

MASSACRE IN MAGNA GRAECIA: WAS THE POPULATION OF SYBARIS EXTERMINATED IN 510 B.C.?*

By Adam Schwartz

Summary: While not unknown, attested genocidal exterminations of entire *polis* populations are a comparatively rare phenomenon in ancient Greek history. One instance that crops up with some regularity – including in the Copenhagen Polis Centre’s Inventory – is that of Sybaris, defeated by Kroton in 510 BC. This article assesses the available source material with a view to determining whether it belongs on the list.

Recently having occasion to reacquaint myself with the phenomenon *andrapodismos*, arguably the most odious facet of inter-*polis* conflict, I took as my natural starting point the magisterial *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, the crowning achievement of the dizzyingly productive Copenhagen Polis Centre. Among its introductory chapters, it features one on the different ways a *polis* might cease to exist, authored by Mogens himself. Here, four categories are identified: 1. the breaking up of the city centre into several smaller settlements; 2. enslavement of the population; 3. physical destruction of the urban centre; 4. expulsion of the population from the *polis*.¹ Under the second category, the permutations of the practice regularly referred to as (*ex*)*andrapodismos* are defined: those men that had survived the fighting might be killed off, and the women and children enslaved; or all the inhabitants enslaved with no one killed; the urban centre itself might be razed, or handed over to new settlers (the conquerors, or any of their allies in the area); the slaves might be handed over to the conquerors or sold off as booty at a public auction.

* I am greatly indebted to Wolfgang Filser for invaluable insight and assistance regarding the current status of the archaeological investigation of Sybaris.

1 Hansen & Nielsen 2004: 120-23, paired with a list on 1363-64.

After summing up, Mogens goes on to add, in characteristically systematic and logical fashion:

[W]hen the term is found without any further specification, the presumption is that it covers several or all of the elements listed above. It may be significant, however, that the term does not occur when the entire population of a conquered city was killed off and no one enslaved.²

It is a good observation: the even more horrifying instances of all-out, genocidal massacre – which, while mercifully rarely attested, are by no means unknown – are never referred to in terms of (ἐξ-)ἀνδραποδίζειν or (ἐξ-)ἀνδραποδισμός. It is not the presence of the element of massacre – to current thinking overwhelmingly the dominant aspect, to the point of drowning out the rest – that places them outside the category of *andrapodismos*, but rather the simple fact that no enslavement took place. In the corresponding footnote, Mogens adduces three such instances (“Samos c.517; Sybaris 510; Olynthos 479”), presumably intending to supply all known instances of such full-scale extermination (as an alternative to *andrapodismos*).

Samos and Olynthos both appear in Herodotos, and in both cases the wording leaves little doubt that they belong in the category of total massacres. The genocide of the Samian population perpetrated by the Persian commander Otanes in 517 is described as follows:

Otanes [...] forgot all about the instructions Dareios had given him as he sent him off, namely, not to kill any Samian nor to enslave anyone, but to give the island back to Syloson without inflicting any harm. Instead, he gave his troops the order *to kill everyone they got their hands on, whether man or child, just the same*.³

2 Hansen & Nielsen 2004: 120-21.

3 Hdt. 3.147: Ὅτανης [...] ἐντολὰς μὲν τὰς Δαρειῶς οἱ ἀποστέλλων ἐνετέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίων μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι ἀπαθέα τε κακῶν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν νῆσον Συλοσῶντι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἐντολῶν μεμνημένος ἐπελανθάνετο, ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιῇ πάντα τὸν ἄν λάβῃσι καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα ὁμοίως κτείνειν (transl. Purvis [modified]; emphasis mine). See also 3.148-49.

And Olynthos:

After Artabazos had captured them by siege, *he led them out to a lake and there slaughtered them*. Then he handed over the city to Kritoboulos of Torone to be its governor, and to people of Chalkidian descent: so it was in this way that the Chalkidians gained possession of Olynthos.⁴

By contrast, the presence of Sybaris is, on examination, much less obvious. The principal sources – apart from Herodotos, who passes over the important historical incident itself with uncharacteristic reticence and brevity – do not exactly inspire a deep sense of gratitude: in addition to snippets of Timaios and Herakleides Pontikos (quoted by Athenaios), they consist of Diodoros, Strabo and Pseudo-Skymnos.⁵ Let us review the evidence in order to see what may have prompted Mogens to put Sybaris in this select category.

Sybaris, an Achaian colony in northern Calabria and by all lights a large, powerful and prosperous hegemonic *polis*,⁶ was nevertheless defeated in 510⁷ by its neighbour Kroton after a period of increasing friction between the two *poleis*. The conflict was triggered by the demagogue

4 Hdt. 8.127: ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἶλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδούῃ Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον (transl. Purvis [modified]; emphasis mine).

5 Hdt. 5.44–45, 6.21.1; Timaios (FGrHist 566) fr. 50 (= Ath. 519c); Heraclid. Pont. fr. 49 Wehrli (= Ath. 522e–f); Diod. Sic. 12.9.2–10.1; Strabo 6.1.12–13; [Scymn.] 337–60. Gorman & Gorman 2014: 7: “Anyone familiar with the literary sources for the history of archaic Sybaris must recognize that they are unusually rife with fiction.”

6 For an overview of the evidence, see Fischer-Hansen et al. 2004: 295–96; see also Frisone 2023: 119–26, 128 and n. 118; Dunbabin 1948: 356–66; Callaway 1950: 68–71. The debate over the precise extent and location of Sybaris remains very lively and fueled by new archaeological and geoarchaeological investigations; for an overview see Kleibrink 2001; Greco 2013; Guzzo 2013; further Greco 2019. A research project is currently being conducted at the University of Basel in collaboration with the Parco archeologico di Sibari: “Rethinking Collapse: the Fall of Sybaris (ca. 510 BC) and the Transformation of Greek Colonial Space”; see <https://francavilla.phillhist.unibas.ch/it/rethinking-collapse/>.

7 Unless otherwise indicated, all dates given are B.C.

Telys who had arrogated monarchic power in Sybaris⁸ and consolidated his rule by, *inter alia*, persuading the Sybarites to exile 500 of the wealthiest citizens and confiscate their property. When these exiles found refuge in Kroton, Telys demanded their extradition, threatening war if his demands were not met.⁹ The Krotoniates elected to refuse Telys' demands and mobilise; and in a pitched battle their army – supposedly 100,000 men under the generalship of the Olympic victor Milon – utterly routed the numerically superior Sybarite forces, numbering as many as 300,000, of whom more than 5,000 cavalry.¹⁰ The victorious Krotoniates “in their anger had no wish to take any prisoners, but killed all who in their flight stumbled into their hands, and so the majority of the Sybarites were cut down.”¹¹ These numbers, while obviously absurdly inflated, may nevertheless be the product of a tradition remembering, at its core, numerous forces as well as great slaughter. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that those killed here were defeated and fleeing Sybarite soldiers, and not “the entire population of a conquered city”. Accordingly, then, *this* event does not meet Mogens' own established criteria of *andrapodismos*, nor those of the grisly, related procedure of all-out genocide, both of which must target the civilian population at large to qualify.¹²

8 Telys is called both *basileus* and *tyrannos* within the same paragraph (Hdt. 5.44), seemingly indifferently, but just possibly reflecting the respective views of Sybarites and Krotoniates (cf. Macan 1895: 185). His rule is called a *tyrannis* by Heraclid. Pont. fr. 49 Wehrli (= Ath. 522e-f). Diodoros (12.9.2) designates him a *demagogos*.

9 Diod. Sic. 12.9.3. As Zhmud 2012: 96 points out, there seems to be some internal lack of consistency: why would Telys demand the extradition of those he had just expelled himself? If taken at face value, the peculiar volte-face may perhaps be understood as Telys' taking offence that the exiles should find refuge with Sybaris' immediate neighbours.

10 100,000: Diod. Sic. 12.9.5. 300,000: Diod. 10.23; Strabo 6.1.13. More than 5,000 cavalry: Timaios (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 50 (= Ath. 519c). It is somewhat disheartening that Diodoros gives the number 300,000 as not only the size of Sybaris' armed forces, but also, and in the same chapter, as the total number of citizens (Diod. Sic. 12.9.2: τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν πολιτῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδας).

11 Diod. Sic. 12.9.6-10.1 (citation at 10.1): τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιατῶν διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ζωγρεῖν μὲν μηδένα βουλευθέντων, πάντας δὲ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας ἀποκτείνόντων, οἱ πλείους κατεκόπησαν.

12 Hansen & Nielsen 2004: 120-21.

The events following the battle are not at all clear. Herodotos and Diodoros state that the Krotoniates took the city.¹³ Strabo may be suggesting that the victorious army laid siege to Sybaris after the battle by saying that the Sybarites “were deprived of all their felicity by the Krotoniates within seventy days,” but may just as well simply be indicating the timeframe of the conflict with Kroton from beginning to end.¹⁴ Whichever the case, Diodoros and Strabo are in agreement that the victors did a thorough job of destroying the urban centre of Sybaris once taken, Strabo going so far as to say that “after capturing the city they conducted the river [Krathis, modern Crati] through it and submerged it.”¹⁵

In the same paragraph he adds that the survivors, being few, later came together and settled in the area again (ὕστερον οἱ περιγενόμενοι συνελθόντες ἐπώκουν ὀλίγοι), but it is not easy to determine the exact implication or range of οἱ περιγενόμενοι. While it may be collective and thus comprise both men and women, it is entirely possible that ὀλίγοι is masculine proper and refers to the heavy losses incurred in the battle, resulting in comparatively few adult male Sybarites (and hence citizens) to resettle the area and reestablish a political community.

Pseudo-Skymnos’ *Periegesis*, after painting a picture of Sybaris’ erstwhile felicitous circumstances, states that “puffed up beyond what is hu-

13 Hdt. 6.21.1; Diod. Sic. 12.10.1.

14 Strabo 6.1.13: ἅπασαν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπὸ Κροτωνιατῶν ἐν ἡμέραις ἑβδομήκοντα; cf. van Wees 2011: 97 n. 81.

15 Strabo 6.1.13: ἐλόντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἐπήγαγον τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατέκλυσαν. ὕστερον δ’ οἱ περιγενόμενοι συνελθόντες ἐπώκουν ὀλίγοι; Diod. Sic. 12.10.1 (τὴν δὲ πόλιν διήρπασαν καὶ παντελῶς ἔρημον ἐποίησαν). On the possibility of a flooding and its garbled representation in Athenaios, see Evans 2014: 226–27, 230–32. Herodotos, who says nothing about a flooding, nevertheless states that the Spartan Dorieus (who the Sybarites claimed had joined forces with the Krotoniates in the battle) erected a temple to *Athena Krathia* by the dry bed of the Krathis: τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἐόντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κραθίην, τὸν ἰδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθίῃ (5.45.1). Fachard & Harris 2021, a recent volume on urban destruction in the ancient Greek world, includes a useful online index (“The Destruction and Survival of Cities”), but unfortunately omits Magna Graecia entirely and so does not comprise Sybaris.

man they [sc. the Sybarites] utterly ruined a renowned *polis* with its people [αὐτανδρον], as they had not learned to bear a surfeit of blessings”.¹⁶ The obvious moralising intent, a frequent element of especially later retellings of the fate of Sybaris (supposedly the arch-*paradeigma* of morally corrupting luxury, arrogance and utter *hybris*),¹⁷ does not bode well for the accuracy of the content, opening up as it does the unpleasant prospect of exaggeration in pursuit of getting the point across.¹⁸ Even so, and despite αὐτανδρον (a word most often used of captured or sunk ships: ‘crew and all’), ἐξέφθειραν, “destroyed utterly”, cannot be taken with certainty to designate the physical annihilation of all inhabitants, who may ‘merely’ have had their male segment severely decimated in battle and thus, coupled with the destruction of the urban centre of Sybaris, ceased to exist as a *political* entity.

Ultimately, neither Strabo nor any other source has anything to say about killing on any scale after the battle, just as they have nothing concrete – or in fact anything at all – to offer about the fate of women, children and civilians in general. The upshot of all this is that there is nothing by way of a ‘smoking gun’ pointing to a massacre of the entire population. It is all the more interesting, then, that the entry on Sybaris in the Inventory (no. 70) by Fischer-Hansen, Heine Nielsen & Ampolo is decidedly more cautious in its approach:

[I]n the ensuing battle in 510 [the Krotoniates] won a decisive victory (Diod. 12.9.5-6), killed off the larger part of the Sybarite army and went on to sack the city (Hdt. 6.21; Diod. 12.10.1). Thus Sybarite power was eliminated and the phase of Sybarite history often referred to as ‘Sybaris I’ came to an end.¹⁹

16 [Scymn.] 343-45: οἱ δὲ παρεξαρθέντες οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως | αὐτανδρον ἐξέφθειραν ἐπιφανῇ πόλιν, | τὰγαθὰ τὰ λίαν μὴ μαθόντες εὖ φέρειν.

17 “a pivotal element of a moralistically oriented tradition in which the city had led to τρυφή, morally debilitating luxury, then to tyrannis and finally to destruction”: Frisone 2023: 117; see also Rutter 1970: 170-71.

18 See Lightfoot 2020, esp. 400-2 with n. 42 on the author’s dubious use of sources (despite protestations to the contrary).

19 Fischer-Hansen et al. 2004: 297. Along the same lines, see also van Wees 2011: 97: “What happened to the people of Sybaris when their city was destroyed, we do not

The phrasing is advisedly circumspect, for in fact the available sources do not allow for *any* positive identification of the immediate fate of the population of defeated Sybaris.

In addition to the absence of any positive evidence for the fate of the inhabitants in 510, there is a certain amount of evidence that militates against an interpretation of the extant written sources as indicating total annihilation. Herodotos – in the context of the Persian sack of Miletos in 494, just 16 years later – mentions in passing that “the Sybarites, deprived of their city, lived in Laos and Skidros.”²⁰ These locations were a Sybarite colony on the Tyrrhenian coast and a settlement of uncertain status and location respectively.²¹ Naturally, however, the number of these refugees cannot be determined, but there are other indications that Sybarites, and indeed Sybaris herself, were still around after 510. Among these are a *stater* minted by Kroton and Sybaris jointly (bearing the legend [ΩΡ] with the tripod of Kroton and the legend [ΣΥ] with the bull of Sybaris),²² implying a continued existence of civic life in Sybaris itself, if almost certainly in some state of subordination to Kroton. Similarly, the fact that Sybaris actually petitioned Hieron of Syracuse for military assistance against a siege by Kroton as soon as 467 shows that Sybaris apparently not only existed, but was independent and strong enough to find itself at war with Kroton once again, and all but forces the conclusion that the ‘alliance’ *stater* was issued after the fall of Sybaris in 510, but obviously before the appeal for assistance against Kroton in 467.²³ This is not easy to reconcile with the notion of an entire population –

know, except that there were survivors who found new homes in nearby towns”; Frisone 2023: 111.

20 Hdt. 6.21.1: Συβαρίται, οἱ Λαόν τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι.

21 Strabo 6.1.1. Cf. Ps.-Skylax 12, seemingly referring to Laos as a colony of Thourioi. On Laos, see Fischer-Hansen et al. 2004: 272-73; on Skidros: *BTCGI* XVIII 467-75 (Parra); Fischer-Hansen et al. 2004: 258.

22 Kraay 1958: 14; Dunbabin 1948: 365-66.

23 Diod. Sic. 11.48.4. The Athenian-sponsored re-founding of Sybaris in 446, on the original site, also took place in direct response to an appeal on the part of Sybarites, who were indeed dominant among the founding parties, though soon also the cause of severe *stasis*: Diod. Sic. 12.10.3-4, 12.11.4, 12.22.1; Arist. *Pol.* 1303a31-33. This was the backdrop for the subsequent founding of Thourioi in 443.

men, women and children – wiped off the face of the earth just 33 years earlier.

To sum up, although Diodoros supplies the information that no prisoners were taken in the actual battle, neither he nor any other source states unambiguously that there was any kind of massacre of the civilian population then or later. The urban centre was destroyed after the capture; but this destruction, no matter how thorough, does not in itself prove anything about the fate of the inhabitants. Furthermore, there is evidence that some measure of civic life continued at Sybaris not long after 510, just as Sybarites are said to have settled in other communities nearby.

This makes it all the more surprising that Sybaris should be included in Mogens' very select list of *poleis* – no more than three in all – whose populations were massacred to a man. Nevertheless, he is by no means alone in placing Sybaris in this category. In Pierre Ducrey's foundational *Le traitement des prisonniers de guerre* from 1968, a distinction is made between the fate of prisoners of war in a military context and inhabitants of captured cities, each category being treated in separate chapters. In chapter III, 'Le traitement des défenseurs et habitants d'une ville conquise', Sybaris is the first entry under the subheading 'Le massacre'. Here, Ducrey acknowledges that in spite of a wealth of anecdotally rich accounts, precise data on what became of the defeated are in short supply, but nevertheless goes on to add:

Toutefois Hérodote se fait l'écho de la consternation qui frappa les Milésiens à l'annonce du désastre subi par la ville, ce qui paraît démontrer de façon incontestable que le massacre des Sybarites connut une ampleur rarement atteinte.²⁴

Ingenious though the argument may be, the evidence as presented is hardly incontestable, and the conclusion surely premature on that basis alone. The perceived degree of consternation on the part of the Milesians is hardly conclusive proof of a massacre, let alone one on a scale rarely achieved. It is therefore not surprising that in the updated article version of the monograph from 1999, Ducrey in fact confines himself to stating

24 Ducrey 1968: 117 (and cf. 57-59).

that the conflict “se conclut par la destruction de Sybaris (511 av. J.-C),” though nevertheless still including it among the “exemples extrêmes” along with Melos in 415 and Orchomenos in 364. They fall under Ducrey’s category of *poleis* captured after “résistance à outrance”, where he notes that 59 out of 100 such instances ended in enslavement of the population (and 25 of these again with the adult men killed off and women and children reduced to slavery).²⁵ Nevertheless, both Melos and Orchomenos were expressly instances of *andrapodismos* in the ‘proper’ sense,²⁶ as opposed to the thankfully rare instances of total annihilation *not* designated *andrapodismos*, which must perforce be reckoned the more extreme procedure. It therefore seems that the severity of Sybaris’ fate has been ‘downgraded’ from the original assessment.

P.P. Karavites’ 1982 monograph *Capitulations and Greek interstate Relations*, making the argument that such harsh reprisals were anomalies, states outright that:

[i]n the period that stretched from the beginning of the sixth century to the times preceding the Peloponnesian War, there is only one example of a city whose defeat gave rise to a general massacre, Sybaris. We do not know the details of the enmity between Croton and Sybaris but the consternation which seized the Milesians at the news of the disaster appears to demonstrate the impact the destruction of a city made upon the Greeks.²⁷

W.K. Pritchett’s monumental *The Greek State at War* has, in its fifth and final volume from 1991, a section dedicated to the fate of captives. In the introductory discussion of the various possible outcomes, Sybaris is singled out to serve as the first example:

25 Ducrey 1990: 18.

26 Melos: Thuc. 5.116.4 (ἡνδραπόδισαν); [Andoc.] 4.22 (γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενος ἔξανδραποδίζεσθαι); Diod. Sic. 12.80.5 (ἔξηνδραποδίσαντο). Orchomenos: Diod. Sic. 15.79.3-6 (ἔξανδραποδίσασθαι) and cf. Dem. 16.4, 16.25, 20.109 (contra Paus. 9.15.3). Ducrey 1999: 18.

27 Karavites 1982: 24-25. It would seem that Karavites endorses Ducrey’s interpretation of the Milesians’ reaction.

We may pass in review selected examples of the slaying of prisoners. An early example is the case of Kroton after a great battle with Sybaris in 511/10 B.C., as dated by Diodoros 11.90 [...]. According to Diodoros 12.10.1, the Krotoniates took no prisoners, but slew all who fell into their hands.²⁸

Prima facie, by ‘prisoners’ Pritchett thus seems to understand soldiers captured in the field, and in an immediate battle-context. Yet in the same review section, a few lines on, he also includes Barke and Olynthos, captured by the Persians in 483 and 479 respectively, and explicitly describes the brutal reprisals against “wives” in the former and “inhabitants” in general in the latter. The subsequent table is very comprehensive and lists – if limited to the Archaic and Classical periods only – no fewer than 101 instances of enslavement and 46 of massacre.²⁹ Unfortunately, however, the criteria according to which the table is compiled remain undefined and are equally imprecise. No attempt is apparently made to distinguish between military prisoners of war and civil populations of captured *poleis*; instances not even involving Greek actors on either side are included (such as Campanian mercenaries’ massacre of military-age male inhabitants (τοὺς ἡβῶντας) of the Elymian city Entella in 404);³⁰ and the same applies – without any sort of ‘warning label’ – to such instances as are known to have been planned or intended at some point, but for whatever reason were never actually carried out.

In all this, and despite the phrasing of the introductory text quoted above, Sybaris figures in the table in the column headed “Massacred (People or State),” and does so without any of the qualifiers added to some entries (such as “adult males”, “300 males”, “combatants” or “some”). To top it off, Barke 483, which, as we saw, was singled out along

28 Pritchett 1991: 209.

29 Pritchett 1991: 226–31 (enslavements, Archaic and Classical period), 218–19 (massacres, same period).

30 Diod. Sic. 14.9.9. In a later context (c. 397), Diodoros at 14.48.4 lists Entella as one of a group of only five settlements (along with Halikyai, Solos, Aigesta and Panormos) to remain loyal to Syracuse. Thucydides 6.2.3 lists the peoples living in western Sicily (on the eve of the Athenian expedition in 415) and expressly mentions Eryx and Egesta while omitting Entella, the third of the Elymian cities; see Lycophr. *Alex.* 962–64.

with Sybaris in the introductory discussion, is actually not included in the table. It is therefore not apparent what fate Pritchett believed actually befell the civilian population of Sybaris.

In view of the pervasive ambiguity of the entire section, any reader referring to Pritchett's list would thus be reasonably justified in walking away with the impression that Sybaris is included under this heading because the entire population of the captured city – men, women and children – were indeed put to the sword. Similarly, Ducrey's impactful first and primary analysis of it places it firmly within a group of massacred civilian populations. It may be open to speculation how Ducrey and Pritchett arrived at their conclusions about Sybaris in view of the available evidence, but perhaps less so that they should have been taken at face value given the status and impact of their fundamental works on warfare.

On the strength of the above, I posit that I have stumbled across one of the enviably rare instances in which Mogens has been perhaps too hasty in reaching a conclusion (inasmuch as it is one not actually supported by evidence), and also may have identified one at least possible explanation for this state of affairs. This thus represents that *rara avis*, inadvertently found: a chink in Mogens' armour. This may, I realise, seem strange and maybe even somewhat unbecoming in this context expressly intended for the highlighting and celebrating of Mogens' vast and peerless contribution to the field of ancient history, especially for someone proud to call himself a pupil of him, but I feel confident that Mogens – as generous intellectually as in other respects – would have found this little exercise highly stimulating, and entered the fray with relish. And like the indispensable beauty spot in 18th century make-up, such an unexpected and utterly unusual slip-up on his part merely serves to underline the general perfection of Mogens' output: merely identifying one causes one to realise just how impressive the whole is.³¹

31 At this juncture, I should like to add the result of my own investigation into these matters. According to my research, there are the following incontrovertible instances of all-out massacres in the Classical period: Samos c. 517 (Hdt. 3.147-49), Olynthos 479 (Hdt. 8.127); several Bithynian settlements 416 (Diod. Sic. 12.82.2); Selinous 409 (Diod. Sic. 13.57). Extermination was also on the table for Athens in 404

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but not carried into effect: Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.19-20 (ἐξαίρειν); cf. Isoc. 8.105 and Dem. 19.65. See Schwartz (forthcoming).

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