Contents

```
List of figures [page xi]
List of maps [xiii]
List of tables [xiv]
List of texts [xvi]
Preface [xvii]
Notes on abbreviations [xix]
Maps [xxi]
```

- 1 Introduction [1]
 - 1.1 A social and military history of the Ptolemaic state [1]
 - 1.2 Previous views of Ptolemaic Egypt and the army [4]
 - 1.3 A new approach [7]
 - 1.4 Methodology, sources and outline [11]

2 The army in Late period Egypt (664–332 BC) [15]

- 2.1 Brief historical survey [15]
- 2.2 Mercenary service in Egypt from the reign of Psamtek I [18]
 - 2.2.1 Length of soldiers' stays and waves of immigration [19]
 - 2.2.2 Military equipment [20]
 - 2.2.3 Role of mercenaries [22]
 - 2.2.3.1 The civil war between Apries and Amasis [22]
 - 2.2.3.2 Mercenary service from Cambyses to the second Persian occupation [23]
 - 2.2.4 Provenance and distribution [27]
 - 2.2.4.1 Epigraphic evidence for Greeks in Egypt [28]
 - 2.2.4.2 Main Greek settlements [31]
 - 2.2.4.3 Carians [34]
 - 2.2.4.4 A Jewish garrison in Elephantine [36]
 - 2.2.4.5 Cypriots [37]
- 2.3 Egyptian soldiers and the organization of the army [37]

PART I STRUCTURE AND ROLE OF THE ARMY [45]

- 3 Military challenges faced by the Ptolemies: power, money, crisis and reform [49]
 - 3.1 Survey of military events, part I (331–221 BC): army numbers and cost [52]
 - 3.1.1 From Alexander to Ptolemy I: building a Ptolemaic army [52]

vii

viii

Contents

- 3.1.2 Ptolemy II (285–246 BC): the challenge of a thalassocracy [55]
- 3.1.3 Ptolemy III (246–221 BC): the climax of the empire [64]
- 3.1.4 The cost of an empire: financing land army and fleets [66]
 - 3.1.4.1 Tax revenues and booty [67]
 - 3.1.4.2 Cost of the navy [71]
 - 3.1.4.3 Cost of the land army [73]
 - 3.1.4.4 Comparison with the Seleucid empire: prelude to the Fourth Syrian War [75]
 - 3.1.4.5 General assessment of military activity under the first three Ptolemies [83]
- 3.2 Survey of military events, part II (221–31 BC): from Raphia to Cleopatra [86]
 - 3.2.1 Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy V: crisis leading to reform [86]
 - 3.2.1.1 The Fourth Syrian War and the Battle of Raphia [86]
 - 3.2.1.2 The Great Revolt (206–186 BC) [92]
 - 3.2.1.3 The role of soldiers in the Alexandrian mob riots [94]
 - 3.2.1.4 The consequences of the Fifth Syrian War (202–195 BC) and of the Great Revolt [96]
 - 3.2.2 A new era: weaknesses and strengths under Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII (180–116 BC) [98]
 - 3.2.3 The last century of Ptolemaic rule (116–30 BC) [105]
 - 3.2.4 Contrast between the third century and the second and first centuries BC [114]
- 4 Military organization and hierarchy [116]
 - 4.1 Remuneration in wages and in land: mercenaries (*misthophoroi*), cleruchs and *misthophoroi klērouchoi* [118]
 - 4.2 Military organization and reforms [123]
 - 4.2.1 Cavalry units and equipment [125]
 - 4.2.2 Cavalry reforms (c. 220–c. 160 BC) [132]
 - 4.2.3 Infantry units and equipment [133]
 - 4.2.4 Infantry reforms: from Raphia (217 BC) to the 160s BC [142]
 - 4.2.5 Elite troops: cavalry of the guard, royal guard and *agēma* [148]
 - 4.2.6 Elephants [153]
 - 4.3 Military hierarchy [155]
 - 4.3.1 *Hegemones* (officers) and *hipparchai* (cavalry officers) [155]
 - 4.3.2 *Stratēgoi* (generals) [156]
 - 4.3.3 The eponymous officers [158]
- 5 Military recruitment and ethnic composition [160]
 - 5.1 Egyptians in the Ptolemaic army and police [161]
 - 5.2 Macedonian, Greek and other soldiers [166]
 - 5.2.1 Recruitment [166]
 - 5.2.2 Numbers and origin [169]
 - 5.2.3 Ethnic and pseudo-ethnic designations in the army [177]
 - 5.2.3.1 Persai, Persai tēs epigonēs, Epigonoi and Makedones [178]
 - 5.2.3.2 Other regional ethnics [191]

CAMBRIDGE

Contents PART II ECONOMIC STATUS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS OF SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS [197] 6 Settling soldiers [199] 6.1 Chronology, geography and settlement size [202] 6.2 Organization of the cleruchic system [210] 6.2.1 Administrators of the cleruchic system [210] 6.2.2 Rationale behind the evolution of plot size [212] 6.2.3 Expansion of the cleruchic system: integration and leveling [216] 6.3 Taxing cleruchs [221] 6.4 Cleruchs as landowners? [225] 6.4.1 Decrees and official documents [227] 6.4.2 Cleruchs' wills [233] 6.4.3 Cessions of land [235] 6.4.4 Demilitarization of the cleruchic system in the first century BC? [236] 7 Soldiers and officers in the Egyptian countryside [238] 7.1 Cleruchs in the chora: socio-economic status and place of residence [239] 7.1.1 Place of residence of cleruchs [239] 7.1.2 Billeting soldiers and soldiers' billets [242] 7.1.3 Communities of Greek military settlers in the third century BC [246] 7.1.4 Greek, Egyptian and Greco-Egyptian cleruchs in the second century BC [252] 7.1.4.1 Socio-economic status of machimoi [255] 7.2 Professional soldiers in the chōra: socio-economic status and coexistence [261] 7.2.1 Garrisons in the third century BC [261] 7.2.2 Soldiers as intruders in Egyptian temples [263] 7.2.3 Soldiers in garrisons after the Great Revolt [269] 7.2.3.1 Soldiers' wages: the example of Apollonios, brother of Ptolemaios the recluse [271] 7.2.3.2 Akoris and Pathyris: bilingual archives of soldiers' families [273] 7.3 Socio-military and cultic associations [279] 7.3.1 The gymnasium, the neaniskoi, and the associations of basilistai and philobasilistai [280] 7.3.2 From saber-bearers' associations to *politeumata* [290] 7.4 Comparing Ptolemaic and Seleucid settlements: long-term consequences [295] PART III THE ARMY AND EGYPTIAN TEMPLES [301] 8 Priests in the army: a politico-ideological explanation [303] 8.1 The Ptolemies and Egyptian temples [305]

ix

х

Contents

- 8.2 Methodology and sources [307]
 - 8.2.1 Presentation and biases of sources used by Chevereau [307]
 - 8.2.2 Striding draped male figures: dating by art historians and by Chevereau [308]
 - 8.2.3 Presentation and biases of sources used by the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* [310]
- 8.3 Pre-Ptolemaic Egypt: statistics by period [311]
- 8.4 Distribution of soldiers and officers with priestly functions over time and space [313]
- 8.5 Social background of soldiers and officers with priestly functions [316]8.5.1 Lower-level soldiers [317]
 - 8.5.2 *Mr-mš*[·]-officers, nome-*stratēgoi* and Egyptian commanders [319]
- 8.6 Greek and Egyptian backgrounds [321]
 - 8.6.1 Greeks as priests of Egyptian gods [322]
 - 8.6.2 The Egyptian priestly elite within the Ptolemaic army [323]
- 8.7 Conclusion [327]
- 9 The army and Egyptian temple-building [329]
 - 9.1 Previous views on temple-building and euergetism in Egypt [330]
 - 9.2 New model of financing Egyptian temple-building: the role of
 - the army [333]
 - 9.3 Thebaid and Nile Valley [335]
 - 9.4 Fayyum [348]
 - 9.5 Memphis and the Delta [352]
 - 9.6 Conclusion [355]
- 10 Conclusion [363]

Appendix[369]Glossary of technical terms[379]Bibliography[382]Index of sources[419]General index[432]