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978-1-107-41930-8 - The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World: Hare Prize Essay, 1933

G. T. Griffith

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OF THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

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THE MERCENARIES OF THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

by

G. T. GRIFFITH

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Cambridge*

HARE PRIZE ESSAY, 1933

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This essay, under the title “The Greek Soldier of Fortune”, was awarded the Hare Prize for 1933. It attempted to cover the whole ground of Greek and Hellenistic history; but the publication of Mr (now Professor) H. W. Parke’s admirable study, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers—from the earliest times to the Battle of Ipsus* (Oxford, 1933), made it unnecessary and undesirable for me to publish the earlier part of my own work. My first thanks are therefore due to the Awarders of the Hare Prize, for allowing this book to appear in its present form, which excludes most of what was redundant with Professor Parke’s study, and includes such alterations and additions as I have thought fit to make.

I wish to thank especially Professor F. E. Adcock for his constant help to me both as a scholar and as a friend, without which this book would have been many times more imperfect than it is now: Mr B. L. Hallward, who first suggested this subject of research to me and has always shown a friendly interest in its progress: Mr N. G. L. Hammond for his great kindness and vigilance in reading the book in proof: Dr F. Heichelheim for much valuable help and advice with the Hellenistic documents: the late M. Maurice Holleaux for generously allowing me to make use of an unpublished inscription and of his own notes upon it (pp. 171, 241): and Dr W. W. Tarn for the keen and encouraging criticism which he has always placed at my disposal when I have asked for it, and which has been of more value to me than I can say.

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The ancient sources will everywhere be indicated as they occur.¹

Of modern authorities, the following studies of special military topics have been of the most value:

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H. W. PARKE. *Greek Mercenary Soldiers—from the earliest times to the Battle of Ipsus.* Oxford, 1933.
- (b) J. LESQUIER. *Les institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides.* Paris, 1911.
W. SCHUBART. *Quaestiones de rebus militaribus, quales fuerint in regno Lagidarum.* Diss. Breslau, 1900.
- (c) A. J. REINACH. *Les mercenaires et les colonies militaires de Pergame.* *Rev. Arch.* xii, 1908, pp. 174, 364; xiii, 1909, pp. 102, 363. (This article remained unfinished.)
- (d) J. KROMAYER und U. VEITH. *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer.* Munich, 1928.
O. LIPPELT. *Die griechische Leichtbewaffneten bis auf Alexander den Grossen.* Diss. Jena, 1910.
A. SPENDEL. *Untersuchungen zum Heerwesen der Diadochen.* Diss. Breslau, 1915.

¹ References to Polybius are to the edition of Büttner-Wobst.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.J.A.	American Journal of Archaeology.
Aktenstücke	U. Wilcken, Aktenstücke aus dem königlichen Bank zu Theben.
Ἄρχ. ἐφ.	Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς.
Archiv	Archiv für Papyrusforschung, etc.
B.C.H.	Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique.
B.G.U.	Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden.
Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.	Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie.
C.A.H.	Cambridge Ancient History.
C.I.G.	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Dikaiomata	Dikaiomata, Auszüge aus alexandrinischen Gesetzen herausgegeben von der Graeca Halensis.
Ditt. Syll. ³	W. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum. Ed. 3.
F.G.H.	F. Jacoby, Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.
F.H.G.	C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.
G.G.A.	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Head, H. N. ²	B. V. Head, Historia Numorum. Ed. 2.
I.G.	Inscriptiones Graecae.
I.G. ²	Inscriptiones Graecae. Editio minor.
Insch. v. Perg.	M. Fränkel, Inschriften von Pergamon.
J.E.A.	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
J.H.S.	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
K. Grote	K. Grote, Das griechische Söldnerwesen der hellenistischen Zeit. Diss. Jena, 1913.
Klio	Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
L. and S.	Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon. Ed. 9.
Mon. ant.	Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della r. Accademia dei Lincei.
O.G.I.S.	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Parke	H. W. Parke, Greek Mercenary Soldiers, etc. Oxford, 1933.
P. Cairo Zen.	C. C. Edgar, Zenon Papyri. Cairo, 1925, etc.
P. Freib.	M. Gelzer, Mitteilungen aus der Freiburger Papyrussammlung, i-ii. (Sitzungsberichte Heidelberg, 1914.)
P. Grenf. I	B. P. Grenfell, An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri chiefly Ptolemaic. Oxford, 1896.
P. Grenf. II	B. P. Grenfell and A. Hunt, New Classical Fragments and other Greek and Latin Papyri. Oxford, 1897.
P. Gurob	J. G. Smyly, Greek Papyri from Gurob. Dublin, 1921.
P. Hamb.	P. M. Meyer, Griechische Papyruskunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek. Leipzig, 1911, etc.
P. Lille	P. Jouguet, etc., Papyrus Greco. Paris, 1907, etc.
P. Lond.	F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell, Greek Papyri in the British Museum. London, 1893, etc.
P. Mich. Zen.	C. C. Edgar, Zenon papyri in the University of Michigan Collection. Ann Arbor, 1931.

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ABBREVIATIONS

P. Paris	Brunet de Presle, <i>Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque impériale</i> , xviii. Paris, 1865.
P. Petr.	J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly, <i>The Flinders Petrie Papyri</i> . Dublin, 1891, etc.
P. Rein.	Th. Reinach, <i>Papyrus grecs et démotiques</i> . Paris, 1905.
P.S.I.	<i>Papiri greci e latini</i> . (Pubbl. della Soc. Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri gr. e lat. in Egitto.) Florence, 1912, etc.
P. Strassb.	F. Preisigke, <i>Griechische Papyrus der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg</i> . Leipzig, 1912, etc.
P. Tebt.	P. B. Grenfell, A. Hunt and J. Goodspeed, <i>The Tebtunis Papyri</i> . London, 1907, etc.
P. Tor.	A. Peyron, <i>Papyri graeci Regii Taurinensis Musaei Aegyptii</i> . 1826–7.
P.-W.	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> .
R.E.A.	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i> .
R.E.G.	<i>Revue des études grecques</i> .
Rev. Arch.	<i>Revue archéologique</i> .
Riv. di fil.	<i>Rivista di filologia</i> .
S.B. Ak. Wien	<i>Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien</i> .
S.E.G.	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> .
U.P.Z.	U. Wilcken, <i>Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit</i> .