Christoph Baier
Walter Gauß (Eds.)

APPROACHING ANCIENT GREEK COASTAL AND INLAND POLEIS IN THE NORTHERN PELOPONNESE

NEW RESEARCH IN THE MICROREGIONS OF AIGEIRA, LOUSOI AND SIKYON

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CONTENT

Catherine Morgan

CONSIDERING THE SPACE OF THE CORINTHIAN GULF

ABSTRACT
This paper reviews approaches to the Corinthian Gulf as the space of, and frame for, the urban development considered in this volume. It responds to the view that of all areas of high maritime connectivity in the Greek world, the Corinthian Gulf comes closest to the Mediterranean as conceived by P. Horden and N. Purcell in »The Corrupting Sea«. The main lines of approach taken in recent work on the gulf are reviewed, with further discussion of the undervalued factor of the sea itself, the nature and significance of physical and social fragmentation, and the impact of violence as one of a number of phenomena liable to affect urban development. The paper concludes with reflections on recent approaches to Greek cities.

The combined gulfs of Corinth and Patras (hereafter the Corinthian Gulf) form the space and frame of the urban development and city life discussed in this volume. The fieldwork described, combined with discoveries made during extensive public works in these and neighbouring areas (notably Aetoloakarnania, the western Peloponnese, and southwest Boeotia)[1], now affords the quantity and variety of archaeological data necessary to think afresh about the nature of urban space in this kind of environment.

Central to this reappraisal is reflection on the idea that of all spaces of high maritime connectivity in the Greek world (such as the Thermaic, Euboean, and Saronic gulfs, and the Ionian and Adriatic seas), the Corinthian Gulf is perhaps closest to the Mediterranean as conceived by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell in their 2000 »The Corrupting Sea«. The notion of the gulf as a »Mediterranean within a Mediterranean«, similar in its geography and role in communication, has a long history. The sense is clear in Ludwig Salvator's account of his voyage in 1874 from Antirrhion to the Isthmus and back to Rhion[2]. At stake, however, is the nature of connectivity. Horden and Purcell present a Mediterranean characterised by a fragmentation of land- and seascapes into microregions constantly reconfigured through human agency and the instability and unpredictability of environmental conditions. The ideal conditions for mobility and connectivity presented by the central sea offer compensation, making it at once a place of high risk and of opportunity[3]. In these terms, analogy with the Corinthian Gulf is not straightforward. While it is surely correct to counterbalance earlier emphasis on unity with recognition of the region's diversity, differences in scale and granularity are significant.

Scepticism about the analytical utility of the Mediterranean as a concept, let alone »Mediterraneanism« in the sense of common and distinctive regional characteristics, has been expressed from a variety of standpoints ever since the publication of »The Corrupting Sea«[4]. A common focus of objection concerns the scope and substance of comparison between regions. The Mediterranean provides »excuses for everything« (to paraphrase Michael Herzfeld)[5], yet too restrictive

1 Ralli (forthcoming); Vikatou et al. 2018.
2 Salvator 1876, ix.
3 Broodbank 2013 (summarised at 595–610), focused on prehistory.
4 Enumerated in Horden – Purcell 2005, 348 f. no. 1, noting especially Shaw 2001.
5 Herzfeld 2005.

a frame for robust comparative history[6]. Analogous concerns surround the Corinthian Gulf. The uniformly Greek milieu gives a certain definition to intraregional comparison, but leaves regional boundaries weak. This raises the question of whether the gulf was seen in antiquity as a useful means of defining what happened within its confines, or whether it is better approached as a modern analytical frame within which wider processes played out.

Evidence for ancient awareness of the physical space and environment of the gulf ranges from discussion of the effects of natural and anthropogenic processes to military strategy. Thus, rapid coastline change around the Echinades was understood as the result of alluvial deposition from the Acheloos river (Hdt. 2, 10, 3; Thuk. 2, 102, 2–6). Pausanias (8, 24, 11) took the further step of connecting the speed of this change with agrarian history: the Echinades remained separate from the mainland because smaller quantities of mud were washed down by the Acheloos after the Aetolians were driven from their homes and lands (in 167 BC). Among examples of military strategy, Thucydides (2, 83, 1–2; 84, 5) presents knowledge of weather conditions as decisive to the outcome of the naval battle near Patras in 429 BC. The Athenian commander Phormio was able to exploit adverse winds while his Corinthian opponent was not[7]. Whatever one's view of Thucydides' attitude to Corinthian and Athenian naval power, or the plausibility of Corinthian ignorance of gulf conditions[8], Phormio had clearly acquired local knowledge while serving in the northwest (he spent the winter of 430–429 in Naupaktos: Thuk. 2, 69, 1), and had the tactical skill to use it.

It is harder to trace the Corinthian Gulf as an object in the consciousness of the actors engaged with it, or to identify distinctive behaviour or material practice conditioned by it. A rare instance of the latter is the creation in the mid-8th century of Thapsos class pottery, a *koine* style produced in a number of workshops scattered from Corinth along the gulf coasts and up into the northwest (Ithaca and Ambracia included)[9]. Its circulation centred on the gulf and closely connected areas, i.e. the Ionian islands, the Greek northwest, and southern Italy. Thapsos spoke equally to multiple audiences. It overlaps with a series of local decorative styles (including the Corinthian Sacred Spring Group, and Achaian and Ithacan local productions), and represents common communication within the gulf area and with close external partners. Its source(s) of inspiration continue to be debated, but for present purposes the intent to communicate across this specific region is key. During the later 8th and early 7th centuries, ceramic style was commonly used to convey local identity in a way less evident in later periods[10]. Thapsos is clearly a product of this time, and other non-ceramic manifestations are understandably harder to detect. The material manifestation of experience of the gulf space therefore requires careful and nuanced exploration.

Nonetheless, it is important to untangle approaches and assumptions given the fact that much recent work on the gulf acknowledges a debt of some kind to Horden and Purcell. In my view, the spatial frame of the gulf is helpful less as a self-conscious object of reference for ancient actors, and more as an analytical tool to expose angles on phenomena enacted within it (urban development included). Geography matters, but historical and cultural contingency are inextricably entangled. But since there is a spectrum of opinion on the matter, we will begin by considering the main lines of approach in recent work before moving to two currently underrated topics (the sea itself, and the nature and significance of physical and social fragmentation), and a phenomenon (the impact of violence) liable to affect city development, concluding with reflections on the city. The result is neither an exhaustive account of the gulf and its potential nor the close reading of site evidence presented in the following chapters. Rather, it is a sketch of potential opportunities arising from this fresh look at comparative city development.

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6 A prospect raised, e.g., by Abulafia 2005.

7 Morrison et al. 2000, 69–78; Morton 2001, 91–97.

8 McKenzie – Hannah 2013; see also Kallet 2016, 23–26 for wider background.

9 Gadolou 2017a.

10 Snodgrass 1999; Morgan 2003, 165–167.

APPROACHING THE CORINTHIAN GULF

In recent years, three main discussions of the Corinthian Gulf have taken very different approaches. Klaus Freitag's 2001 »Der Golf von Korinth« was a landmark as the first systematic account of the region in antiquity. Although publication followed too soon upon that of »The Corrupting Sea« to take it fully into account, Freitag addressed similar themes and acknowledged similar inspiration, especially from Fernand Braudel's characterisation of »narrow seas« as the »home of history«; as Braudel notes, within these areas »there is hardly a bay … that is not a miniature community, a complex world in itself«[11]. For Freitag, the gulf is both a microcosm of the coastal culture of Greece and the specific physical setting of certain major events. Citing Max Weber's emphasis on local trade as a driver of state growth, he highlights the gulf littoral as a zone of particular connection and pays special attention to the location and nature of harbours and landings[12]. The heart of the book is a site-based survey from the Archaic period to the 1st century BC, with emphasis on the 5th to 3rd centuries reflecting the concentration of textual sources (Freitag's discussion is nonetheless one of the few to engage with Rome). One criticism levelled at Freitag's book is its geographical definition[13]. His gulf is the littoral zone, not the sea or the hinterland, whether conceived as the inland territories and/or networks of individual cities or the western margins in the Ionian islands. The importance of the littoral as a factor in trade and a formative influence on political structures is also asserted rather than subjected to critical assessment[14], although this does not detract from its role when considering the location and development of urban space.

Anton Bonnier's 2014 »Coastal Hinterlands« addressed this latter criticism by re-problematising the Corinthian Gulf as a littoral society. Taking as a starting point Horden and Purcell's emphasis on communication between microregions, Bonnier explores networks within the landscapes bordering the gulf. By contrast with Freitag's straightforwardly historical focus, Bonnier's interests lie in settlement and landscape, in first identifying networks and only then correlating them with regional economic and political trends. Equal weight is thus given to the coast and the hinterland, to the affordance of the physical and/or man-made landscape and the landscape of lived experience – many possibilities may arise from the same setting. Nonetheless, criticism can be levelled. Objections to the artificial nature and large scale of the four ›subregions‹ of the gulf used to structure intraregional comparison were subsequently addressed by Bonnier himself in a finer-grained study centred in eastern Achaia[15]. More seriously, the concept of hinterland is not fully explored. Common definitions include the ›lands behind‹ the coast or a city and/or port; the land claimed by that city or port; the rural area economically tied to an urban catchment; the area served by a port for imports and exports; the area influenced by a major settlement or colony; or the area beyond what is visible or known[16]. All delineate relationships, but not the forces animating them – the processes and social relations that render things and people mobile.

This in turn raises the question of the limits of direct practical and/or political control. It is one thing to note that the success of an upland economy depends on access to lowland markets and ideally to the sea, and to cite material evidence of transfer between zones[17]. Building accounts from Delphi, for example, record the supply of fir wood via agents from Peloponnesian poleis inland (Arkadian Kleitor and the as yet unlocated Ascheion in Achaia)[18], as well as direct purchases (probably of expensive Cypress wood) made in the coastal polis of Sikyon by the architect and

11 Braudel 1972, 108–110 (quotation at 110).
12 Freitag 2000, 1 f.
13 Mackil 2001.
14 Cf. Pearson 1985; Pearson 2006.
15 Bonnier 2016.
16 Oxford English Dictionary s. v. hinterland. See also Horden – Purcell 2000, 112–122.
17 Bonnier 2014, 96–104. See also Olshausen – Sonnabend 1996 for a range of case material; Roy 1999.
18 Bonnier 2016, 83.

naopoioi[19]. Sikyon controlled or had access to extensive wooded uplands and was easy to reach from Delphi. But connections with agents further inland were not just a matter of one-way shipment of upland products to lowland customers – the flow went in both directions. Doliana marble, for example, was used in Archaic Arkadian temples (at Asea and Agios Ilias of Kantrevas) to an extent that may seem surprising until one considers the potential of local relationships to create obligations that eased the way for transport and supply[20]. It is quite another matter to look at the limits of political control or (a distinct but related question) at the control or cooperation necessary for a particular political system to be sustainable. The latter is particularly pertinent to the gulf littoral and the territories immediately inland.

A partial response to such criticism lies in Bonnier's conception of, and emphasis on, central places, which speaks to an ongoing debate about the nature of the early city to which we will return[21]. He recognises central places using a variety of criteria, from relative size to polis status or the nature of material investment (assessed in a contemporary context), and understands them as defining a relationship with the surrounding region via the provision of services of various kinds, some of which may have required built installations or facilities in the hinterland. His approach echoes Horden and Purcell's view that while central places were absolutely embedded in their connectivity, one cannot determine *a priori* the services they provided and thus what they needed to control and how[22]. The challenge is to document this in close detail and to consider diachronic change and variation within and between regions around the gulf.

A third and much briefer discussion of the gulf featured in the concluding chapter of my 2003 »Early Greek States«[23]. This relied upon two observations. First, large settlement centres with associated place identities were widespread in both ethne and poleis, with no clear chronological distinction. Political integration and state politics ebbed and flowed over the dynamics of life in big sites: the two cannot be entirely dissociated but neither were they inextricably linked, and they may not follow the same chronological rhythm. The growing body of new archaeological evidence from Achaia and Aetoloakarnania in particular reinforces this conclusion. Admittedly, the quality of the record is uneven and large-scale new discoveries (like those at Makyneia)[24] relatively rare, but the sheer busyness of the gulf, irrespective of local political organisation, is beyond doubt. Secondly, individuals and groups variously combined multiple, parallel identities which had spatial reach liable to be larger or smaller than the boundaries of the states to which these people belonged. This is now an uncontroversial observation, but in the context of the gulf, it is interesting to consider the shape and impact of different interactions upon the selection and expression of identities (place, regional, or ethnic). In what context, for example, was it relevant for a citizen of Aigeira or Aigion to advertise themselves as such, and when was »Achaios« sufficient? Interlocking circuits within and beyond the gulf connected people, commodities, and practical ideas. Important personal affinities and relationships, including those on which livelihoods depended, did not always map onto city or federal boundaries[25]. But they could become politicised and embedded in the creation of a league or federation (or grow up around new political realities), and they could also help to sustain the ostensibly independent actions and policy decisions of individual cities or communities. Cross-gulf connections are as important here as those around the littoral and with hinterlands. When, for example, the Delphians elected to send their women and children

19 Bourguet 1932, 25 (IIIB). 36; Bousquet 1977, 91–100; Meiggs 1982, 430–433. Also discussed by Freitag 2000, 247–249; Bonnier 2014, 96 f.

20 Morgan 2003, 155–162.

21 Bonnier 2014, 18.

22 Horden – Purcell 2000, 102 f. (92–105 for wider discussion).

23 Morgan 2003, 213–222 (with chap. 2).

24 Saranti 2018; Saranti – Filis 2018; Saranti – Georma 2018.

25 Knappett – Kiriatzi 2016, rightly emphasise the multiplicity of scales on which mobility may be defined. To date, insufficient attention has been paid to the micro scale – the mobilities of daily life.

to Achaia to escape the Persian advance (Hdt. 8, 36), what history of connections led them to believe that this most vulnerable part of their community would be safe there? Their goods were secured in the Corycaean cave, while their men mostly sought refuge on Mount Parnassos or at Lokrian Amphissa.

These three accounts reflect the current state of discussion of the gulf. No single one is fully rounded, but together they delineate a model uniting the dynamics of the littoral, networks extending across land and sea, and human relationships on different scales and of different intensities. Nonetheless, gaps remain, and we turn now to two areas of discussion with direct implications for the development of urban space.

THE SEA

In their emphasis upon the integrity and complexity of the gulf region, all three works discussed so far help to break down persistent geographical and political boundaries[26]. Yet the gulf itself is more than just the water that happens to separate lands profitably considered together. The lack of close attention to the sea is a real omission, if not an unusual one[27]. There are echoes of the approaches to »Atlantic history« which provoked the »ocean turn« (or New Thalassology) of the early 2000s in an attempt to unite the geography and lived experience of the sea with interlinked developments on land[28]. In fairness, none of our three authors or their reviewers ignore the sea. Reviewing Freitag's »Der Golf von Korinth«, Emily Mackil characterises Corinthian trading activity as a »human reaction to the very particular conditions offered by the Gulf«, rather than being »determined by the mere presence of a body of water«[29]. Nonetheless, treatment of the gulf to date rarely reflects its real qualities[30]. Far from being easily navigable, its waters can be tricky, as is clear from the 1880 first edition of the »Mediterranean Pilot« written in the days of sail[31].

Antiquarian writing is revealing, if often overlooked chiefly because of its rarity, at least in the Anglophone world, where the popularity of Pausanias as a travel guide focused attention on land[32]. Edward Dodwell's 1805 voyage along the gulf was unplanned: he arrived in Patras intending to continue by land through Achaia to Corinth, but plague in Corinth forced him to sail on to Galaxidi, *en route* combining observations about navigation and the coastal area as a continuation of his practice during the earlier stages of his journey in the Adriatic and Ionian seas[33]. In 1806 he returned by land through the Peloponnese, describing the Achaian coast from a terrestrial perspective[34]. He thus provides us with the first combination of maritime and terrestrial observations, enriched by the topographical drawings of Simone Pomardi. Pride of place, however, goes to Ludwig Salvator's 1874 voyage down the gulf from west to east, undertaken because »as a sea lane in the heart of Greece, as the common route between East and West, it was the emporium of ancient civilization, with rich cities adorning its shores«[35]. This perspective, which places the sea and the littoral in the same frame, merits further exploration.

While conditions in the gulf are not significantly more difficult than in narrows elsewhere in the Greek world (in the Euboean straits for example), they differ markedly from those in less

26 As emphasised by Mackil 2001 re. Freitag 2000.
27 For analogous observations see Abulafia 2005, 64–67 on the Mediterranean; Ceccarelli 2012 on the Aegean.
28 Horden – Purcell 2006 with bibliography.
29 Mackil 2001.
30 Morton 2001 is the main exception.
31 Mediterranean Pilot III, 320–334.
32 Pretzler 2007, 118–149.
33 Dodwell 1819, I, chap. 4.
34 Dodwell 1819, II, chaps. 8. 12.
35 Salvator 1876, ix.

confined regions and require distinct knowledge to navigate[36]. Tides are strong by Mediterranean standards, with changing currents felt particularly in mid-channel and in the narrows. There are a number of difficult areas (notably around Perachora), but the passage from the outer gulf (of Patras) to the inner Gulf (of Corinth) is especially treacherous due to a combination of tides and seasonal land and sea breezes. Particularly challenging are the winds that funnel down into the confined space of the gulf via the valleys which cut through the mountains on both coasts. Adverse currents can be sufficient to prevent ships large or small from passing through, and winds can act on an eastward current to produce choppy seas, or on a westward one to create a larger swell in the more open waters outside the gulf entrance. This area is difficult even in the summer, when winds are generally lighter and summer storms, requiring ships to shelter, not unusual. These are basic conditions which sailors must have understood, whether they sought to hug the coast, run mid-channel, or enter harbour.

One immediate consequence is the importance of harbour locations[37]. Emphasis has so far been placed on the nature of relationships between harbours and city centres, both in the sense of physical proximity and of harbours as points of entrance to central place networks. But a number of questions remain open. How far could cities rely upon having their ›own‹ harbours; what happened when access was lost even temporarily (though hostility or natural disaster); and what collaborative arrangements might be made? City locations were chosen for a variety of reasons, so there is potential for mismatch[38]. Plenty of locations around the gulf could provide temporary shelter (behind headlands for example, as at Perachora); harbour works could significantly improve conditions; and *in extremis* ships could ground in river mouths or coastal shallows[39]. Yet secure harbours where ships could safely moor for long periods are few. This was surely an important logistical concern when moving large cargoes, especially those targeted at specific locations (movements of men and material during the Peloponnesian war, for example). Naupaktos, with its long outer bay sheltered from westerly winds and its almost completely protected inner harbour, was always a valued haven in the most treacherous part of the gulf. However, its physical development owes more to political assessment of its strategic significance – as a Lokrian colony, a facility to be secured for the Athenians by whatever means, and then an asset as readily attached to the Achaian federation to the south as the Aetolian to the north – an increasingly straightforward judgement as its facilities and proof of utility accumulated[40]. Even brief counterfactual consideration of the possible form and physical epicentre of the Aetolian ethnos under other circumstances makes the point.

Naupaktos is a rare case in the gulf of a city that lived by its harbour and the services it provided. Elsewhere, even attractive harbours had constraints – difficulty of passage through narrow entrances in bad weather (as at Perachora), approaches requiring expert navigation (though the Echinades to reach Astakos and Oiniades, for example), or shallow waters which in some cases demanded transhipment[41]. The importance of coastal shipping and cabotage is often assumed[42], and in areas such as central Achaia, where wide river outlets impede land passage, the sea was probably the easiest route for very local traffic. But this too carried risk. The avoidance of certain currents and the advantage of numerous locations for small ships to beach must be set against the dangers of coastal navigation and threats to security. The problem of piracy is clear in a 5th-century treaty between Oiantheia and Chaleion (modern Galaxidi) (IG IX 1, 333, 1–8)[43] which forbids

36 Mediterranean Pilot III, 95; Morton 2001, 45, 93–97.
37 Freitag 2000, 309–329; cf. Bonnier 2014, 24 f. 29 f. 33. 36 f.
38 Bonnier 2008 addresses the relationship between harbour and city with no presumption of intimacy.
39 Morton 2001, 110 f.; Blackman 1966; Filis 2016/2017.
40 Saranti 2016.
41 Mediterranean Pilot III, 292–300 (Echinades and Astakos). Perachora: Blackman 1966.
42 Morton 2001, 143–159 emphasises that the distinction between coastal and open-sea navigation is often overstated; Bonnier 2014, 75–77.
43 Tod 1946, 34.

the seizure of citizens of either community or any property which they may have seized and protects the ships of strangers while in the harbour of either city (seizure at sea is still allowed). Evidently the safety of local traffic could not be guaranteed. Safety and success required expert knowledge of local conditions and the mitigation of risk by diverse means (cooperations, treaties, coastal defences, or firepower), not all equally visible in the material record. There is, however, a connection between danger, protection, and the placing of sanctuaries and monuments in maritime-facing locations[44]. Hence, for example, the twin sanctuaries of Poseidon on the headlands flanking the straits of Rhion (Strab. 8, 2, 3), both sites of commemoration after the two naval battles in 429 BC (Thuk. 2, 84, 4; 2, 92, 4–5).

As Purcell, among others, has emphasised, »becoming maritime« is a process shaped by a community's need to engage with the sea[45]. All of the communities flanking the gulf were committed to maritime activity to some extent (although this varied in nature and over time), making the maritime foreground as important to their networks as the terrestrial hinterland. The potential economic gain from people and commodities moving to and from the sea was huge[46]. A good starting point for discussion would be assessment of the infrastructure necessary for each community in its own distinctive environment to marshal and deploy the labour, expertise, facilities and materials necessary to support and/or intensify its chosen activities. Immediate needs fluctuated, but it is important to think broadly about the flow of activities across the littoral, from shipbuilding and repair to commodity storage, repacking, porterage, distribution and taxation, accommodation and catering for those entering and leaving, animal holding and fodder, communication and security – the list is potentially long. These activities need not be concentrated in the urban centre, but security, access, and control were surely major concerns. We are only now beginning to understand even in general terms such matters of organisation and local variation. The wealth of information collated by Freitag is a particularly valuable resource when considering pressures on the littoral; to it may be added a number of more recently excavated warehouses and coastal facilities[47]. But Delphi remains a rare case where the question has been posed in a holistic way, with the impact of the sanctuary on the coastal zone (and in relation to the city) seen in terms of port history, facilities to receive and host visitors or secure supplies, the preservation of pasture for sacrificial animals, and political development and control (after the First Sacred War)[48]. While the operation of such a prominent sanctuary plainly had a major impact on the long-term development of the hinterland and littoral alike, detailed comparison with the material development of the territories of other littoral cities would surely be a revealing exercise. The serial configuration of coastal societies around the gulf facilitates this.

FRAGMENTATION AND DIVERSITY

The gulf bears comparison with the Mediterranean of Horden and Purcell in the sense that it was unified by contacts between contrasting places rather than similarities across shores. A close reading therefore requires documentation of the various combinations of environments, affordances, and ecologies (constructed via a range of human choices), and integration of the results into appreciation of urban development and the shaping of political organisation. In western Achaia, for example, extensive, loosely textured settlement at Patras, shading into rural settlements and in time farmsteads scattered over the surrounding plains, attests to a very different process of city

44 Morton 2001, 310–313.
45 Purcell 2013, esp. 98 f.
46 Purcell 2005a.
47 E.g. Saranti – Filis 2018; Filis 2019.
48 Luce 2008, part 4; Rousset 2002; McInerney 1999, esp. 100–108; Howe 2003. Luce 2011 establishes the pre-8th century context.

formation from that in the Corinthia or the northwestern coastal zone[49]. Two unusual (and potentially anomalous) patterns of development have been noted at Delphi and Naupaktos. Elsewhere, certain environments have particular affordances. The lagoons and wetlands of Aetoloakarnania, for example, offered a range of resources from seafood to reeds and salt[50], a navigable but secure location for the naval dockyard at Oiniades (established in the 5th cent.)[51], and a permeable barrier protecting the towns of the interior. Rare resources in particular parts of the gulf include beds of *Pinna nobilis* (providing the »sea silk« used in luxury textiles) near Perachora and Aetolian Chalkis, where a tablet weaving industry is well documented[52]. Taste in imports (at least outside the richer offerings at major sanctuaries) generally ran to what Lin Foxhall has termed semi-luxuries, items with the marginal difference in quality, style, or origin needed to inspire fashion or make life feel better[53]. The flow of local fine pottery styles around the gulf may therefore be less significant than specialist manufactures; recognition of the particular quality of regional products – horses bred at Sikyon (cited by Demosthenes 21, 158 in support of his charge of ostentatious display against Meidias) or the soft woollen cloth of the victors' cloaks from Pellene (Pind. O. 9, 97–98; N. 10, 44); or active engagement in the development and use of vessels which offered practical advantages to trade, like the widely manufactured Corinthian/Adriatic amphorae which dominated the regional carrying industry into the 3rd century BC[54]. The Corinthian Gulf is rich in such manufactures. This focus on the granular also has the merit of exposing potentially significant gaps in knowledge at a local level. Thanks to the major public works of the past decade, these appear less dominant in what once seemed the remote west, and surprisingly common in the territories of the eastern poleis (the Perachora peninsula, for example, merits fresh research).

A further problem is whether the Corinthian Gulf was equally important for all the surrounding cities or states. Those with access to more than one sea faced choices. Corinth and Megara both lay on the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs. In the case of Corinth, the comparison exposes our poor understanding of settlement and networks around the Saronic Gulf[55], but Megara had well-established harbour towns on both coasts (on the Corinthian Gulf, a shrine at modern Alepochori, ancient Pagasae, dates from the late 8th cent.), affording the capacity to adapt to trade flows and specific needs (e.g. to accommodate the triremes of the Athenian navy at Pagasae)[56]. Boeotia, according to Ephoros (cited in Strab. 9, 2, 2), owed its strength to its position on three seas, one being the Corinthian Gulf (specifically the Halcyonic Gulf, which forms its northeastern confine). Such exposure to risks and benefits not only affected individual Boeotian cities but is also reflected in the uneven distribution of interests and/or investments. Dedications at Delphi aside[57], material evidence of engagement in the gulf area is slight. The Halcyonic Gulf is relatively secluded, with poor visual connections, large stretches of mountainous coast, and good anchorages but no secure harbours (Creusis, the main port on the southwest coast, is exposed to southerly gales). Mount Helikon impedes communication with the interior. When, in 366 BC, the Thebans decided to build a fleet of 100 triremes, the site chosen for the main naval base was probably Aulis

49 Patras: Morgan – Hall 1996, 181–186 (with the important addition of Gadolou 2017b); Rizakis – Petropoulos 2005. Corinth: Morgan – Tzonnou 2019. Northwest: Morgan (forthcoming); see e.g. Makyneia (Saranti – Georma 2018); Chalkis (Houby-Nielsen 2020; Dietz – Kolonas 2016).

50 The spring shrine at Mastros (Katsarou – Darlas 2016/2017, 98–100) indicates post-prehistoric exploitation from the 8th cent. onwards (S. Katsarou pers. comm.), although the identity of those involved cannot yet be ascertained. On the value of wetlands see Horden – Purcell 2000, 186–190.

51 Oiniades: Serbeti et al. 2013; Blackman – Rankov 2013, s. v. Oiniades (H. Gerding).

52 Houby-Nielsen 2017.

53 Foxhall 1998.

54 Bonnier 2014, 74–77; see also amphora warehouses at Makyneia (Saranti – Filis 2018) and Trapeza Diakoptou, Aigialeias (Filis 2019).

55 A gap addressed by Kissas – Mattern (forthcoming).

56 Freitag 2018. Shrine: Kyriakou-Zapheiropoulou 2012/2013; Baziotopoulou-Valavani – Vordos 2000.

57 Snapshots of two different periods show the sanctuary as a location for the expression of federal identity: Scott 2016; Larson 2017, 136–142. 145–149.

on the north coast[58]. But while one might doubt the importance of the gulf coast to the Boeotian cities and League[59], for reasons of security, if nothing else, it could not be ignored. In 371 BC, the Spartan army under Kleombrotos surprised the Thebans by using the gulf as a back way into the heart of Boeotia, capturing Siphae and Creusis (Xen. hell. 6, 4, 3–4; Diod. 15, 53, 1); the particular route chosen is not the only one viable[60]. As Anton Bonnier rightly points out[61], there is good reason to believe that the fortifications of Creusis (and probably of Thisbe and Chorsiae) predate this attack, although the earliest fortifications in Boeotia as a whole are not in this area[62].

In short, the sea both connects and isolates. The good things of life are brought over it, but it is also a place of chaos where connections founder, people are separated, and newcomers introduced. In the gulf, the immediate human drama played out over a relatively small geographical area. This in turn reinforces the point that historical contingency is rarely driven by single events. When considering major changes to the environment of gulf cities, from urban relocation to the construction of defences, residential areas, shrines or other facilities, trigger events work on a complex of accumulated experiences and perceptions, enacted in urban space inherited from previous generations and always in development.

THE IMPACT OF VIOLENCE

This leads us to consider the drivers for change in social and physical environments, cities included. We have already noted the relative lack of attention to the mobilities of everyday life and the attendant formation of contingent knowledge[63]. On a larger scale, one might explore the kinds of activity that required the movement of people and unequally distributed resources, while at the same time displaying the power of those commissioning and/or orchestrating them. This is the sense of John K. Davies' work on the economics of temple building as a proxy for the wider but less well documented world of monumental construction, or Elena Partida's study of the network of creators and artisans at Delphi[64]. The long-term formative effects of violence operate on different scales. Construed in the broadest sense, violence encompasses perceived threats to safety managed as part of daily life; natural catastrophes and their human consequences (such as the earthquake which destroyed Helike in 373 BC); warfare as a form of elite status expression (a factor behind supply chains of prestige goods through the ages); and episodes of open conflict focused on the gulf (notably during the Peloponnesian War), giving the region geopolitical significance. Numerous and diverse examples could be cited to illustrate all of these aspects, but I focus on two lines of approach.

First, the conduct of war demanded networks through which to move people and goods, directing or constraining personal mobility and economic activity, and mobilising war materials of all kinds (which had to be stored and available in the right place at the right time). The establishment of sea power in particular demanded domination of the mechanics of interaction and redistribution[65]. Davies' assessment of the implications of Athenian adoption of the trireme therefore spans the diversity of immediate requirements for finance, harbour facilities, sheltered anchorages, and materials for construction and maintenance[66], and considers how the Corinthian Gulf grew in strategic importance for both Athens and Corinth as their naval interests converged and collided,

58 Buckler 1980, 12 f.; Buckler – Beck 2008, 180–210.
59 Bonnier 2014, 113–116 reviews scholarship and takes a more positive view.
60 Buckler 1980, 55–61.
61 Bonnier 2014, 120.
62 Frederiksen 2011, s. v. Chaironeia, Haliartos, Hyettos, Orchomenos, and (based on textual evidence) Thebes.
63 Morgan 2021.
64 Davies 2001; Partida 2011.
65 Horden – Purcell 2000, 24 f.
66 Davies 2007.

to the benefit of some communities over others. Procurement of supplies is one thing. Active intervention to protect, secure, or create facilities another. Political uncertainties, plus the specific needs of triremes for sheltered anchorage and regular dry dock, require us to search beyond city harbours or naval dockyards for (often small) facilities in secure locations[67]. A case in point is the modification of the islet of Agios Dimitrios in the Krissaian Gulf to create facilities for up to three small vessels in a location distant from the shore but in visual contact with both Chaleion and Kirrha[68]. The construction helped to secure the maritime route along the north side of the Corinthian Gulf and up to Delphi, and is dated by Panos Valavanis to the period of Aetolian control in the late 4th to 3rd century (when the port of Chaleion was also fortified)[69]. Against the cost of building such facilities and defences may be counted gains such as the spoils available for public or private projects.

Secondly, maritime connectivity opened new and sometimes unforeseen possibilities for human migration. People could move as commodities (slaves, mercenaries, or marriage partners) or via the voluntary migrations and/or military deployments which afforded leaders freedom to intervene or control, for example by forcing or aiding resettlement for political ends. Examples include the Athenian-directed settlement of Messenian refugees at Naupaktos in the early 450s[70], of Helots and Messenians at Krane on Kephallonia in 421 BC (Thuk. 5, 35, 7), and, based on a similar pattern of alliances, the establishment in c. 225 BC of Aetolian communities at Same on Kephallonia (IG IX 1^2 2)[71]. These actions had major strategic implications. In explaining Philip V's hostility towards Kephallonia during the War of the Allies, Polybius (5, 3–4) emphasised the island's strategic importance for the Aetolians by virtue of its location and because it afforded them a fleet with which to attack Achaia, coastal Epirus, and Akarnania. Assumed rights to control or intervene thus complicate coastal history by changing the composition of communities, and doing so in a way that drew otherwise distant and sometimes terrestrially oriented states into power relationships liable to produce threats and uncertainties from land and sea. Coasts are not the only Janus-faced zones between milieux of connectivity. As Purcell puts it, »there is a sense in which coasts which are sandwiched between a littoral, mountain range or upland edge, and the sea might be said to experience a fasciated coastal history in which there are multiple parallel zones of shared positioning between deep interior and open sea«[72].

URBAN SPACE

It is now clear that the Corinthian Gulf was a densely settled, urbanised environment at least from the 8th century onwards. The idea that larger, tribal, units, especially in the west, were too disparate to develop urban centres before Late Classical times is false[73]. As a result, there is great scope to look afresh at the nature of cityscapes and to document patterns of variation.

The nature and quality of urban life remain topics of intense discussion. Horden and Purcell's contention that town life was not qualitatively different from that in other settlements has been characterised as a »ruralisation« of ancient and medieval history at the expense of towns and cities[74]. Indeed, there is a certain symmetry in the development of approaches to the gulf itself and to the nature of urban space. Braudel sought to define and characterise towns, villages, routes, and

67 Baika 2013.
68 Valavanis 2015. Kirrha: Blackman – Rankov 2013, s. v. Kirrha (D. Blackman – K. Baika); Petrocheilos 2017, 52–54.
69 Lerat 1952, 152–158.
70 Kallet 2016.
71 Randsborg 2002, 31 proposes a location in the newly settled Pylaros valley.
72 Purcell 2013, quotation at 100; Bonnier 2014, 124–129.
73 Morgan (forthcoming); *pace* Osborne – Wallace-Hadrill 2013, 55.
74 Horden – Purcell 2000, chap. 4; Harris 2005a, 29–34.

cities, informed primarily by the circumstances of medieval Europe[75]. Scholarship on antiquity long relied upon idealised later Greek and Roman urban models; even acceptance that the early stages in the genesis of urban forms might have seen variety, false starts and instability was expressed in teleological terms[76]. Until recently, archaeological discussion focused on the supposed social and political significance of built features – the civic centre, religious facilities, and defences[77]. In 1997, James Coulton and I published an article for the Copenhagen Polis Centre in which we questioned (with hindsight perhaps too subtly) the value of this approach and the robustness of conclusions which could be drawn from a diverse and chronologically variable record[78]. A backlash followed. For Horden and Purcell, the city is less a unit of analysis than a central place within one or more networks[79]: Brent Shaw memorably described their conception of urbanisation as the »dynamic process by which cities congeal on the landscape«[80]. In the same vein, Robin Osborne and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill note that many different ways of inhabiting cities are evident from an early date, and even general definitions focused on political/religious and cultural functions are too prescriptive[81]. A common factor is the characterisation of cities as nodes in wider networks: network history is city history.

While largely in agreement, I feel the lack of a distinctive space for the material world of town- and cityscapes – for the social relations and taskscapes folded within them, their sensory impact, and the affect they elict. We observe in the archaeological record a repeated process of creation based on decisions about ownership, use of, and aspirations for, space. Since the resulting structures both enabled and constrained, the key question is how the social and the physical interacted over time. In antiquity towns could be represented as loci of tradition, status, and power, expressed in durable form by monumental construction. For Plato (Kritias 112), orderly and lasting urban structures were a reflection of good order, good government, and the rule of the wise and the good. Yet the processes which created, maintained, and developed them were dynamic[82]. Factors include the landscape of property, defining communal space versus individual rights and interests, and the physical place of the dead; the rhythms of maintenance of different kinds of structure; and families' own needs to adapt their household space. An inherited townscape could be an object of affect, but inheritance was no more sclerotic than planning initiatives were necessarily progressive and/or long-lasting. Furthermore, in a world where redistribution, federation, and out-mobility offered safety and opportunity, unfavourable settlement locations could become obsolete and alternatives sufficiently attractive to merit the complex practical decisions entailed in relocation, synoikism or dioikism. Characterising this as ›failure‹ to be set alongside violent displacement as an external cause of change misses the point[83]. One way to capture this dynamism while recognising that buildings have a durable physical presence may be to think in terms of the half-life of a city: how long did it take for the sum total of change to produce a qualitatively different environment, and how did this then contribute to the picture in the wider region?

In conclusion, our point of departure (the need to locate the urban space currently under investigation within its physical and social environment) and subsequent exploration of the distinctive characteristics of the gulf, lead to two observations. The first concerns the temporal quality of cities. Buildings play a distinctive role as the end point of one kind of discussion and the start of others; they are simultaneously answers and questions, novel and attractive yet outdated and

75 Braudel 1972, I, chap. 5.3–4.
76 Morgan 2003, 47–54. 69–71.
77 For a critique see Morgan – Coulton 1997.
78 Morgan – Coulton 1997.
79 Horden – Purcell 2000, chap. 4 (esp. 90–101).
80 Shaw 2001, 427 f.
81 Osborne – Wallace-Hadrill 2013.
82 Purcell 2004; Purcell 2005b.
83 Mackil 2004 (with discussion of the Achaian poleis of Helike and Aigai); Morgan 2003, 171–176; Purcell 2005b, 255–259.

constraining. Second, the potential of the gulf as a source of complex and ambitious questions for network analysis has barely been tapped[84]. The ease of slippage from the notion that »the history of the Mediterranean in antiquity is a history of the formation and exploitation of networks of cities« to »network history is city history«[85] underscores the way in which cities have been taken for granted as network nodes. Yet as we have seen, their diverse configurations, the potentially vast knowledge flows implicated in city and rural life alike, and the distinctive environment of the gulf, raise the prospect of richer lines of enquiry. The work presented in this volume is a major step towards these ends.

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[84] On the essential role of initial mapping and conceptualisation in network analysis see Collar et al. 2015.
[85] Osborne – Wallace-Hadrill 2013, 49.

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