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2 HARBORS AND PORTS, ANCIENT

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11 Synonyms

12 Haven; Port; Roadstead

13 Definition

14 Coastal areas have been used as natural roadsteads at least
15 since prehistoric times. In the Oxford English dictionary,
16 a harbor is “a place on the coast where ships may moor
17 in shelter, especially one protected from rough water by
18 piers, jetties, and other artificial structures.” This safe refuge
19 can be either natural or artificial. As a result, the term
20 “harbor” can often be ambiguous when it refers to
21 a premodern context because it incorporates a plethora
22 of landing site types, including offshore anchorages, in
23 addition to different mooring facilities and technologies
24 (Raban, 2009). Conceptions of ancient Mediterranean har-
25 bors have frequently been skewed by all-season harbor
26 facilities such as Alexandria, Piraeus, and Valletta with
27 their favorable geomorphological endowments. The
28 archaeological record is, however, more complex. Port is
29 derived from the Latin *portus* meaning “opening, passage,
30 asylum, refuge.” Drawing on multidisciplinary archaeo-
31 logical and geoscience tools, there has been a renewed
32 interest in ancient harbors during the past 30 years, includ-
33 ing the Indian Ocean (Rao, 1988), the Atlantic,

Scandinavia (Ilves, 2009), the Mediterranean (Marriner 34
and Morhange, 2007), and Africa (Chittick, 1979). 35

Introduction 36

37 Until recently, coastal sediments uncovered during Medi-
38 terranean excavations received very little attention from
39 archaeologists, even though, traditionally, the received
40 wisdom of *Mare Nostrum*'s history has placed emphasis
41 on the influence and coevolution of physical geography
42 in fashioning its coastal societies (Braudel, 2002; Stewart
43 and Morhange, 2009; Martini and Chesworth, 2010;
44 Abulafia, 2011). Before 1990, the relationships between
45 Mediterranean populations and their coastal environments
46 had been studied within a cultural-historical paradigm,
47 where anthropological and naturalist standpoints were
48 largely considered in isolation (Horden and Purcell, 48
2000). During the past 20 years, Mediterranean archaeol- 49
ogy has changed significantly, underpinned by the emer- 50
gence of a new culture-nature duality that has drawn on 51
the North European examples of wetland and waterfront 52
archaeology (Milne and Hobley, 1981; Coles and Lawson, 53
1987; Purdy, 1988; Coles and Coles, 1989; Mason, 1993; 54
Van de Noort and O'Sullivan, 2006; Menotti and 55
O'Sullivan, 2012). This built on the excavation of Alpine 56
lake settlements in Switzerland and elsewhere from the 57
1850s onwards (Keller, 1866). Because of the challenges 58
of waterfront contexts, the archaeological community is 59
today increasingly aware of the importance of the environ- 60
ment in understanding the socioeconomic and wider natu- 61
ral frameworks in which ancient societies lived, and 62
multidisciplinary research and dialogue have become 63
a central pillar of most large-scale excavations (Walsh, 64
2004; Butzer, 2005; Butzer, 2008; Walsh, 2008). 65

66 It is against this backdrop that ancient harbor contexts
67 have emerged as particularly novel archives, shedding
68 new light on how humans have locally interacted with
69 and modified coastal zones since the Neolithic (Marriner

70 and Morhange, 2007). Their importance in understanding
 71 ancient maritime landscapes and societies (e.g., Gambin,
 72 2004; Gambin, 2005; Tartaron, 2013) makes them one of
 73 the most discussed archaeological contexts in coastal
 74 areas (Figure 1). Around 6,000 years ago, at the end of
 75 the Holocene marine transgression, societies started to settle
 76 along “present” coastlines (Van Andel, 1989). Older
 77 sites were buried and/or eroded during this transgression
 78 (Bailey and Flemming, 2008). During the past
 79 ~4,000 years, harbor technology has evolved to exploit
 80 a wide range of environmental contexts, from natural bays
 81 and estuaries through to the completely artificial basins of
 82 the Roman and Byzantine periods. Although some of
 83 these ancient port complexes continue to be thriving trans-
 84 port centers, now, many millennia after their initial founda-
 85 tion, the vast majority have been completely
 86 abandoned, and their precise whereabouts, despite rich
 87 textual and epigraphic evidence, remain unknown.
 88 Although not the sole agent of cultural change, these envi-
 89 ronmental modifications indicate in part that long-term
 90 human subsistence has favored access to the open sea.
 91 Key to this line of thinking is the idea that societies have
 92 adopted adaptive strategies in response to the rapidly
 93 changing face of the coastal environment, and in many
 94 instances, harbor sites closely mirror modifications in the
 95 shoreline (e.g., Brückner et al., 2004). Nonetheless, it is
 96 important to emphasize that regional environmental
 97 change, although strong, must not be seen as the principal
 98 agent of cultural shifts and that site-specific explanations
 99 remain fundamental (Butzer, 1982).
 100 During the 1960s, urban regeneration led to large-scale
 101 urban excavations in many coastal cities of the Mediterra-
 102 nean. It was at this time that the ancient harbor of Mar-
 103 seille (France) was rediscovered. Nonetheless, it was not
 104 until the early 1990s that two large-scale coastal excava-
 105 tions were undertaken at opposite ends of the Mediterra-
 106 nean in Marseille (Hesnard, 1994; Hesnard, 1995) and
 107 Caesarea Maritima in Israel (Raban and Holum, 1996).
 108 Both projects placed emphasis on the harbor archaeology
 109 and their articulation within the wider landscape. The first,
 110 at Caesarea Maritima, investigated a completely artificial
 111 Roman harbor complex on the Levantine coast, active
 112 between the first and second centuries AD (Reinhardt
 113 et al., 1994; Reinhardt and Raban, 1999; Raban, 2009).
 114 At Marseille, meanwhile, researchers set about
 115 reconstructing the archaeology and environmental history
 116 of the city’s ancient harbor since the seventh century BC,
 117 founded in a naturally protected limestone embayment by
 118 Greek colonists from Ionia (Figure 2).
 119 In contrast to deltaic areas, the smaller analytical scale
 120 of harbor basins meant that coastal changes could be stud-
 121 ied not only with greater facility but also more finitely.
 122 The research at Marseille (Morhange et al., 2003)
 123 reconstructed a rapid shift in shoreline positions from the
 124 Bronze Age onwards and demonstrated the type of spatial
 125 resolution that can be obtained when large excavation
 126 areas are available for geoarchaeological study. These
 127 studies were unique in that, for the first time in

a Mediterranean coastal context, both sought to embrace 128
 a multidisciplinary methodology. Investigative fields 129
 included not only archaeology but also geomorphology, 130
 geography, sedimentology, history, and biology (Raban 131
 and Holum, 1996; Hesnard, 2004). The waterlogged condi- 132
 tions were particularly conducive to environmentally 133
 contextualized analyses, and both studies demonstrated 134
 how coastal archaeology could benefit from being placed 135
 within a broader multidisciplinary framework. 136
 Since these projects, there has been a great proliferation 137
 of studies looking into coastal and ancient harbor 138
 geoarchaeology (see Marriner and Morhange, 2007 for 139
 multiple references; Figure 1), building on pioneering 140
 archaeological work in the first half of the twentieth cen- 141
 tury (e.g., Negris, 1904a; Negris, 1904b; Paris, 1915; 142
 Jondet, 1916; Paris, 1916; Lehmann-Hartleben, 1923; 143
 Poidebard, 1939; Halliday Saville, 1941; Poidebard and 144
 Lauffray, 1951). Ancient harbor basins are particularly 145
 interesting because (1) they served as important economic 146
 centers and nodal points for maritime navigation (Casson, 147
 1994; Arnaud, 2005); (2) there is generally excellent pres- 148
 ervation of the material culture (Rickman, 1988; Boetto, 149
 2012) due to the anoxic conditions induced by the water 150
 table; and (3) there is an abundance of source material 151
 for paleoenvironmental reconstruction (Marriner, 2009). 152
 Seaports are particularly interesting, as they allow us to 153
 understand how people “engaged with” the local environ- 154
 mental processes in coastal areas. 155
 Here, we will explore the specific interest of harbor sed- 156
 iments in reconstructing ancient coastal landscapes and 157
 their evolution through time. In particular, we will discuss 158
 the stratigraphic evidence for these changes and set them 159
 within the wider context of coastal changes driven by var- 160
 ious natural and anthropogenic forcing agents. We will 161
 also address present challenges and gaps in knowledge. 162

Harbor origins 163

The ease of transport via fluvial and maritime routes was 164
 important in the development of civilizations. At least 165
 three areas – the Indus, China, and Egypt – played an 166
 important role in the development of harbors and their 167
 infrastructure. 168

Egypt 169

It has been suggested that the Egyptians were one of the 170
 earliest Mediterranean civilizations to engage in fluvial 171
 and maritime transportation. Evidence for the use of boats 172
 in ancient Egypt derives from deepwater fish bones found 173
 at prehistoric hunter/gatherer campsites (Shaw et al., 174
 1993). The earliest boats were probably rafts made of 175
 papyrus reeds, which enabled these societies to navigate 176
 between camps. It is speculated that wooden boats were 177
 adopted during Neolithic times, around the same time as 178
 the introduction of agriculture and animal husbandry. 179
 The rise of chiefdoms during the Egyptian Predynastic 180
 period (3700–3050 BC) was accompanied by the wide- 181
 spread adoption of boats as attested by art and pottery 182

183 depictions (Fabre, 2004–2005). North of the First Cataract
184 in Egypt, ships could travel almost anywhere along the
185 Nile. On the delta, the then seven branches served as nav-
186 igable waterways into the Eastern Mediterranean
187 (Tousson, 1922; Stanley, 2007; Khalil, 2010). The Eastern
188 Mediterranean was also a natural communications link for
189 the major cultural centers of the Levant, Cyprus, Crete,
190 Greece, and North Africa. In light of this, it is unsurprising
191 that the works along the fluvial banks and coastlines of the
192 Red Sea and Mediterranean were many and varied. During
193 the third millennium BC, canals were excavated from the
194 Nile to the valley temples of the Giza pyramids so that
195 building materials could be transported (Fabre,
196 2004–2005; Butzer et al., 2013). Quays were also com-
197 monly established along the Nile, for instance, at four-
198 teenth century BC Amarna, boats have been depicted
199 parallel to shoreside quays equipped with bollards
200 (Blackman, 1982a; Blackman, 1982b). An artificial quay
201 dating to the second millennium BC is attested at Karnak,
202 on the Nile (Laufray et al., 1975; Fabre, 2004–2005).
203 High sediment supply and rapid changes in fluvial sys-
204 tems mean that few conspicuous remains of these early
205 riverine harbors are still visible, particularly on the delta
206 (Blue and Khalil, 2010). In Mesopotamia, a similar evolu-
207 tion is attested (Heyvaert and Baeteman, 2008).

208 Navigation in the Red Sea during pharaonic times is
209 a theme that has attracted renewed interest during the past
210 30 years, underpinned notably by the discovery of a num-
211 ber of exceptional coastal sites, shedding new light on the
212 extent and chronology of human impacts in maritime
213 areas. Extending for over 2,000 km from the Mediterra-
214 nean Sea to the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea was a major
215 communications link. Egyptian seafarers traveled along
216 its shorelines during the Predynastic period and were
217 probably the first to contact the peoples living on the
218 Sudanese coast and around the Horn of Africa. Since the
219 discovery of remains at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis in 1976,
220 new findings have been made more recently at Ayn
221 Soukhna, El-Markha, and Wadi al-Jarf (Tallet, 2009). In
222 the absence of harbor excavations, much of the data avail-
223 able remain preliminary. At Mersa/Wadi Gawasis, archae-
224 ological data have documented evidence for some of the
225 world's earliest long-distance seafaring, including bun-
226 dled ropes, ships, and remnants of storage boxes used for
227 transport of goods. The site was used extensively during
228 the Middle Kingdom (around 4,000–3,775 years ago),
229 when seafaring ships departed from the harbor for trade
230 routes along the African Red Sea coast (Bard and
231 Fattovich, 2010; Hein et al., 2011).

232 The Indus Valley

233 On the Indian subcontinent, archaeological explorations
234 during the past century have brought to light a large num-
235 ber of structures related to ancient harbor works and mar-
236 itime activities (Rao, 1988). The Indus valley in particular
237 has been a key focus of research, where high sediment
238 supply in a context of rapidly changing deltaic

environments is responsible for the landlocking of many 239
ancient port sites (Gaur and Vora, 1999). The oldest refer- 240
ence to a harbor in India derives from a mid-third millen- 241
nium Mesopotamian text mentioning boats from Meluhha 242
that were anchored in Agade harbor (Kramer, 1964). 243
Nonetheless, despite rich textual evidence, the exact loca- 244
tion of many of these ancient harbor sites is equivocal. 245
Most would have exploited riverbanks that served as nat- 246
ural harbors. Many of the best-studied examples derive 247
from the region of Gujarat, which attests to significant 248
paleo-shoreline changes during the past 4,500 years 249
(Gaur and Vora, 1999). 250

Archaeological sites of Harappan age (3000–1500 251
BC), including Lothal, Padri, and Bet Dwarka, have 252
yielded particularly interesting archaeological records 253
consistent with maritime activity (Gaur and Vora, 1999). 254
Lothal, on the paleo-banks of the river Sabarmati, is one 255
of the best-studied examples of a Harappan harbor city. 256
The site presently lies 35 km from the coast at the head 257
of the macrotidal Gulf of Cambay and is believed to have 258
been an important trade center during the Harappan period 259
(Rao, 1991). A number of Egyptian and Mesopotamian 260
imports have been recovered from the site. Excavations 261
have brought to light a brick basin of trapezoidal shape 262
that measures 214 × 36 m and is 3.3 m deep. It has tenta- 263
tively been labeled as the world's first dockyard (Rao, 264
1979), although these interpretations are not without con- 265
tention (e.g., Gaur, 2000), and the basin presents striking 266
similarities with water storage basins used throughout 267
the region. Based on present knowledge, it is difficult to 268
confirm that Lothal's basin was used as a harbor. Else- 269
where in the Indus valley, Chalcolithic/Harappan landing 270
platforms attributed to harbor works have been identified 271
at Kuntasi and Inamgaon. Paleoenvironmental changes 272
are seen as important causes of harbor abandonment. 273

China 274

Between 7000 and 5000 BC, agricultural villages and 275
towns began to emerge and grow along the Yellow and 276
Yangtze River basins and coasts. Research has focused 277
on this transitional period because it corresponds to the 278
onset of deltaic sedimentation and the emergence of agri- 279
culture and early complex societies (Zong et al., 2007; 280
Chen et al., 2008). Ancient Chinese history is marked by 281
three successive dynasties that became the roots of Chi- 282
nese culture: the Xia Dynasty (2200–1766 BC), the Shang 283
Dynasty (1766–1122 BC), and the Zhou Dynasty 284
(1122–256 BC). Despite the importance and continuity 285
of Chinese civilization, understanding of its harbors is rel- 286
atively limited in western academic circles due to obvious 287
language barriers. Nonetheless, the recent rediscovery of 288
Hepu harbor of the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC to 289
25 AD) is particularly promising in shedding new light 290
on this question. Now located within Beihai City in south 291
China's Guangxi Zhuang Region, recent archaeological 292
work suggests that Hepu harbor – probably the oldest sea- 293
port in China – served as a very important “marine silk 294

road.” This navigation link allowed western goods to be transported into the vast continental interior of Asia.

Early Mediterranean harbors

Our understanding of early harbors is poor. In the Mediterranean, the first artificial structures appear to date to the Middle/Late Bronze Age. For example, submerged boulder piles are attested at Yavne-Yam, a Middle Bronze Age site on the coast of Israel; these suggest premeditated human enterprise to improve the quality of the natural anchorage (Ezra Marcus, personal communication). Recent geoarchaeological work in Sidon (Lebanon) has tentatively dated the presence of a semi-protected cove beginning around 4410 ± 40 BP (2750–2480 cal BC; Marriner et al., 2006b; Marriner, 2009). This sedimentological unit has been interpreted as a Middle Bronze Age to Late Bronze Age proto-harbor, with possible reinforcement of the shielding sandstone ridge improving the quality of the natural anchorage. It is suggested that small boats were beached, with larger vessels being anchored in the outer harbor of Zire (Frost, 1973; Carayon, 2008; Figure 3).

At Kommos, in southern Crete, a large building with six galleries (Puglisi, 2001) has been interpreted as a hangar for the dry-docking of Minoan ships during the winter months. This building, dated to the fifteenth century BC, is an illustration of Minoan harbor construction even though, in this instance, it had no direct impact upon the quality of the anchorage haven.

After this period, the maritime harbors of the ancient Mediterranean evolved in four broad technological leaps.

Bronze Age to early Iron Age ashlar header technology

A double ashlar wall infilled with stones is a harbor construction method common to the Phoenicians; it is known as the pier-and-rubble technique (Raban, 1985). This system has been noted in an eleventh century BC layer at Sarepta, Lebanon (Markoe, 2000). Van Beek and Van Beek (1981) have suggested that this technique is Levantine in origin and that it spread from the Late Bronze Age Levant to the western Punic colonies, Greece, and Roman North Africa, where it can be found as late as the sixth century AD. The use of ashlar techniques is well attested in the Persian period harbor of Akko (Israel), the Hellenistic harbor at Amathus in Cyprus (Empereur and Verlinden, 1987), and the Roman quay at Sarepta, Lebanon (Pritchard, 1978), Dor, and Athlit (Israel). Iron Age Athlit is one of the best-studied Phoenician harbors (Haggi, 2006; Haggi and Artzy, 2007). The northern harbor’s mole extends about 100 m into the sea. It is about 10 m wide and constitutes two parallel ashlar headers that are 2–3 m in width. A fill of rubble and stones was placed between the ashlar walls. This form of construction improved the stability of the mole against high-energy waves. The mole was placed on a foundation of ballast pebbles of various sizes. Underwater excavations have

revealed that the layer of pebbles extends more than 5 m beyond the outer side of each wall, a total width of over 20 m. Radiometric dating of wood fragments constrains this Phoenician structure to the ninth century BC (Haggi, 2006), although paradoxically there is very little pottery dating from this period (Michal Artzy, personal communication). A similar example is also known from the Syrian coast at Tabbat el-Hammam, where the archaeological evidence supports a ninth/eighth century BC age (Braidwood, 1940).

Depending on the time and culture, different variations are noted in the use of headers. From the fifth century BC, metal links were used to reinforce blocks (e.g., Sidon and Beirut). At Amathus (Cyprus) during Hellenistic times, the header masonry was built upon a ballast base of disorganized blocks.

Cothons

Archaeologists refer to the sites of Carthage (Tunisia), Mahdia (Tunisia), Phalasarna (Crete), Jezirat Fara’un (Egypt), and Lechaion (Greece) as “cothon” harbors. The Greek term was applied to the harbor at Carthage by Strabo and Appian, the original meaning of “drinking cup” which is metaphorically appropriate to the protected harbor basin. Carthage is the only site that has been referred to as a “cothon” in ancient texts, although a Punic etymology has not yet been supported, meaning it is difficult to propose that the concept was Carthaginian in origin or that all harbors built into the shoreline in the same manner were felt to be variations on a “cothon” (John Oleson, personal communication). Nowadays, specialists agree that the term can be associated with an artificially dug harbor basin linked to the sea via a man-made channel (Carayon, 2005). The design solves some of the problems involved in building a harbor along a shallow, featureless coastline, or on the bank of a river, and a number of cultures appear to have adopted this solution, from the Bronze Age onwards. Some authors have suggested that Trajan’s basin at Portus also qualifies as a cothon, in addition to some of the proposed Etruscan harbor basins associated with river mouths (John Oleson, personal communication). It would appear that the carving of a cothon is a simple but energy-consuming technique used to create a particularly well-sheltered basin. This type of infrastructure poses three problems: (1) rapid silting up in a confined environment; (2) the carving of a basin in rocky outcrops or clastic coastlines, which is energy consuming; and (3) maintaining a functional channel outlet to the sea in a clastic coast context. Despite these shortcomings, the cothon persisted for many centuries (Carayon, 2008). A Latin author, writing in the fifth century AD, noted that this type of harbor was common at this time: “*ut portus scilicet faciunt*” (Deutero-Servius, *Aeneidos*, I, 421).

403 **Hydraulic concrete**

404 Pre-Roman ashlar block methods continued to be used
 405 throughout the Roman era. Nonetheless, another tech-
 406 nique was introduced during the second century BC
 407 (Gazda, 2001) that completely revolutionized harbor
 408 design and construction – the use of hydraulic concrete.
 409 This technological breakthrough meant that natural road-
 410 steads were no longer a prerequisite to harbor loci, and
 411 completely artificial ports, enveloped by imposing con-
 412 crete moles, could be located on open coasts (Hohlfelder,
 413 1997). The material could be cast and set underwater.
 414 Roman architects and engineers were free to create struc-
 415 tures in the sea or along high-energy shorelines
 416 (Brandon et al., 2005; Brandon et al., 2010). Pozzolana
 417 facilitated the construction of offshore basins such as
 418 Claudius’s harbor at Portus of Rome (Testaguzza, 1970).
 419 The Roman author Vitruvius (first century BC) provided
 420 an inventory of harbor construction techniques
 421 (Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, V, 12).

422 **Romano-Byzantine harbor dredging**

423 Vitruvius gave a few brief accounts of dredging, although
 424 direct archaeological evidence has, until now, remained
 425 elusive. The ancient harbors of Marseille and Naples have
 426 both undergone widespread excavations (Figure 4;
 427 Hesnard, 1995; Giampaola et al., 2004), and extensive
 428 multidisciplinary datasets now exist for the two sites. At
 429 Tyre and Sidon, geoarchaeological research has led to
 430 the extraction of 40 cores that have facilitated
 431 a chronostratigraphic reconstruction of basin silting
 432 (Marriner et al., 2005; Marriner and Morhange, 2006a;
 433 Morhange and Marriner, 2010a). Why were ancient har-
 434 bors dredged? On decadal timescales, continued silting
 435 induced a shortening of the water column. De-silting infra-
 436 structure (Blackman, 1982a; Blackman, 1982b), such as
 437 vaulted moles, partially attenuated the problem, but in
 438 the long term, these appear to have been relatively ineffec-
 439 tive. In light of this, repeated dredging was the only means
 440 of maintaining a practicable draft depth and ensuring long-
 441 term harbor viability. At Marseille, although dredging
 442 phases are recorded from the third century BC onwards,
 443 the most extensive enterprises were undertaken during
 444 the first century AD, at which time huge volumes of sedi-
 445 ment were extracted. At the excavations of Naples,
 446 absence of pre-fourth century BC layers has been linked
 447 to extensive dredging between the fourth and second cen-
 448 turies BC (Carsana et al., 2009). Unprecedented traces
 449 165–180 cm wide and 30–50 cm deep attest to powerful
 450 dredging technology that scoured into the volcanic sub-
 451 stratum, completely reshaping the harbor bottom. Not-
 452 withstanding the scouring of harbor bottoms, this newly
 453 created space was rapidly infilled and necessitated regular
 454 intervention. Repeated dredging phases are attested up
 455 until the late Roman period, after which time the basin
 456 margins were completely silted up. At Marseille, three
 457 dredging boats have been unearthed (Pomey, 1995). The
 458 vessels were abandoned at the bottom of the harbor during

the first and second centuries AD. They are characterized
 by an open central well that is inferred to have accommo-
 dated the dredging arm.

It was not until the Industrial Revolution in England
 that cement and iron structures were developed on
 a large scale (Palley, 2010). In 1756, Smeaton made the
 first modern concrete (hydraulic cement) by adding peb-
 bles as a coarse aggregate and mixing powdered brick into
 the cement. In 1824, Aspdin invented Portland cement by
 burning ground limestone and clay together. The French-
 man Monier invented reinforced concrete in 1849 using
 imbedded steel. It can withstand heavy loads because of
 its tensile and compressional strengths. Reinforced con-
 crete was widely used in railway ties, pipes, floors, arches,
 bridges, and ports.

Geoarchaeology of harbor basins: tools and methods

Over the past 2 decades, ancient harbors have attracted
 interest from both the archaeological and earth science
 communities. In tandem with the development of rescue
 archaeology, particularly in urban contexts, the study of
 sedimentary archives has grown into a flourishing branch
 of archaeological inquiry (Milne, 1985; Leveau et al.,
 1999; Milne, 2003; Walsh, 2004; Leveau, 2005). The
 growing corpus of sites and data demonstrates that ancient
 harbors constitute rich archives of both the cultural and
 environmental pasts. Ancient harbor sediments are particu-
 larly rich in research objects (archaeological remains,
 bioindicators, macrorests, artifacts, etc.), and they yield
 insights into the history of human occupation at a given
 site, coastal changes, and the natural processes and
 hazards that have impacted these waterfront areas
 (Reinhardt et al., 2006; Bottari and Carveni, 2009;
 Morhange and Marriner, 2010b; Bony et al., 2012).

Ancient harbors are both natural and constructed land-
 scapes and, from a geoarchaeological perspective, com-
 prise three elements of note.

The harbor basin

In architectural terms, the harbor basin is characterized by
 its artificial structures, such as quays, moles, and sluice
 gates (Oleson, 1988; Oleson and Branton, 1992). Since
 the Bronze Age, there has been a great diversity in harbor
 infrastructure in coastal areas, reflecting changing tech-
 nologies and human needs. These include, for instance,
 the natural pocket beaches serving as proto-harbors
 (Frost, 1964; Marcus, 2002a; Marcus, 2002b), through
 the first Phoenician mole attributed to around 900 BC
 (Haggi and Artzy, 2007), to the grand offshore construc-
 tions of the Roman period made possible by the discovery
 of hydraulic concrete (Oleson et al., 2004).

In their study of harbor landscapes, geoarchaeologists
 are also interested in the sedimentary contents of the basin
 and relative sea-level changes.

512	Ancient harbor sediments	
513	Port basins constitute unique coastal archives. Shifts in the	
514	granularity of these deposits indicate the degree of harbor	
515	protection, often characterized by a rapid accumulation of	
516	heterometric sediments following a sharp fall in water	
517	competence brought about by the installation of artificial	
518	harbor works. The harbor facies is characterized by three	
519	poorly sorted fractions: (1) human waste products,	
520	especially at the base of quays and in areas of unloading	
521	(harbor depositional contexts are particularly conducive	
522	to the preservation of perishable artifacts such as leather	
523	and wood); (2) poorly sorted sand; and (3) an important	
524	fraction (>90 %) of silt that signifies the sheltered envi-	
525	ronmental conditions of the harbor. They are also particu-	
526	larly pertinent archives for reconstructing the history of	
527	heavy metal pollution at coastal settlements (e.g., Véron	
528	et al., 2006). Harbor basins are characterized by rapid	
529	accumulation rates. For instance, sedimentation rates of	
530	up to 20 mm/year have been recorded in undredged areas	
531	of the Graeco-Roman harbor of Alexandria (Goiran,	
532	2001). High-resolution study of the bio- and lithostrati-	
533	graphical fractions can help shed light on the nature of	
534	ancient harbor works, such as at Tyre (Marriner et al.,	
535	2008) or Portus (Goiran et al., 2010). Recent research	
536	has sought to characterize and date these chronostrati-	
537	graphical phases using the unique sedimentary signature	
538	that each technology brings about (Marriner and	
539	Morhange, 2007; Marriner, 2009). In the broadest sense,	
540	these are characterized by an evolution from natural road-	
541	steads before the Bronze Age towards completely artificial	
542	seaport complexes from the Roman period onwards.	
543	Relative sea-level changes, the paleo-water column,	
544	and ship circulation	
545	Nowadays, most ancient harbors are completely infilled	
546	with sediments – e.g., the Roman harbor of Luni at the	
547	mouth of the river Magra (Bini et al., 2009) or the Roman	
548	harbor of Aquileia (Arnaud-Fassetta et al., 2003). Harbor	
549	sediments are particularly conducive to the preservation	
550	of biological remains. Within this context, it is possible	
551	to identify and date former sea-level positions using	
552	biological indicators fixed to quays, that, when compared	
553	with the marine bottom, allow the height of the paleo-	
554	water column to be estimated (Laborel and Laborel-	
555	Deguen, 1994; Morhange et al., 2013). Such relative	
556	sea-level data are critical in understanding the history of	
557	sedimentary accretion in addition to estimating the draft	
558	depth for ancient ships (Pirazzoli and Thommeret, 1973;	
559	Morhange et al., 2001; Boetto, 2012). Archaeological	
560	work undertaken upon ancient wrecks suggests that the	
561	largest fully loaded ships during antiquity required	
562	a draft of less than 3 m (Casson, 1994; Pomey and Rieth,	
563	2005). These two reference levels, the paleo-sea level	
564	and sediment bottom, are mobile as a function of crustal	
565	movements – e.g., local-scale neotectonics (Stiros et al.,	
566	1996; Stiros, 1998; Evelpidou et al., 2011), regional isos-	
567	tasy (Lambeck et al., 2004), sediment budgets (Vött et al.,	
	2007; Devillers, 2008), and human impacts such as dredg-	568
	ing (Marriner and Morhange, 2006b). All these factors can	569
	potentially impact the available accommodation space for	570
	sediment accretion.	571
	Sediments versus settlements	572
	As outlined above, one of the key problems posed by	573
	artificially protected harbors relates to accelerated	574
	sediment trapping. In the most acute instances, it could	575
	rapidly reduce the draft depths necessary in accommodat-	576
	ing large ships (Pomey and Rieth, 2005). From a cultural	577
	perspective, therefore, harbors were important “economic	578
	landscapes,” and many changes in harbor location can be	579
	explained functionally by the need to maintain an interface	580
	with the sea in the face of rapid sedimentation. The best	581
	example of this coastal dislocation derives from Aegean	582
	Anatolia (Brückner et al., 2005). Delta areas in particular	583
	serve as excellent geo-archives to understand and analyze	584
	the impacts of rapidly evolving settlement phases.	585
	It is important to set these geoarchaeological results	586
	within a wider spatiotemporal framework using archaeo-	587
	logical data from coastal and hinterland valley areas.	588
	Changes in sediment supply at the watershed scale are par-	589
	ticularly important in understanding base-level changes in	590
	deltaic and coastal contexts, as is the case of the Gialias in	591
	Cyprus (Devillers, 2008) or the paleo-island of Piraeus	592
	(Goiran et al., 2011). Probing the rates of progradation is	593
	also key to understanding the timing, origin (climate or	594
	human forcings), and rhythm of local and basin-scale	595
	erosion.	596
	Ancient harbor stratigraphy, terminology and	597
	research goals	598
	During the past 20 years, multidisciplinary inquiry has	599
	allowed a better understanding of where, when, and how	600
	ancient Mediterranean harbors evolved. This is set within	601
	the wider context of a new “instrumental” or “quantitative	602
	revolution” towards the environment. A battery of	603
	research tools is available, tools that broadly draw on geo-	604
	morphology and the sediment archives located within this	605
	landscape complex (Marriner and Morhange, 2007).	606
	Where?	607
	The geography of ancient harbors constitutes a dual inves-	608
	tigation that probes both the location and the extension of	609
	the basins. Biostratigraphical studies of sediments, mar-	610
	ried with a GIS investigation of aerial photographs and	611
	satellite images, can be used to reconstruct coastal evolu-	612
	tion and identify possible anchorage areas (Ghilardi and	613
	Desruelles, 2009). Traditionally, urban contexts have been	614
	particularly problematic for accurate archaeological	615
	studies because the urban fabric can hide many of the	616
	most important landscape features. In such instances,	617
	chronostratigraphy can be particularly useful in	618
	reconstructing coastal changes (Morhange et al., 2003).	619
	For example, litho- and biostratigraphical studies of cores	620
	drilled into the city center of Tyre attest to a well-sheltered	621

622 port basin between the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods,
623 today buried beneath the modern market by thick sedi-
624 ment tracts. The chronostratigraphy demonstrates that
625 during antiquity, the harbor was approximately twice as
626 large as present (Figure 5). This approach helps not only
627 in reconstructing ancient shorelines and changes through
628 time (e.g., as at Ephesus, Priene, Frejus, Alexandria, or
629 Pelusium on the Nile Delta) but can also aid in relocating
630 ports for which no conspicuous archaeological evidence
631 presently exists, as in the case of Cuma (Stefaniuk and
632 Morhange, 2005) or Byblos (Stefaniuk et al., 2005).

633 Geophysical techniques can also provide a great multi-
634 plicity of mapping possibilities, notably in areas where it
635 is difficult to draw clear parallels between the archaeology
636 and certain landscape features (Nishimura, 2001).
637 Because geophysical techniques are nondestructive, they
638 have been widely employed in archaeology and are
639 gaining importance in coastal geoarchaeology (Hesse,
640 2000) and ancient harbor contexts (Boyce et al., 2009).
641 Very rapid and reliable information can be provided on
642 the location, depth, and nature of buried archaeological
643 features before excavation. At Alexandria, geophysical
644 surveys have allowed Hesse (1998) to propose a new
645 hypothesis for the location of the Heptastadium. Hesse
646 suggests that the causeway linking Pharos to the mainland
647 was directly tied into the city's ancient road network. In
648 this instance, the findings have since been corroborated
649 by sedimentological data from the tombolo area (Goiran,
650 2001). Stratigraphic data are therefore critical in providing
651 chronological insights into environmental changes and
652 coastal processes. Such a dual approach has also been suc-
653 cessfully employed at Portus, one of the ancient harbors of
654 Rome. Large areas of the seaport and its fringes have been
655 investigated using coastal stratigraphy (Bellotti et al.,
656 2009; Giraudi et al., 2009; Goiran et al., 2010; Di Bella
657 et al., 2011; Mazzini et al., 2011; Salomon et al., 2012),
658 geophysics, and archaeological soundings (Keay et al.,
659 2005; Keay et al., 2009; Keay and Paroli, 2011), yielding
660 fresh insights into the harbor's coastal infrastructure and
661 functioning. On the Tiber delta, geophysics has also been
662 used to accurately map the progradation of the coastal
663 ridges. Bicket et al. (2009) have demonstrated that the
664 Laurentine ridge, ~1 km inland from the modern coast-
665 line, constitutes the Roman shoreline of the Tiber delta.

666 When and how?

667 Chronostratigraphy is essential in understanding modifi-
668 cations in harbor technology and the timing of human
669 impacts, such as lead pollution from the Bronze Age
670 onwards (Véron et al., 2006) or ecological stresses demon-
671 strated by changes in faunal assemblages (Leung Tack,
672 1971–72). The overarching aim is to write
673 a “sedimentary” history of human coastal impacts and
674 technologies, using quantitative geoscience tools and
675 a standardized stratigraphic framework (e.g., sequence
676 stratigraphy). Research in the eastern and western Medi-
677 terranean attests to considerable repetition in ancient

678 harbor stratigraphy, both in terms of the facies observed
679 and their temporal envelopes. There are three distinct
680 facies of note: (1) middle-energy beach sands at the base
681 of each unit (e.g., the proto-harbor), (2) low-energy silts
682 and gravels (e.g., the active harbor phase), and (3) coarsen-
683 ing up beach sands or terrestrial sediments which cap the
684 sequences (e.g., post-harbor facies). In the broadest terms,
685 this stratigraphic pattern represents a shift from natural
686 coastal environments to anthropogenically modified
687 contexts, before a semi- or complete abandonment of the
688 harbor basin.

689 There are a number of stratigraphic surfaces that are key
690 to understanding the evolution of ancient harbor basins.

The maximum flooding surface (MFS)

691 Ancient harbors form integral components of the
692 highstand parasequence (aggradational to progradational
693 sets). For the Holocene coastal sequence, the maximum
694 flooding surface (MFS) represents the lower boundary of
695 the sediment archive. This surface is broadly dated to
696 around 6000 cal BP and marks the maximum marine
697 incursion (Stanley and Warne, 1994). It is associated with
698 the most landward position of the shoreline. In the eastern
699 Mediterranean, it is contemporaneous with the
700 Chalcolithic period and the Early Bronze Age. Indeed,
701 the MFS along the Levantine coast clearly delineates the
702 geography of early coastal settlements from this period
703 (Raban, 1987).
704

Natural beach facies

705 The MFS is overlain by naturally aggrading beach sands,
706 a classic feature of clastic coastlines. Since around
707 6000 cal BP, relative sea-level stability has impinged on
708 the creation of new accommodation space, leading to the
709 aggradation of sediment strata. This is particularly pro-
710 nounced in sediment-rich coastal areas such as deltas
711 and at the margins of fluvial systems. Where this sedimen-
712 tation continued unchecked, a coarsening upward of sedi-
713 ment facies is observed, consistent with high-energy wave
714 dynamics in proximity to mean sea level. For example,
715 Gaza bears witness to important coastal changes since
716 the Bronze Age. During the mid-Holocene, the coast com-
717 prised estuaries at the outlets of major wadi systems. This
718 indented coastal morphology spawned important mari-
719 time settlements such as Tell es-Sakan and Tell al-'Ajjul
720 at the outlet of Wadi Ghazze, which probably served as
721 a natural harbor. During the same period, the rate of
722 sea-level rise slowed, leading to the formation of the Nile
723 Delta and small, local deltas along the coasts of Sinai and
724 Palestine. From the first millennium BC onwards, the
725 coast was regularized by infilling of the estuaries, and
726 the harbor sites became landlocked. In response, new cit-
727 ies, such as Anthedon, were founded on a Quaternary
728 ridge along the present coastline (Morhange et al., 2005).
729

The harbor foundation surface (HFS)

730 This surface marks important human modification of the
731 sedimentary environment, characterized by the transition
732

733 from coarse beach sands to finer-grained harbor sands and
 734 silts (Marriner and Morhange, 2007). This surface corre-
 735 sponds to the construction of artificial harbor works and,
 736 for archaeologists, is one of the most important surfaces
 737 to date the foundation of the harbor.

738 *The ancient harbor facies (AHF)*

739 The AHF corresponds to the active harbor unit. This
 740 artificialization is reflected in the sedimentary record by
 741 lower-energy facies consistent with a barring of the
 742 anchorage by artificial means. Harbor infrastructure
 743 (quays, moles, and jetties) accentuated the sediment sink
 744 properties by attenuating the swell and marine currents
 745 leading to a sharp fall in water competence. Research
 746 has demonstrated that this unit is by no means homoge-
 747 neous, with harbor infrastructure and the nature of sedi-
 748 ment sources playing a key role in shaping facies
 749 architecture. Of note is the granulometric paradox of this
 750 unit consisting of fine-grained silts juxtaposed with coarse
 751 gravels made up of ceramics and other urban waste.

752 In some rare instances, a proto-harbor phase (PHP) pre-
 753 cedes the AHF. Before the major changes characteristic of
 754 the AHF, biosedimentological studies have elucidated
 755 moderate signatures of human presence when societies
 756 exploited natural low-energy shorelines requiring little or
 757 no human modification. For instance, coastal stratigraphy
 758 has demonstrated that the southern cove of Sidon, around
 759 Tell Dakerman, remained naturally connected and open to
 760 the sea throughout antiquity (Poidebard and Lauffray,
 761 1951; Marriner et al., 2006a; Marriner et al., 2006b). The
 762 PHP interface is by no means transparent, particularly in
 763 early Chalcolithic and Bronze Age harbors, and the astute
 764 use of multiproxy data is required (Figure 6).

765 During the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age,
 766 improvements in harbor engineering have been recorded
 767 by increasingly fine-grained facies. Plastic clays tend to
 768 be the rule for Roman and Byzantine harbors, and sedi-
 769 mentation rates 10–20 times greater than naturally
 770 prograding coastlines are recorded. The very well-
 771 protected Roman harbors of Alexandria, Marseille, and
 772 Frejus (Gébara and Morhange, 2010) all comprise plastic
 773 marine muds consisting of 90 % silts and a coarse gravel
 774 fraction of human origin. Significant increases in sedi-
 775 mentation rates can also be attributed to human-induced
 776 increases in the supply term, for example, anthropogenic
 777 changes in the catchments of supplying rivers
 778 (deforestation, agriculture), erosion of mudbrick urban
 779 constructions (Rosen, 1986), and finally use of the basins
 780 as waste dumps. This underlines the importance of an
 781 explicit source-to-sink study integrating both the coastal
 782 area and the upland hinterland. Such high rates of harbor
 783 infilling were potentially detrimental to the medium- to
 784 long-term viability of harbor basins and impinged on the
 785 minimum 1 m draft depth.

786 *The harbor abandonment surface (HAS)*

787 This surface marks the “semi-abandonment” of the harbor
 788 basin. Recent studies have focused upon the role of natural

789 hazards in explaining the decline or destruction of ancient
 790 Mediterranean harbors. While these factors may have had
 791 a role to play, it seems that the financial weight of
 792 maintaining harbor works in the face of the Mediterra-
 793 nean’s shifting political and economic makeup was simply
 794 too burdensome (Raban, 2009). A relative decline in har-
 795 bor works after the late Roman and Byzantine periods is
 796 characterized by a return to “natural” sedimentary condi-
 797 tions comprising (1) coarse-grained sands and gravels in
 798 a coastal context and (2) terrestrial facies in fluvial envi-
 799 ronments. Following hundreds to thousands of years of
 800 artificial confinement, reconversion to a natural coastal
 801 parasequence is sometimes expressed by high-energy
 802 upper shoreface sands. This shoreline progradation signifi-
 803 cantly reduced the size of the basins, often landlocking
 804 the heart of the anchorages beneath thick tracts of coastal
 805 and fluvial sediments.

806 **Ancient harbor case studies: from natural to**
 807 **artificial ports**

808 Today, it is recognized that harbors should be studied
 809 within broader regional frameworks using a multidisci-
 810 plinary methodology (Carayon, 2008; Blackman and
 811 Lentini, 2010). There is great variety in harbor types,
 812 and, broadly speaking, three areas or physical processes
 813 are important in influencing harbor location and design:
 814 (1) geographical situation, (2) site and local dynamics,
 815 and (3) navigation conditions dictated by the wind and
 816 wave climate. The diversity of contexts investigated dur-
 817 ing the past 20 years has brought to light some striking pat-
 818 terns. Numerous processes are important in explaining
 819 how these have come to be preserved in the geological
 820 record, including the distance from the present coastline,
 821 position relative to present sea level, and geomorphology
 822 (Marriner and Morhange, 2007). Ancient harbors can be
 823 divided into six non-exhaustive types on the basis of pres-
 824 ervation. Sediment supply, human impacts, crustal
 825 changes, and coastal energy dynamics are significant in
 826 explaining how ancient harbors have been preserved in
 827 the geological record (Bony, 2013).

828 **Drowned harbors**

829 Drowned cities and harbors have long captured the public
 830 imagination and inspired research (Marinatos, 1960;
 831 Frost, 1963; Flemming, 1971; Bailey and Flemming,
 832 2008), fueled by mediatized legends such as Atlantis
 833 (Collina-Girard, 2001; Gutscher, 2005) and the “biblical
 834 flooding” of the Black Sea (Yanko-Hombach et al.,
 835 2007a; Yanko-Hombach et al., 2007b; Ravilious, 2009;
 836 Buynevich et al., 2011).

837 After the Last Glacial Maximum, when global sea level
 838 lay around 120 m below present, transgression of the
 839 continental platform gradually displaced coastal
 840 populations landwards until broad sea-level stability led
 841 to a sedentarization of populations along present coast-
 842 lines (Van Andel 1989). The continental shelf between
 843 Haifa and Atlit (Israel) is one of the best-studied examples

844 (Galili et al., 1988; Sivan et al., 2001). A series of sub-
 845 merged archaeological sites dating from the Pre-Pottery
 846 Neolithic B (8000 BP) and late Neolithic (~6500 BP)
 847 were found at depths of 12 to 8 m and 5 to 0 m, attesting
 848 to the postglacial transgression of the Levantine coastline.
 849 Since 6000 cal BP, coastal site and port submersion can be
 850 attributed to crustal mobility (e.g., historical subsidence in
 851 eastern Crete and uplift on the western coast) and/or sedi-
 852 ment failure in deltaic contexts.

853 For example, on the western margin of the Nile Delta of
 854 Egypt, the coastal instability of the Alexandria area is
 855 responsible for a ~5 m drowning of archaeological
 856 remains since antiquity (Empereur and Grimal, 1997;
 857 Goddio et al., 1998; Goiran, 2001; Fabre, 2004–2005).
 858 The subsidence has been variously attributed to seismic
 859 movements (Guidoboni et al., 1994) and Nile Delta sedi-
 860 ment loading (Stanley et al., 2001; Stanley and
 861 Bernasconi, 2006). Approximately 22 km east of Alexan-
 862 dria, around Abu Qir bay, an ~8 m collapse of the former
 863 Canopic lobe of the Nile is responsible for the drowning of
 864 two ancient seaport cities, Herakleion and East Canopus,
 865 during the eighth century AD (Tousson, 1922; Stanley
 866 et al., 2001; Stanley et al., 2004a; Stanley et al., 2004b).

867 Italy's Phlegraean Fields volcanic complex testifies to
 868 a very different crustal context that has led to a series of
 869 yo-yo land movements during the late Holocene. The
 870 ancient ports of Miseno, Baia, and Portus Julius are
 871 located inside a caldera (Gianfrotta, 1996; Scognamiglio,
 872 1997; Figure 7). Since Roman times, tectono-volcanism
 873 inside this collapsed volcanic cone has led to significant
 874 shoreline mobility and is responsible for a 10 m submer-
 875 gence of the Roman harbor complexes (Dvorak and
 876 Mastrolorenzo, 1991). The pattern of movement inside
 877 the bay is spatially contrasted because around the fringes
 878 of the caldera the columns of the Roman market attest to
 879 an upper limit of marine bioerosion at 7 m above present
 880 sea level. Recent research suggests a series of post-Roman
 881 inflation-deflation cycles at both Pozzuoli (Morhange
 882 et al., 2006a) and Miseno (Cinque et al., 1991) linked to
 883 the interplay of deep magma inputs, fluid exsolution, and
 884 degassing (Todesco et al., 2004), all acting as drivers of
 885 rapid coastal change. Other studied examples of drowned
 886 cities include Helike and Kenchreai in the Gulf of Corinth,
 887 Greece (Kiskyras, 1988; Soter, 1998; Soter and
 888 Katsonopoulou, 1998; Rothaus et al., 2008) and Megisti
 889 on the island of Castellorizo, Greece (Pirazzoli, 1987).

890 Uplifted harbors

891 The best geoarchaeological evidence for uplifted harbors
 892 derives from the Hellenic arc, one of the most seismically
 893 active regions in the world (Stiros, 2005).

894 In western Crete, Pirazzoli et al. (1992) have ascribed
 895 a 9 m uplift of Phalasarna harbor, founded in the fourth
 896 century BC, to high seismic activity in the eastern Medi-
 897 terranean between the fourth to sixth centuries AD
 898 (Stiros, 2001). This episode is concurrent with a phase of
 899 Hellenic arc plate adjustment linked to uplift (1–2 m) in

Turkey, e.g., the uplifted harbor of Seleucia Pieria 900
 (Pirazzoli et al., 1991), Syria (Sanlaville et al., 1997), 901
 and parts of the Lebanese coastline (Pirazzoli, 2005; 902
 Morhange et al., 2006b). Phalasarna's ancient harbor sedi- 903
 ment record is of particular interest because its rapid uplift 904
 has possibly trapped tsunami deposits inside the basin 905
 (Dominey-Howes et al., 1998). 906

The Gulf of Corinth constitutes a neotectonic graben 907
 separating the Peloponnese from mainland Greece 908
 (Moretti et al., 2003; Evelpidou et al., 2011). It is one of 909
 the most tectonically active and rapidly extending regions 910
 in the world (6–15 mm/year) with a marked regional con- 911
 trast between its subsiding northern coast and an uplifting 912
 southern flank borne out by its geomorphological features 913
 and archaeology (Papadopoulos et al., 2000; Koukouvelas 914
 et al., 2001). Biological and archaeological proxies attest 915
 to pronounced spatial disparities in the amplitude of uplift. 916
 The position of the gulf's ancient harbors can help to 917
 refine the recent tectonic history. The harbor of Heraion 918
 on the gulf's northern coast is, for instance, modestly 919
 uplifted by around 1 m (Pirazzoli et al., 1994). 920

The western harbor of Corinth at Lechaion is also 921
 uplifted. Emerged *Balanus* fossils indicating a former bio- 922
 logical sea level 1.2 m above the basin surface have been 923
 dated to around 2470 ± 45 BP, i.e., 375 ± 120 cal BC 924
 (Stiros et al., 1996). The location of the port basin in a well- 925
 protected depression suggests silting was already 926
 a problem during its excavation and not favorable to the 927
 basin's long-term viability as a seaport (Morhange et al., 928
 2012). At Aigeira, an artificial Roman harbor was func- 929
 tional between ~100 AD and 250 AD (Papageorgiou 930
 et al., 1993). Biological and radiometric evidence from 931
 the city's harbor structures attests to ~4 m of uplift tenta- 932
 tively attributed to an earthquake around 250 AD (Stiros, 933
 1998; Stiros, 2005). 934

In a different geodynamic context, Holocene evolution 935
 of Etna's coastline is associated with subduction of the 936
 African plate under the Eurasian plate. It presents 937
 a number of uplifted harbors, such as the neoria of the mili- 938
 tary harbor of Giardini-Naxos (Blackman and Lentini, 939
 2010). This category of harbor is often poorly represented 940
 due to destruction by modern urbanization, e.g., the harbor 941
 of Kissamos, northwestern coast of Crete (Stefanakis, 942
 2010). 943

944 Landlocked harbors

945 Around 6000 cal BP, the maximum marine ingressions cre- 946
 ated an indented coastal morphology throughout the Med- 947
 iterranean. During the ensuing millennia, these indented 948
 coastlines were gradually infilled by fluvial sediments 949
 reworked by longshore currents, culminating in 950
 a regularized coastal morphology. This process was partic- 951
 ularly intense at deltaic margins. 952

953 Coastal progradation as a driver of settlement and har- 954
 bor changes is best represented by Ionia's ancient ports 955
 in Turkey (Brückner, 1997), many of which are located 956
 inside infilled ria systems. Such rapid coastal change is 957

956 linked to two factors: (1) broad sea-level stability since
 957 6000 cal BP; and (2) the morphology of these paleo-
 958 valleys, which correspond to narrow, transgressed grabens
 959 with limited accommodation space (Kayen, 1996; Kayen,
 960 1999). For example, the Menderes floodplain has
 961 prograded by ~60 km during the past 7,000 years
 962 (Schröder and Bay, 1996). The best-studied examples
 963 include Troy (Kraft et al., 2003), where the harbor areas
 964 were landlocked by 2000 cal BP, and also Ephesus, Priene,
 965 and Miletos in Turkey (Brückner et al., 2005; Kraft et al.,
 966 2007).

967 In Cyprus, Devillers (2008) has elucidated the infilling
 968 of the Gialia's coastal embayment. The sedimentary
 969 archives attest to an easterly migration of the coastline.
 970 Human societies constantly adapted to this changing
 971 coastal environment as illustrated by the geographical
 972 shift of at least four ancient harbors: Early/Middle Bronze
 973 Age Kalopsidha, Middle/Late Bronze Age Enkomi,
 974 Graeco-Roman Salamina, and Medieval Famagusta. The
 975 latter is located on a rocky coast outside the paleo-ria.

976 Despite the ecological attraction of estuaries and fluvial
 977 mouths for harbor location, ancient engineers were aware
 978 of the longer-term hazards to survival. Greek settlers, for
 979 instance, founded Marseille around 600 BC at the distal
 980 margin of the Rhone delta in order to avoid the problems
 981 of rapid siltation. It is only in instances of absolute neces-
 982 sity that artificial ports were located inside deltaic systems.
 983 The Imperial harbors of Portus on the Tiber delta are
 984 a classic example (Goiran et al., 2010).

985 Eroded harbors

986 Eroded harbors can result from two complementary geo-
 987 logical processes: (1) a fall in sediment supply to the
 988 coastal zone and/or (2) the destruction of harbor works
 989 in areas exposed to high-energy coastal processes. The
 990 best examples of eroded harbors date from the Roman
 991 period, when natural low-energy roadsteads were no lon-
 992 ger a prerequisite for harbor location. At many high-
 993 medium-energy coastal sites across the Mediterranean,
 994 the Romans constructed large enveloping moles to accom-
 995 modate mooring facilities and interface installations such
 996 as fishponds and industrial salt pans. Good examples of
 997 eroded ancient harbors include Carthage and the outer
 998 Roman basin of Caesarea Maritima (Raban, 2009).

999 Fluvial harbors

1000 River harbors are not subject to the same geomorphologi-
 1001 cal and sedimentary processes as coastal seaports, and
 1002 therefore diagnostic harbor sediment signatures can be
 1003 markedly different. Unfortunately, geoarchaeological
 1004 study of such contexts has been relatively limited until
 1005 now. It is nonetheless an interesting avenue for future
 1006 research and provides opportunities with which to com-
 1007 pare and contrast the coastal data (Milne and Hopley,
 1008 1981; Good, 1991; de Izarra, 1993; Bravard and Magny,
 1009 2002; Arnaud-Fassetta et al., 2003). In particular, current
 1010 research has focused upon the relationships between

fluvial settlements, including their harbors, and flood haz- 1011
 ards (Arnaud-Fassetta et al., 2003). 1012

The environmental challenges of fluvial harbors are 1013
 linked to: (1) seasonal and exceptional flood episodes 1014
 (Stewart and Morhange, 2009); (2) river mouth access 1015
 and rapidly shifting longshore bar development; and 1016
 (3) the lateral instability of riverbanks (Bruneton et al., 1017
 2001; Brown, 2008). 1018

The Egyptians and Mesopotamians were among the 1019
 earliest western civilizations to engage in fluvial transpor- 1020
 tation, and primeval Bronze Age harbor works are known 1021
 from the banks of the Nile at Memphis and Giza (Fabre, 1022
 2004–2005). Despite excavations at a number of sites on 1023
 the Nile Delta, e.g., Tell El-Daba/Avaris and Tell 1024
 el-Fara'in (Bietak, 1996; Shaw, 2000), the exact location 1025
 of many of the river ports is equivocal. There has been 1026
 extensive research looking at the Canopic branch of the 1027
 Nile Delta coast (Stanley and Jorstad, 2006; Stanley, 1028
 2007). Geoarchaeological data show that the Ptolemaic 1029
 and Roman city of Schedia (Egypt) once lay directly on 1030
 the Canopic channel, which was active from the third to 1031
 second centuries BC until the fifth century 1032
 AD. Abandonment of the site resulted from the avulsion 1033
 of Nile waters to the Bolbitic and later Rosetta branches 1034
 in the east. The discovery of a series of active and aban- 1035
 doned channels around the Greek city of Naukratis 1036
 (Egypt) attests to significant fluvial mobility during antiq- 1037
 uity. These channels served as transport pathways for the 1038
 ancient settlement, although the site's fluvial port has 1039
 never been precisely located (Villas, 1996). In the north- 1040
 eastern part of the Nile Delta, a number of sites on the 1041
 now-defunct Pelusiac branch (Sneh and Weissbrod, 1042
 1973) have attracted geoarchaeological interest. 1043
 Goodfriend and Stanley (1999) have shown that Pelusium, 1044
 an important fortified city located at the mouth of the 1045
 Pelusiac branch, was abandoned during the twelfth cen- 1046
 tury AD following a large and rapid influx of Nile river 1047
 sediment in the ninth century AD. This discharge in sedi- 1048
 ment led to the avulsion of a new distributory to the west, 1049
 probably the Damietta branch. 1050

Aquileia in northeastern Italy is a well-studied example 1051
 of a Roman fluvial harbor. A series of important water- 1052
 ways characterized the Aquileia deltaic plain during antiq- 1053
 uity. These were channelized during the Roman period so 1054
 as to ensure favorable conditions for navigation and to 1055
 mitigate against the impact of floods (Arnaud-Fassetta 1056
 et al., 2003). A similar evolution is attested at Minturnae 1057
 (Italy), which controlled the bridge on the Appian Way 1058
 over the Liris River. It occupied a prime location that 1059
 allowed the Roman colony to evolve into a flourishing 1060
 commercial center until its final abandonment around 1061
 590 AD. Recent geoarchaeological work undertaken at 1062
 the mouth of the Tiber delta, around the ancient site of 1063
 Ostia, has probed the evolution of the city's ancient har- 1064
 bor, which serviced ancient Rome around 32 km upriver 1065
 (Goiran et al., 2012). Problems of basin silting meant that 1066
 the harbor had already experienced an important phase of 1067
 sediment infilling by the first century AD (Goiran et al., 1068

1069 2014). Continued late Holocene progradation dynamics
 1070 have isolated ancient Ostia, which is now about 4 km from
 1071 the present coastline. The silting of the harbor basin prob-
 1072 ably acted as a precursor to the construction of Rome's
 1073 new port basin at Portus, although Ostia and the fluvial
 1074 banks of the Tiber continued to accommodate smaller,
 1075 shallow-draft vessels.

1076 At a number of sites, the excavation of ancient harbor
 1077 quays has facilitated the precise reconstruction of fluvial
 1078 bank mobility since antiquity. This can be linked to the
 1079 vertical accretion of riverbanks by flooding and the grad-
 1080 ual funneling of fluvial waters by human activities. In
 1081 London, for instance, Milne (1985) has described
 1082 a 100 m shift in the port's waterfront between AD
 1083 100 and today. Under a mesotidal fluvial regime, funnel-
 1084 ing of the waterbody has led to a positive increase in tidal
 1085 amplitude. A similar evolution is also attested at Bordeaux
 1086 (France), where the staircasing of numerous quays and
 1087 platforms has been described at two sites in the Garonne
 1088 estuary (Gé et al., 2005). Three ancient and medieval plat-
 1089 forms attest to a positive change in tidal amplitude of
 1090 around 1.1 m during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries
 1091 AD that can probably be linked to human impacts on the
 1092 fluvial system.

1093 Lagoonal harbors

1094 Since 6000 BP, spit accretion on clastic coasts has discon-
 1095 nected a number of paleo-bays from the open sea. This
 1096 process formed lagoons that have gradually infilled to
 1097 yield rich geological archives. Lagoons offer natural pro-
 1098 tection, and their use as anchorage havens has been wide-
 1099 spread since early antiquity. Nevertheless, lagoons pose
 1100 a number of challenges that explain why these contexts
 1101 were largely avoided as harbors during later periods:
 1102 (1) difficult accessibility, namely, the mobility of the outlet
 1103 channel that was particularly problematic for navigation,
 1104 and (2) seasonal fluctuations in lagoon level, especially
 1105 in the case of large waterbodies at the margins of fluvial
 1106 systems.

1107 Maryut lagoon lies at the northwestern margin of the
 1108 Nile Delta, in a depression between two consolidated
 1109 sandstone ridges of Pleistocene age (Flaux et al., 2011;
 1110 Figure 8). The lagoon presently extends for 70 km on a -
 1111 SW-NE axis with a maximum width of ~10 km. During
 1112 antiquity, Nile inflow into the Maryut was supplied by
 1113 the Canopic, the westernmost branch of the Nile. The
 1114 Maryut's location at the intersection between the Mediter-
 1115 ranean Sea and a major fluvial system has driven impor-
 1116 tant paleoenvironmental changes during the past
 1117 8,000 years (Flaux, 2012; Flaux et al., 2012; Flaux et al.,
 1118 2013). It is also responsible for significant seasonal varia-
 1119 tions in lagoon levels, driven by annual Nile flood cycles.
 1120 There has been renewed interest in the Maryut because
 1121 mounting archaeological evidence suggests that the
 1122 lagoon was an important waterway during antiquity, with
 1123 a densely occupied shoreline and numerous harbors and
 1124 mooring sites (Blue and Khalil, 2010). Recent work by

Flaux (2012) has demonstrated that the lagoon's Hellenistic and Roman harbors present a steplike mooring archi-
 tecture to accommodate these seasonal fluctuations. Similar annual variations of around 1.4 m are also attested in the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee (Hadas, 2011). Reinforced landing quays at the Roman harbor of Magdala (Israel) comprise a comparable architecture to offset such variation and avoid erosional undercutting (De Luca, 2009). Recent work has unearthed a well-preserved harbor structure, extending for more than 100 m, which was functional during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Sarti et al., 2013). Chronostratigraphic investigations have demonstrated that the harbor basin silted up and was abandoned during the Middle to Late Roman period (270–350 AD).

Lagoonal systems were particularly conducive to endo-lagoonal harbor circulation. A number of lagoon strings were exploited in the Mediterranean during Roman times, most famously the Fossa Neronis (Italy) in the direction of Rome (Cuma, Campania), Narbonne in southern France (Sanchez and Jézégou, 2011), and the upper Adriatic lagoons between Istria and the Po (Degrassi, 1955). New archaeological data from the Maryut lagoon in Egypt also suggest that the basin possessed a series of harbor complexes and mooring sites during Hellenistic and Roman times (Blue and Khalil, 2010). At present, the archetype of a harbor lagoon is medieval Venice which operated very successfully as a port up until recent modification of its marginal marine system.

1154 Conclusions and future research directions

The impact of ancient harbor geoarchaeology on our understanding of the archaeological record in waterfront areas is clear and explicit. We have presented methods for reconstructing ancient harbor landscapes at a wide range of temporal and spatial scales, drawing on geoscience techniques, paleoecology and archaeology. With particular emphasis on the Mediterranean region, we have concentrated on the description and illustration of selected case study examples drawn from different geomorphological contexts. These lay the foundations for more geographically extensive studies, integrating the archaeological record with sediment archives for many Holocene time periods.

Some of the main advances made during the past 20 years include (1) the precise characterization of harbor facies in coastal contexts, using a variety of sedimentological, geochemical, and paleoecological proxies; (2) the characterization and intensity of human impacts in coastal areas (e.g., Véron et al., 2006); and (3) the scope to derive high-resolution RSL data (e.g., Morhange et al., 2001). Ancient harbor research is a rapidly evolving offshoot of geoarchaeology, and there is reason to be optimistic about its future prospects and applications. For the Mediterranean, as geographical gaps are gradually being filled and new research methods developed, more finite, regional-

- 1180 scale interpretations are becoming possible at a variety of
1181 temporal scales.
- 1182 Current gaps in knowledge relate to the chronostra-
1183 tigraphic characterization of harbor facies in fluvial con-
1184 texts that, in the absence of archaeological structures,
1185 renders the precise localization of harbor basins particu-
1186 larly challenging. Furthermore, our understanding of
1187 ancient harbor geoarchaeology is biased towards later
1188 periods, particularly Greek and Roman ports. Major gaps
1189 remain with regard to the Bronze Age, and future studies
1190 must look to probe these earlier periods. While our under-
1191 standing of Mediterranean harbors continues to improve,
1192 it seems important to extend research to new geographical
1193 regions such as China, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf.
1194 One area of concern is the rise in catastrophic research in
1195 harbor contexts that mirrors the growth of neocatastrophic
1196 research during the past 20 years (Marriner et al., 2010;
1197 Marriner and Morhange, 2013). We advocate for the adop-
1198 tion of more nuanced approaches to the study of high-
1199 energy episodic events such as tsunamis and earthquakes.
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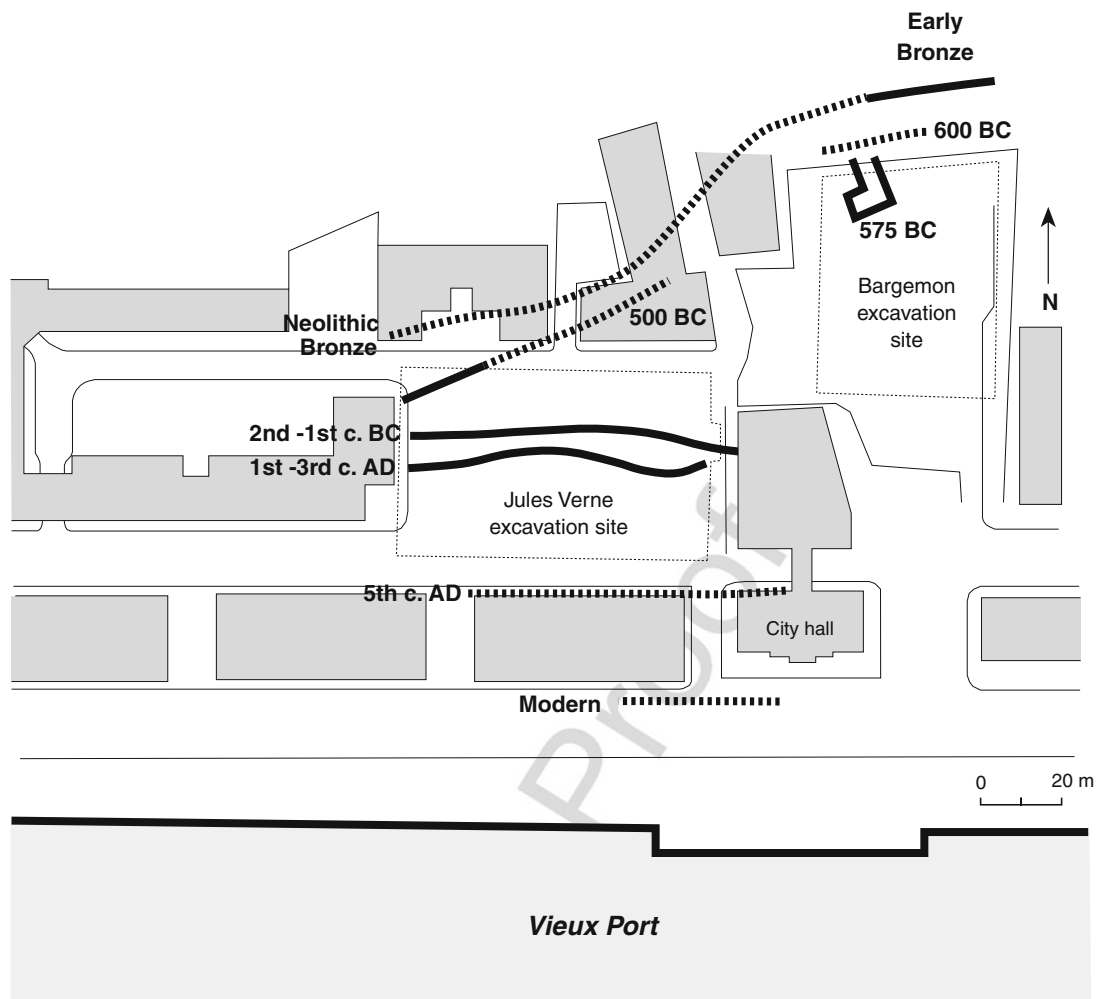
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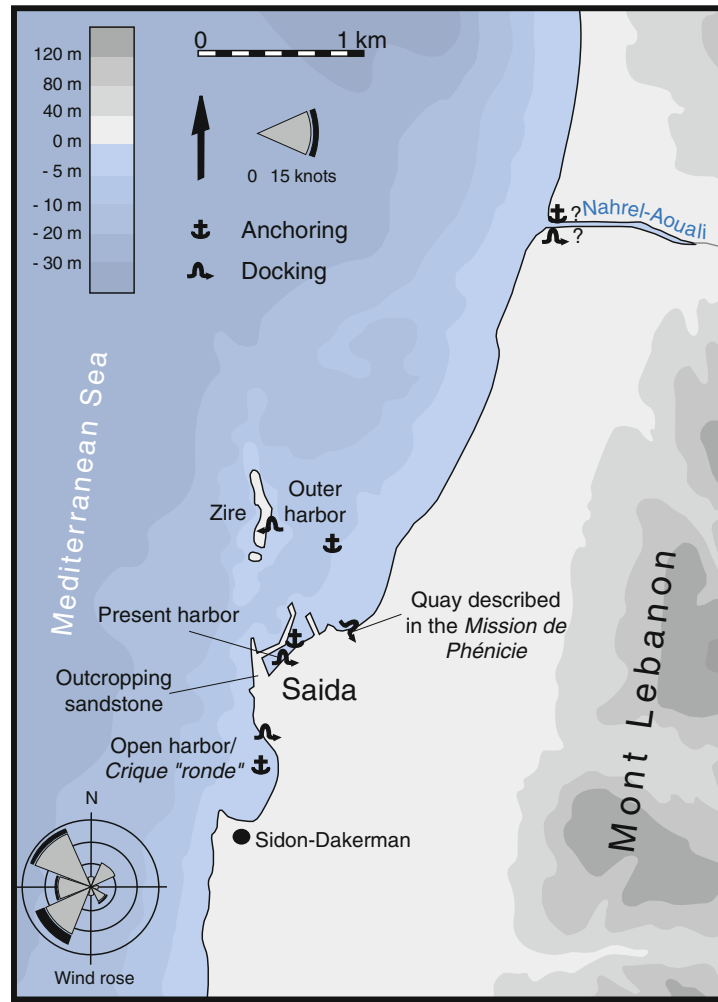


Harbors and ports, ancient, Figure 1 Mediterranean harbor sites discussed in the text.

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Harbors and ports, ancient, Figure 2 Coastal progradation in the ancient harbor of Marseille since Neolithic times. Chronostratigraphy and marine fauna fixed upon archaeological structures document a steady 1.5 m rise in relative sea level during the past 5,000 years. Sea level was broadly stable around the present datum between AD 1500 and the last century.

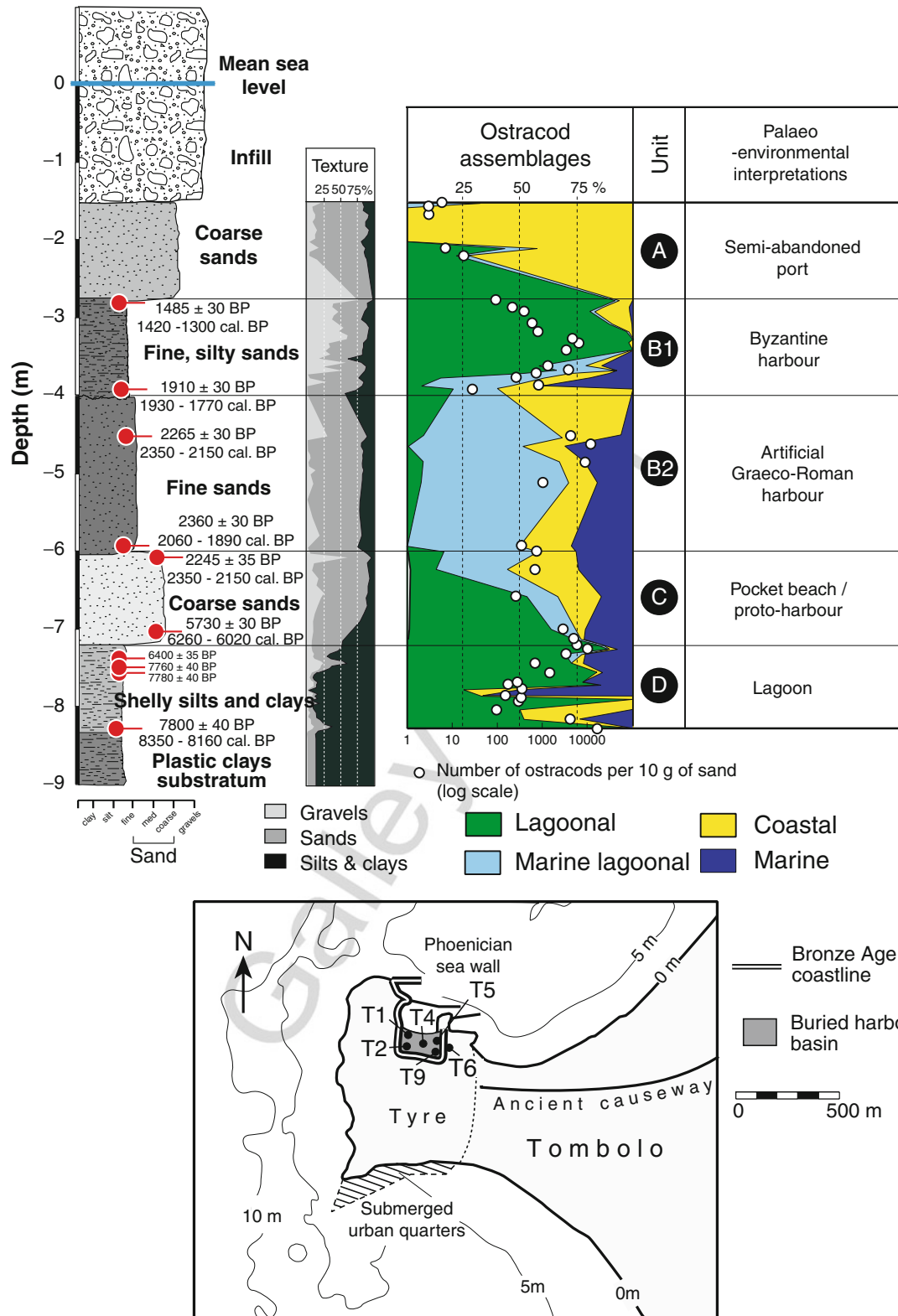


Harbors and ports, ancient, Figure 3 Sidon's ancient harbor areas (Adapted from Carayon (2008) and Marriner (2009)).



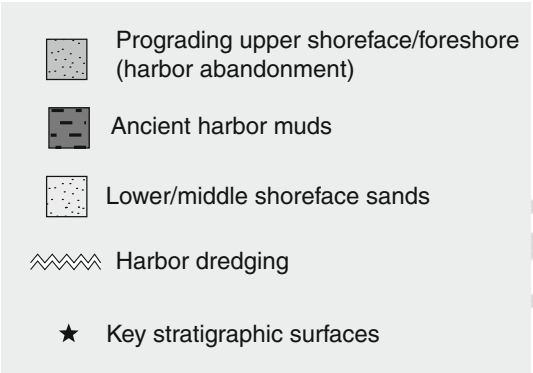
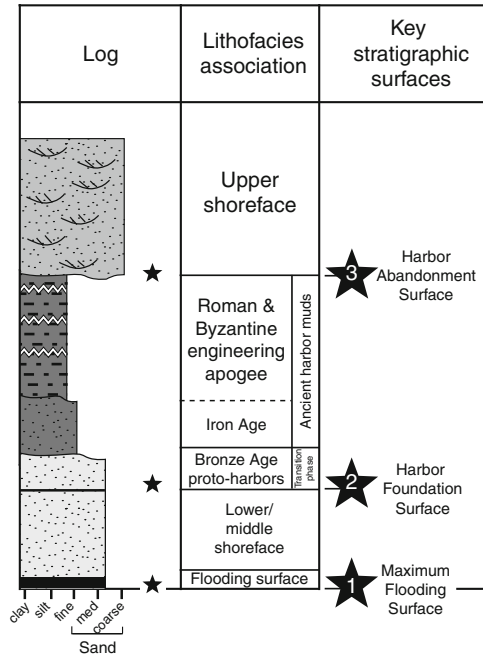
Harbors and ports, ancient, Figure 4 Harbor dredging in Naples (Photograph: D. Giampaola, Archaeological Superintendence of Naples).

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Harbors and ports, ancient, Figure 5 Chronostratigraphic evolution of Tyre's ancient northern harbor since the Bronze Age (core T9).

Ancient Harbor Parasequence

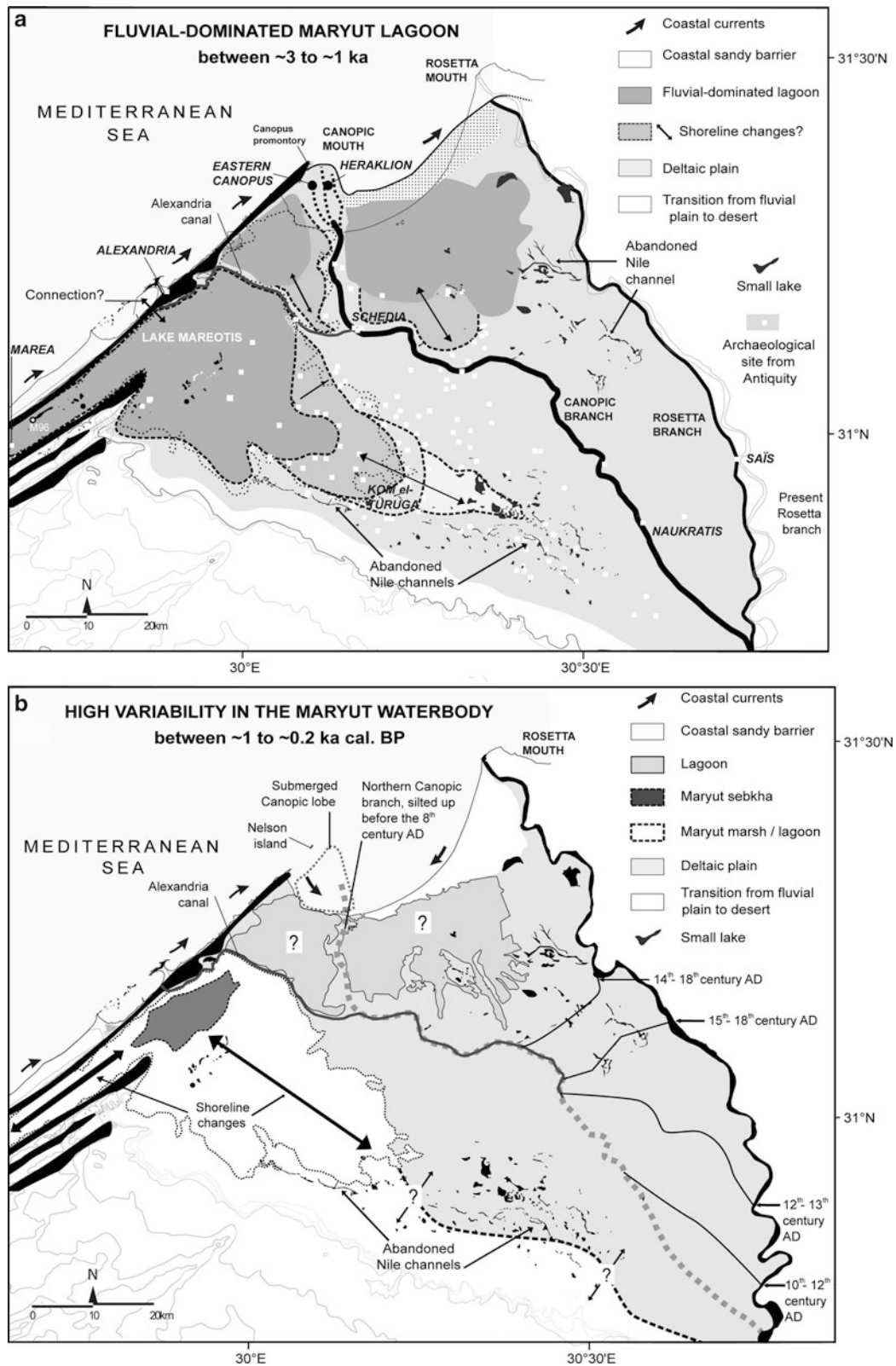


Harbors and ports, ancient, Figure 6 Chronostratigraphic evolution of ancient Mediterranean harbors in coastal areas.



Harbors and ports, ancient, Figure 7 Pozzuoli's drowned harbor remains presently ~10 m below mean sea level. The site lies inside a caldera, where shoreline mobility is attributed to volcanism and faulting (Photograph: Centre Jean Bérard, Naples).

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Harbors and ports, ancient, Figure 8 Evolution of the Maryut lagoon during the past 3,000 years (From Flaux, 2012). The general aridification trend described during this period appears to be linked to the gradual decline of the Canopic branch of the Nile, which supplied the Maryut lagoon with freshwater.

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