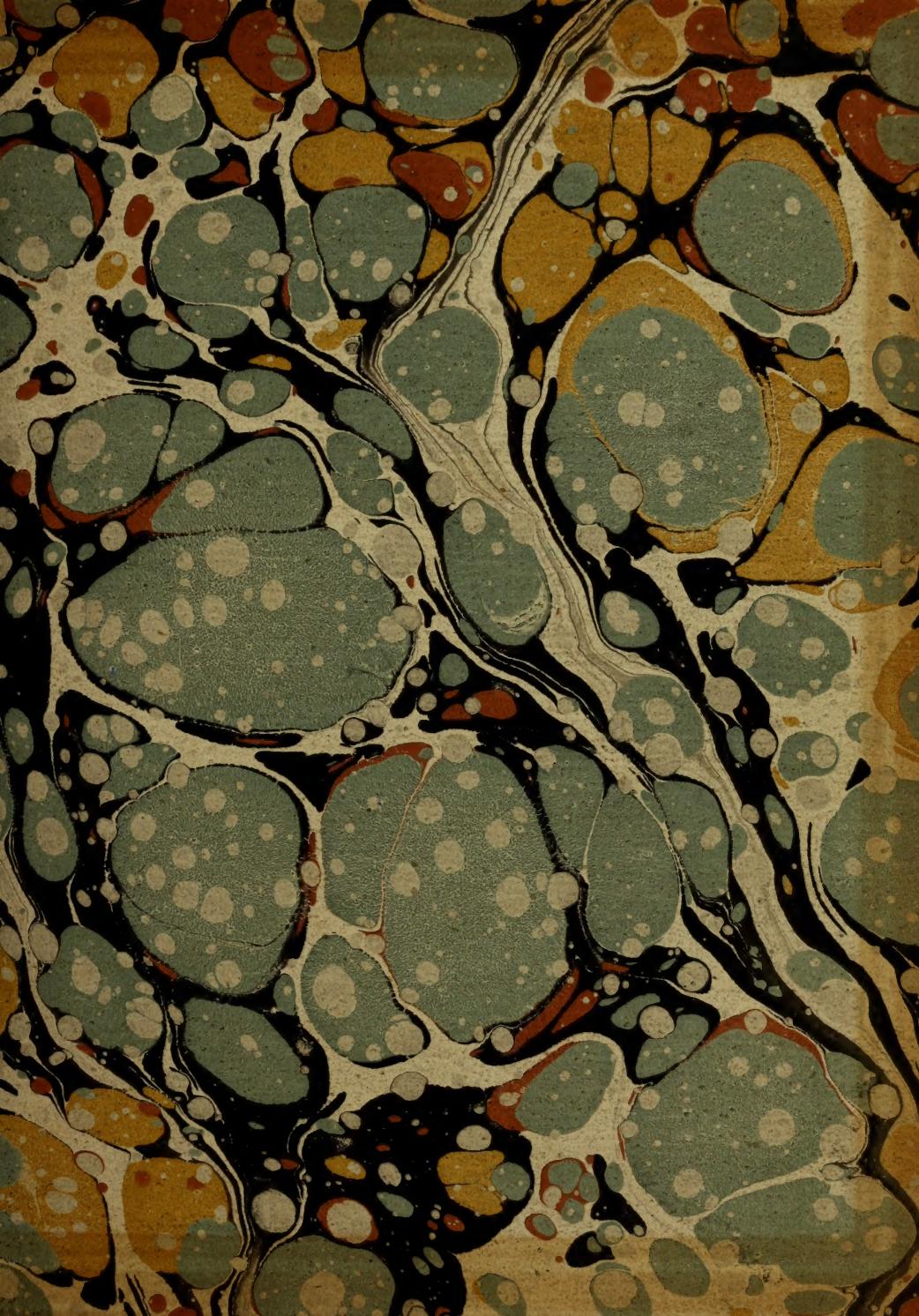




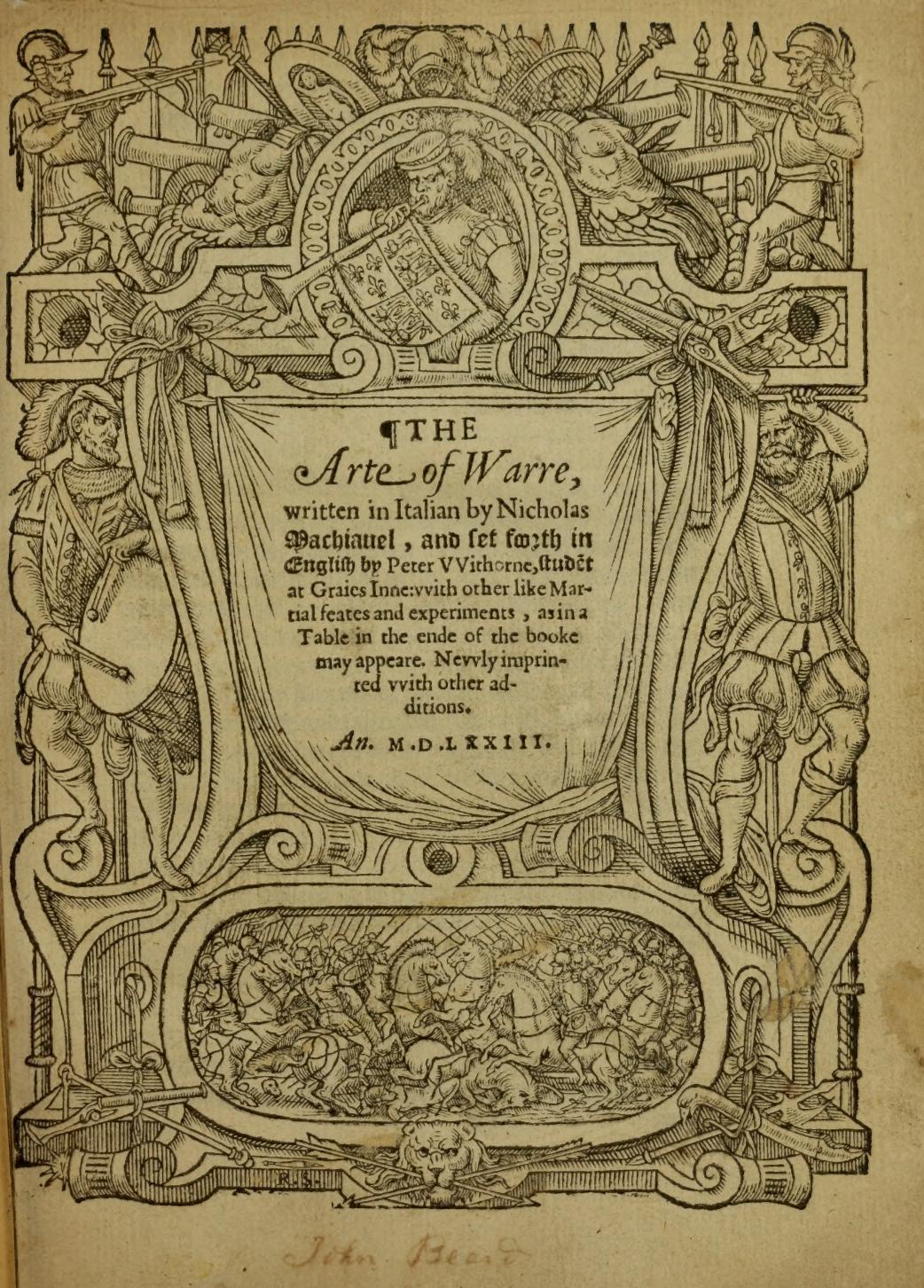
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# THE *Arte of Warre,*

written in Italian by Nicholas Machiauel , and set forth in English by Peter VVithorne, studet at Graies Innes; with other like Martial feates and experiments , as in a Table in the ende of the booke may appear. Nevyly imprinted vwith other ad- ditions.

An. M.D.LXXXIII.

John Beard

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To the moste high , and excellente  
Princes, Eli<sup>z</sup>abeth, by the grace of God, Queene of Eng-  
lande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the  
faith, and of the Churche of Englande, and  
Irelande, on yearth next vnder God,  
the supreme Gouernour.



Lthough commonlye euerye  
man, most worthy & renow-  
med Houeraigne , sæketh  
specially to commende and  
extolle the thing, wherevnto  
he feleth himselfe naturally  
bent and inclined, yet all such  
parciality and priuate affectiō  
laid aside , it is to bē thought  
(that for the defence, mainte-  
naunce, and aduancemēt of a Kingdome , or Common-  
weale, or for the god and due obseruacion of peace , and  
administracion of iustice in the same) no one thing to be  
more profitable, necessarie , or moze honourable , then  
the knowledge of seruice in warre, and dædes of armes,  
because considering the ambition of the worlde, it is im-  
possible for any Reame or dominion , long to continue  
frē in quietnesse and sauegard, where the defence of the  
sworde is not alwayes in a readinelle. For like as the  
Greekes, being occupied about trifling matters, taking  
pleasure in resiting of Comedies , and such other vaine  
thinges, altogether neglecting Martial feates , gaue oc-  
casyon to Philip king of Macedonia, father to Alexander  
the Great, to oppresse & to bring them in seruitude , un-  
der his subiection: euen so vndoubtedly, liberty will not  
be kept , but men shall be troden vnder foot, & brought  
to most horriblie miserie and calamitie , if they giuing  
them selues to pastimes & pleasure, forslake the iust re-  
garde of their owne defence, & sauegard of their coutrie,  
which in tēporall regiment , chiefly consisteth in war-  
like skulfulnessse. And therfore the auient Capitaynes

# The Epistle.

and mightie Conquerours, so long as they flourished, did  
denise with most great diligence, all maner of wayes, to  
bring their men to the perfecte knowledge of what so e-  
uer thing appertayned to the warre, as manifastlye ap-  
peareth by the warlike games, whiche in olde time the  
Princes of Grecia ordayneyned, vpon the mount Olimpus,  
and also by the orders and exercises, that the auncient  
Romaines vsed in sundry places, and speciallye in Cam-  
po Martio, and in their wonderfull sumptuous Thea-  
ters, which chiesly they buylded to that purpose. Wher-  
by they not onely made their Souldiours so expert, that  
they obtayned with a fewe, in fighting againste a great  
houge multitude of enemies, such maruailous victories,  
as in many credible Histories are mentioned, but also  
by the same meanes, their unarmed and rascalle people  
that followed their Campes, got such vnderstanding in  
the feates of warre, that they in the day of battaile, being  
left destitute of succour, were able without anye other  
helpe, to set them selues in god order, soz their desence a-  
gainst the enemie, that would seeke to hurt them, and in  
such daungerous times, haue done their countrie so god  
seruice, that verye often by their helpe, the aduersaries  
haue beene put to flight, and fields most happily wonne.  
So that the antiquitie esteymed nothing more happy in  
a common weale, then to haue in the same manye men  
skilfull in warlike affaires: by meanes whereof their  
Empire continually enlarged, & most wonderfully and  
triumphantly prospered. Soz so long as men for their  
valiauntnesse, were then rewarded and had in estima-  
cion, glad was he that coulde finde occasion to venter, yea  
and spende his life, to benefite his countrie: as by the  
manly actes that Marcus Curcius, Oracius Cocles, & Gai-  
us Mucius did for the sauegarde of Rome, and also by o-  
ther innumerable like examples, doth plainlye appeare.  
But when through long & continual peace, they began to  
be altogether giuen to pleasure and delicatenes, little re-

gar-

# Dedicatore.

garding Partiall seates, nor such as were expert in the practise therof: Their dominions and estates, did not so much before increase & prosper, as then by such meaneſ and ouerſight, they sodainly fel into decay & bitter ruine. For ſuch truly is the nature and condicion, both of peace and warre, that where in gouernement, there is not had equal conſideracion of them both, the one in fine, doth worke and induce, the others oblivion and bther abhilion. Wherefore, ſith the neceſſitie of the ſcience of warres is ſo great, and also the neceſſarie uſe therof ſo maniſt, that even Lady Peace herfelfe, doth in maner from thence craue her chife defence and preſeruation, and the worthiuelſe mozeouer, and honour of the ſame ſo great, that as by profe we ſee, the perfecte glorie thereof, can not eaſylye finde rote, but in the hartes of moſt noble couragious & manlike perſonages. I thought moſt excellent Princes, I coulde not either to the ſpecial gracieyng of your highneſſe, the vniuerſal delight of al ſtudious gentlemen, or the common utiltie of the publike wealth, imploye my labours moſe profitablie in accompliſhing of my duetie and god will, then in ſetting forth ſome thing, that might induce to the augmenting and increafe of the knowledge therof: in eſpeciallye the example of your highneſſe moſt poliſhke gouernement ouer vs, giuing plaine teſtimonie of the wonderfull prudenſe deſire that is in you, to haue your people iſtructed in thiſ kinde of ſeruice, as well for the better deſence of your highneſſe, them ſelues, and their countrie, as alſo to diſcouraſe thereby, and to be able to reſiſte the malig-nicie of the enemie, whos otherwiſe would ſeke peradventure, to iuinate thiſ noble realme or kingdome.

When therefore about tenne yeres paſt, in the Emperours warres againſt the Mozes, & certayne Turches being in Barberie, at the ſiege and winning of Calibia, Monesterio and Aftrica, I had as well for my fur-ther iſtruction in thiſe affaires, as alſo the better to

# The Epistle

acquaint me with the Italian tongue, reduced into English, the booke called The arte of VVarre , of the famous and ercellent Nicholas Machiauel, which in times past he being a counsailour, and Secretarie of the noble Citie of Florence, not without his great laude and praise did write: and having lately againe, somewhat perused the same, the which in such continuall bzoiles and unquietnesse, was by mee translated , I determined with my selfe, by publishing therof, to bestowe as great a gift (since greater I was not able) amongst my countrie men, not expert in the Italian tongue, as in like works I had seene before mee, the Frenchmen, Dutchemen, Spaniardes, and other forreyne nacions, most louingly to haue bestowed amongst theirs: The rather vndoubtedly, that as by private reading of y same booke, I then felt my selfe in that knowledge maruailously holpen & increased, so by communicating the same to many, our Englishmen finding out the ordering and disposing of exploites of warre therin contayned, the aide and direction of these plaine and briefe preceptes , mighte no lesse in knowledge of warres become incomparable, then in proues also and exercise of the same altogether invincible: which my translacion most gracious Soueraigne, together with such other things , as by me hath bene gathered, & thought good to adde therunto, I haue presumed to dedicate unto your highnes: not onely because the whole charge and furniture of warlike counsailes and preparacions, being determined by the arbitremen of Gouvernours and Princes, the treatise also of like effect should in like maner as of righte , depende vpon the protection of a most worthie and noble Patronesse, but also that the discourse it selfe, & the worke of a forrayn authoz, under the passport & safeconduct of your highnes most noble name, might by speciall authoritie of the same, winne amongst your Maiesties subiectes, much better credite and estimacion. And if most mighty

Duq[ue]ne

# Dedicatore.

Muēne, in this kinde of Philosophie (if I may so terme it) graue & sage counsailes, learned and wittye precepts, or pollitike and prudent admonicions, oughte not to bes accounted the least and basest iewels of weale publike. Then dare I boldely affirme, that of many straungers, whiche from soveryn countries, hauing heretofore in this your Maiesties realme arriuied, there is none in compa-  
son to bee preferred, before this worthy Florentine and Italian, who hauing freelye without anye gaine of ex-  
chaunge (as after some acquaintaunce and familiaritie  
will better appear) brought with him most ritche, rare  
and plentifull Treasure, shall deserue I trust of all good  
English hartes, most louingly and friendly to bee inter-  
layned, imbraced and cherished. Whose newe Englishe  
apparel, howe so euer it shall see me by me, after a grosse  
fashion, more fitly appointed to the Campe, then in nice  
termes attired to the Carpet, and in course clothing ra-  
ther put forth to battaile, then in any braue shewe pre-  
pared to the banquet, neverthelesse my god will I trust,  
shall of your grace be taken in god part, hauing fashio-  
ned the phrasie of my rude stile, euен according to the  
purpose of my trauaile, which was rather to profite the  
desirous man of warre, then to delight the eares of the  
fine Rethorician, or daintie curious scholeman. Moste  
humbly beseeching your highnes, so to accept my labour  
herin, as the first fruicts of a poore souldiours studie, who  
to the vittermost of his smal power, in the seruice of your  
most gracious maiestie, and of his countrie, will at all  
times, according to his bounden duetie and allegiance,  
promptly yeld him self to any labour, trauaile, or daun-  
ger, what so euer shall happē. Praying in the meane sea-  
son the almightye God, to giue your highnes in long pro-  
sperous raigne, perfect health, desired tranquilitie, and  
against all your enemies, lucky and ioysfull victorie.

Your humble subiect and dayly  
oratour, Peter VVhitheorne,



# The Proheme of Nicholas Ma.

chiauel, Citezen and Secretary of Florence, vpon  
*his booke of the Arte of vvarre, unto Lawrence*  
Philippe Strozze, one of  
the Nobilitie of  
Florence.

---



Here haue Laurence, manye  
helde, and do holde this opinio,  
that ther is no maner of thing,  
which lesse agræth þ one with  
the other, nor that is so much  
unlike, as the ciuill life, to the  
Souldiours. Wherby it is of-  
ten scene, that if anye deter-  
mine in the exercise of that  
kinde of seruice to preuaile,

that incontinent he doth not onely chaunge in apparell,  
but also in custome and maner, in voyce, and from the  
fashion of all civil vse, he doth alter: For that he thinketh  
not meete to cloth with ciuill apparell, him whos will be  
redy, and prompt to all kinde of violence, nor the civil cu-  
stomes, and usages may that man haue, the which iuds-  
geth both those customes to be effeminate, and those u-  
sages not be agreeable to his profession: Nor it seemes  
not conuenient for him to vse the civil gesture and ordi-  
narie wordes, who with facing and blasphemies, will  
make afraied other men: the which causeth in this time,  
suche opinion to be most true. But if they shoulde con-  
sider thanncient orders, there shoulde nothing be founde  
more united, more confirmable, and that of necessitye  
ought to loue so much the one the other, as these: for as  
muche as all the artes that are ordeyned in a common  
weale, in regarde or respect of common profite of men,  
all the orders made in the same, to liue with feare of  
the Lawe, and of God, shoulde bee bayne, if by force of

# The Proheme.

armes their defence were not prepared, which well or deyned, do maintaine those also which be not well or deyned. And likewise to the contrarie, the god orders, without the Souldours helpe, no lesse or otherwise do disorder, then the habitacion of a sumptuous & royll palais, although it were decke with golde and precious stones, when without being couered, shoulde not haue wherewith to defende it from the raine. And if in what so euer other orders of cities and kingdomes there hath beene vsed all diligence for to maintayne men faithfull, peaceable, and full of the feare of God, in the seruice of warre, it was doubled: for in what man ought the countrie to like greater fauor, then in him, who muste promise to die for the same? In whom ought there to be more loue of peace, then in him, whiche onely by the warre may be hurt? In whom ought there to be more feare of God, then in him, which every day committing him self to infinite perilles, hath most neede of his helpe? This necessitie considered well, both of them that gaue the lawes to Empires, and of those that to the exercise of seruice were appointed, made y the life of Souldours, of other men was praised, and with all studie followed and imitated. But the orders of seruice of warre, being altogether corrupted, and a great waye from the aunciente maners altered, there hath growen these sinistrous opinions, which maketh men to hate the warlike seruice, and to slie the conuersation of those that do exercise it. Albeit I iudging by the same, that I haue seene & read, that it is not a thing impossible, to bring it againe to the aunciente maners, and to give it some fashion of the vertue passed, I haue determined to the entent not to passe this my ydle time, without doing some thing, to write that which I do vnderstande, of the arte of warre, to the satisfying of those, who are louers of auncient actes. And although it be a holde thing to intreate of the same matter, wheroft otherwise I haue made no profes-  
sion,

# The Proheme. *Folij.*

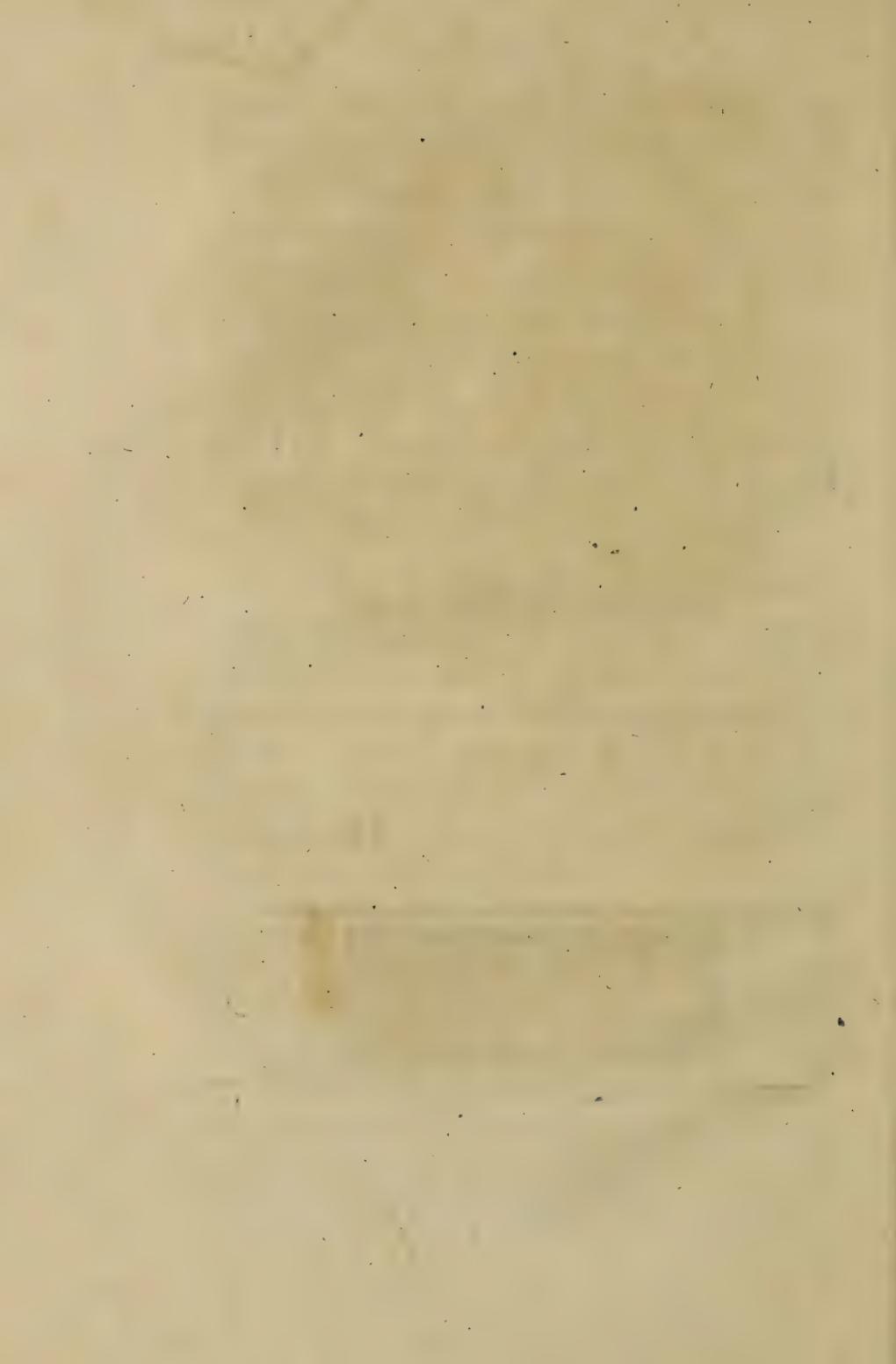
ston, notwithstanding I belieue it is no errour to occupie with wordes a degréé, the which manye with greater presumption with their deedes haue occupied: for as muche as the errours that I maye happen to make by writing, may be without harme to any man corrected: but those the whiche of them be made in doing, can not be knownen without the ruine of Empires. Therefore Laurence you ought to consider the qualitie of this my labour, and with your iudgement to give it that blame, or that praise, as shall seeme vnto you it hath deserved. The which I sende vnto you, as well to shew my selfe gratefull, although my abilitie reche not to the benefites, which I haue receyued of you, as also for that being the custome to honour with like wozkes them,  
Who for nobilitie, riches, wisedome, and liberalitie do shine: I knowe you for riches,  
and nobilitie, not to haue manye  
peeres, for wisedome few,  
and for liberalitie none.

---

*F I N I S.*

*A. G.*





The firste booke of the arte of warre,  
 of Nicholas Machiauel, Citezen and Secretarie  
 of Florence, unto Laurence Philip Strozze,  
 one of the Nobilitie of  
 Florence.



Orasmuche as I beleue that  
 after death, all men maye be  
 praised without charge, all  
 occasion and suspect of flatte-  
 ry being taken away, I shall  
 not doubt to praise oure Co-  
 simo Ruchellay, whose name  
 was never remembred of mee  
 without feares, hauing kno-  
 wen in him those condicions,

the which in a god friende or in a Citezen, might of his  
 friendes, or of his countrye, be desired: for that I do not  
 know what thing was so much his, not excepting anye  
 thing (sauing his soule) which for his friends willingly  
 of him should not haue bene spent: I know not what en-  
 terprise should haue made him afraied, where the same  
 shoulde haue bene knownen to haue bene for the benefit  
 of his countrey. And I do plainlye confess, not to haue  
 met amongst so many men, as I haue knownen, and  
 practised withall, a man, whose minde was more infla-  
 med then his, vnto great and magnificent thinges. Now  
 he lamented not with his friendes of anye thing at his  
 death, but because he was borne to die a young man  
 within his owne house, before hee had gotten honour,  
 and according to his desire, holpen any man: for that he  
 knewe, that of him coulde not bee spoken other, sauing  
 that there shoulde be dead a god friende. Yet it resteth  
 not for this, that we, and what soeuer other that as  
 we dyd knowe him, are not able to testifie (seeing his  
 workes do not appeare) of his laudable qualities. True  
 it

# The first Booke of

It is , that fortune was not for all this, so much his enemie , that it leste not some briesc recorde of the readinesse of his wit , as doeth declare certayne of his writinges , and setting forth of amorous verses , wherein (although he were not in loue) yet for that he woulde not consume time in bayne , till vnto profounder studyes fortune shoulde haue broughte him, in his youthfull age he exercised himselfe. Wherby most playnly maye be comprehended, with howe muche felicitie he dyd describe his conceiptes, and howe much for Poetic he shoulde haue bene esteemed, if the same for the ende therof, had of him bene exercised. Fortune having therfore depriued vs from the vse of so great a friende, mē thinketh there can bee sounde no other remedy, then as muche as is possible , to seeke to inioye the memorie of the same , and to repeate luche thinges as hath bene of him either wittelye sayde , or wiselye disputed. And for as muche as there is nothing of him more freshe, then the reasoning , the which in his last dayes Signior Fabritio Collonna , in his Orcharde had with him , Where largelye of the same gentilman were disputed matters of warre, both wittlyl and prudently , for the mooste parte of Cosimo demaunded , I thought god for that I was presente there with certayne other of our friendes , to bringit to memorie , so that reading the same , the friendes of Cosimo , whiche thither came, might renewe in their mindes , the remembraunce of his vertue:and the other parte being sorry for their absence,might partlye learne hereby manye thinges profitable,not onely to the life of Souldours , but also to ciuill mens liues,whiche grauely of a mooste wise man was disputed. Therefor I saye,that Fabritio Collonna retourning out of Lombardie , where long time greatlye to his glorie , he had serued in the warres the catholique king , he determined , passing by Florence, to rest him selfe certayne dayes in the same Citie , to

visite

visite the Dukes excellencie, and to see certayne gentilmen, whiche in times paste hee had beeне acquainted withall. For which cause, vnto Cosimo it was thought best to bid him into his Orchard, not so much to vse his liberalitie, as to haue occasion to talke with him at leasure, and of him to vnderstande and to learne diuers things, according as of such a man may be hoped for, seeming to haue occasiō to spend a day in reasoning of such matters, whiche to his minde shoulde best satisfie him. Then Fabritio came, according to his desire, and was receyued of Cosimo together, with certayn of his truſtie friendes, amongst whome were Zanoby Buondelmonti, Baptiste Palla, and Luigi Allamanni, all young men loued of him, and of the verye same studies moſte ardent, whose god qualities, for as muche as every day, and at every houre they do prayſe them selues, we will omit. Fabritio was then according to the time & place honoured, of all these honours, that they could poſſible deuile: But the banketting pleasures being paſſed, & the table taken vp, & all preparation of Feaſtinges conſumed, the which are ſone at an end in ſight of great men, who to honorable ſtudies haue their mindes ſet, the day being long, and the heate muche, Cosimo iudged for to contente better his deſire, that it were well done, taking occaſion to auoyde the heate, to bring him into the meſte ſecrete, and shadoweſt place of his garden. Where they being come, and cauſed to ſit, ſome vpon herbes, ſome in the coldeſt places, other vpon little ſeats whiche there was ordeyned, vnder the shadowe of moſt high treſs, Fabritio praiſeth the place, to be delectable, and particularly conſidering the treſs, and not know- ing ſome of the, he did ſtand muſing in his minde, wher- of Cosimo being a ware, ſaid, you haue not peraduen- ture bene acquainted with ſome of theſe ſortes of treſs: But do not maruayle at it, for as muche as there bee ſome, that were moſte eſteemed of the antiquitie, then

Hovv Se-  
nior Fabri-  
tio Collon-  
na & other  
gentilmen  
being toge-  
ther in a gar-  
den, entered  
into talke of  
matters of  
warre.

they

## The first Booke of

They are commonly nowe a dayes : and he tolde him the names of them , and howe Barnardo his grandfather dyd trauayle in such kinde of planting: Fabritio replied, I thought it shoulde be the same you saye, and this place, and this study , made me to remember certayne Princes of the Kingdome of Naples, which of these auncient tillage and shadowe do delight. And staying vpon this talke , and somewhat standing in a studie , sayde moreouer , if I thought I shoulde not offend , I would tell my opinion , but I beleue I shall not , communing with friendes, and to dispute of thinges , and not to condempe them. How much better they shoulde haue done (be it spoken without displeasure to anye man ) to haue soughte to bee like the antiquitie in thinges strong, and sharpe, not in the delicate and soft:and in those that they dyd in the sunne , not in the shadowe : and to take the true and perfect maners of the antiquitie:not those that are false and corrupted: for that when these studies pleased my Romaynes, my countreye fell into ruine. Unto which Cosimo answered. But to auoide the tediousnesse to repeate so many times he sayde , and the other answered, there shalbe onely noted the names of those that speakes, without rehearsing other.

Then Cosimo sayde , you haue opened the waye of a reasoning, whiche I haue desired, and I praye you that you will speake without respect , for that, that I without respect will aske you , and if I demaunding, or replying shall excuse, or accuse anye , it shall not be to excuse , or accuse, but to understande of you the trueth.

Fabritio. And I shall be very well contented to tell you that , which I vnderstande of all the same that you shall aske me , the whiche if it shall be true, or no , I will reporte mee to your iudgemente : and I will bee glad that you aske mee , for that I am to learne , as well of you in asking mee , as you of mee in aunswering you : for as muche as manye times, a wile demaunder, maketh

keh one to consider manye thing, and to knowe many other, which without hauing bene demaunded, he shoulde neuer haue knownen. Cosimo. I will retourne to the same that you said firste, that my graundfather and those your Princes, shoulde haue done more wisely, to haue resembled the antiquitie in harde things, then in the delicate, & I will excuse my part, for that, the other I shall leue to excuse for you. I do not beleue that in this time was any man, that so much detested the living in ease, as he dyd, and that so much was a louer of the same hardenesse of life, which you prayse: notwithstanding he knewe not howe to bee able in person, nor in those of his sonnes to vse it, being borne in so corrupte a worlde, where one that woulde digresse from the common vse, shoulde bee infamed and disdayned of every man: considering that if one in the hottest day of Sommer being naked, shoulde wallow hymselfe vpon the Sande, or in Winter in the most coldest monethes vpon the snowe, as Deogenes dyd, he shoulde be taken as a foole. If one (as the Spartans were wonte to do) shoulde nourishe his children in a village, making them to liue in the open ayre, to go with head and fete naked, to washe them selues in the colde water for to harden them, to bee able to abide mucche payne, and for to make them to loue lesse life, & to feare less death, he shoulde be scorned, and soner taken as a wilde beast, then as a man. If there were saue also one, to nourishe hymselfe with peason and beanes, and to despise golde, as Fabritio doth, he shoulde bee praised of few, and followed of none: so that he being afraid of this present maner of living, he left thauentient factions, and the same, that he could with lest admiration imitate in the antiquitie, he dyd.

Fabritio. You haue excused it in this parte mooste strongly and surely you saie the trueth: but I did not speake so mucche of this harde manner of liuyng, as of other maners moore humaine, and whiche haue with the

# The first Booke of

life now a daies greater cōformitie. The which I do not  
believe, ȳ it hath been difficult to bring to passe vnto one,  
who is nob̄ed amongst Princes of a Citie: for ȳ prouing  
Wheroſt, I wil neuer ſeke other, then the example of the  
Romaneſ. Whose liues, if they were well cōſidered, &  
the orders of the ſame cōmon weale, there ſhould therin  
be ſene many things, not imposſible to induce into a cō-  
minaltie, ſo that it had in her any god thing. Cosi, What  
things are thole, ȳ you would induce like vnto ȳ antiqui-  
tie. Fabritio, To honour, & to rewarde vertue, not to de-  
ſpife pouerty, to eſteeme the maners and orders of war-  
fare, to conſtraine the Citezens to loue one an other, to  
live without ſectes, to eſteeme leſſe the priuate, then the  
publike, and other like things, that eaſily might be with  
this time accompanied: the which maners are not diſſi-  
culte to bring to paſſe, when a man ſhould well conſider  
them, and enter therin by due meaneſ: for alſinche as  
in the ſame, the trueth ſo much appeareth, that every cō-  
mon wit, may eaſely perceyue it: whiche thing, who that  
ordeneſt, doth plant treſ, vnder the shadowe wherof,  
they abide more happy, and more pleauantly, then vnder  
theſe shadowes of this godly garden. Cosimo, I will  
not ſpeake any thing againſt the ſame that you haue ſaid  
but I will leauē it to be iudged of thole, whom eaſily can  
iudge, and I will tourne my communication to you, that  
is an accuſar of them, the which in graue, and great do-  
inges, are not followers of ȳ antiquitie, thinking by this  
way moze eaſily to be in my entent ſatisfied. Therfore,  
I would knowe of you wheroſt it groweth, that of the one  
ſide you condeyne those, that in their doinges reſem-  
ble not the antiquitie: Of the other, in the warre, which  
is your Arte, wherin you are iudged excellent, it is not  
ſene, that you haue indeuoured your ſelſe, to bring the  
ſame to any ſuche ende, or anye thing at all reſembled  
therin the auncient maners. Fabritio. You are happe-  
ned vpon the point, where I looke: for that my talke de-

ſcri-

serued no other question: nor I desired other: and albes it that I could saue my selfe with an easie excuse, notwithstanding for my more contention, and yours, seeing that the season beareth it, I will enter in much longer reasoning. Those men, which will enterprise anye thing, ought first with all diligence to prepare them selues, to be ready and apte when occasion serueth, to accomplish that, whiche they haue determined to worke: and soz that when the preparations are made crastelye, they are not knowen, there cannot be accused any man of any negligence, if firſt it be not disclosed by the occaſion: in the which working not, is after ſcene, either that there is not prepared ſo much as ſuffiſeth, or that there hath not beene of any part therof thought vpon. And ſoꝝ as much as to me there is not come any occasion to be able, to ſhewe the preparations made of me, to reduce the ſervice of warre into his auncient orders, if I haue not reduced it, I can not be of you, nor of other blamed: I belue this excuse ſhoule ſuffice for aunſwere to your accuſement. Cosimo. It ſhoule ſuffice, when I were certaine, that the occaſion were not come. Fabritio. But ſoꝝ that I knowe, that you may doubt whether this occaſion hath bene come, or no, I will largeſt (when you with pacience will heare me) diſcouer what preparations are neceſſarye firſt to make, what occaſion muſt growe, what difficultie doth let, that the preparations helpe not, and why the occaſion can not come, & how theſe thinges at ones, which ſeeme coſtrary ends, is moſt diſſicill, & moſt eaſie to do. Cos. You cannot do both to me, & vnto theſe other, a thing moze thankfull then this. And if to you it ſhall not bee tedious to ſpeke, vnto vs it ſhal neuer be greuous to heare: but ſoꝝ as much as this reasoning ought to be long, I will with your license take helpe of theſe my friendes: & they, and I praye you of one thing, that is, that you will not bee greued, if ſome time with ſome queſtion of impoſtuance

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taunce, wee interrupte you. Fabritio. I am most well contented, that you Cosimo with these other young men here, do also mee: for that I beleue, that youthfulnesse, will make you louers of warlike things, and more easie to beleue the same, that of mee shalbe sayd. These other, by reason of having nowe their head white, and for having vpon their backes their blood cōgeled, parte of them are wont to be enemies of warre, parte vncorrectable, as those, whom beleue, that times, and not the naughtye maners, constraine men to liue thus: so that safely aske you all of mee, and without respect: the whiche I desire, as well, for that I maye be vnto me a litle ease, as also for that I shal haue pleasure, not to leauue in your minde any doubt. I will begin at your wordes, where you saide vnto me, that in the warre, that is my arte, I had not indeuoured to bring it to anye auncient ende: wherupon I say, as this being an art, wherby men of no maner of age can liue honestly, it can not bee vsed for an arte, but of a common weale: or of a Kingdome: and the one and the other of these, when they be well ordyned, will never consente to anye their Citezens, or Subiectes, to vse it for anye arte, nor never anye god man doeth exercise it for his particulaire arte: for as good man muche as god he shall never be iudged, whome maketh ought neuer to vse an exercise thereof, where purposing alwayes to gaine thereby, it is requisite for him to be rauening, deceiptfull, violente, and to haue manye qualities, the whiche of necessitie maketh him not god: nor those men can

Arte. not, whiche vse it for an arte, as well the great as the leaste, bee made otherwise: for that this Arte doeth not nourishe them in peace. Wherefore they are constrainyd, either to thinke that there is no peace, or so muche to preuyale in the time of warre, that in peace they maye bee able to keepe them selues: and neither of these two thoughtes happeueth in a god man: for that in minding to bee able to finde him selfe at all times

times, do growe robberies , violence, slauishers , whiche suche Souldours make as well to the friendes , as to the enemies: and in minding not to haue peace, there groweth deceyptes, which the Capitaynes vse to those, which hire them, to the entent the warre may continue, and yet though the peace come often , it happeneth that the Captaynes being deprived of their stipendes , and of their licencious living , they erecte an ansigne of aduentures , and without anye pitie they put to sacke a Province. Haue not you in memorie of your affaires, howe that being manye Souldours in Italie without wages, because the warre was ended, they assembled together manye companies , and went taxing the towns , and sacking the countrie, without being able to make anye remedy? Haue you not read, that the Carthagenes soul- diours, the first warre being ended which they had with the Romanes , vnder Matho, and Spendio , two Capitaynes, rebelliously constituted of them, made more perillous warre to the Carthagenes, then the same which they had ended with the Romanes ? In the time of our fathers, Fraunces Sforza, to the entent to bee able to liue honourable in the time of peace, not onely beguiled the Millenars, whose souldour he was , but he tooke from them their libertie and became their Prince. Like unto him hath bee all the other Souldious of Italie , which haue vsed warfare , for their particular Arte, and albeit they haue not through their malignitie becomē Dukes of Milein , so muche the moze they deserue to bee bla- med: for that although they haue not gotten so muche as he , they haue all (if their liues were seene) sought to bring the like things to passe. Sforza father of Fraunces, constrained Quæne Ione, to cast her self into the armes of the king of Aragon, hauing in a sodaine forsaken her: and in the middest of her enemies, lefte her disarmed, onely to satisfie his ambition , either in taxing her , or taking from her the kingdome. Braccio with the very  
same

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same industrie, sought to possesse the kingdome of Pa-  
ples, and if he had not bene ouerthowen and slaine at  
Aquila, hee had brought it to passe. Like disorders grow  
not of other, then of such men as hath bœne, that vse the

A Prouerbe of vwarre & peace.

A Prouerbe, whiche fortfieth my reasons, which saith,  
that warre maketh Thœues, and peace hangeth them  
vp: For as muche as those, whiche knowe not howe  
to liue of other exercise, and in the same finding not any  
man to sustayne them, and having not so muche power,

to knowe howe to reduce themselues together, to make  
an open rebellion, they are constrainyd of necessite to  
Robbe in the highe wayes, and Justice is enforced to  
erkinguishe them. Cosimo. You haue made mee to e-  
steeme this arte of warfare almooste as nothing, and I  
haue supposed it the most excellentest, and moste hono-  
rable st that hath bœne vsed: so that if you declare mee it  
not better, I cannot remayne satistfied: For that when  
it is the same, that you saye, I knowe not, wherof gro-  
weth the glorye of Cæsar, of Pompei, of Scipio, of Mar-  
cello, & of so manye Romane Capitaynes, whiche by  
same are celebrazed as Goddes. Fabritio. I haue not  
yet made an ende of disputing all the same, that I pur-  
posedy to propounde: whiche were twō thinges, the one  
that a god manne coulde not vse this exercise for his  
Arte: the other, that a common weale or a kingdome  
well gouerned, did never permit, that their Subiectes  
or Citezens shoulde vse it for an Arte. About the firste,  
I haue spoken as much as hath comen into my minde  
there remayneth in mee to speake of the seconde, where  
I wyll come to answe this your laste question,  
and I saye that Pompei and Cæsar, and almost all those  
Capitaynes, whiche were at Rome, after the last Car-  
thageneys warre, gotte fame as valiaunt men, not as  
god, and those which lived before them, got glorye as  
valiaunt and god men: the which grewe, for that these  
lookes

stole not the exercise of warre for their Arte: and those  
whiche I named firste, as ther arte did vse it. And so  
long as the common weale liued unspotted, neuer anye  
Noble Citezzen woulde presume, by the meanes of  
suche exercise, to auayle therby in peace, breaking the  
lawes, spoylling the Prouinces, usurping, and playing  
the Tyrant in the Countrye, and in euerye maner  
pruyyling: nor anye of howe lowe degré so cuer  
they were, woulde go aboute to violate the Religion,  
confederating them selues with priuate men, not to  
feare the Senate, or to followe any Tyrannicall in-  
solence, for to bee able to liue with the Arte of warre in  
all times.

But those whiche were Capitaynes, contented with  
triumphe, with desire did turne to their priuate life, and  
those which were members, woulde bee more willing  
to lay away their weapons, then to take them, & euerye  
man tourned to his science, whereby they got their li-  
ning: Nor there was neuer any that woulde hope with-  
pray, and with this Arte, to be able to finde themselues.  
Of this there maye be made concerning Citezens, most  
evident coniecture, by the ensample of Regolo Attillio,  
who being Capitayne of the Romane armies in Afri-  
ca, and haing as it were overcome the Carthaginens,  
he required of the Senate, licence to returne home, to  
kepe his possessions, & tolde them, that they were mardes  
of his husbandmen. Wherby it is more cleare then  
the sunne, that if the same man had vsed the warre as  
his Arte, and by meanes therof, had purposed to haue  
made it profitable vnto him, hauing in prayse so many  
Prouinces, he would not haue asked licence, to returne  
to kepe his feeldes: for as muche as every day he might  
otherwise haue gotten much more, then the value of all  
those possessions: but bycause these god men, & suche as  
vse not the warre for their art, wil not take of the same  
any thing then labour, perilles, and glorie, when they

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are sufficienly glorious, they desire to returne home  
and to lye of their owne science. Concernyng men of  
lowe degrē, and common souldiours, so proue that  
they kepte very same order, it doeth appere that every  
one willingly absented them selues from such exercise,  
and when they serued not in the warre, they woulde haue  
desired to serue, and when they dyd serue, they woulde  
haue desired leane noe to haue serued: which is well kno-  
wen throught many insamples, and in especiallye seeing  
howe among the first privileges, whiche the Romayne  
people gaue to their Citezens was, þ they shold not be  
cōstrayned against their willes, to serue in the warres.  
Therfore, Rome so long as it was well gouerned, whi-  
che was vntill the comming of Gracchus, it had not anye  
Souldiour that woulde take this exercise for an arte, and  
therefore it had fewe naughty, and those fewe were se-  
uerelye punished. Then a Citie well gouerned, ought  
to desire, that this studye of warre, be vsed in time of  
peace for exercise, and in the time of warre, for neces-  
sitie and for glorie: and to suffer only the common weale  
to vse it for an arte, as Rome dyd, and what souer Ci-  
tezen, that hath in such exercise other ende, is not god, and  
what so euer Citie is gouerned otherwise, is not  
well ordeyned. Cosimo. I remayne contented enough  
and satisfied of the same, whiche hetherto you haue told,  
& this conclusion pleaseth me very well whiche you haue  
made, and as much as is looked for touching a common  
wealth, I beleue that it is true, but concerning Kings,  
I can not tell nowe, for that I woulde beleue that a  
Kinge woulde haue about him, whome particularlie  
should take such exercise for his arte. Fabritio. A king-  
dome well ordered ought most of all to auoide the like  
kinde of men, for onely they, are the destruction of their  
king, and altogether ministers of tirannye, and alledges  
me not to the contrary any present kingdome, for that  
I woulde denye you all those to bē kingdomes well orde-  
red

red, because the kingdomes whiche haue god orders, giue not their absolute Empire vnto their king, sauing in the armes, soz as muche as in this place onelye, a quicke deliberation is necessarye, and for this cause a principall power ought to be made. In the other affaires, he ought not to do any thing without counsell, and those are to be feared, whiche counsell htm, least hee haue some about him whiche in time of peace desirereth to haue warre, because they are not able without the same to liue, but in this, I wilbe a litle moze large: neither to like a kingdome altogether god, but like vnto those, whiche be nowe a dayes, where also of a king those ought to be feared, which take the warre for their arte, for that the strength of armes without any doubt are the fote men: so that if a king take not order in suche wise, that his men in time of peace maye be content to retorne home, and to liue of their owne trades, it will follow of necessitie, that he ruinate: for that there is not founde more perillous men, then those, whiche make the warre as their arte; because in suche case, a king is inforged either alwayes to make warre, or to paye them alwayes or else to be in perill, that they take not from him his kingdome. To make warre alwayes, it is not possible: to paye them alwayes it can not be: see that of necessitie, he runneth in peril to lese the state. The Romanes (as I haue saide) so long as they were wise & god, woulde never permit, that their Citizens shoud take this exercise for their arte, although they were able to nourish shē therin alwayes, for þ that alwayes they made ware: but to auoide the same hurte, whiche this continuall exercise might do them, seeing the time did not varye, they chaunged the men, and from time to time tooke such order with their Legions, that in xv. yeres alwayes, they renewed them: and so they had their men in the floure of their age, that is from xviii. to xxxiiij. yeres, in whiche time the legges, the handes, and the eyes ayns were the

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they be men , who make thereof an Arte, and of them  
their shoulde growe every daye a thousande inconueni-  
ences in the states, where they shoulde be , if they were  
accompained of sufficient company:but being few, and  
not able by the selues to make an armye, they can not  
often do such greuous hurtes , neuerthelesse they haue  
done oftentimes : as I haue saide of Fraunces , and of  
Sforza his father, and of Braccio of Perugia ; so that this  
use of keeping men of armes, I do not alowe , for it is a  
corrupt maner, and it may make great inconueniences.  
Cosimo. Wbulde you liue without them ? or keeping  
them, howe would you keepe them ? Fabritio By waye  
of ordinaunce , not like to those of the king of Fraunce:  
for as much as they be perillous, and insolent like unto  
ours, but I would keepe them like unto those of the an-  
cient Romanes, whome created the chivalrye of their  
owne subiectes, and in peace time, they sent them home  
unto their houses, to liue of their owne trades , as more  
largely before this reasoning ende, I shall dispute. So  
that if nowe this part of an armie , can liue in such ex-  
ercise, as well whē it is peace, it groweth of the corrupt  
order. Concerning the prouisōns , which are reserved to  
mē, & to other capitaines, I say unto you, that this like-  
wise is an order most corrupted: for as much as a wise  
common weale, ought not to giue such stipends to any,  
but rather they ought to vse for Capitaines in y warre,  
their Citezens, and in time of peace to will , that they  
returne to their occupatiōns. Likewise also, a wise king  
either ought not to giue to such, or gining any , the occa-  
sion ought to be either for rewarde of some worthy deede,  
or else for the desire to keepe suche a kinde of man , as  
well in peace as in warre . And because you alledged  
mē, I will make ensample vpon my selfe , & say that I  
never vsed the warr e as an arte, forasmuch as my art,  
is to gouerne my subiectes, & to defende them, and to be  
able to defende them, to loue peace, & to knowe howe to  
make

make warre, and my king not so much to rewarde and esteeme me, for my knowledge in the warre, as for the knowledge that I haue to counsel hym in peace. Then A king that a King ought not to desire to haue about him , any that is not of this condition if hee bee wise , and prudentlye minde to governe:for that , that if he shall haue aboute him either to much louers of peace , or to much louers of warre, they shall make him to erre. I can not in this my first reasoning , and according to my purpose saye more, and when this sufficeth you not, it is meete , you seeke of thē that may satisfie you better. You may now to erre.

very well vnderstande howe difficulte it is to bring in vre the auncient maners in the present warres, & what preparatiōs are meete for a wise man to make, & what occasions ought to be looked for, to be able to execute it. But by and by, you shall knowe these thinges better, if this reasoning make you not waery, conferring what so ever partes of the auncient orders hath bene to the maners nowe present. Cosimo. If we desired at the firſte to here your reason of these thinges , truelye the same which hether to you haue spoken,hath doubled oure deſire:wherefore we thanke you for that we haue hard, & the rest, we craue of you to here. Fab. ſeing that it is ſo your pleasure, I will begin to intreate of this matter from the beginning,to the intent it may be better vnderſtoode, being able by the ſame meane, more largely to declare it. The ende of him that will make warre, is to be able to fight with every enemy in the fielde , & to be able to ouercome an armie. To purpose to do this, it is conuenient to ordene an hoſt. To ordene an hoſt, there muſt be found men, armed, ordered, & as well in the ſmall , as in the great orders exerciſed, to knowe howe to keepe araye, and to incampe, ſo that after bringing them vnto the enemie, either ſtanding or marching, they may knowe how to behauie them ſelues valiantly. In this thing conſiſteth all the induſtrie of the warre.

# The first Booke of

warre on the lande, which is the most necessarye , and  
the most honourablest, soz he that can wel order a fieldes  
against the enemis, the other faultes y he should makys  
in the affaires of warre, wilbe borne with : but he that  
lacketh this knowledge, although that in other particu-  
lars he be very god, he shall never bring a warre to ho-  
nour: soz as much as a fieldes that thou winnest, doth can-  
sell all other thy euill actes : so likewise lessing it , all  
thinges well done of thee before, remaine vaine. Ther-  
fore, being necessarye first to finde the men, it is requi-  
site to come to the choise of them. They whiche unto  
the warre haue giuen rule , will that the men be chosen  
out of temperate countries, to the intent they may haue  
hardinesse , and prudence, soz as much as the hot coun-  
trie, haedes prudente men & not hardy, the colde, haroy  
and not prudente. This rule is god to be geuen , to one  
that were Prince of all the wold, because it is lawfull  
soz him to choose men out of those places, which he shall  
thinke best. But minding to giue a rule ; that every ons

Oute of what coun-  
trie is best to chuse sol-  
diours to make a good  
election.

may vse .it is meete to declare, y everye commō weale,  
and every kingdome , oughte to chuse their souldiours  
out of their owne countrie, whether it be hotte , coulde,  
or temperate : soz that it is seene by olde ensamples,  
how that in every countrie with exercise, there is made  
god souldiours : because where nature lacketh , the in-  
dustry supplieth, the which in this case is worth more,  
then nature, and taking them in other places, you shall  
not haue of the choise, soz choise is asmuche to saye , as  
the best of a prouince , and to haue power to chuse those  
that will not, as well as those that will serue. Ther-  
fore, you must take your choise in those places , that ars  
subiecte unto you, soz that you cannot take whome you  
list, in the countries that are not yours, but you muste  
take such as will go with you,

Cosimo. Yet there may be of those, that will come,  
taken and leste, and therfore, they may be called cho-  
sen,

sen. Fabritio. You saye the truthe in a certayne maner, but consider the faultes, which such a chosen man hath in himselfe, for that also manye times it happeneth, that he is not a chosen man. For those that are not thy subiectes, and which willingly do serue, are not of the best, but rather of the woorst of a Province, forasmuche as if any be slanderous, idle, vnruly, without Religion fugitiue from the rule of their fathers, blasphemous, Dise players, in euerye condition euill brought vp, bee those, which will serue, whose customes canot be moze contrarie, to a true & good seruice: Albeit, when there be offered unto you, so many of suche men, as come to aboue the nomber, that you haue appointed, you maye chuse them: but the matter beyng naught, the choise is not possible to be god: also, many times it chanceth, that they be not so many, as will make vp the nomber, whereof you haue neede, so that being constrained to take them all, it commeth to passe, that they cannot the bee called chosen men, but hired Souldours. With this disorder the armies of Italie, are made nowe adates, and in other places, excepte in Almaine, because there they do not hire any by commaundemente of the Prince, but according to the will of them, that are disposed to serue. Then consider nowe, what maners of those aunciente armies, may be brought into an armie of me, put together by like waies. Cosimo. What way ought to be vsed then? Fabritio. The same waie that I saide, to chuse them of their owne subiectes, and with the authoritie of the Prince. Cosimo. In the chosen, shal there be likewise brought in any auncient fashion? Fabritio. You know well enough that ye: when he that should commaunde them, were their Prince, or ordinary lord, whether he were made chiese, or as a Citezzen, & for the same time Capitaine, being a common weale, otherwise it is harde to make any thing god.

Cosimo. Whyn? Fabritio. I will tell you a none: For  
this

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this time I will that this suffice you, that it can not bē  
wrought well by other waye. Cosimo. Hauing then  
to make this choise of men in their owne countries,  
whether iudge you that it be better to take them out of  
the Citie, or out of the Countrie? Fabritio. Those that  
haue written of such matters, do all agree, that it is best  
to chuse them out of the coutrie being men accustomed  
to no ease, nourished in labours, vsed to stande in the  
sunne, to sitte the shadowe, knowing howe to occupye  
the spade, to make a ditch, to carrye a burden, and to  
be without any deceipt, & without maliciousnesse. But  
in this part of my opinion should be, y<sup>e</sup> being two sorts  
of Souldiours, on fote, and on horsebacke, that those on  
fote, should be chosen out of the countrie, and those on  
horsebacke, out of the Cities. Cosi. Of what age woulde  
you chuse them? Fab. I would take them, when I had to  
make a newe armie, from xvij. to xl. yeares: when it  
were made already, and I had to restore them, of xvij.  
alwayes. Cosimo. I do not vnderstand well this distinc-  
tion. Fabritio. I shall tell you: when I shold ordene an  
hoste to make warre, where were no hoste already, it  
should be necessarie to chuse all those men, which were  
most fit and apt for the warre, so that they were of ser-  
vable age, that I might be able to instruct them, as by  
mē shalbe declared: but when I would make my choise  
of men in places, where a power were alreadye prepa-  
red for supplying of the same, I woulde take them of  
xvij. yeeres: soz alsmuch as the other of more age, bee al-  
ready chosen and appointed. Cosimo. Then would you  
prepare a power like to those which is in our countrie?  
Fabri. Yea truly, it is so that I would arme them, Capt-  
tayne them, exercise and order them in a maner, which  
I cannot tell, if you haue ordered thē so. Cosimo. Then  
do you prayse the keping of order?

Fabritio. Wherfore woulde you that I shold dis-  
praise it? Cosimo. Because manywise men haue al-  
waies

Of vwhat  
age Soul-  
dioursought  
to be cho-  
sen.

waies blamed it.

Fabritio. You speake against all reason, to saye that a wise man blameth order, he maye bee well thought wise, and be nothing so.

Cosimo. The naughty profe which it hath alwayes, maketh vs to haue such opinion thereof.

Fabritio. Take heede it be not your fault, and not the keeping of order, the which you shall knowe, before this reasoning be ended.

Cosimo. You shall do a thing most thankfull, yet I will say concerning the same, that they accuse it, to the entent you maye the better iustifie it. They saye thus, either it is vnproufitable, and we trusting on the same, shall make vs to leele our state, or it shall be vertuous, and by the same meane, he that gouerneth may easily depriue vs therof. They alledge the Romaynes, who by meane of their owne powers, lost their libertie. They alledge the Venicians, and the Frenche king, which Venicians, because they will not be constrainyd, to obeye one of their owne Citezens, vse the power of straungers: and the Frenche king hath disarmed his people, to bee able more easely to commaunde them, but they whiche like not the ordinaunces, feare much more the vnproufablenesse, that they suppose may issue therby, then any thing els: the one cause whiche they alledge is, because they are vnderperte: The other, for that they haue to serue par force: forasmuch as they say, that the aged bee not so disciplinable, nor apt to learne the seate of armes, and that by force, is done neuer any thing god.

Fabritio. All these reasons that you haue rehearsed, bee of men, whiche knoweth the thing full little, as I shall playnly declare. And firsste, concerning the vnproufablenesse, I tell you, that there is no seruice vled in anye countreye more profitable, then the seruice by the Subiectes of the same, nor the same seruice cannot be p<sup>r</sup>ouer<sup>d</sup>, but in this maner: and for that this n<sup>e</sup>th

# The first Booke of

deþ not þou eþ disputed of, I wil not lēse much time: be-  
cause all the examples of auncient histories, make for  
my purpose, and for that they alledge the lacke of expe-  
rience, and to vse constraint: I saye how it is true, that  
the lacke of experience, canseth lacke of courage, & con-  
straint, makeþ euill contention: but courage, and ex-  
periencē they are made to get, with the maner of arm̄ing  
them, exercising, and ordering them, as in proceeding of  
this reasoning, you shall heare. But concerning con-  
straint, you ought to vnderstande, that the men, which  
are conducted to warfare, by commaundement of their  
Prince, they oughte to come, neither altogether forced,  
nor altogether willingly, for as much as to muche wil-  
lingnesse, woulde make the inconueniences, where I  
folde afoze, that he shoulde not be a chosen man, & those  
woulde be fewe that woulde go: and so to muche con-  
straint, will bring forth naughtye effectes. Therfore,  
a meane ought to be taken, where is not all constraint,  
nor all willingnesse: but being dralwen of a respect,  
that they haue towardes their Prince, where they feare  
more the displeasure of the same, then the present paine  
and alwaies it shall happen to be a constrainte, in ma-  
ner mingled with willingnesse, that there cannot grow  
such euill contention, that it make euill effectes. Yet  
I saye not for all this, that it cannot be ouercome, for  
that full many times, were ouercome the Romane ar-  
mies, and the armie of Anibal was ouercome, so that  
it is seene, that an armie can not be ordayned so sure,  
that it cannot be ouerthowen. Therfore, these your  
wise men, ought not to measure this vnpositablenesse,  
for hauing loste once, but to beleue, that like as they  
lēse, so they may winne, and remedie the occasion of  
the losse: and when they shall seeke this, they shall finde,  
that it hath not beeþ through fault of the waye, but of  
the order, which had not his perfection, and as I haue  
sayde, they ought to prouide, not with blaming the or-  
der

By vhat  
meanes fol-  
diours bee  
made bolde  
and expert.

der, but with redressing it, the which howe it ought to be done, you shall vnderstande, from point to point. Concerning the doubt, lest such ordinances, take not from thē thy state, by meane of one, which is made head therof, I aunswere, that the armure on the backes of Citezens, or subiectes, giuen by the disposition of order and lawe, dyd never harme, but rather alwaies it doth god, and maintayneth the Citie, muche longer in suretye through helpe of this armure, then without. Rome continued free. CCCC yeres, and was armed. Sparta viij. C. Many other Cities haue beeне disarmed, and haue remayned frē, lesse then xl. For as much as cities haue neede of defence, and when they haue no defence of their owne, they hire Straungers, and the Straungers defence, shall hurte muche sooner the common weale, then their owne: because they be much easier to be corrupted, and a Citezzen that becommeth mightie, may muche sooner vsurpe, & moze easely bring his purpose to passe, where the people bee disarmed, that he seeketh to oppresse, besides this, a Citie ought to feare a great deale more, two enemies then one. The same Citie that vselth Straungers power, feareth at one instant the straunger, which it hireth, and the Citezzen: and whether this feare ought to bee, remember the same, whiche I rehearsed a little a fore of Frances Sforza. That Citie, which vselth her own proper power, feareth no man, other then only her own Citezzen. But for all the reasons that may be sayd, this shall serue mee, that neuer any ordyned any common weale, or Kingdome, þ would not thinke, that they them selues, þ inhabite the same, shoudl with their swydes defende it.

A Citie that  
vselth the ser-  
uice of straū  
gers feareth  
at one in-  
staunt the  
straungers,  
vwhich it hi-  
reth & the  
Citezzens of  
the same.

And if the Venicians had beeне so wise in this, as in all their other orders, they shoudl haue made a newe Monarchie in the woylde, whome so much the moze deserue blame, hauing beeне armed of their first giner of lawes: for hauing no dominion on the lande, they were

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armed on the sea, where they made their warre vertuously, and with weapons in their handes, increased their countrie. But when they were driven, to make warre on the lande, to defende Vicenza, where they ought to haue sent one of their Citezens, to haue fought on the land, they hired for their Capitayn, the Marques of Mantua: this was the same foolish acte, whiche cut of their legges, from climbing into heauen, and from enlarging their dominion: and if they did it, because they beleued, that as they knew, how to make warre on the sea, so they mistrusted them selues, to make it on the lande, it was a mistruste not wise: for as much as more easely, a Capitayn of the sea, which is vled to fight with the windes, with the water, & with men, shal become a Capitayne of the lande, where he shall fighte with men onely, then a Capitayne of the lande, to become a Capitayne of the sea. The Romanes knowing holwe to fight on the lande, and on the sea, comming to warre, with the Carthaginens, which were mightie on the sea, hired not Grekes, or Spaniardes, accusummed to the Sea, but they committed the same care, to their Citezens, which they set on lande, and they ouercame. If they did it, soz that one of their Citezens should not become a tiraunt, it was a feare smally consydered: for that besides the same reasons, which to this purpose, a little afore I haue rehearsed, if a Citizen with the powers on the sea, was never made a tiraunt in a Citie standing in the sea, so much the lesse he shoulde haue been able to accomplish this with the powers of the lande: whereby they ought to see that the weapons in the handes of their Citezens coulde not make tirauntes: but the naughtie orders of the gouvernement, which maketh tirannie in a Citie, and they hauyng good gouernment, they neede not to feare their owne weapons: they tooke therfore an vnwise way, the which hath been occasion to take from them much glorie, and much felicitie. Concerning the  
errour

error which the King of Fraunce committeth, not keeping instructed his people in the warre, the which those your wise men alledge for ensample, there is no man, (his particular passions layde aside) that doth not iudge this fault to be in the same kingdome, and this negligence onely to make him weake. But I haue made to great a digression, and peraduenture am come out of my purpose, albeit, I haue done it to aunswere you, and to shew you that in no countrey, there can be made sure foundation, for defence in other powers, but of their owne subiectes: and their owne power can not be prepared otherwise, then by way of an ordinaunce, nor by other way to induce the fashion of an armie in any place, nor by other meane to ordaine an instruction of warfare. If you haue read the orders, which those first kinges made in Rome, and in especially Seruio Tullo, you shall finde that the orders of the Clasti is no other, then an ordinance, to be able at a sodaine, to bring together an armie, for defence of h̄ Cittie. But let vs retorne to our choise, I saye againe, that hauing to renewe an olde order, I woulde take them of. xvij. hauing to make a newe army, I would take them of all ages, betwenee xvij. and xl. to be able to warre straight waye.

Cosimo. Would you make any difference, of what science you would chuse them?

Fabritio. The anthonys, which haue written of the arte of warre, make difference, for that they will not, that there bee taken Foulers, Fishers, Cookes, Bawdes, nor none that vse anye science of voluptuousnesse. But they will, that there bee taken Plowmen, Fer-  
mers, Smithes, Carpenters, Butchers, Hunters, and such like: but I woulde make little difference, through conecture of the conscience, concerning the godnesse of the man, notwithstanding, in as muche as to be able with more profit to vse them, I woulde make difference, and so, this cause, the countrie men, which are

Of vvh  
science sol-  
diers oughe  
to be chosen

vsed

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vsed to till the grounde, are more profitable then any other. Pert to whō be Smithes, Carpenters, Ferrars, Masons, wherof it is profitable to haue enough: for that their occupacions, serue well in many thinges: being a thing very god to haue a souldiour, of whom maye bee had double service.

Cosimo. Wherby do they knowe those, that be, or are not sufficient to serue.

Fabritio. I will speake of the maner of chusing a new ordinaunce, to make an armie after, for that, part of this matter, doth come also to be reasoned of, in the election, which should be made for þ replenishing, or restoring of an olde ordinaunce. I say therfore, that the godnesse of one, which thou must chuse for a Souldiour, is knownen either by experiece, through meane of some of his worty doinges, or by coniecture. The profe of vertue, can not be founde in men whiche are chosen of newe, and which never afore haue beeē chosen, and of these are founde either fewe or none, in the ordinaunce that of newe is ordyned. It is necessarye therefore, lacking this experiance, to runne to the coniecture, which is taken by the yeres, by the occupacion, and by the personage: of those two first, hath beeē reasoned, there remayneth to speake of the thirde. And therfore, I saye howe some haue willed, that the souldiour beeē great amongest whome was Pirrus. Some other haue chosen them onlye, by the lustiness of the bodye, as Cæsar dyd: which lustiness of body and minde, is conjectured

Hovve to chose a souldiour.  
by the composition of the members, and of the grace of the countenance: & therfore, these that write saye, that they would haue the eies lively and cherefull, the necke full of sinowes, the brest large, the armes full of muscules, the fingers long, little bealy, the flankes rounde, the legges and fete drye: whiche partes are wont alwayes to make a man nimble and strong, whiche are two thinges, that in a souldiour are soughte aboue all other,

other. Regarde ought to be had aboue all thinges, to his customes, and that in him be honesty, and shame: otherwise, there shall bee chosen an instrument of mischiefe, and a beginning of corruption: for that let no man belieue that in the dishonest education, and filthy minde, there maye take anye vertue, whiche is in anye parte laudable. And I thinkie it not superfluous, but rather I belieue it to bee necessarye, to the entent you maye the better vnderstande, the importaunce of this chosen, to tell you the maner, that the Romane Consuls, in the beginning of their rule, obserued in the chosing of their Romane legions: in the whiche choise of men, because the same legions were mingled with olde souldiours & newe, considering the continuall warre they keept, they might in their choise procede, with the experiance of the old, and with the conjecture of the newe: and this ought to be noted, that these men be chosen, either to serue incontinently, or to exercise them incontinently, and after to serue when neede shoulde requyze. But my intention is to shewe you, howe an armie may be prepared in the countrie, where there is warlike discipline: in which countrie, chosen men cannot be had, to vse the straight waye, but there, where the custome is to leue armies, and by meane of the Prince, they maye then well bee had, as the Romanes obserued, and as is obuen at this daye among the Swisers: because in these chosen, though there be many newe men, there be also so manye of the other olde Souldiours, accustomed to serue in the warlike orders, where the newe mingled together with the olde, make a bodye united and good, notwithstanding that the Emperours after, beginning the staciones ordinarye Souldiours, had appointed ouer the newe Souldiours, which were called Tironi, a maister to exercise them, as appeareth in the life of Masimo the Emperour. The whiche thing, while Rome was free, not onelye in the armies, but in the citie

## The first Booke of

Citie was ordeyned: and the exercises of warre , being  
accustomed in the same, wher the young men did exer-  
cise, there grewe, y being chosen after to go into warre,  
they were so vised in the fained exercise of warfare, that  
they could easely worke in the true: but those Empe-  
rours hauing after put downe these exercises , they  
were constrainyd to vse the wayes, that I haue shewed  
you. Therefore, comming to the maner of the chosen  
Romane, I say that after the Romane Consulles (to  
whome was appointed the charge of the warre) had ta-  
ken the rule, minding to ordene their armes, for that  
it was the custome, that either of the shoulde haue two  
Legions of Romane men , whiche was the strength of  
their armes , they created. xxiij. Tribunes of warre,  
and they appointed sixe for every Legion , whome dyd  
the same office, which those do now a daies, that we call  
Constables: they made after to come together, all the  
Romane men apte to beare weapons, and they put the  
Tribunes of euery Legion, separate the one from the  
other. Afterwarde , by lot they drewe the Tribes , of  
which they had first to make the chosen, and of the same  
Tribe they chose four of the best, of whiche was cho-  
sen one of the Tribunes, of the first Legion , and of the  
other thre was chosen, one of the Tribunes of the se-  
cond legion, of the other two there was chosen one of  
the tribunes of y thirde, & the same last fel to the fourth  
Legion. After these iiii. they chose other four, of which,  
first one was chosen of the tribunes of the seconde le-  
gion, the second of those of the thirde, the thirde of those  
of the fourth, the fourth remayned to y first. After, they  
chose other four, the first chose the third, the second the  
fourth, the thirde the fifth , the fourth remayned to the  
seconde : and thus they varied successiuelye , this ma-  
ner of chosing , so that the election came to be equall,  
and the Legions were gathered together: and as afore  
we saide , this choise mighte bee made to vse straighte  
waye

waye, for that they made them of men, of whom a god part were experienced in the verye warfare in dæde, & all in the saigned exercised, and they myghte make this choise by conjecture, and by experiece. But where a power muste bee ordeyned of newe, and for this to chuse them out of hande, this chosen cannot be made, saving by conjecture, which is taken by considering their ages and their likelinesse.

Cosimo. I beleue all to be true, as much as of you hath beeē spoken: but before that you procede to other reasoning, I would aske of you one thing, whiche you haue made mee to remember: saying that the chosing, that isto be made where men were not vsed to warre, ought to be made by conjecture: forasmuche as I haue hearde some men, in manye places dispraise our ordinaunce, and in especially concerning the nomber, for that many say, that there ought to be taken lesse nomber, wherof is gotten this profitte, þ they shall be better and better chosen, and men shall not be so muche diseased, so that there may be giuen th̄ some rewarde, wher by they may be more contented, and better be comauined, wherof I would understande in this parte your opinion, and whether you loue better the great nomber, then the litle, & what way you would take to chuse them in the one, and in the other nomber.

Fabritio. Without doubt it is better, and more necessarie, the great nomber, then the litle: but to speake more plainly, where there cannot be ordeyned a great nomber of men, there can not be ordeyned a perfect ordinaunce: and I will easly confute all the reasons of them propounded. I saye therfore first, that the lesse nomber where is many people, as is for ensample Tuscanie, maketh not that you haue better, noz that the chosen be more excellent, for that minding in chosing the men, to iudge them by experiece, there shall bee founde in the same countreye most newe, whome exper-

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rience shoulde make prouable, both for that fewe haſt  
beene in warre, as also for that of those, most fewe haue  
made triall, whereby they might deserue to bee chosen  
before the other: so that he which ought in like places to  
chuse, it is meete he leauue a parte the experience, and  
take them by coniecture. Then being brought likewise  
into ſuch neceſſity, I would understande, if there come  
before me twentye young men of good ſtature, with  
what rule I ought to take, or to leauue any: where with-  
out doubt, I beleeue that every man will confeſſe, houe  
it is leſſe errore to take them al, to arme them and exer-  
cise them, being not able to knowe, whiche of them is  
best, and to reſerue to make after moze certayn chosen,  
when in practiſing them with exercise, there ſhall bee  
knownen thoſe of moſte ſpirite, and of moſte life: whiche  
conſidered, the chusing in this caſe a fewe, to haue them  
better, is altogether naught.

Concerning diſealing leſſe the countrie, and men, I  
ſay that the ordinaunce, either euill or little that it bee,  
caueth not any diſease, for that this order doth not take  
men from any of their busynesse, it bindeth them not, that  
they can not go to do any of their affayres: for that it bin-  
deth them only in the ydle dayes, to assemble together, to  
exerciſe them, the which thing doth no hurt, neither to  
the countrie, nor to the men, but rather to young men, it  
ſhall bring delight: For that where vilye on the holie  
daie, they ſtande idle in tippling houses, they will go for  
pleaſure to thoſe exerciſes, for that the handling of wea-  
pons, as it is a goodly ſpectacle, ſo unto yong men it is  
pleaſant. Concerning to be able to pay the leſſe num-  
ber, and for this to keepe them moze obedient, & moze  
contented, I anſwere, how there cannot be made an or-  
dinaunce of ſo fewe, which may be in maner continual-  
ly paied, where the ſame painet of theirs may ſatisfie  
them. As for example, if there were ordeyned a power of  
þ, thouſande men, for to paye them after ſuch sorte, that

It might be thought sufficient, to contente them, it shall be conuenient to geue them at least, tenne thousande crownes the moneth: first, this nomber of men are not able to make an armie , this paye is intollerable to a State, and of the other side, it is not sufficiente to kepe men contented, and bound to be able to serue at all times : so that in doing this, there shall bee spent muche, and a small power kept, which shall not be sufficient to defende thee , or to do any enterprise of thine. If thou shouldest give them more , or shouldest take more , so much more impossibilitie it shoulde bee , for ther to paye them: if thou shouldest give the lesse, or shouldest take lesse, so much y lesse contentatio should be in the, or so much y lesse profitte they shall bring thee. Therfore, those that reason of making an ordinaunce, and whilst they tarry at home to paye them , the reason of a thing either impossible, or unprofitable, but it is necessare to paye them when they are taken vp to be lead to the warre: albett, though such order should somwhat disease those, in time of peace , that are appointed in the same , whiche I see not howe, there is for recompence all those benefites, which a power brings, that is ordyned in a countrey: for that without the same , there is nothing sure. I conclude, that he that will haue the litle nomber, to be able to paye them, or for anye of the other causes alledged of you, doeth not understande , for that also it maketh for my opinion, that every nomber shall diminishe in thy handes, through infinite impedimentes whiche men haue: so that the litle nomber shall tourne to nothing: againe having the ordinaunce great, thou maist at thy pleasure vse fewe of many, besides this , it muste serue thee in dede, and in reputation, and alwaies the great nomber shal gine thee most reputation. Moreouer, making the ordinaunce to kepe men exercised , if thou appointe a fewe nomber of men in manye countries, the handes of men bee so farre a sonder , the one from

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the other, that thou canst not without their most gretions losse, gather them together to exercise them, and without this exercise, the ordinance is vnyprofitable, as hereafter shalbe declared.

Cosimo. It suffiseth vpon this my demaunde, that whiche you haue saide, but I desire nowe, that you declare mee an other doubt. They saye, that such a multitude of armed men, will make confusio[n], discensio[n], and disorder in the countrey where they are.

Fabritio. This is an other vaine opinion, the cause wherof, I shall tell you: such as are ordyned to serue in the warres, maye cause disorder in two maners, either betwene them selues, or against other, which thinges most easylie maye be withstande, where the order of it selfe, shoulde not withstande it: for that concerning the discorde among them selues, this order taketh it away, & doth not nourish it, for that in ordering them, you giue them armour and Capaynes. If the countrie where you ordyne the, bee so vnappt for the warre, that there are not armours among the men of the same, and that they be so united, that they haue no heads, this order maketh the much fearser against the straunger, but it maketh the not any thing the more disunited, for that men well ordered, feare the law being armed, as well as unarmed, nor they can never alter, if the Capitayns, which you giue them, cause not the alteration, and the waye to make this, shall be tolde nowe: but if the countrie where you ordyn them, be warlike and disunited, this order onely shalbe occasion to vnite them, because this order giueth them armours profitable for y warre, and heades, extinguishers of discention: where their owne armours be vnyprofitable for the warres, & their heades nourishers of discorde. For that so soone as any in the same countrie is offended, he resortheth by and by to his Capitayn to make complaynte, who for to maintayn his reputation, comforteth him to reuengement, not

not to peace. To the contrarye doth the publike heade, so that by this meanes, the occasion of discorde is taken awaye, and the occasion of vnioun is prepared, & the provinces united and effeminated, get utilitie, and main-tayne vnioun: the disunited and discencious, do agrē, & the same their fearenesse, which is wont disordinateley to worke, is tourned into publike utilitie. To minde to haue them, to do no hurte against other, it ought to bee considered, that they cannot do this, except by meane of the heades, which gouerne the. To will that the heades make no disorder, it is necessary to haue care, that they get not ouer them to much authoritie. And you must co-

Hovve to prouide a-  
gainst such inconueni-  
ences as soule-  
diers maie  
cause.

Sider that this authoritie, is gotten either by nature, or by accident: & as to nature, it behoueth to prouide, that he whiche is borne in one place, be not appointed to the men billed in the same, but be made heade of those places, where he hath not any naturall aquaintaunce: and as to the accident, the thing ought to be ordeyned in such maner, that every yere the heades maye bee chaunged from gouernement to gouernemente: for as muche as the continuall authoritie ouer one sorte of men, bre-  
deth among them so much vnioun, that it may tourne eas-  
slye to the preiudice of the Prince: whiche permuta-  
tions howe profitable they bee to those who haue vsed them, and hurtful to them that haue not obserued them, it is well knownen by the kingdome of the Asirians, and by the Empire of the Romaynes, where is seene, that the same Kingdome indured a thousand yeres without tumulte, and without any Ciuell warre: whiche procē-  
ded not of other, then of the permutations, whiche from place to place euery yere the same Capitaynes made, vnto whome were appointed the charge of the Armies. Noz for anye other occasion in the Romane Empire; after the blood of Cæsar was extinguished, there grewe so manye ciuell warres, betwene the Ca-  
pitaynes of the hostes, and so manye conspiracies of the manus.

The occaſion  
of ciuell  
warre amōg  
the Ro-

ſoresayde

# The first Booke of

soresaid capitaynes against the Emperours, but onelye  
for keping continually still those capitaynes alwayes  
in one gouernement. And if in some of those first Em-  
perours, and of those after, whome helde the Empire  
with reputation, as Adriane, Marcus, Seuerus, and such  
like, there had bee so much foresight, that they had  
brought this custome of chaunging the Capitaynes in  
the same Empire, without doubt it shoulde haue made  
them more quiete, and more durable: For that the  
Capitaines shoulde haue had lesse occasion to make  
tumultes, the Emperour lesse cause to feare, and the  
Senate in the lackes of the successions, shoulde haue had  
in the election of the Emperour, moze authozitie, and  
by consequence shoulde haue been better: but the naugh-  
tye custome, either for ignorauice, or through the little  
diligence of men, neither for hawke, nor god ensam-  
ples, can be taken away.

Cosimo. I cannot tell, if with my questioning, I haue  
as it were lead you out of order, because from the chus-  
sing of men, we be entered into an other matter, and if  
I had not bee a litle before excused, I shoulde thinke to  
deserue some reprehension.

Fabritio. Let not this disquiete you, for that all this  
reasoning was necessary, minding to reason of the or-  
dinaunce, the which being blamed of manye, it was re-  
quisite to excuse it, willing to haue this first parte of chus-  
sing men to be alowed. But nowe before I discende to  
the other partes, I will reason of the choise of men on  
horsebacke. Of the antiquitie, these were made of the

The nomb. of horsemen most richesse, hauing regarde both to the yeres, and to  
that the Ro the qualitie of the man: and they chose CCC. for a Le-  
manes chose gion, so that the Romane horse, in every Consulles ar-  
for a Legion mie, passed not the nombur of vi. C. Cosimo. Woulde  
and for a Consulles agnie. you make an ordinaunce of horse, to exercise them at  
home, and to vse their service when neede requires?

Fabritio. It is most necessary, and it cannot be done  
otherwise

otherwise, minding to haue þ power, that it be the owne proper, and not to purpose to take of those, which makethereof an arte.

Cosimo. Howe would you chuse them?

Fabritio. I would imitate the Romanes. I woulde take of the richest, I woulde giue them headez or chiefe Capitaynes, in the same maner, as nowe a dayes to oþher is giuen, and I woulde arme them & exercise them.

Cosimo. To these shoulde it be well to giue some provision? this presen-

Fabritio. Yea marie, but so much onely as is necessarye to keepe the horse, soz as muche as bringing to thy subiectes expences, they might iustly complayne of theſe, therfore it shoulde be necessarye, to paye them their charges of their horse.

Cosimo. What nomber woulde you make? and howe woulde you arme them?

Fabritio. You passe into an other matter. I will

tell you in conuenient place, whiche shalbe

When I haue tolde you, howe ſome men

oughte to be armed, and howe

a power of men is pre-

pared, for a day

of battaile.

(...)

The chooſing and ordering of  
horsemen,  
that is to be obſerued at



The second booke of the arte of warre,  
of Nicholas Machiauel, Citezen and Secretarie  
of Florence, unto Laurence  
Philip Strozze.  
(. . .)



Beleeue that it is necessarye, men being sounde, to arme them, and minding to doo this, I suppose that it is a nedesfull thing to examine, what armoure the antiquie vsed, and of the same to chose þ best. The Romanes denide their scote men in heauie and lighte armed:

Those that were light armed, they called by the name of Veliti: Under this name were vnderstode all thosse that threwe with Slinges, shot with Croslebowes, cast Dartes, and they vsed the most parte of them soz their defence, to weare on their heade a Murion, with a Targaet on their arme: they fought out of the orders, and farre of from the heauie armed, which did weare a head p̄ece, that came downe to their shoulders, a Cozel-let, which with the tales came downe to the knees, and they had the legges and armes, couered with greaves, and bambzaces, with a targaet on the left arme, a yarde and a halfe long, & three quarters of a yarde broade, whiche had a hope of Iron vpon it, to bee able to sustaine a blowe, and an other vnder, to the intente, that it being driven to the earth, it should not breake: soz to offend, they had girte on their left flanke a sworde, the length of a yearde and a naile, on their righte side, a Dagger: they had a darte in every one of their handes, the which they called Pilo, and in the beginning of the fight, they shewen those at the enemie. This was the ordering,

Howe the  
Romaines  
armed their  
souldiers &  
vwhat vve-  
pons thei v-  
sed

and

and importance of the armours of the Romanes, by  
the which they possessed all the world. And although some  
of these auncient writers gaue them, besides the fore-  
sayde weapons, a stasse in their hande like unto a Part-  
tasen, I cannot tell howe a heauy stasse, may of him that  
holdeth a Targaet bee occupied: for that to handle it with  
both hands, the Targaet should bee an impediment, and  
to occupye the same with one hande, there can be done  
no good therewith, by reason of the weightynesse therof:  
besides this, to faight in the strong, & in the orders with  
such long kinde of weapon, it is unprofitable, except in  
the first front, where they haue space enough, to thruse  
out all the stasse, which in the orders within, cannot be  
done, for that the nature of the battaile (as in the order  
of the same, I shall tell you) is continually to throng to-  
gether, which althoough it be an inconuenience, yet in so  
doing they feare lesse, then to stande wide, Where the  
perill is most evident, so that all the weapons, which  
passee in length a yarde & a halfe, in the throng, be unpro-  
fitable: for that, if a man haue the Partasen, and will oc-  
cupye it with both handes, put case that the Targaet  
let him not, he can not hurte with the same an enemie,  
whom is upon him, if he take it with one hande, to the  
intent to occupie also the Targaet, being not able to  
take it, but in the middest, there remayneth so much of  
the stasse behinde, y whose which are behinde him, shall  
let him to welde it. And whether it were true, either that  
the Romanes had not this Partasen, or that hauing it,  
did little good withall, reade all the battailes, in the histo-  
rye therof, celebrated of Titus Liuius, and you shall see  
in the same, most seldom times made mencion of Par-  
tassens, but rather alwaies he saith, that the Darles be-  
ing throwen, they layed their hands on their swardes.  
Wherefore I will leane this stasse, and obserue, concer-  
ning the Romanes, the sworde for to harte, and for de-  
fence the Targaet, with the other armours aforesaide.

## The second Booke of

Hovv the  
Greekes did  
arme them-  
selues , and  
vvhat vvea-  
pois they v-  
sed against  
their ene-  
mies.

A braue & a  
terrible thig  
to the ene-  
mies.

Hovv the  
Romanes  
armed their  
horsemen in  
olde time.

The Greekes dyd not arme them selues so heauyly ,  
for their defence, as the Romanes dyd: but for to offend  
the enemies, they grounded more on their staues , then  
on their swordes . and in especiallye the Fallangye of  
Macedonia, which vsed staues, that they called Sarisse,  
seuen yarde long, with the whiche they ope-  
ned the rankes of their enemies, and they kept the or-  
ders in their Fallangy And although some writers saie,  
that they had also the Targaet , I can not tell ( by the  
reasons aforesayde ) howe the Sarisse and they coulde  
stande together. Besides this, in the battaile that Pau-  
lus Emilius made, with Persa king of Macedonia , I do  
not remember, that there is made any mention of Tar-  
gaettes, but only of the Sarisse, and of the difficultie that  
the Romane armie had, to ouercome them : so that I  
coniecture , that a Macedonicall Fallange, was no other  
wise, then is now a dayes a battaile of Suizzers, the whi-  
che in their Pikes haue all their force, & all their power.  
The Romanes did garnish ( besides the armours ) the  
scotemen with feathers: the whiche thinges makes the  
fight of an armie to the friendes godly, to the enemies  
terrible The armour of the horsemen , in the same  
first Romane antiquitie, was a rounde Targaet , and  
they had their head armed, and the rest vnarmed: They  
had a sworde and a stasse, with an Iron head onely be-  
fore , long and small : whereby it happened , that they  
were not able to staye the Targaet , and the stasse in  
the incountring broke , and they though being unar-  
med , were subiecte to hurtes: after , in processe of time,  
they armed them as the scotemen , albeit they vsed the  
Targaetie muche shorter, square , and the stasse more  
stiffe, and with two heade, to the entente , that brea-  
king one of the heade, they myghte preuaile with the  
other. With these armours as well on fote , as on  
horsebacke , the Romanes conquered all the worlde,  
and it is to be beleued, by the fruit thereof, whiche is  
seen

scene, that they were the beste appointed armes, that  
 euer were: and Titus Livius in his history, doeth tellis  
 verye often, where coning to comparison with the  
 enemis armes, he saith: But the Romanes, by de-  
 tue, by the kinde of their armours, and practise in the  
 seruice of warre, were superiours: and therfore I haue  
 more particularly reasoned of the armours of conque-  
 rours, then of the conquered. But nowe mee thinkes  
 god, to reason onely of the manner of arming men at  
 this presente. Footemen haue for their defence, a breast  
 plate, and for to offend, a launce, sixe yarde and three  
 quarters long, which is called a pike, with a sworde on  
 their side, rather rounde at the point, then sharpe. This  
 is the ordinarie arming of footemen nowe a dayes, for  
 that fewe there be, which haue their legges armed, and  
 their armes, the heade none, and those fewe, beare in  
 stede of a Pike, a Halberde, the staffe whereof as you  
 know, is twē yarde and a quarter long, and it hath the  
 Iron made like an are. Betwēne them, they haue Har-  
 kebutters, the which with the violence of the fire, do the  
 same office, which in olde time the slingers did, and the  
 Crossebowe shoters. This maner of arming, was founde the inuen-  
 tione of the Dutchemen, incespeciallye of Swizzers, whō to  
 being pore, and desirous to liue frē, they were, and be-  
 constrainyd to fight, with the ambition of the Princes  
 of Almaine, who being riche, were able to kēpe horse,  
 the which the same people could not do for pouertye.  
 Wherby it grewe, that being on foote, minding to de-  
 fende them selues from the enemies, that were on ho-  
 sebacke, it behoueth them to seeke of the anniente or-  
 ders, and to finde weapons, whiche from the furie of  
 horses, should defende them: This necessitie hath made  
 either to be maintayned, or to be founde of them the  
 anniente orders, without whiche, as euerye pru-  
 dente man affirmeth, the footemen is altogether un-  
 profitable. Therefore, they tooke for their weapon the

The maner  
of arming  
men nowe  
a daies.

## The second Booke of

Pike, a moste profitable weapon, not only to withstande horses, but to ouercome them: and the Dutchemen haue by vertue of these weapons, and of these orders, taken such boldnesse, that xv. or xx. thousande of them, will assault the greatest nomber of horse that maye be: and of this, there hath beeene experiance enough within this xxv. yeres. And the examples of their vertue hath bene so mightie, grounded vpon these weapons, and these orders, that sence King Charles passed into Italie, euerye nation hath imitated them: so that the Spanish armes, are become into most great reputation.

Cosimo. Whiche maner of arming, do you praise moste, either these Dutchemens, or the auncient Romanes?

VWhether  
the Roma-  
nes maner  
in arming of  
men, be bet-  
ter then the  
arming of  
men, that is  
vied noyye a  
daies.

Fabritio. The Romane without doubt, and I will tell you the commoditie, and the discommoditie of the one, and the other. The Dutche footemen, are able to withstande, and ouercome the horses: they bee moste spedie to marche, and to be set in aray, being not laden with armours: of the other part, they be subiecte to all blowes, both farre of, and at hande: because they be unarm'd, they bee unprofitable vnto the battaile on the lande, and to euerye fighthe, where is strong resistaunce. But the Romanes withstande, and ouercame the horses, as well as the Dutchemen, they were safe from blowes at hande, and farre of, being couered with armours: they were also better able to charge, and better able to sustaine charges, having Targalettes: they might more aptly in the p[re]cease fighthe with the swordes, then these with the Pike, and though the Dutchemen haue likewise swordes, yet being without Targaets, they become in suche case unprofitable: The Romanes might safelye assault townes, hauing their bodies cleane couered with armour, and being better able to couer themselues with their Targalettes. So that they had no other incommoditie, then the waighynesse

of their armours, and the pain to carry them, the which thinges they ouercame, with accustoming the bodye to diseases, and with hardening it, to be able to indure labour. And you knowe how that in thinges accustomed, men suffer no griefe. And you haue to vnderstand this, that the footemen may be cōstrayned, to fight with footemen, and with horse, and alwaies those be vnyprofitable, whiche cannot either sustain the horses, or being able to sustayne them, haue notwithstanding neede to feare the footemen, whiche be better armed, and better ordyned then they. Nowe if you consider the Dutchemen, and the Romanes, you shall finde in the Dutchemen activitie (as we haue said) to ouercome the horses, but great disaduantage, when they fight with men, ordyned as they themselues are, and armed as the Romanes were, so that there shall be this aduātage more of the one, then of the other, that the Romanes could ouercome the men, and the horses, the Dutchemen onely the horses.

Cosimo. I woulde desire, that you woulde come to some more particular example, whereby we maye better vnderstante.

Fabritio. I saye thus, that you shall finde in manye places of our histozies, the Romane footemen to haue ouercome innumerable horses, and you shall never finde, that they haue biene ouercome of men on foote, for defaulfe that they haue had in their armour, or thowre the vantage that the enemie hath had in the armours: For that if the maner of their arming, shoulde haue had defaulfe, it had biene necessarye, that there shold followe, the one of these two thinges, either that finding suche, as shoulde arme them better then they, they shoulde not haue gone still forwardes, with their conquestes, or that they shoulde haue taken the straungers maners, and shoulde haue lefte their owne, and for that it followed not in the one thing, nor in the other there groweth that there maye be easlye conjectured, that

## The second Booke of

that the maner of their arming, was better then þ same  
of any other. It is not yet thus happened to Dutches-  
men, soz that naughtic profe, hath beeне scene made  
by them, when soever they haue chaunsed to fight with  
men on foote prepared, & as obstinate as they, the which  
is growen of the bauntage, which the same haue incou-  
staines, can-  
not preuale  
against foo-  
temen vwith  
Pikes, and  
vwhat great  
aduantage  
the armed  
haue, a-  
gainst the  
vnarmed.

The victo-  
rie of Car-  
minuola a-  
gainst the  
Dutchemē.

Cosimo. Wherof commeth so much disadvantage?  
Fabritio. I haue a litle afore tolde you, but seeing  
that you haue not vnderstoode it, I will rehearse it a-  
gaine. The Dutchemen (as a litle before I sayde unto  
you) as it were vnarmed, to defende them selues, haue  
to offendre, the Pike and the sworde: they come with  
these weapons, and with their orders to finde the ene-  
mies, whome if they bee well armed, to defende them  
selues, as were the men of armes of Carminuola, whi-  
che made them alighte on foote, they come with the  
sworde, and in their orders to finde them, and haue no  
other difficultie, then to come neere to the Suizzers, so  
that they maye retche them with the sworde, soz that

so swone as they haue gotten vnto them, they fighte safelye: for as muche as the Dutche man, can not strike the enemie with the Pike, who is vpon him, for the length of the stasse, wherefore it is conueniente for him, to put the hande to the sworde, the whiche to him is unprofitable, he being unarmed, and having against him an enemie, that is all armed. Wherby he that considereth the vauntage, and the disaduantage of the one, and of the other, shal se, howe the unarmed, shall haue no maner of remedie, and the ouercomming of the first fight, and to passe the first pointes of the Pikes, is not muche difficulte, he that fighteth being well armed : for that the battailes go (as you shall better understande, when I haue shewed you, howe they are set together) and incountering the one the other, of necessitie they thrust together, after suche sort, that they take the one thother by the bosome and though by the Pikes some bee slaine or ouerthrown, those that remayne on their feete, be so many, that they suffice to obtaine the victory. Hereof it grewe, that Carminuola ouercame them, with so great slaughter of the Suizzers, and with little losse of his. Cosimo. Consider that those of Carminuola, were men of armes, who although they were on foote, they were couered all with steele, and therefore they were able to make the proue they did: so that me thinkes, that a power ought to be armed as they, minding to make the verie same proue.

Fabritio. If you should remember, howe I tolde you the Romanes were armed, you woulde not thinke so: for as muche as a man, that hath the head couered with Iron, the breast defended of a Corselet, and of a Targaet, the armes and the legges armed, is muche more apte to defende him selfe the fyd Pike, & to enter among them, then a man of armes on foote. I will giue you a litle of a late ensample. There were come out of Cicelie, into the Kingdome of Naples, a power

The battailes  
vwhen thei  
are a figh-  
ting, doo  
throng to-  
gether.

## The Second Booke of

of Spaniardes, for to go finde Consaluo, who was besieg'd in Barlet, of the Frenchmen: there made against the Mousieur de Vhigni, with his men of armes, & with about foure thousand Dutchemē on foote: The Dutches men incountered with their Pikes lowe, and they opened the power of Spaniardes: but those being holpe, by meane of their bucklers and of the agiletie of their bodies, mingled toghethers with the Dutchmen, so that they might retche them with the sworde, wherby happened the death, almost of all them, and the victorye to the Spaniardes. Euery man knoweth, howe many Dutchemen were slaine in the battaile of Rauenna, the which happened by the very same occasion: for y the Spanish soul diours, got them within a swords length of the Dutche soul diours, and they had destroyed them all, if of the Frenche horsemen, the Dutchemen on foote, had not been succoured: notwithstanding, the Spaniardes close toghether, brought themselves into a safe place. I conclude therefore, that a god power ought not onely to be able, to withstande the horses, but also not to haue feare of men on foote, the which (as I haue many times sayde) procedeth of the armours, and of the order.

Hovv to arme men, and vwhat vvea-  
pons to ap-  
point them,  
after the  
Romaine  
maner, and  
Dutche fa-  
shion.

Cosimo. Tell therfore, howe you woulde arme the  
Fabritio. I woulde take of the Romane armours,  
and of the Dutchemens weapons, and I woulde that  
the one halfe, shoulde bee appointed like the Romanes  
and the other halfe like the Dutchemen: for that if  
in sixe thousande footemen (as I shall tell you a litle  
hereafter) I shoulde haue thre thousande men with  
Targalettes, after the Romane maner, and twm thou-  
sandе Pikes, and a thousande Harkebutters, after the  
Dutche fashion, they shoulde suffice: for that I woulde  
place the Pikes, either in the front of the battaile, or  
where I shoulde feare most the horses, and those with  
the Targalettes and swordes, shall serue mee to make  
a backe to the Pikes, and to winne the battaile, as I  
shall

Shall shewe you: so that I beleue, that a power thus ouer-  
dayned, should ouercome at this daye, any other power.

Cosimo. This which hath beeene saide, sufficeth con-  
cerning fowtemen, but concerning horsmen, we desire  
to understand, which you thinkie more stronger armed,  
either ours , or the antiquitie.

Fabritio. I beleue that in these daies, hauing respect  
to the Saddelles bolstered, and to the stiropes not vsed  
of the antiquitie , they stande more stronglye on horse-  
backe, then in the olde time: I thinke also they arme the  
more sure: so that at this daye, a bande of men of armes,  
payssing very muche, comineth to be with moze difficul-  
tie with stode, then were the horsmen of old time: not-  
withstanding for all this, I iudge , that there ought not  
to be made more accompt of horses , then in olde time  
was made, for that(as afore is sayde) manye times in  
our dayes, they haue with the fowtemen receyued shame  
and shall receyue alwayes, where they encounter, with  
a power of fowtemen armed, and ordered, as aboue hath  
ben declared. Tigrane king of Armenia , had againste  
the armie of the Romanes, wherof was Capitayne Lu-  
cullus, C l. thousande horsmen , amongst the whiche,  
were many armed, like vnto our men of armes . Which  
they called Catafratti, & of the other parte, the Romanes  
were about sixe thousande, with xxv thousand fowtemen:  
so that Tigrane seeing the armie of the enemies , saide:  
these be horses enough for an imballage : notwithstanding,  
incountering together, he was ouerthowen : and he that wryteth of the same fighte, dispayseth those Ca-  
tafratti, declaring them to be unprofitable : for that he  
sayeth, because they had their faces couered , they had  
muche a doe to see, and to offend the enemie , and they  
falling , being laden with armour , coulde not rise vp  
again, nor wylde themselves in any maner to preuaile.  
I say theresoore, that those people or kingdomes, whiche  
shall esteeme moze the power of horses , then the po-

the victorie  
of Lucullo,  
against Ti-  
grane king  
of Armenia.

## The second Booke of

wer of fōtemen be alwaies weake , and subiecte to all  
ruine , as by Italie hath been ſene in our time, the whi-  
che hath bēne taken, ruined, and ouer run with Straū-  
gers, thōugh not other fault, then for having taken little  
care, of the ſervice on fōte, and being brought the ſoul-  
diers therof, all on horſebacke. Yet there ought to bee  
had horſes, but for ſeconde, and not for firſte foundation  
of an armie : for that to make a diſcovery, to ouer run,  
and to deſtroy the enemys countrey, and to keepe trou-  
bled and diſquieted, the armie of the ſame , and in their  
armours alwayes, to let them of their viuals, they are  
necessary, and moſt profitablie : but concerning for the  
daye of battaile, and for the fighte in the fielde , whiche  
is the impoſtaunce of the warre, and the ende, for which  
the armies are ordeneed, they are moze meeter to follow  
the enemie being diſcomifted then to do any other thing  
which in the ſame is to be done, and they bee in compa-  
riſon, to the fōtemen much inferiour.

Cosimo. There is happened vnto mee two debutes,  
the one, where I knowe, that the Parthians dyd not uſe  
in the warre, other then horſes, and yet they deuided the  
worlde with the Romanes : the other is, that I woulde  
that you ſhewe, howe the horſemen can be with-  
ſtode of fōtemen, and wherof groweth the Strength of  
theſe, and the debilitie of thoſe ?

Fabritio Either I haue tolde you, or I minded to tell  
you , howe that my reasoning of the affaires of warre,  
ought not to paſſe the boundes of Europe : when thus  
it is , I am not bounde vnto you, to make accompte of  
the ſame, which is uſed in Asia , yet I muſte ſaye vnto  
you thus, that the warring of the Parthians , was alto-  
gether contraraye, to the ſame of the Romanes : for as  
muſhe as the Parthians , warred all on horſebacke ,  
and in the fight, they proceeded confuſedlye, and ſcatter-  
ed, and it was a maner of fighte unſtable , and full of  
uncertaintie. The Romanes were ( it maye be ſayde )  
almost

For what  
purpose  
horſmen bee  
moſt requi-  
ſe

almost al on foote, and they fought close together & sure, and they ouercame diversly, the one the other according to the largenesse, or straighthnelle of y situacion : for that in this the Romaines were superiours in the same: the Parthians, who might make great proue with the same maner of warryng, considering the region, which they had to defende, the which was most large : for as much as it hath the sea coaste distant a thousandde miles, the riuers thone from thoher, two or three daies iourney, the tounes in like maner and the inhabitauntes few; so that a Romaine armie heauie and slowe , by meanes of their armoures, and their orders, could not ouer run it, without their greenous hurt (those that defended it, being on horsebacke most expedite) so that they were to day in one place, & to morowe distant fiftie miles. Here of it grewe , that the Parthians might preuaile with their chivalrie onelye, both to the ruine of the armie of Crassus, & to the perill of the same, of Marcus Antonius; but I(as I haue told you) do not intend in this my reasoning, to speake of the warfare out of Europe ; therfore I will stande vpon the same, whiche in times past the Romaines ordained, and the Greekes , and as the Duchemen do now adayes. But let vs see to the other question of yores, where you desire to vnderstande, what order, or what naturall vertue makes , that the footemen ouercome the horsmen. And I say vnto you first that the horses cannot go, as the footemen in euery place : They are slower then the footemen to obey, vhy foote-  
When it is requisite to alter the order : for as much as  
if it be needfull, either goyng forward, to turne back-  
warde, or tournyng backwarde, to go forwarde , or to  
move themselves standing still, or goyng to stand still  
Without doubt, the horsmen cannot do it so redylie  
as the footemen : the horsmen cannot, being of some  
violence, disordained, returne in their orders, but with  
difficultie, although the same violence ceasse the which

The reason  
mē are able  
to ouercōe  
horsemen.

## The second Booke of

the footemen do most easly and quickly. Besides this, it happeneth many times, that a hardye man shall bee vpon a vile horse, and a coward vpon a god, whereby it followeth, that this euil matching of stomackes, makes disorder. Now no man doeth maruaile, that a bande of footemen, sussteyneth all violence of horses : for that a horse is a beast, that hath sence, and knoweth the perils, and with an ill will, will enter in them : and if you consider, what force maketh them go forwarde, & what holdeth them backewarde, you shall see without doubt, the same be greater, whiche kēpeth them backe, then that which maketh them go forwardes : For that the spurre maketh them go forwarde, and of the other side, either the sworde, or the Pike, kēpeth them backe : so that it hath beeē seenē by the oloe, and by the late expe-  
rience, a bande of footemen to bee most safe, yea, innun-  
sible for horses. And if you shoulde argue to this, that the heate, with whiche they come, maketh them moze fu-  
rious to incounter, who that woulde withstande them,  
and lesse to regardē the Pike, then the spurre: I say, that  
if the horse so disposed, begin to see, that he must runne  
vpon the poincte of the Pike, either of him selfe, hee will  
restraine the course so that so soone as he shall feele him  
selfe pricked, he will stande still at ones, or being come  
to them, he will toorne on the right, or on the left hande.  
Wherof if you will make expe-  
rience, proue to runne a  
horse against a wall: you shall finde fewe, with what so  
ever furie he come withall, will strike against it. Ca-  
esar haing in Fraunce, to fight with the Suizzers, aligh-  
ted, and made every man alight on foote, and to auoide  
from the arayes, the horses, as a thing moze meete to  
fie, then to fight. But notwithstanding these natu-  
rall impedimentes, whiche horses haue, the same Ca-  
pitayne, whiche leadeth the footemen, oughte to chuse  
wayes, which haue for horse the molte impedimentes  
that maye bee, and selwome times it happeneth, but  
that

Hovv foote  
men maie  
saue them-  
selues from  
horsemens.

that a man maye saue himselfe , by the qualitie of the countrie: for that if thou marche on the hilles, the situa-  
tion doth saue thee from the same furye , whereof you  
doubt, that they go withall in the playne, fewe playnes  
be, which through the tillage, or by meanes of the wod-  
des, do not assure the: for that euerye hillocke , euerye  
bancke, although it be but small,taketh away the same  
heatte, and euery culture where bee vines , and other  
trees,lettes the horses: and if thou come to battaile, the  
very same lettes happeneth, that chaunceth in marching:  
for as much as every little impedimente , that the horse  
hath, abateth his furye. One thing notwithstanding, I  
will not forget to tell you , howe the Romanes este-  
med so much their orders , and trusted so much to their  
weapons , that if they shoulde haue had, to chuse either  
so rough a place to saue themselves from horses, where  
they shoulde not haue been able, to raunge their orders,  
or a place where they shoulde haue neede, to feare more  
of horses, but bee able to destende their battaile , al-  
ways they tooke this, and leste that : but because it is  
time, to passe to the armye, hauing armed these Souldiours , according to the auncient and newe vse , let vs  
see what exercises the Romanes caused them make, be-  
fore the men were brought to y battaile. Although they  
be well chosen, and better armed, they ought with most  
great studie be exercised, for that without this exercise,  
there was never any Souldiour good: these exercises  
ought to bee deuided into thre partes, the one, for to har-  
den the bodye, and to make it apte to take paynes , and The exercise  
to bee more swifter & more readier , the other, to teache of soldiers  
them, howe to handle their weapons , the thirde, for to ought to be  
learne them to keepe the orders in the armie, as well in  
marching, as in fighting , and in the incamping : The  
whiche be thre principall actes , that an armie doeth:  
forasmuch , as if an armie marche, incampe, and fighte  
with order, and expertlye, the Capitayne lesseth not his  
honour,  
to 3. partes

## The Second Booke of

honour, althoough the battaile shoulde haue no god ende:  
Therefore, all the auncient common weales, prouided  
these exercises in maner, by custome, and by lawe, that

VVhat ex-  
ercises the  
auncient cō-  
mon rveales  
vied to ex-  
cise their  
youth in, &  
vwhat com-  
modicie in-  
sued there-  
by.

there should not be leste behinde any part therof. They  
exercised then their youth, soz to make them swifte, in  
running, to make them readye, in leaping, soz to make  
them strong, in throwing the barre, or in wrestling: and  
these thre qualities, be as it were necessarye in Soul-  
diours. For that swiftnesse, maketh them apte to pos-  
sesse places, before the enemie, and to come to them un-  
looked for, and at unwares to pursue them. When they  
are discomforted: the readineste, maketh them apt to a-  
uoyde a blowe, to leape ouer a ditch, to winne a banke:  
strength maketh them the better able to beare their ar-  
mours, to incounter the enemie, to withstande a vio-  
lence. And aboue all, to make the bodie the mo: e apt to  
take paines, they vsed to beare great burthens, the  
which custome is necessarye: soz that in difficulte expe-  
ditions, it is requisite many times, that the Souldiour  
beside his armours, beare vntualles soz manye dayes,  
and if he were not accustomed to this labour, he coulde  
not do it: and without this, there can neither be avoided  
a perill, nor a victorie gotten with fame. Concerning to  
learne how to handle the weapons, they exercised them,  
in this maner: they would haue y young men, to put on  
armour, which shoulde waite twise as much, as their field  
armour, and in stede of a sworde, they gaue them a  
cudgell leaded, which in comparison of a verye sworde  
in deede, was most heauie: they made soz every one of  
them, a posse to be set vp in the ground, whiche shoulde  
be in the height two yarde and a quarter, and in such  
maner, and so strong, that the blowes shoulde not stir  
nor hurle it downe, against the which posse, the young  
man with a Targaet, and with the cudgell, as against  
an enemie did exercise, and somewhiles he stroke, as  
though he woulde hurte the heade, or the face, some-

Hovve the  
antiquitie,  
lerned their  
young soul-  
diours, to  
handle their  
weapons.

whiles

while he retired backe , an other while he made soze  
warde:and they had in this exercise, this aduertisment,  
to make them apte to couer themselves, and to hurt the  
enemie:and hauing the counterfeit armours most hea-  
vie , their ordinarie armours seemed after vnto them  
more lighter. The Romanes , woulde that their Soul-  
diers shoulde hurie with the pricke , and not with the  
cut, as well because the pricke is more mortall , & hath  
lesse defence, as also to y intent, that he that should hurt,  
might lye the lesse open , & be more apte to redouble it,  
then with cuttes. Do not maruaile that these auncient  
men , should thinke on these small things, for that wheres-  
the encountering of men is reasoned of , you shall per-  
ceyue , y cuery little vauntage, is of great importaunce :  
and I remember you the same , whiche the writers of  
this declare , rather then I to teache you. The antiqui-  
tie esteemed nothing more happie, in a common weale ,  
then to be in the same many men exercised in armes :  
because not the shining of precious stones and of golde  
maketh that the enemies submit them selues vnto thēe,  
but onely the feare of the weapons:afterwarde, the er-  
rors which are made in other things, may sometimes  
be corrected, but those which are done in the warre, the  
payne straightwaye comming on, cannot be amended.  
Besides that, the knowledge to fight, maketh men more  
bolde, because no man feareth to do that thing, whiche  
he thinketh to haue learned to do. The antiquitie would  
therefore , that their Citezens shoulde exercise them  
selues , in all matriall seates , and they made them to  
throwe against the same poste , dartes mucche heauier  
then the ordinarie : the which exercise, besides the ma-  
king men experte in throwing , maketh also the arme  
more nimble, and much stronger. They taught them  
also to shote in the long bowe, to whorle with the sling,  
and to all these things, they appointed maisters,in such  
manner , that after when they were chosen soz to  
perre.

VVhat the  
antiquitie  
esteemed  
most happie  
in a commo-  
weale,

Monster  
Maisters, for  
the exerci-  
sing of young  
men vnder-

## The second Booke of

go to the warre, they were now with minde and disposition, souldiours. Nor there remayned them to learne other, then to go in the orders, and to maintayne them selues in those, either marching, or fighting: The which most easely they learned, mingling them selues with those, which had long time serued, whereby they knew howe to stande in the orders.

Cosimo. What exercises woulde you cause them to make at this present?

## The Exercises that soldiers ought to make in these days.

## The exercise of swim- ming.

Tiber, is a ri- aware. The Romanes for none other cause had ordeyned, that the young men shoulde exercise them selues in through Ro Campus Martius, then onelye, for that hauing Tiber at me, the vva- hande, they myghte, being weried with the exercise on ter vwhere lande, refreshe them selues in the water, and partlye in of vwill ne- swimming, to exercise themselves. I would make also, ver corrupt. as y antiquitie, those which shoulde serue on horsebacke the exercise to exercise, the which is most necessary, for that besides of vaulting, to know how to ride, they must knowe howe on horse- and como- backe, they may preuaile of thē. And for this they had or- dñe ymed horses of wood, vpon the which they practised, to leape

leape vp armed, and unarmed, without anye helpe, & on  
euery hande: the which made, that at ones, and at a beck  
of a Capitayne, the horsmen were on foote, and like-  
wise at a token, they mounted on horsebacke. And such  
exercises, both on foote and on horsebacke, as they were  
then easy to be done, so nowe they shoulde not be diffi-  
culte to the same common weale, or to the same prince  
which woulde cause them to be put in practise of their  
young men. As by experience is seene, in certayne Ci-  
ties of the West countrie, where is keepte a liue like  
maners with this order. They deuide all their inhabi-  
ters into diuers partes: and euery parte they name of  
the kinde of those weapons, that they vse in the warre.  
And for that they vse Pikes, Halberdes, Bowes, and  
Harkebuses, they call them Pike men, Halberders,  
Harkebutters, & Archars: Therfore, it is meete for all  
the inhabiters to declare, in what orders they will bee  
appointed in. And for that all men, either for age, or for  
other impedimentes, be not fit for the warre, every or-  
der maketh a choise of men, & they call them y<sup>e</sup> sworen,  
whom in idle daies, be bounde to exercise them selues  
in those weapons, wherof they be named: & every man  
hath his place appointed him of the cominaltie, where  
such exercise ought to be made: & those which be of the  
same order, but not of the sworen, are contributaries  
with their money, to the same expenses, which in such  
exercises be necessarie: therfore the same y<sup>e</sup> they do, wee  
maye do. But our small prudence doth not suffer vs, to  
take any good waye. Of these exercises there grew, that  
the antiquitie had good souldiours, and that now those of  
the West, be better men then ours: for as muche as the  
antiquitie exercised them, either at home (as those com-  
mon weales do) or in the armies, as those Emperours  
did, for the occasions aforesaide: but wee, at home will  
not exercise them, in Campe wee cannot, because they  
are not our subjects, & for that we are not able to binde

An order  
that is taken  
in certaine  
countries,  
concerning  
exercises of  
warre.

## The second Booke of

hem to other exercises then they themselues list to do: the which occasion hath made, that first the armes bee neglected, & after the orders, & that the kingdomes, and the commyn weales, in especially Italians, liue in suche debilitie. But let vs tourne to our order, and following this matter of exercises, I saye, howe it suffiseth not to make good armes, soz hauing hardened the men, made them strong, swift, and handsome, where it is needefull also, that they learne to stand in the orders, to obey to signes, to soundes, and to the voice of the capitayne: to knowe, standing, to retire them selues, going forwardes, both fighting, & marching to maintayne those: because without this knowledge, with all serious diligence obserued, and practised, there was never armie good: and without doubt, the fierce and disordered men, be much more weaker, then the fearefull that are ordered, soz that the order driueth awaie from men feare, the disorder abateth fiercenesse. And to the intent you maye the better perceyue that, whiche here following shalbe declared, you haue to understande, howe every nation, in the ordering of their men to the warre, haue made in their host, or in their armie, a principall member, the which though they haue varied with the name, they haue little varied with the nomber of the men: soz that they all haue made it, between sixe & viij. M. men. This nomber of men was called of the Romanes, a Legion, of Grekes, a Fallange; of Frenchmen, Caterua; this very same in our time of the Suizzers, whom only of the auncient warfare, keepe some shadowe, is called in their tongue that, whiche in ours signifieth the maine battaile. True it is, that euery one of them, hath after deuided it, according to their purposes. Therfore me thinkes best, that wee grounde oure talke, vpon this name moste knownen, and after, according to the aunciente, & to the orders nowe adayes, the best that is possible to ordayne it: and because the Romanes deuided

VVhat  
knowldege  
a fouldiour  
ought to  
haue.

ded their Legion, which was made betwene five & sixe  
 thousand men, in ten Cohortes, I will that wee deuide A Cohort is  
 our maine battaile, into tenne battailes, and that wee  
 make it of sixe thousand men on syde, and we will geue  
 to every battaile. CCCI me, of which shal be. CCC. Of vwhat  
 armed with heauie armour, and L. with light armour: nomber and  
 the heauie armed, shall be. CCC. Targettes with of vwhatkind  
 swerde, and shalbe called Target men: and C. with of armours  
 Pikes, which shalbe called ordinarie Pikes: the lighte & vveapons,  
 armed shalbe L. men armed with Yarkabules, Crosse  
 bowes, and Partisans, and small Targalettes, & these  
 by an auncient name, were called ordinarie Veliti: all  
 the ten battailes therfore, comes to haue thre thousand  
 Targaet men, a thousande ordinarie Pikes. CCC. Veliti are  
 ordinarie Veliti, all which make the nomber of sower  
 thousand and sixe hundred men. And we saide, that we  
 would make the maine battaile of sixe thousande: ther-  
 fore there must be added an other thousande, sixe hun-  
 dred men, of the which I will appoint a thousand with  
 Pikes, whom I will call extraordinarie Pikes, & sixe  
 hundred light armed, whom I will call extraordinary  
 Veliti: and thus my men shold come (as a litle before  
 Thaue saied) to bee made halfe of Targaetes, and halfe  
 of Pikes and other weapons. I would appointe to e-  
 uerie battaile, or bande of men, a Conestable, sower  
 Centurions, and fourtie Peticapitaines, and moze  
 ouer a heade to the ordinarie Veliti, with sixe petica-  
 pitaines: I would geue to the thousande extraordina-  
 rie Pikes, thre Conestables, ten Centurions, and  
 a hundred peticapitaines: to the extraordinarie Veliti,  
 two Conestables, v. Centurions, and l. peticapitai-  
 nes: I would then apoint a generall head, ouer all the  
 maine battaile: I would that every Conestable shold  
 haue an Ansigne, and a Drum. Thus there shold bee  
 made a maine battaile of ten battailes of thre thou-  
 sande Targaetmen, of a thousande ordinarie Pikes,

The capita-  
 lines that are  
 appointed  
 to euerye  
 band of me.

## The second Booke of

of a thousande extraordinarie, of five hundred ordinary  
Weliti, of five hundred extraordinarie, so there shoulde  
come to be sixe thousande men, amongest the whiche  
there shoulde bee M. D. Peticapitaynes, and moreouer  
xv. Conestables, with xv. Drummies, and xv. Ansignes,  
lv. Centurions, x. heades of the ordinarie Weliti, and a  
Capitayn ouer all the maine battayle, with his Ansigne  
and Drummie: and I haue of purpose repeated this or-  
der the oftener, to the intent, that after when I shall  
shewe you, the maners of ordering the battailes, and the  
armies, you shoulde not be confounded: I saye therefore  
how that, that king, or that common weale, which in-  
tendeth to ordene their subiectes to armes, oughte to  
appointe them with these armours and weapons, and  
with these partes, & to make in their countrie so many  
mayne battailes, as it were able: and when they shoulde  
haue ordeneyned them, according to the foresaide distribu-  
tion, minding to exercise them in the orders, it shoulde  
suffice to exercise euerye battaile by it selfe: and  
although the nomber of the men, of every one of them:  
cannot by it selfe, make the fashion of a iuste armie, not-

Two orders  
obserued in  
an armie.  
With standing, euery man maye learne to do the same,  
which particularly appertayneth unto him: for that in  
the armies, two orders is obserued, the one, the same  
that the men ought to do in euery battaile, and the other  
that, whiche the battaile oughte to do after, when it is  
with the other in armie. And those men, which do well  
the first, most easly may obserue the second: But with-  
out knowing the same, they can never come to the  
knowledge of the second. Then (as I haue sayde) every  
one of these battailes, maye by them selues, learne to  
keepe the orders of the arayes, in euery qualitie of mo-  
ving, and of place, & after learne to put them selues to-  
gethers, to vnderstande the sounds, by meanes wherof  
in the fight they are commaunded, to learne to knowe  
by that, as the Gallies by the whistell, what oughte to  
be

be done, either to stande still, or to tourne forward, or to tourne backward, or which way to tourne the weapons and the face: so that knowing how to kepe wel the array after such sorte, that neither place nor mouing maye disorder them, vnderstanding well the commaundementes of their heade, by meanes of the sounde, and knowing quickly, how to retorne into their place, these battailes may after easly (as I haue said) being brought many together, learne to do that, which all the body together, with the other battailes in a iust army is bound to do. And because such vniuersall practise, is also not to be esteemed a litle, ones or twise a yere, when there is peace, all the main battaile may be brought together, to geue it the shalid of an whole armie, some daies exercising them, as though they shoulde faight a fielde, setting the fronte, and the sides with their succours in their places. And bicause a capitaine ordeineth his host to the fielde, either for coumpte of the enemie he seeth, or for that, of which without seing he doubteth, he ought to exercise his armie in the one maner, and in the other, and to instructe them in suche sorte, that they maye knowe howe to march, & to faight when neede shoulde require, shewing to his souldiours, howe they shoulde gouerne them selues, when they shoulde happen to bee assaulted of this or of that side: and where he ought to instructe them howe to fight against the enemie, whom they shoulde see, he must shewe them also, howe the faight is begun, & where they ought to retire: being ouerthron wen, who hath to succeede in their places, to what si gnes, to what soundes, to what voices they ought to obeie, and to practise them in such wise in the battaile, and with fained assaultes, that they may desire the verie thyng in deede. For that an armie is not made coragious, because in the same bee hardie men, but by reason the orders thereof bee well appointed: For as muche as if I be one of the first faighters, & do knowe,

Hovv a captain must instruct his souldiers hovv they ought to gouerne them selues in the battaile.

being

## The second Booke of

being overcome, where I maye retire, and who hath  
to succeede in my place, I shall alwayes fight with bold-  
nesse, seeing my succour at hande. If I shall be one of  
the seconde fighters, the firste being driven backe, and  
ouerthrown, I shall not be afraide, for y I shall haue  
presupposed that I may bee, and I shall haue desire to  
be the same, which may gaine the victory to my maister,  
and not to bee any of the other. These exercises be most  
necessary, where an armie is made of newe, and where  
the olde armie is, they be also necessary: for that it is al-  
so saene, howe the Romanes knewe from their infan-  
cie, the order of their armies, notwithstanding, those  
Captaynes before they shold come to the enemie, con-  
tinually did exercise them in those. And Iosephus in his  
istorie sayeth, that the continual exercises of the Ro-  
mane armies, made that all the same multitude, whi-  
che followe the campe for gaine, was in the day of bat-  
taile profitable: because they all knewe, howe to stande  
in the orders, and to fighte keeping the same: but in the  
armies of newe men, whether thou haue put them to-  
gether, to fighte straighte waie, or that thou make a  
power to fighte, when neede requires, without these ex-  
ercises, as wel of the battailes severally by themselves  
as of all the armie, is made nothing: wherefore the or-  
ders being necessary, it is conuenient with double in-  
dustrie and labour, to shewe them unto such as know-  
eth them not, and for to teache it, manye excellent Ca-  
pitaynes haue traualied, without any respect.

Cosimo. We thinkes that this reasoning hath some-  
what transported you: forasmuche, as haing not yet  
declared the wayes, with the which the battailes be ex-  
ercised, you haue reasoned of the whole armie, and of  
the daye of battayle.

Fabritio. You say truelth, but surely the occasion hath  
beene the affection, which I beare to these orders, and  
the griefe that I feele, seeing they be not put in vse: not-  
with-

Loithstanding, doubtē not but that I will tourne to the purpose; as I haue sayde, the chiese importance that is in the exercise of the battailes, is to knowe howe to kepe well the arrayes: and because I tolde you that one of these battailes, ought to be made of fyre hundred men heauie armed, I will staye my selfe vpon this nomber. They ought then to be brought into lxxx. rankes, & fīue to a ranke: after warde going fast, or softly, to knit them together, and to lose them: the whiche howe it is done, may be shewed better with deedes, then with wordes. Which needeth not greatly to be taught, for that euerye man, who is practised in seruice of warre, knoweth how this order procedeth, which is god for no other, then to vse the souldiers to keepe the raye: but let vs come to put together one of these battailes, I say, that there is giuen them thre fashions principally, the firste, and the most profitablist is, to make all massiuē, and to give it the fashion of two squares, the seconde is, to make it square with the front horned, the thirde is, to make it with a boide space in the middest: the maner to put men together in the first fashion, maye be of two sortes, the one is double the rankes, that is, to make the seconde ranke enter into the first, the iiii. into the thirde, the fiftē into the sixte, and so forth, so that where there was lxxx. rankes, fīue to a ranke, they maye become xl. rankes x. to a ranke. Afterwarde cause the ſo double ones more in the ſame maner, ſetting þ one ranke into an other, & ſo there shall remayn twentie rankes, twentie men to a ranke: this maketh two squares about, ſo as much as albeit that there be as many men the one waye, as in the other, notwithstanding towardes the head, they tourne together, that the one ſide toucheth the other: but by the other waye, they be diſtant the one from the other, at leaſt a yarde and a haleſe, after ſuche sorte, that the ſquare is muſche longer, from the backe to the fronte, then from the one ſide to the other: and because we haue

The chief importance in the exercising of bands of men.

Three principal fashions for thordering of men into battaile.

the maners  
hovve to  
bring a band  
of men into  
battaile raiſe  
after asfaure  
fashion.

## The second Booke of

at this present, to speake often of the partes afore, of be-  
hinde, and of the sides of these battailes ; & of all the ar-  
mies together, knowe you, that when I saye either head  
or fronde, I meane the parte afore, when I shall saye  
backe, the part behinde, when I shall saye flankes, the  
partes on þ sides. The fistie ordinarie veliti of the bat-  
taile, must not mingle with þ other rankes, but so soone  
as the battaile is fashioneid, they shalbe set a long by the  
flankes therof. The other waye to set together the bat-  
taile is this, and because it is better then the firſte,  
I will set it before your eies iuli, how it ought to be or-  
deyned. I beleue that you remember of what nomber  
of men, of what heads it is made, and of what armours  
they are armed: then the fashion, that this battaile ought

The better  
waie for the  
ordring of a  
band of men  
in battaile  
raie, after the  
firſt facion.  
to haue, is (as I haue ſayde) of twentie rankes, twentye  
men to a ranke, fiue rankes of Pikes in the front, and  
fifteene rankes of Targalettes on the backe, two Cen-  
turiōs standing in the front, two behinde on the backe,  
who ſhall execute the office of thone, which the antiquity  
called Tergiductory. The Coneſtable with þ Anſigne,  
and with the Drumme, ſhall ſtande in the ſame ſpace,  
that is betwene the fiue rankes of the Pikes, and the  
fifteene of the Targalettes. Of the Peticaptaynes, there  
ſhall ſtande one upon cuery ſide of the ranckes, ſo that  
every one, may haue on his ſide his men, thone Petica-  
pitaynes, which ſhalbe on the lefte hande, to haue their  
men on the right hande: thone Peticaptaynes, whiche  
ſhall be on the right hand, to haue their men on the lefte  
hand: The firſtie Veliti, muſt ſtande a long the flankes,  
and on the backe of the battaile. To minde nowe,  
that this battaile maye bee ſet together in this fashion,  
the men going ordinarylye, it is conuenient to order  
them thus. Make the men to bee broughte into lxxx.  
rankes, fiue to a rankes, as a little afore we haue ſayde,  
leauing the Veliti either at the heade, or at the taile,  
ſo that they ſtande out of this order; and it oughte to bee  
ordeyned

Ordeyned, that euery Centurion haue behinde his backe twentie rankes, and to be nexte behinde every Centurion, ffe rankes of Pikes, and the rest Targalettes.

The Conestable shall stande with the Drum, and the ansigne, in the same space, which is betweene the Pikes, and the Targalettes of the seconde Centurion, and to occupie the places of thre targaet men. Of the Peticeaptaynes, twentie shall stande on the sides of the rankes, of the first Centurion, on the left hande, and twentie shall stande on the sides of the rankes, of the last Centurion on the righte hande. And you must vnderstande, that the Peticeaptayne, Whiche hath to leade the Pikes, ought to haue a Pike, & those that leade the Targalettes, ought to haue like weapons. Then the rankes being brought into this order, and minding in marching, to bring them into battaile, soz to make the heade, the first Centurion must be caused to stande still, with the first twentie rankes, and the seconde to procede marching, and tourning on the righte hande, he must go along the sides of the twentie rankes that stande still, till he come to be even with the other Centurion, where he must also stande still, and the thirde Centurion, to procede marching, likewise tourning on the righte hande, and a long the sides of the raukes that stande still, must go so farre, that he be even with the other two Centurions, and he also standing still, the other Centurion must followe with his rankes, likewise tourning on the righte hande, a long the sides of the rankes that stande still, so farre that he come to the heade of the other, and then to stande still, and straight waye two Centurions onely, shall departe from the fronte, and go to the backe of the battaile, the which cometh to be made in y same maner, and with the same order iuste, as a little afoze I haue shewed you. The Welitt muste stande a long, by the flankes of the same, according as is disposed in the first waye, whiche waye is called redoubling by right

J.t. line,

## The Second Booke of

line, this is called redoubling by flanke: the first way is more easy, this is with better order, and commeth better to passe, and you maye better correcte it, after your owne maner, for that in redoubling by righte line, you must be ruled by the nomber, because five maketh ten, ten twentie, twentie fourty, so that with redoubling by right line, you cannot make a head of fifteen, nor of five, and twentie, nor of thirtie, nor of five and thirtie, but you must go where the same nomber will leade you. And yet it happeneth euery daye in particular affaires, that it is conueniente to make the foaward with sixe hundred, or eight hundred men, so that to redouble by right line, shold disorder you: therefore this liketh me better: that difficultie that is, ought most with practise, and with exercise to be made easy. Therfore I say unto you, how it importeth more then any thing, to haue the Souldiours to knowe how to set them selues in aray quickly, and it is necessary to keepe the in this battaile, to exercise them therin, and to make them to go apace, either forwarde or backewarde, to passe through difficile places, without troubling the order: for as muche as the souldiours, whiche can do this well, bee experte souldiours, and although they haue never seen enemies in the face, they maye be called old souldiours, and contrarywise, those whiche can not keepe these orders, though they haue been in a thousand warres, they ought alwayes to be reputed newe souldiours. This is, concerning setting them together, when they are marching in small rankes: but being set, and after being broken by some accident or chaunce, whiche groweth either of the situation, or of the enemie, to make that in a sodaine they may come into order againe, this is the importance and the difficultie, and where is needfull muche exercise, and much practise, and wherin the antiquitie bestowed muche studie. Therefore, it is necessarie to doe two thinges, firste to haue this battaile full of countersignes,

tersignes, the other to keepe alwaies this order, that those same men mate stand alwaies in þ ranke, which they were firsle placed in: as for insample, if one haue begon to stande in the seconde, that he stande after alwaie in that, & not only in that selfe same ranke, but in that selfe same place: for the obseruing whereof (as I haue saide) be necessarie many countersignes. In especially it is requisite, that the Ansigne bee after such sorte countersigned, that companing with the other battels, it may be knownen from them, according as the Conells table, & the Centurions haue plumes of fethers in their heades differente, & easie to be knownen, and that which importeth most, is to ordaine that the peticaptaines bee knownen. Wherevnto the antiquitie had so much care, that they wculd haue nothing els written in their head peces, but the nōber that they were named by, calling the first, second, thirde, and fourth &c. And yet they were not contented with this, but made every souldiour to haue written in his Targaet, the nomber of the ranke, and the nomber of the place, in whiche ranke he was appointed. Then the men being countersigned thus, and vsed to stande betweene these limites, it is an easy thing, they being disordered, to set them all againe quicklye into order: considering, that the Ansigne standing still, the Centurions, and the Peticaplaynes may gesse their places by the eye, and being brought the leſt of the leſte, the righte of the righte, with their accustomed distance, the souldiours lead by their rule, and by the differences of the cognisances, maye be quicklye in their proper places, no otherwise, then as if the bordes of a tunne shoulde bee taken a Sunder, whiche being firsle marked, most easly maye bee set together againe, where the same being not countersigned, were impossible to bring into order any moze. These things, withe diligence and withe exercise are quicklye taught, and quicklye learned, and being learned, with

Hovv to ex-  
ercize me, &  
to take such  
order, vyher-  
by a band of  
men that  
vvere by  
vwhatsoeuer  
chance dis-  
ordre, may  
straightway  
be broughte  
into order a  
gaine.

## The second Booke of

difficulty are forgotten: so that the newe men , be lead  
of the olde, and with time, a Province with these exer-  
cises, may become thoroughly practised in the warre. It  
is also necessary to teache them , to tourne them selues  
all at ones , and when neede requires, to make of the  
flankes, and of the backe, the fronte , and of the fronte,  
flankes, or backe, which is mosste easy : because it suffi-  
seth that every man do tourne his bodye, towardes the  
same part that he is commaunded, & where they tourne  
their faces, there the fronte commeth to be. True it is,  
that when they tourne to any of the flankes , the orders  
tourne out of their proportion: soz that from the brest  
to the backe, there is litle difference , and from the one  
flanke to the other, there is very much distâce, the whi-  
che is all contrarye to the ordinarie order of the bat-  
taile: therefore it is conuenient, that practise, and discre-  
tion, do place them as they ought to be: but this is small  
disorder , soz that most easly by themselues, they may  
remedy it. But that which importeth more , and where  
is requisite more practise , is when a battaile woulde  
tourne all at ones, as though it were a whole body, her-  
is meete to haue great practise, and great discretion, be-  
cause minding to tourne , as for insample on the lefste  
ought to be hande , the left corner must stande still , and those that  
vsed in tour- be next to him that standeth still, must marche so softly  
ning aboute that they that be in the right corner, neede not to runne:  
a vrhole  
band of me,  
after luche  
sorte, as  
thought  
wvere but  
one bodie.

VVhat ad-  
vertisement  
ought to be  
in tour-  
be next to him that standeth still, must marche so softly  
ning aboute that they that be in the right corner, neede not to runne:  
otherwise all thing shoulde be confounded. But because  
it happeneth alwayes, when an armie marcheth from  
place to place, that the battailes, whiche are not placed  
in the fronte , shall bee driven to fighte not by heade,  
but either by flancke , or by backe , so that a battaile  
must in a sodayne make of flancke, or of backe , heade :  
and minding that like battailes in syche case , maye  
haue their proportion, as aboue is declared , it is ne-  
cessarye, that they haue the Pikes on the same flanke,  
that oughte to bee head, and the Peticaptaynes , Ten-  
turiors

furions, and Conestables, to resort accordingly to their  
 places. Therfore to minde to do this, in plasing them to-  
 gether, you must ordyne the four score rankes, of fife  
 in a ranke, thus: Set all the Pikes in the firſte twentie  
 rankes, and place the Peticaptaynes therof, fife in the  
 firſte places, and fife in the laſt: the other thre score  
 rankes, whiche come after, be all of Targalettes, which  
 come to be thre Centuries. Therfore, the firſte and  
 the laſt ranke of euery Centurion, woulde be Peticap-  
 taynes, the Conestable with the Anſigne, and with the  
 Drumm, muſt ſtanide in the middeſt of the firſte Cen-  
 turie of Targalettes, and the Centurions in the head of  
 euery Centurie. The bande thus ordayned, when you  
 would haue the Pikes to come on the leſt flancke, you  
 muſt redouble Centurie by Centurie, on y right flancke:  
 if you would haue them to come on the right flacke, you  
 muſt redouble the on the leſt. And ſo this battaile tour-  
 neth with the Pikes upon a flancke, and the Conesta-  
 ble in the middeſt: the whiche fashon it hath marching:  
 but the enemie comming, and the time that it woulde  
 make of flancke head, it needeth not but to make every  
 man to tourne his face, towardes the ſame flancke,  
 where the Pikes be, & then the battaile tourneth with  
 the rankes, and with the headeſ in the ſame maner,  
 as is aforesayde: for that every man is in his place, ex-  
 cepte the Centuriōs, and the Centurions ſtraight way,  
 and without diſſicultie, place them ſelues: But when  
 they in marching, ſhould bee diuine to fight on the backe,  
 it is conueniente to ordyne the rankes after ſuche  
 ſorte, that ſetting them in battayle, the Pikes maye  
 come behinde, and to do this, there is to bee kepte no  
 other order, then where in ordering to battaile, by the  
 ordinarie, euerye Centurie hath fife rankes of Pikes  
 before, to cauſe that they maye haue them behinde,  
 and in all the other partes to obſerue the order, whiche  
 I declared firſt.

Hovv to or-  
 der a bande  
 of men after  
 ſuche sorte  
 that they  
 maie maie  
 their ironte  
 againſt the  
 enemie of  
 vniene  
 flancke thei  
 hit.

Hovve a bad  
 of me ought  
 to be orde-  
 red, vvhē in  
 marching  
 thei ſhould  
 be conſtray-  
 ned to fight  
 on their  
 backe.

## The second Booke of

Cosimo. You haue tolde (if I do well remember  
mē)that this maner of exercise , is to be able to bring  
these battailes together into an armie , and that this  
practise , serueth to bee able to order them selues in the  
same: But if it shoulde happen, that these. C C C C L.  
men, should haue to do an acte seperate, how would you  
order them?

Fabritio. He that leadeth them , ought then to iudge,  
where he will place the Pikes , and there to put them,  
the which doth not repugne in anye parts to the order  
aboue written : for that also , though the same bee the  
maner, that is obserued to fighte a fieldes, together with  
the other battailes, notwithstanding it is a rule, whiche  
serueth to all those wayes, wherin a band of men should  
happen to haue to do: but in shewing you the other two  
wayes of mee propounded , of ordering the battailes , I  
shall also satisfie you more to your question: for that ei-  
ther they are never vsed, or they are vsed whē a battaile  
is a lone, and not in compayne of other, and to come to  
the waye of ordering them, with two hornes I say, that  
thou oughtest to order the lxx. rankes , fife to a ranke,  
in this maner. Place in the middest, one Centurion, &  
after him xv. rankes, which must be with two Pikes,  
on the leste hande , and with thre Targalettes on the  
right, and after the firste fife , there muste be put in the  
twentie following, twentie Peticaptaynes, all betweē  
the Pikes, and the Targalettes , excepte those whiche  
bear the Pike , whome maye stande with the Pikes :  
after these xv. rankes thus ordered , there is to be pla-  
ced an other Centuriō, and behinde him fifteene rankes  
of Targalettes: after these, the Conestable between the  
Drum and the Ansigne, who also must haue after him,  
other fifteene rankes of Targalettes, after this, the third  
Centurion must be placed, and behinde him, xv. ranks,  
in euerye one of whiche , oughte to bee thre Tar-  
galettes on the leste flancke , and two Pikes on the  
right,

Hovv a bat-  
taile is  
made vwith  
2-hornes.

right, and after the five first rankes, there muste bee xx. Peticaptaynes placed between the Pikes, and the Targalettes: after these rankes, the fourth Centurion muste followe. Intending therfore, of these rankes thus ordered, to make a battaile with two hornes, the first Centurion muste stande still, with the xxv. rankes which bee behinde him, after the seconde Centurion muste moue, with the fiftene rankes of Targalettes, that bee behinde him, and to tourne on the righte hande, and by by the right flancke of the xxv. rankes, to go so farre, that hee arriueth to the xv. ranke, and there to stande still: after, the Conestable muste moue, with the fiftene rankes of Targalettes, which bee behinde him, and tourning likewise on the righte hande, by by the righte flancke of the fiftene rankes, that were first moued, muste marche so farre, that he come to their heades, and there to stande still: after the thirde Centurion muste moue with the xv. rankes, and with the fourth Centurion, whiche was behinde, and tourning vp straight, muste go along by the right flancke of the fiftene last rankes of the targalettes, and not to stande still when he is at the heades of them, but to folloewe marching so farre, that the last ranke of the xv. may come to bee even with the rankes behinde. And this done, the Centurion, which was heade of the fiftene rankes of Targalettes, muste go awaie from thence where hee stode, and go to the backe in the leste corner: and thus a battaile shall be made of xxv. rankes, after twentie men to a ranke, with two hornes, vpon every side of the front one horne, and every one, shall haue tenne rankes, fife to a ranke; and there shall remayn a space between the two hornes, as muche as contayneth tenne men, whiche tourne their sides, y one to the other. Between the two hornes, the Capitayne shall stande, and on euerye poincte of a horne, a Centurion: There shall bee also behinde, on euery corner, a Centurion; there shalbe two rankes  
of

## The second Booke of

of Pikes, and xx. Peticaptaynes on euery flanke. These two hornes, serue to keepe betwene them the artillerie, when this battaile shoulde haue anye with it, and the carriages :

The ordyng  
of a battaile  
vwith a void  
space in the  
middest.

The Weliti muste stande a long the flanke, vnder the Pikes. But minding to bring this horned battaile, with a voide space in the middest, there ought no other to bee done, then of fiftene rankes, of

twentie fo a ranke, to take eight rankes, and to place them on the pointes of the two hornes, which then of hornes, become backe of the voide space. In this place, the carriages are kept, the Capitayne standeth, and the Ansigne, but never the Artillerie, the which is placed either in the fronte, or a long the flanke. These bee the wayes, that a battaile may vse when it is constrainyd to passe alone through suspected places: notwithstanding the massie battaile without hornes, and without anye suche voide place is better, yet purposing to assure the disarmed, the same horned battaile is necessarye. The Suizzers make also many fashions of battailes, among which, they make one like unto a creste: because in the spaces that is betwene the armes thereof, they keepe safe their Harkebuters frō the daunger of the enemies: but because such battailes be god to fight by them selues, and my intent is to shewe, howe manye battailes vnted, do fight with the enemie, I will not labour further in describing them. Cosimo. Me thinkes I haue verye well comprehended the way, that ought to be kept to exercise the men in these battailes: But (if I remembre me well) you haue saide, howe that besides the ten battailes, you loyne to the mayne battaile, a thousande extraordinarie Pikes, and five hundred extraordinarie Weliti: will you not appoinete these to bee exercised?

Fabritio. I woulde haue them to bee exercised, and that with most great diligence: and the Pikes I would exercise, at least ansigne after ansigne, in the orders of the battailes, as the other: Soz as muche as these shoulde

Shoulde do mee more seruice, then the ordinarie battailes, To what  
in all particular affaires: as to make guides, to get b<sup>c</sup>o<sup>s</sup>, pikes & ve-  
ties, and to do like thinges: but the Treliti, I woulde ex-  
ercise at home, without bringing them together, for dinary must  
that their office being to fight a sonder, it is not meete, serue.  
that they shoulde companie with other, in the common  
exercises: for that it shall suffice, to exercise them well  
in the particular exercises. They ought then (as I firste  
tolde you, nor now me thinkes no labour to rehearse it  
againe) to cause their men to exercise them selues in  
these battailes, wherby they maye know howe to kepe  
the raye, to know their places, to turne quickly, whē ei-  
ther enemy, or situatiō troubleth the: for that, when they  
knowe how to do this, the place is after easly learned,  
Which a battaile hath to kepe, & what is the office ther-  
of in the armie: and when a Prince, or a cōmon weale,  
will take the paine, and will vse their diligence in these  
orders, and in these exercising, it shall alwayes happen  
that in their countrie, there shal bee god souldours,  
and they to be superious to their neighbours, and shalbe  
those, whiche shall giue, and not receyue the lawes of o-  
ther men: but ( as I haue sayde) the disorder wherein  
they liue, maketh that they neglect, and do not esteime  
these thinges, and therfore our armies be not god: and  
yet though there were either head, or member natu-  
rally vertuous, they cannot shewe it.

Cosimo. What carriages woulde you, that euerye  
one of these battailes should haue?

Fabiitio. First, I woulde that neither Centurion,  
nor Peticaptayne, shoulde suffered to ride: and if the  
Conestable would needes ride, I woulde that hee shoulde  
haue a Mule, and not a horse, I woulde allowe him  
two carriages, and one to euerye Centurion, and two  
to euerye thre Peticaptaynes, for that so manye wee  
lodge in a lodging, as in the place thereof we shall tell  
you: So that euerye battaile will come to haue xxvi.

Neither  
Centurion  
nor peticap-  
taine ought  
not to ride.  
What car-  
riages the cap-  
taines oulde  
to haue, and  
the number  
of carriages  
requisite to  
euerye band<sup>e</sup>

The second Booke of  
carriages, the whiche I woulde shoulde carrie of necessity  
the tentes, the vessels to seeth meate, arcs, barres of Iro  
sufficiente to make the lodinges , and then if they can  
carrye anye other thng, they maye doo it at their plea-  
sure.

Cosimo. I beleue that the headeſ of you, ordeyned in  
every one of theſe battayles , be neceſſarye: albeit, I  
would doubt , leſt that ſo many commanders, ſhoulde  
conſound all.

Fabritio. That ſhould bee, when it were not referred  
to one man, but referring it, they cauſe order , yea, and  
Without them, it is impoſſible to gouerne an armie : for  
that a wall, which on euery parte inclineth , requireth  
rather to haue many proppes, & thicke , although not ſo  
Strong, then few , though they were Strong: because the  
vertue of one a lone, doth not remedie the ruine a farre  
of. And therefore in the armies, and among every tennie  
men, it is conuenient that there bee one, of moze life , of  
moze harte, or at leaſt wiſe of moze auhoritie , who  
With ſtomacke, with wondres, and with example, maye  
keepe them conſtant, and diſpoſed to fight, & theſe things  
of meſe declared, bee neceſſary in an armie, as the headeſ,  
the Anſignes, and the Drummes, is ſene that we haue  
them all in our armies, but none doth his office. First to  
milde that the Peſticaptayneſ do the ſame , for whicheſ  
they are ordeyned , it is neceſſary (as I haue ſaide) that  
there be a diſference , betweene euery one of them and  
their men, and that they lodge together, doing their due-  
ties, ſtanding in the order with them: for that they pla-  
ced in their places, bee a rule & a temperaunce, to main-  
taine the rayes ſtraighte and ſteadie , and it is impoſſi-  
ble that they diſorder , or diſordering , doe not reduce  
them ſelues quickly into their places. But we noſte a-  
daies, doe not uſe them to other purpoſe, then to giue  
them moze wages , then to other men , and to cauſe  
that they doo ſome particular ſcāte: The verye laſt  
hapenſh

hapenesh of the Ansigne bearers, soz that they are kept rather to make a faire muster, then for any other warlike vse: but the antiquitie vsed them for guides, and to bring themselves againe into order: soz that every man, purpose Anso lone as the Ansigne stode still, knewe the place, that signes ought he kept neere to his Ansigne, wherunto he returned to serue.

alwaies: they knew also, how that the same mouing or standing, they shold starie, or moue: therfore it is necessary in an armie, that there be many bodies, and every bande of men to haue his Ansigne, and his guide: wherfore having this, it is meete that they haue stomackes enough, and by consequence life enoughe. Then the men ought to march according to the Ansigne: & the Ansigne to moue , according to the Drumme , the whiche Drumme well ordered, commaundeth to the armie, the

For what purpose Drummer ought to be vsed.

which going with paces, that answere the time of the same, wil come to kepe easly thordres: soz which cause the antiquitie had Shalmes Flutes , and soundes perfectly timed: for as much as like as he that danseth, proceadeth with the time of the Musick, and going with the same doeth not erre, even so an armie obeying , in mouyng it selfe to the same sounde, doeth not disorder: and therfore they varied the sounde , according as they would flame, or quiete, or starie the mindes, of men: and like as the sounde were diuers , so dyuerſly they named them: the sounde Dorico , ingendered constancie, the sounde Frigio, furie : whereby they saye , that Alexander being at the Table , and one sounding the sounde Frigio, it kindled so muche his minde, that hee laid hande on his weapons. All these maners should bee necessarie to finde againe: and when this shoulde bee difficult , at leaste there would not be left behinde those that teache the Souldiour to obeye , the whiche euerye man may vary, and ordayne after his owne fashion , so that with practise , hee accustome the eares of his soule.

The propertie that iouides of instruments haue in mens minades.

## The second Booke of

blours to knowe it: But nowe adayes of this sounde,  
there is no other scuite taken for the most part, then to  
make a rumour.

Cosimo. I woulde desire to understande of you, if e-  
uer with your selfe you haue discouered, whereof gro-  
weth so much vilenesse, and so much disorder, and so  
much negligence in these dayes of this exercise?

A notable  
discourse of  
the aucthour  
declaring  
vtherof gro-  
vveth so  
much vilnes  
disorder &  
negligence  
in these days  
conserning  
the exerci-  
ses of vvar.

Fabritio. With a god will I wyll tell you the same  
that I thinke. You know how that of the excellent men  
of warre, there hath been named many in Europe, fewe  
in Affric, and lesse in Asia: this grew for that these two  
last partes of the worlde, haue had not past one king-  
dome or two, and fewe common weales but Europe  
only, hath had many kingdomes, and infinite common  
weales, where men became excellent, and did shewe  
their vertue, according as they were set a wozke, and  
brought before their Prince, or common weale, or  
King that he be: it followeth therfore, that where bee  
many dominions, there rise many valiaunt men, and  
where be fewe, fewe. In Asia is sounde Ninus, Cirus,  
Artaxerxes, Mithredates: and very fewe other, that to  
these may be compared. In Affrick, is named (lettyng  
stande the same auncient Egypt) Mashinissa, Iugurta,  
and those Capitaynes, which of the Carthaginens com-  
mon weale were nourished, whome also in respecte to  
those of Europe are most few: because in Europe bee  
excellent men without nomber, and so many more  
shoulde be, if together with those shoulde be named the  
other, that be through the malignitie of time extinc:  
for that the Worlde hath beeene most vertuous, where  
hath beeene most states, which haue fauoured vertue of  
necessitie, or for other humaine passion. There rose  
therfore in Asia, few excellent men: because the same  
Prouince was all vnder one kingdome, in the whiche  
for the greatnessse thereof, the same standyng for the  
most part of time idle, there coulde not growe men in

doinges excellent. To Africke there happened the very same, yet there were nourished more then in Asia, by reason of the Carthaginens common weale: for that in common weales, there grow more excellent men, then in kingdomes: because in common weales for the most part, vertue is honoured, in kingdomes it is held backe: whereby groweth, that in the one, vertuous men are nourished, in the other they are extincte. Therefoze hee that shall consider the partes of Europe, shall finde it to haue been full of common weales, and of prinedomes, the which for feare that the one had of the other, they were constrained to kepe lively the warlike orders, & to honour them, which in those most preuailed: for that in Grece besides the kingdome of the Macdonians, ther were many common weales, & in every of the were bred most excellent men. In Italie, were the Romanes, the Hannites, the Toscane, the Gallie Cisalpini, Fraunce, and Almaine, were full of common weales and prinedomes. Spaine likewise: and although in comparison of the Romanes, there are named seueral other, it groweth through the malignitie of the wri-  
ters, whom followe fortune, and to them for the most part it sufficed, to honour the conquerours: but it standeth not with reason, that betwene the Hannites, and the Toscane, whom fought, CL. yeres with the Ro-  
mane people, before they were overcome, there should not growe exceeding many excellent men. And so like-  
wise in Fraunce, and in Spaine: but that vertue whiche the wri-  
ters did not celebreate in particular men, they celebreated generally in the people, where they ex-  
alte to the Starres, the obstinatenesse that was in  
them, to defende their libertie. Being then true, that  
where be most dominions, there riseth most valiaunt  
men, it followeth of necessitie, that extingushing those,  
vertue is extinct straightway, the occasion decaying,  
whiche maketh men vertuous. Therefoze, the Ro-

## The second Booke of

maine Empire being after increased, and hauing extin-  
guished all the common weales, and Prince demes of  
Europe, and of Affrike, and for the most parte those of  
Asia, it left not anye waye to vertue, excepte Rome:  
Wherby grewe, that vertuous men began to be as few  
in Europe, as in Asia: the whiche vertue, came after to  
the last cast: For as much as all the vertue being redu-  
ced to Rome, so soone as þ same was corrupted, almost  
all the wþlde came to be corrupted: þ the Scithian peo-  
ple, were able to come to spoile the same Empire, the  
which had extinguished the vertue of other, and knew  
not howe to maintaine their owne: and after, althouȝ  
through the inundation of those barbarous nations, the  
same Empire was deuided into many partes, this ver-  
tue is not renued: The one cause is, for that it græueth  
them muche, to take againe the orders when they are

the causes  
why the au-  
cient orders  
are neglec-  
ted.

marde, the other, because the maner of living nowe a-  
dayes, hauing respecte to the Christian Religion,  
commaundeth not the same necessarie to men, to de-  
fende them selues, whiche in olde time was for that  
then, the men overcomen in warre, either were killed, or  
remayned perpetuall slaves, where they lead their li-  
ues most miserably: The townes overcome, either  
were rased, or the inhabiteres thereof driven out, their  
goodes taken awaie, sent dispersed through the wþlde:  
so that the vanquished in warre, suffered all extreme  
miserye; of this feare, men being made afraied, they  
were driven to keþe linely the warlike exercises; and  
they honoured such as were excellent in them: But  
now adayes, this feare for the most part is not regarded  
of those that are overcome, fewe bee killed, none is kept  
long in prison: for that with facilite, they are set at li-  
bertie: the Cities also, which a thousand times have re-  
belled, are not destroyed, the men wherof, are let a lone  
with their gods, so that the greatest hurt that is feared,  
is but a taske: in so muche, that men will not submit

them

Hem selues to the orders of warre , & to abide alwaies  
vnder those, to auoide the perilles wherof they are little  
afraied: again these Provinces of Europe , bee vnder a  
verie fewe heades, in respecte as it hath bene in times  
past: for that all Fraunce, obeith one king, all Spaine,  
an other: Italie is a fewe partes, so that the weake Cti-  
ties, are defended with leauing to him that ouercom-  
meth, and the strong states , for the causes aforesaide,  
feare no such extreme ruine.

Cosimo. Yet their hath bene scéne many townes that  
haue bene sacked within this xv. yeres , and lost their  
dominions, whose insample, ought to teache other how  
to liue , and to take again some of those olde orders.

Fabritio. You saye true : but if you note what townes  
haue gone to sacke , you shall not finde that they haue  
bene the heades of states, but of the members: as was  
scéne sacked Tortona, and not Milaine: Capua, and not  
Paples, Brescia, & not Venice, Raucuna, & not Roome:  
the which ensamples maketh those that gouerne, not to  
chaunge their purposes , but rather maketh them to  
stande more in their opinion, to bee able to redēme a-  
gain all thinges with taskes, and for this , they will not  
submit them selues to the troubles of the exercises of  
warre, seeming vnto them partly not necessary, partly,  
an intricate matter , whiche they vnderstande not:  
Those other, which be subiects to them, whom such ex-  
amples ought to make afraied , haue no power to re-  
medy it: and those Princes , that haue ones lost their e-  
states, are no more able, & those which as yet keepe the  
know not, nor will not. Because they will without any  
disease rain by fortune, & not by their vertue, for y in the  
woold being but little vertue, they see fortune gouerneth  
all things. And they will haue it to rule the, not they to  
rule it. And to proue this y I haue discoursed to be true,  
consider Almaine, in the which, becausne there is manye  
Prinedories, and common weales ; there is muche  
soluent  
virtus.

## The second Booke of

Vertue, and all the same, which in the present seruice  
of warre is good, dependeth if the ensamples of those  
people, who being all gelious of their states, fearing  
seruitude, the which in other places is not feared; they  
all maintaine them selues Lordes, and honourable:  
this that I haue sayde, shall suffice to shewe the occasi-  
ons of the present utilitie, according to my opinion: I  
can not tell whether it seeme the same vnto you, or  
whether there be growen in you any doubting.

Cosimo. None, but rather I understande all very  
well: onely I desire tournynge to our principall matter,  
to vnderstande of you, howe you woulde ordeine the  
horses with these battayles, and howe many, and howe  
they shoulde be gouerned, and how armed.

Fabritio. You thinke peraduenture, that I haue left  
it behinde: whereat do not maruayle, for that I pur-  
pose for two causes, to speake thereof litle, the one is,  
for that the strength, and the importaunce of an armie,  
is the fowtemen, the other is, because this part of service  
of warre, is lesse corrupted then the same of fowtemen.  
For that though it be not stronger then the olde, yet it  
may compare with the same, neuerthelesse there hath  
been spoke a litle afoore, of the maner of exercising them.

The arming  
of horsemen.  
And concerning the arming them, I would arme them  
as they do at this present, as well the light horsemen, as  
the men of armes: but the light horsemen, I would that

The vve-  
pons that  
light horse-  
men shoulde  
haue.  
they shoulde be all Crossebowe shooters, with some Har-  
kebuters among them: the which though in the other  
affaires of warre, they be litle profitable, they be for  
this most profitable, to make afraide the countreymen,

to dyue them from a passage, that were kept of them;  
because a Harkebutter shall feare them more then. xx.  
other armed. But comming to the number, I say, that  
having taken in hand, to imitate the seruice of warre of  
the Romanes, I would not ordeine more then. 3. hun-  
dred horse, profitable for every maine battel, of which I  
woulde

The nōber  
of horsemen  
requisite a  
maine bat-  
tale of sixc  
thousande  
men.

Would that there were. CL. men of armes, and. CL.  
 light horsmen, and I would geue to every one of these  
 partes, a heade, making after among them fiftene pe-  
 ticipitaines for a bande, giuing to euery one of them  
 a Trompet and a Standard: I would that every ten men  
 of armes shoulde haue ffeue carriages, and every tenne  
 light horsmen twoo, the which as those of the footemen,  
 shoulde carrye the tentes, the vesseles, and the axes, and  
 the stakes, and the rest of their other harnesse. Nor be-  
 leue not but that it is disorder, where the men of armes  
 haue to their service fourre horse, because such a thing is  
 a corrupt use: soz that the men of armes in Almaine, are  
 seene to bee with their horse alone, every twentye of thē  
 hauing onely a carte, that carrieth after them their ne-  
 cessarye thinges. The Romane horsmen, were like-  
 wise alone: true it is, that the Triary lodged neare thent  
 which were bounde to minister helpe vnto them, in the  
 keeping of their horses: the which maye easly be imita-  
 ted of vs, as in the destrubuting of the lodgings, I shall  
 shewe you, the same then that the Romanes did, & that  
 Whiche the Dutchemen do nowe adaises, wee maye doo  
 also, yea, not doing it, wæ erre. These horses ordayned  
 & appointed together with a maine battaile, may some-  
 times be put together, when the battailes bee assem-  
 bled, and to cause that betwene them bee made some  
 sight of assault, the which shoulde be more to make them  
 acquainted together, then for any other necessitie. But  
 nowe of this part, there hath bee spaken sufficienly,  
 Wherefore let vs fashion the armie, to bee able to come  
 into the fielde against the enemie, and hope to  
 winne it: which thing is the ende, for whic  
 che the exercise of warre is ordeyned, and so much studye  
 therein bestowed.

the number  
of carriages  
that men of  
armes and  
light horse-  
men ought  
to haue.

The thirde booke of the arte of warre,  
of Nicholas Machianel, Citezen and Secretarie  
of Florence, unto Laurence  
Philip Strozze. (..)

Cosimo.



Eeing that we chaunge reasoning, I wil that y demaunder be chaunged: because I would not bee thoughte presumptuous, the whiche I haue alwaies blamed in other: therefore, I resigne the Dictorship, and give this authoritie to him that will haue it, of these my other friendes.

Zanobi. Wee would be most glad, that you shold proceede, but seeing that you will not, yet tell at least, which of vs shall succeede in your place.

Cosimo. I will give this charge to signor Fabritio.

Fabritio. I am content to take it, and I will that we followe the Venecian custome, that is, that the yonge speake friste: because this being an exercize for young men, I perswade my selfe, that young men, bee most apt to reason therof, as they be most ready to execute it.

Cosimo. Then it falleth to you Luigi: and as I haue pleasure of suche a successor, so you shall satisfie your selfe of suche a demaunder: therefore I praye you, let vs tourne to the matter, and let vs lese no more time.

Fabritio. I am certayne, that to minde to shewe well, howe an armie is prepared, to fight a fielde, it shoulde be necessarie to declare, howe the Grekes, and the Romanes ordeyned the bandes of their armies:

Notwith-

Withſtanding, you your ſelues, being able to read, and to conſider thofe thinges, by meaneſ of the aunciente writers, I will paſſe ouer many particulerſ: and I will onely bring in thofe thinges, which I think neceſſary to imitate, minding at this time, to geue to our exerçice of warre, ſome parte of perfeccion: The whiche ſhall make, that in one iſtante I ſhall ſhewe you, howe an armie is prepared to the field, and how it doeth incouer in the verie fight, and how it may be exerciſed in the ſained. The greateſt diſorder, that they make whiche ordeine an armie to the field, is in giuing the only one fronte, and to binde them to one brunt and to one for-  
 tune: the whiche groweth, of hauiing loſt the waie, that  
 the antiquitie uſed to receiue one bande within an o-  
 ther because without this waie, they can neither ſuc-  
 cour the formoſt, nor defende them, nor ſucceſſe in the  
 fight in their ſteede: the whiche of the Romaneſ, was  
 moſt excellently well obſerued. Thereforē, purpoſing  
 to ſhewe this waye, I ſay, howe that the Romayneſ  
 deuided into iij. partes euery Legion, in Hastati, Pre-  
 cipi, & Triarij, of whiche, the Hastati were placed in the  
 firſt fronte, or foreward of the armie, with the orders  
 thicke and ſure, behinde whom were the Prencipi, but  
 placed with their orders moſe thinne: after theſe, they  
 ſet the Triarij, & with ſo muſe thinnes of orders, that  
 they might, if neede were, receyue betwene them the  
 Prencipi, and the Hastati. They had beſides theſe, the  
 Slingers, and Croſſboweſhoters, & the other light ar-  
 med, by whiche ſtoode not in theſe orders, but they placed  
 them in the head of the armie, betwene the horſes & the  
 other bandes of ſotemen: therefore theſe light armed,  
 began the fight, if they ouercame (whiche happened ſel-  
 dome times) they followed the victorie: if they were  
 repulced, they retired by the flanckes of the armie, or  
 by ſpaces ordaineſ for ſuch purpoſes, & they brought  
 themſelues among the unarmed: after the departure of

the greateſt  
 diſorder that  
 is uſed now  
 a daies in pi-  
 tching of a  
 fielde..

the order  
 hovve a Ro-  
 main Legio  
 vvas apoin-  
 ded to fight

## The thirde Booke of

Whom, the **P**assati encountered with the enemie; the which if they saw themselves to be ouercome, they retired by a litle, and little, by the rarenesse of thodders betwene the **P**incipi, and together with those they resenned the fight: if these also were repulced, they retired al in the rarenesse of the orders of the **T**riary, & altogether on a heape began againe the fight: and then if they were ouercome, there was no more remedy, because there remained no more waies to renue them againe. The horses stode on the corners of the armie, to the likenesse of two winges to a body, & some whiles, they fought with þe enemies horses, an other while they rescued þe fotemen, according as neede required. This way of renuing the selues þre times, is almost impossible to ouercome: for that, fortune must þre times forsake the, and the enemie to haue so much strength, that þre times he may ouercome the. The Grekes, had not in their **F**alangi, this maner of renuing the selues, and although in those were many heades & many orders notwithstanding, they made one body, or els one head: the maner that they kept in rescuing the one the other, was not to retire the one order within the other, as the **R**omaines, but to enter the one man into the place of the other: the which they did in this maner. Their **F**alangi brought into rankes, and admit that they put in a ranke fiftie men comming after with their heade against the enemie, of all the rankes the foremoste fire, mighte fight: Because their **L**aunces, the whiche they called **S**arisse, were so long, that the sixte ranke passed with the head of their **L**aunces, ouer the first ranke: then in fightyng, if any of the first, either through death, or through woundes fell, straight waie there entered into his place, the same man, that was behinde in the seconde ranke, and in the place that remained boide of the seconde, the same man entred, which was behinde hym in the thirde, and thus successiuelye, in a sodaine

The maner  
that the  
Grekes vſed  
in their **F**a-  
langi, vwhen  
they fought  
against their  
enemies.

the

she rankes behinde, restored the faultes of those afore, so that the rankes alwayes remayned whole, and no place of the fighters was boide, except the last rankes, the whiche came to consume, hauing not men behinde their backes, whome might restore them: So that the hurt that the firste rankes suffered, consumed the last, and the first remayned alwayes whole: and thus these Falangi by their order, might sooner be consumed, then broken, for that the grosse bodye, made it more immo-  
vable. The Romanes vsed at the beginning the Fa-  
langi, and did set in order their Legions like vnto them: after, this order pleased them not, and they deuided the Legions into many bodies, that is, in bandes and com-  
panies: Because they iudged (as a little afore I sayde)  
that the same bodye, shoulde haue neede of manye Capi-  
taines, and that it shoulde be made of sundry partes,  
so that every one by it selfe, might be gouerned. The  
maine battailes of the Suizzers, vse at this present, all  
the maners of the Falangi, as wel in ordering it grosse,  
and whole, as in rescuing the one the other: and in pit-  
ching the field, they set the maine battailes, the one to  
the sides of the other: & though they set them the one be-  
hind the other, they haue no waye, y<sup>e</sup> the first retiring  
it self, maye bee receyued of y<sup>e</sup> second, but they vse this  
order, to the intent to be able to succour the one y<sup>e</sup> other  
Where they put a mayne battaile before, & an other be-  
hind the same on the right hand: so that if the first haue  
neede of helpe, y<sup>e</sup> then the other may make foward, &  
succour it: the thirde maine battaile, they put behinde  
these, but distant from them, a Harkebus shot: this they  
do, for that the saide two maine battailes being repul-  
ced, this maye make foward, & haue space for them  
selues, & for the repulced, & the same that marcheth foward,  
to auoide the instling of the one the other: for as  
much as a grosse multitude, cannot bee receyued as a li-  
tle body: & therefore, the litle bodies being destince,

The order  
that the Su-  
izzers vse in  
their maine  
battailes  
when they  
fight.

which

### The third Booke of

which were in a Romaine Legion, might be placed in such wise, that they might receive betweene them and rescue the one the other. And to proue this order of the Suizers not to be so good, as the auncient Romaines, many ensamples of the Romain Legions doe declare, when they fought with the Grekes Falangi, where alwaies they were consumed of them: for that the kinde of their weapons (as I haue saide afore) & this waie of renning themselues, could do more, then the massiveness of the Falangi. Having therefore with these ensamples to ordaine an armie, I haue thought good, partly to retaine the maner of arming & the orders of the Grekes Falangi, and partly of the Romain Legions and therfore I haue saide, that I woulde haue in a maine battaile, two thousand pikes, which be the weapōs of the Macedonicall Falangi, and thre thousand Targalettes with swardes, which be the Romain weapons: I haue devided the main battaile, into x. battailes, as the Romaines their Legions: into sen Cohortes: I haue ordēned the Veliti, that is the light armed to begin the fight as the Romaines vsed: and like as the weapons being mingled, do participate of thone and of the other maner, so the orders also doe participate: I haue ordēned, that every battaile shall haue v. rankes of Pikes in the fronte, and the rest of Targalettes, to bee able with the fronte, to withstande the horses, and to enter easly into the battaile of the enemies on foote, having in the firste fronte, or bawarde, Pikes, as well as the enemie, the which shall suffice me to withstand them, the Targalettes after to ouercome them. And if you note the vertue of this order you shal see all these weapons, to dos fully their office, for that the Pikes, bee profitable against the horses, & when they come against the footemenne, they doe theyr office well, before the fighte throug together, because so soone as they presse together, they become unprofitable: wherfore, the

How to ap-  
pointe a  
maine bat-  
taile vwith  
armour and  
weapōns &  
to order the  
same after  
the Greeke  
& Romaine  
maner.

Suizers

Suizzers to auoide this inconuenience, put after euer ye  
three rankes of Pikes, a ranke of Halberdes, the whiche  
they do to make rōme to the Pikes, which is not yet so  
much as suffiseth. Then putting our Pikes afore, and  
the Targalettes behinde, they come to withstande the  
hōrses, and in the beginning of the fight, they open the  
rayes, and molest the fōtemen: But when the fight is  
thrust together, and that they become unprofitable, the  
Targalettes and swōrds succēde, which may in every  
narowe place be handled.

Luigi. We looke nowe with desire to vnderstande,  
howe you would ordeyne the armie to fighte the fieldē,  
with these weapons, and with these order.

Fabritio. And I will not nowe shewe you other, then  
this: you haue to vnderstande, how that in an ordinarye  
Romane armie, which they call a Consull armie, there  
were no more, then two Legions of Romane Citzens  
which were sixe hundred hōrse, and about aleuen shou-  
fande fōtemen: they had besides as many more fōte,  
men and horsemen, whiche were sente them from their  
riendes & confederates, whome they diuided into two  
partes, and called the one, the right hōrse & the other the  
left hōrse: nor they neuer permitted, that these aiding  
fōtemen, shoulde passe the nōber of the fōtemen of their  
Legions, they were well contented, that the nōber  
of those hōrse shoulde be more then theirs: with this ar-  
mie, which was of xxiiij. thousand fōtemen, & about two  
thousande god hōrse, a Consul executed all affaires, and  
went to all enterprises: yet when it was needfull to set  
against a greater force, two Consulles ioyned together  
with two armies. You ought also to note in especially,  
that in all the three principall actes, which an armie doth  
that is, to march, to incampe, and to fight, the Romanes  
vsed to put their Legions in the middeste, for that they  
woulde, that the same power, wherein they most tru-  
sted, shoulde bee moste united, as in the reasoning of  
these

The number  
of men that  
was in a  
Counsalles  
armie.

How the  
Romanes  
placed their  
Legions in  
the field,

### The third Booke of

these thre actes, shall be shewed you: those aiding sone men , through the practise they had with the Legion Souldours, were as profitable as they , because they were instructed, according as the souldours of the Legions were, and therefore, in like maner in pitching the field, they pitched. Then he that knoweth how the Romaines disposed a Legion in their armie, to fight a field, knoweth how they disposed all : wherefor, having tolde you how they deuided a Legion into thre bandes , and how the one bande received the other, I haue then told you, how al thame in a field, was ordained. Wherefore, I minding to ordain a field like unto y Romaines, as they had two Legions, I will take y. main battailes, & these being disposed, the disposition of all an armie shalbe vnderstode therby; bycause in ioyning more men, there is no other to be doen, then to ingrosse the orders: I thinke I neede not to rehearse how many men a maine battaile hath, & howe it hath ten battailes, and what heades bee in a battaile, and what weapons they haue, and which be the ordinarie Pikes and Milti, and which the extraordinarie for that a litle a soze I told you it destinctly, and I willed you to kepe it in memorie as a necessarie thing to purpose, to vnderstande all the other orders : and therfore I will come to the demoustracion of the order without repeating it any more: We thinkes good, that the ten battailes of one main battaile be set on the left flanke, and the tenne other, of the other main battaile, on the right: these that are placed on the left flanke, be ordeined in this maner , there is put five battailes the one to the side of the other in the frond, after suche sorte, that betwene the one and the other , there remaine a space of thre yarde , whiche come to occupie soz largenesse. Cvi yarde , of ground, and for length thirtie : behinde these five battailes , I would put thre other distante by right line from the firste, thirtie yarde ; two of the whiche , should come

Hovv to order in armie  
in the field  
to fighte a  
battaile,  
according to  
the minde  
of the au-  
thour.

behinde  
the  
firste  
thirtie  
yarde ;  
two of the  
whiche ,  
should come  
behinde

behinde by right line, to the uttermoste of the ffe, and the other shoulde keepe the space in the middest, and so these thre, shall come to occupie for bredth and length, as much space, as the ffe doth. But where the ffe haue betwene the one, and the other, a distaunce of thre yardes, these shall haue a distaunce of xxv. yardes. After these, I woulde place the two last battailes, in like manner behinde the thre by right line, and distaunte from those thre, thirtie yardes, and I woulde place eche of them, behinde the uttermost part of the thre, so that the space, which shoulde remayne betwene the one and the other, shoulde bee lxviij. yardes: then all these battailes thus ordered, will take in bredth Cvi. yardes, and in length CL. The extraordinarie Pikes, I woulde de-  
Hoyve the  
extraordi-  
narie Pikes  
be placed in  
the set bat-  
tale.  
stende a long the flanckes of these battailes, on the lefste side, distaunt from them fistene yardes, making Cxliij. rankes, vij. to a ranke, after such sort, that they may impale with their length, all the lefft side of the ten battailes in the same wise, declared of me to be ordained: & there shall remayne fourtie rankes to keepe the carriages, and the unarm'd, which ought to remayne in the taile of the armie, distributing the Peticaptaynes, and the Centurions, in their places: and of the thre Conestables, I would place one in the head, the other in the middest, the thirde in the last ranke, the which shoulde execute the office of a Tergiductor, whome the antiquitie so called him, that was appointed to the backe of the armie. But retourning to the heade of the armie, I saye hoyve that I woulde place neare to the extraordinarie Pikes, the Weliti extraordinarie, whiche you knowe to bee ffe hundred, and I woulde give them a space of xxx. yardes: on the side of these likewise on the lefste hande, I woulde place the men of armes, and I woulde they shoulde haue a space of a Crij. yardes: after these, the light horsemen, to whome I woulde appointe as much grounde to stande in, as the men of armes haue: the or-

the place  
vwhere the  
extraordi-  
nary archars  
and harka-  
butters, and  
the men of  
armes and  
light horse-  
men oughte  
to stande  
vwhen the  
field is pit-  
ched, and  
goeth to  
fight the  
battale.

# The thirde Booke of

The ordina-  
rie archers  
and hark-  
butters are  
placed a-  
bout their  
ovvne bat-  
tailes.

The place  
vwhere the  
generall  
head of a  
maine bat-  
taile must  
stand vwhen  
the same po-  
vver of men  
is appointed  
to fight.

Vhat men  
ageneral ca-  
pitaine of a  
maine bat-  
taile ought  
to haue  
about him.

The place  
vwhere a ge-  
nerall capi-  
taine of all  
the armie  
must stande  
vwhen the  
battaile is  
ready to bee  
fought, and  
vhat nom-  
ber of chose  
men ought  
to be about  
him.

dinarye Weliti, I woulde leauue abouste their owne bat-  
tailes, who shoulde stande in those spaces, whiche I ap-  
pointe betweene the one battaile and the other: whome  
shoulde be as their ministers, if sometime I thought not  
good to place them vnder the extraordinarie Pikes: in  
doing e<sup>r</sup> not doing wherof, I woulde procede, according  
as shoulde tourne best to my purpose. The generall head  
of all the maine battaile, I woulde place in þ same space  
that were betweene the first and the second order of the  
battailes, or els in the head, and in the same space, that  
is betweene the last battaile of the first fure, and the ex-  
traordinarie Pikes, according as best shoulde serue my  
purpose, with thirtie or fourtie chosen men about him,  
that knewe by prudence, howe to execute a commis-  
sion, and by force, to withstande a violence, and they  
to be also betweene the Drumme and the Ansigne: this  
is thorder with the which I would dispose a maine bat-  
taile, which shoulde be the disposing of halfe the armie,  
and it shoulde take in breadth thre hundred soulescore &  
two yardes, and in length as much as aboue is saide,  
not accounting the space that the same part of the ex-  
traordinarie Pikes will take, which must make a de-  
fence for the unarmed, which will be about lxxv. yards:  
the other maine battailes, I woulde dispose on the right  
side, after the same maner iust, as I haue disposed that  
on the left, leauing betweene the one maine battaile &  
the other, a space of xxij. yarde: in the head of which  
space, I would set some litle carriages of artillerie, be-  
hinde the which, shoulde stande the generall capitaine of  
all the armie, & shoulde haue about him with the Trum-  
pet, and with the Capitaine standerde, two hundred  
men at the least, chosen to bee on foote the most part,  
amongst which there shoulde bee tenne or more, mēte  
to execute all commandementes, and shoulde bee in  
suche wyse on horsebacke and armed, that they might  
bee on horsebacke, and on foote, according as neede  
shoulde

Should require. The artillerie of the armie, suffiseth ten Cannons, for the winning of Townes, whose Shotte shoulde not passe fiftie pounde: the whiche in the field should serue moze for defence of the campe, then for to fight the battaile: The other artillerie, should bee rather of ten, then of fiftene pounde the Shotte: this I would place afore on the front of all the armie, if sometime the countrie shoulde not stande in such wise, that I mighte place it by the flancke in a sure place, where it mighte not of the enemie be in daunger: this fashion of an armie thus ordered, may in fighting, vse the order of the Falangi, and the order of the Romane Legions: for that in the fronte, bee Pikes, all the men bee set in the rankes, after such sorte, that incountering with the enemie, and withstandynge him, maye after the vse of the Falangi, restore the firste rankes, with those behinde: on the other parte, if they be charged so soore, that they be constrainyd to breake the orders, and to retire them, selues, they maye enter into the voide places of the seconde battailes, whitch they haue behinde them, & unite their selues with them, and making a new force, withstande the enemie, and ouercome him: and when this sufficeth not, they may in the verie same maner, retire them selues the seconde time, and the third fight: so that in this order, concerning to fight, there is to renue them selues, both according to the Greke maner, and according to the Romane: concerning the strength of the armie, there cannot be ordayned a moze stronger: soz as much, as the one & the other horne therof, is exceedingly well replenished, both with headeys, and weapons, nor there remayneth weake, other then the part behinde of the unarmed, and the same also, hath the flanckes impaled with the extraordinarie Pikes: nor the enemie can not of anye parte assaulte it, where he shall not finde it well appointed, and the hinder parte can not be assaulted: Because thare can not bee an enemys, that hath so

How many  
canons is re-  
quisite for  
an armie, &  
of what size  
they ought  
to bee.

VVhere the  
artillerie  
ought to be  
placed vvhē  
armie is  
reddie to  
fight.

An armie  
that vvere  
ordered as  
aboue is de-  
clared, maie  
in fighting,  
vse the  
Grekes ma-  
ner, & the  
Romane fa-  
shion.

## The thirde Booke of

much puissaunce, whome equallye maye assault thee on  
euerye side : for that hee haing so great a power, thou  
oughtest not then to matche thy selfe in the fielde with  
him: but when he were three times more then thou, and  
as well appointed as thou, hee doth weaken him selfe in  
assaulting thee in diuers places, one part that thou brea-  
kest , will cause all the reste go to naughte : concerning  
horses, although he chauice to haue more then thine, thou  
needest not feare; for that the orders of the Pikes, which  
impale thee , defende thee from all violence of them, al-  
though thy horses were repulced . The heades besides

to vwhat  
purpose the  
spaces that  
be betwene  
euery bande  
of men do  
serue.

this, be disposed in such place, that they may easlyly com-  
maunde, and obeye: the spaces that bee betweene the one  
battaile, and the other, and betweene the one order, and  
the other, not onely serue to be able to receyue the one  
the other, but also to gaine plate to the messengers, whi-  
che should go and come by order of the Capitayne. And

as I tolde you firste, howe the Romaines had for an ar-  
mie , aboute fourre and twentie thousande men, euen so  
this oughte to bee : and as the other souldiours tooke en-  
sample of the Legions , for the maner of fighting, & the  
fashion of the armie , so those souldiours , whiche you  
shoulde ioyne to oure two mayne battailes, oughte to  
take the forme & order of them: whereof haing put you  
an ensample, it is an easye matter to imitate it, for that  
increasing , either two other mayne battailes unto the  
armie, or as many other souldiours, as they bee , there  
is no other to bee done , then to double the orders ; and  
where was put tenne battailes on the leste parte , to  
put twentie, either ingrossing, or distending the orders,  
according as the place , or the enemie shoulde compell  
thee.

Luigi. Surelye sir I imagine in suche wise of this  
armie, that mee thinkes I nowe see it, and I burne with  
a desire to see it incounter, and I woulde for nothing in  
the worlde, that you shoulde become Fabius Maximus  
inter-

intending to kepe the enemie at a baye , and to deferre  
the day of battaile; because I would saye wozle of you,  
then the Romaine people sayde of him.

Fabritio. Doubt not: Do you not heare the artillery? The descrip-  
tion of a bat-  
Durs haue already shot, but little hurt the enemie : and  
taile that is  
the extraordinarie Weliti, issuing out of their places to-  
a fighting.  
gether with the lighte horsemen , moste spedelye  
and with moste meruaillous furie , and greatest crye  
that maye be, they assault the enemie : whose artillerie  
hath discharged ones, and hath passed ouer the heade of  
our footemen, without doing them any hurte, & because  
it cannot shooe the seconde time, the Weliti, & our horse-  
men, haue nowe gotten it, and the enemies for to de-  
fende it, are come sozewarde, so that neither oure ordi-  
nance, nor the enemies , can anye more do their office.  
See with howe much vertue, strength and agilitie our  
men fighteth, and with howe much knowledge through  
the exercise, which hath made them to abide, and by the  
confidence, that they haue in the armie, the whiche, see,  
how with the pace therof, and with the men of armes on  
the sides , it marcheth in god order , to give the charge  
on the aduersarie : See our artillerie , whiche to give  
them place, and to leaue them the space free , is retired  
by the same space, from whence the Weliti issued : See  
how the Capitayn incourageth them, sheweth them the  
victorie certaine: See how the Weliti and lighte horsemen  
hee enlarged, and retourned on the flanke of the army,  
to seeke and view, if they may by the flanke, do anye in-  
jurie to the aduersaries: beholde how the armies be af-  
fronted. See with howe muche valiauntnesse they haue  
withstoode the violence of the enemies , and with howe  
much silence, & how the Captayne comauandeth the men  
of armes, y they sustayn, & not charge, and y they breake  
not from the order of the footemen : see howe our lighte  
horsemen be gone, to give the charge on a bande of the  
enemies, Harkebutters, which woulde haue hurt oure  
men

### The third Booke of

men by flanke, and how the enemies horse haue succon-  
red them, so that tourned betwene the one & the other  
horse, they cannot shote, but are faine to retire behind  
their owne battaile : see with what furie our Pikes doe  
also affront, and how the scotemen be now so neere to-  
gether the one to the other, that the Pikes can no more  
be occupied: so y according to the knowledge, learned of  
vs, our pikes do retire a litle & a litle betwene the tar-  
galettes. See how in this while a great bande of men of  
armes of the enemies, haue charged our men of armes  
on the leste side, and how ours, according to knowledge  
bere retired vnder the extraordinarie Pikes, & with the  
helpe of those giuing againe a fresh charge, haue repul-  
led y aduersaries, & slaine a god part of thē: in so much,  
that the ordinarie pikes of the first battailes, be hidden  
betwene the raiers of the Targalettes, they having leste  
the fight to the Targact men: whom you may see, with  
how muche vertue, securitie, and leisure, they kill the  
enemie: see you not how much by fighting, y orders be  
thrust together: That they ca scace wende their sworde.  
Beholde with how muche furie the enemies moue: be-  
cause being armed with the pike, and with the sworde  
vnproufitable(the one for beyng to long, the other for  
findyng the enemie to wel armed) in part they fall hurt  
or deade, in parte they flie. See they flie on the righte  
corner, they flie also on the leste: behold, the victorie is  
ours. Haue not we wonne a field most happily? But  
with more happinesse it should bere wonne, if it were  
graunted me to put it in acte. And see, how there nee-  
ded not the helpe of the seconde, nor of the thirde syder  
for our first fronte bath sufficed to euercome them: in  
this parte, I haue no other to say vnto you, then to re-  
solue if any doubt be growen you.

Luigi. You haue with so muche furie wonne this  
fielde, that I so muche meruaile and am so astonied,  
that I beleue that I am not able to expresse, if any  
doubt

doubt remaine in my minde: yet trusting in your pru-  
dence, I will be so bolde to tell the same that I under-  
stande. Tell mee first, why made you not your ordināce  
to shote more then ones? And why straightwaye you Questions  
made them to retire into the armie, noz after made no concerning  
mention of them? ~~hee thought also, that you leueled the~~ the shoting  
~~of ordinaunce~~  
artillerie of the enemie high, and appointed it after your  
owne deuise: the which might verye well be, yet when  
it should happen, as I belue it chaunceth often, that  
they strike the rankes, what remedie haue you? And see-  
ing that I haue begun of the artillerie, I will finish all  
this question, to the intent I neede not to reason thereof  
anye more. I haue hearde manye dispraise the armours  
and the orders of the aunciente armies, arguing, howe  
nowe a dayes, they can do litle, but rather shoule bee al-  
together unprofitable, hauing respect to the furie of the  
artillerie: because, this breaketh the orders, and passeth  
the armours in suchē wise, that it seemeth vnto them a  
folishenesse to make an order, which cannot be kepte,  
and to take paine to beare a harneis, that cannot defend  
a man. Fabritio. This question of yours ( because it  
hath manye heades) hath neede of a longe aunswere. It is  
true, that I made not the artillerye to shote more then  
ones, and also of the same ones, I stode in double: the  
occasion was, soz as muche as it impozeth moze, soz one  
to take heed not to be strikē, then it impozeth to strike  
the enemie. You haue to understande, that to pur-  
pose that a peice of ordinaunce hurte you not, it is ne-  
cessary either to stande where it can not retche you, or  
to get behinde a wall, or behinde a banke: other thing  
there is not that can withholde it: and it is needefull al-  
so, that the one and the other be moste strong. Those  
Capitaynes whiche come to fight a fielde, cannot stande  
behinde a wall, or behinde bankes, noz where they may  
not be retched: therfore it is meete soz them, seeing they  
cannot finde away: to defende the, to finde some meane.

An ansvere  
to the ques-  
tions that  
were de-  
mauded, con-  
cerning the  
shoting the  
ordinaunce.

by

### The third Booke of

by the which they maye be least hurte: for they can not finde any other way, then to preuent it quickly: the way to preuent it, is to go to finde it out of hande, and hastely not at leisure and in a heape: for that through spedde, the blowe is not suffered to be redoubled, and by the thinnesse, lesse nomber of men maye bee hurte. This, a bande of men ordered, can not doo: because if the same marche hastely, it groweth out of order: if it go scattered the enemie shall haue no paine to breake it, for that it breaketh by it selfe: and therefore, I ordered the armie after such sort, that it might do the one thing and the other: for as muche as hauing set in the corners therof, a thousande Weliti, I appointed that after that our ordinaunce had shotte, they shoulde issue out together with the lighte horsmen, to get the enemies artillerie: and therefore, I made not my ordinaunce to shote againe, to the intente, to giue no time to the enemie to shote: Because space coulde not be giuen to mee, and taken from other men, and for the same occasion, where I made my ordinaunce not to shote the second time, was for that I woulde not haue suffered the enemie to haue shotte at all, if I had coulde: seeing that to minde that to the enemies artillerie be vnproufitable, there is no other remedye, but to assault it spedely: for as much as if the enemies forsake it, thou takest it, if they will defende it, it is requisite that they leane it behinde, so that being possessed of enemies, & of friends, it cannot shote. I would belue, y without insamples these reasons shoulde suffice you, yet being able to shew old ensamples, to proue my sayinges true, I will.

**A policie against bovys  
and darteres.** Wentidio comming to fighte a field with the Parthians, whose strength for the most part, consisted in bowes and arrowes, he suffered them almost to come harde to his campe, before he drew out his armie, the whiche onely he dyd, to bee able quickly to preuent them: and not to giue them space to shote. Cesar when hee was in Fraunce, maketh mencion,

that

that in fighting a battaile with the enemies , hee was  
With so much furie assaulted of them , that his men had  
no time to whozle their darteres, according to the custome  
of the Romanes: wherfore it is saue , that to intende,  
that a thing that shotteth farre of being in the fielde, do  
not hurte thee, there is no other remedie , then with as  
much celerite as may be, to preuent it. An other cause  
moued mee to procede, without shotting the ordinaunce  
Wherat peraduenture you will laugh : yet I judge not  
that it is to be dispraised. There is nothing that causeth  
greater confusione in an armie , then to hinder mens  
lights: wherby many most puissant armies haue bene  
brokene, by meanes their sight hath been letted , either  
with dust, or with the Sunne: yet there is nothing, that  
more letteth the sighte then the smoke that the ar-  
tillerie maketh in shotting: herfore, I would thinke that  
it were more wisdome, to suffer the enemie to blinde  
himselfe, then to purpose (thou being blind) to go to find  
him: for this cause, either I would not shoothe, or (for that  
this shold not be preuied , considering the reputation  
that the artillerie hath) I would place it on the corners  
of the armie, so y shotting, it shold not with the smoke  
thereof, blinde the fronte of the same, whiche is the im-  
portaunce of my men . And to proue that it is a proft-  
able thing , to let the sight of the enemie , there maye trouble the  
be brought for ensample Epaminondas, who to blind enemies  
the ennies armie , whiche came to faughte with hym sighte.  
he caused his light horsemen , to run before the fronte  
of the enemies, to raise vp the duske , and to lette their  
sight, whereby hee gotte the victorie . And where it see-  
meth unto you, that I haue guided the shottte of the ar-  
tillerie, after my owne devise, making it to passe ouer great ordi-  
naunce in the fielde, is  
the shot of  
the heades of my men, I answeare you that most often  
lynes, and without comparison, the great ordinaunce  
misshitteth the footemen , muche sooner then hitte them : for  
that the footemen are so lowe , and those so difficult to footemen.

Nothing  
causeth grea-  
ter confusione  
in an armie,  
then to hinder  
mens  
ights.

Nothing  
more blin-  
dethe si-  
ght of men  
in an armie,  
then the  
smoke of  
ordinaunce.

A policie to  
trouble the  
enemies

## The thirde Booke of

shotte, that every litle that thou raylest them, they passe ouer the heades of men: and if they be leueled never so litle to lowe, they strike in the earth, and the blow commeth not to them: also the vncuentesse of the ground saueth them, for that every litle hillocke, or high place that

Because mē  
of armes  
stand closer  
together the  
light horse-  
men, they  
ought to re-  
maine be-  
hind the  
armie till  
the enemies  
ordinance  
haue done  
shooting.

letteth the shotte therof. And concerning horsemen, and in especial lye men of armes, because they ought to stande more close together, then the light horsemen, and for that they are much higher, may the better be stroken, they may, untill the artillerie haue shotte, bee keepte in the taile of the armie. True it is, that the Harkebutters do muche more hurt, & the fiedle pieces, then the great ordinance, for the which, the greatest remedie is, to come to hande strokes quickly: and if in the first assaulte, there be slain some, alwayes there shall bee slaine: but a god Capayne, and a god armie, ought not to make a countre of hurte, that is particular, but of a generall, and to imitate the Swizzers, whom never escue to fighte, being made afraid of the artillerye: but rather punishe with death those, whiche for feare therof, either shold go out of the ranke, or shold make with his body any signe of feare. I made the (so swone as they had shotte) to be retired into the armie, y they might leane the way frō for the battaile: I made no more mention of them, as of a thing unprofitable, the fight being begun. You haue also sayde, that considering the violence of this instrument, manye iudge the armours, and the aunciente orders to bee to no purpose, and it saemeth by this your talke, that men nowe adayes, haue founde orders and armours, whiche are able to defende them against the artillerye: if you knowe this, I woulde bee glad that you woulde teache it mee: for that hethereto, I neuer sawe anye, noz I beleue that there can anye be founde: so that I would understande of such men, for what cause the Souldours on foote in these dayes, weare the breastplate, or

The corslet of Steele, & they on horsebacke go all armes: because saeing that they blame the auncient arming of men as unprofitable, considering the artillery, they ought to dispise also this: I would vnderstande moreover, for what occasion the Suizzers, like unto the auncient orders, make a battaile close together of sixe or eight thousand men, & for what occasion all other haue imitated them, this order bearing the very same perill, concerning the artillery, that those other should beare, which should imitate hys antiquity. I beleue they should not know what to aunswere; but if you shold aske such Souldours, as had some iudgement, they woulde answe first, that they go armed, for that though the same armour defende them not from the artillery: it defendeth them from crossebowes, from Pikes, from swordes, from staues, and from all other hurt, that cometh from the enemies, they woulde answe also that they went close together like the Suizzers, to be able more easly to ouerthow the footemen, to be able to withstand better the horse, and to geue more difficultie to the enemie to breake them: so that it is seen, that the souldiers haue to feare many other thinges besides the ordinaunce: whch thinges, with the armours, and with the orders, they are defded: wherof foloweth, that the better that an armie is armed, and the closer that it hath the orders, and stronger, so much the surer it is: so that he that is of the same opinon, that you saie, it behoueth either that he be offisnale wisidome, or that in this thyng, he hath studid verye little: for as muche as we see, that so little a parte of the auncient maner of armynge, whiche is vsed now adayes, that is the pike, and so little parte of those orders, as are the maine battailes of the Suizzers do vs so muche god, and cause our armies to bee so strong, why ought not we to beleue, that the other armours, and thother orders whiche are leste, be profitable? Seyng that if we haue

## The thirde Booke of

no regarde to the artillerie, in putting our selues close together, as þ Suizzers, what other orders may make vs more to feare the same? Soz as much as no order can cause vs so much to feare the same, as those which bring men together. Besides this, if the artillerie of the enemies shoulde not make me afraide in besieging a Towne, where it hurteth me with more safegarde, being defended of a wall, I being not able to preuent it,

The artillerie is no let, vwhy the auncient orders of vwarfare ought not to be vied in these daies. such sort that it may double the blowe as it list, why shoulde I feare the same in the fielde, where I may quickly preuent it? So that I conclude thus, that the artillerie according to my opinion doth not let, that the auncient maners can not be vised, and to shew the auncient vertue: and if I had not talked alreadie with you of this instrument, I woulde of the same, declare vnto you more at length: but I wyll remit my selfe to that which then I sayde.

Luigi. Wee may now understande very well, how much you haue about the artillerie discoursed: and in conclusion, me thinkes you haue shewed, that the preuenting it quickly, is the greatest remedie that may be had for the same, being in the fielde, and hauing an armie against you. Upon the which there groweth in me a doubt: because me thinkes, that the enemie might place his ordinaunce in such wise in his armie, that it shoulde hurt you, and shoulde be after such sort garded of the footemen, that it coulde not be preuented. You haue (if you remember your selfe well) in the ordering of your armie to faight, made distaunces of three yards, betwene the one battaile and the other, making those distaunces fifteene, whiche is from the battailes, to the extraordinarie pikes: if the enemie shoulde order his armie like unto yours, and shoulde put the artillerie a good way within those spaces, I believe that from thence it shoulde hurt you with their most great safegard; because men

men cannot enter into the force of their enemies to prevent it, Fabritio. You doubt most prudently, and I will devise with my selfe, either to resolve you the doubt, or shewe you the remedye : I haue tolde you , that continually these battailes, either through going, or through fighting, are moving, & alwayes naturallye, they come to draw harde together, so that if you make þ distaunces of a small breadth, where you set the artillerie, in a little time they be shotte vp, after such sorte, that the artillerie cannot any more shooe: if you make them large , to auoid this perill, you incurre into a greater, where you through those distaunces, not onelye give commoditie to the enemie, to take frō you þ artillerie, but to breake you: but you haue to vnderstande, that it is impossible to keepe the artillerie betweene the bandes, and in especiallye those which go on carriages: For that the artillerye goeth one waye, and shooeth an other waye: So that having to go & to shooe, it is necessary , before they shooe, that they tourne, and for to tourne them, they will haue so muche space, that fistlie cartes of artillerye, woulde disorder anye armie: therfore, it is mete to keepe them out of the bandes, where they may be ouercome in the maner, as a little afore we haue shewed: but admit they might be kept, and that there might be founde a waye betwene both, and of such condicōn, that the preasing together of men should not hinder the artillerie, and were not so open that it should give way to the enemie, I say that it is remedied most easly, with making distaunces in thy armie against it, which may give free passage to the shottte of those , and so the violence thereof shall come to bee baine , the whiche may be done most easlye : forasmuche, as the enemie minding to haue his artillery stand safe, it behoueth that he put them behinde, in the furthest part of the distaunces, so that the shottte of the same, be purposing that they hurt not his owne men, ought to passe by right line, and by that verye same abwaies:

### The thirde Booke of

Wales: and therfore with giuing them place, easlyly, they  
may bee auoide: so that this is a generall rule, that to  
such thinges, which can not be withstood, there must  
as cannot be bee giuen way, as the antiquitie made to the Eliphants,  
withstoode. and to the carres full of hokes. I beleue, yea, I am  
more then certayn, that it semeth vnto you, that I haue  
orderd and wonne a battaile after my owne maner:  
notwithstanding, I auis were vnto you this, When so  
much as I haue sayde hetherto, shold not suffice, that  
it shold be impossible, that an armie thus orderd, and  
armed, shold not ouercome at the first incounter, anye  
other armie that shold bee oþdayned, as they order the  
armies nowe adayes, whome most often times, make  
not but one front, haing no Targalettes, & are in such  
wise vnarmes, that they cannot defende them selues  
from the enemie at hande, & they order them after such  
sorte, that if they set their battailes by flancke, the one  
to the other, they make the armie thinne: if they put the  
one behinde the other, haing no waye to receyue the  
one the other, they do it confusedly, and apte to bee easylie  
troubled: & although they give thre names to their  
armies, & deuide them into thre companies, vawarde,  
battaile, and rereward, notwithstanding it serueth to  
no other purpose, then to marche, and to distinguish the  
lodginges: but in the daie of battaile, they binde them  
all to the first brunte, and to the first fortune.

Luigi. I haue noted also in the fighting of your  
fieldc, howe your horsemen were repulced of the ene-  
mies horsemen: so whiche cause they retired to the ex-  
traordinarie Pikes: whereby grewe, that with the  
aide of them, they withstande, and drave the enemies  
backe: I beleue that the Pikes maye withstande the  
horses, as you saye, but in a grosse and thicke mayne  
battaile, as the Suizzers make: but you in your armie,  
haue soþ the heade ffe ranckes of Pittes, and soþ the  
flancke senen, so that I cannot tell howe they maye bee  
able

able to withstande them.

Fabritio. Yet I haue tolde you, howe syre rankes of Pikes were occupied at ones, in the Macedonicall Fa-  
langi, albeit you oughte to understande, that a mayne battaile of Swizzers , if it were made of a thousande rankes, it cannot occupie more then foure, or at the most five: because the pikes be syre yardes and thre quarters long , one yarde and a halfe quarter, is occupied of the handes, wherefore to the first rancke, there remayneth syre five yardes and a halfe, and a halfe quarter of Pike: the seconde ranke besides that, whiche is occupied with the hande, consumeth a yarde and halfe a quarter in the space, whiche remayneth betwene the one rancke and the other: so y there is not left of Pike profitable, more then foure yardes and a halfe: to the third ranke, by this verye same reason, there remayneth thre yardes and a halfe : to the fourth, two yardes and a quarter : to the fiftie one yarde & halfe a quarter : the other rankes, soz to hurte, be unprofitable, but they serue to restore these first rankes, as we haue declared, and to bee a fortifica-  
tion to those. v. Then if syue of their rankes can with-  
stande the horse , why can not syue of ours withstande them: to the whiche also there lacketh not rankes be-  
hind, that doth sustayne and make them the very same staye, although they haue no Pikes as the other. And when the rankes of the extraordynarye Pikes , whiche are placed on the flankes, should seeme unto you thinne, they maye bee brought into a quadrante, and put on the flancke neare the two battailes , which I set in the last company of the army: From the whiche place, they may easly altogether succour the front, and the backe of the armie, and minister helpe to the horses , according as nedde shall require.

Luigi. Would you alwates use this forme of order,  
When you woulde pitche a field?

Fabritio. No in no wise; soz that you ought to vary  
the

A battaile  
hovve great  
so euer it be  
can not at  
ones occupy  
aboue v. ran-  
kes of Pikes

# The third Booke of

the fashion of the armie, according to the qualitie of the situation, and the condition and quantitie of the enemie as before this reasoning do ende, shall bee shewed certayne ensamples: but this forme is given unto you, not so much as most strongest of al, where in dede it is verye strong, as to the intent that thereby you may take a rule, and an order to learne to knowe the wayes to ordayne the other: for as muche, as every science hath his generalitie, vpō the which a god part of it is grounded. One thing onely I advise you, that you never order an armie, after such sorte, that those that fight afore, cannot bee succoured of them, which bee set behinde: because he that committeth this errour, maketh the greatest part of his armie to bee unprofitable, and if it encounter any strength, it can not overcome.

Luigi. There is growen in mee, vpon this parte a double. I haue seene that in the placing of the battailes, you make the fronte of five on a side, the middest of thre, and the last partes of two, and I beleue, that it were better to ordayne them contrarywise: for that I thinke, that an armie shoulde with more difficultie bee broken, when he that shoulde charge vpon it, the more that he shoulde enter into the same, so much the stronger he shoulde finde it: and the order devised of you, mee thinkes maketh, that þ more it is entered into, so much the weaker it is founde.

Fabritio If you shoulde remember how to the Tryal, whome were the thirde order of the Romane Legions, there were not assigned more then sixe hundred men, you woulde doubtlesse, hauing vnderstode how they were placed in the last companye: For that you shoulde see, how I, moued of this ensample, haue placed in the last companye two battailes, whiche are nine hundred men, so that I come rather (following the ensample of the Romane people) to erre, for hauing taken to manye, then to fewe; and although this ensample

An aduertisement concerning the pitching of a fielde.

ple shoulde suffice, I wyll tell you the reason, the which  
is this. The first front of the armie, is made perfectly Hovve the  
whole and thicke, because it must withstande the b<sup>r</sup>unt front of the  
of the enemies, and it hath not to receiue in it any of armie ought  
their fellowes: and for this, it is fit that it bee full of  
men: because a few men shoulde make it weake, either  
for thinnesse, or for lacke of sufficient number: but the  
seconde co<sup>m</sup>panie for as much as it must first receyue middel part  
their friendes, to sustaine the enemie, it is meete that it of the armie  
haue great spaces, and for this it behoueth that it bee of ought to be  
lesse nomber then the first: for that if it were of greater  
nomber, or equall, it shoulde bee conuenient either not  
to leaue the distaunces, the which shoulde be disorder, or  
leaving them, to passe the boundes of those afore, the  
which shoulde make the fashion of the armie vnperfect:  
and it is not true that you say, that the enemie the mo<sup>r</sup>e  
that he entereth into the maine battaile, so much the  
weaker he findeth it: for that the enemie can never fight  
with the seconde order, except the first bee ioyned with  
the same: so that he commeth to finde the middest of the  
maine battaile mo<sup>r</sup>e stronger, and not mo<sup>r</sup>e weaker,  
hauyng to fight with the first, and with the seconde or-  
der altogether: the very same happeneth when the en-  
emie shoulde come to the thirde companie: for that there  
not with two battailes, whiche is founde freshe, but  
with all the maine battaile he must fight: and for that  
this last part hath to receyue molte men, the spaces  
thereof is requisite to be greatest, and that which re-  
ceyuth them, to be the least number.

Luigi. It pleaseth me the same that you haue tolde:  
but answe<sup>r</sup>e me also this: If the ffe first battailes do  
retire betwene the thre seconde battailes, and after  
the eight betwene the two thirde, it seemeth not pos-  
sible, that the eight being brought together, and then  
the tenne together, maye bee receyued when they bee  
eight, or when they bee tenne in the verye same space,

The orde-  
ring of the  
kinder parte  
of the armie

## The third Booke of

which receyued the ffe.

Fabritio. The first thing that I answeare is , that it is not the very same space: for that þ ffe haue four spaces in the middest, whiche retiring betwene thre, or betwene the two, they occupie : then there remayneth the same space, that is betwene the one maine battaile and the other , and the same that is , betwene the battailes , and the extraordinarie Pikes , all the whiche spaces makes largenesse:besides this,it is to be considered,that the battailes keepe other maner of spaces, when they bee in the orders without being altered,then when they be altered: for that in the alteration : either they throng together , or they enlarge the orders : they enlarge them:when they feare so muche , that they fall to flying,they thrust them together, when they feare in such wise,that they seeke to sauē them selues , not with running away, but with defence : So that in this case, they shoulde come to be destinguisched, and not to be enlarged. Moreouer, the ffe ranks of the Pikes, that are before, so soone as they haue begun the fight, they ought betwene their battailes to retire , into the taile of the armie,for to give place to the Targaet men , that they maye fight : and they going into the taile of the armie, may do sych seruice as the Capitayn shoulde iudge, were god to occupie them about , where in the foeward, the fight being mingled,they shoulde other wise bee altogether vnprofitable. And for this þ spaces ordayned, come to be for the remnaunt of the men , wide enough to receyue þ:yet when these spaces should not suffice , the flanckes on the sides be men, and not walles , whome giuing place, and inlarging them selues,may make the space to contayne so much,that it may be sufficient to receyue them.

Luigi. The rankes of the extraordinarie Pikes , whiche you place on the flanckes of the armie , when the first battailes retire into the second, will you haue them

the retire of  
the Pikes,  
to place the  
Targaet me.

them to stande still , and remaine with two hornes to  
the armie: D i will you that they also retire together,  
With the battailes: The which when they shoulde do, I  
see not how they can, hauing no battailes behinde with  
distaunces that may receyue them.

Fabritio. If the enemie ouercome them not , when he inforceth the battailes to retire,they may stande still in their order, and hurt the enemie on the flancke, after that the first battailes were retired:but if he should also ouercome them,as seemeth reason, being so puissance, þ he is able to repulse þ other, they also ought to retire: which they may do excellently well, although they haue not behinde, any to receyue þem:because from the middest, they may redouble by right line , entering the one ranke into the other,in the maner wherof we reasoned when it was spoken of the other of redoubling: True it is, that to minder redoubling to retire backe, it behoueth to take an other way,then the same that I shewed you: for that I tolde you, that the second ranke, ought to enter into the first, the fourth into the thirde, and so forth: in this case, they ought not to begin before, but behinde, so that redoubling the rankes, they may come to retire backewarde, not to tourne so warde : but to aunswere to all the same , that vpon this foughten fielde by mee shewed, might of you bee replied,I say unto you again, that I haue ordayned you this armie , and shewed this foughten field for two causes, the one for to declare unto you how it is ordered, the other to shewe you how it is exercised: the order, I beleue you understande most well:and concerning the exercise, I saye unto you, that they ought to be put together in this forme, as often times as may be:for as much as the heades learne therby, to keepe their battailes in these orders : for þ to particular souldours , it appertayneth to keepe well the orders of every battaile, to the heades of the battailes, it appertayneth to keepe them well in euerye order of

Hovve the  
pikes that a-  
re placed on  
the flanckes  
of the armie  
ought to go-  
uerne them-  
selues vwhen  
the rest of  
the armie is  
driven to re-  
tire.

the exercise  
of the armie  
in generall.

### The third Booke of

the armie , and that they knowe howe to obey , at the commaundement of the generall capitaine : therefore it is conuenient that they knowe , howe to ioyne the one battaile with the other , that they may knowe howe to take their place at once : and for this cause it is meete that the ansigne of every battaile haue written in some evident part , the number thereof : as well for to be able to commaunde them , as also for that the capitaine , and the souldiours by the same nomber , may more easlye knowe them againe : also the maine battailes ought to be nombred , and to haue the nomber in their principall ansigne : Therefore it is requisite , to knowe of what nomber the maine battaile shall be , that is placed on the left , or on the right horne , of what nombers the battailes bee , that are set in the front , and in the middest , and so forth of the other .

The antiquitie woulde also , that these nombers shoule be steppes to degress of honours of the armies : as for ensample , the first degréé is the Peticaptaine , the seconde the head of fiftie ordinary Veliti , the thirde the Centurion , the fourth the head of the first battaile , the fift of the seconde , the sixt of the thirde , and so forth , even to the tenth battaile , the which must be honoured in the seconde place , next the generall capitaine of a maine battaile : nor anye ought to come to the same head , if first he haue not risen vp by all these degress . And because besides these heades , there be thre Conestables of the extraordinarie Pikes , and two of the extraordinarie Veliti , I woulde that they shoule be in the same degréé of the Constable of the first battaile : nor I woulde not care , that there were sixe men of like degréé , to the entent that every one of them might striue who shoule do best , for to be promised to be head of the second battaile . Then every one of these heades , knowing in what place his battaile ought to be set in , of necessitie it must follow , that at a sounde of the Trumpet , so soone as the head standarde shall be erected ,

The nōber  
that is mete  
to be vritē  
in the An-  
signe of eue-  
rie band of  
men.

the degrees  
of honours  
in an armie,  
vwhich such  
a man ought  
to rise by , as  
shoule bee  
made a ge-  
nerall Capi-  
taine .

erected, all the armie shall be in their places: and this is the first exercise, whereunto an armie ought to be accustomed, that is, to set them quickly together: and to do this, it is requisite every day, and divers times in one day, to set them in order, and to disorder them.

Luigi. What armes woulde you that the Ansignes of all the armie, shoulde haue besides the number?

Fabritio. The standarde of the generall Capitayne ought to haue the armes of the Prince of the armie, all the other may haue the very same armes, and to varie with the fieldes, or to varie with the armes, as shoulde seeme best to the Lorde of the armie: Because this importeth little, so that the effect grow, that they be knowē the one from the other. But let vs passe to the other exercise: the which is to make them to moue, and with a conuenient pace to marche, and to see that marching, they keepe the orders. The thirde exercise is, that they learne to handle them selues in the same maner, which they ought after to handle them selues in the day of bat-  
taile, to cause the artillerie to shote, & to be drawen out of the way, to make the extraordinarie Veliti to issue out, after a likenesse of an assault, to retire them: To make that the firste battailes as though they were soze charged, retire into the spaces of the seconde, & after, all into the thirde, and from thence, every one to returne to his place: and in such wise to vse them in this exercise, that to every man, all thing may be knownen, and familiar: the which with practise, and with familiaritie, is brought to passe most quickly. The fourth exercise is, that they learne to knowe by meane of the sounde, and of the Ansigne, the commaundement of their Capitayn soz as much as that, which shall be to them pronounced by voice, they without other commaundement, may understande: & because the importance of this commaundement, ought to growe of the sounde, I shall tell you what soundes the antiquie vsed. Of the Lacedemo-  
nians,

The armes  
that oughte  
to be in the  
stādard, and  
in the An-  
signes of an  
armie.

The seconde  
& third ex-  
ercise of an  
armie.

The fourth  
exercise of  
an armie.

# The thirde Booke of

The sounds  
of the instru-  
mentes of  
musick, that  
the antiqui-  
tie vsed in  
their armies  
nians, according as Lucidido affirmeth, in their armies  
were vsed flutes: for that they indged, that this armo-  
nic, was most meete to make their armie to proceede  
with grauetie, and with surie: the Carthaginens being  
moued by this very same reason, in the first assaulte,  
vsed the violone. Aliatte king of the Lidians, vsed in the  
warre the violone, and the flutes: but Alexander Mag-  
nus, and the Romanes, vsed hornes and Trumpettes,  
as they, that thought by vertue of suche instrumentes,  
to be able to incourage more the mindes of Souldours  
and make them to fight the moxe lustelye: but as wee  
haue in arming the armie, take of the Greeke maner, &  
of the Romane, so in distributing the soundes, we will  
keepe the customes of the one, and of the other nation:  
therfore, neere the generall Capitayne, I woulde make  
the Trompettes (to stande, as a sounde not onely apte  
to inflame the armie, but apte to bee hearde in all the  
whole tumulte more then anye other sounde: all the o-  
ther soundes, which shoulde bee about the Cenestables,  
and the headeis of maine battailes, I woulde that they  
shoulde bee small Drummis, and flutes, sounded, not  
as they sounde them nowe, but as they vse to sounde  
them at seastes. The Capitayns then with the Trom-  
pet, shoulde shewe when they muste stande still, and go  
forwarde, or tourne backewarde, when the artillerie  
must shooe, when the extraordinarie Veliti must moue  
and with the varietie or distinction of suche soundes, to  
shewe unto the armie all those motions, whiche gene-  
rally may bee shewed, the which Trompettes, shoulde be  
after folowed of the Drummis, and in this exercise, be-  
cause it importeth muche, it behoueth much to exercise  
the armie. Concerning the horsemen, there woulde be  
vsed likewise Trompettes, but of a lesse sounde, and of  
a diuers voice from those of the Capitayne. This is as  
muche as is come into my remembraunce, abouete the  
order of the armie, and of the exercise of the same.]

VVhat is si-  
gnified by  
the sounde  
of the Trom-  
pet.

Luigi.

Luigi. I praye you let it not be greuous vnto you to declare vnto me an other thing, that is, for what cause you made the light horsmen, and the extraordinarie Veliti, to go with cries, rumours, and furie, when they gaue the charge? And after in the incouering of the rest of the armie, you shewed, that the thing followed with a most great scilence? And soz that I vnderstande not the occasion of this varietie, I would desire that you woulde declare it vnto mee.

Fabritio. The opinion of auncient capitaines, hath  
beene diuers about the comming to handes, whether  
they ought with rumour to go a pace, or with scilence to  
go faire & softely: this last waye, serueth to keepe the or-  
der moze sure, and to vnderstande, better the comau-  
dements of the Capitayn: the first, serueth to incourage  
moze the mindes of men: and soz that I beleue, that  
respect ought to be had to the one, & to the other of these  
two thinges, I made the one go with rumour, and the  
other with scilence: nor me thinks not in any wise, that  
the continuall rumours bee to purpose: because they let  
the commaundementes, the which is a thing most per-  
nicious: nor it standeth not with reason, y<sup>e</sup> the Romanes  
used, except at the first assault to make rumour: soz that  
in their histories, is scene manye times to haue happe-  
ned, that through the wordes, and comfortinges of the  
Capitayn, the Souldours that ran awaye, were made  
to stande to it, and in sundry wise by his comau-

the cries, &  
rumours,  
vwhen vwith  
the first char-  
ge is giuen  
vnto the ene-  
mies, & the  
silence that  
ought to be  
used after,  
vwhen the  
fight is once  
begune,

dement, to haue varied the orders, the which

should not haue followed, if the ru-

mours had beene louder then

his voyce.



The fourth booke of the arte of warre,  
of Nicholas Machianel, Citezen and Secretarie  
of Florence, unto Laurence  
Philip Strozze.  
(. : .)

Luigi.



Eeing that vnder my gouernement, a fielde hath bëne won so honourablye, I suppose that it is god , that I tempt not fortune any more, knowing how variable, and vnstable she is:and therfore, I desire to giue vp my gouernement, and that Zanobi do execute nowe this office of

demaunding, minding to followe the order, whiche concerneth the youngest : and I knowe he will not refuse this honour, or as we would say, this labour, as well for to do mée pleasure, as also for being naturally of moze stomacke then I : nor it shall not make him afraied, to haue to enter into these trauailes, where he may be as well ouercome, as able to conquere.

Zanobi. I am readie to do what soever shall please you to appoinde mée, although that I desire moze willingly to heare: for as much as hetherto, your questions haue satisfiéd mée moze, then those shoulde haue pleased mée, whiche in harkening to your reasoning , hath chaunced to come into my remembraunce . But sir, I beléue that it is god, that you léeße no time , & that you haue pacience, if with these our Ceremonies weé trouble you.

Fabritio. You do mée rather pleasure, for that this variacion of demanders , maketh mée to knowe the sundrie

sundry wittes, and sundry appetites of yours: But remayneth there any thing, which seemeth vnto you god, to be ioyned to the matter, that already hath bene reasoned of?

Zanobi. Two thinges I desire, before you passe to an other part: the one is, to haue you to shewe, if in considering armies, there nedeth to be vsed any other fashio, the other, what respectes a Captayne ought to haue, before he conduct his men to the fight, and in the same any accident rising or growing, what remedie may be had.

Fabritio. I will inforce my selfe to satisfie you, I will not aunswere nowe distinctly to your questiōs: for that whilſt I ſhall aunswere to one, manye tymes it will come to palle, that I muſt aunswere to another. I haue tolde you, howe I haue ſhewed you a fashion of an army, to the intent, that according to the ſame, there may be giuen all thole fashions, that the enemie, & the ſituation requireth: For as much as in this caſe, both according to the power therof, and according to the enemie, it proceſſeth: but note this, that there is not a more perillous fashion, then to deſtende muche the fronte of the armie, if then thou haue not a moſt puissant, and moſt great hōſt: otherwiſe, thou oughteſt to make it rather groſſe, and of ſmall largenesſe ihen of muche largenesſe, moſt perillous, and thinnē: for when thou haſt ſewe men in comparatiōn to thy enemie, thou oughteſt to ſeeke other remedies,

as is to ordaine thine army in ſuch a place, where thou maileſt be ſortefied, either through riuers, or by means of fenesſes, after ſuch ſort, that thou canſt not be compaſſed about, or to incloſe thy ſelfe on the flanckes with ditches, as Cesar did in France.

You haue to take in this caſe, this generall rule, to enlarge your ſelfe, or to dwawe in your ſelfe with the front, according to your nomber, and the ſame of the enemie.

For the enemis being of leſſe nomber, thou oughteſt to ſeeke large places, hauiing in elſpeciallye thy men

To deſtende  
much the  
fronte of an  
armie, is

VVhat is  
best for a ca-  
pitain to do  
vwhere his  
poover is  
muche leſſe  
then the ene-  
mies poover  
rule.

## The fourth Booke

Well instructed: to the intent thou maest , not onelye compasse about the enemie but to destende thy orders: for that in places rough and difficulte, being not able to preuaile of thy orders, thou commest not to haue anye aduantage, hereby grewe, that the Romaines almoſte alwayes, soughte the open fieldes , and aduoyded the Straightes. To the contrarye, as I haue ſaid, thou oughtest to do, if thou haſt ſewe men, or ill instructed: for that then thou oughtest to ſeke places, either where the liſtle nomber maye be ſaued , and where the ſmall expe-

The higher grounde ought to be chosen.

An aduertiſement not to place an armie, vwher the enemie maie ſee vwhat the ſame doth.

Respetes for the Sun and VVinde

where the enemies army may come: For that in this caſe, having respect vnto the artillerie, the higher place ſhall get theſe diſaduantage : Because that alwaies and commodiouſly, thou mightest of the enemies artillerye bee hurt, without being able to make any remedy, and thou couldest not commodiouſly hurt the ſame , being hindered by thine owne men. Also, he that prepareth an armie to fight a battaile , ought to haue respect , both to the Sunne, and to the Winde, that the one and the other do not hurt the fronte, fo; that the one & the other , will let theſe the ſight, the one with the beames , & the other with the duff: and moreouer, the Winde hindereth the weapons, which are stroken at the enemie, and maketh their blowes moſe feable : and concerning the Sunne, it ſufficeth not to haue care , that at the firſte it ſhine not in the face , but it is requisite to conſider , that increaſing the daye , it hurte theſe not : and for this , it ſhouleſt bee requisite in ordering the men , to haue it all on the backe, to the entent it ſhouleſt haue to paſſe muſche time, to come to lye on the fronte. This waye was obſerued of Aniballat Canne , and of Mario agaинſt

against the Cimbrians. If thou happen to be muche inferior of horses, ordayne thine army amongst vines and tree, and like impedimentes, as in our time the Spaniardes did, when they ouerthrew the Frenche-men at Cirignuola. And it hath beeene saene many times with all one Souldours, varying onely the order, and the place, that they haue become of losers victoires place maye as it happened to the Carthagener, whom hauing bene overcome of Marcus Regulus divers times, were after by the counsell of Santippe, a Lacedemonian, victorious: whom made them to go downe into the playne, where by vertue of the horses, and of Eliphantes, they were able to overcome the Romaynes. It seemes vnto me, according to the auncient insamples, that almoste all the excellente Capitaines, when they haue knownen, that the enemie hath made strong one side of his battaile, they haue not set against it, the moste stongest part, but the most weakest, and the other most strongest, they haue set against the most weakest: after in the beginning the fight, they haue commanded to their strongest parte, that onely they sustaine the enemye, & not to preache vpon him, & to the weaker, that they suffer the selues to be overcome, & to retire into the hindermoste bands of the army. This breading two great disorders to the enemye: the firste, that he findeth his strongest parte compassed about, the seconde is, that seeming unto him to haue the victoire, selbome times it happeneth, that they disorder not them selues, wherof groweth his sodain losse. Cornelius Scipio being in Spaine, against Asdrubal of Carthage, and understanding howe to A policitie Asdrubal it was knownen, that hee in the ordering the in the order armye, placed his Legions in the middest, the whiche ring of men was the strongest parte of his armye, and soz this howe of a field. Asdrubal with like order oughte to procede: after When he came to fighte the battaile, hee chaunged or-der, and put his Legions on the heynes of the armye,

## The fourth Booke

and in the middest, placed all his weakest men: then coming to the handes, in a sodaine those men placed in the middest, he made to marche softly, and the hornes of the armie, with celeritie to make forwarde, so that onely the hornes of both the armies fought, and the bands in the middest, through being distaunt the one from the other, ioyned not together, and thus the strongest parte of Scipio, came to fight with the weakest of Asdrubal, and ouercame him. The which waye was then profitabile, but nowe having respect to the artillerie, it cannot be vsed: because the same space, whiche shoulde remayne in the middest, betwene the one armie and the other, shoulde giue time to the same to shoothe: The whiche is most pernicious, as aboue is saide: Therfore it is requisite to lay this waye aside, and to vse, as a litle afore we sayde, making all the army to incounter, & the weakest parte to giue place. Whē a capitayne perceyveth, passe aboue that he hath a greater armie then his enemie, minding the enemies to compasse him about, before he be aware, let him ordayne his fronte equall, to the same of his aduersaries, after, so soone as þ fight is begun, let him make þ fronte by a little & litle to retire, and the flanckes to descende, and alwaies it shall happen, that the enemie shall finde him selfe, before he be aware compassed about. When

Hovve a Capitaine will fight, as it were sure not to be brokē, let pitaine may him ordayne his army in place, where hee hath refuge fight and be neare, & safe, either betwene fenes or betwene hilles, as it vvere or by some strong Citie: for þ in this case, he cannot bee followed of the enemie, where the enemie may be pursued of him; this poincte was vsed of Anibal, when fortune began to become his aduersarie, and that he doubted of the valiauntnesse of Marcelllo. Some to trouble

Hovve to trouble the orders of the enemie, haue commaunded those that Were light armied, to begin the fight, and that being begunne, to retire betwene the orders: and when the armies were after buckled together, and that the fronte of either

of either of them were occupied in fighting, they haue  
made them to issue out by the flanckes of the battaile,  
and the same haue troubled and broken. If any percey-  
the wayes that are alredye shewed, place behinde his  
horsemē a battaile of Pikes, and in fighting take or-  
der, that they giue waye to the Pikes, and he shall re-  
maine alwaies superior. Many haue accustomed to b-  
se certayne foytemen light armēd, to fight among hor-  
semē, the which hath bene to the chivalry most great  
helpe. Of all those, which haue prepared armies to the  
fielde, be mosle praised Anibal and Scipio, when they  
sought in Africke; and soz that Aniball had his armē  
made of Carthaginērs, and of straungers of divers na-  
tions, he placed in the firſt fronte therof lxxx. Elephan-  
tes, after he placed the straungers, behinde whom he set  
his Carthaginērs, in the hindermost place, he put the I-  
talians, in whome he trusted little: the whiche thing he  
ordayned so, for that the straungers hauing before them  
the enemie, and behinde being inclosed of his mē, coulde  
not flye: so that being constrainyd to fight they shoulde  
ouercome, or wearye the Romaines, supposing after  
With his fresh and valiaunt men, to be then able easely  
to ouercome the Romanes, being wearied. Against  
this order, Scipio set the Astati, y Principi, & the Tria-  
rij, in the accustomed maner, to bee able to receyue the  
one the other, and to rescue the one the other: he made  
the fronte of the armie, full of voide spaces, and because  
it shoulde not be perceyued, but rather shoulde seeme vni-  
ted, he filled them full of Veliti, to whome he commā-  
ded, that so sone as the Eliphantes came, they shoulde  
auoyde, and by the ordinarye spaces, shoulde enter be-  
twene the Legins, and leaue open the way to the Eli-  
phantes, and so it came to passe, that it made vaine the  
violence of them, so that comming to handes, he was su-  
perior.

The policies  
vied betwē-  
ne Aniball  
and Scipio.

## The fourth Booke of

Zanobi. You haue made mee to remember, in alledging mee this battaille howe Scipio in fighting made not Astatii to retire into the orders of the Prenctipi, but he deuided them, and made them to retire in the hornes of the armye, to the intent they myghte give place to the Principi, when he woulde force forwarde: therefore I woulde you shoulde tell mee, what occasion moued him, not to obserue the accustomed order.

Fabritio. I will tell you. Anibal had put all the strength of his army, in the seconde bande: wherefore Scipio for to set against the same like strength, gathered the Prenctipi and the Triarij together: So that the distaunces of the Prenctipi, being occupied of the Triarij, there was no place to be able to receyue the Astatii: and therfore he made the Astatii to deuide, and to go in the hornes of the armye, and he drewe them not betwene the Prenctipi. But note, that this waye of opening the first bande, for to give place to the seconde, cannot be vsed, but whē a man is superiour to his enemie: for that then there is commoditie to be able to do it, as Scipio was able: but being vnder, and repulced, it can not be done, but with thy manifest ruine: and therfore it is conuenient to haue behinde, orders that may receyue thee,

Cartes full  
of hookes  
made to de-  
stroie the e-  
mies.

but let vs tourne to our reasoning. The auncient Asiaticans, amongst other thinges deuided of them to hurt the enemies, vsed cartes. The which had on y sides certayne hooke, so that not onely they serued to open with their violence the bandes, but also to kill with the hooke the aduersaries: against the violence of these, in thē manneres they prouided, either they sustaine them with the

The reme-  
die that vvas  
vsed against  
Cartes full  
of hookes.

thickenesse of the rates, or they receyued them betwene the bandes, as the Eliphates were receyued, or els they made with arte some strong resistance: As Silla a Romayne made against Archelauis, whome had manye of these cartes, whiche they called hooked, who for to sustaine them, drawe manye stakes into the gronde, be-

hindē

hinde his first bandes of men, whereby the Cartes being stopped, lost their violence. And the newe maner that Silla vised against him in ordering the armie, is to be noted: for that he put the Veliti, & the horse behinde, and al the heauie armed afore, leauing many distaunces to be able to sende before those behinde, when necessarie required: whereby the fight being begun, with the horsemen, to the which he gane the way, he got the victorie. To entende to trouble in the fight the enemies armes, it is conuenient to make something to growe, that maye make them afraide, either with showing of newe helpe that commeth, or with showing thinges whiche may represent a terrour unto them: after suche sort, that the enemies beguiled of that sight, maye bee afraide, and being made afraide, they may easlye be overcome: the which wayes Minutio Rufo vised, and Accilio Glabrione, Consuls of Rome. Caius Sulpitius also set a great many of Horses vpon Hules, and other beastes vnprefitabile for the warre, but in suche wise ordayned, that they seemed men of armes, and he commaunded, that they shoulde appeare vpon a Hyll, while he were a fighting with the Frenchemen, whereby grewe his victorie. The very same did Marius when he fought against the Dutchemen. Then the fayned assaultes anayling much, whilst the fight continueth, it is conuenient that the very assaultes indeede do helpe much, in especially if at unwares in the middest of the fight the enemie might bee assaulted behinde, or on the side: the whiche hardly may be done if the countrey helpe thee not: for that when it is open, part of thy men can not bee hidde, as is meete to bee doen in like enterprises: but in wooddie or hyllie places, and for this apte for ambushes, parte of thy men maye be well hidden, to be able in a sodaine, & contrary to thy enemis opinion to assault him, which thing alwaies shall be occasion to giue thee the victorie. It hath bene sometime

The straige  
maner that  
Silla vised in  
ordering his  
army agaist  
Archelous.

how to trou-  
ble in the  
fight the ar-  
mie of the e-  
nemis.

A policie of  
Caius Sul-  
picius, to  
make his e-  
nemis afraide

A policie of  
Marius aga-  
inst the Du-  
tchmen.

## The fourth Booke of

A policie of  
great impor-  
tance, vwhile  
a battaile is  
a fighting.  
time of great importaunce, whilſt the fight continueth  
to ſolwe voices, which do pronounce the Capitayne of  
the enemies to be dead, or to haue ouercome on the o-  
ther ſide of the armye: the which many times to them  
that haue uſed it, hath giuen the victorye.

Hovv horſe-  
men may be  
disordered.  
The chi-  
ualrye of the enemies may be eaſely troubled, either  
with ſightes, or with rumours, not uſed: as Creso  
did, whome putte Camelles againſte the horſes of the  
aduersaries, and Pirrus ſet againſte the Romayne  
horſemen Eliphantes, the ſight of which troubled & di-  
ſordered them.

Hovv the  
turke gaue  
the Sophie  
an ouer-  
throvve.  
In our time, the Turcke diſcomifted the  
Sophi in Persia, and the Holdane in Surria with no o-  
ther, then with the noife of Harkabunes, the which in  
ſuch wiſe, with their ſtraunge rumours, diſturbed the  
horſes of thofe, that the Turcke might eaſely ouercome  
them:

Hovv the  
Spaniardes  
ouercame  
the armie of  
Amilcare.  
The Spaniardes to ouercome the armie of Amilcare, put in the firſt front Cartes full of Towē, dra-  
wen of open, and comming to handes, they kindled fire  
to the ſame, wherfore the oxen to flie frō the fire, thrust  
into the armie of Amilcare, and opened it.

Hovv to  
traine the e-  
mie, to his  
deſtruclion.  
They are wonche (as we haue ſaid) to beguile the ene-  
mie in the fight, drawing him into their ambulſhes,  
where the Countrie is commodious for the ſame pur-  
poſe, but where it were open and large, many haue u-  
ſed to make ditches, and after haue couered them light-  
ly with bowes and yearth, & leſte certayn ſpaces whol-  
e to be ab'e betwene thofe to retire: after, ſo ſone as the  
fight hath beene begun, retiring by thofe, and the enemy  
following them, hath fallen in the pitteſ. If in the fight

A policie of  
Tullo Ho-  
ſtilio & Lu-  
cius Silla in  
deſembling  
of a miſ-  
chaunce.  
there happen thee, any accidēt that may feare thy ſouls-  
diours, it is a moſt prudente thing, to know how to de-  
ſemble it, and to peruerit it to god, as Tullo Hostilio  
did, and Lucius Silla: whom ſeing while they fought,  
howe a part of his men were gone to the enemies ſide,  
and howe the ſame thing had verie much made afraide  
his men, he made ſtraight waye throughout all the ar-

armie to be vnderstode, howe all thing proceeded, according to his order: the which not onely did not trouble the army, but it increased in them so much stomacke, that he remayned victorios. It happened also to Silla, that hauing sente certayne souldours to do some busynesse, and they being slain he sayde, to the intent his armie shoulde not bee made afraied thereby, that he had with craft sent them into the handes of the enemies, for that he had found them nothing faithfull. *Sertorius* fighting a battaile in Spaine, slue one, whom signified a man for telling him the death of one of his Capitaynes, for feare of that telling the verye same to other, he shoulde make the one of his afraied. It is a most difficult thing, an army being now captaines, moued to flye, to staine it, and make it to fight. And you haue to make this distinction: either that it is all moued and then to be impossible to tourne it, or there is moued a parte thereof, and then there is some remedye. Many Romane Capitaines, with making afore those whiche fled, haue caused them to staye, making them *ante capitains* shamed of running away, as *Lucius Silla* did, where haue staied alredy part of his Legions being tourned to flight, driven away by the men of *Mithridates*, he made afore the with a sworde in his hande crying: if any aske you, *Hovv certai-* *whiche fled,* *that hath bene running* *their men* *avaie.* Where you left your capitayne, saye, we haue left him in Boecia, where he fighteth. *Atillius a consull* set against those that ran away, them that ran not away, & strained his made them to vnderstade, that if they would not tourne, they shoulde be slaine of their friendes, & of their enemies. *Philip of Macedo*, vnderstanding how his men feared the Seithian Souldours, placed behinde his army, certayne of his most trusste horsemen, and gaue commission to them, that they shoulde kill whom soever fled: wherfore his men minding rather to dye fighting, than flying, ouercame. Many Romaines, not so much to stay a flight, as for to gine occasion to their men, to make greater force, haue whilste they haue foughte, *Hovv Philip king of Macedonia made his men afraid to run availe.*

## The fourth Book of the

ken an Ansigne out of their owne mens handes, & thowen it amongst the enemies, & appointed rewardes to him that coulde get it again. I do not beleue that it is out of purpose, to ioyne to this reasoning those things which chaunce after the fight, in especially being brief things, and not to be left behinde, and to this reasoning conformable inough. Therefore I say, how the field is loste, or els wonne: When it is wonne, the victorie ought with all celerite to be followed, and in this case to imitate Cæsar, and not Anibal, whome staying after that he had discomfited the Rom. at Canne, lost y empire of Rome: The other never rested after the victory, but followed the enemie being broken, with greater violence and furye, then when he assaulted him whole: but when a Capitayn doth lese, hee ought to see if of the losse there may growe any utilitie unto him, in especially if there remayne any residue of the army. The commoditie maye growe of the small aduertisement of the enemye, whom most often times after the victorye, becommeth negligent, and giueth thee occasion to oppresse him, as Marcius a Romayne oppressed the army of the Carthaginers, whome hauing slain the two Scipions, and broken their armye, not esteming the same remenant of men, which with Marcius remained a liue, were of him assaulted and ouerthrowen: for that it is seen, that there is no thing so muche to be brought to passe, as the same which the enemie thinketh, that thou canst not attempt because for the most parte, men be hurte most, where they doubt least: therefore a Capitayn ought when hee cannot do this, to devise at least with diligēce, that the losse bee lesse hurtefull: to do this, it is necessarie for thee to vse meanes, that the enemie maye not easelye followe thee, or to giue him occasion to make delaye: in the first case, some after they haue beene sure to lese, haue taken oder with their heads, that in diuers parts, and by diuers wayes they shoulde fye, hauing ap-

victorie ou-  
ght with all  
celerite to  
be followed

vwhat a Ca-  
pitain ought  
to do, vwhen  
he shoulde  
chaunce to  
receave an  
ouerthrov.

Hovve Mar-  
cius ouer-  
came the ar-  
mie of the  
Carthagin.

poyncted where they shold after assemble together: th<sup>e</sup> which made, that the enemye (fearing to deuide the armye) was faine to let go safte either all, or the greatest part of them. In the second case, many haue cast before the enemie, their dearest thinges, so the intent that hee taryng about the spoile, might gine them more leasure to flee.

*Titus Dimius vised n<sup>t</sup> smal policie to hide the losse,* which he had receyued in the fighte, sozasmuche as having fought vntill night, with great losse of his men, he made in the night to be buried, the greatest parte of them, wherefoze in the morning, the enemies seeing so many slaine of theirs, and so fewe of the Romaines, belieuing that they had the disaduantage, ran awaye.

I trust I haue thus confusedly, as I sayde, satisfid in god part your demaunde: in deede about the fashions of the armyes, there resteth mee to tell you, howe some time, by some Capitaynes, it hath beeene vised to make them with the fronte, like vnto a wedge, iudging to bee able by such meane, moze easly to open the enemies army. Against this fashion, they haue vised to make a fashion like vnto a paire of sheres, to be able betweene the same voide place, to receyue that wedge, and to compasse it about, and to fight with it on euerye side: wherepon I will that you take this generall rule, that the greatest remedy that is vised against a devise of the enemie, is to do willinglye the same, whiche he hath deuised that thou shalt do perforce: because that doing it willingly, thou doest it with order, and with thy aduaantage, & his disaduantage, if thou shouldest doe it being inforced, it shoule be thy undoing: For the prouing wheros, I care not to reherse vnto you, certaine thinges already tolde. The aduersarie maketh the wedge to open thy bandes: if thou go west with them open, thou disorderest him, and he disordereth not thee. Anibal set the Elephantes Anibal in the fronte of his armye, to open with them the army of Scipio. Scipio wente with it open, and it was the

A policie of  
Titus Dini.  
to hide a  
losse, vwhich  
receiued in  
a fighte.

A generall  
rule.

# The fourth Book of the

Adruba.

occasion of his victory, and of the ruine of him. Adruba placed his stregest men in the middest of the frōt of his army, to ouerthrawe Scipios men: Scipio commānded, that by them selues they shoulde retire and he broke them: So that like deuises when they are foresente, be the causes of the victorie of him, against whom they bē prepared. There remayneth me also, if I remēber my selfe well, to tell you what respectes a Capitayne ought to haue, before he leade his men to fight: vpon whiche I haue to tell you first, howe a capitayne oughte never to fight a battaile, except he haue aduantage, or be cōstrained. The vantage groweth of the situation, of the order of hauing more, or better men: the necessitie, groweth when thou seest how that not fighting, thou must in any wise leele, as shoulde bē for lacking of money, and for this, thy armie to bē ready all maner of wayes to resolute, where famishemente is readye to assaulte thee, where the enemie looketh to bē ingrosed with newe men: in these cases, thou oughtest always to fighte, althoough with thy disaduaantage: for that it is much better to attempte fortune, where she maye fauour thee, then not attemptinge, to see thy certayne ruine: and it is as greuous a faulte in this case, in a capitayne not to fight, as to haue had occasion to ouercome, and not to haue either knownen it through ignorance, or leste it through vilenesse. The aduaantages some times the enemie giueth thee, and some times thy prudence: Many in passingyng Riuers, haue bēene broken of their enemie, that hath bēene aware thereof, whom hath taried, till the one halfe hath bēene of the one side, and the other halfe on the other, and then hath assaulted them, as Ceſar did to the Suizzers, where hee destroyed the fourth part of them, through being halfe ouer a riner.

Some time thy enemie is founde wearye, for having followed thee to vndescrietelye, so that finding thy selfe freshe and lustie, thou oughtest not to let passe suche an

A Captaine  
ought not  
to fighte  
vwithout ad-  
uantage, ex-  
cept he be  
constrained.

Hovv aduan-  
tage may be  
taken of the  
enemies.

an occasion: besides this , if the enemie offer vnto thee  
in the morning betimes to fight, thou maiest a god whi-  
le deserre to issue out of thy lodging, and when hee hath  
wode long in armour, and that he hath losse that same  
firste heate, with the whiche he came, thou maiest then  
fight with him. This way Scipio and Petellus vsed  
in Spaine : the one against Asorubal, the other against  
Hertorius. If the enemie be minished of power , either  
for hauing deuided the armie, as the Scipios in Spain,  
or for some other occasion , thou oughtest to prooue  
chaunce. The greatest part of prudent Capitaynes,  
rather receyue the violence of the enemies , then go  
with violence to assault them: for that the furye is eas-  
ly withstode of sure and stedy men , & the fury being  
sustayned, conuerteth lightly into vilenesse: Thus Fa-  
bius did against the Sannites, and against the Galles,  
and was victorius and his fellowe Decius remayned  
slaine. Some fearing the power of their enemies , haue  
begun the fight a litle before night, to the intent y their  
men chaunsing to be ouercome , might thē by the helpe  
of the darkenesse thereof, saue them selues. Some ha-  
uing knownen, howe the enemies army being taken of  
certayne superstition , not to fight in such a tyme , haue  
chosen the same time to fight , and ouercome : The  
which Cesar obserued in France , against Ariouistus,  
and Vespasian in Surrie, against the Jewes.  
The greatest and moste importaunte aduertismente, VVhat ma-  
that a Capitayne oughte to haue , is to haue about him ner of men a  
faithfull men , that are wise and moste experte in the capitaine  
warre, with whom hee must continually consulte and ought to  
reason of his men, & of those of the enemies , which is haue about  
the greater nomber ; whiche is best armed, or best on him conti-  
horsebacke, or best exercised, which be most apt to sus- nually , to  
fer necessitie , in whome he trusteth most , either in the cōsult wth  
footemen , or in the horsemen : after they ought to con- all.  
sider the place where they be , and whether it be more  
to

## The fourth Booke of the

more to the purpose for the enemie, then for him: which of them hath vngualles moste commodious, whether it bee good to deferre the battayle, or to fight it: what good might bee geuen him, or taken awaie by tyme:

The condicions of the capitaine of the enemies and of those that are about him is most required to bee knownen. A timorous armie is not to bee conducted to fight, Hovveto auoide the fighting of a field. Soulours seyng the warre to be delayed, are greeued, and bœyng wærie, in the paine and in the tediousnesse thereof, wyll forsake theire. It importeth aboue all thing, to knowe the Capitaine of the enemies, and whom he hath about hym, whether hee be rashe, or politike, whether hee be fearefull, or hardie: to see howe thou mayest trust vpon the ayding Soulours. And aboue all thing thou oughtest to take heed, not to conduct the armie to fight when it feareth, or when in any wise it mistrusteith of the victorie: for that the greatest signe to loose, is when they beleue not to be able to winne: and therefore in this case thou oughtest to auoyde the fighting of the field, either with doing as Fabius Maximus, whom encamping in strong places, gaue no courage to Anibal, to go to finde hym, or when thou shouldest thinke that the enemie also in strong places, woulde come to finde theire, to depart out of the field, & to deuide the me into the townes, to then tent that tediousnes of winning them, may wæry hym.

Zanobi. Can not the fighting of the battayle be otherwise auoyded, then in deuiding the armie in sundrie partes, and placing the men in Townes?

Fabritio. I beleue that once alredie, with some of you I haue reasoned, howe that he that is in the field, can not auoyde to fight the battayle, when hee hath an enemie, whiche wyll fight with him in any wyse, and he hath not but one remedie, and that is, to place hym selfe with his armie distaunt fiftie miles at least, from his aduersarie, to be able betimes to auoyde hym, when he shoulde go to finde hym. For Fabius Maximus never auoyded to fight the battayle with Anibal, but he woulde haue it with his aduaantage: and Anibal did

Fabius Maximus.

did not presume to bee able to ouercome him , going to finde him in the places where he incamped: where if he had presupposed, to haue beeene able to haue ouercome, it had beeene conuenient for *Fabius*, to haue fought the battailes with him, or to haue auoided.

Philip king of Macedonia, the same that was father to Perse, coming to warre with the Romaines, pitched his cappe vpon a verie highe hill, to the intent not to fight with them: but the Romaynes wente to finde him on the same hill, and discomfited him. Cingento rige capitanie of the Frenche men, for that he woulde not fighte the field with Cæsar, whome contrarie to his opinien, had passed a riuier, got a way many miles with his men. The Venecians in our time , if they woulde not haue come to haue fought with the Frenche king, they ought not to haue taried till the Frenche army, had passed the Riuier Addus, but to haue gotten from them as Cingē-  
torige, where they hauing taryed , knewe not howe to take in the passing of the men, the occasion to fighte the battaile, nor to auoyde it : For that the Frenche men being neare vnto them, as the Venecians wente out of their Campe, assaulted them, and discomfited them : so it is, that the battaile cannot bee auoided, when the enemie in any wise will fight, nor let no man alledge *Fabi*us, for that so muche in the same case , he dyd flie the daye of battaile, as Anibal. It happeneth manye tymes, that thy Souldours be willing to fighte , and thou knowest by the nomber, and by the situatiō, or for some other occasion to haue disadvantage , & desirest to make them chaunge from this desire: it happeneth also, that necessitie, or occasion , constraineth thee to fighte , and that thy souldours are euill to be trusted , and smalllye disposed to fighte : Where it is necessary in the one case, to make them afraide , and in the other to incourage them : In the firste case , when perswations suffiseth not, there is no better waye , then to giue in praye , a

Philip king  
of Macedon.  
ouercome  
by the Ro-  
maines.

Hev cingē  
torige auor-  
ded the figh-  
ting of the  
fielde with  
Cæsar.  
The ignora-  
nce of the ve-  
necians.

vwhat is to  
bee done  
vwhere soul-  
diours desire  
to fight, con-  
trarie to  
their capi-  
tains minde.

## The fourth Book of the

part of the unto y enemie, to the intent those that haue,  
and those that haue not fought, may beleue the: and it  
may very well be done with art, the same whiche to Fa-  
bius Maximus happened by chaunce. The army of Fa-  
bius (as you knowe) desired to fighte with Anibals ar-  
my: the very same desire had the master of his horses  
to Fabius it seemed not good to attēpt the fighte: so that  
through such contrarie opinions, he was faine to de-  
uide the armye: Fabius kept his men in the campe, the  
other fought, and comming into great perill, had bene  
overthowen, if Fabius had not rescued him : by the  
which insample the master of the horse, together with

How to in-  
courage sol-  
diours.

all the armye, knewe howe it was a wise waye to obey  
Fabius. Concerning to incourage the to fight, it shoulde  
bee well done, to make them to disdaine the enemies,  
shewing howe they speake slanderous wordes of them,  
to declare to haue intelligence with them, and to haue  
corrupted part of them, to incāpe in place, where they  
maye see the enemies, and make some light skirmishe  
with them, for that the thing that is dayly scene, with  
more facilitie is despised: to shewe them to be vnwo-  
rthie, and with an oration for the purpose, to reprehende  
them of their cowardnesse, and for to make them ashamed,  
to tell them that you will fight alone, when they  
will not beare you company. And you ought aboue all  
thing to haue this aduertismente, minding to make the  
Souldiour obstinate to fighte, not to permit, that they  
may sende home any of their substance, or to leaue it  
in any place, till the warre be ended, that they may un-  
derstande, that although flying sauē their life, yet it sauēth  
not them their goddes, the loue wherof, is wont no  
lesse then the same, to make men obstinate in defensē.

Zanobi. You haue tolde, howe the souldiours maye  
be tourned to fighte, with speaking to them: doe you  
meane by this, that all the army must be spoken unto,  
or to the heades thereof?

An adver-  
tisement to  
make the sol-  
diour most  
obstinately  
to fight.

Fabritio.

Fabritio. To perswade, or to diswade a thing vnto  
fewe, is verye easie, for that if wrodcs suffice not, you  
maye then vse authoritie and force: but the difficultie  
is, to remoue from a multitude an euill opinion, & that  
which is contrarye either to the common profite, or to  
thy opinion, where cannot be vsed but wrods, the whiche  
is make they be hearde of euerye man, minding to  
perswade them all. Wherefore, it was requisite that  
the excellente Captaines were oratours: for that with-  
out knowing howe to speake to all the army, with dif-  
ficultie maye be wrought any god thing: the whiche al-  
together in this our time is layed aside. Reade the life of

Alexander Magnus, and you shall see how many times it was necessarie for him to perswade, and to speake p[er]blyke to his armie: otherwise he shoulde never haue brought them, being become ritche, and full of spoile, through the desertes of Arabia, and into India with so much his disease, and trouble: for that infinite times there growe thinges, wherby an armie ruinateh, wh[en] the Capitayn either knoweth not, or b[el]eth not to speake vnto the same, for that this speaking taketh away feare, encourageth the mindes, increaseth the obstinatenesse to fight, discouereth the deceiptes, promiseth rewardes, sheweth the perilles, and the waye to auoide them, reprehendeth, prayeth, threateneth, filleth full of hope, praise, shame, and doth all those thinges, by the which the humane passions are extinde, or kindeled: wherfore that Prince, or common weale, which shoud appointe to make a newe power, and cause reputation to their armie, ought to accustome the Soulidiours thereof, to heare the Capitayn to speake, and the capitayn to know how to speake vnto them. In keepeing desposed the soulidiours in olde time, to fighte for their countrie, the religion auailed muche, and the othes whiche they gaue them, when they lead them to warfare: for as much as in all their faultes, they threatned them not onely with  
Alexander Magnus vsed openlye to perswade his army.  
The effect-ousiness of speaking.  
Souldiours ought to be accustomed to heare their Capitaine speake Hovv in old time soulidiours wvere threatened for their

三

## The fourth Booke

Enterprises  
maie the ca-  
selier be  
brought to  
passe  
by meanes  
of religion.  
sertorius.

those punishmentes, whiche myghte bee feare of men, but with those which of God myghte bee looked for: the which thing mingled with the other Religious maners, made manye times easye to the anncient Capitaynes all enterpryses, and will do alwayes, where Religion shall be feare, and obserued. Sertorius preuailed, by declaring that he spake with a Stagge, the whiche in Goddes parte, promised him the victorye.

A policie of  
Silla sayde, he spoke with an Image, which he had ta-  
ken out of the Temple of Apollo. Many haue tolde howe  
G D D hath appeared vnto them in their sleepe, who  
hath admonished them to fight. In our fathers time,

A policie of  
Charles the  
7. king of  
Fraunce a-  
gainst the  
Englismen.  
Hovv soul-  
diours maie  
bee made to  
esteeme little  
their enemi.

Charles the seventh king of Frace, in the warre which he made against the Englishmen, saide, hee counsailed with a mayde, sent from God, who was called euerywhere the Damosell of Fraunce, the which was occa-  
sion of his victorie. There maye be also vsed meanes, that may make thy men to esteeme little the enemie, as Agesilao a Spataine vsed, who shewed to his soul-  
diours, certayne Persians naked, to the intent that see-  
ing their delicate members, they should not haue cause to feare them. Some haue constrainyd their men to fighte through necessitie, taking awaye from them all hope of sauing them selues, saving in ouercomming.

The surest  
vvay to mak  
souldiours  
most obsti-  
nate to fight  
By vhat  
meanes ob-  
stinatenesse  
to fight is  
increased.

The which is the strongest, and the beste prouision that is made, to purpose to make the souldiour obstinate to fight: which obstinatenesse is increased by the confidēce and loue of the Capitayne, or of the countrie. Confi-  
dence is caused through the armour, the order, the late victorie, and the opinon of the Capitayne. The loue of the countrie, is caused of nature that of the Capitaine, through vertue, more then by anye other benefite: the necessities may be many, but that is strongest, whiche constraineth the, either to ouercome, or to die.

The

The fifte Booke of the Arte  
of warre, of Nicolas Machiauel, Citezien and Secre-  
tarie of Florence, vnto Laurence  
Philip Strozze.

Fabritio.



Haue shewed you , howe an armye, is ordayned to fight a field with an other armye, which is seen pitched against it , and haue declared vnto you , howe the same is overcome , and after manye circumstances, I haue likewise shewed you , what diuers chances may happen about the same, so that mē thinkes time to shewe you nowe, howe an armye is ordered, against the same enemye, which otherwise is not seene, but continuallye feared, that he assaylethe thee : this happeneth when an armye marcheth through the enemies countrey , or through the suspected places. Firste, you must vnderstande, how Romaines a Romayne armye, sent alwaies ordinarylly afore, cer- layne bandes of horsemen, as spies of the waye : after followed the righte horse, after this , came all the car- riages , whiche to the same appertayned , after this, came a Legion , after it , the carriages thereof, after that, an other legion , and nexte to it , their carriages, after whiche , came the leste horse, with the carriages thereof at their backe, and in the laste parte , followed the remaunte of the chivalrye : this was in effecte the maner, with which ordinaryllye they marched : and if it happened that the armye were assaultid in the waye

Hovve the  
Romaines  
marched  
with their  
armies.

## The fift Booke of

Hovv the  
Romaines  
ordered  
their armie  
vwhen it hap-  
pened to be  
assaulted on  
the vvaie.

Hovve the  
maine bat-  
tailes ought  
to marche.

on the fronte, or on the backe, they made streight waye  
all the carriages to bee drawen, either on the right, or  
on the the lefste side, according as chaunsed, or as they  
could beste, hauyng respecte to the situacion: and all ths  
men togesher frē from their impediments, made head  
on that parte, where the enemie came. If they were as-  
saulted on the flancke, thei drue the carriages towardes  
the same parte that was safe, and of h other, they made  
head. This waye beyng well and prudently gouerned,  
I haue thought meete to imitate, sending afore the light  
hozsemen, as exploratours of the Countrie: Then ha-  
uyng fower maine battailes, I woulde make them to  
marche in ararie, and every one with their carriages fol-  
lowyng them. And soz that there bee two sortes of car-  
riages, that is partheyning to particular Souldiours,  
and partheyning to the publique vse of all the Campe,  
I woulde deuide the publique Carriages into four  
partes, and to every maine battayle, I woulde appoint  
his part, deuiding also the artillerie into four parts,  
and all the vnarmed, so that every nomber of armed  
men, shoulde equally haue their impedimentes. But  
because it happeneth some times, that they marche  
through the Countrey, not onely suspected, but so daun-  
gerous, that thou fearest every houre to be assaulted,  
thou art constrainyd soz to go more sure, to change the  
fourme of marching, and to go in suche wise prepared,  
that neither the Countrey men, nor any armie, maye  
hurt thee, findyng thee in any part vnprouided. In such  
case, the avncient Captaynes were wonte to marche  
with the armie quadzante, whiche so they called this  
forme, not soz that it was altogether quadrant, but soz  
that it was apt to fight of fourre partes, and they sayde,  
that they went prepared, both soz the waye, and soz  
the fight: from whiche waye, I wyll not digresse, and  
I wyll ordayne my two maine battayles, whiche I  
haue taken soz to make an armie of, to this effect. Min-  
ding

ding therfore, to marche safelye through the enemies  
Countrie, and to bee able to aunswere him on euerye  
side, when at vnwares the armye might chaunce to bee  
assaulted, and intending therfore, according to the anti-  
quitie, to bring the same into a square, I would devise to mae march  
make a quadrante, that the roome the reoſ shoulde be of safelie throu-  
space on every part. Clx. yardes, in this maner. Ffirſte & be alvvai-  
I would put the flanckes, diſtant the one flanke from  
the other. Clx. yardes, and I would place ſive battailes  
for a flanke, in a raye in length, and diſtant the one fro-  
the other, twoo yardes and a quarter : the whiche ſhall  
occupy with their ſpaces, euery battaile occupying thi-  
tie yardes. Clx. yardes. Then betwene the heade and  
the tayle of theſe twoo flanckes, I would place the other  
tenne battailes, in euery parte ſive, ordering them after  
ſuche ſorte, that foure ſhoulede ioyne to the heade of the  
righte flanke, and foure to the tayle of the leſt flanke,  
leaning betwene euery one of them, a diſtance of thre  
yardes: one ſhoulede after ioyne to the heade of the leſt  
flanke, & one to the tayle of the righte flanke : & fo: that  
the ſpace that is between the one flanke and the other,  
is. Clx. yardes, and theſe battailes which are ſet the one  
to the ſide of the other by breadth, & not by length, will  
come to occupie with y diſtaunces one hūdred yardes &  
a halfe yarde, there ſhall come between them foure bat-  
tailes, placed in the fronte on the righte flanke, and the  
one placed in the ſame on the leſt, to remayne a ſpace of  
fiſtye and eight yardes and a halfe, and the very ſame  
space will come to remayne in the battailes, placed in  
the hinder parte: noz there ſhall bee no diſference, ſa-  
uing that the one ſpace ſhall come on the parte behinde  
towardes the righte horne, and the other ſhal come on the  
part afore, towardes the leſt horne. In the ſpace of the armie  
the. Iviij. yardes and a halfe before, I woulde place ali  
the ordinarye Weſtli, in the ſame behinde, the extraor-  
dinariye, which will come to be a thouſande fo: a ſpace, The place in  
where the  
bovmen &  
Harkabut-  
ters are ap-  
pointed.

## The fift Booke of

and minding to have the space that ought to be within the armie, to be every way a hundred fiftie and nine yardes, it is meete that the five battayles which are placed in the head, and those whiche are placed in the tayle, occupie not any part of the space, whiche the flanckes kepe: and therfore it shalbe conuenient, that the five battayles behinde, do touche with the front, the tayle of their flanckes, and those afore, with the tayle to touche the head after such sort, that vpon every corner of the same armie, there may remaine a space to receyue an other battayle: and for that there be foure spaces, I

The place in the army vwhere the extraordina-  
rie Pikes are appointed. woulde take foure bandes of the extraordinarie Pikes, and in euery corner I woulde place one, and the two Ainsignes of the foresayde Pikes, which shall remaine ouerplus, I woulde set in the middest of the roome of this armie, in a square battayle, on the head whereof, shoulde stande the generall Captayne, with his men about him. And for that these battayles ordeyned thus,

The place in the army vwhere the general ca-  
pitain muste be. marche all one way, but fight not all one way, in putting them together, those sides ought to be ordayned to fight, which are not defended of thothe battayles. And therfore it ought to be considered that the five battayles that be in the front, haue all their other partes defended, except the front: and therfore these ought to be put together in god order, and with the Pikes afore. The five battailes which are behinde, haue all their sides defended, except the part behinde, and therfore those ought to be put together in suche wise, that the Pikes come behinde, as in the place thereof we shall shew. The five battailes that be in the right flancke, haue all their sides defended, except the right flancke. The five that be on the left flancke, haue all their partes defended, except the left flancke: and therfore in ordering the battayles, they ought to be made, that the Pikes may turne on the same flancke y lieth open: the Peticaptaynes to stand on the head & on the tayle, so that needinge to fight, al the ar-

armour and weapons maye be in their due places, the  
waye to doe this, is declared where we reasoned of the  
maner of ordering the battailes. The artillery I would  
deuide, and one part I would place without, on the left  
flancke, and the other on the right. The light horsemen

I woulde sende afore to discouer the countrie, Of the the lighte  
men of armes, I woulde place parte behinde, on the horsemen  
righte horne, and part on the left, distante about thirtie must be sent  
yardes from the battailes; and concerning horse, you discouer the  
haue to take this for a general rule in every condition, countrie, &  
where you ordayne an armye, that alwaies they ought the men of  
to be put, either behinde, or on the flancks of the same: armes to  
be that putteth them afore, ouer against the army, if be- come be-  
houeth him to do one of these two thinges, either that armye.  
he put them so muche afore, that being repulced, they A general  
maye haue so muche space, that maye give them time, rule concer-  
to be able to go a side from thy fowtemen, and not to run  
upon them, or to order them in suche wise, with so ma-  
nye spaces, that the horses by those may enter betwene  
them, without disordering the. vhere the Soz let no man esteeme  
little this remembraunce, for as muche as manye capi-  
taines, whome hauing taken no hede therof, haue been  
ruinated, and by them selues haue bene disordered, &  
broken. The carriages and the vnarmed men are pla-  
ced in the rōme that remayneth within the army, and

carriages &  
in suche sorte equally deuided, that they maye give the  
vhere the

waye easlyly, to whome so ever would go either from  
the one corner to the other, or from the one head, to the  
other of the armye. These battailes without the ar-  
tillerie and the horse, occupie every way from the vitter  
side, two hundred and eleuen yardes & a halfe of space:  
and because this quadzante is made of two maine bat-  
tailes, it is conuenient to distinguish, what part the one  
maine battaile maketh, and what the other: and for  
that the mayne battailes are called by the nomber,  
& every of them hath(as you knowe) tenne battailes,

and

## The fift Booke of

and a generall head, I would cause that the first maine battaile, shoulde set the firſte v. battailes thereof in the fronte, the other ſiue, in the lefte flancke, and the Capitayne of the ſame ſhould ſtande in the left corner of the front. The ſeconde mayne battaile, ſhould then put the firſt ſiue battailes therof, in the right flancke, and the other ſiue in the tayle, and the head capitayn of the ſame, ſhould ſtand in the right corner, whome coulde come to do the office of the Tergiductor. The armie ordayned in this maner, ought to be made to moue, and in the mar- ching, to obſerue all this order, and without doubt, it is ſure from all the tumultes of the countrie men.

þor the Capitayne ought not to make other prouision, to the tumultuarye assaultes, then to giue ſometime Commission to ſome horſe, or Anſigne of Veliti, that they ſet themſelues in order: no; it ſhall neuer happen that theſe tumultuous people, will come to finde thee at the drawing of the ſword, or Pikes poindre: for that men out of order, haue feare of thoſe that bee in araye:

alwaies it ſhall bee ſene, that with cries and rumours, they will make a great assaulte, without otherwife co- ming neere unto thee, like unto barking cures about a Paſtie. Ambal whē he came to the hurt of the Romains into Italie, he paſſed through all Fraunce, and alwaies of the Frenche tumultes, hee tooke ſmall regarde. Hin- ding to marche, it is conuenient to haue playners & la- bouers aforē, who may make theſe þ way playn, which ſhall bee garded of thoſe horſemen, that are ſent aforē to viewe the countrie: an armie in this order may march ten mile the day, and ſhal haue time enough to incampe and ſuppe before Sunne going downe, for that ordi- naryly, an army may march twenye mile: if it happe that thou be assaulted, of an armie ſet in order, this as- saulte cannot growe ſodainly: for that an armie in or- der, commeth with his pace, ſo that thou maieſt haue time inough, to ſet thy ſelfe in order to fighte the fieldē,

The vvaie  
muſte bee  
made plaine  
vwhere the  
armie ſhall  
marche in  
order.

Hovv many  
miles a daie  
an armie  
maye  
marche in  
battaile raiſe  
to be able to  
incampe be-  
fore ſun ſet.

AND

and reduce thy men quicklye into the same fashyon, or  
like to the same fashyon of an armie, which afore is shew-  
ed the. For that if thou be assaulted, on the part afore,  
thou needest not but to cause that the artillerie that bee  
on the flanckes, and the horse that bee behinde, to come the vavard.  
The orderig  
of the army,  
vwhen it is  
assaulted on  
before, and place them selues in these places, and with  
those distaunces as afore is declared. The thousande  
Weliti that be before, must go out of their place, and be  
deuided into ffe hundred for a part, and go into their  
place, betweene the horse and the hornes of the armie:  
then in the voyde place that they shall leaue, the two  
Aulsignes of the extraordinarie Pikes must enter, which  
I did set in the middest of the quadrante of the armie.  
The thousande Weliti, which I placed behinde, must de-  
part from the same place, and deuide them selues in the  
flanckes of the battayles, to the fortification of those:  
and by the open place that they shall leaue, all the carry-  
ages and unarmed men must go out, and place them  
selues on the backe of the battayle. Then the rōme in  
the middest being voyded, and every man gone to his  
place: the ffe battayles which I placed behinde on the  
armie, must make forwarde in the voyde place, that is  
betweene the one and the other flancke, and marche to-  
wardes the battayles that stande in the head, and three  
of them must stand within thirtie yardes of those, with  
equall distaunces betweene the one and the other, and  
the other two shall remaine behinde, distant other thir-  
tie yardes: the which fashyon may be ordayne in a sud-  
daine, and commeth almost to be like unto the first dis-  
position, whiche of the armie afore we shewēd. And  
though it come straighter in the front, it cometh grosser  
in the flanckes, which geneth it no lesse strenght: but be-  
cause the ffe battayles that be in the taile, haue h̄ Pikes  
on the hinder part, for the occasion that before we haue  
declared, it is necessarie to make them to come on the  
parte afore, minding to haue them to make a backe

## The fift Booke of the

to the front of the armie : and therefore it behoueth either to make them to tourne battayle after battaile, as a whole bodye, or to make them quicklye to enter betwene the orders of targettes, and condic them afore the whiche waye is more spedye, and of lesse disorder, then to make them to tourne all together : and so thou oughtest to do by all those, whiche remayne behinde in euerye condition of assaulte, as I shall shewe you. If it appeare that the enemie come on the part behinde , the first thing that ought to be done, is to cause that euerye man tourne his face, where his backe stode , & straight way the armie cometh to haue made of taile, head, and of head taile: then al those wayes ought to be kepte, in ordering the same front, as I tolde afore. If the enemie come to encounter the right flancke, the face of the army ought to be made to turne towards the same side: after, make all those things in fortification of the same head, which aboue is saide, so y the horsemen, the Weliti, and the artillerie, may be in places conformable to the head thereof: onely you haue this differēce, y in varying the head of those which are trasposed, some haue to go more & some lesse. In dede making head of the right flancke, the Weliti ought to enter in y spaces, y bee between the horne of the army, & those horse, which were neerest to the left flancke, in whose place ought to enter, the two Ansignes of y extraordinarie Pikes, placed in the middest: But firſt the carriages & the unarmed, shal go, out by the open place, auoiding the roome in middest, & retiring them ſelues behinde the left flancke , which shall come to be then the taile of the armie : the other Weliti that were placed in the tayle, according to the principal ordering of the armie, in this case, shall not moove: Be-cause the ſame place ſhould not remaine open, whiche of tayle ſhall come to bee flancke: all other thing ought to bee done , as in ordering of the firſte head is ſaide : this that is ſold about the making head of the right flancke,

The orderis  
of the army  
vvhē the ene  
mie cōmes  
to assaulte it  
behinde.

Hovve the  
armie is or-  
dered vwhen  
it is assaulted  
of anie of  
the ſides.

must be vnderstoode to be tolde, having neede to make it  
of the lefft flancke: for that the verye same order oughte  
to bee obserued. If the enemy shoulde come grosse, and in  
order to assault thee on two sides, those two sides, whiche  
the he commeth to assault thee on, ought to bee made  
strong with the other two sides, that are not assaulted,  
doubling the orders in eche of them, and deuiding for  
both partes the artillerie, the militi, and the horse. If he  
come on three or on four sides, it is necessary that either  
thou or hee lacke prudence: for that if thou shalt be wise,  
thou wilst never put thy selfe in place, that the enemie  
on three or four sides, with a great nomber of men, and  
in order, maye assault thee: for that minding, safelye to  
hurte thee, it is requisite, that he bee so great, that on  
every side, he maye assault thee, with as many men, as  
thou hast almost in all thy army: if thou be so vnwise,  
that thou put thy selfe in the daunger & force of an ene-  
mie, whome hath thare times more men ordayned then  
thou, if thou catche hurte, thou canst blame no man but  
thy selfe: if it happen not through thy fault, but through  
some mischaunce, the hurt shall bee without the shame,  
and it shall chaunce unto thee, as unto the Scipions in  
Spaine, and to Asdrubal in Italie: but if the enemye  
haue not manye more men then thou, and intende for  
to disorder thee, to assaulte thee on diuers sides, it shall  
bee his foolishnesse, and thy good fortune: for as muche  
as to do so, it is conueniente, that hee become so thinne  
in suche wise, that then easly thou mayest ouerthrow  
one bande, and withstande an other, and in shorte time  
ruinate him: this maner of ordering an armye against  
an enemie, whiche is not seene, but whiche is feared,  
is a necessarie and a profitable thing, to accustome thy  
Souldours, to put them selues together, and to march  
with such order, and in marching, to order them selues  
to fighte, according to the firste heade, and after to  
retourne in the forme, that they marched in, then to

VVhat is to  
be don whē  
the armie is  
assaulted on  
twoo sides.

## The fift Booke of the

make heade of the taile, after, of the flanckes from these to retourne into the first fashion: the whiche exercises & vses bee necessarie, minding to haue an army, throughly instructed and practised: in which thing the Princes and the Capitaynes, ought to take paine. Noz the discipline of warre is no other, then to knowe howe to commaunde, and to execute these thinges. Noz an instructed armye is no other, then an armie that is well practised in these orders: noz it canot be possible, that who soever in this time, shoulde vse like discipline shall ever be broken. And if this quadzante forme whiche I haue shewed you, is somewhat difficulte, suche difficultnesse is necessarie, taking it for an exercise: for as muche as knowing well, howe to set them selues in order, and to maintaine them selues in the same, they shall knowe after more easly, how to stande in those, which shoulde not haue so muche difficultie.

Zanobi. I beleue as you saye, that these orders bee verie necessary, and I for my parte, knowe not what to adde or take from it: true it is, that I desire to kniswe of you two thinges, the one, if when you will make of the tayle, or of the flancke, head, and would make them to tourne, whether this be commaunded by the voyce,

Commaundementes of Capitaines being not vwell vnderstoode, maie bee the destruction of an armie. Respect that is to bee had in commaundementes made vwith the sound of the Trompet.

or with the sounde: the other, whether those that you sende afore, to make playne the waie, for the armye to marche, oughte to bee of the verie same souldours of your battailes, or other vile men appointed, to like exercise. Fabritio. Your frst question imponzeth much: for that manye times the commaundementes of Capitaynes, being not well vnderstoode, or euyll interpreted, haue disordered their armie: therefore the voyces with the whiche they commaunde in perylles, ought to bee cleare and nete. And if thou commaunde with the sounde, it is conuenient to make that betwene the one way and the other, there bee so much difference, that the one can not be chaunged for the other: and if thou com-

commaundest with the voyce, thou oughtest to take heede  
that thou slie the general voyces, and to vse the particu-  
lars, and of the particulars, to slye those, which may be  
interpreted snifterly. Many times the saying backe,  
backe, hath made to ruinate an armie : therefore this  
voyce ought not to be vsed, but in stede thereof to vse,  
retire you. If you wil make them to turne, for to chānge  
the heade, either to flancke, or to backe, vse never to say  
tourne you, but saye to the left, to the right, to the backe,  
to the front: thus all the other voices eught to be simple  
and nece, as thrust on, march, stande strong, forwarde,  
retourne you: and all those thinges, which may be done  
with the voice, they do, the other is done with þ sounde.  
Concerning those men, þ must make the wayes plaine  
for the armye to marche, whiche is your seconde que-  
stion. I woulde cause my owne Souldours to do this  
office, as well because in the aunciente warfare they  
dyd so, as also for þ there shoulde be in the armie, lesser  
number of vnarm'd men, and lesse impedimentes: and  
I woulde choose out of every battaile, the same nomber  
that shoulde neede, and I woulde make them to take the  
instrumentes, meete to playne the grounde withall, &  
their weapons to leaue with those ranckes, that shoulde  
bee neerest them, who shoulde carrye them, and the ene-  
mie comming, they shall haue no other to doe, then to  
take them again, and to retourne into their araye.

Zanobi. Who shall carrie the instrumentes to make  
the waye playne withall?

Fabritio. The Cartes that are appoyncted to caryre  
the like instrumentes.

Zanobi. I doubt whether you shoulde ever bring  
these our Souldours, to labour with Shouel or Mat-  
tocke, after suche sorte.

Fabritio. All these thinges shall be reasoned in the  
place therof, but nowe I will let alone this parte, and  
reason of the maner of the victualling of the armye: for  
that

In coman-  
dementes  
made vvhil  
the voice,  
vwhat re-  
spect is to be  
had.

Of Pianars.

## The fift Booke of the

that me thinketh, hauyng so moche traualled theim, it is tyme to refreshe theim, and to comfort them with meate. You haue to understande, that a prince oughte to ordaine his armie, as expedite as is possible, & take from the same all those thynges, whiche maye cause any trouble or burthen vnto it, and make vnto hym any enterprise difficulte. Amongest those thynges that causest moste difficultie, is to be constrained to keepe the armie prouided of wine, and baked bread. The antiquitie cared not for Wine, for that lackyng it, they dranke water, mingled with a little vineger, to geue it a tasle: For whyche cause, among the municions of victualles for the hoste, vineger was ons, and not wine. They baked not þ breade in Duens, as they vse for Cities, but they prouided the Meale, & of the same, every Souldiour after his owne maner, satissfed him self, hauing for condimente Larde and Waken, þ which made the breade sanguine, that they made, & maintained theim strong, so that the provision of victualles for the armye, was Meale, Vineger, Larde, and Bacon, & for the horses, Barley. They had ordinarily heardes of greate beastes & small, which folowed the armie, the whiche hauyng no neede to be e carried, caused not moch impediment.

Of this order there grewe, that an armie in olde tyme, marched somtymes many dayes through solitarie places, and difficulte, without suffer yng disease of victualles: for that they liued of thynges, whiche easly they might convey after them. To the contrary it happeneth in the armyes, that are now a dayes, whiche mindyng not to lacke wine, and to eate baked bread in the same maner, as when they are at home, whereof beyng not able to make provision long, they remaine often times famished, or though they be prouided, it is done wyth disease, and with moste greate coste: therfore I would reduce my armye to this maner of living: and I would not that they shoulde eate other bread, then that, whiche by

by themselves they shoulde bake. Concerning wine, I woulde not prohibite the drinking thereof, nor yet the comming of it into the army, but I woulde not vse indeuour, nor any labour for to haue it, and in the other provisions, I woulde governe my selfe altogether, like vnto the antiquitie: the whiche thing, if you consider wel, you shall see how much difficultie is taken away, and howe much trouble and disease, an armee and a capitayne is auoyded of, and how much commoditie shall be gien, to what so euer enterprize is to be done.

Zanobi. We haue ouercome the enemie in the fiedle , marched afterwarde vpon his countrie, reason woulde, that spoiles be made, townes sacked, prisoners taken, therfore I woulde know, howe the antiquitie in these thinges, governed them selues.

Fabritio. Beholde, I will satisfie you. I belue you haue considered, for that once already with some of you I haue reasoned, howe these present warres, impouerishe as well those lordes that ouercome , as those that leese: for that if the one leese his estate , the other leeth his money, and his muuables: the whiche in olde time was not, for that the conquerour of the warre , waxed the occa-  
ritche. This groweth of keeping no compte in these dayes of the spoyles, as in olde time they dyd, but they leane it to the discretion of the Souldiours. This maner maketh two most great disorders: the one , that commeth more coneturous to spoyle, and leesse obserueth the oyders: and manye times it hath beene seene , howe the coneturousness of the praye, hath made those to leese, whome were victorious.

Therefore the Romanes whiche were Princes of armes, prouided to the one and to the other of these inconueniences, ordayning that all the spoyle shoulde appertayne to the publicke , and that the publicke after shoulde bestowe it, as shoulde bee thought god : and there-

that the Ro-

maines toke

cōcerning the

spoyle & the

booties that

their souldi-

ours got.

## The fift Booke of the

therefore they had in tharmie the questours, who were as we woulde say, the chamberlaynes, to whose charge all the spoyle and booties were committed: whereof the consul was serued to geue the ordinarie pay to the souldiours, to succour the wounded, and the sick, and for the other busynesse of the armie. The consull might well, and he vsed it often, to graunt a spoyle to Souldiours: but this graunting made no disorder: for that the armie beyng broken, all the pray was put in the middest, and distributed by head, according to the qualitie of euerye man: the which maner they constituted, to the entent that the Souldiers should attende to ouercome, and not to robbe: & the Romaine legiōs ouercame the enemies, & followed them not, for that they never departed from their orders: onely there followed them the horsemen, with those that were light armed, and if there were any other Souldiours then those of the Legions, they likewise pursued the chasse. Where if the spoyle shoulde haue bene his that got it, it had not bene possible nor reasonable to haue kept the Legions freddie, & to withstande many peryls: hereby grewe therefore, that the common weale enriched, and every Consull carried with his triumphe into the treasurie, muche treasure, which all was of booties & spoyles. An other thing the antiquitie did vpon god consideration, that of the wages whiche they gaue to every Souldiour, the thirde parte they woulde shoulde bee layed vp nexte to him, whome carryed the Ansigne of their bande, whiche never gaue it them againe before the warre was ended: this they dyd, beyng moued of two reasons, the first was to the entent that the Souldiour shoulde thrive by his wages, because the greatest part of them bee yng young men, and carelesse, the moze they haue, so much the moze without nede they spende, the other cause was, for that knowyng that their moueables were next to the Ansigne, they shoulde bee constrainned

An order  
that the an-  
tiquitie toke  
concerning  
their soul-  
diours wa-  
ges.

to haue more care therof, and with more obſtinatenesse to defende it: and this made them ſtrong and to holde together: all which thinges is neceſſary to obſerue, purpoſing to reduce the exerciſe of armes vnto the intier perſection therof.

Zanobi. I beleue that it is not poſſible, that to an armye that marcheth from place to place, there fall not perrilous accidentes, where the induſtrye of the Capitayne is needfull, & the worthynelle of the Souldiours, minding to auoide them. Therefore I woulde bee glad, that you remembraunce any, would ſhewe them.

Fabritio. I ſhall content you with a god will, being inelſpecially neceſſarie, intending to make of this exerciſe a perfecte ſcience. The Capitaines ought aboue all other thinges, whilſt they march with an army, to take heede of ambuſhes, wherin they incurre daunger two wayes, either marching thou entrelſt into them, or thorough craft of þ enemie thou art traɪned in before thou art aware. In the firſt caſe, minding to auoide ſuche peril, it is neceſſarie to ſende afore double warde, whō may diſcouer the countrey, and ſo muche the moze diligēce ought to be uſed, the moze that the countrey is apt for ambuſhes, as be the wooddye or hilly countries, for that alwayes they bee layde either in a wood, or behinde a hill: and as the ambuſh not forſene, doth ruine thee, ſo forſeeing the ſame, it cannot hurt thee. Manye tymeſ byrdes or muche duffe haue diſcouered the enemie: for that alwayes where the enemie commeth to finde thee, hee ſhall make great duffe, which ſhall ſignifie unto thee his coming: ſo often timeſ a Capitayne ſeeing in the places where hee oughte to paſſe, Dones to riſe, or other of thole byrdes that flye in flockes, and to tourne aboute and not to lighte, hath knownen by the ſame the ambuſhe of the enemis to bee there, and ſending before his men, and certaynely vnderſtanding it, hath ſaued himſelfe and hurte his enemye. Con-

Capitaines  
maie incur-  
re the daun-  
ger of am-  
buſhes  
two maner  
of vvaies.  
  
Hovve to 2-  
uoide the  
perill of am-  
buſhes.  
  
Hovve am-  
buſhes ha-  
ue bene per-  
me : ceiued.

C. i.           cerning

## The fift Booke of

certifying the seconde case, to be trained in, (which theſo  
our men cal to be drawen to the ſhot) you ought to take  
heed, not ſtraight way to beleue thofe thinges, which  
are nothyng reasonable, þ they be as they ſeme: as  
ſhoulde be, if the enemie ſhoulde ſet aforē theſe a praye,  
thou oughtest to beleue that in the ſame is the hooke, &  
that therein is hid the deceipte. If many enemies bee  
driven away by a fewe of thine, if a fewe enemies as-  
ſaulte manye of thine, if the enemie make a ſodeine  
flight, and not ſtandynge with reaſon, alwayes thou

Hovv the ca-  
pitain of the  
enemies ou-  
ght to be e-  
ſteemed.  
oughtest in ſuſhe caſes to feare deceipte, and oughtest  
neuer to beleue that the enemie knoweth not howe to  
do his buſineſſe, but rather intending that he may be-  
gile theſe the leſſe, and mindyng to ſtand in leſſe perill,  
the weaker that he is, & the leſſe craftier that the enemie  
is, ſo much the moare thou oughtest to eſteeme him: and  
thou oughtest in this caſe vſe two ſundrie poīntes, for  
thou muſte to feare him in thy mind and with the order,  
but with wordes, and with other outerwarde demon-  
tracion, to ſeme to despyle him: because the laſte  
way maketh that thy ſouldiours hope the moare to haue  
the victorie: the other maketh the moare warie, & leſſe  
apte to be begyled. And thou haſt to vnderſtand, that

VVhere me-  
be in grea-  
test perill.  
when men marche thoroughe the enemieſ countray,  
they are in much moare, and greater perils, then in figh-  
ting the felde: and therefore the Capitaine in marching,  
ought to vſe double diligēce: and the firſt thing that

he ought to do, is to get deſcribed, and painted ouſe  
the deſcrip-  
tion of the  
coutrie  
vwhere an en-  
emie muſte  
march, is  
moſt requi-  
ſite for a Ca-  
pitaine to  
haue.

all the coutrie, through the whiche he muſt marche,  
ſo that he may know the places, the number, the diſ-  
tances, the waies, the hilles, the riuers, the fennes,  
and all the quaſties of them: and to cauſe this to bee  
knowen, it is conuenient to haue with him diuerſly, &  
in ſundrie maners ſuch men: as know the places, and  
to aſke them with diligēce, and to ſee whether their  
talke, agree and accoyding to the agreyng thereof, to  
note

note, he oughte also to sende afore the horsemen, & with them prudente heades, not so much to discouer the enemie, as to veiwe the countrie, to see whether it agree with the description, and with the knowledge that they haue of the same. Also the guydes that are sente, ought

to be keept with hope of reward, and feare of paine. And A most profitable thing aboue all thinges it ought to bee prouided, that the army knowe not to what businelle hee leadeth them: for that it is for a cause there is nothing in the warre more profitable, then to keepe secret the thinges that is to be done: and to the intent a sodaine assaulte do not trouble thy Souldours,

thou oughtest to see them to stand ready with their weapons, because the thinges that are prouided for, offendelle. Manye for to auoyde the confusion of marching, haue placed vnder the standarde, the carriages, and the unarm'd, and haue commaunded them to followe the same, to the intente that in marching needing to stay, or to retire, they might do it more easlyly, whiche thing as

profitable, I allowe very muche. Also in marching, aduertisment oughte to bee had, that the one parte of the armye go not a sunder from the other, or that throught some going fast, and some soft, the armye become not slender: the whiche thinges, bee occasion of disorder: An aduertis-  
ment cōcer-  
ning the  
marching of  
an armie.

therfore the heades must bee placed in suche wise, that they maye maintayne the pace euuen, causing to go soft those that go to fast, and to haste forward the other that go to slow, the which pace can not bee better ruled, then by the stroke of the dromme.

The wayes ought to be caused to bee enlarged, so that alwayes at least a bande of iiii. hundred men may marche

in the order of the battayle. The custome and the qualite of the enemie oughte to bee considered, and whether that he will assaulte thee, either in the morning, or at none, or in the euening, & whether he bee more puissant with footemen or horsemen, & according as thou understandest to redeyne & to prouide for thy self. But let vs come

The mar-  
ching of an  
armie ought  
to be ruled  
by the stro-  
ke of the  
Dromme.

The condi-  
tion of the  
enemic ou-  
ght to be con-  
sidered.

## The fift Booke of

to some particular accidente. It happeneth sometyme, that thou getting from the enemie, because thou iudgest thy selfe inferiour, and therefore minding not to fighte with him, and he comming at thy backe, thou ariuest at the bâcke of a riuer, passing ouer the which, asketh time; so that the enemie is ready to ouertake thee, and to fighte with thee. Some, which chaunsing to bee in suche perill, haue inclosed their army on the hinder part with a ditch and filling the same full of Towre, and firyng it, haue then passed with the armie without being able to be letted of the enemie , he being by the same fire that was betweene them held backe.

Zanobi. I am harde of beleife, that this syze coulde stay them, in especiallye because I remeber that I haue harde, how Annone of Cartilage, being besieged of enemis, inclosed him selfe on the same parte, with wodde which he did set on fire where he purposed to make erupcion. Wherefore the enemies being not intentiue on the same part to loke to him, he made his army to passe ouer the same flame, causing every man to holde his Target before his face soz to defende them from the fire , and smoke. Fabritio. You saye well : but consider you howe I haue sayde, and howe Annone did: soz as much as I sayde that they made a ditche , and filled it with Towre, so that hee, y<sup>e</sup> woulde passe ouer the same, shoulde bee constrainyd to contende with the ditche & with fire: Annone made the fire, without the ditche, and because hee intended to passe ouer it , hee made it not great , soz that otherwise without the ditch, it shoulde haue letted him. Do you not knowe, that Nabide a Sparten being besieged in Sparta of the Romaynes, set fire on parte of his Towne to let the waye to the Romanes, who alredye were entered in ? And by meane of the same flame not onelye hindered their waye, but drave them out:but let vs turne to our matter. Quintus Lutatius a Romaine, hauing at his backe the Cimbri , and coming

Annone of  
Cartilage.

Nabide a  
Spartane.

myng to a riuere, to thentente the enemie shoulde geue hym tyme to passe ouer, særmed to geue tyme to them to feght wyth hym; and therfore he fained that he woule lodge there, & caused trenches to be made, and certayne pavilions to be erected, and sent certayne horsemen in-

Quintus  
Luttatius  
policie to  
passe ouer a  
riuer.

to the countrey soz sozedge: so that the Cimbrie beleuyng, that he incamped, they also incamped, and denyded them selues into sundry partes, to prouyde soz victuals, whereof Luttatius beyng aware, passed the riuere they beyng not able to let hym. Some soz to passe a ryuer hauyng no brydge, haue deuyded it, and one parte they haue turned behynde theyz backes, & the other then becomynge shallower, wyth ease they haue passed it: whē the ryuers bee swyft, purposyng to haue theyz fote-

Hovv to pas  
se a riuere  
vwithout a  
bridge.

men to passe safelye, they place theyz strongest horses on the higher syde, þ they may sustaine the water, & on other parte be lowe þ may succour the men, þ any of þ river in passyng shoulde be overcome wyth the water: They passe also ryuers, þ bee verie dēpe, with brigdes, wyth boates, & wyth barrelles: & therfore it is god to haue in a redinesse in an armie wherewyth to be able to make all these thynges. It fortuneth sometime that in passyng a riuere, the enemye standing agaynst the on the other banke, doeth let theē: to minde to overcome this difficultie, I knowe not a better ensample to folow,

then the same of Cesar, whome hauyng hys armye on the banke of a ryuer in Fraunce, and his passage beyng letted of Vergintorige a Frenche man, the whych on the other syde of the riuere had hys men, marched many dayes a longe the riuere, and the lyke did the enemye: wherfore Cesar incamping in a woddie place, apte to hide men, he tooke out of euery legion threē cohortes, and made them to tarye in the same place, commann- dyng them that so soone as he was departed, they shoulde caste ouer a brdge, and shoulde fortesie it, and he wyth his other menne followed on the waye: wher-

A policie of  
Cesar to pas  
se a riuere,  
enemic beig  
on the other  
side therof  
fought to let  
him.

## The fift Booke of

Sore Vergintorige seeing the nombre of the Legions, thinking that there was not left anye parte of them behinde, followed also his waye: but Cesar when he supposed that the b ridge was made, tourned backewarde, and finding all thinges in order, passed the riuere without difficultie.

Hovve to  
knowv the  
Foordes of  
a riuer.

Zanobi. Hauue ye any rule to knowe the syrdes?

Fabritio. Yea, we haue alwayes the riuere, in that part, whiche is betwene the water, that is stilleste, and the water that runneth fastest, there is least d e p t h , and it is a place moze meete to bee looked on, then any other where. For that alwaies in the same place, the riuere is most shallowlest. The which thing, because it hath bene proued many times, is most true.

Zanobi. If it chaunce that the Riuere haue mardre the syrde, so that the horses sincke, what remedys haue you?

Hovve to e-  
scape out of  
a straight  
vwhere the  
same is beset  
vvith ene-  
mies.

Fabritio. The remedye is to make hardels of roddes which must be placed in the bottome of the riuere, and so to passe vpon those: but let vs followe our reasoning. If it happē that a Capitain be lead with his army, between two hilles, & that he haue not but two wayes to sauue him selfe, either y before, or y behind, & those being beset of y enemies, he hath for remedye to do the same, which some haue done heretofore, y which haue made on their hinder part a great trench, difficulte to passe ouer, & seemed to the enemie, to minde to keepe him of, for to be able with al his power, without needing to feare behinde to make force y way, which before remained open. The which the enemis beléaving, haue made them selues strōg towardes the open part, & haue forsaken the inclosed, & he then casting a bridge of wood ouer the Trenche, for such an effecte prepared, both on the same part, with out anye impedimente hath passed, and also deliuered himselfe out of the handes of the enemie.

Hovve Luti-  
us Minutius  
escaped out  
of a straight

Minutius a Consul of Rome, was in Liguria with an armye

armie, and was of the enemies inclosed, betwene certayne hilles, whereby he coulde not go out: therefore he sente certaine souldours of Numidia on horsebacke, whiche he had in his armie ( whome were euill armed, and vpon little leane horses) towardes the places that were kepte of the enemies, whō at the first sight made the enemies, to order them selues together, to defende the passage: but after that they sawe those mē ill apointed, & accō; dyng to theyz faction euill horsed, regarding them little, enlarged the orders of their warde, whereof so sond as þ Numidians were away, geuing þ spurres to their horses, and runnyng violently vpon them, passed before they could prouide any remedy, whō beyng palled, destroied and spoiled the countrie after suche sort that they constrained the enemies, to leau the passage free to þ armie of Lucius. Some capitaine, whiche hath perceiued him selfe to be assaulted of a greate multitude of enemies, hath drawen together his men, & hath geuen to the enemie cōmoditie, to compasse him all about, and then on the same parte, whiche he hath perceiued to be moste weake, hath made force, & by the same waie, hath caused to make waie, and sauied him selfe.

Marcus Antonius retiring before the armie of the Parthians, perceiued how the enemies every daye before Sun rising, when here moued, assaulted him, and all the the waie troubled hym, in so much, that he determined not to departe the nexte daie before Spone: so that the Parthians beleuing, that he would not remoue that daie, retourned to their tentes. Wherby Marcus Antonius might then all the reste of the daye, marche without any disquietnesse. This self same man for to auoide the arrowes of the Parthians, commānded his men, that when the Parthians came towardes them, they shoulde kneele, and that the second ranke of the battailes, shoulde couer with their Targalettes, the headdes of the firste, the thirde, the seconde, the fourth,

vwherein he  
was inclo-  
sed of his e-  
nemis.

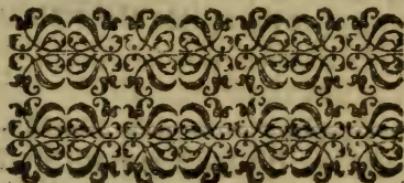
hovve some  
Capitaines  
haue suffered  
them selues  
to be cōpa-  
fed about of  
their ene-  
mies.

Marcus An-  
tonius.

A defence  
for the shot  
of arrowes.

## The fift Booke of

fourth, the thirde, and so successively, that all the armye  
came, to be as it were vnder a pentehouse, and defen-  
ded from the shotte of the enemies. This is as muche  
as is come into my remembraunce, to tell you, whiche  
may happen vnto an armey marching: therfore,  
if you remember not anye thing els, I  
will passe to an other part.



The sixte Booke of the Arte  
of warre, of Nicholas Machiauel, Citezen and Secre-  
tarie of Florence, vnto Laurence  
Philip Strozze.

Zanobi.



Beleeue that it is good , see-  
ing the reasoning muste be  
chaunged, that Baptiste take  
his office , and I to resigne  
mine, and we shall come in  
this case, to imitate the god  
Capitaynes ( according as I  
hane nowe here vnder stode  
of the gentilman) who place  
the best Souldiours , before  
and behinde the armye , seemynge vnto them necessarye  
to hane before , suche as maye lustyly begin the fight,  
and suche as behinde maye lustyly sustaine it. Powe  
seeing Collinus began this reasoning prudently, Bap-  
tiste prudently shall ende it. As soz Luigi and I , haue  
in this middest intertayned it , and as euerye one of vs  
hath take his part willingly, so I beleene not, that Bap-  
tiste will refuse it.

Baptiste. I haue let my selfe beéne gouerned hetherfo  
so I minde to do still. Therfore be content sir, to follow  
your reasoning, and if wee interrupt you with this prac-  
tise of ours, haue vs excused.

Fabritio. You do me , as all reedye I haue sayde, a  
molte great pleasure : for this your interrupting me ,  
taketh not awaye my fantasie , but rather refresheth  
me. But minding to followe our matter I saye, how  
that it is nowe time, that wee lodge this our armie , soz

**A.i.** that

## The sixt Booke of the

that you knowe euerye thing desireth rest and saftey, because to rest, and not to rest saftey, is no perfecte rest: I doubt muche, whether it hath not beeene desired of you, that I shold first haue lodged them, after made them to marche, and last of all to fighte, and wee haue done the contrary: whereunto necessity hath brough<sup>vs</sup>, for that intending to shewe, howe an armye in going, is reduced from the forme of marching, to the same manner of fighting, it was necessarie to haue firs<sup>t</sup> shewed, howe they ordered it to fighte. But tournynge to our matter, I saye, that minding to haue the campe fure, it is requisite that it be strong, and in god order: the industrie of the Capitayne, maketh it in order: the situation, or the arte, maketh it strong. The Greckes sought strong situations, nor they would neuer place them selues, where had not beeene either caue, or bancke of a riuier, or multitude of trees, or other naturall fortification, that might defende them: but the Romaines not so much incamped safe through the situation, as through arte, nor they would neuer incampe in place, where they shoulde not haue been able to haue raunged all their bandes of men according to their discipline. Hereby grewe, that the Romaines might keepe alwayes one forme of incamping, for that they wold, that the situation shoulde bee ruled by them, not they by the situation: the whiche the Greckes coulde not obserue, for that being ruled by the situacion, and varyng the situation and forme, it was convenient, that also they shold vary the maner of incamping, and the fashion of their lodgings. Therefo<sup>r</sup>e the Romaines, where the situation lacked strength they supplied the same with arte, and with industrie. And for that I in this my declaration, haue willed to imitate the Romaines, I will not departe from the maner of their incamping, yet not obseruing altogether their order, but taking the same parte, whiche seemeth unto me, to be moete for this present time. I haue told you

Hovve the  
Greckes in-  
camped.

Hovve the  
Romanes in  
camped.

you manye tymes, how the Romanes had in their con-  
sull armies , two Legions of Romayne men, whiche  
were about aleuen thousande footemen , and sixe hun-  
dred horsemen, and moreover they had an other aleuen  
thousand footemen, sent from their friends in their aide:  
nor in their armie they had never more souldiours that  
were straungers, then Romaynes, except horsemenne,  
whom they cared not, though they were moxe in nom-  
ber then theirs : and in all their doinges, they dyd place  
their Legions in the middest, and the aubers, on the sides  
the which maner, they obserued also in incamping , as  
by your selfe you maye reade , in those authours , that  
writte of their actes: and therefore I purpose not to shew  
you distincly how they incamped, but to tell you onelye  
with what order. I at this present would incampe my  
army, wherby you shal then know, what part I haue  
taken out of the Romayne maners. You knowe, that in  
steede of two Romaine Legions , I haue taken two  
mayne battailes of footemen, of sixe thousand footemen,  
and thre hundred horsemen, profitable for a maine bat-  
taile, and into what battailes, into what weapons , into  
what names I haue deuided them: you knowe howe in  
ordering the armie to marche, and to fighte, I haue not  
made mention of other men , but onelye haue shewed,  
howe that doubling the men, they needed not but to dou-  
ble the orders : but minding at this presente , to  
shewe you the maner of incamping , me thinketh good  
not to stande onely with two maine battailes , but to  
bring together a iuste armie , made like vnto the Ro-  
maines, of two mayne battailes , and of as manye no-  
aiding men: the whiche I make , to the intente that the  
forme of the incamping, maie be the moxe perfecte , by  
lodging a perfecte armie : whiche thing in the other the maner  
demonstrations, hath not seemed vnto me so necessary. of the incá-  
Purposing then, to incápe a iuste army of fourte & twen-  
tie thousande footemen, & of two thousande god horse-  
armie.

W.H. men,

## The sixt Booke of the

men, being deuided into fourne maine battailes, two of our swone men, and two of straungers. I woulde take this waye The situation being founde, where I would incampe, I would erecte the head standarde, and about it, I woulde marke out a quadrant, which shoulde haue every side distant from it. xxxviij. yardes and a halfe, of whiche every one of them shoulde lye, towardes one of the fourre regions of heauen, as East, West, South, and North: betweene the which space, I woulde that the Capitaynes lodging shoulde be appointed. And because I beleue that it is wise dome, to deuide the armed from the unarmed, seeing y so, for the most part the Romanes did, I would therefore separate the men, that were cumbered with any thing, from the uncombered. I woulde lodge all, or the greatest parte of the armed, on the side towardes the East, and the unarmed, and the combered, on the West side, making East the head, and West the backe of the Campe, and South and North, shoulde be the flanckes: and for to distinguishe the lodgings of the armed, I woulde take this waye. I woulde drawe a line from the head standarde, and lead it towardes the East, the space of ffe hundred y. yardes and a halfe: I woulde after, make two other lines, that shoulde place in the middest the same, and shoulde bee as long as that, but distaunte eche of them from it aleuen yardes and a quarter: in the ende whercof, I woulde haue the East gate, and the space that is betweene the two uttermoste lines, should make a waye, that should go from the gate, to the Capitaynes lodging, whiche shall come to bee xxij. yards and a halfe broad, and fourre hundred lxij. yardes and a halfe long, for the xxvij. yardes and a halfe, the lodging of the Capitayne will take vp; and this shall bee called the Capitayne waye. Then there shall be made an other waye, from the South gate, to the North gate, and shall passe by the heade of the Capitayne waye, and leauue the Capitaynes lodging towardes the East, which waye

The lodgig  
for the gene-  
ral capitain.

waye shalbe ix. hundred xxxviij. yardes and a halfe long (for the length thereof wilbe as much as the breadth of all the lodgings) and shall likewise be xxij. yardes and a halfe broad, and shall be called the crosse waye. Then so soone as the Capitains lodging, were appointed out, and these two waies, there shall be begun to be appointed out, the lodgings of our owne two mayne battailes one of the which, I woulde lodge on the right hande of the Capitayne waye, and the other, on the left: and therefoze passing ouer the space, that the breadth of the crosse waye taketh, I woulde place xxxij. lodgings, on the left side of the Capitayne waye, and xxxij. on the right side, leauing betwene the rbi. and the rvbi. lodging, a space of xxij. yardes and a halfe, the which shoulde serue for a waye ouerthwart, whiche shoulde runne ouerthwart, throughout all the lodgings of the mayne battailes, as in the distributing of them shall bee seene.

Of these two orders of lodgings in the beginning of the head, whiche shall come to ioygne to the crosse waye, I woulde lodge the Capitayne of the men of armes, in the rv. lodgings, whiche on euerye side followeth next, their men of armes, where eche mayne batteile, hauing a hundred l. men of armes, it will come to kenne men of armes for a lodging. The spaces of the Capitaynes lodgings, should be in breadth xxx. and in length, viij. yardes and a halfe. And note that when so ever I saye breadth, it signifieth the space of the middest from South to North, and saying length, that length in the whiche is from West to East. Those of the men of armes, shoulde bee xi. yardes and a quarter in length, and xxij. yardes and a halfe in breadth. In the other rv. lodgings, that on euerye side shoulde followe, the whiche shoulde haue their beginning on the other side of the ouerthwart waye, and whiche shall haue the verye same space, that those of the men of armes had, I woulde lodge the lighte horsemen: whereof being a

The lodggs  
for the men  
of armes, &  
their Capi-  
taine.

Note, vhi-  
che is breadth  
& vwhich  
length in the  
square cape.

The lodggs  
for the lighte  
horsemen, &  
their capi-  
taine.

hundred

## The sixt Booke of the

hundred and fiftie, it will come to tenne horsemen for a lodging, and in the rvi. that remayneth, I woulde lodge their Capitaine, geuing him the very same space, that is giuen to the Capitayne of the men of armes: and thus the lodgings of the horsemen of two maine battailes, will come to place in the middest the Capitayne waye, and geue rule to the lodgings of the foote men, as I shal declare. You haue noted howe I haue lodged the three hundred horsemen of every mayne battaile with their Capitaynes, in xxxij. lodgings placed on the Capitayne waye, having begun from the crosse waye, and howe from the rvi. to the xvij. there remayneth a space of xxij. yarde and a halfe, to make a waye ouerthwart. Minding therfore to lodge the twentie battailes, whiche the two ordinarie maine battailes haue, I would place the lodging of every two battailes, behinde the lodgings of the horsemen, euery one of whiche, shoulde haue in length. xi. yarde and a quarter, & in breadth. xxiij. yarde and a halfe, as those of the horsemens, and shoulde bee ioyned on the hinder parte, that they shoulde touche the one the other. And in every first lodging on every side which commeth to lye on the crosse waye, I would lodge

The lodgigs for the foote men of two ordinarie maine bat-  
tailes.

The lodgigs for the con-  
stablies.

The nōber of foote men appointed to euerie lodgig.

the Constable of a battayle, which shoulde come to stand eu'en with the lodging of the Capitayne of the men of armes, and this lodging shall haue onelye of space for breadth xv. yarde, and for length seuen yarde and a halfe. In the other sueteene lodgings, that on euery side followeth after these, eu'en unto the ouerthwarte waye, I would lodge on euery parte a battayle of foote men, whiche being foure hundred and fiftie, there will come to a lodging. xxx. the other xv. lodgings, I would place continuallye on euery side on those of the lighte horsemen, with the verye same spaces, where I would lodge on euery part, an other battaile of foote men, and in the laste lodging, I woulde place on every parte the Conestable of the battayle, whiche will

comes

come to soynz with the same of the Capitaine of the  
lighte horsemen, with the space of. vii. yarde & a halfe  
for length, and .xv. for brede: and so these two firste  
orders of lodgynge, shall be halfe of horsemen, & halfe  
of footemē. And so that I woulde (as in the place there-  
of I haue tolde you) these horsemen shoulde bee all  
profitable, and so this having no seruauntes which in  
kepyng the horses, or in other necessary thinges might  
helpe them, I woulde that these footemen, who lodge be-  
hind the horse, shoulde bee bounde to helpe to prouide,  
and to keepe them for their maisters: and so this to bee  
exempted from the other doinges of the Campe. The  
whiche maner, was obserued of the Romaines. Then  
leauing after these lodgynge on euerie parte, a space  
of. xxii. yarde and a halfe, which shoulde make awaie,  
that shoulde bee called the one, the firste waie on the  
righte hande, and on the other, the firste waie on the lefte  
hand, I woulde pitche on euerie side an other order of  
xxxii. double lodgynge, which shoud tourne their hin-  
der partes the one against the other with the verie same  
spaces, as those that I haue tolde you of, and deuided  
after the sixteenth in the verie same maner so to make  
the ouerthwarte waie, where I woulde lodge on every  
side .iii. battailes of footemen, with their constables  
in both endes. Then leauing on euerye side an other  
space of. xxii. yarde and a halfe, that shoulde make a  
waie, whiche shoulde be called of the one side, the se-  
conde waie on the righte hande, and on the other syde,  
the seconde waie on the lefte hande, I would place an  
other order on euerie side of. xxxii. double lodgynge,  
with the verie same distance and deuisions, where I  
would lodge on euerie side other .iii. battailes with  
their Constables: and thus the horsemenne and the  
bandes of the two ordinarie maine battailes, shoud  
come to be lodged in thre orders of lodgynge, on the  
one side of the capitaine waie, and in thre other or-  
ders

## The sixt Booke of the

ders of lodgynges on the other side of the Capitaine  
waye. The twoo aiding maine battels (for that I  
cause them to be made of the verie same nation) I  
woulde lodge them on every parte of these twoo ordina-  
rie maine battailes, with y very same orders of double  
lodgynges, pitchyng firste one order of lodgynges,  
where shoulde lodge halfe the horsemen, and halfe the  
fote men, distance. xxii. yardeſ & a halfe from the other,  
for to make a way which shoulde be called the one, the  
thirde waie on the right hande, and the other the thirde  
waie on the left hande. And after, I woulde make on  
euerie ſide, twoo other orders of lodgynges, in the ve-  
rie same maner diſtinguished and ordained, as thoſe  
were of y ordinarie maine battelles, whiche ſhall make  
twoo other wayes, and they all ſhould be called of the  
numbre, & of the hande, where they ſhoule be placed: in  
ſuch wyſe, that all this ſide of the armie, ſhould come to  
be lodged in. xii. orders of double lodgynges, and in. viii.  
wayes, reckenyng captaine waie, and crosse waie: I  
woulde there ſhould remaine a ſpace from the lodgynges  
to the Trenche of. lxxv. yardeſ rounde aboute: and if  
you recken al theſe ſpaces, you ſhal ſee that from y mid-  
dest of the Capitaines lodgyng to the ealle gate, there  
is. D.v. yardeſ. Now there remaineth twoo ſpaces,  
whereof one is from the Capitaines lodgyng to the  
South gate, the other is from thense to y North gate:  
whiche come to bee (either of them meaſuryng them  
from the poyncte in the middest). CCCC. lxxvi. yar-  
deſ. Then takyng out of euerie one of theſe ſpaces  
xxxvii. yardeſ and a halfe, whiche the Capitaines  
lodgyng occupieth, and .xxviii. yardeſ euerie waye  
for a market place, and. xxii. yardeſ and a halfe for a  
way that deuides euerie one of the ſated ſpaces in the  
middest, and. lxxv. yardeſ, that is left on euerie parte  
betweene the lodgynges and the Trenche, there re-  
maineth on every ſide a ſpace for lodgings of. CCC.  
yardeſ

yardes broad, and lxxv. yarde long, measuring the length  
with the space that the Capitaynes lodging taketh vp.  
Deuiding then in the middest the sayde length, there  
woulde be made on euerye hande of the Capitayne. xl.  
Lodginges xxxvij. yarde and a halfe long, and xv. broad,  
which will come to be in all lxx. lodgings, wherin shall  
be lodged the heades of the maine battailes, the Treas-  
urers, the Marshalles of the field, and all those that  
should haue office in the armie, leauing some boide for  
straungers that shoulde happen to come, and for those  
that shall serue for god will of the Capitayne. On the  
parte behinde the Capitaynes lodging, I woulde haue  
away from South to North. xxiij. yarde large, & should  
be called the head waye, whiche shall come to be placed  
a long by the lxx. lodgings aforesayde: for that this  
waye, and the crosse waye, shall come to place in the mid-  
dest betweene them both the Capitaynes lodging, and  
the lxx. lodgings that bee on the sides therof.

From this head waye, and from ouer against the Capi-  
taynes lodging, I would make an other waye, whiche  
shoulde go from thence to the West gate, likewise  
broade xvj. yarde and a halfe, and shoulde aunswere  
in situation and in length to the Capitayne waye, and  
should be called the market waye. These two wayes  
being made, I woulde ordeyne the market place,  
where the market shall be kept, which I woulde place  
on the head of the market waye ouer against the Capi-  
taynes lodging, and ioyned to the head waye, and I  
would haue it to bee quadrant, and woulde assigne lxxx.  
yarde and thre quarters to a square: and on the righte  
hande and lefste hande, of the sayd market place, I would  
make two orders of lodgings where every order shall  
haue eighte double lodgings, whiche shall take vp in  
length ix. yarde, and in breadth two & twentie yarde  
and a halfe, so that there shall come to be on euery hande  
of the maket place. xvi. lodgings that shall place the

The lodggs  
for the chie f  
Capitaines  
of the maine  
battailes &  
for the trea-  
surers, mar-  
shals and  
straungers.

# The sixt Booke of

Lodginges  
for the hor-  
semē, of the  
extraordina-  
rie maine  
battailes.

The lodgigs  
for the ex-  
traordinarie  
Pikes and  
Veliti.

same in the middest whiche shall be in all xxxij. wherin  
I woulde lodge those horsemen, which shoulde remayne  
to the ayding mayne battailes: and when these shoulde  
not suffice, I woulde assigne them: some of those lod-  
ginges that placeþ betwene them the Capitaynes lod-  
ging, and in especiallye those, that lye towardeþ the  
Trenche. There resteth nowe to lodge the Pikes, and  
extraordinarie Veliti, that euery mayne battayle hath,

which you knowe according to our order, howe euery  
one hath besides the x. battailes a thousande extraordi-  
narie Pikes, and ffe C. Veliti: so that the two chiese  
mayne battailes, haue two. ¶ extraordinarie Pikes,  
and a thousande extraordinary Veliti, and the ayders as  
many as those, so that yet there remayneth to be lodged  
vi. ¶ men, whom I woulde lodge all on the West side,  
and a long the Trenche. Then from the ende of the  
head waye, to wardeþ North, leauing the space of lxxv.  
yardes from them to the Trenche, I woulde place an  
order of ffe double lodgings, which in all shoulde take  
up lvi. yardes in length, and xxr. in breadth: so that the  
breadth denided, there will come to euery lodging aleue  
yardes and a quarter for length, and for breadth two  
and twentie yardes and a halfe. And because there  
shall bee tenne lodgings, I will lodge thre hundred  
men, appointing to euery lodging thirtye men: lea-  
uing then a space of thre and twentye yardes and a  
quarter, I would place in like wise, and with like spa-  
ces an other order of ffe double lodgings, and agayne  
an other, till there were ffe orders of ffe double lod-  
ginges: which will come to be fiftie lodgings placed by  
right line on the North side, every one of them distante  
from the Trenche. lxxv yardes, whiche will lodge fiftie  
hundred men. Turninge after on the leste hande  
towardeþ the West gate, I would pitche in all the same  
staide, whiche were from them to the sayde gate, fiftie  
other orders of double lodgings, with the verye same  
spaces

spaces, and with the verie same maner: true it is , that from the one order to the other , there shall not be more then aleuen yarde s and a quarter of space : wherin shal be lodged also fiftene hundred men: and thus from the North gate to the West , as the Trenche tourneth , in a hundred lodgings denided in tenne rewes of five double lodgings in a rowe , there will bee lodged all the Pikes and extraordinary Weliti of the chiese maine battailes. And so from the West gate to the South as the Trenche tourneth euен in the very same maner in other tenne rewes of ten lodgings in a rowe , there shall bee lodged the Pikes , and extraordinarie Weliti of the ayding mayne battailes. Their heades or their constables maye take those lodgings, that shall seeme vnto them moste commodious , on the parte towardes the Trenche. The artillerie , I would dispse thorough- out all the campe, along the bancke of the Trenche; and in all the other space that shoulde remayne towardes West. I woulde lodge all the vnarmyd , and place all the impedimentes of the Campe. And it is to bee vnderstode , that vnder this name of impedimentes ( as you knowe ) the antiquitie mente all the same trayne, and all those thinges, which are necessarye for an army, besides the Souldiours ; as are Carpenters, Smithes, Masons , Ingeneres, Bombardiers , although that those myghte bee counted in the nombre of the armed , herde- men with their herdes of mottons and beeves , whiche for victualling of the armye , are requisite: and more ouer maisters of all sciences , together with publicke carriages of the publicke munition , whiche pertaine as well to victualling , as to arming.

Now I woulde not distinguishe these lodgings particu- larly, only I woulde marke out the waies which shoulde not bee occupied of them: then the other spaces, that be- twene the waies shall remayne, which shall be foure, I woulde appointe them generallye ; for all the

Hovve the  
artillerie  
must be pla-  
ced in the  
Campe.

Lodginges  
for the vna-  
rm'd men, &  
the places  
that are ap-  
pointed for  
the impedi-  
mentes of  
the campe.

## The sixt Booke of

saide impedimentes that is one for the herdemens , the other for artificers and crafte men, the thirde for pub-  
liche carriages of victuals, the fourth for the munition  
of armour and weapons. The wayes which I woulde  
should be left without occupying them. shal be the mar-  
ket waye, the heade waye , and more ouer a waye that  
shoulde be called the midwaye, whiche shoulde go from  
North to South, and shoulde passe through the middest  
of the market way, which from the West part, shoule  
serue for the same purpose that the ouerthwart waye  
doth on the East part. And besides this , a waye whiche  
shall go about on the hinder parte , a long the lodgings  
of the Pikes and extraordinarie Veliti , and all these  
wayes shall bee two and twentie yarde and a halfe  
broade. And the Artillerie , I woulde place a long the  
Trenche of the Campe, rounde about the same.

Baptiste. I confesse that I vnderstande not , nor I  
believe that also to saye so, is any shame unto mee , this  
being not my exercise: notwithstanding, this order plea-  
seth mee muche : onely I woulde that you shoule  
declare mee these doubtes: The one , why you make  
the waye , and the spaces about so large. The other,  
that troubleth mee moxe , is these spaces , whiche you  
appointe out for the lodgings , howe they ought to bee  
vsed.

Fabritio. You must note, that I make all the waies  
xxij. yarde and a halfe broade ; to the intente that tho-  
rowe them, maye go a battaile of men in araye, where  
if you remember well, I tolde you howe every bande of  
men, taketh in breadth betwene xvij. and xxij. yarde  
of space to march or stande in. Nowe where the space  
that is betwene the Trenches , and the lodgings , is  
lxvj. yarde broade , the same is moste necessarye, to  
the intent they maye there order the battailes , and the  
artillerie, both to conduce by the same the prayes, and  
to haue space to retire them selues with new trenches,

and

and newe fortification if nede were: The lodgings also, stande better so farre from the ditches, being the more out of daunger of fires, and other thinges, which the enemie, might thowre to hurt them. Concerning the second demaunde, my intent is not that euery space of moe marked out, bee couered with a pavilion onely, but to be vsed, as tourneith commodious to such as lodge there, either with moe or with lesse Tentes, so y they go not out of the boundes of the same. And soz to marke out these lodgings, there oughte to bee moste conning men, and most excellent Architectours, whom, so sone as the Capitayne hath chosen the place, may know how to gine it the fashion, & to distribut it, distinguishing the waies, deuiding the lodgings with Coardes and staves, in suche practised wise, that straight way, they may be ordayned, and deuided: and to minde that there grow no confusion, it is conuenient to tourne the Campe, alwaies one waye, to the intent that euerye man maye knowe in what waye, in what space he hath to finde his lodging: and this oughte to bee obserued in every time, in euerye place, & after such maner, that it seeme a moruning Citie, the which where so ever it goeth, carrieth with it the verye same waies, the verye same habitacions, and the very same aspectes, that it had at the first: The which thing they cannot obserue, whome seeking strong situacions, must chaunge forme, according to the variacion of the grounde: but the Romaynes in the playne, made strong the place where they incamped with trenches, and with Rampus, because they made a space about the campe, and before the same a ditche, ordinarye broad fourte yarde and a halfe, and deepe about two yarde and a quater, the whiche spaces, they increased, according as they intended to tarye in a place, and according as they feared the enemie. I for my parte at this presente, woulde not make the listes, if I intende not to Winter in a place; yet I woulde make

The campe  
ought to be  
alwaies of  
one fashion.

the

## The sixt Booke of

the Trenche and the bancke no lesse, then the soresayd, but greater, according to necessitie. Also, considering the artillerie, I woulde intrenche vpon every corner of the Campe, a halfe circle of grounde, from whence the artillerie might flancke, whome so euer shoulde s̄eke to come ouer the Trenche. In this practise in knowing howe to ordayne a campe, the Souldours ought also to be exercised, and to make with them the officers expert, that are appointed to marke it out, and the Souldours readye to knowe their places: nor nothing therin is difficulte, as in the place therof shall be declared: wherfore I will go soverwarde at this time to the warde of the campe, because without distribution of the watche, all the other pain that hath b̄ene taken, shoulde be vaine.

Baptiste. Before you passe to the watche, I desire that you woulde declare vnto me, when one woulde pitche his campe neare the enemie, what waye is vsed: for that I knowe not, howe a man maye haue tyme to be able to ordayne it without perill.

Fabritio. You shall understande this, that no Capitayne will lye neare the enemie, except hee, that is disposed to fighte the fielde, when so euer his aduersarie will: and when a capitaine is so disposed, there is no perill, but ordinary: for that the two partes of the armye, stand alwayes in a readinesse, to fighte the battaile, and the other maketh the lodginges. The Romaines in this case, gaue this order of fortifying the campe, vnto the Triarij: and the Prencipi, & the Astati, stode in armes. This they did, for as much as the Triarij, being the last to fight, might haue tyme ynough, if the enemie came, to leaue the wōrke, and to take their weapons, and to get them into their places. Thereforē, according vnto the Romaynes maner, you oughte to cause the Campe to be made of those battailes, whiche you will set in the hinder parte of the armye, in the place of the Triarij. But let vs tourne to reason of the watche.

I thinke I haue not founde, amongst the antiquitie, that for to warde the campe in the night, they haue kepte watche without the Trenche, distaunte as they vse nowe a daies, whome they call Scoutes: the which I belene they did: thinking that the armie might easely bee deceived, through the difficultie, þ is in seyng them againe, for that they might bee either corrupted, or oppressed of the enemie: So that to trust either in parte, or altogether on them, they iudged it perillous. And therefore, al the strenght of the watche, was with in þ trenche, whiche they did withall diligence keepe, and with moste greate order punished with death, whomesoever obserued not the same order: the which howe it was of them ordained, I will tell you no other wise, leasfe I shoule bee tedious vnto you, being able by your selfe to see it, if as yet you haue not seene it: I shall onely briesly tell that, which shall make for my purpose. I would cause to stand ordinarely euery night, the thirde parte of the armie armed, & of the same, the fowerth parte alwaies on foote, whome I wold make to bee destributed, through-  
out all the banckes, & throughout all the places of the armie, with double warde, placed in every quadrant of the same: Of which, parte should stande still, part continually should goo from the one corner of the Campe, to the other: and this order, I wold obserue also in the daie, when I shoule haue the enemie nere.

Concerning the geuing of the watche warde, and remyng the same every euening, and to do the other thinges, which in like watches is vsed, because they are thinges well inough knowen, I will speake no further of them: onely I shall remember one thing, for that it is of greate importance, and which causeth great sauagearde obseruing it, and not obseruing it, much harme: The which is, that there bee obserued greate diligence, to knowe at night, who lodgeth not in the Campe, and whō commesh a newe; and this is Diligence ought to be vied, to knowe vvhoo lieth oute of the Campe.

an

the antiquitie vsed no  
Scoutes.

## The sixt Booke of

and vwho  
they be that  
cōmeth of  
nevve.

Claudius  
Nero.

The iustice  
that ought  
to be in a  
campe.

The faultes  
that the an-  
tiquitie pu-  
nished vwith  
death.

an easie thing to see who lodgeth, with the same order  
that we haue appointed: for as much as every lodging  
hauing the determined number of menne, it is an ea-  
sie matter to see, if thei lacke, or if there be more men:  
and when they come to be absente without licence, to  
punishe them as Fugetines, and if there be more, to  
vnderstande what they be, what they make there, and  
of their other condicions. This diligence maketh that þ  
enemie cānot but with difficultie, practise with thy capi-  
taines, and haue knowledge of thy counsayles: Which  
thing is of þ Romaines, had not been diligētly obserued,  
Claudius Nero could not, hauing Aniball nere him, de-  
parted from his Campe, which he had in Lucania, and  
to go and to retourne from Marca, without Aniball  
Shoulde haue firſte hearde thereof ſome thing. But it  
ſuffiſeth not to make theſe orders god, excepte they bee  
cauſed to bee obſerued, with a greate ſeuoritie: for þ  
there is nothing that would haue moze obſeruation, the  
is requiſit in an armie: therefore the lawes for þ main-  
tenaunce of the ſame, ought to be ſharpe & harde, and þ  
executour thereof moſte harde. The Romaines pu-  
niſhed with death him that lacked in the watch, he that  
forſooke the place that was giuen him to fighte, he that  
caried any thing, hidde out of the Campe, if any manne  
ſhould ſaie, that he had done ſome worthy thing in the  
fight, and had not done it, if any had fought without the  
cōmaundement of the Capitaine, if any had for ſeare,  
caſte awaie his weapons: and when it happened, that  
a Cohorte, or a whole Legion, had cōmiſſed like fault,  
because they would not put to death all, they yet tooke  
all their names, and did put them in a bagge, and then  
by lotte, they drue out the tenth parte, and ſo thoſe  
were put to death: the whiche punishmente, was in  
ſuche wiſe made, that though every man did not ſeele  
it, every man notwithstanding ſeaered it: and because  
where bee greate punishmentes, there ought to be al-

so rewardes, mindyng to haue menne at one instant, to feare and to hope, they had apointed rewardes to every worthie acte, as he that fighting, saued the life of one of his Citezins, to him that first leapt upon the walle of the enemies Towne, to him that entered firste into the Campe of the enemies, to him that had in fighting herte, or slaine the enemie, he that had stroken him frō his horse: and so euerie vertuous acte, was of the Counsailes knownen and rewarded, and openly of euerye man praised, and suche as obtained giftes, for anie of these thinges, besides the glorie and fame, whiche they got amongst the souldiours, after when they returned into their countrey, with solemne pompe, and with greate demonstration among their fredes & kinssfolkes, they shewed them. Therefoze it was now maruaile though the same people gotte so muche dominiō, having so muche obseruation in punishmente, and rewarde towardes them, whome either for their wel doing, or for their ill doing, shoulde deserue either praise or blame:

¶ Of whiche thinges it were conueniente to obserue the greater parte. ¶ For I thinke not god to kepe secrete, one manner of punishmente of them obserued, whiche was, that so sone as the offendour, was before the Tribune, or Counsaile convicted, he was of the same lightly stroken with a rodde: after the whiche striking, it was lawfull for the offendour to flie, and to al the Souldiours to kill him: so that straigchte waie, euerye man threwe at him either stones, or dardes, or with other weapons, strokē him in suche wise, that he wente but little waye a liue, and mosse fewe escaped, and to those that so escaped, it was not lawfull for them to retourne home, but with so many incommodities, & suche greate shame and ignomie, that it shoulde haue bee much better for him to haue died. This maner is scene to be almoste obserued of the Suizzers, who make hym condēned to be put to death openly of thoþher souldiours, & which

VVhere  
greate pa-  
nishmentes  
be, there  
ought like-  
wise to be  
greate re-  
wardes.

It vvas no  
maruel that  
the romains  
became mi-  
ghtie Puri-  
ties.

The first Booke of

A meane to  
punish and  
execute iu-  
stice, vyn-  
out raising  
tumultes.  
is well considered, and excellently done: for that inten-  
ding , that one bee not a defendour of an euill doer,  
the greatest remede that is founde , is to make him  
punisher of the same: because otherwise, with other re-  
specte hee fauoureth him : where when he himselfe is  
made executioner, with other desire, he desireth his pu-  
nishment, then when the execution commeth to an o-  
ther. Therefore minding, not to haue one fauoured in  
his faulfe of the people , a great remedie it is, to make

**Manlius Capitolineus** that the people may have him to judge. For the greater  
pitifulness. **prose of this**, the insample of **Manlius Capitolineus**

was desynded of the people , so long as they were not  
iudge, but becoming arbitratours in his cause,they co-  
demned him to death. This is then a waye to punishe,  
without raysing tumultes , and to make iustice to be  
keepte:and soz as much as to b ridel armed men,neither  
the feare of the lawes, nor of men suffise not , the anti-  
quitie loyned therunto the autoritie of God:and ther-  
foze with most great Ceremonies,they made their soul-  
diours to swear, to kepe the discipline of warre, so that  
doing contrarie wise , they shoulde not onely haue to  
feare the Lawes, and men, but God : and they vsed all  
diligence, to fill them with Religion.

Baptiste. Dyd the Romaynes permit, that women  
mghte bee in their armes, or that there mghte be vsed  
these ydle playes, which they vse nowe a daies?

Fabritio. They prohibited the one and the other, and this prohibition was not muche difficulte: for that there were so many exercises, in the whiche they keept ferred by them evrye daye the Houldiours, some whiles particularly antiquite, to somewhiles generally occupied, that they had no time be in their to thinke, either on Tenuis, or on playes, nor on anye other thinge, whiche sedicious & unmestable Houldiours.

Baptist. I am herein satisfied, but tell me, when the  
armie

armie had to remoue, what order kept they  
 Fabritio: The chiese Trumpet sounded thrie times,  
 at the first sounde, they tooke vp the Tentes, and made  
 the packes, at the seconde, they laded the carriage, at the  
 thirde, they remoued in the same maner aforesayde,  
 with the impedimentes after every part of armed men,  
 placing the Legions in the middeste: and therfore you  
 ought to cause after the same sorte, an extraordinarie  
 mayne battaile to remoue: and after that, the particu-  
 lar impedimentes thereof, and with those, the fourth part  
 of the publicke impedimentes, which shoulde be all those  
 that were lodged in one of those partes, which a little a-  
 bove we declared: and therfore it is conuenient, to haue  
 every one of them, appointed to a maine battaile, so  
 the entente that the armie remouing, every one might  
 knowe his place in marching: and thus euerye maine  
 battaile ought to go away, with their owne impedi-  
 mentes, and with the fourth part of the publicke impe-  
 dimentes, following after in such maner maner, as wee  
 shewed that the Romaines marched.

Baptiste: In pitching the Campe, had they other re-  
 spectes, then those you haue tolde?

Fabritio: I tell you again, that the Romaines when  
 they incamped, woulde be able to keepe the accustomed  
 fashion of their maner, the whiche to obserue, they had  
 no other respecte: but concerning soz other considera-  
 tions, they had two principall, the one, to incampe  
 them selues in a wholesome place: the other, to place  
 them selues, where the enemie could not besiege them  
 nor take from them the waye to the water, or virtuales.  
 Then soz to auoyde infirmitie, they dyd fly from places  
 Fennie, or subiecte to hurtefull windes: whiche  
 they knewe not so well, by the qualitie of the situation,  
 as by the face of the inhabitours: for when they sawe  
 them euill coloured, or swollen, or full of other infec-  
 tion, they woulde not lodge there: concerning the other

Order in the  
 remouing  
 the armie by  
 the soundes  
 of a trumpet

Respects to  
 be had for in  
 camping.

How to cho-  
 se a place to  
 incampe.

# The sixt Booke of

respecte to prouide not to bee besieged, it is requisite to consider the nature of the place, where the friendes lye, and where the enemis, and of this to make a cōiecture, if thou maist bee besieged or no: and therefore it is meete, that the Capitaine be moste experte, in the knowledge of situations of countries, and haue aboue him diuers men, that haue the very same expertenes.

Hovv to auoide diseas-  
ses from the  
armie.

They auoide also diseases, and famishment, with causing the armie to keepe no misrule, for that to purpose to main-taine it in health, it is needefull to prouide, that þe soldiours may sleepe vnder tētes, that they may lodge where be Treess, that make shadowe, where woodde is soz to dresse their meate, that they go not in þe heate, and ther-fore they must be drawen out of the Campe, before daies in Summer, and in Winter, to take hēde, that they marche not in the Snoewe, and in the Frost, withouts having cōmoditie to make fire, and not to lack necessarie apparel, noz to dring noughtie water: those that fall sick by chaunce, make them to bee cured of þisilitiōs: be-cause a Capitain hath no remedie, when he hath to fight with sicknes, and with an enemie: but nothing is so profitable, to maintaine the armie in health, as is the exercise: and therefore the antiquitie euerie daye made them to exercise: whereby is seene howe much exercise auailith: for that in the Campe, it kēepeth thee in health, and in the fight victorius. Concerning famishmente, it is necessary to see, that the enemie hinder thee not of thy virtualles; but to prouide where thou mayste haue it, and to see that the same whiche thou haste, be not losse: and therefore it is requisite, that thou haue al-ways in prouision with the armie, sufficiente virtuall for a monethe; and then remouing into some strong place, thou must take order with thy nexte friendes, that daily they maye prouide for thee, and aboue all thinges bestowe the virtuall with diligence, geuing every daye to euery manne, a reasonable measure, and obserue after

The vwon-  
derfull com-  
moditie of  
exercise.

The prouis-  
ion of vi-  
tuallles that  
oughte al-  
ways to be

after suche sorte this pointe, that it disorder thee not: because all other thing in the warre , maye with time bee overcome, this onely with time ouercomieth thee: nor there shall never any enemie of thine, who maye ouercome thee with famisement, y will seke to ouercomē thee with yron. For that though the victory be not so honourable, yet it is more sure and more certayne: Then, the same armye cannot auoide famisement, that is not an obseruer of iustice , whiche licenciouslye consumeth what it list: because the one disorder , maketh that the victualls commeth not vnto you, the other, that such victuall as commeth, is vnprofitably consumed: therefore the antiquitie ordained, that they shoulde spēde the same, whiche they gaue , and in the same time when they appointed: for that no Souldiour did eate , but when the Capitayne did eate: The which howe muche it is obserued of the armies nowe a dayes, euery man knoweth and worthylye they can not bee called men of god order and sober, as the antiquitie, but lasciuious & drunkardes.

Baptiste. You sayde in the beginning of ordering the Campe , that you woulde not stande onelye vpon two mayne battailes , but woulde take foure, for to shewe howe a iuste armye incamped: therfore I would you shoulde tell me two things, the one, when I shoulde haue more or lesse men, how I ought to incampe them, the other , what nomber of Souldiours shoulde suffice you to fighte agaistre what so euer enemye that were.

Fabritio. To the first question I answeare you, that if the armye bee more or lesse , then foure or five thousande Souldiours, the orders of lodginges , maye bee taken awaye or ioyned, so manye as suffiseth: and with this waye a man may go in more, and in lesse , into infinite : Notwithstanding the Romaynes , when they ioyned together two consull armies , they made two campes , and they tourned the partes of the vnarm'd

Hovv to lod-  
ge in the cap-  
more or let-  
se men, then  
the ordinary

## The sext Booke of

med, the one againſte the other. Concerning the ſecond queſtien, I ſay unto you, that the Romaines ordinary armie, was about xxxv. M. ſouldiours: but when they were driven to fight againſte the greateſt power þ might be, the moſt that they put together, were. i. M. With this number, they did ſet againſte two hundred thouſand frenchemen, whome assaulted them after the firſt warre, that they had with the Carthageneris. With this verye ſame number, they foughte againſte Annibal. And you muſt note, that the Romaines, and the Grekes, haue made warre with ſewe, fortifying them ſelues through order, and through arte: the West, and the eaſt, haue made it with multitude: But the one of theſe nations, doth ſerue with naturall furie, as do the men of the West partes, the other through the greate obedience which thofe men haue to their king. But in Grece, and in Italy, being no naturall fury, nor the naturall reuerence towardes their king; it hath bene neceſſary for them to leарne the discipline of warre, þ which is of ſo muſe force, that it hath made that a fewe, haſte bene able to ouercome the furie, and the naturall obſinatenesse of manie. Therefore I ſaye, that min-  
made of, to  
be able to  
fighte wvit  
the puifan-  
reſte enemie  
that is.

The nūber  
of men that  
an armye  
ought to be  
made of, to  
be able to  
fighte wvit  
the puifan-  
reſte enemie  
that is.

is of ſo muſe force, that it hath made that a fewe, haſte bene able to ouercome the furie, and the naturall obſinatenesse of manie. Therefore I ſaye, that min-  
ding to imitate the Romaines, and the Grekes, the nūber of i. M. ſouldiours, ought not to be paſſed, but rather to take leſſe: because manie make conuulfion, nor ſuffer not the discipline to be obſcured, and the orders learned, and Pirrus uſed to ſay, that with xv. thouſande men he woulde aſſaile the worlde: but let vs paſſe to an other parte. We haue made this oure armie to wiſe a field and ſhewed the tranailes, that in the ſame fight may happen: we haue it made to march, & declared of what impedimentes in marching it maye be diſturbed: and finally we haue lodged it: where not onely it ought to take a littell reſte of the labours paſſed, but also to thineſt howe the warre ought to be ended: for that in the lodgings, is handeled many thinges, incſpecially

Pircus.

thy

thy enemies as yet remayning in the field, and in suspected Townes, of whome it is god to be assured, and those that be enemies to ouercome them: therefore it is necessarie to come to this demonstration, and to passe this difficultie with the same glorie, as hitherto we haue warred.

Therefore comming to particular matters, Hovve to I saye that if it shold happen, that thou wouldest haue cause me to many men, or many people to doe a thing, which were do such a to thee profitable, and to them greate herte, as shoulde thig as shold be to breake downe the wall of their citie, or to sende be profit- into exile many of them, it is necessarie for thee, either & hurtfull, to beguile them in luche wise that every one beleue not to them self- that it toucheth him: so that succouring not the one the ues,

other they maye finde them selues all to be oppresed without remedie, or ells vnto all to commaunde the same, which they oughte to doe in one selfe daye, to the intente that every man beleuing to be alone, to whome

the commaundemente is made, maye thinke to obeye and not to remedie it: and so withoute tumulte thy com- Hovve to o- maundement to be of euery man executed. If thou uercome me

shouldeste suspecte the fidelite of anie people, & woulde at vnwares.

assure thee, and ouercome them at vnwares, for to colour thy intente more easelye, thou canste not do better, then to counsell with them of some purpose of thine, desiring their aide, and to seeme to intend to make an other enterprise, and to haue thy minde farre from thinking on them: the which will make, that they shall not thinke on their owne defence, beleuing not that thou purposest to herte them, and they shall gene thee commoditie, to be able easely to satisfie thy desire.

When thou shouldest perceiue, that there were in thine armie some, that vsed to aduertise thy enemie of thy ings of such deuises, thou canste not doe better, minding to take as yse to ad- commoditie by their traicerous mindes, then to com- enemie of men with them of those thinges, that thou wilt not doe, thy proce- and those that thou wilte doe, to kepe secrete, and to saye dinges.

to

## The sixt Booke of

to double of thinges, that thou doubtest not, and those of  
Whiche thou doubtest, to hide: the whiche shall make the  
enemie to take some enterprise in hande, belieuing to  
knowe thy deuises, whereby easly thou mayest be-  
guile and oppresse him. If thou shouldest intende (as  
Hovv to or- der the cape Claudius Nero did) to deminishe thy armie, sending  
that the enc mbe shal not perceiue be aware therof, it is necessarye not to deminish the lod-  
ginges, but to maintaine the signes, & the orders whole,  
whether the same be de- making the very same fires, and the verye same wards  
minished, or throughout all the campe, as were wont to bee afore.  
increased.

Likewise if with thy armie there shoulde ioyne newe  
men, and wouldest that the enemie shold not knowe  
that thou werit ingrossed, it is necessary not to increase  
the lodginges: Because keeping secrete doinges and de-

A saying of Metellus. uises, hath alwaies beeene most profitable. Wherefore  
Metellus being with an armie in Hispanie, to one,

who asked him what he woulde doe the next daye, aun-  
swered, that if his sherte knew therof, he would bourne  
it. Marcus Crassus, vnto one, whome asked him, when  
the armie shold remoue, sayde belieuest thou to be a-  
lone not to here the trumpet? If thou shouldest desire to

Hovv to vi- der stade the secretes of thy enemye. understante the secrete of thy enemie, and to know his  
orders, some haue vsed to sende ambassadours, and with  
them in seruaentes apparel, molte expertest men in  
warre: whom having taken occasion to see the enemies  
armie, and to consider his strength and weakenesse, it  
hath geuen them opportunitie to ouercome him. Some  
haue sent into exile one of their familiars, & by meanes  
of the same, hath knownen the deuises of his aduersa-  
rye. Also like secrete are vnderstoode of the enemis

A policie of Marius, to understande hovv he mi-  
ght trust the Frenchmen. When for this effecte there were taken any prisoners.  
Marius whiche in the warre that hee made with the  
Cimbrie, for to knowe the sayeth of those Frenchmen,  
who then inhabited Lombardie, and were in leage  
Frenchmen. With the Romaine people, sent them letters open, and  
sealed

sealed: and in the open he wrote, that they shoulde not o-  
pen the sealed, but at a certaine time, and before the  
same time demaunding them againe, and finding them  
opened, knewe thereby that theyr faithe was not to be  
trusted. Some Captaines, being inuaded, haue not de-  
sired to goo to meeete the enemie, but haue gone to assaulte  
his countrey, and constrained him to returne to defende  
his owne home: The whiche many times hath come  
well to passe, for that those souldiours beginning to fill  
them selues with booties, and confidence to ouercome,  
shal sone make the enemies souldiours to ware afraide,  
When they supposing them selues conquerours, shall  
understande to become losers: So that to him that  
hath made this diversion, manye times it hath proued  
well. But onely it may be done by him, which hath his  
countrey stronger then that of the enemyes, because  
When it were other wise, he shoulde goo to leese. It hath to make the  
bene often a profitable thing to a Capitayne, that hath  
bene besieged in his lodginges by the enemye, to moue  
an intreatie of agremente, and to make truse with  
him for certayne dayes: the whiche is wonte to make  
the enemies more negligente in all doinges: so that a-  
uying theire of their negligence, thou mayst easely haue  
occacion to gette theire out of theyr handes. But this  
waye Silla deliuered him selfe twise from the enemies. Silla.  
and with the verie same deceipte, Asdruball in His-  
paine gotte oute of the force of Claudius Nero, who Asdrubal  
had besieged him. It helpeth also to deliuer a man  
oute of the daunger of the enemie, to do some thing be-  
side the soresayde, that maye keepe him at a baye: this is  
done in two maners, either to assaulte him with parte  
of thy power, so that he being attentive to the same  
fights, maye geue commoditie to the rest of thy men to  
bee able to sauе them selues, or to cause to rise some  
newe accidente, which for the straungenesse of the thing,  
maye make him to maruell, and for this occasion to

VVhat som  
Capitaines  
haue done  
vwhen their  
coutrie hath  
bene inua-  
ded of ene-  
mies.

# The sixt Booke of

The policie of Aniball stande doublefull, and still: as you knowe howe Anniball dyd, whō being inclosed of Fabius Maximus, escaped out of the dan- ger of Fabi- us Maximus A capitaine must devise hovv to de- uide the for- ce of his e- mies. stande doublefull, and still: as you knowe howe Anniball dyd, whō being inclosed of Fabius Maximus, escaped out of the dan- ger of Fabi- us Maximus A capitaine must devise hovv to de- uide the for- ce of his e- mies.

his menne, and thereby to become moze weake. The

Hovve to cause the e- nemie to haue in suspect his most tru- sty men. The firſte waye is dcone with keeping ſafe the thinges of ſome of those whiche he hathe aboue him, as to ſauie in the warre theyz menne and theyz poſſeſſions, ren- dering them theyz childdren, or other theyz neceſſaries withoute rauſome. You knowe that Anniball ha- uing burned all the fieldes aboue Rome, he made onely to bee reſerued ſafe thoſe of Fabius Maximus.

Anibal.

Coriolanus.

Metellus a- gainſte Ju- gurte.

You knowe howe Coriolanus comming with an ar- mie to Rome, preſerued the poſſeſſions of the nobi- litie, and thoſe of the comminaltie he burned, and ſac- ked. Metellus hauing an armye againſte Jugurte, all the oratours, whiche of Jugurte were ſente him, were required of him, that they woulde geue him Ju- gurte prisoner, and after to the very ſame men writing letters of the verie ſame matter, wrought in ſuch wife,

A practife of that in ſhorte time Jugurte hauing in ſuſpete all his counſellours, in diuers maners put them to death. An- niball being fledde to Antiochus, the Romaine oratours to bring A- nibal out of practife with him ſo familiarlye, that Antiochus being credit vwith in ſuſpete of him, trusted not any more after to his counſells. Concerning to deuide the enemis men, there is no moze certainer waie, then to cauſe their cou- try to be assaulted, to the intente that being conſtrai- ned to goo to defende the ſame, they maye forſake the warre. This waye Fabius vſed hauing againſte his armie

armie the power of the Frenchmen, of y<sup>e</sup> Tuscās, Ulm<sup>b</sup>ies and Hannites. Titus Didius having a fewe men in respecte to those of the enemies , and looking for a legion from Rome, and the enemies purposing to go to in- counter it, to the intente that they shoulde not go, cau- sed to be noised through all his armye, that hee intended the nexte daye to fighte the fiedle with the enemies : af- ter hee vsed meanes, that certayne of the prisoners, that he had taken afoore, had occasion to runne awaye. Who

Hovv Titus  
Didius stai-  
ed his ene-  
mies that  
were going  
to incouter  
a legion of  
men that  
were com-  
ming in his  
side.

declaring the order that the Consull had taken to fighte the nexte daye, by reason wherof the enemies being a- frayde to deminish their owne strength, went not to in- counter the same legion , and by this waye they were conducted safe. The which meanes serueth not to de- uide the force of the enemies , but to augmente a mans owne. Some haue vsed to devide the enemies force, by letting him to enter into their countrie, and in p<sup>r</sup>ose haue let him take manye townes, to the intent that put- ting in the same garnisons, he might thereby diminishe his power , and by this waye haing made him weake, haue assaulted and ouercome him. Some other min- dding to go into one prouince , haue made as though they woulde haue inuaded an other , and vsed so muche diligence , that sodainlye entring into the same , where it was not doubted that they woulde enter , they haue firste wonne it : before the enemie coulde haue time to succoure it : for that thy enemie being not sure , whe- ther thou purposest to tourne backe , to the place firste of thee threatened , is constrainyd not to forsake the one place, to succour the other , and so manye tymes he defendeth neither the one nor the other. It importeth Hovv to re- besides the sayde thinges to a Capitayne , if there forme sedi- growe sedition or discorde among the Souldiours , to cion and dis- knowe with arte howe to extinguishe it : The beste corde.

## The sixt Booke of

oppreſſed them, before they bee able to be aware : The Waye is, if they be diſtaunt from thē, not onelye to call the offendērs, but together with them all the other, to the entent that not believēng, that it is for any cause to puniſh them, they become not contumelius, but givē

The benefit  
that the re-  
putation of  
the captain  
cauſeth vbi-  
che is onlye  
gotten by  
vertue.

commoditie to the execution of the punishment : when they bee present, thou oughtest to make thy ſelſe ſtrong with thōſe that bee not in faulte, and by meane of their helpe to puniſh the other. When there happeneth diſ-  
corde among them, the beſte waye is, to bring them to the perill, the feare wherof is wonte alwayes to make them agree. But that, which aboue all other thing kee-  
peth the armie in vnitie, is the reputacion of the Capi-  
tayne, the which onelye groweth of his vertue : because neither blōd, nor auctority gaue it euer without vertue. And the chiefe thing, which of a captayne is looked for to bee done, is, to keepe his ſouldiours puniſhed, and paid:

VVhen pay-  
vvanterh,  
punishment  
is not to bee  
executed.

for that when ſo euer the paye lacketh, it is conuenient that the punishment lacke : because thou canſt not corre-  
cte a ſouldiour, that robbeth, if thou doeft not paye him, nor the ſame minding to live, can not ab-  
ſtayne from robbing : but if thou payest him, and pu-  
niſheth him not, hee becommeth in euerye condi-  
cion iſolente : For that thou becommest of ſmall e-  
ſtimation, where thou chaunſeſt not to bee able to maintayne the dignitie of thy degrē, and not mayntay-  
ning it, there foloweth of neceſſitie tumult, and diſcorde  
which is the ruine of an armie. Olde Capitaynes had a  
trouble, of the whiche the preſente be almoſte free, whi-  
che was to interprete to their purpose the ſinifer au-  
gurieſ : because if there fell a thunderbolte in an ar-  
mie, if the Sunne were darkened or the Moone, if there  
came an earthquake, if the Capitayne either in getting  
vp, or in lighting of his horſe fell, it was of þ ſouldiours  
interpreteſ ſiniferouslie : And it ingendred in them ſo  
much ſearc, that comiing to fight the fielde, eaſily they

The incon-  
uenience of  
not pu-  
nishing.

should

Shoulde haue loste it : and therefore the auncient Capis Cesar chaū-  
taynes so sone as a like accidente grewe , either they cing to fall,  
She wed the cause of the same , and reduced it to a natu- made thela-  
rall cause, or they interpreted it to their purpose. Cesar me to bee  
falling in Africa,in coming of the Sea,sayde , Africa I supposed to  
haue taken thee. Moreouer manye haue declared the signifi good  
cause of the obscuring of the Moone, and of earthquakes: lucke.

Religion taketh avvaine  
whiche thing in our time cannot happen , as well be- fantasticall  
cause our men be not so superstitious, as also for that our opinions.  
Religion taketh away altogether suche opinions: all be  
it when they shoulde chaunce, the orders of the antiqui-  
tie oughte to be imitated. When either famishement

In vwhat ca-  
ses a Capi-  
taine ought  
not to fight  
vwith his e-  
nemie if hee  
maie other-  
wile choose

or other naturall necessitie , or humaine passion , hath broughte thy enemie to an utter desperation, and he drisuen of the same, commeth to fighte with thee, thou ough-  
test to stande within thy campe , and as muche as lieth  
in thy power , to fye the fighte. So the Lacedemo-  
nians did agaist the Masonians , so Cesar dyd a-  
gainst Afranio , and Petrio. Fuluius being Consul,  
agaist the Cimbrians , made his horsemen manye  
dayes continually to assaulte the enemies, and consid-  
red howe they issued oute of their campe for to followe  
them: wherfore he set an ambussh behinde the Campe  
of the Cimbrians , and made them to bee assaulted of his  
horsemen , and the Cimbrians issuing oute of the ir  
campe for to followe them. Fuluto gotte it , and sac-  
ked it. It hath bene of great utilitie to a Capitayne,  
hauing his army neare to the enemies armie , to sende  
his men with the enemies ansignes to robbe , and to  
burne his owne countrey, wherby þ enemie belieuing  
those to be menne , whiche are come in theyr ayde,  
haue also runne to helpe to make them the praye : and  
for this disordering them selues , hath thereby givien  
opportunitie to the aduersarye to ouercome them. This  
waye Alexander of Epirus vsed agaist the Illirians  
and Leptenus of Siracusa against the Carthaginers,

A policie of  
Fuluius  
vtherby hee  
got & spci-  
led his ene-  
mies campe

A policie to  
disorder the  
enemie.

## The sixt Booke of

and bothe to the one and to the other, the deuise came to  
passee most happily. Many haue ouercome the enemie,  
giving him occasion to eate and to drincke out of mea-  
sure, sayning to haue feare, and leauing their Campes  
full of wine and herdes of cattell, wherof the enemye  
being filled aboue all naturall vse, haue then assualted  
him, and with his destruction ouerthowen him. So Ta-  
mirus did against Cirus, & Liberius Graccus against  
the Spaniards. Some haue poysoned the wine, & other  
thinges to feede on, soz to be able more easlye to ouer-  
come them. I sayde a little afore howe I founde not, that  
the antiquitie kept in the night Scoutes abroade, and  
supposed that they did it soz to auoyde the hurte, whiche  
might growe therby: because it is founde, that throughe  
no other meane then throughe the watche man, whiche  
was set in the daye to watche the enemie, hath bee  
cause of the ruine of him, that set him there: soz that  
manye times it hath happened, that hee being taken,  
hath bee made perforce to tell them the token, where-  
by they myghte call his fellowes, who comming to the  
foken, haue bee slayne or taken. It helpeth to beguile  
the enemie sometime to vary a custome of thine, wher-  
upon hee hauing grounded him selfe, remayneth ri-  
nated: as a Capitayne did once, whome vsing to cause  
to bee made signes to his men for comming of the ene-  
mies in the night with fire, and in the daye with smoke,  
commaunded that withoute anye intermission, they  
shoulde make smoke and fire, and after comming  
vpon them the enemie, they shoulde rest, whome  
belieuing to come without being seene, perceyuing  
no signe to be made of being discouered, caused (throughe  
going disordered) moze easlye the victorye to his ad-  
uersarye. Mennonus a Rodian minding to drawe  
from strong places the enemies armie, sente one un-  
der coloure of a fugitiue, the whiche affirmed, howe  
his armie was in disorde, and that the greater parte  
of

A policie.

Hovv to be-  
guile the e-  
nemie.

Hovv Men-  
nonus tra-  
ined his ene-  
mies out of  
strong pla-  
ces to bee  
the better a-  
ble to ouer-  
come them.

of them wente awaye: and so to make the thing to be  
credited, he caused to make in spost, certaine tumultes  
among the lodginges : whereby the enemie thinking  
thereby to be able to discomfite them, assaulting them,  
were ouerthowen.

Besides the sayde thinges, regarde oughte to be had  
not to bring the enemie into extreme desperacion: wher-  
unto Cesar had regarde , fighting with the Duche-  
men, who opened them the waye, seing, howe they  
being not able to flie, necessitie made them strong, and  
would rather take paine to follow them, when they fled,  
then the perrill to overcome them , when they defended  
them selues.

Lucullus seing how certayne Macedonian horsemen,  
whiche were with him , wente to the enemies parte,  
straight waye made to sounde to battaille, and cōmaun-  
ded, that the other men shold folowe him: whereby the  
enemies belenng that Lucullus would begin the fight,  
went to encounter the same Macedonians, with such vi-  
olence, that they were constrained to defed them selues:  
and so they became againste their willes, of fugitives,  
fighters. It importeth also to know , how to be assured  
of a towne, when thou doubtest of the fidelitie thereof, so  
sone as thou hast wonne the fielde, or before, thz which  
certayne old insamples may teach thee.

Pompei doubting of the Catennians, prayed them  
that they woulde bee contente, to receiu certaine sicke  
menne , that he had in his armys , and sending vnder  
the habite of sicke persones, moske lustye men, gotte  
the towne. Publius Valerius, fearing the fidelitie of  
the Epidannians , caused to come , as who sayeth, a  
Pardon to a churche without the towne , and when all  
the people were gone for Pardon , he shutte the gates,  
receiuing after none in, but those whome he trusted.  
Alexander Magnus, minding to goo into Asia , and to  
assure him selfe of Thracia, tooke with him all the prin-  
cipall

The enemie  
oughte not  
to be brou-  
ght into ex-  
treme despe-  
racion.

Hovv Lucul-  
lus constrain-  
ned certayne  
men that rā  
avay from  
him to his e-  
nemis, to  
fighte vvh-  
er they  
wold or not

A polecie  
vwhereby pō  
pey gotte a  
toune.  
Hovv publi-  
us valerius  
assured him  
selfe of a  
toune.

A polecie  
that Alexan-  
der Magnus  
vised to be as-  
sured of all

## The sixt Booke of

Tracia, vvhich  
che Philip  
King of  
Spaine did  
practise to  
be a sured of  
England  
when hee  
vwent to S.  
Quintens.  
Exāples for  
Captains to  
vvinne the  
hartes of  
the people.

el pall of the same Prouince, giving them prouision, and he set ouer the common people of Thracia, men of lowe degree: and so he made the Princes contented with paying them, and the people quiete, hauing no heades that shoulde disquiete them: But among all the thinges with the which the Captaines, winne the hartes of the people, be the ensamples of chastitie & justice, as was the same of Scipio in Spaine, when he rendered that yong womā moste faire of personage, to her father, and to her husbande: the which made him more, then with force of armes to winne Spaine.

Cesar having caused that wood to bee paied for, which he had occupied for to make y Lilles, about his armie in fraunce, got so much a name of iustice, y he made easier the conquest of the same prouince. I cannot tell what remaineth me, to speake more vpō these accidentes, for y concerning this matter, there is not left any part, y hath not bene of vs disputed. Onely there lacketh to tel, of the maner of winning, & defending a towne, the which I am readie to do willingly, if you be not now wearie.

Baptiste. Your humanitie is so much, that it maketh vs to followe oure desires, withoute being afraide to be reputed presumptuous, seing that you liberally offer the same, which we shoulde haue bene ashamed, to haue asked you: Thereforo, we saye vnto you onely this, that to vs you cannot do a greater, nor a more gratesfuller benefite, then to finishe this reasoning. But before that you passe to that other matter, declare vs a doubt, whether it bee better to contynewe the warre, as well in the Wintre, as they vse nowe adates, or to make it onely in the Sommer, and to goo home in the Winter, as the antiquitie did.

Fabritio. See, that is the prudence of the demaundere were not, there had remained behind a special part, that deserueth consideracion. I answers you againe, that the antiquitie did all thinges better, and with moze

more prudence then w<sup>e</sup>e: and if w<sup>e</sup>e in other things com-  
mit some errore, in the affaires of warre, w<sup>e</sup>e commit  
all errorre. There is nothing more vndiscerte, or more VVarre  
perrillous to a Capitayne, then to make warre in the ought not to  
Wlnter, and muche more perrill beareth he, that ma- be made in  
keth it, then he that abideth it: the reason is this. All the vwinter.  
industrie that is vsed in the discipline of warre, is vsed  
for to bee prepared to fighte a fielde with thy enemie, be-  
cause this is the ende, wherunto a Capitayne oughte  
to go or endeavour him selfe: For that the foughтен  
field, geueth tha the warre wonne or losse: then he that  
knoweth best how to order it, and he that hath his army  
beste instructed, hath moste aduaantage in this, and  
maye beste hope to ouercome. One the other side, there  
is nothing more enemie to the orders, & then the rough  
situacions, or the colde watery time: for that the rough  
situacions, suffereth thee not to dessende thy bandes, ac-  
cording to thee discipline: the coulde and watery times,  
suffereth thee not to keepe thy men together, nor thou  
canst not bring them in god order to the enemy: but it is  
conuenient for thee to lodge them a sunder of necessitie,  
and without order, being constrainyd to obeye to Cas-  
tells, to Bozoughes, and to the Villages, that maye re-  
ceyue thee, in maner that all thy laboure of thee, vsed to  
instructe the army is vaine. For maruagle you not  
though now a daies, they warre in the Wlnter, because  
the armes being without discipline, know not the hurt  
that it dooth them, in lodgynge not together, for that it is  
no grieve to them not to be able to keepe those orders, &  
to obserue that discipline, which they haue not: yet they  
oughte to see howe much harme, the Camping in the  
Wlnter hath caused, and to remeber, how the French- An euer-  
men in the yeare of oure Lorde God, a thousande five hundred and thre, were broken at Garilano of the <sup>throvve cau-</sup> sed by vwin-  
Winter, and not of the Spaniardes: For as much as I ter,  
haue saide, he that assaulteth, hath more disaduaantage,

Rough situ-  
acions, colde  
and vvatrie  
times, are e-  
nemis to  
the order of  
vvarre.

## The sixt Booke of

Then he that defendeth: because the fowle weather hur-  
teth him not a littell, being in the dominion of others &  
minding to make warre. For that he is constrainyd,  
either to stande together with his men, and to sustaine  
the incommoditie of water and colde , or to avoide it to  
deuide his power: But he that defendeth, may chuse the  
place as he listeth, and tary him with his freshe me; and  
he in a sodayne may set his men in araye, and go to find  
a band of the enemies men, who cannot resiste the vio-  
lence of them. So the Frenchemen were discomfited,  
and so they shall alwayes be discomfited, which will as-  
saulte in the Winter an enemye, who bath in him pru-  
dence. Then he that will that force, that orders, that  
discipline and vertue, in anye condition anaile him not,  
let him make warre in the field in the winter: and be-  
cause that the Romaines woulde that all these thinges,  
in which they bestowed so much diligence, should anaile  
them, flædde no otherwise the Winter, then the highe  
Alpes, and difficulte places, and whatsoeuer other thing

Shoulde let them, for being able to shewe their arte  
and their vertue. So this suffiseth to your de-  
maund, wherefore we wil come to intreate  
of the defeding and besieging of townes,  
and of their situacions and  
edifications.

The



# The seuenth Booke of the Arte

of warre, of Nicholas Machiauel, Citezen and Secretarie of Florence, vnto Laurence

Philip Strozze.



O V oughte to knowe hovv that townes  
and fortresses, maye bee strong either  
by nature, or by industrie : by nature,  
those be strong, which bee compassed aboute  
with ryners, or with fennes, as  
Mantua is and Ferrara, or whiche bee  
builded vpon a Rocke, or vpon a steepe hille, as Monaco, and Hanleo: For that those that stande vppon hillles, that bee not muche difficult to go vp, bee nowe a dayes  
considering the artillerie and the Caues, most weake. And therefore most often times in buylding, they seeke  
nowe a dayes a playne, for to make it strong with industrie.

The firste industrie is, to make the walles crooked, and full of tourninges, and of receiptes : the whiche thing maketh, that the enemie cannot come neare to it, because he maye bee hurte, not onely on the front, but by flancke. If the walles bee made high, they bee to muche subiecte to the blowes of the artillerie : if they bee made lowe, they bee moste easie to scale. If thou makeste the ditches on the out side thereof, for to give difficultie to the Ladders , if it happen that the enemie fill them vp ( whiche a great armie may easly doe) the wall remayneth taken of the enemie. Therefore purposing to prouide to the one and the other foresayd inconueniences , I beleue ( sauing alwayes better iudgement) that the wall oughte to bee made high , and the Ditch within , and not without.

Tovvnes &  
fortresles  
mai be strg  
tvo vvaies.

The place  
that novve a  
daies is most  
soughte to  
fortifie in.

Hovv a tow  
ne vvall ou  
ghte to bee  
made.

The wwall of  
a tovvne ou  
ght to be  
high, & tho  
ditche vwith  
in, & not  
vwithout.

# The seventh Booke of

This is the moste strongest waye of edification, that  
is made , for that it defendeth thee from the artillerye,

The thickenes that a  
toun vvalle  
ought to be  
of, & the dif-  
thicke, then two yardes and a quarter , for to make it  
raunces be-  
more difficulte to ruinate. Moreouer it oughte to haue  
twayne eue-  
ry flanker, &  
of vwhat  
breadthe &  
deapthe the  
ditch oughte  
to be.

the toures placed, with distaunces of hundred and fiftye  
yardes betwene the one and the other : the ditche with  
in, ought to bee at least two and twentie yardes and a  
halfe broad, and nine depe, and all the earth that is dig-  
ged out, for to make the ditche , muste bee thowen to-  
wardes the Citie, and keepte vp of a wall, that must bee  
raised from the bottom of the ditche, and go so high ouer  
the towne, y a man may bee couered behinde the same,  
the whiche thing shall make the deapthe of the ditche the  
greater. In the bottome of the ditche, within every hun-  
dred and fiftie yardes, there would bee a slaughter house,  
which with the ordinaunce , maye hurte whome so ever  
shoulde go downe into the same : the great artillerie  
that defendeth the Citie , are planted behinde the wall,  
that shutteth the ditche, because for to defende the vtter  
wall, being high , there cannot bee occupied commodi-  
ously, other then small or meane pæses. If the enemie  
come to scale , the heighth of the firste wall most easlye  
defendeth the: if he come with ordinaunce, it is conue-  
nient for him to batter the vtter wall : but it being bat-  
tered, for that the nature of the battery is , to make the  
wall to fall , towardes the parte battered , the ruine  
of the wall commeth , finding no ditche that receyveth  
and hideth it , to redouble the profunditie of the same  
ditche : after suche sorte, that to passe anye further , it is  
not possible , finding a ruine that with holdeth the: , a  
ditche that letteth the: , and the enemyes ordinaunce,  
that from the wall of the ditche , moste safelye killeth  
the: Onelye there is this remedy, to fill the ditche: the

Hovv the or-  
dinaunce is  
planted, for  
the defence  
of a toun.

the nature  
of the bat-  
tale.

which

which is most difficulte to do, as well because the capasite thereof is great, as also for the difficultie, that is in comming neare it, the wall being strong and concaved, betwene the which, by the reasons aforesaide, with difficultie may be entered, hauing after to go vp a breaче through a ruine, which gineth the most great difficulty, so that I suppose a citie thus builded, to be altogether invincible.

Baptiste. When there shoulde bee made besides the ditche within, a ditche also without, shoulde it not bee stronger.

Fabritio. It shoulde bee without doubt, but min-  
ding to make one ditche onely, mine opinion is, that it standeth better within then without.

Baptiste. Woulde you, that water shoulde bee in the ditches, or woulde you haue them drye?

Fabritio. The opinion of men herein bee diuers, be-  
cause the ditches full of water, saueth thee from mines  
vnder grounde, the Ditches without water, maketh  
more difficulte the filling of them: but I hauing considere  
red all, would make them without water, for that they  
bee more sure: For ditches with water, haue beeene seen  
in the Winter to be frozen, and to make easie the win-  
ning of a citie, as it happened to Mirandola, when Pope  
Julie besieged it: & for to sauie me from mines, I would  
make it so deepe, that he that would digge lower, should  
 finde water. The Fortresses also, I woulde bulde  
concerning the ditches and the walles in like maner, to  
the intente they shoulde haue the like difficultie to bee  
wonne One thing I will earnestly advise him, that de- An aduertis-  
fendeth a citie: and that is, that he make no Walwarke  
Without distante from the wall of the same: and an o- mēt for the  
ther to him that buldeth the Fortresse, and this is, of a Toune  
that bee make not anye refuge place in them, in which or fortresse.  
he that is within, the firſte wall being loste, maye re-  
ſire: That whiche maketh mee to give the firſte coun-  
ſaile,

## The seuenth Booke of

saile is, that no man ought to make any thing, by meane wheroft he maye be driven without remedy to lese his first reputation, the which losynge, causeth to be esteemed lese his other doinges, and maketh afraied them, whom haue taken vpon them his defensē, and alwayes it shall chaunce him this, whiche I saye, when there are made Bulwarkes out of the Towne, that is to bee defended, because alwayes he shall lese them, litle thinges nowe a dayes, being not able to bee defended, when they bee subiecte to the furie of ordinance, in suche wise that lesing them, they bee beginning and cause of his ruine.

When Genua rebelled against king Leus of France, it made certaine Bulwarkes a losse on those hilles, which bee about it, the which so sone as they were lost whiche was sodainly, made also the citie to be lost.

A tovyne of  
ywar or For-  
tresse ought  
not to haue  
in them any  
retiring pla-  
ces.

Cōcerning the seconde counsaile, I affirme nothing to bee to a Fortresse more perilous, then to be in the same refuge places, to be able to retire: Because the hope that men haue therby, maketh þ they lese the vter warde,

when it is assaulted: and that lost, maketh to be lost after, all the Fortresse. For insample there is fresh in remembrance, the losse of the Fortresse of Furlye, when Catherin the Countesse defended it against Cesar Bor-gia, sonne to Pope Alexander the vi. who had conducted thether þ armie of the king of France: þ same Fortresse, was all full of places, to retire out of one into another: for that there was firste the keepe, from the same to the Fortresse, was a ditche after suche sorte, that they passed ouer it by a drafwe brydge: the Fortresse was deuided into thre partes, and euerye parte was deuided from the other with ditches, and with water, and by Bridges, they passed from the one place to the other: wherefore the Duke battered with his artillerie, one of the partes of the fortresse, and opened parte of the wall: For whiche cause Maister Ihon Casale, whiche was appointed to that Warde, thoughte not god

Cæsar Bor-  
gia.

god to defende that b<sup>r</sup>eache, but abandoned it soz to res-  
tire him selfe into the other places: so that the Dukes me-

hauing entered into that parte withoute encounter, in  
a sodaine they gotte it all: For that the Dukes men be-  
came lordes of the bridges , which wente from one  
place to another. They loste then this Fortresse, which  
was thoughte invinsible, throughe twoo defaultes , the  
one for hauing so many retiring places , the other, be-  
cause every retiring place, was not Lorde of the brdg of Furlie,  
thereof. Therefore, the naughtie builded Fortresse, The causes  
and the little wisedome of them that defended it, cau-  
sed shame to the noble enterpize of the countesse, who  
had thought to haue abidden an armie, which neither the  
King of Naples, nor the Duke of Milaine woulde haue  
abidden : and although his insoverementes had no god  
ende, yet notwithstanding he gotte that honoure, which  
his valiauntnesse had deserued: The which was testi-  
fied of many Epigrames , made in those dayes in his  
praye. Therefoze, if I shoule haue to builde a Fortresse  
I would make the walles strong, and the ditches in the maner  
as we haue reasoned, nor I woulde not make houses that  
therin other, the houses to inhabite, and those I would  
make weake and lowe, after such sorte that they should  
not let him that shoule stande in the middest of the mar-  
ket place, the sighte of all the walle, to the intente that  
the Capitayne might see with the eye, where he maye  
succoure: and that euerye man shoulde vnderstande,  
that the walle and the diche being lost, the fortresse were  
lost. And yet when I shoule make any retiring places,  
I woulde make the bridges deuided in suche wise, that  
euery parte shoulde be Lorde of the bridges of his side,  
ordainyng, that they shoule fall vpon postes, in the mid-  
dest of the diche.

Baptiste. You haue sayde that littell thinges now  
a dayes can not be defended , and it seemed unto me  
to haue vnderstoode the contrarye , that the lesser  
that

## The seuenth Booke of

that a thing were, the better it might bee defended.

Fabritio. You haue not vnderstode well, because that place cannot be nowe a daies called Strong, where he that defendeth it, hath not space to retire with newe ditches, and with newe fortifications, soz that the force of the ordinance is so much, that he that trusteth vpon the warde of one wall and of one fortification onely, is deceyued: and because the Bulwarkes (minding that they passe not their ordinary measure, soz that then they shoulde be townes and Castles) bee not made, in such wise that men maye haue space within them to retire, they are lost straight waye. Therefoze it is wisedome to let alone those Bulwarkes without, and to fortifie the enterance of the towne, and to couer the gates of the same with tourninges after such sort, that men cannot go in nor out of the gate by right line: and from the tourninges to the gate, to make a ditch with a bridge. Also they fortifie the gate, with a Percullis, soz to be able to put therin their men, when they bee issued out to fighte, and hapning that the enemies pursue them, to auoide, that in the mingling together, they enter not in with them: and therfore these be vsed, the whiche the antiquite called Cattarratte, the whiche being let fall, exclude the enemies, and saue the friendes, soz that in such a case, men can do no god, neither by bridges nor by a gate, the one and the other being occupied with prease of men.

Baptiste. I haue seene these Percullesses that you speake of, made in Almaine of little quarters of wood after the fashion of a grate of yron, and these percullesses of ours, be made of planckes all massive: I woulde desire to vnderstande whereof groweth this difference, & which be the strongest.

Fabritio. I tell you agayne, that the maners and orders of the warre, throughte out all the worlde, in respecte to those of the antiquite, bee extinguisched,

and

and in Italye they bē altogether losse , for if there bē a thing somewhat stronger then the ordinarye , it gro-  
weth of the insample of other countries. You myghte  
hāue understande and these other may remember, with  
howe muche debilitie before, þ king Charles of Fraunce  
in the yere of our saluation a thousande 1400 . xiiij.  
had passed into Italie , they made the batelmentes not  
halfe a yarde thicke , the lopes , and the flanckers were  
made with a little opening without, and muche within,  
and with manye other faultes whiche not to be tedious  
I will let passe: soz that easely from thinne battelments  
the defence is taken awaye, the flanckers builbed in the  
same maner, moste easlye are opened : Powe of the Battelmentes  
Frenchemen is learned to make the battlement large <sup>large and</sup>  
and thicke , and the flanckers to bē large on the parte <sup>thicke & the</sup>  
Within , and to drawe together in the middeste of the flanckers  
wall, and then agayn to ware wider vnto the outermost <sup>large vnde-</sup>  
parte wi- hout : this maketh that the ordinaunce hardlye in.  
can take away the defence. Therfore the Frenchemen  
hāue , manye other deuises like these , the whiche be-  
cause they hāue not bēne sc̄ene of our men , they hāue  
not bēne considered. Among whiche , is this kinde of  
perculles made like unto a grate, the which is a greate  
deale better then oures: soz that if you hāue for defence  
of a gate a massiue parculles as oures, letting it fall, you  
shutte in your menne, and you can not though the same  
hurte the enemie, so that hē with ares , and with fire,  
maye breaue it downe safelē: but if it bē made like a  
grate, you maye, it being let downe, through those holes  
and through those open places , defende it with Pikes,  
with crosbowes , and with all other kinde of wea-  
pons.

Baptiste. I hāue sc̄ene in Italye an other use after  
the outelandishe fashion, and this is , to make the carri-  
age of the artillery with the spokes of þ wheele crooked  
towardeſ the Axeltree . I woulde knowe why they

B.b.t. make

The seuenth Booke of  
make them so : seeming vnto me that they bē stron-  
ger when they are made straigthe as those of oure  
wheeles.

Fabritio, Neuer beleue that the thinges that differ from the ordinarie wayes, be made by chaunce; and if you shoulde beleue that they make them so, to shewe sayzer, you are deceaneed: because where strength is ne-  
cessarie, there is made no counte of fayrenesse : but all groweth, for that they be muche surer and muche stron-  
ger then ours. The reason is this: the carte when it is  
laden, either goeth euuen, or leaning vpon the righte, or  
vpon the lefste side : when it goeth euuen, the whēles es-  
equally sustayne the wayght, the which being equallye  
deuided betwēene them, doth not burden much, but lea-  
ning, it commeth to haue all the paise of the cariage on  
the backe of that whēle vpon the which it leaneth. If  
the spokes of the same be straight they wil scōne breaue;  
for that the whēle leaning, y spokēs come also to leane,  
and not to sustaine the paise by the straightnesse of them  
and so when the carte goeth euuen, and when they are  
least burdened, they come to bē strongest: when the  
Carte goeth awrye, and that they come to haue moste  
paise, they bē weakest. Enen the contrarie happeneth  
to the crooked spokes of the Frenche Cartes, for that  
when the carte leaning vpon one side poincteth vppon  
them, because they bē ordinary crooked, they come then  
to bē straight, and to be able to sustayne strongly al the  
payse, where when the carte goeth euuen, and that they  
bē crooked, they sustayne it halfe: but let vs tourne to  
our citie and Fortresse. The Frenchmen vse also for  
more safegarde of the gates of their townes, and for to  
bē able in sieges more easlye to conuey and set oute  
men of them, besides the sayde thinges, an other devise,  
of which I haue not scōne yet in Italye anye insample:  
and this is, where they rayse on the oute side from the  
ende of the drawe bridge two postes, and vpon either  
of

of them they ioigne a beame , in suche wise that the one halfe of them comes ouer the b ridge, the other halfe withoute : then all the same parte that commeth withoute, they ioygne together with small quarters of woodde, the whiche they set thicke from one beame to an other like unto a grate , and on the parte within, they fasten to the ende of either of the beames a chaine : then when they will shutte the b ridge on the oute side , they slacke the chaines , and let downe all the same parte like unto a grate , the whiche comming downe , shuttethe the b ridge , and when they will open it , they drawe the chaines, and the same cometh to rise vp, and they maye raise it vp so much that a man may passe vnder it, & not a horse, and so much that there maye passe horse & man, and shutte it againe at ones, soz that it falleth and riseth as a window of a battelment. This devise is more sure than the Parcules, because hardely it maye be of the enemye lette in such wise, that it fall not downe, falling not by a righte line as the Parcules, which easly may be vnderpopped. Therfore they which will make a citie oughte to cause to be ordained all the saide things: & moreouer aboue the walle, there woulde not bee suffred any grounde to be tilled, within a myle thereof, nor any wall made , but shoulde be all champaine , where should be neither ditch nor banck, neither tree nor house, which might let the sighte, and make defence for the enemye that incampeth.

Neither tre  
ditch, vwall  
tillage, nor  
any kinde of  
edificacion,  
ought to be  
vwithin a  
mile of a  
toun of  
vvarre.

And note , that a Towne , whiche hathe the ditches withoute , with the banckes higher then the grounde , is moske weake: soz as muche as they make defence to the enemye, which assaulteth the, and letteth him not hurts the, because easly they may be opened, and geue place to his artillerie : but let vs passe into the Towne. I will not loose so muche time in shewing you howe that besides the foresayde thinges, it is requisite to haue prouision of victualles, and wherewith to

B b.ij. fight

Noote.

## The seventh Booke of

fight, for that they be thinges that euery man vnder-  
deth, and without them, all other prouisio is vaine: and  
generally two thinges oughte to be done , to prouide  
and to take the commoditie from the enemie that he a-  
uaile not by þ thynge of thy countrey: therfore þ straw,  
the beastes, the graine, whiche thou canste not receiue  
into house, ought to be destroied. Also he that defendeth  
a Towne , oughte to prouide that nothing bee done tu-  
multuously and disordinateleye, and to take suche order,  
that in all accidentes euery man maye knowe what he  
hath to do.

The order that oughte to be taken is thus , that the  
women, the olde folkes, the chldren, and the impotent,  
be made to keepe within dores, that the Towne maye  
be left fre, to yong and lustie men, whom being arm ed,  
must be distributed for the defence of the same, appoin-  
ting part of them to the wall, parte to the gates, parte to  
the principall places of the Citie, for to remedie those in-  
conueniences, that might growe within: an other parte  
must not be bound to any place, but be ready to succour  
all, neede requiring: and the thing beeing ordained thus,  
With diffcultye tumulte can growe , whiche maye dis-  
order the. Also I will that you note this, in the be-  
sieging and defending of a Citie, that nothing geueth so  
muche hope to the aduersarye to be able to winne a  
towne, as when he knoweth that the same is not accus-  
tomed to see the enemie: for that many times for feare  
only without other experiance of force, cities haue bene  
lost: Therfore a man oughte, when he assaulteth a  
like Citie, to make all his ostentacions terrible. On  
the other parte he that is assaulted, oughte to appointe  
to the same parte, whiche the enemie fighteth againste,

strong men and suche as opinion maketh not afraide,  
but weapo n only: for that if the first stroke turne tame,  
it increaseth boldenesse to the besieged , and then the  
enemie is constrained to ouercome them within, with  
what inci-  
ragethe the  
enemy most  
that besie-  
geth a towne  
Vwhat he  
that besie-  
geth and he  
that defen-  
deth oughte  
to doo.

virtue

vertue and reputacion. The instrumentes wherewith  
the antiquitie defended Townes, were manye : as ba-  
listes, onagris, Scorpions, Arcubalistes, Fustiballs,  
Slinges: & also those were many with which they gaue  
assaultes. As Arrieti Towers, Musculi, Plutai, Viney,  
Falcis, Testudeni, in stede of which thinges be nowe a  
daies the ordinaunce , the whiche serue him that besie-  
geth, and him that defendeth: and therefore I wil speake  
no farther of them: But let vs returne to oure reaso-  
ning , and let vs come to perticular offences. They  
oughte to haue care not to be taken by famine , and not  
to be overcome throughe assaultes : concerning famine,  
it hath bene told, that it is requisite before the siege come,  
to be well prouided of victualles. But when a Towne  
throughe long siege, lacketh victualies, sometimes hath  
bene seen vseo certain extraordinary waies to be prouid-  
ed of theyz friends, whom would saue them, in especial  
is through the middest of the besieged Citie there runne  
a riuer , as the Romaines vttelld their castell called  
Casalino besieged of Aniball, who being not able by the  
riuer to sende them other victuall then puttes , where-  
of casting in the same greate quantetie, the which car-  
ried of the riuer, withoute being able to be letted, fedde  
long time the Casalinians. Some besieged , for to  
shew vnto the enemie, that they haue graine more then  
ough and for to make him to dispaire , that he can-  
not, by famine overcome them, haue castle breaude out  
of the Gates, or geuen a Bullocke graine to eate , and  
after haue suffered the same to be taken , to the intent  
that kilde and found full of graine , might shew that a-  
boundance, which they had not. On the other parte ex-  
cellent Capitaines haue vsed sundry waies to weare the  
enemy.

Fabius suffered them whom he besieged, to sow their  
fieldes , to the entente that they shoulde lacke the same  
corne, which they sowed.

A duertise-  
mēts for a be-  
sieged tounē

Hovv the ro-  
maines vitta-  
led Casalino  
besieged of  
Aniball.

A policy for  
the besieged

A policy of  
Fabius in be-  
sieging of a  
tounē.

# The seuenth Booke of

A polecie of  
Dionisius in  
besieging of  
a towne.

Dionisius being in Campe at Regio , fained to minde to make an a grāmente with them, & during the practise thereof , he caused him selfe to be prouided of theyz virtualles , and then when he had by this meane got from them their graine, he kepte them straigthe and famished them.

Hovve Alex  
ander vvanē  
Leucadia.

The besie-  
ged oughte  
to take heed  
of the firste  
brunte.

The remee-  
die that  
townes me  
haue, vwhen  
the enemies  
are entered  
into the  
tovvne.

Hovve to  
make the  
tovvnes me  
yeelde.

Hovv tovv-  
nes or cities  
are easly  
tovvne.

Alexander Magnus minding to winne Leucadia ouercame all the Castelles aboue it, and by that meanes driving into the same Citie a greate multitude of theyz owne countrey men, famished them.

Concerning the assaultes, there hath been tolde that chiefly they oughte to bee ware of the firste brunte, with which the Romaines got often times many townes, assaulting them sodainely, and on every side: and they called it, Aggredi vrbem corona. As Scipio did, whē he wannew Carthage in Hispanie : the whiche brunte is of a towne it be withstode, with difficultie after will be ouercome: and yet though it shoulde happen y the enemye were entred into the Citie, by ouercomming the walle, yet the townes men haue some remedy, so they forsake it not: for as much as many armes through entring into a towne, haue bene repulced or slaine: the remedy is, that the townes men doo keepe them selues in high places, and from the houses, and from the towers to fight with them: the whiche thing, they that haue entered into the Citie, haue devised to overcome in two maners: the one with opening the Gates of the Citie, and to make y waye for the Townes men, that they might safely sile: the other with sending forth a proclamation, that signifieth that none shall be hurt but the armed , and to them that cast their weapons on the ground , pardon shall be graunted: the whiche thing hath made easy the victory of many Cities.

Besides this , the Cities are easy to bee wonne, if thou come vpon them vnawares : which is done beeing with thy armie farre of, after suche sort, that it be not

not beleueed, either that thou wilte assault them, or that thou canst do it, without comming openly, because of the distaunce of the place: wherefore, if thou secretelye and spedely assaulte them, almost alwayes it shall followe, that thou shalt get the victorie. I reason vnwillinglye of the thinges succeded in oure time, for that to mee and to mine, it shoulde be a burthen, & to reason of other, I cannot tell what to saye: notwithstanding, I cannot to this purpose but declare, the insample of Cesar Borgia, called Duke Valentine, who being at Mocera with his men, vnder colour of going to besiege Camerino, tourned towardes the state of Urbin, and got a state in a day and without any payne, the which an other with muche time and cost, shoulde scante haue gotten. It is conueniente also to those, that be besieged, to take heed of the deceiptes, and of the policies of the enemie, and therefore the besieged, ought not to trust to any thing, whiche they see the enemie do continually, but let them beleue alwayes, that it is vnder deceipt, and that he can to their herte vary it. Domitio Caluino besieging a towne, vsed for a custome to compasse aboute every daye, with a god parte of his men, the wall of the same: whereby the Townes men, believynge that he did it for exercise, slacked the Warde: wherof Domicius being aware, assaulted and ouercame them.

Certayn Capitayns understanding, that there should come aide to the besieged, haue appareled their Souldours, vnder the Ansigne of those, that shoulde come, and being let in, haue gotte the Towne.

Sunon of Athens, set fire in a nighte on a Temple, whiche was sute of the Towne, wherefore the Townes men going to succour it, left the towne in pray to the enemie. Some haue slayne thole, whiche from the besieged Castle, haue gone a foraging, and haue appareled their Souldours, with the apparel of the foragers, whome after haue gotte the Towne. The aunciente

Hovve duke  
Valentine  
got the citie  
of Vibine,

The besie-  
ged oughte  
to take heed  
of the decei-  
ptes & poli-  
cies of the  
enemie.

Hovve Do-  
mitio Calui  
no vvan a  
tovyne.

A policie to  
get a tovne

Hovv Simō  
of Athens  
of vva a tovne.

A policie to  
get a tovne

# The seuenth Booke of

Hovv Scipio  
got certaine  
castles in A-  
frica.

siente Capitaynes, haue also vsed diuers wayes, to de-  
stroy the Garrison of the towne, which they haue sought  
to take. Scipio being in Africa, and desiring to get cer-  
taine Castles, in which were put the Garrisons of Car-  
thage, he made many times, as though he would assault  
them, albeit, he sayned after, not onely to abstaine, but  
to go awaie from them for feare: the whiche Anibal be-  
leeming to bee true, for to pursue him with greater force,  
and for to bee able more easly to oppresse him, drewe  
out all the garrisons of them: The whiche Scipio know-  
ing, sent Massinissa his Capitayne to overcome them.

Hovv Pir-  
rus vvanne  
the chiefe  
cite of Scla-  
unie.

A politie to  
get a tovvne

Hovve the  
besieged are  
made to  
yeelde.

Hovv to  
get a tovvne  
by treason.

A politie of  
Anibal for  
the betray-  
ing of a Ca-  
kle.

Pirrus making warre in Sclauonie, to the chiese  
Cittie of the same countrie, where were brought manye  
menne in Garrison, sayned to dispayre to bee able to  
winne it, and tourning to other places, made that the  
same for to succour them, emptied it selfe of the warde,  
and became easie to be wonne. Many haue corrupted  
the water, and haue tourned the riuers an other waye  
to take Townes. Also the besieged, are easly made  
to yelde them selues, making them afraied. With sig-  
nifyng vnto them a victorie gotten, or with newe aides,  
which come in their disfauour. The olde Capitaines  
haue sought to get townes by treason, corrupting some  
within, but they haue vsed diuers meanes. Some  
haue sente a man of theirs, whiche vnder the name  
of a fugitive, myghte take authoriteye and truste with  
the enemis, who after haue vsed it to their profite.  
Some by this meanes, haue understood the maner of  
the watche, and by meanes of the same knowledge,  
haue taken the Towne. Some with a Carte, or with  
Beames vnder some colour, haue letted the gate, that  
it coulde not bee shutte, and with this waye, made the  
entrie easye to the enemie. Anibal perswaded one, to  
givē him a Castle of the Romanes, and that hee shoulde  
sayne to go a hunting in the nighte, making as though  
hee coulde not go by daye, for feare of the enemies, and  
tours

sonning after with the Wenison , shoulde put in with  
 him certayne of his men , and so killing the watchmen,  
 shoulde give him the gate . Also the besieged are he-  
 guiled, with drawing them out of the Towne , and go-  
 ing awaie from them, sayning to flie when they assault  
 theē. And many(among whome was Anibal)haue soz no  
 other intente, let their Campe to be taken , but to haue  
 occasion to gette betweene them and home , and to take  
 their Towne. Also, they are beguyled with sayning Hovve Fort-  
 to departe from them, as Formion of Athens did , who mion ouer-  
 hauing spoyled the countrye of the Calcidensians, recei-  
 ved after their ambassadours , filling their Citie with  
 faire promises, and hope of safetie , vnder the whiche as  
 simple men, they were a litle after of Formion oppres-  
 sed. The besieged ought to beware of the men , whiche  
 they haue in suspect among them : but some times they  
 are wont, as well to assure them selues with deserfe, as  
 With punishment. Marcellus knowing howe Lucius  
 Vancius a Solane, was tourned to fauour Anibal , so Liberalitie  
 much humanitie and liberalitie, he vsed towardes him, maketh ene-  
 that of an enemie, he made him most friendely. The be-  
 sieged oughte to vse more diligence in the warde , when  
 the enemie is gone from them, then whē he is at hand. And  
 And they oughte to warde those places , whiche they  
 thinke, that maye bee hurt least: soz that manye townes  
 haue been lost, when y enemie assaulteth it on the same  
 part, where they beleue not possible to be assaulted. And  
 this deceipt groweth of two causes, either soz the place  
 being strong, and to beleue y it is inuisible, or through  
 eraste being vsed of the enemie , in assaulting them on  
 one side with sayned laroms, and on the other withoute  
 noise, and with very assaultes in dēde: and therfore the  
 besieged, ought to haue great aduertisement, and aboue  
 all thinges at all times, and in especiallye in the nighte  
 to make god watche to be keepte on the walles , and  
 not onelye to appointe men , but Dogges , and suche

# The seuenth Booke of

fierse Massives, and lively, the which by their sent maye  
deserie the enemie, and with barking discouer him: and  
not Dogges onely, but Geese haue beeene seene to haue  
saued a citie, as it happened to Rome, when the Fren-  
men besieged the Capitoll.

An order of Alcibiades for to see, whether the warde watched,  
for the devv Athense being besieged of the Spartaynes, ordayneyned  
keping of vwatche and yarde.

Istocrates of Athens killed a watcheman, which slept,  
saying, that he left him as hee founde him. Those that  
haue bene besieged, haue vsed diuers meanes, to sende  
aduise to their friendes: and minding not to sende their  
message by mouth, they haue written letters in Cifers,  
and hidednt them in sundrie wise: the Cifers bee accord-  
ding, as pleaseith him that ordaineth them, the maner of  
hiding them is diuers. Some haue written within y sca-  
verde of a sworde: Other haue put the letters in an vn-  
baked lofe, & after haue baked the same, and givien it for  
meate to him that caried them. Certain haue hidden the  
in the secretest place of their bodies: other haue hidden  
them in the colour of a Dog, yis familiare with him,  
which carrieth the: Some haue written in a letter ordi-  
narie thinges, & after betweene the one line & the other,  
haue also writte with water, that wetting it or warming  
it after, the letters shoulde appeare. This way hath bee-  
most politikely obserued in our time: where some min-  
ding to signifie to their friendes inhabiting within a  
towne, thinges to be kept secret, & minding not to trussh  
any person, haue sent common matters written, accord-  
ing to the common use and enterlined it, as I haue  
sayde aboue, and the same haue made to bee hanged on  
the gates of the Temples, the whiche by countersig-  
nes being knownen of those, vnto whome they haue  
beeene sente, were taken of and reade: the whiche way  
is

The secrete  
conueighing  
of letters.

is most politique, because he that carrieth them may bee  
beguiled; and there shall happen him no perrill. There  
be molte infinite other wayes, which every man may  
by him selfe reade and finde: but with moze facilite,  
the besieged maye be written vnto, then the besieged  
to theyr frendes without, for that such letters cannot be  
sente, but by one, vnder colour of a fugetue, that com-  
meth out of a Toune, the which is a daungerous and pe-  
rillous thing, when the enemy is any whit crafty: But  
those that sende in he that is sent, may vnder many co-  
lours, goo into the campe that besiegeth, and from thens  
taking conueniente occacion, maye leape into the toune:  
but let vs come to speake of the presente winning of  
Townes. I saye that if it happen, that thou bee be-  
sieged in thy Citie, which is not ordained with ditches  
within, as a littell before we shewed, to minde that  
the enemie shall not enter throughe the breache of the  
walle, which the artillerye maketh: because there is  
no remedie to let the same from making of a breache, The defence  
against a  
breache.  
it is therefore necessary for thee, whilst the ordinaunce  
battereth, to caste a ditch within the walle whiche is  
battered, and that it be in breadth at leaste two and  
twentye yardes and a halfe, and to thowre all the same  
that is digged towardes the Toune, which may make  
a bancke, and the ditch more deeper: and it is conueni-  
ente for thee, to sollicitate this worke in suche wise, that  
when the walle falleth, the Ditch may be digged at least,  
fowze or five yardes in depth: the which ditch is necessa-  
rye, while it is a digging, to shutte it on euerye side  
with a slaughter house; and when the wall is so strong,  
that it geueth thee time to make the ditch, and the slaug-  
ter houses, that battered parte, commeth to be muche  
stronger, then the rest of the citie: for that such fortificati-  
on, cometh to haue the forme, of the ditches which we de-  
vised within: but when þ wall is weake, & that it geueth  
thee not time, to make like fortifications, then strengthē

# The seuenth Booke of

valiantnesse muste be shewed, setting against the enemies armed menne, with all thy force. This maner of fortificacion was obserued of the Pisans, when you besieged them, and they might do it, because they had strong walles, which gaue them time, the yearth being softe and most meete to rayse vp banckes, and to make fortifications: where if they had lacked this commodite, they shoulde haue loste the towne. Therefore it shall bee alwaies prudently done, to prouide afore hand making ditches within the Citie, and throughout all the circuite thereof, as a littel before we devised: for that in this case, the enemie may safely be taried for at laisure, the fortifications being redy made. The antiquity many times gotte tounes, with muining vnder ground in two maners, eyther they made a way vnder ground secrete-  
ly, which risse in the toun, and by the same entered, in  
vnder ground which maner the Romaines toke the Citie of Neienti, or with the muining, they ouerthrew a walle, and made it ruinate: this laste way is now a daies most strong, & maketh, that the cities placed high, be mosste weake, because they may better bee vnder muined: and putting as-  
ter in a Cauue of this Gunne pouder, which in a moment kindeling, not onely ruinateth a wall, but it openeth the hilles, and vtterly dissolueth the strength of them.

The remedy  
against causes  
or vnder  
muininges

The remedie for this, is to builde in the plaine, and to make the ditch that compasseth thy Citie, so deepe, that the enemye maye not digge lower then the same, where he shall not finde water, whiche onely is enemie to the Caues: for if thou be in a towne, whiche thou defendest on a highe grounde, thou canst not reme-  
die it otherwise, then to make within thy walles many deepe Welles, the which be as drowners to the same Caues, that the enemie is able to ordaine against the. Another remedie there is, to make a Cauue against it, when thou shouldeste bee aware where he muincheth, the whiche waye easelye hindereth him, but difficultly  
it

It is foresene, being besieged of a craftie enemy. He  
that is besieged, oughte aboue all thinges to haue care,  
not to bee oppressed in the time of reste:as is after a bat-  
taile foughte, after the watche made, whiche is in the  
Morning at breake of the daye, and in the Evening be-  
twene daie and night, and aboue all, at meale times: in  
whiche time many Townes haue bene wonne, and ar-  
mies haue bene of them within ruined: therefore it is  
requisite with diligence on all partes, to stande alwaies  
garded, and in a god parte armed. I wil not lacke to tell  
you, howe that, which makethe a Citie or a campe diffi-  
cult to be defended, is to be driven to keepe sundred all  
the force, that thou haste in them, for that the enemie bes-  
ing able to assaulte thee at his pleasure altogether, it is  
conueniente for thee on every side, to garde euery place,  
and so he assaulteth thee with all his force, and thou with  
parte of thine defendest the. Also, the besieged may be  
ouercome altogether, he without cannot bee, but repul-  
sed: wherefore many, whome haue bene besieged, either  
in a Campe, or in a Towne, althoughe they haue bene  
inferioure of power, haue issued oute with theyz men  
at a sodaine, and haue ouercome the enemie. This  
Marcellus of Pola did: this did Cesar in fraunce, where  
his cape being assaulted of a most great nûber of french-  
men, and seeing him selfe not able to defende it, be-  
ing constrainyd to devide his force into many partes,  
and not to bee able standing within the Listes, with  
violence to repulse the enemie: he opened the Campe on  
the one side, and turning towardes the same parte with  
all his power, made so much violence against them, and  
with so much valiantnes, that he vanquished and ouer-  
came them. The constancie also of the besieged, causeth By vwhat  
many times displeasure, and maketh afraide them that  
do besiege. Pompei being agaynst Cesar, and Cesars  
armie being in greate distresse throughe famine, there  
was broughte of his bzeade to Pompei, whome seing it  
made

Vvhacare  
the besieged  
oughte to  
haue.

Vvhacma-  
keth a citie  
or cape diffi-  
culte to bee  
defended.

meanes thei  
that besiege  
are made a-  
fraide.

# The seuenth Booke of

made of grasse, comauanded, that it shold not bee shewed unto his armie, least it shold make them afraide, seeing what enemies they had against them. Nothing caused so much honour to the Romaines in the warre of Aniball, as theyr constancie: for as much as in what so euer eniuious, and aduerte fortune they were troubled, they neuer demaunded peace, they neuer made anye signe of feare, but rather when Aniball was aboute Rome, they soldē those fieldes, where he had pitched his Campe, dearer then ordinary in other times shold haue bene soldē: and they stode in so muche obstinacie in theyr enterprisē, that for to defende Rome, they would not raise theyr campe from Capua, the which in the very same time that Rome was besidged, the Romaines did besiege.

I knowe that I haue tolde you of many thinges, the which by your self you might haue understandē, & considerēd, notwithstanding I haue done it (as to day also I haue tolde you) for to be able to shewe you better by meane thereof, the qualitie of this army, and also for to satisfie those, if there be anye, whome haue not had the same commodity to understand them as you. Nor me thinkes that there resteth other to tell you, then certaine general rules, the which you shall haue moste familier, whiche be these.

The same that helpeth the enemie, hurteth thee: and the same that helpeth thee, hurteth the enemie.

He that shal be in the warre most vigilant to obserue the deuises of the enemie, and shall take moste paine to exercise his army, shall incurre least perrills, and maye hope most of the victorie.

Neuer conduce thy men to fight the field, if first thou hast not confirmed theyr mindes & knowest them to be without feare, & to be in good order: for thou oughtest neuer to enterprise any daungerous thing with thy souldours, but when thou seeſt, that they hope to ouercome.

Rules of  
warre.

It

It is better to conquere the enemie with famine, then with yron: in the victory of which, fortune may do much more then valiantnesse.

No purpose is better then that , which is hidde from the enemie vntill thou haue executed it.

To knowe in the warre howe to vnderstande occasion, and to take it , helpeth more then any other thing.

Nature b̄reedeth fewe strong men , the industrie and the exercise maketh manye.

Discipline maye do more in warre, then furie.

When anye departe from the enemis side for to come to serue thē, when they bee faithfull , they shalbe vnto thē alwaies great gaines: for that the power of the aduersarits are more deminished with the losse of them, that runne awaye, then of those that be slayne, although that the name of a fugiue be to newe friends suspected, to olde odious.

Better it is in pitching the field, to reserue behinde the first front ayde ynone, then to make the front bigger to disperse the Souldiours.

Hee is difficultlye overcome , whiche can knowe his owne power and the same of the enemie.

The valiauntenesse of the souldiours auayleth more then the multitude.

Sometime the situation helpeth more then the valiantnesse.

Newe and sudden thinges, make armyes astrayde.

Slowe and accustomed thinges , be little regarded of them. Therefore make thy armie to practise & to know with small fightes a newe enemye, before thou come to fight the field with him.

Hee that with disorder followeth the enemie after that he is broken, will do no other, then to become of a conquerour a loser,

Hee that prepareth not necessarye victualles to liue upon, is ouercome without yron,

## The seuenth Booke of

He that trusteth more in horsmen then in foote-men,  
or more in foote-men then in horsmen,must accommo-  
date him selfe with the situacion.

When thou wilt see if in the daye there bee comen  
anye spie into the Campe, cause every man to go to his  
lodging.

Chaunge purpose,when thou perceiuest that the ene-  
mie hath forseen it.

Consult with many of those thinges,which thou ough-  
test to do:the same that thou wilt after do,conferre with  
fewe.

Souldiours when they abide at home,are maintay-  
ned with feare and punishmente , after when they are  
lead to the warre,with hope and with rewarde.

Good Capitaynes come neuer to fighte the field,e-  
xcept necessitie constraine them, and occasion call them.

Cause that the enemies knowe not, howe thou wilte  
order thy army to fight, and in what so euer maner that  
thou ordayneſt it , make that the firſte bande maye bee  
receyued of the ſeconde and of the thirde.

In the fighte neuer occupie a battaill to anye other  
thing,then to the ſame,for whiche thou haſt apointed it,  
if thou wil make no diſordre.

The ſodayne accidentes,with difficultie are reme-  
died:thoſe that are thought vpon , with facilitie.

Men,yron,money, and bread,bee the ſtrength of the  
warre, but of theſe four, the firſt two be moſte neceſſa-  
rye:because men and yron,finde money and bread ; but  
breade and money finde not men and yron.

The unarm'd ritch man, is a booke to the poore ſoul-  
dior.

Accustome thy ſouldiours to diſpife delicate living and  
laciuius apparell.

This is as muche as happeneth me generallye to re-  
member you, and I knowe that there might haue bee-  
ſayde manye other thinges in all this my reasoning :

as shoulde be, how and in howe many kinde of waies the antiquitie ordered their bandes, howe they apparelled them, and howe in many other thinges they exercised them, and to haue ioigned herevnto many other particulars, the which I haue not iudged necessary to shew, as wel soz that you your selfe maye see them, as also soz that my intente hath not been to shew iuste how the olde seruis of warre was apointed, but how in these daies a seruis of warre might be ordayne, which shoulde haue more vertue then the same y is vsed. Wherefoze I haue not thought god of the auncient thynges to reason other, then y, which I haue iudged to such introduction necessary. I know also that I might haue delated more vp on the seruice on horsebacke, and after haue reasoned of the warre on the Sea: for as much as he that distinguissheth the seruis of warre, sayeth, howe there is an armie on the sea, and of the lande, on fute, & on horseback. Of that on the sea, I wyl not presume to speake, for that I haue no knowledge thereof: but I will let the Genouines, and the Venetians speake therof, whome with like studiis haue heretofoze done greate thinges.

Also of horses, I will speake no other, then as afoze I haue sayde, this parte being (as I haue declared) leaste corrupted. Besidz this, the footemen being well ordayne, which is the puissance of the armye, god horses of necessitie will come to be made.

Onely I counsell him that woulde ordayne the exercise of armes in his owne countrey, and desireth to fill the same with god horses, that he make two prouisions: the one is, that he distribute Mares of a god race throughe his dominion, and accustome his menne to make choise of coltes, as you in this countrey make of Calues and Mules: the other is: that to thentente the excepted might finde a byer, I woulde prohibet that no man shoulde keepe a Mule excepte he woulde keepe a horse: so that he that woulde keepe but one beaste to

Prouisions  
that maie be  
made to fil a  
Realme full  
of good  
horses.

## The seuenth Booke of

ride on, shoulde be constrained to keepe a horse: & more-  
cuer that no man shoulde weare fine cloathe except he  
which doeth keepe a horse: this order I understande  
hath beeene deuiled of certayne Princes in oure time,  
whome in shorte space haue thereby, brought into theyr  
countrye an excellente number of god horses. Aboute  
the other thinges, as much as myghte be looked for con-  
cerning horse, I remitte so as much as I haue sayde to  
daye, and to that which they vse. Peraduenture also  
you would desire to understand what condicions a Cap-  
taine oughte to haue: whereof I shall satisfie you moste  
brieflie: for that I cannot tell howe to chose anie other  
man then the same, who shoulde knowe howe to do all  
these thinges which this daye hath bene reasoned of by  
vs: the which also shoulde not suffise, when he shoulde  
not knowe howe to devise of him selfe, for that no man  
without inuencion, was euer excellent in any science:  
and if inuencion causeth honour in other thinges, in this  
aboue all, it maketh a man honurable: for euerie inuen-  
cion is sene, althoughe it were but simple, to be of  
writters celebratzed: as it is sene, where Alexander Mag-  
nus is praysed, who so to remoue his Campe most se-  
cretlye, gaue no twarning with the Trumpette, but  
with a hatte vpon a Launce. And was praised also for  
having take order that his soldiours in buckeling with  
the enemies, shoulde knaile with the leste legge, to be  
able moze strongly to withstand their violence: & which  
hauing gotten him the victory, it got him also so much  
praise, that al the Images, which were erected in his  
honour, stode after the same fashio. But because it is time  
to finishe this reasoning, I will turne agayne to my first  
purpose, and partly I shail auoide the same reproche,  
wherein they vse to condemne in this towne, such as

The auctor, knoweth not when to make an ende.

retourneth to his firste If you remember Cosinus you tolde me, that I  
purposc and being of one side an exalter of the antiquitie, and a dis-  
prayer

praiser of those, which in waightie matters imitated the  
not, and of the other side, I hauing not in the affaires of  
warr, wherin I haue taken paine, imitated them, you  
could not perceyue the occasion: wher unto I answered,  
howe that men which will do any thing, must first pre-  
pare to knowe howe to do it, for to bee able, after to vse  
it, when occasion permitteth: whether I do knowe how  
to bring the seruis of warre to the aunciente maners or  
no, I will bee iudged by you, which haue heard me vpon  
this matter long dispute: whereby you may know,  
howe much time I haue consumed in these studies: and  
also I beleue that you maye imagine, howe much de-  
sire is in me to bring it to effect: the whiche whether I  
haue beeene able to haue done, or that euer occasion hath  
beeene giuen me, most easly you maye conjecture: yet  
for to make you more certayne and for my better iusti-  
fication, I will also alledge the occasions: and as muche  
as I haue promised, I will partly perfo:ne, to shew you  
the difficultie and the facilitie, which bee at this present  
in suche imitations.

Therefore I say, howe that no dēde that is done now  
adyses among men, is more easly to bee reduced into  
the aunciente maners, then the seruice of Warre: but  
by them onely that bee Princes of so muche state, who  
can at least gather together of their owne subiectes. *vh.*  
or twātie thousande young men: otherwise, no thing  
is more difficulte, then this, to them whiche haue not  
suche commoditie: and for that you maye the better un-  
derstande this parte, you haue to knowe, howe that  
there bee of two condicions, Capitaynes to be pray-  
sed: The one are those, that with an army ordayned  
throughe the natural discipline thereof, haue done  
greate thinges, as were the greater parte of the Ro-  
mayne Citezins, and suche as haue lead armyes,  
the whiche haue had no other paine, then to mayntayne  
them god, and to see them guyded safelye; the other are

A prince  
maie easily  
bring to in-  
tire perfec-  
tion the ser-  
uis of vyarr.

Tvvo sortes  
of capitains  
vvorthie to  
be praised.

Dd.ij.      they,

## The seuenth Booke of

they, whiche not onely haue had to ouercome the enemie, but before they come to the same, haue beene constrainyd to make god and well ordered their armye: who without doubtes deserue muche more praise, then those haue deserued, whiche with old armies, and god, haue valiauntlye wrought. Of these, such were Pelopida, and Epaminonda, Tullus Hostilius, Philip of Macedony father of Alexander, Cirus king of the Persians Gracca a Romane: they all were driven first to make their armies god, and after to fighte with them: they all colde do it, as well through their prudence, as also for having subiectes whome they myghte in like exercises instruct: nor it shoulde never haue beene otherwise possible, that anye of them, though they had bee never so god and full of all excellencie, shoulde haue beene able in a straunge countrie, full of men corrupted, not vsed to any honest obedience, to haue brought to passe any laudable worke. It suffiseth not then in Italie, to knowe how to governe an armie made, but firske it is necessary to knowe howe to make it, and after to knowe howe to commaunde it: and to do these thinges, it is requisite they bee those Princes, whom having much dominion, and subiectes ythough, may haue commoditie to do it: of which I can not bee, who never commaunded, nor can not commaunde, but to armies of straungers, and to men bounde to other, and not to me: in whiche if it bee possible, or no, to introduce any of those thinges that this daye of mē hath beeне reasoned, I will leauue it to your iudgement. Albeit when coulde I make one of these souldiours which now a dayes practise, to weare more armour then the ordinarie, and besides the armour, to beare their owne meate for two or thre dayes, with a mattocke? When could I make them to digge, or keepe them every day many houers armed, in fained exercis, or to be able after in the very thing in deede to prouale? When woulde they abstayne from playe, from

Jacobi

laciuousnesse, from swearing, from the insolence, whiche every daye they commit: when woulde they bee reduced into so much discipline, into so muche obedience and reuerence, that a trée full of appels in the middeste of their Campe, shoulde bee founde there and leste untouched? As is red, that in the aunciente armes manye times happened. What thing maye I promise them, by meane wherof they may haue mee in reuerence to loue or to feare, when the warre being ended, they haue not anye more to doo with mee? Wherof maye I make them ashamed, which bee borne & brought vp without shame? Why shold they be ruled by mee who knowe mee not? By what God or by what saintes may I make them to swaere? By those þ they worship, or by those that they blasphem? Who they worship I knowe not anye: but I know well they blasphem all. Howe shoulde I beleue that they will keepe their promise to them, whom every hower they dispise? Howe can they that dispise God, reuerence men? Then what god fashion shoulde that be, which might be imprest in this matter? And if you shoulde alledge unto mee that Suiuers and Spaniardes be god Souldours, I woulde confesse unto you, howe they be farre better then the Italiens: but if you note my reasoning, and the maner of proceeding of both, you shall see, howe they lacke manye thinges to ioyne to the perfection of the antiquitie. And howe the Suiuers be made god of one of their naturall vses caused of that, whiche to daye I tolde you: those other are made god by meane of a necessitie: for that seruing in a straunge countrie, and seeming unto them to be constrainyd either to dye, or to ouercome, they perceyng to haue no place to flye, doo become god: but it is a godnesse in manye partes faultye: for that in the same there is no other god, but that they be accustomed to tarie the enemie at the Pike and swordes pointe; nor that, whiche they lacke, no man

# The seuenth Booke of man shoulde bee meete to teache them, and so muche the lesse, hee that coulde not speake their language.

But let vs tourne to the Italiens, who for hauing not had wise Princes, haue not taken any god orde: and for hauing not had the same necessitie, whiche the Spaniardes haue had, they haue not taken it of them selues so that they remayne the shame of the worlde: and the people bee not to blame, but onelye their princes, who haue bee chastised, and for their ignorance haue been iustlye punished, leſſing most shamefullye their states, without shewing anye vertuous example. And if you will ſee whether this that I ſaye be true: conſider howe manye warres haue bee in Italy ſince the departure of king Charles to this daye, where the warre being wont to make men warlike and of reputacion, theſe the greater and fiercer that they haue bee, ſo muche the moare they haue made the reputation of the members and of the heades therof to bee lost. This preuenteth that it groweth, that the accuſtomed orders were not nor bee not god, and of the newe orders, there is not any which haue knownen howe to take them. Nor never beleue that reputation will be gottē by the Italiens wapons, but by the ſame waye that I haue ſhewed, & by meanes of them, that haue great ſtates in Italic: for that this forme maye bee impreſſed, in ſimple rude men, of their owne, and not in malicious ill brought vp, and ſtrayngers. Nor there ſhall never bee founde any god mafon, whiche will beleue to bee able to make a faire image of a pece of Marbell ill helwed, but verye well of a rude pece.

A diſcriptiō  
of the foliſh  
neſſe of the  
Italiā prin-  
cess.

Our Italian Princes beleued, before they taſted the blowes of the outlandishe warre, that it ſhoulde ſuffice a Prince to knowe by writinges, howe to make a ſubtell anſwere, to write a godly letter, to ſhewe in ſaynges, and in wordes, witte and promptenesse, to knowe howe to canuaſ a fraude, to decke them ſelues with

with precious stones and gold, to sleepe and to eate with greater glory then other: To keape many lasciuious persons aboue them, to gouerne them selues with their subiects, couetuously and proudly: To roote in idenes, to geue the degrees of the exercise of warre, for god will, to despise if any shoulde haue shewed them any laudable waye, minding that their wordes shoulde bee answers of oracles: nor the sely wretches were not aware that they prepared them selues to bee a pracie to whome so euer shoulde assaulte them. Hereby grewe then in the thousand fowre hundred and nintie and fowre yere, the greate feares, the sodaine flightes, and þ marucilous losses: and so thre most mighty states which were in Italie, haue bene diuers times sacked and destroied. But that which is worse, is where those þ remaine, continuall in the very same errore, and liue in the verie same disorder, & consider not, that those, who in olde time would keape their states, caused to be done these thinges, which of me hath bene reasoned, and that their studys were, to prepare the body to diseases, & the minde not to feare perrills. Wherby grewe that Cesar, Alexander, and all those men and excellente Princes in old time, were the formost amōgest the fighters, going armed on scote: and if they losse theyȝ state, they would lose their life, so that they liued and died vertuously. And if in them, or in parte of them, there might bee condemned to much ambition to reason of: yet there shall never be founde, that in them is condemned any tendernesse, or any thing that maketh men delicate and feeble: the which thing, if of these Princes were redde and beleued, it shold be impossible, that they shold not chaunge their forme of living, and theyȝ prouinces not to chaunge for-  
tane. And for that you in the beginning of this our reasoning, lamented youre ordinances, I saye unto you, that if you had ordained it, as I afore haue reasoned, & it had geuen of it selfe no god experience, you mighte

Cesar & A-  
lexander,  
wyere the  
formost in  
battell.

with

## The seuenth Booke of

With reason haue beene grieued therewith: but if it bee  
not so ordayned, and exercised, as I haue saide, it maye  
be grieued with you, who haue made a couterfaite ther-

The veneci-  
ans and the  
duke of Fe-  
rare begā to  
haue redu-  
ced the vvar-  
fare to the  
auncient  
maners.

of, and no perfecte figure. The Venerians also, and the Duke of Ferrare, began it, and followed it not, the whiche hath beene through their faulte , not through their men. And therfore I assure you, that who so euer of those, which at this daye haue states in Italye, shall enter first into this waye, shall be first, before anye other, Lordē of this Prouince, and it shall happen to this state as to the kingdome of the Macedonians, the whiche com-

ming vnder Philip, who had learned the maner of set-  
ting armies in order of Epaminondas a Thebane , be-  
came with this order , and with these exercises (whilst  
the rest of Greece stode in idlenesse, and attended to re-  
site commedes) so puissaunt, that he was able in fewe  
yeres to possele it all , and to leauue luche foundation to  
his sonne, that he was able to make himselfe, prince of  
all the wozlde. He then that despiseth these studys, if he

He that des-  
piseth the  
seruis of  
vwarre, des-  
piseth his  
owne vvelth.

be a Prince, despiseth his Prinedome: if he be a Cite-  
zin, his Citie. Wherefore, I lamente mē of nature,  
the whiche either ought not to haue made mē a knower  
of this , or it oughte to haue giuen mē power , to haue  
beene able to haue executed it : For nowe being olde,  
I cannot hope to haue any occasion, to be able so to do:

In consideration wherof, I haue bene liberall with you  
who being graue young men , maye (when the thinges  
sayde of mē shall please you) at due times in fauoure  
of your Princes, helpe them and counsaile them, wher-  
in I would haue you not to be astrayde, or mistrustfull,  
because this Prouince seemes to bee altogether given  
to raise vp againe the thinges deade, as is seene by the  
perfection that Poetrie , painting, and writing, is now  
brought unto : Albeit, as muche as is looked for of mē,  
being stroken in yeres, I do mistrust . Where sure-  
ly, if Fortune had heretofoze graunted mē so muche  
state

The seventh Booke and Fol/Cix  
State, as suffiseth for a like enterprise, I wþould not haue  
doubted, but in moche shorte tyme, to haue shewed to the  
Worlde, holwe muche the attainte orders awaile:

and without peradventure,either I would

hatie increased it with glory, or  
shame is without shame.

The ende of the seventh and last booke of the arte of  
warre, of Nicholas Machiavel, Cittzen and  
Secretarie of Florence translated out  
of Italian into English by John Tolles  
my selfe Peter Whichehorne, doctor, artil  
selow of Graise the xxviiij day of Febr  
Iiij.

and his friends.

## Geological Summary.

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Ways to Africa

הנִזְקָנָה בְּבֵית

Nicholas Machiauel, Citezain  
And Secretarie of Florence, to  
the Readers.



O the intente that such as reade this booke  
maye withoutte difficyltie understand he  
order of the battailes, or bandes of men,  
and of the armyes, and lodginges in the  
Campe; according as they in the descripti-  
on of them are appointed, I thincke it necessary to shew  
you the figure of euerie one of them: wherefore it is re-  
quiset firste, to declare vnto you, by what pointes and  
letters, the scotemen, the horsemen, and euery other per-  
ticular member are set forth.

Knowe therefore that

c	v	r	C	T	Pike men.	Target men.
				a	a Capitaine of ten men.	
k	H	G		V	Veliti a ordinarie.	which are those
				E	Veliti extraordinari	me that shoores
				a	a Centurion or cap-	with harkabu-
				t	tayne of hundred men.	ses or bowes.
				k	a Constable or a capitaine of a bande	
					offoure hundred and fiftie men.	
				H	The head captain of a maine battaile.	
				G	The general Captaine of the whole	
t					armie.	
d				t	The Trompet.	
b				d	The Drum.	
f				b	The Ansigne.	
m				f	The Standerde.	
l				m	Men of Armes.	
A				l	Light horsemen.	
				A	Artillerie or ordinance.	

In the firste figure nexte following, is discribed the forme of an ordinary battaile or band of fowre hundred and fiftie men, and in what manner it is redoubled by flancke. And also howe with the very same orde of lxx ranckes, by chaunging onely to the hinder parte the ffe ranckes of Pikes whiche were the soverainest of every Centurie, they maye likewise in bringing them in battaile raike, come to be placed behinde, whiche maye be done, when in marching, the enemies shold come to assault them at theire backes: according as the ordering thereof is before declared.      Fol. xxxv.      fol. xxxv

In the seconde figure, is shewed howe a battaile or bande of men is ordered, whiche in marching shold be driven to fighte on the flancke: according as in the booke is declared.      Fol. xxxv.

In the thirde figure, is shewed howe a battaile or bande of menne, is ordered with two hornes,      Fol. xxxv. and after is shewed howe the same maye be made with a voyde place in the middeste: according as the ordering thereof, in the booke moste plainelye is declared.      Fol. xxxvi.

In the fourthe figure, is shewed the forme or fashion of an armie appointed to fighte the battaile with the enemies: and for the better vnderstanding thereof, the verye same is plainelier set forthe in the figure next vnto it, whereby the other two figures nexte following maye the easier bee vnderstode: according as in the booke is expressed.      Fol. cliii.

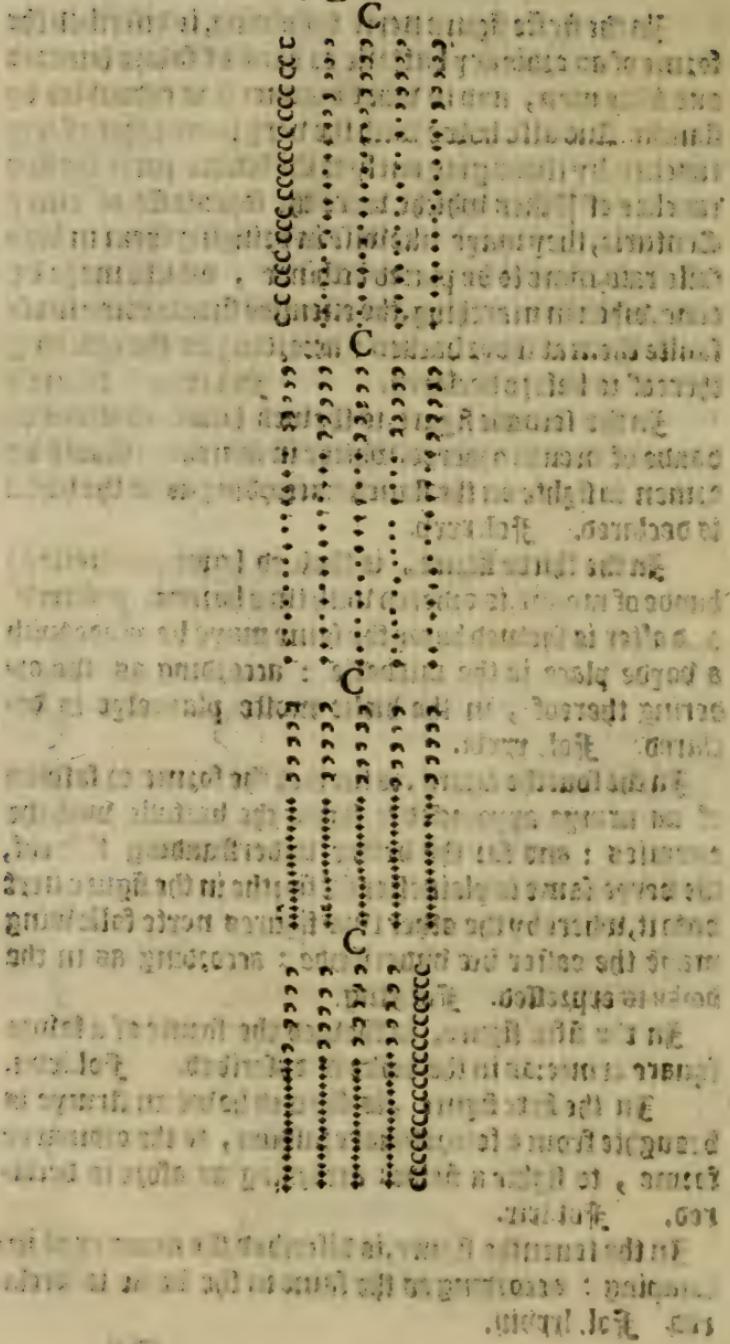
In the fiftie figure, is shewed the forme of a fowre square armie: as in the booke is described.      Fol. lxvii.

In the sixte figure, is shewed howe an Armie is broughte from a fowresquare fashion, to the ordinarye forme, to fighte a fielde: according as afore is declared.      Fol. lxvii.

In the seuenthe figure, is discribed the manner of incamping: according as the same in the booke is declared.      Fol. lxxviii.

# figure.

This is the  
maner of or-  
dering of  
**CCCC.** me-  
into, lxxx.  
ranckes, fие  
to a rancke,  
to bring the  
into a fourre  
square bat-  
taile vwith  
the pikes on  
the front, as  
after fol-  
loweth.



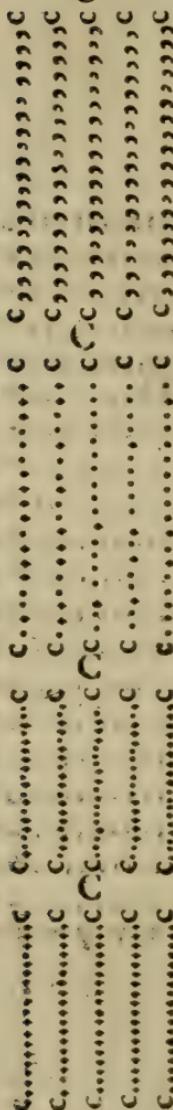
### figures.

This is the  
forsaid. lxx  
râckes of .iiij.  
C. men brou  
ghie into a  
fouresquare  
battel, wth  
the pikes on  
the fronte.  
And the L.  
Vestrie on  
the sides and  
on the back.

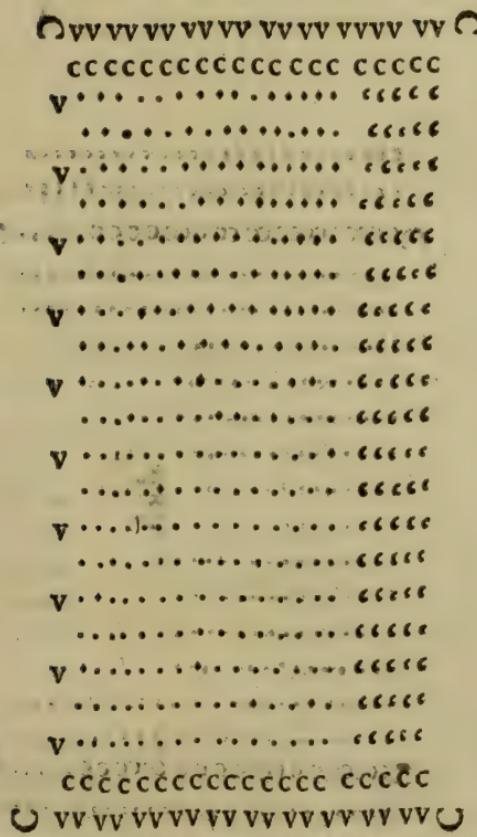
# The seconde

C

This is the  
maner of or-  
dering of.  
CCCC. me  
into.lxxx.  
ranckes, fwe  
to a rancke,  
to bring the  
into a.iii.  
square bat-  
taile vvith  
the pikes on  
the side, as  
after fol-  
loweth.



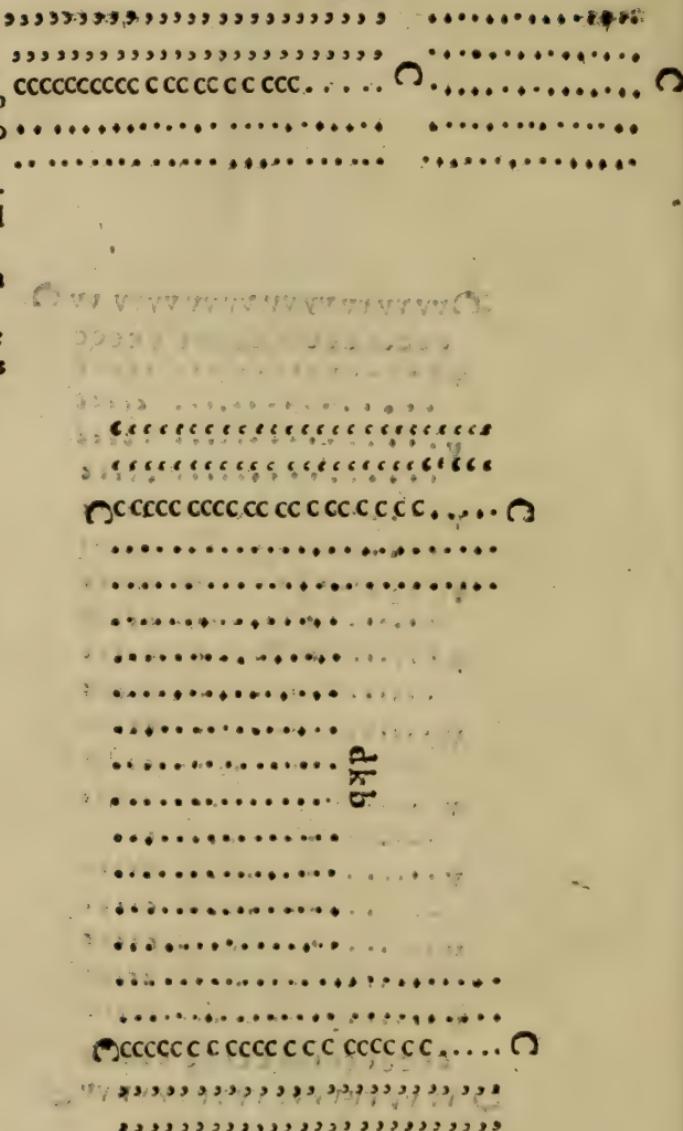
# figure 2



This is the  
forefaide.  
lxxx ranks  
of.iiii.C.mē  
brought in-  
to a foure-  
square bat-  
raile vyth  
the Pikes  
on the side.

# The thirde

These are  
the nobers  
of räckes ap-  
pointed to  
make the  
horned bat-  
taile of, and  
the square  
battail vwith  
the voide  
space in the  
middest, as  
after fol-  
loweth.



*figure.*

THE FOURTH

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## The carriages and

## FIGURE

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*figure.*

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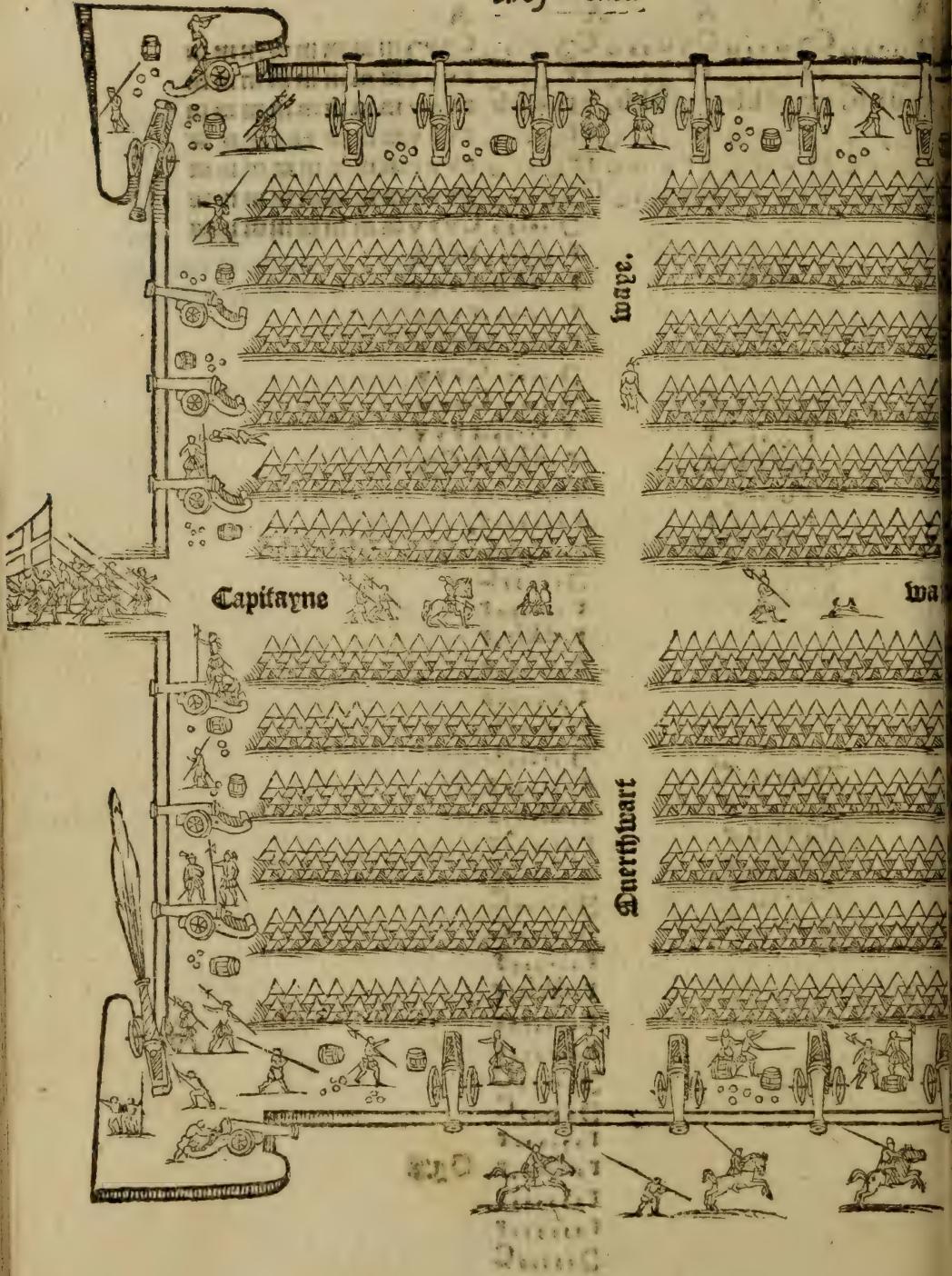
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## FIGURE.

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r,dkb,rr,dkb	rr,dkb,rr,dkb	rr,dkb,rr,dkb	rr,dkb,rr,dkb	rvvvmmmmmmmmmm
r,dkb,rr,dkb,rr	rr,dkb,rr,dkb,rr	rr,dkb,rr,dkb,rr	rr,dkb,rr,dkb,rr	rvvvmmmmmmmmmm
r,dkb,rr,dkb,rr,dkb	rr,dkb,rr,dkb,rr,dkb	rr,dkb,rr,dkb,rr,dkb	rr,dkb,rr,dkb,rr,dkb	rvvvmmmmmmmmmm
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*figure.*

The market place.

Provision of  
Armour.

Market

Provision of  
Vittuals.

The midde

waye.

A place for cattell.

waye.

Private and pub-  
liche Artificers.



**T**he table of certaine principall  
things, contayned in this worke  
of Machiauel.

**G**In the First booke.



By a good man ought not to exercise war-  
fare as his arte. fol. vi.

Dædes of armes ought to be vsed privat-  
lye in time of peace for exercise and in  
time of warre for necessitie and re-  
nowme. fol. viii.

The strength of an armie is the footemen. ix

The Romaynes renewed their Legions and had men  
in the flower of their age. fol. ix.

Whether men of armes ought to be kept. fol. x.

What is requisite for the preparing of an armie. xi.

Out of what countrie souldiours ought to bee chosen. xi.xii  
Souldiours oughte to be chosen, by the auctoritie of the  
Prince, of such men as be his owne subiectes. xiiij.

The difference of ages, that is to bee taken in the cho-  
sing of Souldiours for the restoring of an olde power  
and for the making of a newe. xiii.

The weaponys or power yis prepared, of the natural sub-  
iects, of a comon weale, bringeth profit & not hurt. xiiii.

What cause letted the Venetians, that they made not a  
Monarchi of the wold. xvij.

How an armie may bee prepared in the countrie, where  
were no exercise of warre. xvi.

The custome that the Romaines vsed, in the chosing of  
their souldiours xviij.

The greater nomber of men is best, xvii.

Whether the multitude of armed men are occasion of  
confusson and of disorder. xviii.

How to prohibite, y the captains make no discensio. xix.

**I**n the seconde booke.

**W**hat armour the antiquitie vsed. xx.

The occasio of the boldenesse of y duchemē. xxij.

Whiche maner of arming men is better, either  
the

# The table.

the Dutche or Romaine fashion.	xxij.
Divers examples of late dayes.	xxiiij.
An example of Tigran.	xxv.
Whether the Footemen or the Horsemen oughte to be esteemed moste.	xxvi.
The cause why the Romaines were ouercome of the Parthians.	xxvi.
What order, or what vertue maketh, that Footemen ouercome Horsemenne.	xxvi.
Howe the antiquitie exercised theyr menne to learne them to handle theyr weapons.	xxvij.
What the antiquitie esteemed moste happie in a common weale.	xxviii.
The maner of maintaining the order.	xxix.
What a legion is, of Greces called a Falange, and of Frenchmen Catterua.	xxx.
The devissō of a legiō, & the divers names of orders.	xxx.
The order of battelraye, and the manner of appoynting the battailes.	xxxij.
Howe to order .C .C .C .C .L. men to doo some severall seate.	xxxv.
The fashion of a battaile that the Huisars make like a crosse.	xxxvi.
What carriages the Capitains ought to haue, & the number of carriages requisit to every bande of men.	xxxvij.
Divers effectes caused of divers soundes.	xxxviii.
Wherof commith the utiltie, and the disorder of the armies that are now adayes.	xxxix.
The manner of arming menne.	xl.
The number of carriages that men of armes and light Horsemen oughte to haue.	xl.
¶ In the third booke.	
<b>H</b> e greateste disorder that is vsed nowe adayes in the ordering of an armie.	xlj.
Howe the Romaines deuided theyr army in <i>Hastati, Principi and Triarii.</i>	xlj.
<b>T</b> he	

# The Table.

The manner that the Romaines vseto order them selues againe in the ouerthzowe.	rlg.
The custome of the Greckes.	rlg.
A maine battaile of Suissers.	rlui.
Howe many Legions of Romaine Citezens was in an ordinary armie.	rluy.
The manner howe to pitche a fielde to fighthe a bat- taile.	rluy.
Of what number of fighting menne an armie oughte to be.	rlv.
The description of a battaile that is a fighting.	rlvy.
An example of Lentidio fighting against the Par- thians.	rlvij.
An example of Epaminondas.	rlx.
Howe the Artillerie is vnyprofitable.	rlxi.
Howe that a maine battaile of Suissers cannot occupie more then sowe Pikes.	ly.
Howe the battailes when they come to be eight or ten, maye be receyued in the verye same space, that re- ceiued the ffeue.	lviij.
The armes that the Standarde of all the armie oughte to haue.	lv.
Divers examples of the antiquitie.	lv.
In the fowrthe booke.	
<b>W</b> ether the Fronte of the armie oughte to bee made large.	lvij.
To howe many thinges respecte oughte to bee had, in the ordering of an armie.	lvij.
An example of Scipio.	lvij.
In what place a Capitaine maye order his armie with lauegarde not to be cleane ouerthrowen.	lvij.
Anniball and Scipio praised for the ordering of theyz armies.	lx.
Cartes vset of the Alaticans.	lx.
Divers examples of the antiquitie.	lx.
The prudence whiche the Capitainz oughte to vse, in the	

# The table.

the accidence that chaunce in fighting. I.  
What a Capitaine oughte to do , that is the conque-  
route, or that is conquered. Iii.

A Capitaine oughte not to fighte the battaile, but with  
aduaantage, excepte he be constrained. Iiiij.

Howe to auoide the fighting of the feldes. Iiiij.

Aduertisementes y the Capitaine ought to haue. Iiiij.

Speaking to Souldours helpeth muche to make them  
to be coragious and bolde. Iiiij.

Whether all the armie oughte to bee spoken unto , or  
only to the headdes ther eof. Ixv.

¶ In the fifth booke.

**T**He maner howe to leade an armie gowing thoro-  
we suspected places , or to encounter the ene-  
mye. Ixviij.

An example of Anniball. Ixvij.

Whether any thing oughte to bee commaunded with  
the voice or with the Trumpette. Ix.

The occasiōs why y warres made now a daies, do im-  
poverish y conquerours as wel as the cōquered. Ixij.

Credite oughte not to be geuen to thinges which stande  
nothing with reason. Ixij.

The armye oughte not to knowe what the Capitaine  
purposeth to do. Ixvij.

Divers examples. Ixv.

¶ In the sixte booke.

**T**He maner how to incampe an army. Ixvij.

**T** Howe broade the spaces and the wayes oughte to  
be within the campe. Ixij.

What waye oughte to be vsed when it is requisite to  
incampe neere the enemie. Ixij.

Howe the watche and warde oughte to be apointed in  
the campe, and what punishment they oughte to haue  
that do not theyz dutie. Ixij.

Howe the Romaines prohibited women to be in theyz  
armies and idell games to be vsed. Ixv.

Howe

# The Table.

Howe to tricampe according to the number of menne, and what number of menne mayc suffice againste, what so euer enemye that were.	lxxvij.
Howe to do to bee assured, of the sideletie of those that are had in suspition.	lxxvij.
What a Capitaine oughte to do being besiegled of his enemyes.	lxxxix.
Example of Corilano and others.	lxxxix.
It is requisite chiefely for a Capitaine to keepe his Souldiours punished and paied.	xc.
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Mosle excellente aduertisementes and policies.	xcii.
The occation of the ouerthzowe of the Frenchemenne at Garigliano.	xcij.
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<b>C</b> ities are strong , eyther by nature or by industrie.	xciiij.
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Bulwarkes oughte not to be made oute of a Towne distant from the same.	xcv.
Example of Genoa.	xcv.
Of the Countes Catherin.	xcv.
The fashon of percullesses vsed in Almaine.	xcvi.
Howe the Battelmentes of walles were made at the firste, and howe they are made now adayes.	xcvij.
The prouisions that is meete to bee made , for the de- fence of a Towne.	xcvij.
Divers Policies , for the besiegling and defending of a Towne or Fortresse.	xcix.
Secret conueyng of Letters.	C.
The defence againste a breache,	C.
Generall rules of Warre.	C.

The ende.



