#### THE DESTRUCTION OF CITIES IN THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD

From the Trojan War to the sack of Rome, from the fall of Constantinople to the bombings of World War II and the recent devastation of Syrian towns, the destruction of cities and the slaughter of civilian populations are among the most dramatic events in world history. But how reliable are literary sources for these events? Did ancient authors exaggerate the scale of destruction to create sensational narratives? This volume reassesses the impact of physical destruction on ancient Greek cities and its demographic and economic implications. Addressing methodological issues of interpreting the archaeological evidence for destructions, the volume examines the evidence for the destruction, survival, and recovery of Greek cities. The studies, written by an international group of specialists in archaeology, ancient history, and numismatics, range from Sicily to Asia Minor and Aegean Thrace, and include Athens, Corinth, and Eretria. They highlight the resilience of ancient populations and the recovery of cities in the long term.

Sylvian Fachard is Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Lausanne and Director of the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece. He was the A. W. Mellon Professor at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (2017–2020). He has conducted extensive archaeological research in Euboea, Attica, and Argos.

Edward M. Harris is Emeritus Professor of Ancient History at Durham University and Honorary Professorial Fellow at Edinburgh University. He is the author of *Democracy and the Rule of Law in Classical Athens* and co-editor of *The Ancient Greek Economy* and *Skilled Labour and Professionalism in Ancient Greece and Rome*.

# THE DESTRUCTION OF CITIES IN THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD

# INTEGRATING THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY EVIDENCE

### Edited by SYLVIAN FACHARD

University of Lausanne

## EDWARD M. HARRIS

University of Durham



#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108495547 DOI: 10.1017/9781108850292

© Cambridge University Press 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Destruction, Survival, and Economic Recovery in the Greek World (Conference) (2019 : American School of Classical Studies at Athens), author. | Fachard, Sylvian, editor. | Harris, Edward Monroe, editor.

TITLE: The destruction of cities in the ancient Greek world : integrating the archaeological and literary evidence / edited by Sylvian Fachard, University of Lausanne; Edward M. Harris, University of Durham.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2021017203 (print) | LCCN 2021017204 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108495547 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108850292 (ebook)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Cities and towns, Ancient – Greece – Congresses. | War and society – Greece – History – To 1500 – Congresses. | Postwar reconstruction – Greece – History – To 1500 –

Congresses. | Archaeology and literature – Greece – Congresses. | Greece – Antiquities – Congresses CLASSIFICATION: LCC DF78 .D45 2019 (print) | LCC DF78 (ebook) | DDC 938–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021017203

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021017204

ISBN 978-1-108-49554-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of all those who lost their lives during the pandemic of 2020–2021.

## CONTENTS

List of Figures	page ix
List of Tables	xi
List of Contributors	
Preface	
1. INTRODUCTION: DESTRUCTION, SURVIVAL, AND RECOVERY IN THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD Sylvian Fachard and Edward M. Harris	I
2. DESTRUCTION, ABANDONMENT, REOCCUPATION: WHAT MICROSTRATIGRAPHY AND MICROMORPHOLOGY TELL US Panagiotis Karkanas	34
3. MILETUS AFTER THE DISASTER OF 494 B.C.: REFOUNDATION OR RECOVERY? Hans Lohmann	50
4. THE PERSIAN DESTRUCTION OF ATHENS: SOURCES AND ARCHAEOLOGY John McKesson Camp	70
5. THE CARTHAGINIAN CONQUEST AND DESTRUCTION OF SELINUS IN 409 B.C.: DIODORUS AND ARCHAEOLOGY Clemente Marconi	85
6. ANCIENT METHONE (354 B.C.): DESTRUCTION AND ABANDONMENT Manthos Bessios, Athina Athanassiadou, and Konstantinos Noulas	108
7. THE DESTRUCTION OF CITIES IN NORTHERN GREECE DURING THE CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC PERIODS: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE Christos Gatzolis and Selene Psoma	129

vii

#### viii contents

8.	ERETRIA'S "DESTRUCTION HELLENISTIC PERIOD AN CITY'S DEVELOPMENT Guy Ackermann (translated by E.	D THEIR IMPACT ON THE	163
9.	RHODES CIRCA 227 B.C.: I RECOVERY Alain Bresson	DESTRUCTION AND	189
10.	DESTRUCTION, SURVIVA EFFECTS OF THE ROMAN Björn Forsén		228
11.	COLONIA LAUS IULIA CO		258
12.	SULLA AND THE SIEGE OF CRISIS, SURVIVAL, AND R CENTURY B.C. Dylan K. Rogers	ATHENS: RECONSIDERING Ecovery in the first	288
13.	THE HERULIAN INVASION ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDI Lamprini Chioti	N IN ATHENS (A.D. 267): THE ENCE	319
14.	EPILOGUE: THE SURVIVA MILITARY DEVASTATION CLASSICAL GREEK AND R John Bintliff	: COMPARING THE	340
15.	APPENDIX: THE DESTRUC CITIES [ONLINE: www.camb Athens Euboea Boeotia Phokis Peloponnese Epirus Northern Greece and Thrace Aegean Islands Western Asia Minor	ridge.org/fachard-harris-appendix] Sylvian Fachard Sylvian Fachard Cédric Pernet Sylvian Fachard Gavin Blasdel Rebecca Sausville	

Index

355

# FIGURES

2.I	Sequence of destruction deposits.	page 40
2.2	Resin-impregnated slab of a micromorphological sample.	40
2.3	A light-colored thin ashy layer.	42
2.4	Photomicrograph of long articulated stem phytoliths.	42
2.5	Thick destruction layer consisting of several phases.	44
2.6	Photomicrograph of water-laid sediment from destruction layer.	45
2.7	Destruction layer dipping away from a first, ruined phase of the	
	fortification wall.	47
3.1	Plan of Miletus.	55
3.2	The chora of Miletus in the Archaic period.	62
5.1	Plan of Selinus, ca. 409 B.C.	90
5.2	Selinus, Temple R, burnt layer in stratigraphy of Trench O.	96
5.3a–b	Selinus, top of the looting pit in the <i>adyton</i> of Temple R and	
	fragments of votive offerings	98
5.4	Louis-Jean Desprez, "The Capturing and Burning of Selinus by	
	Hannibal."	99
5.5	Selinus, Acropolis, North Gate.	102
6.1	The site of ancient Methone.	109
6.2	Map view of ancient Methone.	II2
6.3	Euboian krater. Plot 274. "Hypogeion."	113
6.4	Plot 274. View of the Agora.	115
6.5	Plot 274. Plan of the Agora.	115
	Plot 229. Destruction layer.	118
	Plot 274. Collapsed mudbrick wall.	120
6.8	Pottery from the destruction deposit of the Agora.	I20
	Stairs leading to the entrance of an underground tunnel.	122
	Ancient Methone and the settlements of the Macedonians.	125
	Coins issued by Macedonian Kings found at Olynthos.	137
	Coins issued by Macedonian Kings found at Mekyberna.	138
7.3	Coins issued by Odrysian rulers found at Olynthos.	138
8.1	Plan of Eretria showing the position of the forty-eight deposits.	165
8.2	Chronological chart.	167
8.3	An Athenian table amphora with West Slope decoration from the	
	destruction layer of the House with the Mosaics.	172
-	The Western fortification and the House IV of the West Quarter.	174
8.5	Destruction layer on the mosaic floors of the West Building of the	
	Sandoz Plot.	178

x LIST OF FIGURES

8.6	Sarcophagi and cist in the ruins of the House with the Mosaics.	179
9.1	The Mid- and Late Hellenistic city of Rhodes.	191
9.2	The donations of four Hellenistic kingdoms to the Rhodians ca.	
	227 B.C.	207
9.3.a	Proportions of donations in money, grain, and other donations in	
	kind of four Hellenistic kingdoms.	208
9.3.b	Proportions of donations in money, grain, and other donations in	
	kind of four Hellenistic kingdoms.	208
10.1	Late Classical to Early Roman sites of the Kokytos valley.	233
10.2	Pilum and projectile heads.	234
10.3	Places where members of the Cossinius family appear in the Greek	
	world.	239
10.4	The fate of Hellenistic towns of Thesprotia and Molossia.	244
10.5	Sybota, the harbour town of Photike.	245
10.6	Distribution of inscriptions in Greek, Latin or with undefined	
	language in Thesprotia and Molossia during the Roman period.	247
11.1	Plan of Corinth.	263
II.2	Plan of Corinth, Hellenistic city centre.	264
	Plan of Corinth, Roman Forum.	276
	CIL I <sup>2</sup> . 2662 (I-788)	276
I2.I	Heinrich Leutemann, Wegführung der Kunstschätze aus	
	Griechenland, 1880.	289
I2.2	Plan of Athens and Piraeus, first century B.C.	292
12.3	Plan of the Northwest quarter of the city.	297
	Plan of the Agora, ca. 100 B.C.	299
	Catapult balls, found in the Aiakeion, Athenian Agora.	300
	Map of first-century B.C. Athens.	301
	Athenian tetradrachm, 84/83 B.C.	309
	Caryatid from Eleusis.	312
	Athens in the mid-third century.	323
	Post-Herulian Athens (industrial and building activity).	327
	Post-Herulian Athens (building activity).	328
	Post-Herulian Athens (graves).	331
	Plan of ancient Thespiai.	342
14.2	Distribution of Classical to Early Hellenistic surface sherds across	
	the city of Thespiai.	343
14.3	Rural settlement in the inner southern hinterland of Thespiai.	344
I4.4	Thespiai. The distribution and density of all "offsite surface	
	ceramics" of all periods.	345
14.5	The distribution and density of the broadly Classical to Hellenistic	
	Greek offsite pottery.	346
14.6a–b	The distribution and density of the Early Roman and Late Roman	
	offsite pottery.	347

# TABLES

2.I	Examples of original causes and post-depositional disturbances of	
	destruction layers.	page 36
7.I	Coins issued by <i>poleis</i> in Northern Greece.	133
9.1	The benefactions of the kings as seen from the donors' side.	199
9.2	Monetary value of the grain donations as seen from the benefactors'	
	side.	201
9.3	A comparison in value of gifts in silver money, grain and other	
	donations as seen from the benefactors' side.	203
9.4.I	The donations in money, grain, and other donations in kind of four	
	Hellenistic kingdoms to the Rhodians ca. 227 B.C. (in talents).	207
9.4.2	The donations in money, grain, and other donations in kind of four	
	Hellenistic kingdoms to the Rhodians ca. 227 B.C. (in talents).	207

#### CONTRIBUTORS

Guy Ackermann, French School at Athens, Greece Athina Athanassiadou, Hellenic Ministry of Culture Manthos Bessios, Hellenic Ministry of Culture John Bintliff, University of Edinburgh Gavin Blasdel, University of Pennsylvania Nancy Bookidis, American School of Classical Studies at Athens Steven Brandwood, Rutgers University Alain Bresson, University of Chicago John McKesson Camp, Agora Excavations, American School of Classical Studies at Athens Lambrini Chioti, University of Athens Sylvian Fachard, University of Lausanne Björn Forsén, Finnish Institute at Athens Florencia Foxley, University of Colorado at Boulder Christos Gatzolis, Hellenic Ministry of Culture Edward M. Harris, Durham University and Edinburgh University Panagiotis Karkanas, Malcolm H. Wiener Laboratory for Archaeological Science, American School of Classical Studies at Athens Hans Lohmann, Ruhr-University Bochum Clemente Marconi, New York University Konstantinos Noulas, Hellenic Ministry of Culture Cédric Pernet, University of Lausanne Selene Psoma, University of Athens Dylan K. Rogers, University of Virginia Rebecca Sausville, New York University Kathleen W. Slane, American School of Classical Studies at Athens Hanna Smagh, Princeton University Stephen Tracy, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton NJ Charles K. Williams, American School of Classical Studies at Athens

xii

#### PREFACE

The idea of a volume dedicated to "Destruction, Survival, and Recovery in the Ancient Greek World" sprung from the research interests of the two editors, which merged during the trips and site visits conducted in Greece in the course of the American School of Classical Studies' Academic Program between 2017 and 2020. Each year, the School's Regular Members travel over 10,000 kilometers and hike another 1,000 kilometers to visit some 400 archaeological sites and museums and deliver on-site reports, reviewing the literary and archaeological evidence for each site. In the course of our site visits to cities that had sustained destructions or had been allegedly "razed to the ground," it appeared that the archaeological signature for the "destruction" was often elusive, if not missing entirely, and was based on unreliable data. It often appeared that the magnitude and impact of the destruction had often been inflated by ancient and modern historians alike, as well as, in some instances, by archaeologists. Although we were struck by the high number of cities that allegedly sustained sieges and "destructions," we were surprised to see how many of them seemed to have recovered in the span of one or two generations. It became increasingly clear to us that there was another story of destruction to be told, one focusing as much on the immediate impact of the event as on the recovery phase in the long term. Moreover, in an illuminating way, we realized that by studying the recovery phase of a Greek city following destruction, much could be said about its population, economic base, and institutions. Convinced that these issues would interest archaeologists and historians alike, we decided to organize a conference in Athens to discuss a series of case-studies that would provide enough critical archaeological data to study destruction post-destruction at the level of an entire city or region.

The present volume results from the conference held May 16–18, 2019, at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. We are grateful to the American School for providing the financial support and intellectual framework that led to its organization and publication. The editors wish to thank in particular the Director of the School, Prof. Jenifer Neils, for her continuous support and encouragement. We wish to thank all contributors for enthusiastically embracing the volume's themes and contributing to its publication. We are very grateful to Beatrice Rehl at Cambridge University Press for

xiii

xiv PREFACE

encouraging the project right from the start and to Bethan Lee for her superb work with the copy-editing process. We also wish to thank the Regular Members of the School who took up the task of writing a regional catalog of destructions for the volume's Appendix. We are also grateful to Konstantinos Tzortzinis, ASCSA Digital Media specialist, for his collaboration during and after the conference.

This volume is also a way of celebrating the virtues of the American School's Regular Program, which, for over a century, has offered its Regular Members a unique way of exploring and studying the archaeology, history, and landscape of Greece.