

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPARATIVE HISTORY
OF ANCIENT LAW

The Cambridge Comparative History of Ancient Law is the first of its kind in the field of comparative ancient legal history. Written collaboratively by a dedicated team of international experts, each chapter offers a new framing and understanding of key legal concepts, practices and historical contexts across five major legal traditions of the ancient world. Stretching chronologically across more than three and a half millennia, from the earliest, very fragmentary, proto-cuneiform tablets (3200–3000 BCE) to the Tang Code of 652 CE, the volume challenges earlier comparative histories of ancient law/societies, at the same time as opening up new areas for future scholarship across a wealth of surviving ancient Near Eastern, Indian, Chinese, Greek and Roman primary source evidence. Topics covered include ‘law as text’, legal science, inter-polity relations, law and the state, law and religion, legal procedure, personal status and the family, crime, property and contract.

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Edited by Caroline Humfress , David Ibbetson , Patrick Olivelle

Frontmatter

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THE CAMBRIDGE
COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF
ANCIENT LAW

*

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Preface

‘A straight question deserves a straight answer, so here goes. What is the use of comparison? Quite simply, I have joined the camp of those who prefer a history that is open to all human societies across both space and time.’¹

An aeon ago, lost in the mists of time (c. 2010 CE), two Romanists and an Indologist had a dream: to fashion a properly comparative history of ancient law which would showcase the complexity of legal thought and practice across ancient Eurasian societies and traditions. That dream has taken a lot longer to realize than anyone – with the exception perhaps of Michael Crawford – originally anticipated. The fact that it has been realized at all is a testimony, first, to the international team of specialists who have generously dedicated their time, expertise and resources to the *Cambridge Comparative History of Ancient Law (CCHAL)* project for well over a decade, and second, to the unwavering support of Dr Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press.

The shape of the *CCHAL* project and its distinctive working methodology were developed collaboratively over the course of four international project meetings. The first and second project meetings were hosted by the Faculty of Law at the University of Cambridge in May 2011 and June 2012, with funding support from The Maitland Trust. The third project meeting took place in July 2014 at Yale Law School, generously funded by the same, with the support of Professor Jim Whitman. The fourth and final meeting was held at the University of St Andrews in May 2017, with funding support from The Leverhulme Trust, the University of St Andrews and Cambridge University Press.

The initial goal of the *CCHAL* project was to redefine the mainstream study of ancient law, by placing ancient Near Eastern, Hellenistic, Greek, Egyptian, Roman, Chinese and Indian source material in conversation with each other.

¹ Detienne 2008: 37.

Preface

The formidable linguistic, technical, legal, historical and comparative skills needed to achieve this goal could only be met by assembling a relatively large team of experts into five, roughly area-specific, working groups: ‘Near Eastern’, including a specialist ‘Egypt’ sub-group; ‘Greek’ / ‘Hellenistic’; ‘Roman’; specialists in ancient ‘Chinese’ material; and specialists in ancient ‘Indian’ sources.² At the second project meeting in 2012, the decision was taken that every chapter in *CCHAL* would be written collaboratively by a designated team, with a working methodology that was more in line with that of the social sciences, than with the usual working practices of ancient lawyers and historians.

Every *CCHAL* chapter is, accordingly, the product of collaborative work undertaken by a discrete team of experts – as far as possible corresponding to one specialist from each major ancient legal tradition – working under the direction of a lead chapter writer. Early in the project, a further crucial decision was taken that the basic structure and framework for each chapter would be decided by that chapter’s lead author: for example, Chapter 7 ‘Legal Procedure’ is structured according to the categories and typologies found in relevant ancient Indian material (as proposed by Patrick Olivelle, its lead author). Once a lead author had circulated their initial plan for their respective chapter, that chapter’s team of experts was asked to comment on the categories, assumptions and typologies that underpinned the proposed plan – in addition to providing the lead chapter author with specific information and scholarly detail from their own fields of expertise. Each and every *CCHAL* chapter has thus been repeatedly planned, written, rewritten and refined over time. This challenging and labour-intensive working method had two self-conscious aims: first, to develop a genuinely comparative perspective for each and every topic covered, and second, to remove any temptation to centre ‘Rome’ as a default category against which all other ancient legal traditions could (. . . should . . . would) be compared.³

The *CCHAL* is thus as much an experiment in collaborative working and thinking, as it is a set of comparative essays on discrete themes relating to

2 Contributors to the *CCHAL* project have included Simon Corcoran, Michael Crawford, Caroline Humfress, David Ibbetson, Andrew Lewis, Dario Mantovani, Benet Salway, Boudewijn Sirks, Jim Whitman (Roman); Donald Davis, Ethan Kroll, Timothy Lubin, Mark McClish, Patrick Olivelle (Indian); Michael Gagarin, Edward Harris, Robin Osborne, Nicolas Wiater (Greek and Hellenistic); Ernest Caldwell, Geoffrey MacCormack, Robin Yates (China); Noah Bickart, Ari Bryen, Sophie Démare-Lafont, Joseph G. Manning, Rachel Neis, Martha Roth, William Tooman, Katelijn Vandorpe, Bruce Wells (Near Eastern and Egypt). And Michael Sharp (Cambridge University Press).

3 See Chapter 12, this volume, for further discussion.

Preface

ancient law. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 12, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars compared ancient laws and legal systems but from within progressivist and teleological frameworks of development, more usually than not connecting ancient legal traditions with modern processes of nation-state construction. The *CCHAL* project, in contrast, is aligned with a twenty-first-century movement away from a 'national legal history' trend, towards the more cosmopolitan – if not global – impetus that animates much legal history today. We hope that our readers will take away a sense of what is distinctive about the various ancient legal traditions identified, rather than assuming that all 'ancient law' was the same – in addition to an appreciation of ancient legal traditions as dynamic and complex in various, contrasting and similar, ways.

Our concentration throughout has been on comparative legal history, rather than comparative law with a historical focus. In other words, we write as ancient historians who work on law and legal institutions, rather than as ancient lawyers who are interested primarily in doctrinal law. Chapter 1 lays out the basic parameters of our ancient source material and evidence, but it is perhaps worth stating at the outset what we mean by the term 'legal tradition'. We adopt the working definition of Duve:

'Legal traditions' are now increasingly understood as a product of a long-standing diachronic process of communication – isolated from the chaotic mass of historical normativity by later observers, but by no means pure and clearly delimited from each other. They say more about those who construct them than about the historical path-dependencies, which are much more complex evolutionary processes . . . it should be the permanent task of legal historians to point out the complexity of the evolution of law, the manifold processes of exchange, and thus also the constructed character of 'legal traditions'.⁴

The *CCHAL* project did not set out to produce a taxonomy of five, or so, major ancient legal traditions. We intend 'legal tradition' as a heuristic labelling device, not as a description of a set of realities on the ground. Our five ancient legal traditions should not be thought of as internally coherent units or 'systems'. There are 'no stable historical or geographical referents' that correspond to our five (or so) ancient legal traditions.⁵ As discussed in Chapter 12, we have been all too aware of the dangers of seemingly

⁴ Duve 2022: 362–63. ⁵ To adapt a phrase from Ruskola 2012: 258.

Preface

compressing vast swathes of historical time and space into a single designation: ‘Near Eastern’, for example. We were forced to take a number of other pragmatic decisions too, for example excluding *shar’ia* despite the fact that early Islamic legal material is best understood as part of the (late) antique world.

As Chapter 2 outlines, what each of our five (or so) ancient legal traditions share is the existence of written evidence for their early history. We did not set out with the aim of tracing legal genealogies or causal connections, though of course these exist and merit much more detailed study (for example, in terms of transregional connectivity through trade networks; political and/or sociocultural contact, such as the Achaemenid expansion into the Indus Valley; imperial conquest and other military action, etc.). A fundamental and on-going challenge has been how to compare where we seemingly lack (evidence for) both structure and system, especially when our understanding of ‘law’ in a given ancient context may lie through a rejection of modern categories such as ‘system of laws’, ‘administration of justice’, ‘criminal law’, etc. Would a distinction between ‘law’ and ‘custom’, for example, have had (the same) meaning across all the ancient times and places referred to within these chapters?

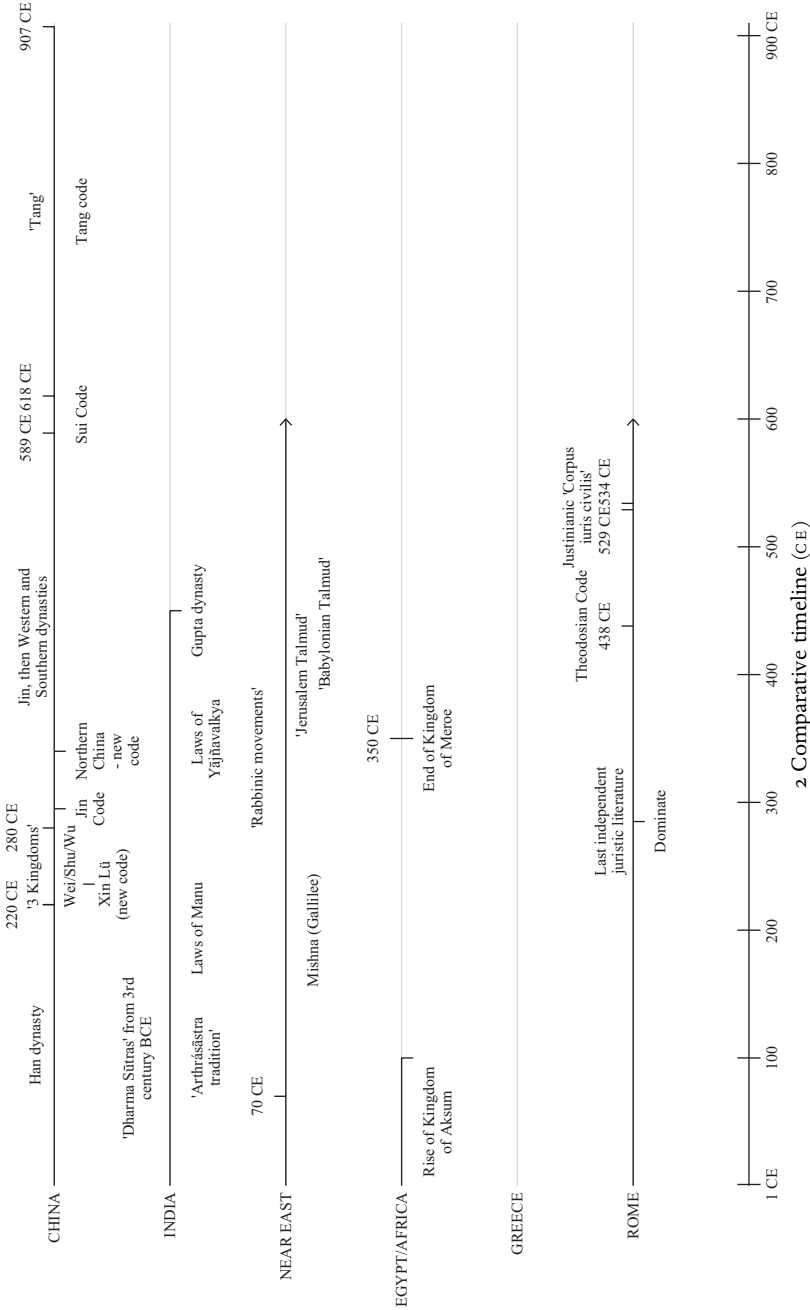
In the end, after much discussion, we arrived at ten substantive topics for comparison: ‘law as text’ (Chapter 2, lead author Michael Gagarin, Greek); ‘legal science’ (Chapter 3, lead author Dario Mantovani, Roman); ‘war, peace and interstate relations’ (Chapter 4, lead author Katelijjn Vandorpe, Near Eastern / Egyptian); ‘law and the state’ (Chapter 5, lead author Mark McClish, Indian); ‘law and religion’ (Chapter 6, lead author Bruce Wells, Near Eastern); ‘legal procedure’ (Chapter 7, lead author Patrick Olivelle, Indian); ‘status and family’ (Chapter 8, lead author Timothy Lubin, Indian); ‘crime, redress and social control’ (Chapter 9, lead author Ari Bryen, Roman / Egyptian); ‘property’ (Chapter 10, lead author Joseph G. Manning, Near Eastern / Egyptian); and ‘contract’ (Chapter 11, lead author David Ibbetson, Roman). All categories are ‘generic enough to allow the beginnings of a comparison but neither [are] too general nor too specific to any particular culture’.⁶ Chapter 12 concludes with a set of broader frameworks and observations, and an invitation to future comparative research.

A project that has been this long in the making does not come to fruition without incurring innumerable debts, scholarly and otherwise. First and

⁶ Detienne 2008: 25.

Preface

foremost, we thank our fellow project contributors and Michael Sharp and his team at Cambridge University for keeping faith with us (and at times it really did seem like an act of faith!). We owe an immense debt of gratitude to our respective academic institutions: Birkbeck College, University of London; University of Cambridge; University of St Andrews; and the University of Texas at Austin, in addition to the funders who made our four international project meetings possible: The Maitland Trust, The Leverhulme Trust, Cambridge University Press and the Law School, Yale University. We also acknowledge the additional bibliographical research undertaken by Glenn Mills and Freja Stamper in their roles as Undergraduate Research Assistants to Caroline Humfress, at the University of St Andrews (2018 to 2019).



Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
Aes.	Aeschylus
Aeschin.	Aeschines, <i>Speeches</i>
Andoc.	Andocides, <i>Speeches</i>
ĀpDh	<i>Āpastamba Dharmaśāstra</i>
Arist.	Aristotle
ARM	<i>Archives royales de Mari</i> (1950–). Paris
Aulus Gellius	Aulus Gellius, <i>Attic Nights</i>
AT	Wiseman, D. J. (1953) <i>The Alalakh Tablets</i> . Ankara
<i>Ath. pol.</i>	<i>Athenaion politeia</i> [<i>Constitution of the Athenians</i>]
<i>b. B. Bat.</i>	<i>Baba Batra</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. B.K.</i>	<i>Baba Kamma</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Git.</i>	<i>Gittin</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Hul.</i>	<i>Hullin</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Ket.</i>	<i>Kethuboth</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Kidd.</i>	<i>Kiddushin</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Ned.</i>	<i>Nedarim</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Pes.</i>	<i>Pesachim</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Qam.</i>	<i>Baba Qama</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Qidd.</i>	<i>Qiddushin</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Sanh.</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Shabb.</i>	<i>Shabbat</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Shavu.</i>	<i>Shavu'ot</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Sotah</i>	<i>Sotah</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Yeb.</i>	<i>Yebhamoth</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
<i>b. Yoma</i>	<i>Yoma</i> , Babylonian Talmud [Tractate]
BDh	<i>Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra</i>

List of Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
<i>BrSm</i>	<i>Bṛhaspati Smṛti</i>
Bruns, <i>Fontes</i>	Bruns, C. G., Mommsen, T. and Gradenwitz, O. (1909–12) <i>Fontes</i>
Chr	Chronicles (Hebrew Bible)
Cic. <i>Att.</i>	Cicero, <i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
Cic. <i>Balb.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Balbo</i>
Cic. <i>Brut.</i>	Cicero, <i>Brutus</i>
Cic. <i>Cat. or.</i>	Cicero, <i>In Catilinam</i>
Cic. <i>De off.</i>	Cicero, <i>De officiis</i>
Cic. <i>De orat.</i>	Cicero, <i>De oratore</i>
Cic. <i>De rep.</i>	Cicero, <i>De republica</i>
Cic. <i>Verr.</i>	Cicero, <i>In Verrem</i>
Cic. <i>Part. or.</i>	Cicero, <i>Partitiones oratoriae</i>
Cic. <i>Top.</i>	Cicero, <i>Topica</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (1825–60)
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (1863–)
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (1864–)
CT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i> (1896–). London
CTH	Laroche, L. (1966/1971 repr.), <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris
Dem.	Demosthenes, <i>Speeches</i>
[Dem.]	Pseudo-Demosthenes, <i>Speeches</i>
DHal	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Rhōmaïke archaiologia (Roman Antiquities)</i>
Deut	Deuteronomy (Hebrew Bible)
Dio	Dio Chrysostomus, <i>Speeches</i>
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca Historica</i>
EA	Knudtzon, J. (1914), <i>Die El-Amarna Tafeln</i> . Leipzig
Exod	Exodus (Hebrew Bible)
Ezra	Ezra (Hebrew Bible)
GDh	<i>Gautama Dharmasūtra</i>
Gen	Genesis (Hebrew Bible)
Herodotus	Herodotus, <i>Histories</i>
Hesiod, <i>Works</i>	Hesiod, <i>Works and Days</i>
Hesiod, <i>Theog.</i>	Hesiod, <i>Theogony</i>

List of Abbreviations

IC	Guarducci, M. (ed.) (1935–1950), <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> . 4 vols. Rome
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (1873–)
ILAlg	[Volume I] Gsell, S. (ed.) (1922), <i>Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie</i> . 2 vols. Paris; [Volume II] Pflaum, H.-G. (ed.) (1957 and 1976), <i>Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie</i> . 2 vols. Algiers
ILAFr	Cagnat, R. and Merlin, A. with the collaboration of Chatelain, M. L. (1923), <i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)</i> . Paris
<i>Iliad</i>	Homer, <i>Iliad</i>
<i>Iscrizioni di Cos</i>	Segre, M. (ed.) (1993), <i>Iscrizioni di Cos</i> . Rome
Isaeus	Isaeus, <i>Speeches</i>
Isocrates	Isocrates, <i>Speeches</i>
JEN	Chiera, E. (ed.) (1927–39), <i>Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi</i> . 6 vols. Paris
Jer	Jeremiah (Hebrew Bible)
Justinian, <i>Digest</i>	Justinian, <i>Digest</i> : Watson, A. et al. (eds. and trans.) (1985), <i>The Digest of Justinian</i> . 4 vols. Philadelphia, PA
Justinian, <i>Cod.</i>	Justinian, <i>Codex repetitae praelectionis</i> : Frier, Bruce W. et al. (2016) (eds. and trans.), <i>The Codex of Justinian: A New Annotated Translation with Parallel Latin and Greek Text</i> . 2 vols. Cambridge
Justinian, <i>Inst.</i>	Justinian, <i>Institutes</i> : Birks, P. and McLeod, G. (1987) (eds. and trans.) <i>Justinian's Institutes</i> . London
Juvenal	<i>Satires</i>
KAŚ	<i>Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra</i>
KātSm.	<i>Kātyāyana Smṛti</i>
KātyDh	<i>Kātyāyana Dharmaśāstra</i>
Kbo	Figulla, H. (1916–21) <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> . Leipzig/Berlin
Kgs	Kings (Hebrew Bible)
Lev	Leviticus (Hebrew Bible)
	<i>Lex Irnitana</i> Crawford, M. H. and González, J. (eds. and trans.) (1986), 'The <i>lex Irnitana</i> : A

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	New Copy of the Flavian Municipal Law', <i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> 76: 147–253
Liban. <i>Ep.</i>	Libanius, <i>Letters</i>
Liv.	Livy, <i>Ab urbe condita</i> [History of Rome]
LSAM	Sokolowski, F. (ed.) (1955), <i>Lois sacrées d'Asie Mineure</i> . Paris
LSCG	Sokolowski, F. (ed.) (1969), <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Paris
LSS	Sokolowski, F. (ed.) (1962), <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques: supplément</i> . Paris
Lys.	Lysias, <i>Speeches</i>
M.Chr.	Mitteis, L. and Wilcken, U. (1912) <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig/Berlin
MDh	<i>Mānava Dharmasāstra</i> [Manu, Law Code]
m. 'Ar.	'Arakin, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
m. 'Avot	Avot, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
m. Baba Batra	Baba Batra, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
m. Hag.	Hagigah, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
m. Pe'ah	Pe'ah, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
m. Pesah.	Pesahim, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
m. Qidd.	Qiddushin, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
m. Sanh.	Sanhedrin, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
m. Shabb.	Shabbat, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
m. Sukkah	Sukkah, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
m. Yeba.	Yebamot, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
m. Yoma	Yoma, <i>Mishnah</i> (Tractate)
Menander	Menander, <i>Fragments</i>
ML	Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D. (eds.) (1989), <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> . Rev. ed. Oxford
NārDh	<i>Nārada Dharmasāstra</i>
NSm	<i>Nārada Smṛti</i>
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
Num	Numbers (Hebrew Bible)
Od.	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>
OGIS	Dittenberger, W. (1903 and 1905), <i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Supplementum</i>

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- sylloges inscriptionum graecarum*. 2 vols. Leipzig
- P. BM *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum (1939–1990)*. 4 vols. London
- P. BM Andrews Andrews, C. A. R. (ed.) (1990), *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*. London
- P. BM Glanville Glanville, S. R. K. (ed.) (1939), *A Theban Archive of the Reign of Ptolemy I Soter*. London
- P. Coll. Youtie Hanson, A. E., et al. (eds.) (1976), *Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts Published in Honor of H.C. Youtie*. Bonn
- P. Fam. Tebt. van Groningen, B. A. (ed.) (1950), *A Family Archive from Tebtunis*. Leiden
- P. Flor. Comparetti, D. and Vitelli, G. (eds.) (1906–15, repr. 1962), *Papiri greco-egizii, papiri fiorentini*. 3 vols. Milan
- P. Hal. *Dikaionata: Auszüge aus alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen in einem Papyrus des Philologischen Seminars der Universität Halle (Pap.Hal. 1), von der Graeca Halensis (1913)*. Berlin
- P. Hausw. Manning Manning, J. (ed.) (1997), *The Hauswaldt Papyri (Demotic Studies XII)*. Nos. 1–25. Sommerhausen
- P. Mattha Donker van Heel, K. (ed. and trans.) (1990), *The Legal Manual of Hermopolis (P. Mattha)*. Leiden
- P. Mich. *Michigan Papyri (1931–)*. Ann Arbor
- P. Oslo *Papyri Osloenses (1925–36)*. 3 vols. Oslo
- P. Oxy. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri (1898–)*. London
- P. Petra *The Petra Papyri (2002–18)*. 5 vols. Amman
- P. Rein. [Volume I] Reinach, T., Spiegelberg, W. and de Ricci, S. (eds.) (1905), *Papyrus grecs et démotiques recueillis en Égypte*. Paris; [Volume II] Collart, P. (ed.) (1940), *Les Papyrus Théodore Reinach*. Cairo
- P. Tebt. *The Tebtunis Papyri (1902–2005)*. 5 vols. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Leiden and Boston

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P. Tsenhor	Pestman, P. W. (ed.) (1994), <i>Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor (P. Tsenhor)</i> . Leuven
Philostr. VA	Philostratus, <i>Life of Apollonius</i>
Pind. Ol.	Pindar, <i>Olympian Odes</i>
Pl. Apol.	Plato, <i>Apology</i>
Pl. Euthyphro	Plato, <i>Euthyphro</i>
Pl. Laws	Plato, <i>Laws</i>
Pl. Symp.	Plato, <i>Symposium</i>
Pliny Ep.	Pliny the Younger, <i>Letters</i>
Plut. Vit. Caes.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Caesar</i>
Plut. Vit. Lyk	Plutarch, <i>Life of Lykourgos</i>
Plut. Vit. Pyrrh.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Pyrrhus</i>
Plut. Vit. Ti. Gracch.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Tiberius Gracchus</i>
Plut. Vit. Sol.	Plutarch, <i>Life of Solon</i>
Pollux	Julius Pollux, <i>Onomasticon</i>
Polybius	Polybius, <i>Histories</i>
Prov	Proverbs (Hebrew Bible)
Psalm	Book of Psalms (Hebrew Bible)
Ps. Asc. Verr.	Ps-Asconius, <i>Commentary on the Verrines</i> <i>Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra Mimamsa sutra</i> of Rishi Jaimini
Res Gestae	Caesar Augustus, <i>Res Gestae Divi Augusti</i>
Ṛgveda	<i>The RigVeda</i>
Rhet. Her.	<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>
RO	Rhodes, P. J. and Osborne, R. (eds.) (2007), <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> . 2nd ed. Oxford <i>Śabara-Bhāṣya</i> Commentary by Sabara-svāmin on the <i>Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra</i> of Jaimini
Sam	Samuel (Hebrew Bible)
SB	Preisigke, F. et al. (1963 repr. –) <i>Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> . Wiesbaden
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (1923–) [references are to volume and inscription number]
Sifre Deut.	<i>Sifre Deuteronomy</i>
Soph. OT	Sophocles, <i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>

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Soph. <i>Ant.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Antigone</i>
Strabo	<i>Geography</i>
<i>Tab.</i>	Twelve Tables, in S. Riccobono, <i>Fontes juris romani antejustiniani, I: Leges</i> . Florentiae 1940–42 (2nd ed.)
tabl. A	Tablet A: Driver, G. R. and Miles, J. C. (eds. and trans.) (1935), <i>The Assyrian Laws, Edited with Translation and Commentary</i> . Oxford
<i>Tac. Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>
<i>T. Berakhot</i>	<i>Tractate Berakhot</i>
<i>Theod. Cod.</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> (Theodosian Code)
<i>Theoph. Char.</i>	Theophrastus, <i>Characteres</i>
<i>Theoph. fr.</i>	Theophrastus, fragment (trans. Szegedy-Maszak)
Thgn.	Theognis, <i>Elegaic Poems</i>
Thuc.	Thucydides, <i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i>
<i>T. Shabbat</i>	<i>Tractate Shabbat</i>
UPZ	Wilcken, U. (ed.) (1977), <i>Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)</i> . 2 vols. Berlin.
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus, <i>Facta et dicta memorabilia</i>
VDh	<i>Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra</i>
ViDh	<i>Viṣṇu Dharmaśāstra</i>
Xen. <i>Hell.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>
Xen. <i>Mem.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Memorabilia</i>
YDh	<i>Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra</i>
YOS	Yale Oriental Series

Maps



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