν προοποστελλόντως, ὅπως γενέθησαν δε τούτων ἐνέδρας εξ ἑτέρας ἑπικῆς τάξεως στηριστάτω. εἰ δὲ ἐμπροσθεν, εἰ τύχη, πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παραδείσου εἶναι καὶ ἀμπέλωνας καὶ δένδρα, ἐκεμνέτωσαν καὶ ἐκρυστῶσαν καὶ πυρπολείσατο, ἵνα, εἰ ποτὲ οἱ πολέμιοι διὰ τὰ οὐκεία πράγματα δεινοπαθησάντες ἐκδράμωσιν τοῦ ἀπώσασθαι τοὺς τὰ ἐκείνων δηοῦσαν καὶ μάχην συναψισσο, οὕτω τὴν ἐσκαλωρημένην πλασάμενοι φυγήν ὑπὸ ἐφελκυσθῶται τούτους, ἀχρίν οὗ τῇ ἑνέδρᾳ περιπαρηγῆναι παρασκευάσουσι, τοῦτο δὲ γενέθησαι ἐκτιθεμέθα τοῦ ἀποπειράσασθαι ἐνεκεν καὶ καταμαθησιν πρότερον τὸν τε λαὸν τῶν ἑντὸς καὶ τὸ πρόθυμον καὶ τὴν ἒσχυν αὐτῶν καὶ εἰπέρ τούτους ὀλιγανδρώντας ἐκ τῆς ἀκριβεστέρας τάσης καταμάθων πιέρας, χωρείν πρὸς πολυρκίαν προθύμω.
own country for its horses. But the cities which they would like to besiege are very populous and have supplies for a long period. Hunger will force us to lift the siege unless necessities are conveyed from the land of the Romans to the army on campaign. In the land of the Agarenes, so productive and abounding in so many crops, unless we bring food from our own country, the army will not be able to last long enough to achieve anything worthwhile. How much worse will it be in the country of the Bulgarians, in which there is a total lack of necessities, especially of barley? It is clear that if the necessities are not conveyed from our land to the army that we shall return home having accomplished nothing. What the great strength and the mighty force of the enemy were unable to bring about, the lack of necessities will achieve and will force the army to lift the siege.

What can be done is to have some of our people occupy one of the mountain passes, so the mules and other animals and, if feasible, wagons, can get through and transport the necessities for the army without hindrance. Another detachment, moreover, of infantry and cavalry can follow them along the road to protect them if they should be fearful. The army, then, possessing a sufficient amount of necessities, by its persistence and perseverance, and with the cooperation of God, will bring a worthy conclusion to its plans.

Whenever the army might be about to proceed toward a siege, it must send out an advance party under a brave general three or even four days ahead of time to ride about swiftly, if possible without letting the enemy know, and capture men and beasts. The prisoners they take should aid them in learning the plans of the enemy, and will make them very nervous. If there is no evidence of the enemy, let them stay longer. But when they do have reason to fear their presence, let them turn around and head back to the army. Let our holy emperor then enter the enemy country, marching along in good order, as we have laid down. When he approaches the city which is to be besieged, let him make camp about six miles away from it. Let him send out ahead a cavalry unit, not too large, and behind it let him set up ambushes with another cavalry unit. If it should happen that out in front of the city there are parks, vineyards, and trees, they should be cut down, uprooted, and set on fire. Then if the enemy, terribly afflicted by what is happening to their possessions, should dash out to drive off those destroying their property and start fighting, our men cleverly feign a flight, trying to draw them along until they get them to go right into the ambush. We have prescribed that this should be done in order to make trial of the people inside and to learn in advance something about their morale and their strength. If this fairly accurate test makes it clear that they are low in manpower, we should go ahead with the siege in good spirits.
Μετά δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπόπειραν ἀναλαμβανόμενοι ὁ βασιλεύς ἡμῶν ὁ ἁγιός ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἱππικῶν τάξεως τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς καὶ ἐνωπλισμένους πρὸς κατασκοπὴν ἀπήτω τοῦ τε ἀπλήκτου καὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ταῦτῃ κύκλῳ περιελθῶν καὶ διασκοπήσας καὶ νείμας ἐκάστω ἐγγράφως τοὺς ἀφορμισμένους τόπους τοῦ τε ἀπλήκτου καὶ τῆς τειχομαχίας ὑποστρεφότω πρὸς ὅ ἦν ἀπλήκτων. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ προῆθεν ἐκτά | ξας ἐνόπλους ὁ βασιλεύς ἡμῶν ὁ ἁγιός τάς τε ἱππικάς καὶ πεῖκας τάξεις σὺν εὑραξίᾳ καὶ κόσμῳ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν χωρείτω, ἦν καὶ ἀπὸ μονῆς τῆς θέας καταπλαγέντες δειλιάσωσιν ὁι πολέμιοι. 
70 τῶν δὲ πυλῶν πασῶν ἀπ' ἐναντίων τάξεως στησάτω τάς αὐτάρκειας πρὸς | φυλακῇ, ἦν μὴ ἐξαίφησις συγκεκχυμένου τοῦ ὑπογραφού, | ἀτε φροντιζόντων ἐκάστων τὰ τοῦ οἰκείου ἀπλήκτου, ἐκδραμόμεντες ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁι πολέμιοι τούτους διαταράξεσι. 

Και διορίζεσθο ἐκάστον ἀπλήκτου εἰς τόν ἀποκεκληρωμένον 
80 αὐτό τόπον, ἡ δὲ βασιλική σκηνή, καθαὶ ἀλλαχοῖ διειλίπται, 
tὸν ὀχυρώτερον καὶ ὑψηλότερον ἐχτῶν τόπον. ὁ δὲ ἐντὸς χάραξ 
ἀφιστάσθω τοῦ τείχους ὥστε τῶν δύο βολήν ἢ καὶ πλέον, ὅσον εἰς 
αὐτὸν δηλαδὴ ὀυτε τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πεπόμενα ἐβέλη, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ ἀπὸ 
tῶν πετροβόλων ἀκοντίσματα δυνατὸν ἐφικνεῖσθαι: πλὴν μὴ πέρα 
85 τοῦ δέωνθι ἔστω τοῦ διάστημα, μὴ ποτε μήκοθεν ὄντος τοῦ ἀπλήκτου 
ἀδελφον εὐρίσκοντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξιόντες τῶν πυλῶν πυρπολῶσι καὶ 
κατακόπτωσι τὰ πολιορκητικὰ ὄργανα, εἰ δὲ σύμμετρον γένηται τὸ 
διάστημα, καὶ ἡ στρατιά ἀβλαβής συντηρήθησεται, καὶ τοῖς ἑλέ 
πολικοῖς ὄργανοι καὶ τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν αὐτὰ χρείας ἐπεκρύσῃσι οἱ 
90 στρατιῶται ἀπὸ τῶν σκηνῶν ἐξερχόμενοι σὺν δρόμῳ ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν. 

Χρῆ δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀπλήκτου τάφρον εἶναι, ὅ ἀμφοτέρωθεν 
ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττησαι τὸ στρατόπεδον. εἰ δὲ χρονία ἡ πολιορκία γενέ 
sthai μέλλει, καὶ τείχος δομεῖσθω πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ λαοῦ. οὐκ ἔστὶ 
δὲ δυνατὸν, κυκλώθηκε τοῦ τείχους ἀπληκέσσει μελλούσης τῆς στρα 
tiάς, εἰς τετραγώνων σχήματος εἴδος ἀποτελεσθήσαι τὸ ἀπλήκτου, 
ἀλλὰ κυκλοτερεῖ, παρεκτευμονεῖς καὶ λεπτυνομενεῖς τῆς στρατιάς 
διὰ τὴν κατεπείγουσαν χρείαν, ὅπως μήτε λαὸς πρὸς συμμαχίαν, εἰ 
βούλιοτο, τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν δύνατο, μήτε τροφᾶς ἢ ἀγγελίας οἱ ἐν 
tός δέχονται ἢ πέμπουσι πρὸς τοὺς ὀμφούλους, ἀλλὰς τε ἐὰν μὴ 
95 ἀφ' ἐνός μέρους ἢ δύο ἡ τειχομαχία γένεται ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν, ὅπως 
περιπάτωμεν εἴς ἐκάστων μέρους καὶ ἀντιποιοῦμενοι τοῦ παντὸς 
μερίζωμεν καὶ διασκορπίζωμεν, κανένθεθον ἀσθενεστέροι καὶ εὐ 
καταχώνοιτο | γίνονται. εἰ δὲ τέλματα ἢ ὀροὶ ἀπὸ ἀτέρου μέρους 
προσπελάζει τῷ τείχει, | εἰς μόνον τὸν ἐπιτίθειν τόπον ἀσφαλῶς 
100 γυνέσθω τὸ ἀπλήκτον. τὰ δὲ πολιορκητικὰ ὄργανα συντομίᾳ καὶ ταχ 
υτίτη γυνέσθῳ πολλῇ, ἦν μὴ τριβήν εἰς αὐτὰ δεχόμενα τοῦ χρόνου 
ἐπὶ κενῷ καταναλίσκωνται αἱ τροφαί.|
After this first trial our holy emperor should assemble selected, well-armed men from all the cavalry units and go off to inspect the camp and the city. He should ride around it in a circle, look it over and, in writing, assign each man a definite place for camp and for siege operations. Let him then return to the camp where he was. Early the next day our holy emperor should command the cavalry and infantry units to be armed. In good order and with proper display he should then proceed toward the city. From the sight alone the enemy may be confounded and lose heart. Let him station some good-sized units facing all the gates as a defensive measure, in case the enemy should charge out of the city to overwhelm the servants while they are still in disarray with each man concentrating on his own place in camp.

Each person should be ordered to set up camp in the place assigned to him. But the imperial tent, as was explained in another place, should be in the strongest and highest location. The inner rampart should be about two bow shots or more away from the wall, that is, far enough so arrows shot from a bow will not reach it, and neither will the missiles from the stone-throwing machines. Make sure that the distance is not greater than it should be. If the camp is too far away, the enemy may find it easy to sally forth from the gates, chop down our siege engines, and set them on fire. If the distance is not too great, the army will remain unharmed and, when an emergency arises, the soldiers will come out of their tents and race to the support of the siege artillery and the men defending it.

A ditch must be dug outside the camp, so that the troops can be securely protected on both sides. If the siege looks as though it will be a long one, construct a wall to protect our people. When the army is getting ready to encamp in a circle around the walls, it is not possible to build the camp in the shape of a square. It should, rather, be in a circle, thinning and stretching out the army as need dictates, so that nobody, if they might wish to do so, is able to enter the city to offer support and the inhabitants are not able to receive victuals or messages or to send them to their own people, and especially so that the assault on the walls will be kept up on all sides, not just one or two. They may try to resist, but, under pressure from all sides, they become completely divided and scattered and, as a result, weaker and easier to defeat. If marshy ground or a mountain is close to the wall on one of the sides, then only in a suitable place may the camp safely be located. Let the siege engines be set up quickly and with great rapidity, lest there be any sort of delay, and the provisions be consumed to no purpose.

1The Saracens or Arabs were thought to be descended from Ismael, the son of Abraham and Agar (Hagar) (Gen. 16:15). Here it must refer to the Muslims of Syria.

\( \langle \text{κβ′.} \rangle \)

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς εἰς συλλογὴν χρεῖων ἀποστελλομένους καὶ τοὺς νέμοντας τοὺς ἔποιους.

Ἐκάστῃ οὖν ἡμέρᾳ φοῦλκα εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν τε εἰς συλλογὴν 5 χόρτον ἐξερχομένων καὶ τῶν τοὺς ἔποιους νεμόντων στελλέσθωσαν. εἰς καθαροὺς δὲ τόπους τούτους νεμέτωσαν καὶ μὴ εἰς δασεῖς καὶ ὑλώδεις, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τοῖς ὕλοις τών ἐξθρῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων ἀπροσπτο ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καταβλάπτωσαν. δουκάτωρας δὲ ἐμπείρους οἱ ἀρχοντες τῶν φοῦλκων ἐχέτωσαν ἐπισταμένους τὰς ὁδοὺς, δι’ ὅν ἤστιν εἰκὸς ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ταύτας ἁσφαλῶς φυλαττέ- 10 τωσαν. ἐχέτωσαν δὲ καὶ βίγλας εἰς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους, ἢφ’ ἄν δύνα- νται πολύ διάστημα κατοπτεύειν γῆς. τοῦ δὲ ἡλίου φαίνουσος ἐτὶ πάν- τες ὑποστρέφοντο πρὸς τὸ ἀπλήκτον. οἱ δὲ βεγλάτωρες, οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ 15 φοσσᾶτον ἀποστελλόμενοι, τούτων ὑποστρέφειν μελλόντων κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐξείτωσαν.

\( \langle \text{κγ′.} \rangle \)

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ τροπώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς παρατρέχοντας καὶ ἐνέδρας τιθεμένους κατὰ τῶν εἰς συλλογὴν χρεῖων ἐξερχομένων.

Εἰ δὲ πολεμίους μάθη ὁ βασιλεὺς παρατρέχοντας καὶ ἐνεδρεύ- 5 οντας κατὰ τε τῶν ἐξίοντων εἰς συλλογὴν χρεῖων | καὶ τῶν τοὺς ἔπο- ίους νεμόντων, νυκτὸς σὺν τοῖς ἔξ ἔθους ἀποστελλομένους φοῦλκοις καὶ ἐτερον ἵππικον μάχημα στειλάτῳ χρῆσιμον ἁρχηγον ἔχον τῶν ἀνδρείων τινὰ καὶ ἐμπείρων, καὶ παραγγελήσατο τούτῳ σκοτίας ἔτι
[22.]

Protecting the men sent out to collect necessities and those pasturing the horses.

Each day let armed detachments be dispatched to protect the men going out to collect grass and to pasture the horses. They should bring them to graze in open spaces, not in thick or wooded ones, so that the enemy cannot hide in such places and unexpectedly cause them injury. The officer over the armed detachments should have experienced guides who know the roads along which it is likely that the enemy will attack, and they should guard them securely. They ought also to post sentries in suitable locations, from which they can keep a large expanse of ground under observation. While it is still daylight have everyone return to the camp. As they start on their way back, it is customary for the watchmen who are sent from the camp to head out.

[23.]

How to drive back the enemy who are riding about laying ambushes against our men going out to collect provisions.

If the emperor learns that the enemy are rushing about and ambushing our men going out to collect provisions and pasture the horses, at night together with the armed detachments he should send out another combat force of cavalry under a good commander, courageous and experienced. He should give him orders to divide his contingent in two while it is still dark and set up two ambuscades, one forward,
ούσης διχῇ διελείπ τὸν λαόν καὶ δύο καταστήσαι ἐνέδρας, μίαν προ-
σωτέρω ἐτέραν δὲ ὁπλισθεν. καὶ τῶν ἔχθρων κατὰ τῶν τὰς χρείας συλ-
λεγοῦντων ἢ τῶν τοὺς ὑπονεψυχής ὡμησάντων οἱ τῆς πρώτης ἐνέδρας ἐκδραμόντες σφοδρὰ ῥύμῃ τοῦτοι συνεργήτωσαν. ὁ δὲ ὁπι-
σθεν λόχος ἐξελθὼν συντεταγμένος ἀκολουθεῖτο τοῦτος ἁχρις οὐ ἀπὸ 
τῶν ἐκλαυκότων αἵματάλωτον πληροφορήσαι μὴ εἶναι τῶν ἐναντίων ἐτέραν δύναμιν ἐνεδρεύουσαν, καὶ μετὰ βεβαιώσων ἄσφαλῆ ἀνὰ 
κράτος καὶ αὐτοὶ διωξάτωσαν, ἦς ἄν τέλευον αὐτοὺς, Χριστῷ ἀντι-
λήψει, ἐξαφανίσωσιν.

Εἰ δὲ οἱ πολέμοι δι᾽ ὁλογότητα καὶ δειλίαν οὐκ ἀναδεύονται 
πρὸς πόλεμον, χρῆ τοῖς ἐραυνιζομένοις ὑπουργοῖς τὰ σιτία ἀναμίξαι 
τινας τῶν μαχίμων στολάς ἥμφαισμένους ὑπουργῶν, ὥν ὑποκρύ-
πτωνται τα τούτων ὁπλα, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέρος, οὐ παρατρέχεις γνῷ τοὺς 
πολεμίους, ἔκειστε μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν στελλάτω εἰς τὰ χωρία συνε-
στελθεῖν. τὰ δὲ φούλκα ἐγγύθι τῶν χωρίων κεκρυμμένα ἔστωσαν, καὶ 
Εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἐνάρειν προσχάματι τοῦτο ἀπατήθηκαί καὶ πρὸς τὸ κα-
τασχεῖν τοῦτος ἐπέλθωσιν, οἱ ἀναμίξ ὄντες τοὺς ὑπηρετῶς στρατι-
ώσατι συμπλακέντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις μικρὸν τοῦτος ἀναχαίτισονν, 
ἐίτα οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδρας ἐξελθόντες ἀξιόλογον ἔργον ὅσον ἐστὶ στο-
χάσασθαι ἐκτελέσοσι.

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23: 3 ἐνέδρας τιθεμένους S: ἐνέδραν τιθεμένας B || 11 καὶ S: κατὰ B || 14 συντεταγμένος 
Βάρι: συντεταγμένος SB || 27 ἀναχαίτισοσιν Vάρι: ἀναχαίτισοσιν SB || 29 ἐκτελέσοσι S: ἐκτε-
λέσωσι B

(κδ'.)

Περὶ τοῦ εἰ γνωσθῶσιν οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ τῆς ὑπ’ 
αὐτῶν δυνάμεως κρύφα μέλλοντες ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι τῷ 
στρατοπέδῳ ἢ τοῖς πρὸς συνλογὴν (χρείαν) ἐξούσιων ὑπουργοῖς.

Εἰ δὲ τοὺς δυσμενῶν ἀρχηγοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς σύνθεται τῇ στρα-
τὶ μέλλοντας κρύφα καὶ ἅδοκήτως συμβαλεῖν ἢ τοὺς τῶν τροφῶν 
ἐραυνιζομένοις ὑπουργοὺς τραυματίζει, πλείονας δὲ λόχος ἑπικίων 
τάξεων παρασκευάζει, ἐξερχομένου καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἁγίων βασιλέως 
ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν ἐπιτηδείᾳ τῷ σφῆ ἐγκρυπτομένου. Ἐπειδὴ ἂν δὲ συναφῆ 
πόλεμος καὶ καρτέρα ἀναφῇ μάχη, εἰ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπι-
κρατεστέρους θεῖται, βοηθεῖαν στελλέτω τοῖς πονομενοῖς καὶ ὀκλά}-
ζουσιν ἀκολουθίων καὶ αὐτὸς κατόπιν συντεταγμένος. καὶ εἰ φρονίμως 
καὶ ἀνδρικῶς οἱ σταλέντες τὰ τοῦ πόλεμον διάθοιντο, ὑπεριχύσουσι
the other to the rear. When the enemy then attack our men collecting provisions or pasturing the horses, the troops in the first ambush charge out against them with great vehemence and break them in pieces. The other ambushing party to the rear comes out in formation and follows them until they learn from the prisoners they take that there is no other enemy force lying in wait. After definitely confirming this, they vigorously pursue them until, by the assistance of Christ, they utterly destroy them.

But if the enemy, because they are few in number and afraid, are not enthused about fighting, then we must mix in with the servants who gather the provisions some fighting men dressed in servants' garb, under which they can hide their weapons. Together with the servants they should be ordered to go into those areas in which we know the enemy are rushing about. The armed contingents should be stationed in those areas in concealment. If the enemy are deceived by this disguise and charge in to capture them, the soldiers mixed in with the servants join battle with the enemy and hold them in check for a while. Then our other troops charge out from ambush, and one can just guess what a memorable deed they will accomplish.

[24.]

If the enemy commanders and their forces are making plans for covert action against the army's camp or the servants going out to gather provisions.

If the emperor learns that the enemy commanders are getting ready to make a secret, surprise attack against our army or to injure the servants as they are gathering provisions, he should detail several contingents from the cavalry units. He should himself, our holy emperor, ride out and conceal himself in a suitable location. When the fighting flares up and becomes intense, then if the emperor observes that the enemy are prevailing, let him send support to the men who are hard pressed and being pushed back, and he should himself follow behind in formation. If the men who had been sent handle the fighting intelligently and bravely, they will pre-
τῶν ἐξθρῶν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι· πλὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ ἄγιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶς ἄρχων τοῦ φοσσάτου ἐν καιρῷ πολιορκίας μὴ πόρρῳ διωκέτω, μὴτε μὴν τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ ἀνευ μεγάλης περιστάσεως λυέτω, εἰ μὴ ποτὲ οἱ ἐξθροί ἀδράν ἔχοντες δύναμιν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπερσχέσαντες τάξεων σφοδρά ρύμη καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπέλθωσιν. ὃτ' ἂν δὲ πολέμιοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐπέρχονταί, ἡ πολιορκία σχολήν ἁγέται, μόνον δὲ τὸ ἀπλήκτων καὶ τὰ πολιορκητικὰ ὀργανα ἀσφαλῶς φυλαττέσθωσαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐξαρκοῦντος λαοῦ.

24: 4 χρείαν Graux: om. SB || 5 τοίς ... ἄρχηγοις Graux: τοῖς ... ἄρχηγοις SB || πύθηται S: πύθονται B || 13 ὑπερσχέσουσιν Vai: ὑπερσχέσωσι SB

(κε').

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δὲι νυκτὸς τῷ ἀπλήκτῳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπελθεῖν.

Εἰ δὲ παραφυλάττοιεν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ ἐκτὸς πολέμιοι καὶ μηδ' ὀπτσοῦν παρὰ τῶν ἠμετέρων ἐπιτηδευθέντες ἐτραὐ|ματίσθησαν, προσήκει μαθεῖν δι' αἰλχαλώτων ἢ κατασκόπων ἢ αὐτομόλων, ἐν ποῖῳ συλλέγονται τόπῳ καὶ ὀπόσην δύναμιν ἔχουσιν, καὶ εἰ μὴ πόρρω τοῦ φοσσάτου εἰεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ύπὶ δῆλη ἡμέρας διάστημα, ὡς εἶναι δυνατὸν ἀπὸ ἐστέρας ἀρξάμενων τῆς ὀδοῦ περὶ τὸ λυκανγές καταλή-ψεθαι τὸ ἐκεῖνον ἀπλήκτων, τότε μεῖζον δύναμιν ἰπτέων παρ' ἢν οἱ πολέμιοι ἔχουσιν ἀφορίσασθαι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλαβόμενός τε καὶ πεζοὶς ἀκονιστάς καὶ τοξότας καὶ τινῶς τῶν ἐπιτών ἔχουσιν ἄλογα κρείττονα καὶ 'Ρῶς ἰππότας—περιποιησάμενος δηλοῦντι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀπλήκτου ἀσφάλειαν διὰ στρατοῦ ἐξικανοῦντος κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν—μετὰ δουκατῶροι ἐμπείρων ἀπίτω, μηδὲνιος εἰδότος ἐκτὸς τῶν συμβούλων, ὅπη πορεύεται. πλὴν μὴ ἀτάκτως καὶ ως ἐτυχε τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνος ὄδον στελλέσθω, ἀλλ' ἐκάστη παράταξις τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐν τάξει καὶ σιωπῇ ἐφομαρτείτω, οἱ δὲ τῆς πεζῆς στρατιᾶς κατόπιν πατῶν τῶν ἰππικῶν τάξεων, ἰππότα καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν τοῖς 'Ρῶς πορευέσθωσον, καὶ εἰπέρ ἀναφλάτους καταλήψιον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἄρτι διαγγαλούσας ἡμέρας, συνεργίας Θεοῦ μέγα ἔργον ἀνύσουσι. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων γνώντων, εἰ μὲν εἰς μάχην στώσων, ἐλάττως οὔντες ἠπιθησότατοι, εἰ μὴ ποτὲ σφάλμα τι παρὰ τῶν ἠμετέρων συγχωρήσει Θεοῦ γέννηται.

Δεῖ γὰρ τάς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ψυχρώμενον ἐνέδρας μὴ ἑάσαι τοῖς λαῶν ἀτάκτως ἐμβαλεῖν τῇ τούτων ἀποσκευῇ, μὴ ποτὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἀνὰ ταύτην σκεδασθέντων ἐπιπεσόντες οἱ δυσμενεῖς, ὅπερ αἰεί τούτως ἐξ
vail over their enemies by the grace of God. Our holy emperor, or any military commander, for that matter, should not conduct the pursuit very far during a siege, nor should he break up his formation except in a serious emergency, for example, if the enemy force is very large and it overcomes the rest of our units and charges with great vehemence against him. Whenever the enemy launch an attack from the outside, the siege operations may be slowed down, making sure, however, to keep the camp and the artillery securely guarded by a large enough force.

[25.]

How to attack the enemy’s camp at night.

If the enemy posted outside are very much on their guard and have not been under attack or been injured at all by our troops, we should learn from prisoners, spies, or deserters the location of their encampment and the size of their force. If it is not far from our own camp, say, less than a day’s journey, so that it is possible to begin the march in the evening and to reach their camp by early dawn, the emperor should set apart a force of horsemen larger than that which the enemy has. He should take some infantry, javelin throwers, archers, and some regular soldiers who have better horses, as well as some mounted Rhos. He should, of course, make certain that our camp is defended against the enemy by a sufficient number of troops. Let him then head off with experienced guides, not informing anyone, apart from his advisors, where he is going. It is important that the march toward the enemy not be disorderly or haphazard, but each unit should proceed along with the other in order and silence. The infantry contingents should be behind all the cavalry units, whereas the cavalrymen advance along with the Rhos. If they should come upon the enemy when their guard is down, just about at daybreak, with the cooperation of God, they will achieve something significant. Should the enemy be alert, though, and stand and fight, they will, if they are fewer than we, be defeated, unless God allows our people to make some mistake.

One has to be on the lookout for enemy ambushes. Our people should not be allowed to launch a disorderly attack on their supply train. Otherwise, the enemy will fall upon our men as they are scattered about doing that. They are always mak-
έθους νῦν μεμηχάνηται, ἐν τοῖς ἀπλήκτοις αὐτῶν τινα βλάβην εἰς τῶν
στρατών ἑργάζονται. | ἀλλὰ πρῶτον τῆς ἀπωλείας τοῦ τῶν ἑχθρῶν
μαχίμων φροντίσαντες εὐχέρως ἔξομεν ἐπ' ἐσχατον καὶ τὰ προσόντα
αὐτοῖς ἄπαντα. εἰ δὲ πυγῇ χρήσονται, διώκειν δεὶ αὐτοὺς μὴ ἄφυ-
λάκτως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀκριβείας καὶ ἐμπειρίας. καὶ εἰ καταλήψοντα
τούτοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ὤσει σφοδρῶς ποιησάσθωσιν τὴν
κατ' αὐτῶν δίωξιν καὶ συνεργία Θεοῦ ὀλέθρον αὐτῶν ἑργάζονται
μέγαν. εἰ δὲ εἰς ὄρος εἴτε ἑτερὸν τινα ὀχυρὸν καταφύγοντι τόπον,
καταλαμβανόντων | τῶν πεζῶν καὶ διαταγμάτων ὀσταύτως καὶ τῶν
καβαλλάριων, καθὼς ὁ τόπος ἄδειαν διδωσί, τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν στερρῶς
ἐχέσθωσαν μάχης. εἰ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρχηγοι τοῦ ἑθνοῦς ἐκείσερε ἐἰσιν, κατα-
λιπεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐ συμφέρον, ἀλλ' εἰ δεήσει καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς στρα-
τίας | μετατιθήματο κάκεισις γενέσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐσθὸν οἱ ἕχθροι, ἐστὶν
ἡ πεζοὶ τοὺς ἔποιος λιπόντες διὰ τῶν ὄρεων δυνηθώσι φυγεῖν ἣ
πολέμῳ ἀλώσιν.


|<Kε⟩' )

Πῶς δυνατὸν ἔστι μετ' ἐπιτηδεύσεως τοὺς πολιορκουμένους
πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἐπισπάσασθαι καὶ τραυματίσαται αὐτοῖς.

Δυνατὸν δὲ ἔστι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιτηδεύσασθαι καθὼς
5 πολλάκις θεασάμεθα γεγονός αὐτοὶ τε ήμεῖς καὶ ἔτεροι πλείστοι.
δεὶ γὰρ νῦκτων ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς κατέναντι τῶν τῆς πόλεως πυλῶν δύναμιν ἴκανὴν πεζικὴν ἔγκρυψαν, ἀνά χείρας ἔχοντων ἐκάστων τὰ ἐπι-
τίθεσα ὅπλα. ἐμπειρίας δὲ καὶ φρονίμης πλείστοι οἱ τούτων ἄρχηγοι
tῶν ἄλλων διαφερέτωσαν. πρὸς τούτοις καὶ εἰς ἑπείῶν ἐνέδρας κατα-
στήσατε ἐν ἐπιτηθείους τόποις ἐπιστήσατε τε καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄγε | μόνας τῶν
ἀρίστων καὶ ἐπιλέκτων ἐτα πλάσασθαι φανερὰν ἐξέλευσαν, ὡς
δῆθεν τῶν ἐκτὸς πολεμίων φανέρως καὶ τοῖς τούς ἔποιοι νέμουσι
βουλομένων ἐπιτεθήναι, καὶ τὸ ἀπλήκτων κενὸν καὶ ἔρημον μα-
χομένων πρὸς ὀπλάτω ὑπὸ χθρῶν παραδεικνύμαται, μόνοιν ὡς εἰκὸς
φανομένων τῶν ὑπορχῶν καὶ τὰς προς τὴν κατηγορίας αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοῦντων
ὑπηρεσίας· μετὰ δὲ τὸ μακρυνθῆναι τῇ πόλεως ἐν ἀποκρύψι στήναι
τόπῳ καὶ βίγλας ἔχειν τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς ἐπισκεπτεῖ τὸ ἀποβησόμενον.
ἐπειδ' ἂν δὲ τὸν μάχημον οἱ πολιορκοῦμενοι λαὸν γνώσιν πρὸς πολε-
μον τὸν ἐκτὸς ἐξελθόντα, μετὰ τὸ ἐκείνους μακρυνθῆναι, ὡς οἱ ἔχ-
ing use of this trick now, so that even in their camps they can cause some harm to our army. On the contrary, by making the destruction of the enemy fighting force our first priority we might easily end up taking possession of all their belongings as well. If they turn to flight, do not pursue them without taking precautions, but do it in a careful and experienced way. If our men catch up with them, apart from the ones they capture, they should carry out their pursuit with great vigor and, with God’s assistance, they will effect great destruction among them. If they seek refuge on a mountain or some other strong place, wait until the infantry arrives and gets in position, likewise some cavalry, as the terrain permits, and attack them relentlessly. If the rulers of the people are also present there, it is not a good idea to let them go. If necessary, have the rest of the army come and take up position there. No leeway should be given the enemy until either they abandon their horses and manage to flee on foot through the mountains or they are taken in battle.

[26.]

Possible methods of luring the besieged outside and injuring them.

It is possible to take some action against the people in the city, as we and many others have often observed. At night in the tents which are opposite the gates of the city a good-sized infantry force must be concealed, with each man holding the proper weapons in his hands. Most of their officers should be above average in intelligence and experience. In addition to these, set up ambuscades with cavalrymen in suitable locations, placing them under the very best, selected commanders. They should then make believe they are riding away, so the enemy who are outside will get the idea of attacking the men pasturing the horses. To deceive the enemy the camp will be made to look emptied of fighting men and deserted. The only people in sight will be the servants busily going about their regular duties. After the cavalry has gotten a good distance from the city they should halt in a concealed location and put out sentries to observe carefully what is happening. When the besieged enemy realize that the fighting men have ridden off for battle and have gotten some distance
θρόι τῶν πυλῶν ἐξελθόντες ἐπιδραμοῦνται τοῖς πολιορκητικοῖς ὀργά-

νοις πρὸς τὸ συντρίψαι ταῦτα καὶ πυρπολῆσαι. τούτου δὲ γενομένου

οἱ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντες φυγῆν ὑποκρήθησαν πρὸς τὸ ἀπλήκτον, ἀφ'

οὗ δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ διαρρήσασιν οἱ δυσμενεῖς εἰσελθεῖν, καρτε-

ρησάτωσαν οἱ λοχώντες ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς, ἄχρις ἀν ἀναφεύγαν τὰ

λάφυρα ἀρξώνται, καὶ τότε οἱ μὲν τῆς ἱππικῆς ἐνέδρας πρὸς τὸ τὰς

πύλας κατασχεῖν καὶ τοὺς πολέμιοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀπείρεξαί ἄξιος ὀρμη-

σάτωσαν, οἱ δὲ πειζοῖ τῶν σκηνῶν ἐξελθόντες τῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς μάχης ἀπ-

τέσθωσαν, | καὶ εἴπερ καλῶς καὶ εὐάκους τὸ τοιὸνδε ἐπιτήδευμα οἱ

ὑπολειφθέντες ἤγεμόνες | διάθοις ἐπισκήπτοντες μὴ ἀτάκτως τινά

πρὸ καρφοῦ ἐκδραμεῖν καντεύθεν εὐφώρατον γενέσθαι τὴν ἐνέδραν

toῖς πολεμίοις, ἄξιομνόμενον ἔργον Θεοῦ κατορθωθῆσται χάριτι.

εἴδομεν γὰρ, ἢπερ εἰρήνη, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μυρίοι

tῷ τοιῷτῳ τρόπῳ οὐ μόνον μεγάλως τραυματισθέντας τοὺς ἐναντίους,

슐α καὶ φρούρια ἐνίστε αὐτῷ | βοεῖ ἀλόντα.

Εἴ δὲ ἔφοδος μεγάλων πολεμίων δυνάμεως προσδοκᾶται, ἀπο-

χωρεῖν δεῖ τῆς πολιορκημένης πόλεως, καὶ ταύτης πορρωτάτῳ ἐν

ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ στρατοπεδεύειν καντεύθεν ἐτοιμάζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν

tῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν.


(κζ'.)

Περὶ τειχομαχίας.

'Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀρξάμενοι πρὸς ἔτερα τῶν λόγων

μετηγάγομεν, νῦν καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸ ἐγχώροις διαληψόμεθα. ἡ

5 πολιορκία, ἦτοι ἡ τειχομαχία, πολυειδής καὶ πολυμήχανος ἐστὶ. γι-

νοῦται γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς ὀργῆσαι, καὶ κροῖς κατασκευάζουνται καὶ

χελώναι καὶ πετρόβολοι λέσαι τε καὶ ξύλινοι πύργοι καὶ κλίμακες,

καὶ χωμάτων σωφρεία εἰς βουνον ἄποτελοῦμενα καὶ ἔτερα ἑλπιστικα-

κατασκευάζονται καὶ ἐπιτηρεῖται ὁργανῶ, ὑπὲρ ὅν ταῖς τῶν πα-

10 λαών βιβλίων ἔντυχων ἐπιστατικώπερον καὶ πλείονα τούτων εὐρή-

συγγεγραφήκοτας ἑκέινοι, καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ χρησιμῶτα. διὰ

tούτο οὖν περιττὴν ἡγεσάμεθα τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ λεπτὸν γραφήν,

tοῦ λόγου τὸν κόρον καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐκρεύγοντες.

'Εξεστὶ δὲ (καὶ) τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐκαστοῦ τοῦ ἱδίου

15 ἀπλήκτου τὴν στάσιν ἔχοντα πολιορκεῖν, ἐπειτα (τά) κρείττονα τῶν
away, they may come out of their gates, charge upon the siege engines to wreck them and set them on fire. When this happens, the men guarding them make believe they are fleeing into the camp. This makes the enemy bold enough to enter it. Let our soldiers hiding in the tents wait until they begin plundering the place, then the cavalrymen in ambush quickly race out to hold the gates and force the enemy to stay outside, while the infantry dash out of the tents and engage in hand-to-hand combat. If the leaders of the men left behind have laid their plans efficiently and well, carefully watching that nobody breaks ranks and rushes out ahead of time, which would enable the enemy to discover the ambush, then, by God’s grace, they will end up with a truly memorable achievement. For we ourselves and thousands of others, as we said, have seen the enemy not only grievously injured by such a stratagem, but have sometimes seen fortresses taken in this way without striking a blow.

If large enemy forces are expected to arrive, we must withdraw from the besieged city and set up camp in a suitable location a good distance away. We can there make ready to meet the enemy battle line.

[27.]
Fighting on the walls.

Since, after beginning with siege operations, we moved on to another topic, we shall now resume our original discussion as best we can. Siege operations or fighting on the walls implies a wide variety of forms and great inventiveness. Excavations are made under ground. Battering rams must be prepared, tortoises, stone-throwing machines, ropes, wooden towers, and ladders. A mound of dirt is piled up to make a hill. Other devices to take a city are gotten ready, and engines are built. About these matters you will find that the ancient authorities have written excellent and very practical things in their books more scientifically and in greater detail than the present work. For this reason, therefore, it seems superfluous for us to write about these matters in any detail, and we shall refrain from excessive writing.

Each leader can take position opposite his own campsite to carry out his part in the siege. The stronger siege machines should be located and brought to bear on
ελεπολικών μηχανημάτων κατά τὸ εὐκολότερον μέρος τῆς τάφρου
tῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῦ τείχους σαθρότερον ἔχειν τε καὶ προσφέρε.
σθαι, ὥστατος καὶ τὴν ἴσχυροτέραν δύναμιν καὶ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν τούς
ἐμπείροις· καὶ μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας ἀνίσθαι τὴν τειχομαχίαν
καθ’ ὄλον τοῦ τείχους τῆς πόλεως, ὅπως τῇ συνεὶ χείρα καὶ σφοδρότητι
tοῦ πολέμου, τὸ μὲν ἐκλυθέντες οἱ ἔντος καὶ ταλαιπωρηθέντες, τὸ δὲ
τραυματιζόμενοι καὶ μὴ πρὸς πάντα δυσχερὴ ἀντίσχειν δυνάμενοι,
ἀπογυν’ σι τῆς ἱδίας σωτηρίας καὶ ἡ πίστεις δῶντες καὶ αὐτοὶ λαβόντες
ὑποταγόντων, ἣ χαινῶν ἡθέντες νόμῳ πολέμου ἀλώσι καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν
βασιλικὴν γέννωσιν χείρα.

27: 12 λεπτὸν Vāri: λεπτῷ SB || 14 καὶ Graux: om. SB || 15 τὰ κρείστου Graux: κρείστου SB

〈κη’.〉

Περὶ τοῦ δείν τῶν στρατῶν γυμνάζεσθαι.

Τὸ δὲ (δείν) γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ ἀδνουμμάζεσθαι τῶν στρατῶν ἀπὸ
tῶν παλαιῶν παρειλήφθησαν. ἔστι γὰρ ὃψελημον καὶ ἐπιτηδεύτατον. 5
ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ εὐ λόν σύμπασαν ἐγύμναζον τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
καθένα ἐκαστὸν στρατιώτην ἐξασκοῦντες ἐδίδασκον ἐντέχνως τοῖς
ὀπλοῖς χρήσθαι, ὡς ἐν καὶρῆ πολέμου ἡ ἀνδρεία συνεργῆ χρωμένη
τῇ ἐμπείρᾳ καὶ τέχνῃ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἄρτητος ἡ. χρεία τούτων ἔστι τῶν
γυμνασίων καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ ὀπλα ἐπιμελείαις. πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν πάλαι
Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἐλλήνων μετὰ πληθὺς ὁλίγης στρατιάς τῶν γεγυμ
νασμένων καὶ ἐμπείρῳ μυριάνδρα στρατόπεδα κατετροπώσαντο.

Τὸ δὲ οὐκοὶ μένει καὶ ἄργεν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μήτε γυμνά
ζεσθαι μήτε ταξειδεύειν κατ’ ἐναυτὸν καθ’ ὅν ἔξεστι καιρόν, εἰς
ἐμπόρων καὶ ἄγγελαις γεωργῶν τάξιν αὐτοὺς καθάγε. τὴν γὰρ πολε
μικὴν πανοπλίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπονο ἀπεμπυλοῦντες βῶς
ἐξωθοῦνται καὶ τᾶ χα πρὸς γεωργίαν ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ κατ’ ὅλιγον
ἐθιζόμενοι πρὸς ἀργίαν μᾶλλον ταύταν ἀστάλονται καὶ αἰροῦνται ὡς
ἀταλαίτωρων καὶ ἀκίνδυνων ἔπερ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἄγνων
καὶ πόνους. καὶ εἰ χρεία γένηται πολεμίων ἐπιτῶν εἶξαγεῖν τὴν
στρατιάν, ὡσπερ ἀνάγκῃ τοιαύτῃ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιέναι ἐκάστοτε,
οὐδείς εὑρέθησεται στρατιώτων ἐξων ἐνέργειαν. ἡ γὰρ ἀργία καὶ τὸ
μὴ γυμνάζεσθαι πάντη ἀνάνδροις καὶ ἐκλειμένους ἀπεργάζεται,
ὡςπερ τὸ περὶ ταύτα ἐνεργεῖ καὶ ἐξασκεῖσθαι ἀνδρείους καὶ εἰς
πλεῖστον ἱσχὺς μέρος ἐπιδίδοντας. καὶ τούτῳ δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ
the more level section of the ditch dug by the enemy and the more unsound part of the wall. There too should be our stronger force and our experienced officers. There should be no let up by night or by day in attacking the wall, along its whole length around the city. Because of the sustained impact of the attack, the people inside will fall apart and become demoralized. Some will be wounded. They will not be able to stand up to all the punishment. They will despair of their own safety. Then either they will submit after exchanging pledges, or, greatly weakened, they will be taken by the law of war and be subject to the emperor.

[28.]

Training the army.

The ancients have passed on to us the necessity of training and organizing the army, which is obviously useful and quite fundamental. They would train not only the army as a unit, but they would also teach each individual soldier and have him practice how to use his weapons skillfully. In actual combat, then, bravery, assisted by experience and skill in handling weapons, should make him invincible. There is, assuredly, a need for exercises and for careful attention to weapons. For many of the Romans and Greeks of old with small armies of trained and experienced men put to flight armies of tens of thousands of troops.

But for soldiers to stay at home and do nothing, to get no exercise, not to go on campaign each year at the proper time, this is to reduce them to the ranks of merchants and common farmers. For, selling their combat gear and their best horses and buying cows and the other things one would expect of a farmer, and gradually becoming accustomed to leisure, they embrace it. It involves no fatigue or danger, and they prefer it to the struggles and labors on behalf of Christians. If, in the event of an enemy advance, it should be necessary for the army to march out, for the Romans have been forced to deal with such situations in the past, nobody will be found who can do the work of a soldier. Idleness and the lack of practice make them completely unmanly and incompetent, just as exercising and working at such things help to make them manly and much more powerful. This is obvious in the case of
25 ἀκρα τῆς Ῥωμαιῶν ἀρχῆς κατακυσμένων καὶ τοῖς ἑκθροῖς γειτονοῦντων. ἐκείνους γὰρ τὸ ἀπαυστὸν καὶ ἐνδελεχῶς τῶν πολέμων νεανικοὺς ἔτι καὶ γενναίους ἀπεργάζεται. πρὸς δὲ τὴν γυμνασίαν καὶ τοὺς ταξειδίους καὶ τοὺς οίκους αὐτῶν ἐλευθέρους ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπηρειας συντηρεῖα, κατὰ τοὺς δόξαντας πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις νόμον, προσήκει τιμᾶ|σθαί τε | κατὰ τὸ ἄρμόζον ὡς τῶν Χριστιανῶν προμάχους, καὶ μὴ παρὰ τούς τῶν φορολόγων ἀτιμοῦσθαι καὶ καθυβρίζεσθαι μάλιστα. ἡ γὰρ τιμή καὶ ἐλευθερία διεγείρει τούτους εἰς εὐτολμίαν καταφρονεῖν τε πείθει παντὸς θανάτου καὶ προκυνδυνεύειν ἐκθύμως τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος, ὡσπερ ἀνάπαλων αἰ ζημίαι καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀτιμοῦσθαι ῥαθύμους καὶ ἀτόλμως εἶναι καὶ καταπλῆγας παρασκενάζει.


Περί ἄδυνμιῶν

Τὰ δὲ καθολικά ἄδυνμια οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοίρᾳ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σύντασιν τοῦ παντὸς εἰσὶ στρατεύματος, καὶ | τοῦτο δήλου ἐκ τῶν 5 παλαιῶν στρατηγῶν. οὐ μετρίως γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄδυνμιῶν ἐφφροτίζον.

Ἐξεταί τοῖνοι πρὸ τοῦ τῆς πολεμίας ἐπιβήναι γῆς ἄπαν ἄδυνμιμάζεσθαι τὸ στρατεύμα δι’ οἰκείων καὶ πιστῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ ἁγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως, ὅπως γνωσθῶσιν ὅσιοι μὲν πρὸς τὸ ταξειδεύον συνεισιν τῇ ἁγίᾳ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ, ὅσιοι δὲ ὑπελειφθένταν οἰκίαν, ὅσιοι δέ καὶ ἐφυγον, πρὸς τούτω καὶ τίνες μὲν ἐν ἅλθεια δι’ ἀσθενείαν ὑπελειφθέντας, τίνες δὲ καὶ τεθήκασιν, καὶ τίνες καλῶς τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ πανοπλίας κέκτηται, οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖσθαι δεῖ ἕκαστα, ἀλλ’ εἰδέναι τίνες μὲν κοιπᾶσθαι, τίνες δὲ διὰ ῥαθυμίαν τὰ 10 οἰκεῖα προέκριναν τῶν κοινῶν, ὅπως δὲ ἄλλως ὑπελειφθένταν καὶ μὴ ἐν ἕτοι μοίρᾳ τάττωσιν οἱ θανάτοι καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας ἐαυτῶν ἐκ- 15 δεδωκότες τοὺς ῥάθυμους καὶ ἀναπτυσσόμενοι, ἀλλ’ ἄξια τῶν πεπραγμένων ἕκαστος ἀπολαμβάνῃ, οἱ μὲν εὐνεγήσεις, οἱ δὲ τὴν δο- κοῦσαν τῷ νόμῳ ἀμύναν. ὦ γὰρ δὲ ἀσθενεῖαν λιποτακτήσατες 20 ἀπολελυμένου παντὸς εἰσὶν ἐγκλήματος ὡς μὴ προαιρέσθη ἀλλ’ ἀκουσώς τούτο δεδρακότες.
those who dwell on the borders of the Roman realm and have our enemies as neigh-
bors. There the unceasing, perpetual warfare continues to keep them vigorous and brave. In view of their training and going on campaign, it is right that their homes be preserved free of every outrage, according to the laws of the ancient Romans, and it is fitting that they should be honored as defenders of the Christians. These men should not be dishonored by some tax collector or, even worse, treated with contempt. For honor and freedom arouse them to boldness and persuade them to contemn all kinds of death and eagerly endure dangers for our holy emperor and their own fatherland. On the contrary, penalizing them, despising and dishonoring them makes them become lazy, cowardly, and fearful.

Muster rolls

The general muster rolls are not the least of the elements assuring the security and coherence of the army. From ancient times commanders have made this clear, for they did not think lightly of such muster rolls.

Now, then, before marching into hostile territory, the entire army can be reg-
istered by trustworthy servants of our holy emperor. This will enable his holy maj-
esty to know how many men there are for the expedition, how many have been left at home, how many have run away. In addition he will learn which ones have actu-
ally been left behind because of weakness, which ones have died, which ones keep their horses and fighting gear in good condition. He should not be ignorant of any of these. But he should know who is working hard, who is lazy enough to prefer his own comfort to the common good, and how many have slacked off in other re-
spects. Men who have risked death and capture should not be lined up in the same division as the lazy and slothful. But each man should be rewarded for what he has done, some for their good service, and others receiving what is meted out by the law. Men who have left their post because of infirmity are absolved of any crime since they did this not by choice but unwillingly.
Καὶ εἰτέρ φυλάττοι ἡ ἀκρίβεια αὕτη τῶν ἀδνομίων, τοῦ τα-ξειδίου οὐ τολμήσωσιν οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι. ἕκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης τῶν ἀδνομίων καταφρονήσεως καὶ τινὰς συμβαίνει δι’ ἄφο-
βιαν ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι εἰς τὰ ἱδία, εἰτὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡ ἐμ-
βάλλωντος τῇ ἄλλοτρίᾳ, οὗτοι κατόπιν ἐρχόμενοι καὶ μόνοι τὴν ἔρη-
μίαν διαβήται καταναγκασθέντες τὸν ἔσχατον ὑπέστησαν ὀλέθρων.

Εἴδομεν δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ σὺν τῷ λαῷ αὐτῶν μεγάλας ὑποστάντας βλάβας παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ταῖς κλειστοῖς.

Χρή δὲ καὶ ὑποστρέφοντος καὶ ἐν τῇ ἱδίᾳ γινομένου τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐθίς τελείσθω τό ἀδνομίον, ἵνα μή τις τολμᾶ ἀνεν βασιλικὴς προ-
στάξεως ὑποχωρήσαι, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς πάντες μετὰ τῶν ἱδίων ἄρ-
χοντων ἀχρὶ τῆς καθ’ ἀλλικής ἀπολύσεως, καὶ εἰ ποὺ τινὲς τοῦ πρώτου ἀδνομίου ἀπόλυθεντες μετ’ αὐτὸ κατέλαβον διὰ τοῦ ἔσχατος ἔπι-
γινώσκονται, καὶ, ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, εἰ μή τούτῳ γεννηται, χείρων ἔπακο-
λουθεί λήμνη καὶ μείζων. τῇ γὰρ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιθυμίας καταλημμά-
νοντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν τοὺν ἅγιον καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄρχοντας προεξέρχονται. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπακολουθοῦντες καὶ τὴν ὀλυγότητα τοῦ στρατοῦ θεώμενοι τούτου μεγάλην εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐργάζο-
νται τῇ ἀπώλειαν καὶ (τῇ) αἰχμαλωσίαν.

29: 14 κοπιῶσι Σ: σκοπῶσι Β || 16 θανάτοις Β: θανάτοσ Σ || 29 ὑποστάντας Graux: ὑπο-
στάντα ΣΒ || 40 τούτοι Graux: τούτος ΣΒ || 41 τήν Graux: om. ΣΒ

(Λ').

Περὶ τοῦ διδάσκειν τῶν στρατῶν καὶ ἔθιζεν ἔτι ἐν τῇ ἱδίᾳ ὁντα κατὰ τάξιν ἀπληκτεύει καὶ ὀδοιπορεῖν.

Δεῖ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ γενόσθαι τὸ ἐκτεθὲν ἀπλήκτον δι-
δάσκειν τῶν στρατῶν τρίς καὶ τετράκις ἐν τῇ ἱδίᾳ ὅντα χώρα ἀπληκτεύ-
σαντα κατὰ τάξιν καὶ πάσαν τηρήσαντα τῆν τοῦ τοιοῦτον ἀκρίβειαν,
ἐντ᾽ ἐκάστων μαθῶν ἄκριβῶς τὸς στάσεις αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἀπλη-
κεύσαντι ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἐκδοδομένην μετὰ τάξεως ὀδοιπορίαν, ἔτι ἐν τῇ ἱδίᾳ ὁντα παιδεύειν τὴν στρατιάν, ἕνα
μετὰ καταστάσεως καὶ εὐταξίᾳ ἔσωθεν ὀδοιπορεῖν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ψυλλέουσα ἀκρίβειαν ἀνωτέρω πάσης τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συντηρῆται κακώσεως.
If the muster rolls are kept accurately, the men serving in the army will not dare to stay behind when there is an expedition. Contemning the muster roll in this way results in some men heading off to their homes without any fear, and then after the expeditionary force has marched into foreign territory, these tag along behind. They are forced to travel alone through wastelands and end up getting themselves killed. We even know not a few generals who together with their troops have suffered grievous harm at the hands of the enemy in the mountain passes because they have acted in this way.

When the army is returning and when it is in its own country, it is again necessary to complete the muster roll. This is to prevent anyone from daring to retire without imperial permission. But all the men should stay with their own officers until the general dismissal. If, for some reason, any troops should arrive too late and be left off the first muster roll, they may be listed in the later one. To put it simply, if this is not done, more serious and more extensive damage will follow. Soldiers, looking only to their own interests, wander off ahead leaving our holy emperor and their own officers in the lurch. The enemy, who are following along, will notice how small this army has become and cause great destruction and take many captives.

[30.]

Teaching the army while it is still in its own country and accustoming it to encamp and to march in proper order.

Before arriving in hostile territory it is necessary to teach the layout of the camp to the army and, while still in their own country, to have the troops encamp three or four times in proper order and to observe this with complete exactitude. In this way each man will learn his exact position and be able to encamp safely in hostile territory. The same should be done in setting out on the march in proper order. While still in its own country the army should be trained, so that, accustomed to marching in good shape and good order, it will observe exactly the same order in hostile territory and will remain unaffected by any damage the enemy can cause.
30: 8 κατά Βαρί: καὶ SB || 10 ἐθνοθείσα Graux: ἐθνοθείσαι SB

(λα').

Περὶ τοῦ ὑπαλλάττεσθαι τὰς ἐκτελοῦσας τάξεις τὴν
tοῦ σάκα διακοινὰς διὰ τῶν πολυν κόπον, τοῦ
ἀρχοντος εἰ δυνατὸν μένοντος αὐτοῦ.]

S f. 279

5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τοῦ σάκα ἄρχων καὶ αἱ τάξεις αἱ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν δου-

λείαν ἀποκεκληρωμέναι κόπον μείζονα τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν

ὑφίστανται, δὲι ὑπαλλάττεσθαι τὰς τάξεις τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μένοντος

εἰς τὴν τουαύτην δουλείαν, εἴπερ καλῶς τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν κυβερνῶν,

ἐπειδὴ πολλὴν ἐμπερίαν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὴν τουαύτην ὑπηρεσίαν σχολῆς

ἀθροίζων χρησίμως τὴν κοινὴν ταύτην ἀποτελεῖ λειτουργίαν, εἰ μὴ

B f. 234bis' ποτε αὐτός | εἰτε δι’ ἀρρωστίαν ἢ διὰ τῶν πολυν κόπον ὁκλάσῃ, τότε

γὰρ ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ ἔξεστιν ἔτερον πεπειραμένον καὶ ἰκανώτατον τὴν

τουαύτην πιστεύεσθαι.

Ὑὲ δὲ λεγόμενα μονοπρόσωπα εν μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὴν πολεμίαν

εἰς δὲ τὰ τὴν ἀρμάτα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἐπιτήδεια

βαστάζουσιν, εἰ δὲ τῇ ἐξόδῳ τῶν πλειόνων βελῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν

εἰδῶν καὶ ἀρμάτων ἀναλισκόμενῶν, χρὴ ταῦτα εἰς τρία διαιρῆσαι,

καὶ μαίραν μὲν ἀφορίσαι εἰς τὸ φέρειν τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα ἀρμάτα, τὴν

δὲ ἑτέραν πρὸς τῇ τὴν δαπάνην πάντων μονοπροσώπων βαστάζειν,

τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν διδόναι τοῖς τοῦ σάκα, ὅπως ἔκεινοι τοὺς πληγάτους καὶ

τοὺς δι’ ἀσθενείαν ἀπολιμπανομένους τοὺς τε τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπολολε-

κότας ἄλογα καὶ μὴ δυναμένους πεζεύσαι ἔκεινοι τε αὐτοὺς δι’

αὐτῶν βαστάζωσι καὶ τὸν φόρτον αὐτῶν.

31: 4 αὐτοῦ Graux: τοῦ ἑχθροῦ SB || 6 ἀποκεκληρωμέναι S: ἀποκεκληρωμένα B || 7 ὑφί-

στανταί S: ὑφίστανται B || 10 χρησίμως Graux: χρησίμουs SB || 12 καὶ B: om. S || 17 ταύτα De:

taútαs SB || 21 ἀπολολεκότας Graux: ἀπολελεκότας SB
Relieving the units assigned to serve in the *saka* because of the heavy labor, but with the commanding officer remaining in place, if possible.

Since the commander of the *saka* and the units that have been detailed to serve in it have to bear more than their share of trouble and hard labor, it is necessary to relieve the units, but with the commander remaining at his task, if he is doing well in directing it. By acquiring a great deal of experience over a long period in that particular service, he will perform that duty for the common benefit very efficiently, unless, of course, ill health or overwork might make him slow down. Then, in his place another experienced and competent man may be entrusted with that duty.

On the march into the enemy’s country, the *monoprosopa*, as they are called, carry the armament and all the other siege equipment. But when they leave it, most of the missiles, the other equipment, and arms will have been expended. The *monoprosopa* should then be divided into three sections. One should be assigned to transport the remaining armament. The second should carry the supplies for all the *monoprosopa*. The third should go to the troops in the *saka*, so that they can convey the wounded, those who are so weak they might fall behind, those whose horses have perished and who are unable to proceed on foot by themselves and also carry their gear.

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1 *Monoprosopon* (relating to or concerning one person) can be used as a simple adjective, a theological term, or a fiscal obligation. In this period it was commonly used to designate a requisitioning of horses imposed on the entire population. Here it clearly means extra horses (possibly also wagons) used to carry baggage or troops. See H. Ahrweiler, “Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IXe–XIe siècles,” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 84 (1960), 1–109; repr. in *Etudes administratives*, viii, 5–6, note 7.
Τάς δὲ ἀναγκαίας δουλείας τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἃς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιτύχαν ἄρμοζει γίνεσθαι, εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας στέλλεσθαι εἰς κούρσα εἴτε τοὺς εἰς φυλακὰς τῶν εἰς χρείας ἔξιοντων καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πάσας, ὡς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος παρῆκαμεν, τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ λειλογισμῆς βουλῆς καὶ διασκέψεως τοῖς τυποῖς. καὶ ἐγγράφως ἀποστημεύον καὶ προστάτευτοι τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀποστέλλεσθαι εἰς ἑκάστην δουλείαν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τοῦ ἐτοίμους εὑρεθῆναι κατὰ τὸν προσήκουσαν καιρὸν καὶ μὴ βραβυμῆσαι τοσοῦτοι παραδραμεῖν τούτον καὶ ἀπολέσαι τὰς ἀναγκαίας δουλείας, ὡς τοῦ ἐπιτηδείου καιροῦ παραρρεύσαντος καλῶς ἀνυσθῆναι ἀμήχανον. εἰ δὲ γε παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα συναντήσουσι μανδάτα καὶ δουλείαν ἀπροόπτως συμμεταβαλλόθων τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῇ χρείᾳ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄπαντα διατίθεσθαι.

Ἐβουλόμεθα δὲ καὶ περὶ κούρσων ἐκθέσθαι, πῶς δεῖ εἰσελαύνειν αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀγαρητῶν χώρᾳ καὶ ἐπιτηδείως καὶ ἀρμοζόντως πρὸς τὴν ἐρήμωσιν αὐτῆς διατίθεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ οὐν διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ λόγου τὸ τίκτεων εἰσθώς ἀμήδιαν καὶ τὸ πλείστους εἶναι στρατηγοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγην πείραν εἰς τούτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ἔχοντας παρήκαμεν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἡγησάμενοι περιττῶν εἶναι περὶ τῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐγνωσμένων γράφειν.

32: 6 κούρσα Σ: κούρσωρα Β
Duties that have to be performed. Detailed instructions on carrying them out must be put together the day before.

The necessary duties in the army which are supposed to be done on the following day, such as which men are to be sent on a raid or assigned to guard those who go out for provisions, and all the other duties which on account of their number we have passed over, these ought to be regulated with thorough planning and study on the previous day. The orders should be made clear in writing to the men who will be sent out for each duty, so they will be ready at the proper time. Out of laziness they will not allow the time to slip by so that the necessary duties do not get done. Once the suitable time has passed by, it is impossible to get them accomplished properly. But if there is an unexpected and unforeseen conflict in orders and assignments, let them be changed according to time and need and arranged in keeping with the circumstances.

We had also wanted to explain something about raids and the manner of conducting them in the land of the Agarenes and to set forth suitable and efficient ways of devastating their country. But, because a long treatise usually brings forth unpleasant reactions and because a great many generals do have some experience of such activity, we will pass over the subject. We consider it superfluous to write about something which everyone already knows.
NOTE ON THE DIAGRAMS

The diagrams found in the manuscripts and reproduced in the text above, which supposedly illustrate the plan of a fortified camp, are sketchy and greatly oversimplified. They show essentially the same plan as that depicted in the Strategikon of Maurice several centuries earlier. The first is not much more than an outline of a square with a gate shaped like a backward gamma on each side. Inside the wall are the tents for the infantry, and two streets intersect in the middle. None of the diagrams have the three gates on each side prescribed by the text.

The second diagram shows the imperial tent and the tents of the other officials in the center of two intersecting roads forming a cross which is off balance. The imperial compound, the slanting roads, and other features correspond a little bit more to the text. The third is similar, but is more symmetrical. The fourth maintains the same basic pattern, but is more elaborate. A number of clear spaces, perhaps walls, are shown, and the emperor's tent appears connected to some others, possibly forming a sort of pavilion. The camp is surrounded by bells hanging from ropes tied to stakes fixed in the ground, as recommended in the text. The fifth illustration is a crude drawing of what seem to be siege weapons, wagons, and some animals. Its connection with the text is not clear.

Some attempts to illustrate the plan of a fortified camp as described in this treatise are given below. The people who wrote this manual and who first read it had seen and probably lived in such camps. Much of what seems obscure to the modern reader was undoubtedly clear to them. For example, the book stipulates that certain tents should be placed to the left and to the right of the emperor's tent, but it does not tell us in what direction the emperor's tent was to face, and the diagrams offer no help in this. The proper direction may have been obvious to a contemporary. All we can do is to suppose that the Byzantines continued the Roman tradition, and hazard the guess that the imperial tent faced east.

The text is clear on the general measurements of the camp, the number and location of the gates, and the size of the imperial compound. Some of the main roads are described as oblique or slanted, and they are drawn in that way in the second diagram. It is not at all clear, however, what their direction should be on the larger scale with twelve gates.

The text stipulates that the thematic troops should pitch their tents on the four sides of the imperial compound, forming the arms of a cross on the general plan. This would leave the four corner sections free. Light-armed troops (psiloi), if present, were to occupy one corner, in the form of an L, in each section. Perhaps the rest of the space was given over to workshops, storage, medical facilities, and the like.

Very little has been written about the Byzantine expeditionary camp. Neither Graux nor Vári published, or even discussed, the diagrams of a camp which are found in the manuscripts as part of the treatise. J. Kulakovskij noted this in his
review of Vári’s edition, and then composed a more detailed article on the tenth-century Byzantine camp: “Vizantijskij lager’ kontsa X veka,” Vizantijskij Vremennik, 10 (1903), 63–91. He reproduced one of the diagrams and drew up a plan of the camp according to the instructions given in the text. Finally, he translated the first eight chapters of the treatise into Russian. The camp described here is included in a broader study by R. Grosse, “Das römisch-byzantinische Marschlager von 4. bis 10. Jahrhundert,” Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 22 (1913), 90–121. He also reproduces the plan of the camp made by Kulakovskij. G. Kolias presents a general picture of what the sources, including the present one, from Roman times to the twelfth century have to say about military camps: “Περὶ ἀπλῆκτου,” Επετερίς τῆς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 17 (1941), 144–84.
TAXIARCH'S BANNER

10A. Diagram of Expeditionary Camp,
    Measured and Directional Scheme

Treatise on Campaign Organization and Tactics
10B. Ditch and Rampart around Camp

10C. Inside the Rampart

Treatise on Campaign Organization and Tactics

Diagrams of Expeditionary Camp
GENERAL PLAN OF CAMP – 16 TAXIARCHIES

50 org. = 100 m.

IMPERIAL TENT

10D. Diagram of Expeditionary Camp, General Plan
10E. Diagram of Expeditionary Camp, Center of Camp

Treatise on Campaign Organization and Tactics
10F. Diagram of Expeditionary Camp, Detailed General Plan

Treatise on Campaign Organization and Tactics
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