

- 35) – in the way that used to be so common (before the publication of Brunt, ALRR) in regard to the demand for *nonne tabulae* in the Catilinarian affair of 63 B.C. In regard to Sherk, *RDGE* 40 (= *SIG*³ 643 = *FD* III iv.75), lines 22–4, Green claims that there is no warrant for inserting, with Colin and Pointon, τὸ πᾶθος οὐ τὸ πᾶθος θεράπειον (line 22 or 23). But the document (an official Roman letter to Delphi) does have ἀποθέσειν τοῖς προσηγορίαις in line 23, [καὶ νεο-τεταμένους ἐποικίς in line 24, and ἄλλοι τὸ τίσις εἰς τὰ κοινὰ in line 21; and this language surely suggests actions against some ruling groups in favour of others who were disfranchised or under-privileged, rather than mere support of factions of *principes* against similar factions in the party struggles which were certainly rife at this period in some areas of Greece, including Aetolia (contrast Gruen, *op. cit.* 36 and 53 nn.66–7). Even a ‘party struggle’, which Gruen would dismiss as such and no more (n.67), might have strong class determinants: the extreme bitterness of the one in question (*Livy* XXI.25.3–4) may well have been due to its having that character. (However, since reading the article by Mendels cited at the end of n.2 above, I would agree with him that the statements I have quoted from the inscription must be treated with extreme distrust, as Roman propaganda which may have little or no basis in fact.)
5. The fullest narrative in English is still that of Ferguson, *HA* 440–59; but the reader should begin with 435 ff., describing the oligarchy which preceded the uprising. See, however, Day, *EHARD* 109–10, esp. n.346 for a modification of Ferguson’s chronology. Cf. also Silvio Accame, *Il dominio romano in Grecia dalla guerra actica ad Augusto* (Rome, 1946) 163–71, and the bibliography in Magie, *RRAM* II.1106 n.42. The principal sources are Poseidonius, *FGH* 87 F.36 (ap. *Athen.* V.211d–15b); *App., Mith.* 28–39; *Plut., Sulla* 11–14. Other sources are given in Greenidge and Clay, *Sources*² 169–70, 178, 181–2. It is interesting to find Plutarch singling out Aristion, with Nabis and Canine, as the most pestiferous type of politician (*Prac. ger. reip.* 809c).
 6. For the damage done to Athens (and in Attica generally) by Sulla, see the material conveniently collected by A. J. Pappas, in *Ελληνικά* 28 (1975) 49–50 n.3.
 7. Cf. Josef Delz, *Lukians Kenntnis der athenischen Antiquitäten* (Diss., Basel, 1950).
 8. In F. Bömer’s monumental work in four parts dealing with the religion of Greek and Roman slaves, *LRSGR*, the relevant portion is III (1961) 396 (154) to 415 (173). The book by Fr. Carrata Thomas is *La rivolta di Aristonico e le origini della provincia romana d’Asia* (Turin, 1968); see the review by John Briscoe, in *CR* 86 = n.s. 22 (1972) 132–3. J. C. Dumont’s article, ‘À propos d’Aristonico’, is in *Eirene* 5 (1966) 189–96. Joseph Vogt’s treatment of the subject appeared originally in his *Struktur der antiken Sklavenkriege* (= *Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. in Mainz, Geistes- u. sozialwiss. Klasse*, 1957, no. 1), and has been republished in his *Sklaverei und Humanität* (= *Historia Einzelschr.* 8, 1972), at 20–60, with the brief paper, ‘Pergamon und Aristonikos’ (61–8), first published in the *Atti del terzo congresso internaz. di epigrafia greca e latina* (Rome, 1959) 45–54. See now Vogt, *ASIM* (in Eng. trans.) 39–92, 93–102 (with 213–14). For further discussion and bibliography see Magie, *RRAM* I.144, 148–54, with II.1034–42 nn.2–25; Will, *HPM* III.352–6.
 9. These are perhaps the same category as e.g. (a) the λαοί of *SEG* XVII.817 (second quarter of the third century B.C.), from Apollonia, mentioned beside the *πολιτεῖα* in line 4 of the poem (cf. Joyce Reynolds, in *Apollonia*, Suppl. Vol. of *Libya Antiqua* [1977], 205–6, no. 2); and (b) τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔθνεα mentioned in *SEG* XX.729, line 4, beside Cyrene itself καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις.
 10. *SEG* XVI.931 (cf. *IGRR* I.1024), of the last century B.C., is a decree of the [ἄρ]χοινοί and *πολιτεῖα* of the Jewish community at Berenice (lines 12–13), earlier Euhesperides and now Benghazi. Some Jews evidently became full citizens of Cyrene: see e.g. *SEG* XX.737 (A.D. 60–1), a list of *νομοφύλακες* of Cyrene (line 5), which includes Elazar son of Jason (line 8), and id. 741 (A.D. 3–4), a list of ephebes which includes some Jewish names, e.g. Elazar son of Elazar (a. II.48), Julius son of Jesus (a. I.57; cf. 740 a. II.8); and see Atkinson, *TCEA* 24.
 11. The most recent work that gives a full discussion of the pre-Roman constitution is the long article by Monique Clavel-Lévêque, ‘Das griechische Marseille. Entwicklungsstufen u. Dynamik einer Handelsmacht’, in *Hellenische Polis*, ed. E. Ch. Welskopf (Berlin, 1974), II.855–969, at 893, 902–7 (with 957–9 nn.446–82), 915 (with 963 nn.555–7). The article in question has since been expanded into a monograph of 209 pages (with maps and plates): *Marseille grecque. La dynamique d’un impérialisme marchand* (Marseilles, 1977). The relevant portions are 93, 115–24, 128–9 (with 146), 137 (with 149). See also Michel Clerc, *Massalia I* (Marseilles, 1927) 424–43; Camille Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule* I^a. 433–7; H. G. Wackemagel, in *RE* XIV.ii (1930) 2139–41; Busolt, *CS* I.357–8.
 12. See Clerc, *Massalia* II (1929) 292–8; Jullian, *op. cit.* VI.314–19.

Bibliography (and Abbreviations)

Part I lists, usually *without the name of an author or editor*, works such as periodicals and collections of inscriptions or papyri, cited in this book normally by the initial letters of their titles, or by other customary abbreviations.

Part II is a very selective list of works recorded *under the names of authors or editors*. Many of these are cited by the initial letters of their titles (see the Preface, pp. x–xi), books in italics, articles not; and these are always placed first in each case (and in alphabetical order) under the names of their respective authors or editors, before works cited without abbreviation.

Abbreviations of modern works (including periodicals) not included here are either obvious or can be easily identified with the aid of such lists of abbreviations as those in *LSJ*⁹ I.xli–xlvi, *OCD*² ix–xxii, *ODCC*² xix–xxv, or any recent number of *L’Année philologique*.

The identification of ancient sources will usually be obvious enough to those able to profit by consulting them. In case of doubt, reference can be made to *LSJ*⁹ I.xvi–xli or (for Latin authors) to Lewis and Short’s *Latin Dictionary* vii–xi. The best available editions are used. Those less acquainted with Early Christian sources (cited wherever possible from *GCS*, *CSEL* or *SC* editions, otherwise commonly from *MPG* or *MPL*), or with Later Roman ones, will find particularly helpful the lists in Jones, *LRE* III.392–406; Stein, *HBE* I².ii.607–20 and II.847–61; and of course the *Patrologies*, by B. Altaner, J. Quasten, and O. Bardenheuer, given in Part II below.

In a few cases I have cited books not under the author’s name but under that of a reviewer whose opinions seem to me valuable. (In all such cases sufficient particulars of the books concerned are given.) Books and articles which I believe I have adequately noticed above are sometimes not given again here. And I have omitted here many works which seem to me valueless or irrelevant; but the inclusion of a book or article in this Bibliography is not necessarily to be taken as a recommendation. Greek titles are transliterated here, though not (as a rule) in the Notes above.

I hope that the entries for Karl Marx and Max Weber will be found particularly helpful.

Part I

(A star indicates that references are to the numbers of the inscriptions or papyri, rather than to pages, except where the contrary is stated. References here to papyri are mainly limited to those cited in the main text rather than the Notes. Standard abbreviations are used: all can be identified with the aid of a work of reference such as Orsolina Montevicchi, *La Papirologia* [Turin, 1973], if not in the convenient short list at the end of Bell, *EAGAC*, for which see Part II below.)

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| AB | = <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> |
| AC (or <i>Ant. Class.</i>) | = <i>L’Antiquité Classique</i> |
| <i>Acta Ant.</i> | = <i>Acta Antiqua</i> (Budapest) |
| AE* | = <i>L’Année épigraphique</i> |
| Aeg. | = <i>Aegyptus</i> |
| AHEW I.ii | = <i>The Agrarian History of England and Wales</i> , I.ii, ed. H. P. R. Finberg (1972) |
| AHR | = <i>American Historical Review</i> |

- A/J* = F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1926)
- AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*
- AJAH = *American Journal of Ancient History*
- AJP = *American Journal of Philology*
- AJS = *American Journal of Sociology*
- Anc. Soc. = *Ancient Society*
- ANRW = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. Hildegard Temporini (Berlin/New York, 1972 ff.)
- Ant. Class.: see under AC above
- Arch. Class. = *Archeologia Classica*
- Arch. f. Pap. = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
- ARS = *Ancient Roman Statutes*. A Translation, with Introduction, Commentary etc., by A. C. Johnson and others (Austin, Texas, 1961)
- ASNP = *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di lettere e filosofia*
- Athen. = *Athenaeum*
- BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
- BASP = *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
- BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*
- BEFAR = *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*
- BGU* = *Berliner Griechische Urkunden: (Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1895 ff.)*
- BICS = *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, London*
- BIDR = *Bullettino dell'Istituto di diritto romano*
- BJS = *British Journal of Sociology*
- BSA = *Annual of the British School at Athens*
- Byz. = *Byzantion*
- Byz. Ztschr. = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- CAF = *Comiconum Atticorum Fragmenta*, ed. Theodore Kock, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1880-8)
- CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 vols
- CCL = *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (1935 ff.)
- CE (or Chr. d'Ég.) = *Chronique d'Égypte*
- CEHE¹² = *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. I, 2nd edn (1966)
- Chr. d'Ég.: see under CE above
- CIG* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1825-77)
- CIL* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1863 ff.)
- CIRB* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosphorani*
- CJ = *Classical Journal*
- C. Ord. Ptol.* = M. T. Lenger, *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées* (Brussels, 1964)
- CP = *Classical Philology*
- C.P.Jud.* = *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, 3 vols (1957-64)
- CQ = *Classical Quarterly*
- CR = *Classical Review*
- CRR: see Part II under Scager, R. (ed.)
- CSCA = *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*
- CSCO = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (1903 ff.)
- CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866 ff.)
- CSHB = *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1828-78)
- CSSH = *Comparative Studies in Society and History*
- DAA* = *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, ed. A. E. Raubitschek, with the collaboration of L. H. Jeffery (Cambridge, Mass., 1949)
- DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- Econ. Hist. Rev. = *Economic History Review*

- EJ²* = *Deiunon: Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, collected by V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, 2nd edn (1955)
- Eng. Hist. Rev. = *English Historical Review*
- ESAR: see Part II under Frank, Teaney
- ESHAG: see Part II under Austin, M. M., and P. Vidal-Naquet
- FD* = *Fouilles de Delphes*
- FGrH = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby (1923 ff.)
- FHG = *Fragmenta Historiarum Graecorum*, 5 vols (1841 ff.)
- FIRA² = *Fontes Iuris Romani Antepostiniani*, 3 vols, 2nd edn, ed. S. Riccobono etc. (Florence, 1940-3)
- GCS = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Berlin, 1897 ff.)
- G. & R. = *Greece and Rome*
- GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
- Hesp. = *Hesperia* (Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1932 ff.)
- HGM = *Historici Graeci Minores*, 2 vols, ed. L. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1870-1)
- Hist. Ztschr. = *Historische Zeitschrift*
- HSCP = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
- HTR = *Harvard Theological Review*
- IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal*
- IG* = *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1873 ff.)
- IGBulg.* = *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, ed. G. Mihailov (1956 ff.)
- IGLS* = *Inscriptiones graecae et latinae de la Syrie*, ed. L. Jalabert etc. (1929 ff.)
- IGRR* = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes I, III, IV*, ed. R. Cagnat etc. (1906-27)
- ILS* = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, 3 vols in 5 (Berlin, 1892-1916)
- IOSPE* = *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, ed. B. Latyshev (1885-1901); I² = Vol. I, 2nd edn (1916)
- IRSH = *International Review of Social History*
- Istituto Lombardo = *Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere, Rendiconti, Classe di Lettere*
- JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JEH = *Journal of Economic History*
- JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
- JHI = *Journal of the History of Ideas*
- JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JJP = *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
- JOAI = *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*
- JPS = *Journal of Peasant Studies*
- JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*
- JTS = *Journal of Theological Studies*
- LB/W* = P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure: Inscriptions . . . III* (Paris, 1870)
- LSJ⁹ = Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn (1925 ff.)
- MAMA* = *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, 8 vols (1928-62)
- M. Chr.* = Ludwig Mitteis, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde II* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1912)
- MEFR = *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire: École française de Rome*
- MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
- M/L* = R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1969)
- Mnemos. = *Mnemosyne*
- MPG = *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne

- MPL = *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne
 NPNF = *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*
 NRHDFE = *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger*
 OCD² = *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd edn (1970)
 OCT = *Oxford Classical Texts*
 ODCC² = *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd edn (1974)
 OGIS* = *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 vols (1903-5)
 PBA = *Proceedings of the British Academy*
 PBSR = *Proceedings of the British School at Rome*
 PCPS = *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
 P. Hibeh* = *The Hibeh Papyri*, ed. with trans. and notes by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (1906 ff.)
- P. Ital.: see Part II, under Tjäder, J.-O.
 PIR = *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, Saeculi I, II, III, ed. E. Klebs and H. Dessau (1897-8); 2nd edn by E. Groag and A. Stein (1933 ff.)
 PLRE I = *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Vol. I. A.D. 260-395*, by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris (1971)
 P. Oxy.* = *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1898 ff.)
 PSI* = *Papiri greci e latini*, pubbl. della Società Italiana . . . (Florence, 1912 ff.)
 PTGA: see Part II under Finley, M. I. (ed.)
 RAC = *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart, 1950 ff.)
 RBPH = *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*
 RCHP* = *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period. A Study in Greek Epigraphy*, by C. Bradford Welles (1934)
 RE = *Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1893 ff.)
 REA = *Revue des études anciennes*
 REB = *Revue des études byzantines*
 REG = *Revue des études grecques*
 Rev. de phil. = *Revue de philologie*
 RFIC = *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica*
 RHDFE = *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*
 RIDA = *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*
 Riv. stor. dell'Ant.: see under RSA below
 RQH = *Revue des questions historiques*
 RSA = *Rivista storica dell'Antichità*
 RSCC: see Part II under Coleman-Norton, P. R. (ed.)
 SAS: see Part II under Finley, M. I. (ed.)
 Sb = *Sitzungsberichte* (of various German-speaking academic institutions)
 SB* = *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*, ed. F. Preisigke etc. (1915 ff.)
 SC = *Sources chrétiennes* (Paris, 1940 ff.)
 SCA: see Part II under Finley, M. I. (ed.)
 SCH = *Studies in Church History*
 Scr. Hierosol. = *Scripta Hierosolymitana* (Jerusalem)
 SDHI = *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*
 SEG* = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923 ff.)
 SGDI* = *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, ed. H. Collitz etc. (Göttingen, 1884-1915)
 SGHI II* = *M. N. Tod, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions, II. From 403 to 323 B.C.* (1948)
 SIG³* = *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 4 vols, 3rd edn by F. Hiller von Gaertringen (Leipzig, 1915-24)
 SP* = *A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, Select Papyri* [Loeb] I (1932), II (1934)
 SRP: see Part II under Finley, M. I. (ed.)

- TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
 TLS = *Times Literary Supplement* (London)
 TRHS = *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
 UED²: see Part II under Soden, Hans von
 VDI = *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*
 W. Chr.* = *Ulrich Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde I.ii* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1912)
 YCS = *Yale Classical Studies*
 ZNW = *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
 ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
 ZSS = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, romanistische Abteilung*

Part II

(Names beginning with 'de' [though not 'De'], 'van' or 'von' are usually given under the next word in the name—so, e.g., my own name appears under 'Ste.' [= 'Sainte'] but De Martino under 'De'. 'Mc' is treated as 'Mac'.)

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