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Elaia, Pergamon's maritime satellite: the rise and fall of an ancient harbour city shaped 4

5 by shoreline migration

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20 Abstract

Throughout human history, communication and trade were key to societies. Because maritime 21 trade facilitates the rapid transportation of passengers and freight at relatively low costs, 22 23 harbours became hubs for traffic, trade, and exchange. This general statement holds true for the Pergamenian kingdom, which ruled wide parts of today's western Turkey during 24 25 Hellenistic times. Its harbour, located at the city of Elaia on the eastern Aegean shore, was used extensively for commercial and military purposes. 26

- 27 This study reconstructs the coastal evolution in and around the ancient harbour of Elaia and compares and contrasts the observed environmental modifications with archaeological and 28 historical findings. We used micropalaeontological, sedimentological, and geochemical 29 proxies to reconstruct the palaeoenvironmental dynamics and evolution of the ancient 30 harbour. The geoarchaeological results confirm the archaeological and historical evidence of 31 Elaia's prime during Hellenistic and early Roman times, and the city's gradual decline during 32 the late Roman period. Furthermore, our study demonstrates that Elaia holds a unique position 33 as a harbour city during ancient times in the eastern Aegean region, because it was not 34 completely influenced by the high sediment supply associated with river deltas. Consequently, 35 no dredging of the harbour basins is documented, creating exceptional geo-bio-archives for 36 palaeoenvironmental reconstructions. 37
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39 Introduction

Around the end of the Holocene marine transgression, circa 6000 BP (Lambeck, 1996; 40 Lambeck and Purcell, 2007), sea-level stabilisation enabled ancient societies to settle along 41 Mediterranean shores (Anthony et al., 2014; Murray-Wallace and Woodroofe, 2014; Vacchi 42 et al., 2014, 2016a; Khan et al., 2015; Benjamin et al., 2017; Seeliger et al., 2017). For many 43 civilisations, a connection to the sea was an important factor in establishing a flourishing 44 settlement. In the Aegean, this statement is, for example, supported by the Neolithic 45 settlements of Hoca Cesme in Thrace (Başaran, 2010; Özbek, 2010), Hamaylıtarla on the 46 47 Gallipoli peninsula (Özbek, 2010) and Çukuriçi Höyük near ancient Ephesus (Horejs, 2012; Horejs et al., 2015; Stock et al., 2015). All of them were situated less than 4 km from the sea, 48 49 much closer than they are today (Ammerman et al., 2008). There are many examples from the Aegean that demonstrate that the fate of ancient settlements was closely linked to migrating 50 51 shorelines and changing sea level. In Western Anatolia, Troy, Miletos, Ainos, Ephesus, and Liman Tepe are the most prominent ones. Their rise and fall as harbour cities were shaped 52 53 essentially by environmental changes, which have been described by many geoarchaeological studies (Kraft et al., 1977, 2007; Kayan, 1999, 2014; Brückner et al., 2006, 2013, 2015; 54 55 Goodman et al., 2008, 2009; Delile et al., 2015; Shumilovskikh et al., 2016; Seeliger et al., 2018). 56

Here, we investigate the evolution of the coastal configuration around the city of Elaia that 57 hosted the former military and commercial harbour of ancient Pergamon in Hellenistic and 58 59 Roman times. Since 2013, several papers have focused on the environmental evolution of the Bay of Elaia. By analysing sediment cores taken inside and outside the main harbour basin of 60 Elaia, the closed harbour, Seeliger et al. (2013) demonstrated how it was built in the first half 61 of the 3rd century BC, how it has been used during the apogee of Elaia, and why it was 62 abandoned due to massive sedimentation in late Roman times (Fig. 2). Seeliger et al. (2014) 63 used optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dating and electrical resistivity tomography 64 (ERT) measurements to probe the construction style and age of presently submerged walls 65 66 circa 1–2 km south of the city and interpret these structures as the remains of saltworks constructed using spolia in Late Antiquity, a time when the harbours of Elaia were no longer 67 navigable and the people had abandoned the city (Fig. 2a). Pint et al. (2015) performed 68 detailed analyses of foraminifera and ostracoda, in combination with 3D-ERT measurements, 69 to detect the style and usability of presumed Hellenistic ship sheds in the open harbour area of 70 71 Elaia. They concluded that the open harbour and its ship sheds were operational during 72 Hellenistic times, but were no longer navigable from Roman Imperial times onwards.

Furthermore, Shumilovskikh et al. (2016) undertook a palynological investigation of sediment 73 74 core Ela 70, taken from inside the closed harbour basin. This work precisely reconstructed the palaeoenvironmental conditions and the vegetation history of the Bay of Elaia during the last 75 7500 a. Finally, Seeliger et al. (2017) described a new sea-level indicator based on 76 foraminifera associations in the context of the transgressive contact. Based on these data, they 77 reconstruct a relative sea-level (RSL) history for the area showing steadily rising sea-level 78 since 7500 BP and today's sea-level maximum. By comparing and contrasting their RSL 79 history to curves from nearby Greek sites in the Aegean they reviewed the RSL evolution of 80 81 the Aegean since the mid-Holocene. Furthermore, Feuser et al. (2018) recently published a 82 summary presenting the state-of-the-art knowledge on the use of the Elaia's harbours, from an 83 archaeological perspective.

In this article, we aim to integrate key findings of previous studies with new 84 85 chronostratigraphic results to (i) investigate the causes of environmental modifications; (ii) to reconstruct the changes in the shoreline of the Bay of Elaia; and (iii) to provide fresh insights 86 87 into the link between shoreline changes and human-environment interactions during Elaia's settlement period. Therefore, we focus on the time period from 1500 BC onwards, which 88 89 covers Elaia's prime as Pergamon's prospering harbour. In addition, we compare our results with other ancient coastal settlements in Asia Minor to furnish a broader view on different 90 environmental changes, which shaped the rise and fall of ancient coastal settlements in the 91 92 eastern Aegean.

93

94 **Physical setting**

Elaia is located in the north-western part of modern Turkey (Figs. 1a, b). The study area is 95 part of the westwards drifting Aegean-Anatolian microplate (Vacchi et al., 2014). As a 96 consequence of this drift, several E-W oriented rift structures were formed in the late 97 Miocene, such as the Bergama graben, and its tributary, the Zeytindağ graben. This tectonic 98 ensemble represents a fractured zone, which was favourable to the evolution of the Kaikos 99 100 valley (Vita-Finzi, 1969; Aksu et al., 1987; Seeliger et al., 2013; Fig. 1a). The Karadağ Mountains to the west and the Yuntdağ Mountains to the east border the Gulf of Elaia (Figs. 101 1, 2). The wide alluvial plain and the cuspate delta of the Bakır Çay (ancient name: Kaikos) 102 are located to the west of the Bay of Elaia, separated by the flat ridge of Bozyertepe (40 m 103 104 a.s.l. (above present sea level; Fig. 2)).

The Elaia coastal zone has a typical Mediterranean climate, Csa according to Koeppen andGeiger's nomenclature, with hot and dry summers, and mild and humid winters (Yoo and

Rohli, 2016). Therefore, heavy rain and torrential rivers are major morphological agents
(Brückner, 1994; Jeckelmann, 1996). Our own observations confirmed that the sea in the Bay
of Elaia turns brownish due to excessive wash-down of colluvial material during heavy rain.
Due to the steepness of the Yuntdağ Mountains, this effect is even stronger in the eastern part
of the Bay of Elaia (Fig. 2c).

112

113 Historical background

Pergamon is one of the most famous ancient settlements in Turkey, frequently mentioned with 114 Troy, Miletos, Ainos, and Ephesus (Kraft et al., 1980, 2003, 2007; Kayan, 1999; Brückner et 115 al., 2013; Seeliger et al., 2018). Thanks to shifts in the settlement areas, its impressive 116 117 monumental structures, its important library and school of philosophers, Pergamon provides detailed insights into the urban structure of a Hellenistic city (Radt, 2016). Soon after 118 119 Alexander the Great died in Babylon in 323 BC, the so-called "Wars of the Diadochi" affected great tracts of his empire (Cartledge, 2004). In a later stage of these fights, the 120 121 dynasty of the Attalids came to power in the Kaikos region and established - in alliance with Rome – a powerful kingdom in Asia Minor, which, during its prime under King Eumenes II 122 (197-159 BC) ruled the western half of present-day Turkey. In 133 BC, their realm was 123 integrated into the growing Roman Empire (Hansen, 1971; Pirson and Scholl, 2015; Radt, 124 2016; Fig. 1c). Pergamon's location on top of the 330 m high Acropolis hill, overlooking the 125 surrounding Kaikos plain, was excellent for security and defence, but complicated trade and 126 transport. Furthermore, the Pergamenians were in need of a maritime harbour. They found it 127 in the nearby city of Elaia, located on the Aegean Sea approximately 26 km south-west of 128 Pergamon (Figs. 1a, 2a). According to current research knowledge, Elaia came under 129 Pergamenian hegemony during the regency of Eumenes I (263-241 BC; Pirson, 2004; Radt, 130 2016). Additionally, Strabo mentioned Elaia as the commercial harbour of the Pergamenians 131 and as the military base of the Attalids (Geographica XIII, 1, 67; XIII, 3, 5). Further evidence 132 from literary sources and archaeological findings emphasises the close link between Elaia and 133 134 Pergamon (Pirson, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2014). The harbour zone of Elaia was divided into three parts (Fig. 2). 135

First, the closed harbour basin (I in Fig. 2) within the fortification walls, which was built in early Hellenistic times. It was protected from the sea and enemies by two massive breakwaters; nowadays they are landlocked, but still visible. Geoarchaeological research has revealed that substantial siltation occurred between the 3rd and the end of the 4th centuries AD; from the 5th century AD onwards the closed harbour was no longer navigable (Pirson, 2007,

2008; Seeliger *et al.*, 2013, 2017). Second, a circa 250 m long open harbour zone (II in Fig. 2) 141 stretching from the southern breakwater of the closed harbour south-eastwards to the point 142 where an internal wall reached the waterfront. This so-called diateichisma divided the city 143 area into a northern, densely-populated part and a southern one (Pirson, 2011; Pint et al., 144 2015). Third, a beach harbour extended from south of the diateichisma to the south-eastern tip 145 of the city wall (III in Fig. 2). This area was probably used as a multifunctional military zone, 146 including dockyards where warships were beached and maintenance work was conducted 147 148 (Pirson, 2011, 2014; Pint et al., 2015).

Palaeogeographical research was conducted to assess small-scale palaeoenvironmental changes in the Bay of Elaia. Because Elaia served as the satellite harbour city of Pergamon during its prime, previous research focussed on the function and temporal use of the different harbours identified (Seeliger *et al.* 2013, 2017; Pint *et al.* 2015). Although detailed research was conducted, some key questions remain. Key knowledge gaps include: (i) How did coastal and RSL changes influence the human occupation history of the city? (ii) To what extent does Elaia fit with the traditional "rise and fall model" linked to shoreline migration?

- Seeliger et al. (2017) took a first step toward answering these questions, by publishing a RSL 156 157 curve for Elaia and comparing it to the RSL histories of other study areas in the Aegean. Here we seek to further explore the role of Elaia as an example of shoreline migration and human 158 settlement changes in the Aegean during ancient times. This research is based on 19 sediment 159 cores, drilled along five transects perpendicular to the present shoreline (Fig. 2a). This 160 approach has been widely adopted in Mediterranean coastal studies (e.g. Kraft et al., 2007; 161 Goodman et al., 2008, 2009; Kayan, 2014; Marriner et al., 2014; Delile et al., 2015, 162 Morhange et al., 2016; Evelpidou et al., 2017; Flaux et al., 2017; Giaime et al., 2017; 163 Pennington et al., 2017; Seeliger et al., 2018) to investigate lateral and vertical changes in the 164 sediment stratigraphy and to probe the evolution of the landscape, notably shoreline 165 migration. 166
- 167

168 Material and methods

169 Geoarchaeological fieldwork

Sediment cores were extracted using an Atlas Copco Cobra TT vibracorer with open steel auger heads (diameter: 6 and 5 cm, respectively) in the surroundings of the Bay of Elaia, down to a maximum depth of 12 m b.s. (below the surface). On-site, sediments were described according to grain size and colour (Ad-hoc-AG Boden, 2005; Munsell Soil Color Charts) and bulk samples for laboratory analyses were taken from the open sediment cores 175 (5–6 samples/metre). All coring sites were georeferenced using a Leica DGPS System 530 176 (accuracy of ≤ 2 cm in all three dimensions; Seeliger *et al.*, 2013, 2014); they are reported in 177 m above sea level (a.s.l.) and m below the surface (b.s.).

178

179 Sedimentology and geochemistry

Multi-proxy laboratory analyses were conducted (Ernst, 1970; Hadler et al., 2013; Bartz et 180 al., 2015, 2017; Seeliger et al., 2013, 2018). Samples were air-dried and sieved to separate the 181 ≤ 2 mm grain-size fraction for further analyses. For laser-based grain-size analysis 182 183 (Beckman Coulter LS13320), the organic content was decomposed using 15 % hydrogen peroxide (H₂O₂). Afterwards, sodium pyrophosphate (Na₄P₂O₇; concentration: 47 g/l) was 184 taken as a dispersant. Each sample was measured three times in 116 classes, determining 185 grain-size distributions in a range from 0.04 to 2000 μ m. For the calculation of grain-size 186 187 parameters (Folk and Ward, 1957), we used the software package GRADISTAT (Blott and Pye, 2001). To estimate the organic content, measurements of LOI (loss on ignition) were 188 189 performed by oven drying (105 °C for 12 h to determine the water content) and combustion in a furnace (550 °C for 4 h to determine the organic substance). Electric conductivity was 190 191 measured in an aqueous solution (5 g sediment in 25 ml deionised water) with a glass 192 electrode connected to a Mettler Toledo InLab®731-2m instrument. To determine different sedimentary units, characteristic elements (e.g. Fe, K, Ca, Ti, etc.) were measured using a 193 portable XRF (X-ray fluorescence) spectrometer (Niton Xl3t 900 GOLDD; Vött et al., 2011; 194 Lubos et al., 2016). To ensure comparability with all XRF analyses and to reduce grain-size 195 dependency, each sample was ground to powder in a ball triturator (Retsch PM 4001) and 196 then pressed into pills. 197

198

199 *Micropalaeontology*

For microfaunal analysis, selected 1 cm³ samples were wet-sieved using a 100 μ m mesh. Under a stereoscopic microscope, at least 300 ostracod valves and foraminifer tests, respectively, were picked from appropriate splits of the residues of every sample. If less than 300 specimens were present within a sample all were picked. Species were identified and counted according to Bonaduce *et al.* (1975) and Joachim and Langer (2008) for ostracods as well as Cimermann and Langer (1991), Meriç *et al.* (2004), and Murray (2006) for foraminifers.

207

208 Chronology

The chronological framework is based on ¹⁴C-AMS age determinations. Depending on the 209 δ^{13} C-value, each sample was calibrated using either the IntCal13 or the MARINE13 210 calibration curve in Calib 7.1 (Reimer et al., 2013) with a marine reservoir age of 390±85 a 211 and a ΔR of 35±70 a (Siani et al., 2000). Siani et al., (2000) used shells of known age 212 sampled in the Dardanelle Strait and stored in the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, 213 Paris to calculate the local marine reservoir age and its ΔR . As there are no further studies in 214 the closer vicinity of Elaia, this value has been chosen to correct the calibrations on marine 215 material. Finally, because the spatio-temporal variation of the marine reservoir effect for the 216 Aegean is still not completely understood, the ¹⁴C-ages of marine carbonates should be 217 interpreted carefully. Because this paper presents archaeological-related data, all ages are 218 presented in cal a BC/AD. Tab. 1 provides all mentioned ages in cal a BP. 219

220

221 Results of Ela 57 and Ela 12

The coring profiles of the Elaia region, a selection of 19 is presented here (Fig. 2a), can be 222 223 divided into two groups: those, which reach bedrock and those that do not. Additionally, the sedimentation pattern in the western part of the Bay (transects A-A' and B-B') differs 224 225 significantly from that of the eastern part (D–D', E–E', and F–F'). This is demonstrated by the detailed description of two cores, one from each group: Ela 57 (Figs. 3, 4) and Ela 12 226 (Figs. 5, 6). Additionally, Ela 58 (Pint et al., 2015) is considered in order to present all 227 sedimentary units (Fig. 2a). A detailed description of the profiles Ela 57 and Ela 12 is stated 228 229 in Appendix 1.

230

231 Interpretation

232 Introduction of sedimentary units

Many sediment cores from the Elaia area are summarised by the classification in units of typical environmental characteristics. Their definition based on geochemical, granulometric, and micro-faunistic parameters of cores Ela 57 and 12. This compilation is intended to shorten the interpretation of the cores (Fig. 7) and described in detail in Appendix 2.

237

238 <u>Sediment core-based reconstruction of palaeoenvironments</u>

Based on the previous sections, coring profiles Ela 57 and Ela 12 are interpreted as follows:

241 Sediment core Ela 57 representing the eastern part of the Bay of Elaia

The palaeogeographical evolution of the eastern part of the Bay of Elaia is exemplified byEla 57 (Figs. 2, 3, 4).

Neogene bedrock (unit 1), encountered at 5.42 m b.s., forms the base of numerous cores in the 244 study area. The calcareous sandstone, outcropping nearby, was used to construct the harbour 245 breakwaters (Seeliger et al., 2013, 2014). The overlying unit 2 represents the transgressive 246 littoral unit during the Holocene sea-level rise. The high-energy environment is obvious from 247 a number of gravels, the coarse grain size, and patches of seagrass. The low biodiversity and 248 the sole occurrence of robust foraminifers in the lower part of unit 2, such as Ammonia 249 250 compacta and Elphidium crispum, are evidence for the high-stress level of this littoral environment in which only a few species are able to survive (Seeliger et al., 2017). The 251 fining-upward sequence is due to increasing water depth, which is also reflected by a higher 252 biodiversity. The Holocene transgression reached this area at the end of the 3rd millennium BC 253 254 (2198–2035 cal a BC), which is far before the human occupation phase of Elaia. The second age of Ela 57 dates to late Hellenistic/ early Roman times (165 cal a BC-1 cal a BC/AD), the 255 256 period when Elaia flourished. Rising sea level led to the formation of a shallow water body represented by unit 4. It shows a fining-upward sequence due to the inland migration of the 257 258 shoreline, leading to reduced wave action. This results in a lower amount of shell debris and 259 the occurrence of preserved valves. The microfaunal association indicates a shallow marine environment. Based on our results from inside the closed and open harbours, relative sea level 260 261 at the turn of the eras was approximately 1.50 m lower than today. Thus, water depth at this 262 time should not have exceeded more than 1.30-1.50 m (Pint et al., 2015; Seeliger et al., 263 2017).

By then, the surroundings of this part of the city area may have served as a beach harbour area 264 where foreign soldiers landed and repaired their ships and put up camp, thus staying outside 265 the actual city area. This custom was normal for small to medium-sized cities at this time, 266 267 because it offered a higher level of security for the inhabitants. As the nearby coring Ela 56 does not show any marine or littoral sediments, the site of Ela 57 always lay in a nearshore 268 269 position, close to the landing area for ships and smaller vessels. A sharp contact at -1.61 m a.s.l. suggests a sudden end to this sheltered marine water body, possibly due to a massive 270 deposition engendered by torrential floods, triggered by heavy rainfall. Such erosional events 271 were favoured by the widespread deforestation of this area during Hellenistic and Roman 272 times (Shumilovskikh et al., 2016). The erosional contact at the base, the fining-upward 273 sequence, the fluvial character of the stratum including brick fragments, seeds, charcoal, and 274 275 even bones, all washed down from the nearby slopes, as well as the absence of microfauna,

support this interpretation. The upper part of this unit dates to Roman Imperial times. Since 276 277 the dated olive stone (Ela 57/8H; Tab. 1) is very robust and may have been reworked, the age should only be regarded as a minimum age. It seems that the fluvial deposition most probably 278 occurred during the final phase of the settlement of Elaia in late Roman times which may 279 have influenced the final decision to abandon the city. Since the area around coring site Ela 57 280 suddenly became terrestrial, the second transition of the shoreline, often indicated by a second 281 littoral phase (unit 5), is missing. That the area was at least partly influenced by human impact 282 is evidenced by the anthropogenically-disturbed colluvium (unit 7b), which forms the top 283 284 layer.

285

286 Sediment core Ela 12 representing the western part of the Bay of Elaia

The palaeogeographical evolution of the western Bay of Elaia is exemplified by profile Ela 12(Figs. 2, 5, 6).

At the bottom, the profile shows sediments of a sheltered embayment (unit 4) where 289 290 Posidonia oceanica meadows could thrive on the sea floor (Vacchi et al., 2016b). Wellpreserved marine bivalves support this idea. The geochemical data and the microfaunal 291 292 association indicate a near-shore environment as typically open marine species are missing (Pint et al., 2015). A radiocarbon age of 803-568 cal a BC dates this part to the first half of 293 the 1st millennium (Geometric-Archaic times). Very little is known about the history of the 294 study area during this period (Pirson and Scholl, 2015; Fig. 1c). The shallow marine 295 environment prevailed for some time until sediments from the nearby Bozyertepe were 296 increasingly washed into the embayment. This caused a regression of the shoreline with 297 decreasing water depth, and the establishment of littoral unit 5, which is of progradational 298 origin. Compared to the transgressive unit 2 of Ela 57, the progradational unit 5 of Ela 12 has 299 a similar microfaunal composition but displays a coarsening-upward sequence. The 300 environmental stress led to low biodiversity, while the increased occurrence of mollusc and 301 shell debris provides evidence of intense wave energy. It can be excluded that the advancing 302 303 delta of the Kaikos (Bakır Çay) played a major role in the silting up of this inner part of the Bay of Elaia because neither Ela 12 nor the whole transects A-A' and B-B' contains fluvial-304 305 deltaic sediments and the Bozyertepe acts as a barrier for this material (Fig. 2a). The littoral unit ends at -2.78 m a.s.l., when terrestrial processes become dominant. This is the onset of 306 the accumulation of colluvium (unit 7a). Since transect A–A' is situated at a distance from the 307 settled area of Elaia, it is not surprising that no direct indicators of human impact are found 308 309 inside the colluvium.

311 *Landscape evolution based on coring transects*

312 After the detailed description of two representative sediment cores, five transects and one 313 single coring are discussed to clarify the landscape evolution of the Bay of Elaia (Fig. 8).

Transect A–A' consists of three different types of profiles. The coastal corings Ela 11 and 12 314 show a typical regressive sedimentary sequence (Fig. 8). Increased sedimentation in the 315 context of the settlement period of Elaia led to the silting up of a low energy, shallow marine 316 water body (unit 4), which turned to a littoral progradation unit 5 and later to a natural 317 318 colluvial environment (unit 7a). Ela 14 and 20 reach the bedrock, which is topped by nearshore littoral deposits (unit 2); these are overlain by natural colluvium. The rising bedrock 319 320 towards the Bozyertepe causes the landward thinning of the littoral strata. Since core Ela 19 does not contain marine, fluvial, or littoral units, the maximum marine transgression in A-A' 321 is close to coring Ela 20, where it is dated to the end of the 2nd millennium BC. Transect B-322 B'represents the marine transgression into the valley between the Acropolis to the east and the 323 324 Bozyertepe to the west (Fig. 8). It provides results comparable to A-A'. Coastal corings Ela 1 and 2 demonstrate a regressive sediment sequence, similar to Ela 11 and 12. They represented 325 326 a shallow water body in this area of the Bay of Elaia at least since the first half of the 1st millennium BC. According to these results, the areas of Ela 1 and 2 were still under marine 327 influence during the main occupation phase of Elaia (Figs. 1c, 2). Since Ela 9 only shows 328 colluvial sediments, coring Ela 3/17 marks the maximum marine transgression of B-B'. This 329 dates to the end of the 3rd millennium BC. Ela 58 ("C") is the only core in this area, which 330 includes a shallow marine unit (unit 3) with high biodiversity. It dates to the 4th/5th millennia 331 BC. As in the eastern transects, massive fluvial input ended the shallow marine conditions and 332 initiated a sheltered water area (unit 4), which prevailed throughout Elaia's prime. Later, the 333 Elaitians dumped material in this area to consolidate the terrain. Transects D-D', E-E', and 334 335 F-F' show similar results, and are therefore presented together. The nearshore coring profiles (Ela 59, 55, and 62) reach the bedrock. The transgressive littoral unit 2, starting with an 336 erosional disconformity, is covered by unit 4 of a stagnant marine water body. Obviously, the 337 very low-energy wave conditions prevailed because a progradational unit 5 is missing; all of 338 the profiles show a smooth transition to colluvial deposits (unit 7a). The inland corings 339 (Ela 60, 56, and 64) reveal a terrestrial sedimentation pattern interrupted by a layer of fluvial 340 sediments, most probably caused by torrential floods. The central corings (Ela 61, 57, and 63) 341 contain key information about the marine extension in this area. All of them display a typical 342 stratigraphy: the bedrock is overlain by transgressive littoral deposits; then units of a low-343

energy marine embayment follow and provide evidence of the rising sea level. The shallow marine deposit is covered by massive input of fluvial sediments, which are topped by humaninduced colluvium. Severe flooding can only be traced in the sediment sequence of the central and inland corings (Seeliger *et al.*, 2017).

348

349 *Synopsis*

With regard to the height above sea level in F-F', a similar age for the maximum marine 350 ingression in each transect of circa 1500 BC is assumed. Derived from the thickness of the 351 352 marine strata of Ela 58 ("C"), the maximum transgressive shoreline is probably located further inland, i.e. in the area of the later city (where coring was impossible). Ela 61 indirectly 353 354 proves this assumption. This is comparable to other ancient cities such as Miletos, Ainos, and, Ephesus where parts of the cities were also erected on former marine sediments (Brückner et 355 356 al., 2006, 2015; Kraft et al., 2007; Seeliger et al., 2018). The eastern city district transects and Ela 58 ("C") show thick sheet-wash deposits which caused massive siltation of the area. In the 357 358 case of Ela 58, this could have taken place at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. This is in good accordance with transect D–D' where this event occurred at a similar date (Ela 61/16; 359 360 1149–791 cal a BC). In Ela 57 (E–E'), it is visible just around the turn of the eras, whereas in Ela 63 (F–F') it occurred in Classical or even Hellenistic times (shortly after Ela 63/10/H; 361 797-551 cal a BC). However, severe flood events did not occur in the western part of the 362 embayment (transects A-A' and B-B'). In sum, torrential floods associated with sheet-wash 363 dynamics occur before and during the intense human settlement activity; they affected the 364 eastern area of ancient Elaia (Fig. 2). This is, on the one hand, a result of the topography of 365 the nearby foothills of the steep Yuntdağ Mountains, as compared to the flat Bozyertepe and 366 the Acropolis (A–A' and B–B'; Fig. 2). On the other hand, the human influence in the eastern 367 area of the embayment was more intense, leading to degradation of the vegetation cover, soil 368 degradation, and erosion. At the end of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century 369 AD the settlement pattern of the surroundings of Elaia changed when several of the 370 371 Hellenistic farmsteads were abandoned – maybe because of intense floods (Pirson, 2011).

372

373 <u>Scenarios of shoreline changes</u>

Based on these results, we reconstructed the palaeogeography of the Bay of Elaia for three
different time periods (1500 BC, 300 BC, and AD 500; Figs. 2, 9).

1500 BC: This is the time of the maximum marine extension in the Bay of Elaia, when sea level was 3.3-2.4 m lower than today (Seeliger *et al.*, 2017). The coastal zone reached

northwards along the slopes of Bozyertepe, almost up to Ela9 where one of Elaia's 378 379 cemeteries was located (Pirson, 2010). This supports the idea that the sea never transgressed this area during the Holocene. During the maximum marine extension, the later Acropolis of 380 Elaia protruded into the bay as a peninsula. Nonetheless, it was most probably uninhabited at 381 this time. The small embayment to the north of Ela 58 may have acted as a preferred landing 382 area, but as yet this assumption has not been verified by archaeological finds. The same holds 383 true for the western flank of the Acropolis. In the eastern city area, the shoreline lay close to 384 the foothills of the Yuntdağ. The former shallow marine and littoral areas of the later city are 385 386 easy to identify. Once these had been silted up, and probably also partly filled in by the 387 inhabitants, they evolved into settled ground after circa 500 BC (Figs. 2, 9).

300 BC: This scenario represents the period when Elaia started to prosper, when sea level was just 1.6–2.0 m lower than today (Seeliger *et al.*, 2017). Archaeological findings document intense human activities on the Acropolis and in the eastern city district (Pirson, 2010). In addition, palynological data show that various crops were intensively cultivated in the surroundings of Elaia (Shumilovskikh *et al.*, 2016).

- Increased sediment load due to soil erosion from Bozyertepe and minor activities of a 393 394 nameless ephemeral creek between Bozyertepe and Acropolis caused a shoreline regression in 395 the western part. None of the corings of A-A' and B-B' show fluvial sediments of the nearby Kaikos delta. Therefore, its influence concerning the siltation of the inner part of the Bay of 396 397 Elaia can be neglected. Wide areas between the Acropolis and Bozyertepe remained marine. Due to the ongoing seaward shift of the shoreline, a harbour on the western flank of the 398 Acropolis hill is unlikely at this time. Immediately south of the Acropolis, two harbours were 399 constructed: the local geomorphology was consolidated and transformed into a closed harbour 400 401 basin by the erection of two breakwaters (Seeliger et al., 2013). The water depth of the closed harbour basin was circa 2.5 m; sufficient for all common battle and merchant ship classes 402 403 used by the Pergamenians at that time (Seeliger et. al., 2017). Similar considerations also hold true for the area of the open harbour, including the presumed Hellenistic ship sheds where the 404 405 water depth was circa 1.2 m (Pirson, 2010; Pint et al., 2015; Seeliger et al., 2017). As this 406 area was essentially used to haul vessels into the ship sheds, the water was deep enough to operate ship sheds. In sum, both harbours were fully accessible and used for military and 407 commercial purposes at this time (Pirson, 2004; Seeliger et al., 2017; Pint et al., 2015). 408
- The eastern city district experienced a regression of the shoreline caused by denudation processes and human impacts (Shumilovskikh *et al.*, 2016). The coastal area was ideal for landing battleships while goods were most probably processed in the closed and the open

harbours (Pirson 2011, 2014; Seeliger et al., 2017). Torrential floods could have been a 412 common temporary nuisance in the area, but nothing is known about this from the literature. 413 Further south the shoreline leaves a narrow passage between the slopes of the Yuntdağ and 414 the sea (Figs. 1, 2, 9). This underlines Elaia's strategic position: the city did not only serve as 415 the main harbour of Pergamon, it was also a defensive stronghold, which secured the southern 416 entrance to the inner realm of the lower Kaikos area (Seeliger et al., 2013; Pirson, 2014; Figs. 417 1, 2). This topographic setting is comparable to that of Thermopylae in central Greece, where, 418 in 480 BC, the legendary 300 Spartans fought bravely to withstand the far larger Persian army 419 420 due to their strategic use of the landscape (Kraft et al., 1987). Furthermore, it is reasonable to 421 assume that a defence turret fortified the southern end of the city wall (Pirson, 2010). A turret 422 would have necessitated a solid foundation when being constructed in a nearshore position; 423 however, nothing of that kind was detected by coring. In Ela 65 (Figs. 2a, 9) only littoral 424 sediments dating to the late Hellenistic to Roman periods were revealed.

AD 500: This scenario represents the time when Elaia was at or near the end of its prime. In 425 426 several areas, the shoreline was close to its present position and sea level was only 0.4–0.6 m lower than today (Seeliger et al., 2017). All corings present terrestrial sedimentation patterns 427 428 for this period. The closed harbour basin had been abandoned and nearly silted up. The area 429 of the former ship sheds was not accessible anymore (Seeliger et al., 2013, 2017). Since the harbours were no longer usable, the people left the city. Most probably fearing pirate attacks, 430 they moved to the landward settlement of Püsküllü Tepeler (Pirson, 2010; Seeliger et al., 431 432 2014). As documented by pollen data, the natural vegetation grew back and many areas became woodland again (Shumilovskikh et al., 2016). Saltworks were constructed, mostly 433 built using spolia, about 2 km south of the city in the shallow bay. Salt was of great economic 434 value and it was easy to harvest using a small workforce. Very shallow marine conditions and 435 a very low energy wave climate in the bay favoured its use as a saltworks (Pirson, 2014; 436 437 Seeliger et al., 2014).

438

439 *Elaia in the broader context of the Turkish Aegean coast*

Most ancient settlements in the Turkish Aegean region were situated along the coasts of
enlarged marine embayments, formed during the Holocene marine transgression. Around
6000 BP, when sea-level rise slowed (Lambeck, 1996; Lambeck and Purcell, 2007), rivers
became prominent morphogenetic agents, governing coastal changes by sediment supply, due
to their prograding deltas. These settlements – for instance, Troy, Ainos, Ephesus, and

445 Miletos – faced numerous environmental challenges, such as the siltation of their harbours or
446 the loss of their connection to the open sea (for location see Fig. 1b).

447 Troy is one of the most famous and best-studied examples (Figs. 1b, 10a; Kraft et al., 1980, 2003). At the end of the Holocene marine transgression, the sea penetrated inland, about 10 448 km south of the later location of Troy. Deltaic progradation of the Scamander and Simois 449 River followed by floodplain aggradation led to a northward shift of the shoreline. In the early 450 Bronze Age (circa 3300 BC) Troy, as well as the Neolithic settlement of Kumtepe, were 451 seaboard sites - comparable to the scene around 1500 BC in Elaia (Fig. 9) - protruding into a 452 453 shallow marine embayment that still reached some kilometres further south and east of the 454 settlements. At the time of the mythical Trojan War at the end of the late Bronze Age (most 455 probably around 1200 BC) the delta front lay beyond but close to the settlement (Kraft et al., 1980, 2003; Hertel, 2008; Brown, 2017). The present shoreline is situated some 4 km north of 456 457 Troy and a strong longshore drift has hindered a further seaward progradation of the delta (Fig. 10a). Due to the long settlement history (3300 BC until AD 1200/1300 with 458 459 interruptions, Troia I–Troia IX), the city hosted different harbour sites following the migrating shoreline. Based on a detailed summary of published work since the 1980s, Kayan (2014) 460 461 suggests three possible harbour locations on the eastern slope of the Sigeion ridge (Fig. 10a). However, the southernmost possible location in the Yeniköy plain (YE in Fig. 10a) was 462 already landlocked between 5000–3500 BP and a westward connection to the open Aegean by 463 a canal or ditch crossing the Sigeion ridge is to be excluded in that case. Meanwhile, the 464 silting up history of the Keşik plain (KE in Fig. 10a) is still open to discussion. While Kayan 465 (2014) states a swamp at the time of the Trojan War, Kraft et al. (2003) assume a near-coastal 466 shallow marine embayment in this area. In contrast to the Yeniköy plain, an opportunity to 467 transport ships to the other side of the Sigeion ridge was proven for the Keşik plain. It was 468 possible to transport ships from a protected harbour location in this area to the Aegean 469 470 although the delta front had already prograded beyond this location. Finally, the northernmost area of the Kumtepe plain (KT in Fig. 10a) silted up last, most probably in late Hellenistic or 471 472 early Roman Imperial times. Although Kayan (2014) does not advocate a harbour in this area, it would have been possible to land vessels at this location throughout the settlement period of 473 Troy (Kraft et al., 2003; Hertel, 2008; Kayan, 2014). 474

The ancient city of Ainos (Fig. 1b) is located close to the river mouth of the Hebros, which today debouches into the Aegean via an extensive deltaic floodplain of 180 km², between the Greek city of Alexandroupoli and the Turkish city Enez. Postglacial sea-level rise created a marine embayment which reached as far as the modern town of İpsala, i.e., 26 km inland. Later, the delta front passed the city just after Roman Imperial times and may have caused a
shift in the location of the city's harbours. Today, the city is situated about 2.5 km inland,
separated from the Aegean by an extensive beach-barrier system (Alpar, 2001; Anthony *et al.*,
2014; Brückner *et al.*, 2015).

Further south, at ancient Ephesus (Fig. 1b) and its famous Artemision, sediment transported by the Küçük Menderes River led to a widespread siltation of the Küçük Menderes graben. The prograding delta caused a siltation of the harbours and the Ephesians were eventually forced to construct a "harbour channel" to maintain an access route to the sea after the delta front prograded beyond the city (e.g. Kraft *et al.*, 2007; Delile *et al.*, 2015; Ledger *et al.*, 2018).

Finally, the palaeoenvironmental model of Küçük Menderes graben can also be transposed to the Büyük Menderes graben, circa 50 km south. As the longest waterway flowing into the Turkish Aegean, the Büyük Menderes River led to the disconnection of ancient Miletos and Priene, situated on the southern flank of the Büyük Menderes graben, from the open sea and the demise of their harbours (e.g. Brückner *et al.*, 2006, 2013; Kazancı *et al.*, 2009).

In contrast, Fig. 10b presents the coastal configuration of the wider Elaia region. Unlike the 494 495 above-mentioned settlements, Elaia is not situated on the inner part of the Kaikos- or 496 Zeytindağ graben. The Bozyertepe ridge separates it from the Zeytindağ graben and therefore protects it from the fluvial sediments of the Kaikos. This is supported by the absence of 497 fluvial sediments in the cores (unit 6). The siltation of the harbours of Elaia was therefore not 498 as strong triggered by deltaic progradation as for the above mentioned examples, but also by 499 slope wash of terrestrial material from the nearby Yuntdağ and Bozyertepe. As studies 500 investigating the deltaic evolution of the Kaikos are lacking at present, it is speculative to 501 further comment on this topic. Nevertheless, remains of a Roman-age bridge, just west of the 502 Bozyertepe, documents that the delta front had already prograded beyond this location before 503 this date. Based on corings, the evolution of the small island (I on Fig. 10b) was dated to post-504 15th century AD (Körfgen, 2014), showing that the most distal extension of the delta 505 506 happened recently. As a result, because the influence of a major river delta is secondary, the 507 harbour basins of Elaia were not massively affected by siltation which is borne out by the absence of dredging. Dredging is widely attested in other Mediterranean harbours such as 508 509 Naples (Delile et al., 2016), Portus (Salomon et al., 2012), Tyre (Marriner and Morhange, 2006), Marseille (Morhange et al., 2003) and Ephesus (Kraft et al., 2007; Delile et al., 2015). 510 In addition, due to the short settlement period of Elaia (maximum 1000 years) – bracketed by 511

natural conditions before and after it – the closed harbour basin constitutes a valuable
geoarchive (Shumilovskikh *et al.*, 2016).

514

515 Conclusion

Around 1500 BC, the marine extension in the Bay of Elaia was at its maximum. The sea protruded circa 400 m inland in the northern and western areas; thus, the Acropolis was transformed into a peninsula. Due to the adjacent Yuntdağ Mountains, the extension of the sea to the east of Elaia was far less significant than in the western part. Siltation led to a gradual regression of the shoreline, mostly due to human activities during the ensuing centuries (Shumilovskikh *et al.*, 2016).

522 During Hellenistic and Roman times, from ~300 BC onwards, three harbour areas were operational: the closed harbour, the open harbour, and the beach harbour. While the closed 523 524 harbour was used for commercial and military purposes, the open harbour most likely housed the ship sheds with the battleships of the Pergamenians. The eastern city district with its beach 525 526 harbour served as a place of temporary residence for foreign merchants, sailors, and soldiers (Pirson, 2010, 2014; Seeliger et al., 2017; Pint et al., 2015; Feuser et al., 2018). The siltation 527 528 of the harbours contributed to the decline of the city in late Roman times led to its eventual 529 abandonment (after AD 500). Human activities hugely influenced landscape changes. First of all, erosional processes became prominent in the densely populated and intensively used 530 eastern part of the Bay of Elaia while these impacts were relatively minor in the western part, 531 far from the settled area. Pint et al. (2015) have already demonstrated that the siltation of the 532 open harbour area accelerated during the settlement period of Elaia. This may have resulted 533 from the construction of the closed harbour basin and its breakwaters while impeding the 534 bay's counterclockwise coastal cell, creating a sediment trap east of the closed harbour 535 directly in front of the open harbour area (Figs. 2, 9). 536

While the population of Elaia shrank during Late Antiquity, the remaining inhabitants went to 537 great lengths to construct the saltworks, which definitely had a strong influence on the 538 539 environment and the sea currents in this area. Finally, in contrast to many other ancient settlements on the Turkish Aegean coast, Elaia was not significantly affected by siltation of a 540 major river delta. As a consequence, no indications - neither sedimentological or literary -541 542 report dredging inside Elaia's different harbours. Due to the relatively short urban period of 543 around 1000 years Elaia has a particular potential to study human-nature relations in the Hellenistic-Roman Imperial period, and the abandonment of a late antique city and the 544 545 subsequent return to natural conditions (Shumilovskikh et al., 2016; Prison, in print).

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765 **Caption of Figures and Tables**

- **Figure 1.** The study area on the Aegean coast of Turkey. (a) Structural map and surrounding mountain ranges. Bergama and Zeytindağ grabens are marked in yellow. The study area of Elaia (Fig. 2a) is denoted in pale red. Source: Altunkaynak and Yilmaz (1998), substantially modified, with locations mentioned in the text. Insert: (b) General map of the Turkish Aegean coast with the position of the study area (Fig. 1a) and further ancient settlements mentioned in this paper. Source: Radt (2016), substantially modified. (c) Timeline of the historical periods, linked with the period of Elaia's prime (based on: Pirson and Scholl, 2015; Radt, 2016).
- Figure 2. Locations of selected vibracores taken in the Bay of Elaia. (a) Locations of coring transects
 A-A', B-B', D-D', E-E' and F-F', "C" (coring Ela 58), and of the elevation profile XYZ shown in
 Fig. 2c. (b) Panoramic view of the study area (UAV image; taken on 01 September 2015 by A. Bolten)
 with the location of the harbour areas. (c) Elevation profile XYZ (based on Google Earth Pro; 21 July
 2018). The enhanced relief energy of the eastern part in contrast to the western area of the Bay of Elaia
 is clearly evident.
- Figure 3. Sediment core Ela 57 with geochemical and sedimentological parameters (a, b, c). (d)Interpretation of sedimentary units and dating results.
- Figure 4. Sedimentary units of core Ela 57, based on microfauna. Relative abundance of ostracods and
 foraminifers is given semi-quantitatively.
- Figure 5. Sediment core Ela 12 with geochemical and sedimentological parameters (a, b, c). (d)
 Interpretation of sedimentary units and dating result.
- Figure 6. Sedimentary units of core Ela 12, based on microfauna. Relative abundance of ostracods and
 foraminifers is given semi-quantitatively.
- Figure 7. Microfaunal, granulometric, and geochemical characteristics of the sedimentary units of the
 corings in the Bay of Elaia. Because these characteristics are dependant on regional factors (bedrock,
 weathering conditions etc.) care should be exercised before transposing these data to other study areas.
- **Figure 8.** Synopsis of the coring transects (a) A–A', (b) B–B', (d) D–D', (e) E–E', and (f) F–F', as well as (c) (Ela 58); (g) legend; (h) locations of corings and transects.
- Figure 9. Coastline changes in the Bay of Elaia in time slices: 1500 BC, 300 BC and AD 500. Thescenarios are based on the results of this paper.
- 794 Figure 10. Comparison of the palaeoenvironmental evolution of Troy and Elaia. (a) The area of 795 ancient Troy in Roman times. It clearly shows the influence of the Simois and Scamander Rivers on the surroundings of Troy, especially with regards to the coastline scenarios for 3300 BC (Late 796 797 Neolithic/Early Bronze Age), 1300 BC (Iliad/Trojan War) and Roman times (based on Kraft et al., 798 2003; abbreviations: KT=Kum-Tepe plain, KE=Keşik plain, YE=Yeniköy plain). (b) Present coastline configuration of the Bay of Elaia and the southernmost part of the Kaikos River added by assumed 799 800 former coastlines of the Kaikos Delta. It becomes evident that the prograding delta of the Kaikos River 801 did not influence the Bay of Elaia due to the shielding effect of the Bozyertepe ridge (personal 802 compilation based on a QuickBird 2 satellite image, acquired: 2 April 2006).
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Table 1: Radiocarbon data sheet. ¹⁴C-AMS dating was carried out at the Centre for Applied Isotope Studies (CAIS) of the University of Georgia in Athens, USA (lab code: UGAMS) and the ¹⁴Chrono Centre for Climate, the Environment, and Chronology, Queen's University Belfast, UK (lab code: UBA). All ages were calibrated with the IntCal13 or MARINE13 calibration curves depending on the samples δ^{13} C using the recent Calib 7.1 software (Reimer *et al.*, 2013). A marine reservoir effect of

- 390±85 years and a ΔR of 35±70 years (Siani *et al.*, 2000) was applied. The calibrated ages are presented in calendar years BC/AD and years BP with 2 σ confidence interval.









817 Fig. 2.



















