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3

4 **Elaia, Pergamon's maritime satellite: the rise and fall of an ancient harbour city shaped**
5 **by shoreline migration**

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15

16 **Running title: Shoreline Migration Elaia**

17 **Keywords: Palaeogeography, coastal evolution, Micropalaeontology, Aegean, Sea-level**
18 **fluctuations**

19

20 **Abstract**

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

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

38

39 **Introduction**

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

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

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

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

93

94 **Physical setting**

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

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

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

112

113 **Historical background**

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

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

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

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

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

167

168 **Material and methods**

169 *Geoarchaeological fieldwork*

170 Sediment cores were extracted using an Atlas Copco Cobra TT vibracorer with open steel
171 auger heads (diameter: 6 and 5 cm, respectively) in the surroundings of the Bay of Elaia,
172 down to a maximum depth of 12 m b.s. (below the surface). On-site, sediments were
173 described according to grain size and colour (Ad-hoc-AG Boden, 2005; Munsell Soil Color
174 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*

180 Multi-proxy laboratory analyses were conducted (Ernst, 1970; Hadler *et al.*, 2013; Bartz *et*
181 *al.*, 2015, 2017; Seeliger *et al.*, 2013, 2018). Samples were air-dried and sieved to separate the
182 ≤ 2 mm grain-size fraction for further analyses. For laser-based grain-size analysis
183 (Beckman Coulter LS13320), the organic content was decomposed using 15 % hydrogen
184 peroxide (H₂O₂). Afterwards, sodium pyrophosphate (Na₄P₂O₇; concentration: 47 g/l) was
185 taken as a dispersant. Each sample was measured three times in 116 classes, determining
186 grain-size distributions in a range from 0.04 to 2000 μ m. For the calculation of grain-size
187 parameters (Folk and Ward, 1957), we used the software package GRADISTAT (Blott and
188 Pye, 2001). To estimate the organic content, measurements of LOI (loss on ignition) were
189 performed by oven drying (105 °C for 12 h to determine the water content) and combustion in
190 a furnace (550 °C for 4 h to determine the organic substance). Electric conductivity was
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
193 sedimentary units, characteristic elements (e.g. Fe, K, Ca, Ti, etc.) were measured using a
194 portable XRF (X-ray fluorescence) spectrometer (Niton XI3t 900 GOLDD; Vött *et al.*, 2011;
195 Lubos *et al.*, 2016). To ensure comparability with all XRF analyses and to reduce grain-size
196 dependency, each sample was ground to powder in a ball triturator (Retsch PM 4001) and
197 then pressed into pills.

198

199 *Micropalaeontology*

200 For microfaunal analysis, selected 1 cm³ samples were wet-sieved using a 100 μ m mesh.
201 Under a stereoscopic microscope, at least 300 ostracod valves and foraminifer tests,
202 respectively, were picked from appropriate splits of the residues of every sample. If less than
203 300 specimens were present within a sample all were picked. Species were identified and
204 counted according to Bonaduce *et al.* (1975) and Joachim and Langer (2008) for ostracods as
205 well as Cimermann and Langer (1991), Meriç *et al.* (2004), and Murray (2006) for
206 foraminifers.

207

208 *Chronology*

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

220

221 **Results of Ela 57 and Ela 12**

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

230

231 **Interpretation**

232 Introduction of sedimentary units

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

237

238 Sediment core-based reconstruction of palaeoenvironments

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

240

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

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

244 Neogene bedrock (unit 1), encountered at 5.42 m b.s., forms the base of numerous cores in the
245 study area. The calcareous sandstone, outcropping nearby, was used to construct the harbour
246 breakwaters (Seeliger *et al.*, 2013, 2014). The overlying unit 2 represents the transgressive
247 littoral unit during the Holocene sea-level rise. The high-energy environment is obvious from
248 a number of gravels, the coarse grain size, and patches of seagrass. The low biodiversity and
249 the sole occurrence of robust foraminifers in the lower part of unit 2, such as *Ammonia*
250 *compacta* and *Elphidium crispum*, are evidence for the high-stress level of this littoral
251 environment in which only a few species are able to survive (Seeliger *et al.*, 2017). The
252 fining-upward sequence is due to increasing water depth, which is also reflected by a higher
253 biodiversity. The Holocene transgression reached this area at the end of the 3rd millennium BC
254 (2198–2035 cal a BC), which is far before the human occupation phase of Elaia. The second
255 age of Ela 57 dates to late Hellenistic/ early Roman times (165 cal a BC–1 cal a BC/AD), the
256 period when Elaia flourished. Rising sea level led to the formation of a shallow water body
257 represented by unit 4. It shows a fining-upward sequence due to the inland migration of the
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
260 environment. Based on our results from inside the closed and open harbours, relative sea level
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).

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

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

285

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

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

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

310

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).

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

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

348

349 Synopsis

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

372

373 Scenarios of shoreline changes

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

376 **1500 BC:** This is the time of the maximum marine extension in the Bay of Elaia, when sea
377 level was 3.3–2.4 m lower than today (Seeliger *et al.*, 2017). The coastal zone reached

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

388 **300 BC:** This scenario represents the period when Elaia started to prosper, when sea level was
389 just 1.6–2.0 m lower than today (Seeliger *et al.*, 2017). Archaeological findings document
390 intense human activities on the Acropolis and in the eastern city district (Pirson, 2010). In
391 addition, palynological data show that various crops were intensively cultivated in the
392 surroundings of Elaia (Shumilovskikh *et al.*, 2016).

393 Increased sediment load due to soil erosion from Bozyertepe and minor activities of a
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
396 Kaikos delta. Therefore, its influence concerning the siltation of the inner part of the Bay of
397 Elaia can be neglected. Wide areas between the Acropolis and Bozyertepe remained marine.
398 Due to the ongoing seaward shift of the shoreline, a harbour on the western flank of the
399 Acropolis hill is unlikely at this time. Immediately south of the Acropolis, two harbours were
400 constructed: the local geomorphology was consolidated and transformed into a closed harbour
401 basin by the erection of two breakwaters (Seeliger *et al.*, 2013). The water depth of the closed
402 harbour basin was circa 2.5 m; sufficient for all common battle and merchant ship classes
403 used by the Pergamenians at that time (Seeliger *et al.*, 2017). Similar considerations also hold
404 true for the area of the open harbour, including the presumed Hellenistic ship sheds where the
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
407 operate ship sheds. In sum, both harbours were fully accessible and used for military and
408 commercial purposes at this time (Pirson, 2004; Seeliger *et al.*, 2017; Pint *et al.*, 2015).

409 The eastern city district experienced a regression of the shoreline caused by denudation
410 processes and human impacts (Shumilovskikh *et al.*, 2016). The coastal area was ideal for
411 landing battleships while goods were most probably processed in the closed and the open

412 harbours (Pirson 2011, 2014; Seeliger *et al.*, 2017). Torrential floods could have been a
413 common temporary nuisance in the area, but nothing is known about this from the literature.
414 Further south the shoreline leaves a narrow passage between the slopes of the Yuntdağ and
415 the sea (Figs. 1, 2, 9). This underlines Elaia's strategic position: the city did not only serve as
416 the main harbour of Pergamon, it was also a defensive stronghold, which secured the southern
417 entrance to the inner realm of the lower Kaikos area (Seeliger *et al.*, 2013; Pirson, 2014; Figs.
418 1, 2). This topographic setting is comparable to that of Thermopylae in central Greece, where,
419 in 480 BC, the legendary 300 Spartans fought bravely to withstand the far larger Persian army
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.

425 **AD 500:** This scenario represents the time when Elaia was at or near the end of its prime. In
426 several areas, the shoreline was close to its present position and sea level was only 0.4–0.6 m
427 lower than today (Seeliger *et al.*, 2017). All corings present terrestrial sedimentation patterns
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
430 harbours were no longer usable, the people left the city. Most probably fearing pirate attacks,
431 they moved to the landward settlement of *Püsküllü Tepeler* (Pirson, 2010; Seeliger *et al.*,
432 2014). As documented by pollen data, the natural vegetation grew back and many areas
433 became woodland again (Shumilovskikh *et al.*, 2016). Saltworks were constructed, mostly
434 built using spolia, about 2 km south of the city in the shallow bay. Salt was of great economic
435 value and it was easy to harvest using a small workforce. Very shallow marine conditions and
436 a very low energy wave climate in the bay favoured its use as a saltworks (Pirson, 2014;
437 Seeliger *et al.*, 2014).

438

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

440 Most ancient settlements in the Turkish Aegean region were situated along the coasts of
441 enlarged marine embayments, formed during the Holocene marine transgression. Around
442 6000 BP, when sea-level rise slowed (Lambeck, 1996; Lambeck and Purcell, 2007), rivers
443 became prominent morphogenetic agents, governing coastal changes by sediment supply, due
444 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,
448 2003). At the end of the Holocene marine transgression, the sea penetrated inland, about 10
449 km south of the later location of Troy. Deltaic progradation of the Scamander and Simois
450 River followed by floodplain aggradation led to a northward shift of the shoreline. In the early
451 Bronze Age (circa 3300 BC) Troy, as well as the Neolithic settlement of Kumtepe, were
452 seaboard sites – comparable to the scene around 1500 BC in Elaia (Fig. 9) – protruding into a
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.*,
456 1980, 2003; Hertel, 2008; Brown, 2017). The present shoreline is situated some 4 km north of
457 Troy and a strong longshore drift has hindered a further seaward progradation of the delta
458 (Fig. 10a). Due to the long settlement history (3300 BC until AD 1200/1300 with
459 interruptions, Troia I–Troia IX), the city hosted different harbour sites following the migrating
460 shoreline. Based on a detailed summary of published work since the 1980s, Kayan (2014)
461 suggests three possible harbour locations on the eastern slope of the Sigeion ridge (Fig. 10a).
462 However, the southernmost possible location in the Yeniköy plain (YE in Fig. 10a) was
463 already landlocked between 5000–3500 BP and a westward connection to the open Aegean by
464 a canal or ditch crossing the Sigeion ridge is to be excluded in that case. Meanwhile, the
465 silting up history of the Keşik plain (KE in Fig. 10a) is still open to discussion. While Kayan
466 (2014) states a swamp at the time of the Trojan War, Kraft *et al.* (2003) assume a near-coastal
467 shallow marine embayment in this area. In contrast to the Yeniköy plain, an opportunity to
468 transport ships to the other side of the Sigeion ridge was proven for the Keşik plain. It was
469 possible to transport ships from a protected harbour location in this area to the Aegean
470 although the delta front had already prograded beyond this location. Finally, the northernmost
471 area of the Kumtepe plain (KT in Fig. 10a) silted up last, most probably in late Hellenistic or
472 early Roman Imperial times. Although Kayan (2014) does not advocate a harbour in this area,
473 it would have been possible to land vessels at this location throughout the settlement period of
474 Troy (Kraft *et al.*, 2003; Hertel, 2008; Kayan, 2014).

475 The ancient city of Ainos (Fig. 1b) is located close to the river mouth of the Hebros, which
476 today debouches into the Aegean via an extensive deltaic floodplain of 180 km², between the
477 Greek city of Alexandroupoli and the Turkish city Enez. Postglacial sea-level rise created a
478 marine embayment which reached as far as the modern town of İpsala, i.e., 26 km inland.

479 Later, the delta front passed the city just after Roman Imperial times and may have caused a
480 shift in the location of the city's harbours. Today, the city is situated about 2.5 km inland,
481 separated from the Aegean by an extensive beach-barrier system (Alpar, 2001; Anthony *et al.*,
482 2014; Brückner *et al.*, 2015).

483 Further south, at ancient Ephesus (Fig. 1b) and its famous Artemision, sediment transported
484 by the Küçük Menderes River led to a widespread siltation of the Küçük Menderes graben.
485 The prograding delta caused a siltation of the harbours and the Ephesians were eventually
486 forced to construct a "harbour channel" to maintain an access route to the sea after the delta
487 front prograded beyond the city (e.g. Kraft *et al.*, 2007; Delile *et al.*, 2015; Ledger *et al.*,
488 2018).

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

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

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

514

515 **Conclusion**

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

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

537 While the population of Elaia shrank during Late Antiquity, the remaining inhabitants went to
538 great lengths to construct the saltworks, which definitely had a strong influence on the
539 environment and the sea currents in this area. Finally, in contrast to many other ancient
540 settlements on the Turkish Aegean coast, Elaia was not significantly affected by siltation of a
541 major river delta. As a consequence, no indications – neither sedimentological or literary –
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
544 Hellenistic-Roman Imperial period, and the abandonment of a late antique city and the
545 subsequent return to natural conditions (Shumilovskikh *et al.*, 2016; Pirson, in print).

546

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557

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765 **Caption of Figures and Tables**

766 **Figure 1.** The study area on the Aegean coast of Turkey. (a) Structural map and surrounding mountain
767 ranges. Bergama and Zeytindağ grabens are marked in yellow. The study area of Elaia (Fig. 2a) is
768 denoted in pale red. Source: Altunkaynak and Yilmaz (1998), substantially modified, with locations
769 mentioned in the text. Insert: (b) General map of the Turkish Aegean coast with the position of the
770 study area (Fig. 1a) and further ancient settlements mentioned in this paper. Source: Radt (2016),
771 substantially modified. (c) Timeline of the historical periods, linked with the period of Elaia's prime
772 (based on: Pirson and Scholl, 2015; Radt, 2016).

773 **Figure 2.** Locations of selected vibracores taken in the Bay of Elaia. (a) Locations of coring transects
774 A–A', B–B', D–D', E–E' and F–F', "C" (coring Ela 58), and of the elevation profile XYZ shown in
775 Fig. 2c. (b) Panoramic view of the study area (UAV image; taken on 01 September 2015 by A. Bolten)
776 with the location of the harbour areas. (c) Elevation profile XYZ (based on Google Earth Pro; 21 July
777 2018). The enhanced relief energy of the eastern part in contrast to the western area of the Bay of Elaia
778 is clearly evident.

779 **Figure 3.** Sediment core Ela 57 with geochemical and sedimentological parameters (a, b, c). (d)
780 Interpretation of sedimentary units and dating results.

781 **Figure 4.** Sedimentary units of core Ela 57, based on microfauna. Relative abundance of ostracods and
782 foraminifers is given semi-quantitatively.

783 **Figure 5.** Sediment core Ela 12 with geochemical and sedimentological parameters (a, b, c). (d)
784 Interpretation of sedimentary units and dating result.

785 **Figure 6.** Sedimentary units of core Ela 12, based on microfauna. Relative abundance of ostracods and
786 foraminifers is given semi-quantitatively.

787 **Figure 7.** Microfaunal, granulometric, and geochemical characteristics of the sedimentary units of the
788 corings in the Bay of Elaia. Because these characteristics are dependant on regional factors (bedrock,
789 weathering conditions etc.) care should be exercised before transposing these data to other study areas.

790 **Figure 8.** Synopsis of the coring transects (a) A–A', (b) B–B', (d) D–D', (e) E–E', and (f) F–F', as
791 well as (c) (Ela 58); (g) legend; (h) locations of corings and transects.

792 **Figure 9.** Coastline changes in the Bay of Elaia in time slices: 1500 BC, 300 BC and AD 500. The
793 scenarios are based on the results of this paper.

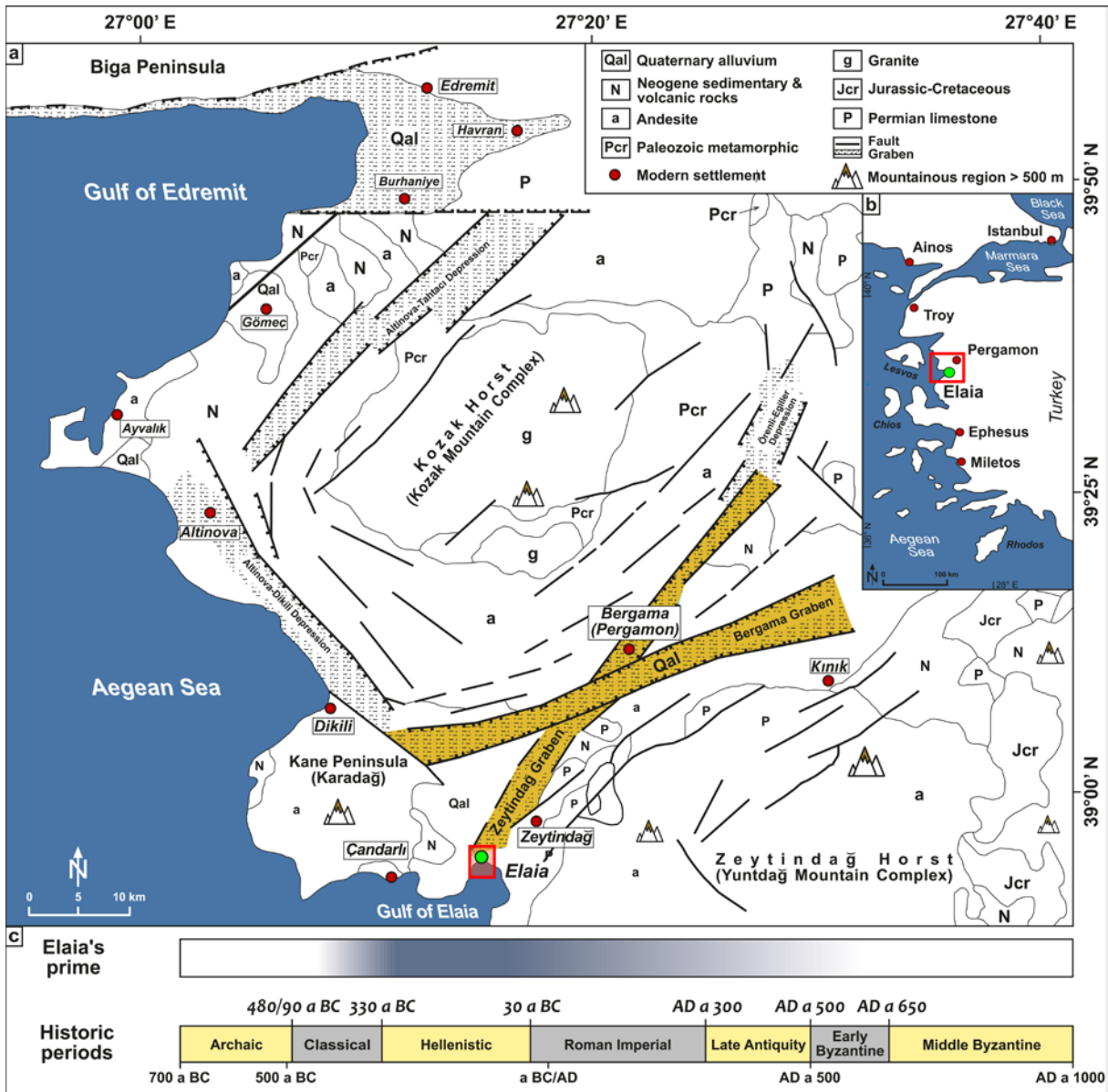
794 **Figure 10.** Comparison of the palaeoenvironmental evolution of Troy and Elaia. (a) The area of
795 ancient Troy in Roman times. It clearly shows the influence of the Simois and Scamander Rivers on
796 the surroundings of Troy, especially with regards to the coastline scenarios for 3300 BC (Late
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
799 configuration of the Bay of Elaia and the southernmost part of the Kaikos River added by assumed
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).

803

804 **Table 1:** Radiocarbon data sheet. ¹⁴C-AMS dating was carried out at the Centre for Applied Isotope
805 Studies (CAIS) of the University of Georgia in Athens, USA (lab code: UGAMS) and the ¹⁴Chrono
806 Centre for Climate, the Environment, and Chronology, Queen's University Belfast, UK (lab code:
807 UBA). All ages were calibrated with the IntCal13 or MARINE13 calibration curves depending on the
808 samples $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ using the recent Calib 7.1 software (Reimer *et al.*, 2013). A marine reservoir effect of

809 390±85 years and a ΔR of 35±70 years (Siani *et al.*, 2000) was applied. The calibrated ages are
810 presented in calendar years BC/AD and years BP with 2σ confidence interval.

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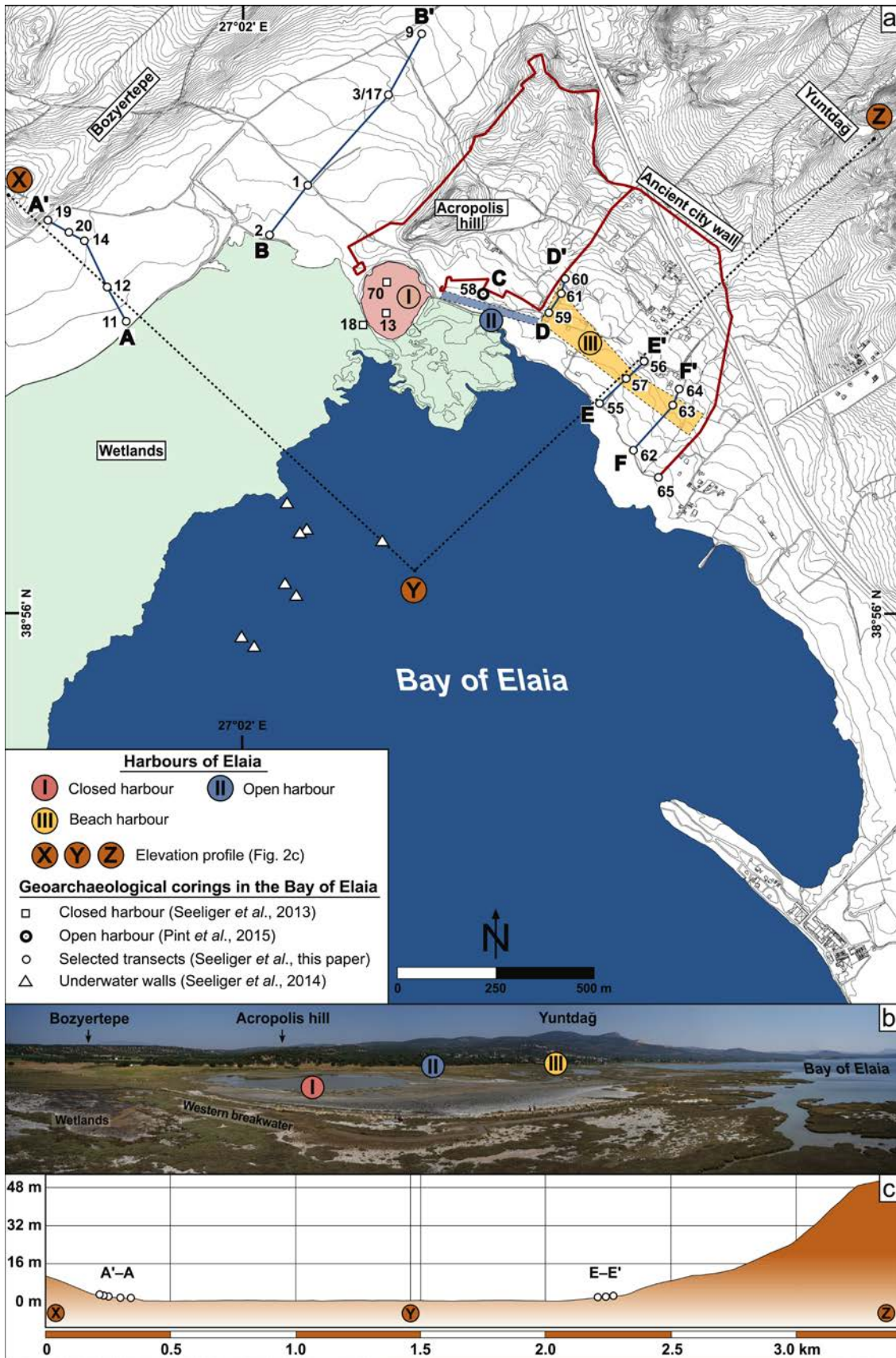


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813 Fig. 1.

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Ela 57 - Central coring of E-E'
(27.046354° E; 38.940715° N)

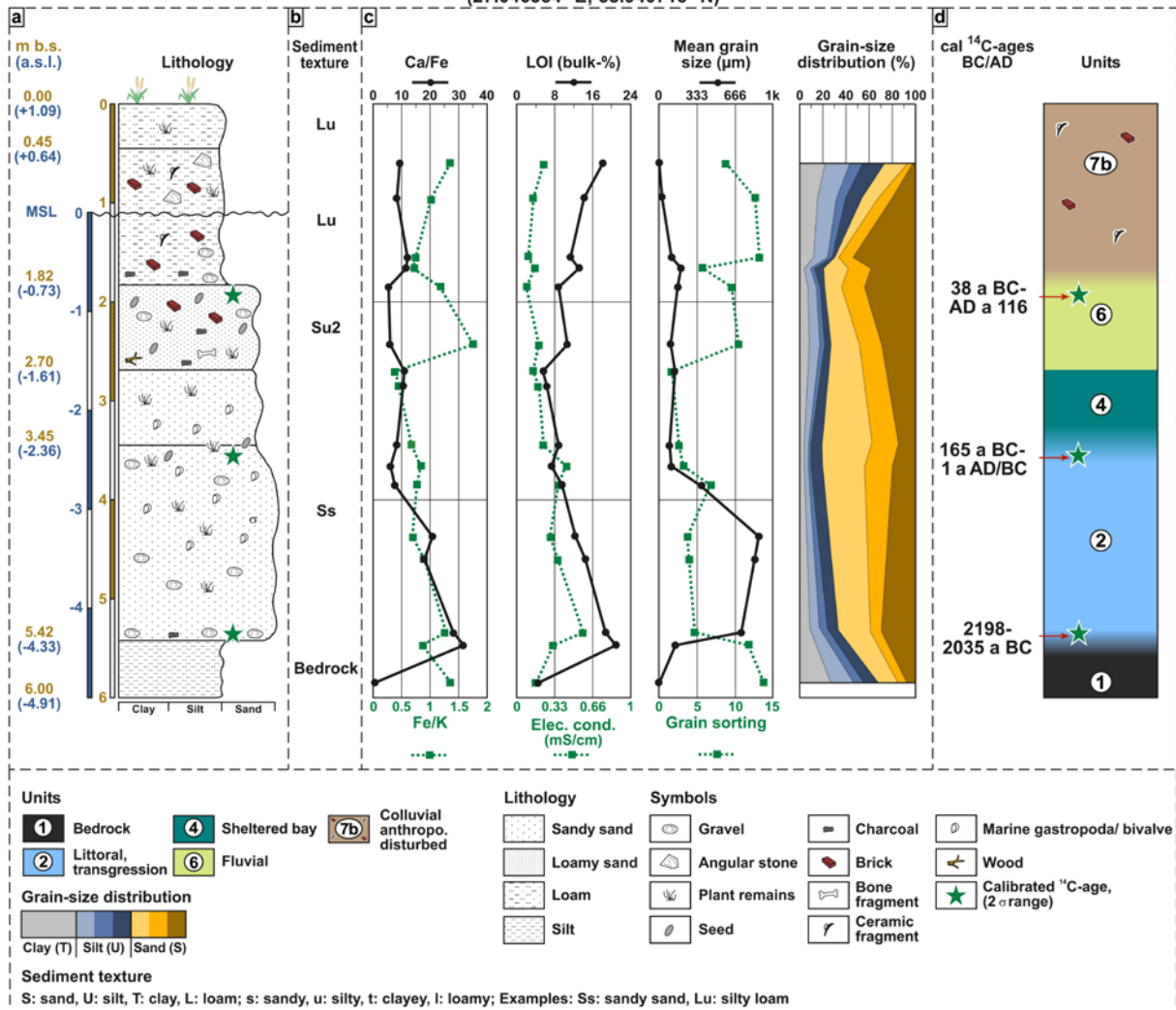


Fig. 3.

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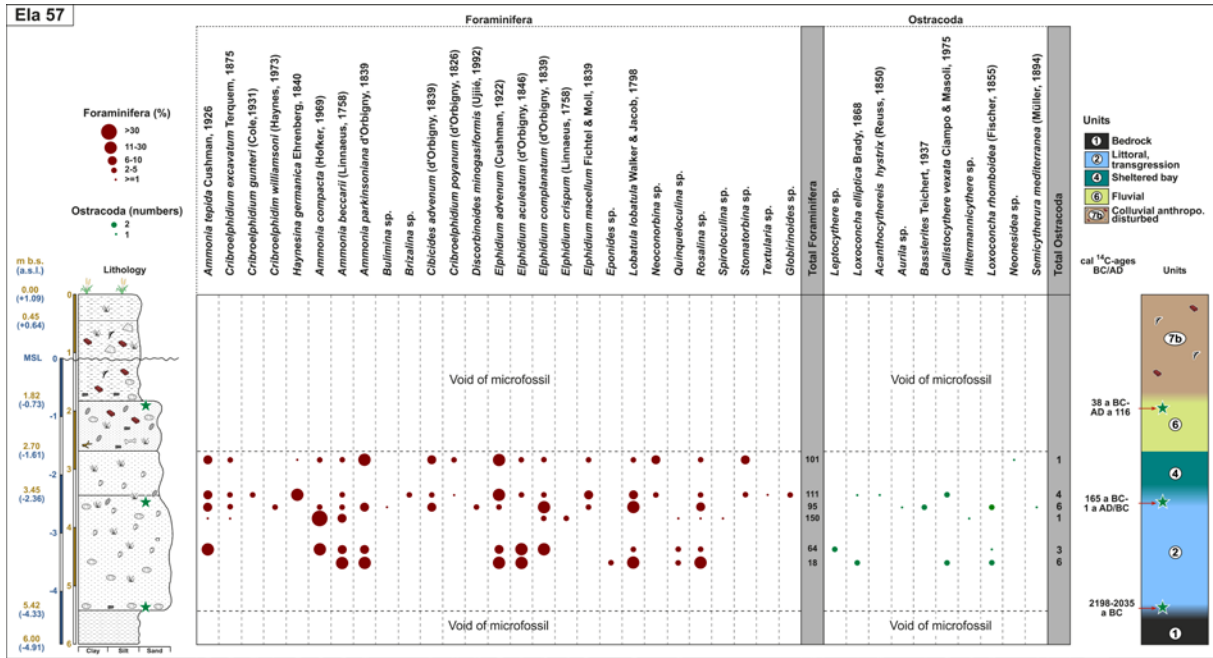
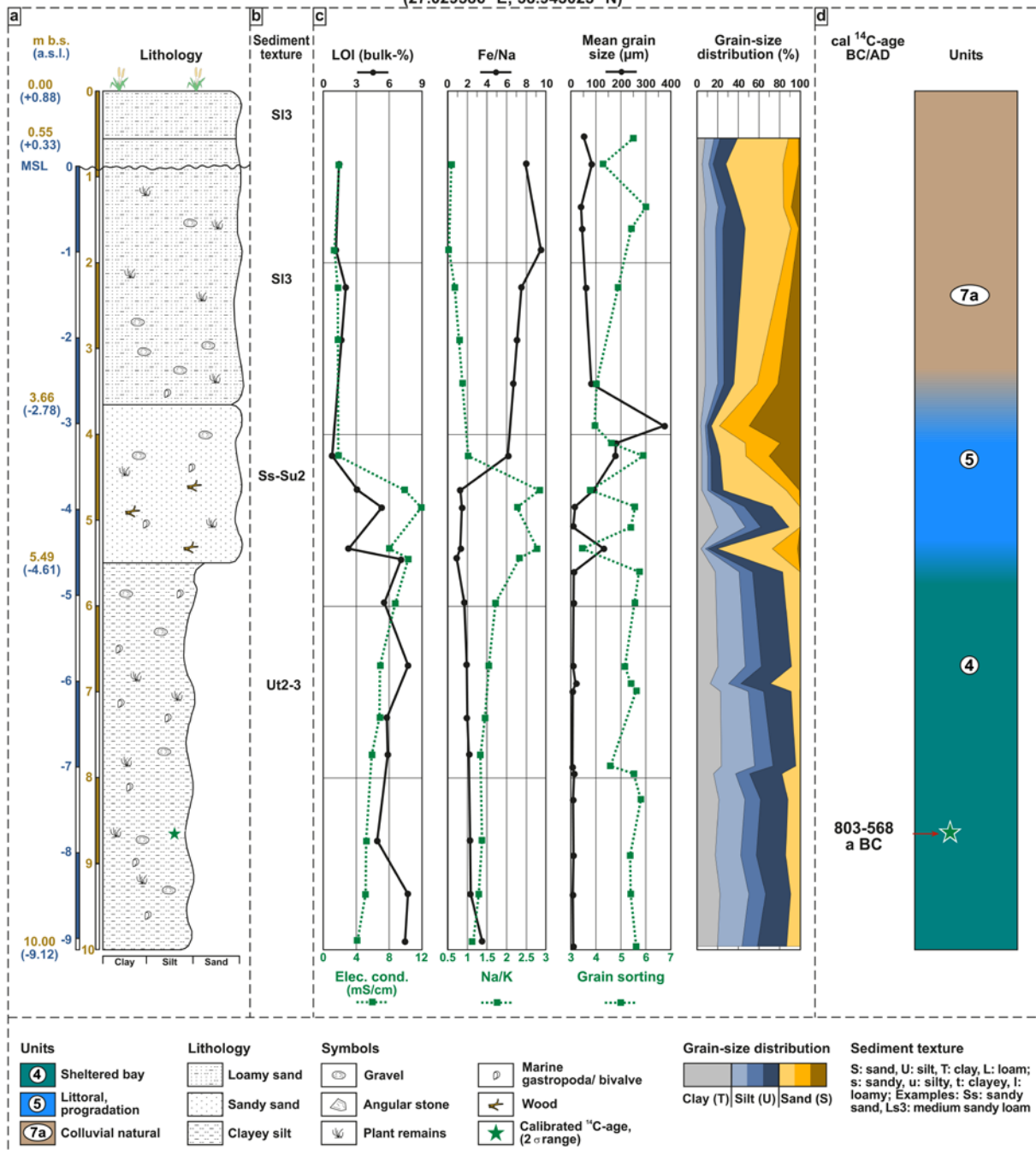


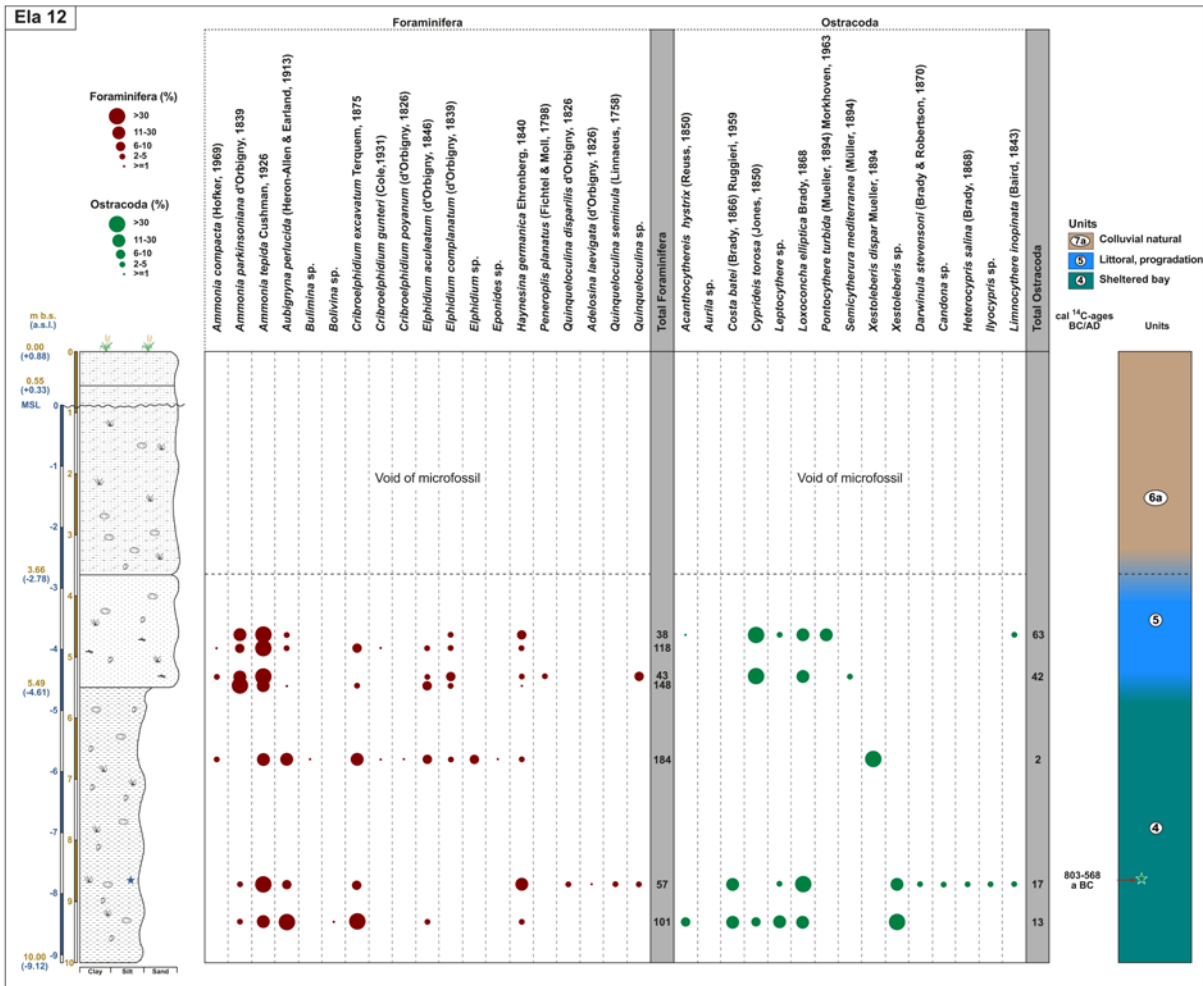
Fig. 4.

Ela 12 - Central coring of A-A'
(27.029586° E; 38.943023° N)



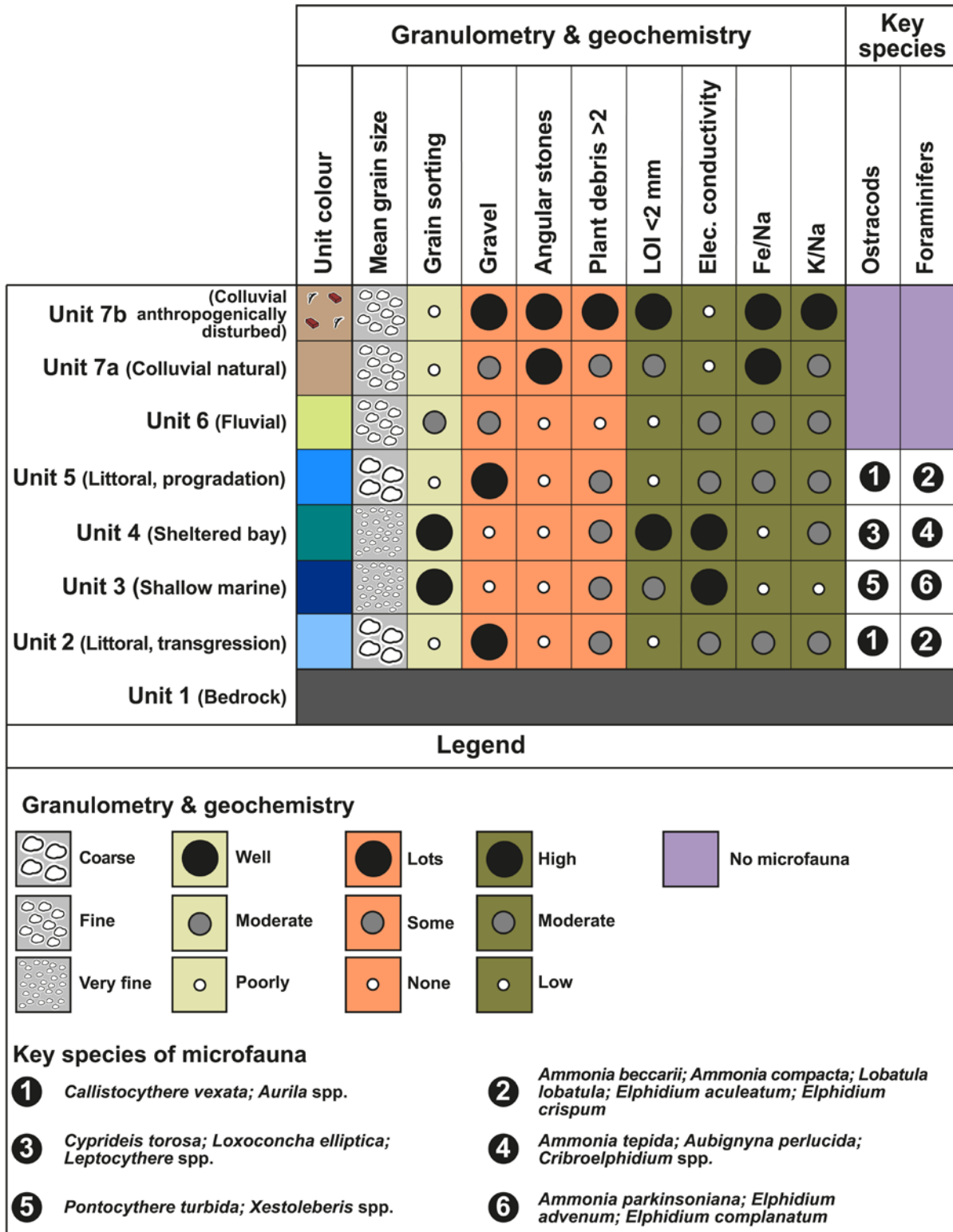
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Fig. 5.



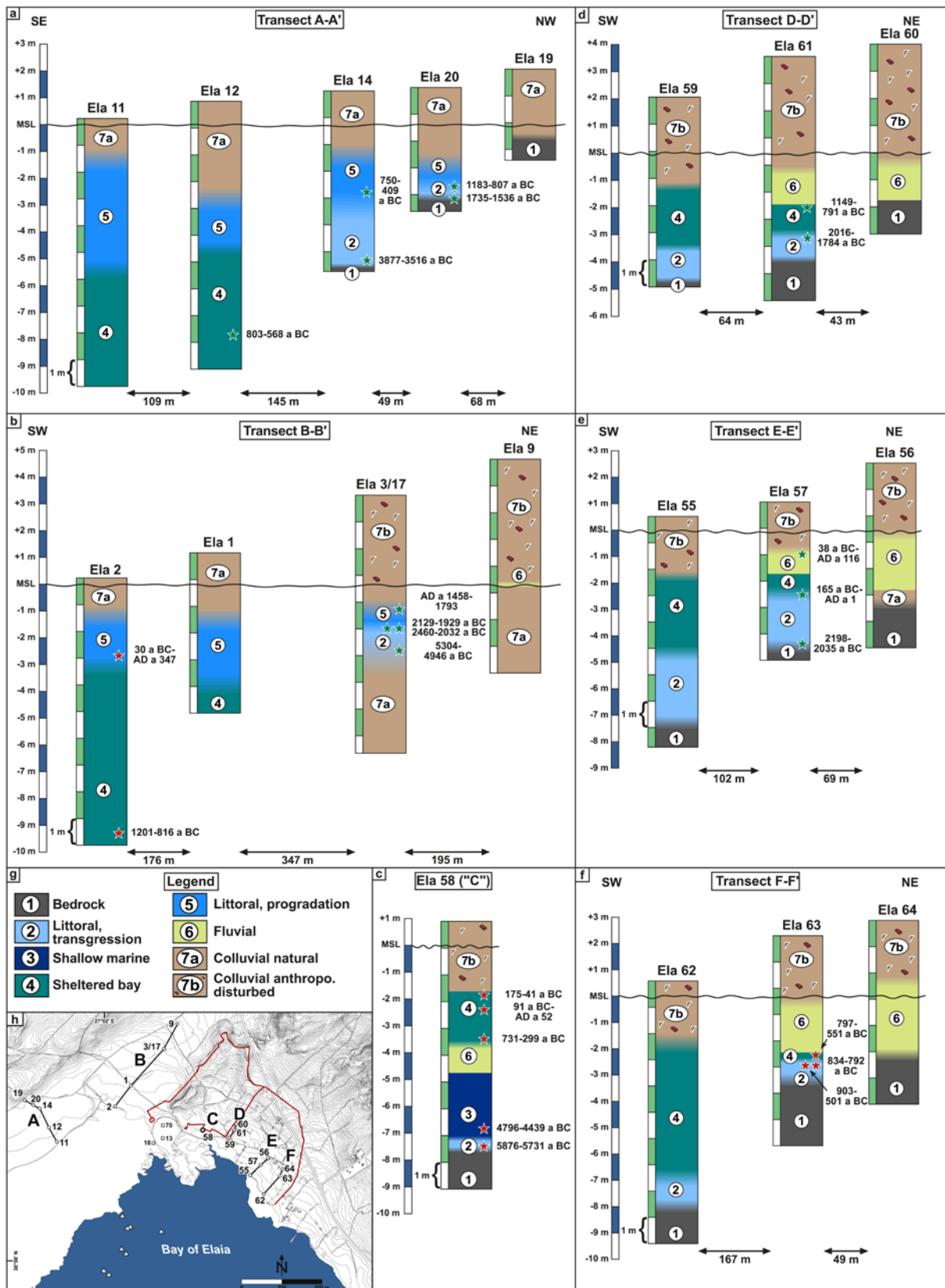
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Fig. 6.



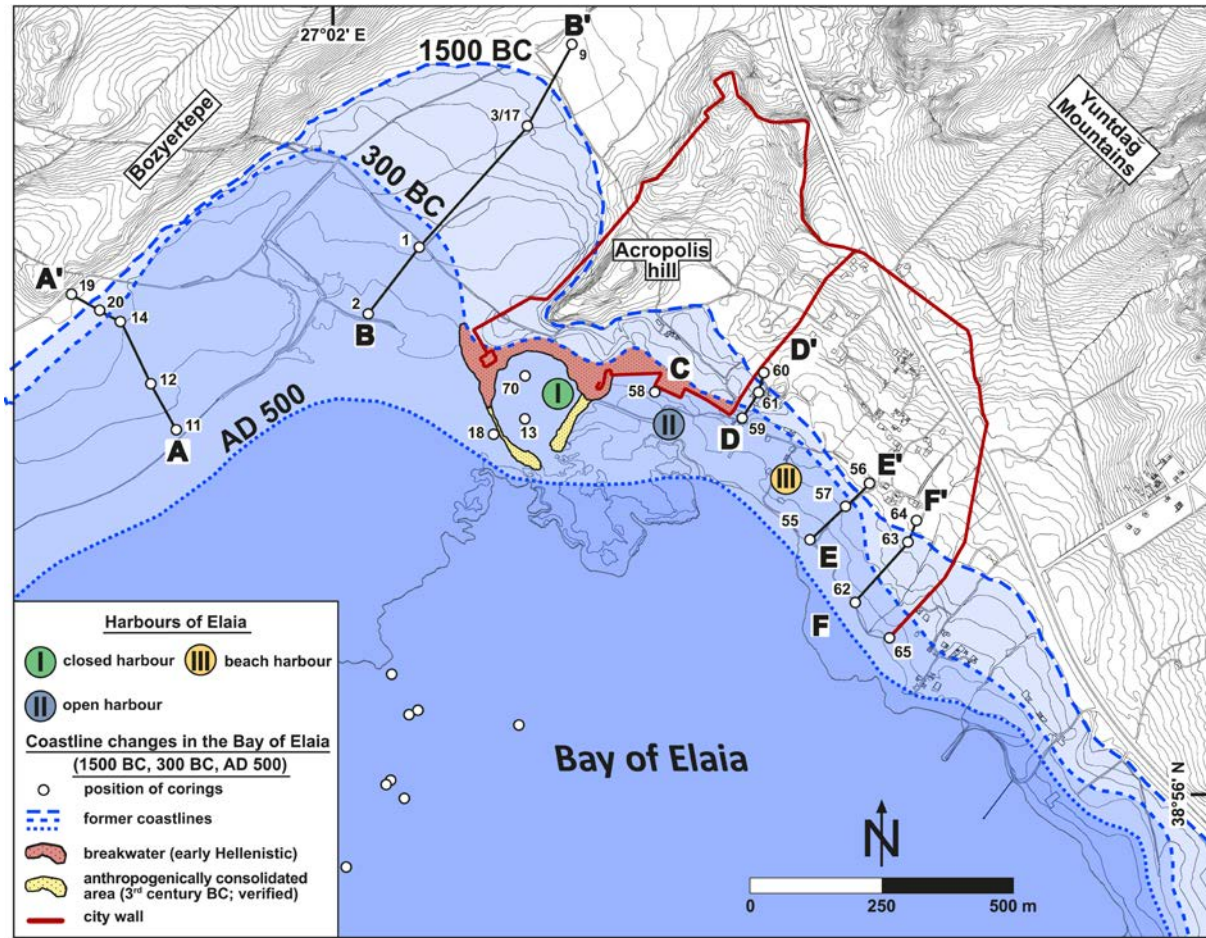
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Fig. 7.

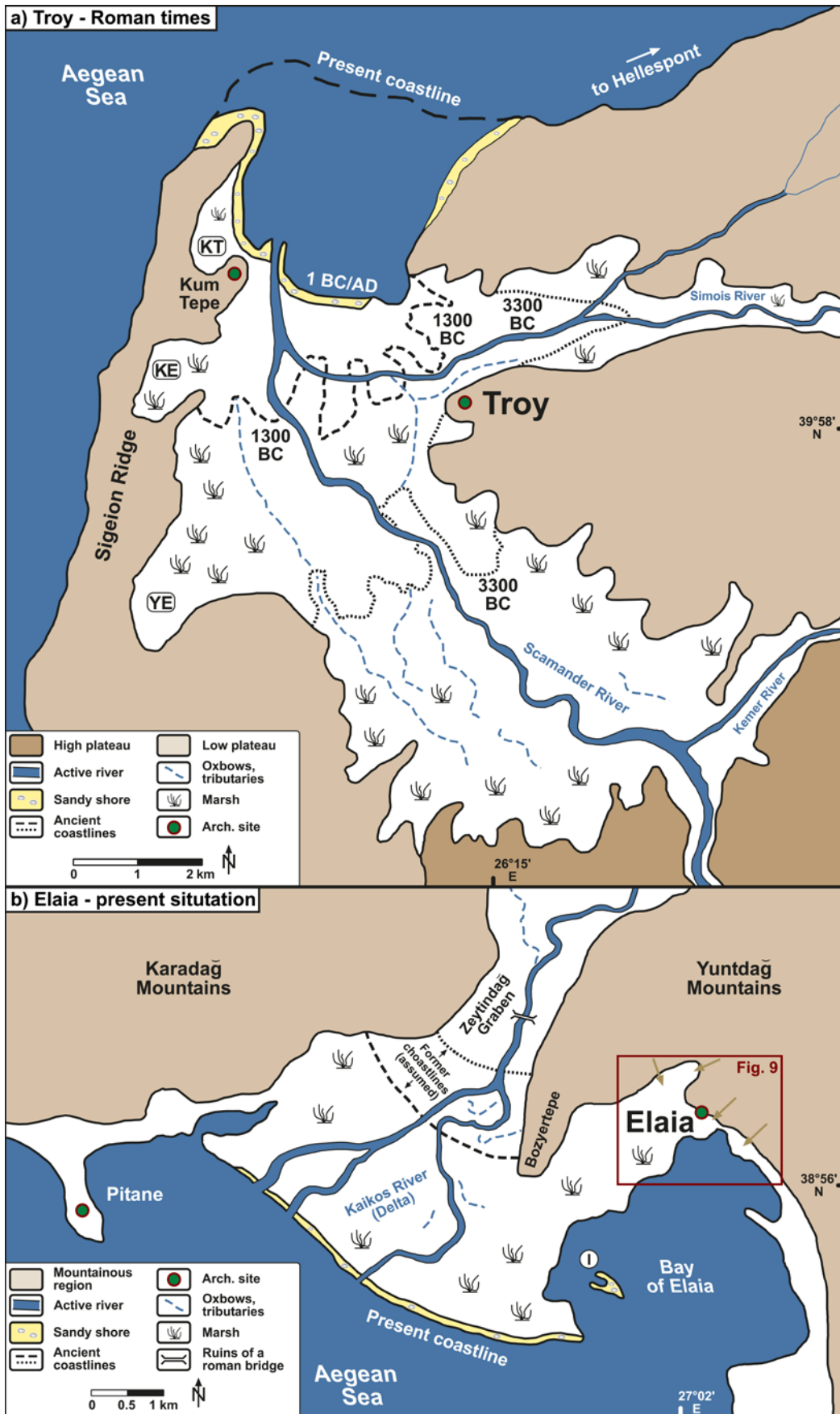


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Fig. 8.



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843 **Fig. 9.**
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Fig. 10.