UNDER THE MEDITERRANEAN I

Studies in Maritime Archaeology

edited by

STELLA DEMESTICHA & LUCY BLUE

WITH KALLIOPI BAIKA, CARLO BELTRAME,
DAVID BLACKMAN, DEBORAH CVIKEL, HELEN FARR
& DORIT SIVAN

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‘Under the Mediterranean’ in the 21st century

Constants, trends, and perspectives in Mediterranean Maritime Archaeology

Stella Demesticha and Lucy Blue

The world of maritime archaeology has undoubtedly grown far beyond the point when Honor Frost wrote her seminal volume, *Under the Mediterranean: Marine Antiquities* (1963). In that volume, she reveals aspects of her own experience in *marine* (not yet maritime*)* archaeology, as a ‘journey of ideas that follows its own specious time’ (Frost 1963: xi). At that time a new sub-discipline was born, from ‘eclectic communities possessed of remarkable energies’, who would be ‘in a constant need for more nautical data and the development of methodologies’ (Adams, 2013: 4-6) for several decades to come.

Nautical archaeology was, indeed, the first term used in established academic circles to define our then-burgeoning field (on the prevalence of shipwrecks in maritime archaeology, see Adams and Gibbins, 2001). The trend manifested itself through one of the most successful symposium series, the International Symposium of Boat and Ship Archaeology (ISBSA), which commenced in 1976. Its scope was broad but mostly oriented toward medieval and post-medieval periods and was largely northwest European in geographical focus; none of the 23 papers of the first volume of its proceedings (McGrail, 1977) was concerned with the Mediterranean, or antiquity in general. In fact, it took almost a decade for the first Mediterranean papers to appear in an ISBSA volume following the fourth conference, held in Porto, Portugal, in 1985 (Filgueiras, 1988). The domain had been growing fast, however, so a need had arisen for more geographically and thematically focused discussions, such as nautical experimental archaeology and ancient Greek ships (Tzalas, 2019). Such trends triggered the first International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, which commenced that same year (1985) in Piraeus, Greece, and was called TROPIS (‘keel’ in ancient Greek). It concerned almost exclusively the Mediterranean and was clearly oriented toward antiquity. Despite the specificity of the title, however, and although the main focus remained on ships, papers about diverse research themes began to be accepted from the second symposium onward (Fig. 1). A closer look at the Tables of Contents of the proceedings reveals a similarly inclusive tendency regarding the periods concerned; although ‘antiquity’ remained in the title, a small number of contributions about Byzantine and later periods did appear from the first symposium (Fig. 2). These incongruities only highlight the kind of institution that TROPIS gradually grew to be. It was not necessarily a conference strictly focused on ancient shipbuilding, but was the only symposium where maritime archaeologists conducting research in the Mediterranean met and shared discoveries and ideas. The papers presented conveyed a blend of excitement, fed by the

in: Demesticha, S. and Blue, L. *et al.* (eds) 2020, *Under the Mediterranean I. Studies in Maritime Archaeology*, Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 9-20.

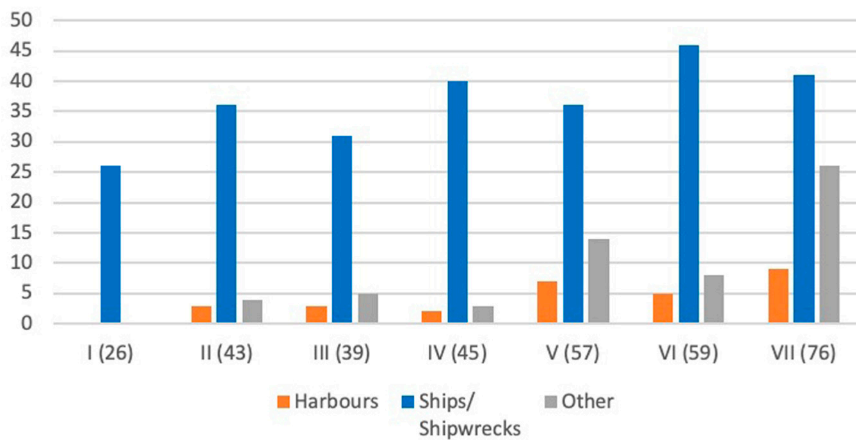

Figure 1. Papers presented at the TROPIS symposia by subject. The total number of papers presented is given in parenthesis. Based on the Table of Contents in Tzalas, 1989-2002.

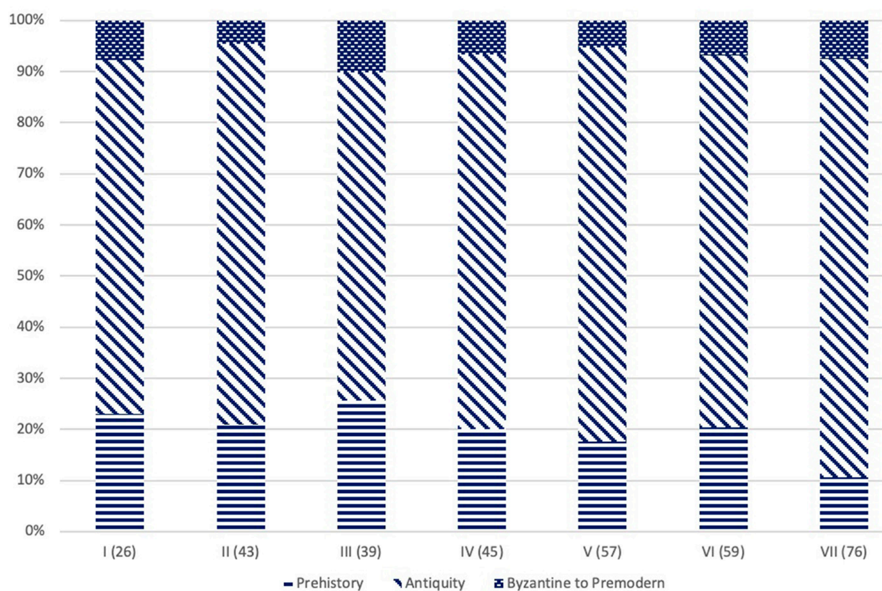

Figure 2. Distribution of the papers presented at the TROPIS Symposia by historic period concerned, based on the Table of Contents in Tzalas, 1989-2002.

rapid progress of underwater archaeology at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. This was coupled with the prevalent tendencies of Mediterranean archaeology, such as the predominance of Classical and Roman antiquity, the new expansion of prehistoric archaeology in the 1980s and the much slower development of archaeology within Byzantine and Medieval studies. The dynamic interaction between new challenges and long-established archaeological traditions, so well reflected in the seven volumes of TROPIS Symposia proceedings, is, in fact, a distinctive feature of Mediterranean Archaeology, one that had a strong impact on the different trajectories that maritime archaeology followed in each Mediterranean country.

Under the Mediterranean I: the conference

On 27 October 2017, 100 years had passed since the birth of Honor Frost, one of the pioneers of Mediterranean maritime archaeology. Her legacy lives on both in the significant contribution she made to her field of research and in her creation of the Honor Frost Foundation (HFF), another milestone in the history of maritime archaeology (Cathie, 2019). To mark this event and honour her work and that of her Foundation, an international conference was organized 20-23 October 2017, in Nicosia, Cyprus, the place of her birth (henceforth, the Nicosia Conference). With a remarkable number of 300 registered participants and more than 180 abstract submissions, this meeting also aspired to bring together archaeologists working in the Mediterranean, almost ten years after the last TROPIS

had taken place on the island of Hydra, Greece, in 2008. The lively interest shown by the community highlighted the need for an inspiring symposium that would continue TROPIS's legacy and expose the work of Mediterranean maritime archaeologists; a forum where new discoveries could be shared, methodologies or ideas could be discussed, and, most importantly, established scholars could meet early career archaeologists and fuel the dynamics of the domain.

The challenges of such an endeavour started early. When it came to the selection of papers, even defining the Mediterranean was not straightforward. Broodbank's (2013: 57) argument that 'the search for edges finds no single answer' proved right, especially since the concept of the maritime cultural landscape had broadened the scope of the domain considerably. Moreover, the term 'Mediterranean maritime archaeology' itself could be conceived in diverse ways by scholars from different countries or areas of expertise; for example, it was not easy to reject papers about sites on the Black Sea coasts (see Bivolaru *et al.*, this volume) or the 'Mediterranean Atlantic', along the coasts of Iberia and Morocco (Appendix, Paper no. 29), because the archaeology of these regions is so very closely linked to the Mediterranean. Also, the discussion often reached more complex issues, such as the maritime zone, which is hard to define because it differs between regions and cultures; for instance, submerged lake settlements (*e.g.* Appendix, Poster no. 11) could be a fine underwater archaeological subject, but did not necessarily fit so well in a conference strictly focused on the maritime Mediterranean.

'Representative coverage of the region is no easy task' as 'a title can only go so far before other powerful factors intervene': Susan Alcock (2005, 333-334) made these comments about journals on Mediterranean History and Archaeology, but they seem to be true of conferences as well. Cyprus's location, at the eastern-most end of the Mediterranean, did not favour low-cost travel, which could have had a toll on the meeting's success. To address this, paper submissions from the entire Mediterranean were encouraged and, thanks to HFF's generosity, 19 travel grants were offered to young scholars. Nonetheless, the coverage remained partial (Fig. 3); half of the contributions (oral presentations and posters) concerned research in the eastern Mediterranean, which was the result of both the conference venue and the boost that HFF initiatives and funding have triggered in the region. By the same token, almost 14% of all contributions, or 25% of the eastern Mediterranean ones, were about research on Cyprus, whereas key countries in the domain, such as Italy, France, and Spain, were less well represented, with contribution percentages of 8.5, 4.9 and 4.2% respectively. Also, the Arab Mediterranean countries were less visible, in general. There is little doubt that the very low numbers of papers about Syria and Turkey, in particular, were affected by war and political constraints.

All the above factors notwithstanding, some useful conclusions can be drawn about the current state of the discipline after a conference of this size, which can function as a gauge, at least regarding research trends and capacity. For example, if there was any doubt that maritime archaeology is now well integrated into the world of archaeology, this conference has removed it. The thematic sessions included subjects ranging from ships, shipwrecks, harbours, and maritime cultural landscapes (MCL), to digital applications, management and conservation, archaeological science, connectivity, maritimity, and new technologies (Appendix). The subjects of the vast majority of the papers, however, revolved around the three traditional thematic components of the domain, that is shipwrecks, harbours and maritime landscapes (Fig. 4). Subjects outside this 'traditional' focus, such as maritime transport containers (Appendix, Poster nos 27-30, 40-41), or fishing (Mavromichalou and Michael 2020/SR 6; Appendix, Paper no. 28, Poster no. 9) did appear but in small numbers. Likewise, it is interesting that although there was certainly a notable preference for diachronic approaches, especially when it came to MCL studies or surveys, only 17 out of 142 contributions concerned post-Roman periods, indicating that antiquity still prevails in Mediterranean maritime archaeology. This might also be related to general bias in Aegean archaeology, which was rather over-represented with a total of 27 contributions (19.1% of the total and 34.1% of the eastern Mediterranean ones).

The demographics of the research teams that participated in the conference have also an interesting story to tell (Fig. 5). The 50 projects on ships and shipwrecks presented at the conference (29 oral presentations and 21 posters) were conducted mainly by teams from five Mediterranean countries (Israel, France, Greece, Italy, and Croatia), followed by non-Mediterranean teams from universities with long traditions in the domain in USA, UK, and Australia. By contrast, it seems that projects on harbours and MCL were conducted by researchers from many different countries, both from within and beyond the Mediterranean. If these statistics can be considered representative, ship archaeology remains a specialized domain that has not penetrated Mediterranean academic research to the same degree as have harbours and MCL. This could be associated with capacity development and funding issues (for a recent discussion on capacity development in maritime archaeology in the Mediterranean, see Demesticha *et al.*, 2019; McKintosh, 2019). Underwater projects involving ship archaeology are usually more costly than those that take place on the coast or in shallow waters. Such projects are also less demanding in terms of expertise and can tap into more

diverse funding sources, such as science and environmental studies or even private developer companies that invest in the coastal zone. Moreover, studies of harbours and MCL attract the interest of many more scholars than ships do, because they offer opportunities for inter- and multi-disciplinarity, *i.e.* collaboration between maritime and terrestrial archaeologists, but also between archaeologists and geomorphologists.

Maritime landscapes, harbours, and ships

The coast was definitely in the foreground of the picture painted by the participants in the Nicosia conference. This is directly connected to the growing interest in submerged landscapes and palaeoenvironments during the past decade (Flemming *et al.*, 2017; Bailey *et al.*, 2017; Sturt *et al.*, 2018), with a focus on prehistory, which was clearly the case at the Nicosia conference (Fig. 4, Appendix, Paper nos 14, 16, Poster nos 6 and 7).

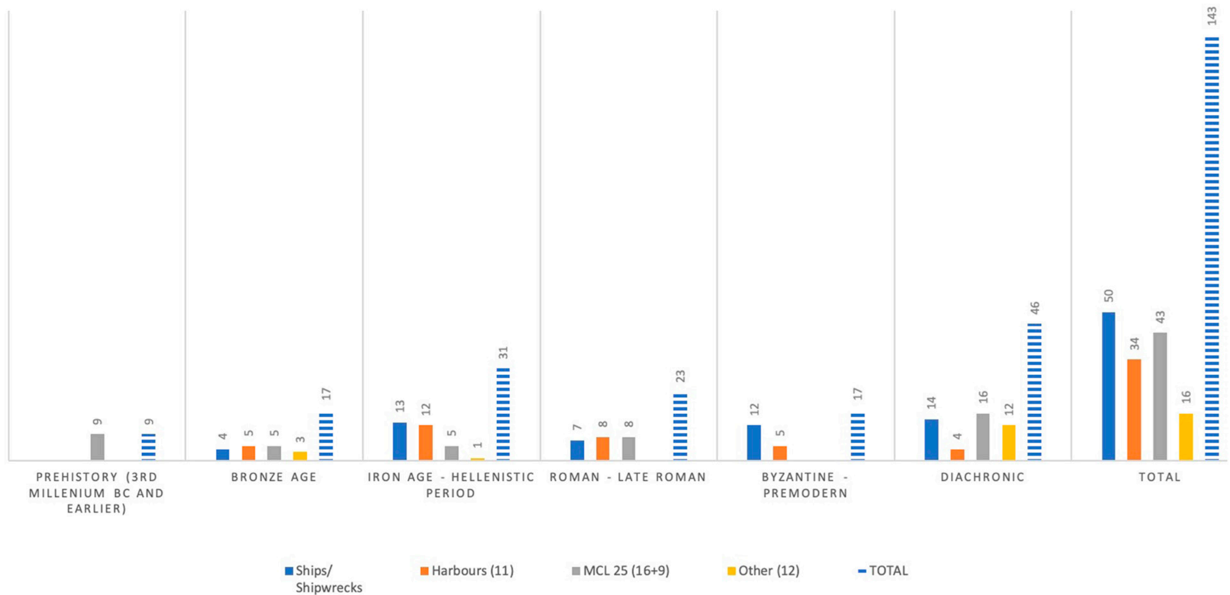

Figure 3. The 143 contributions of the Nicosia Conference arranged by the country where the site or area discussed is located within their broader Mediterranean regions. The total numbers of presentations and posters is given by region.

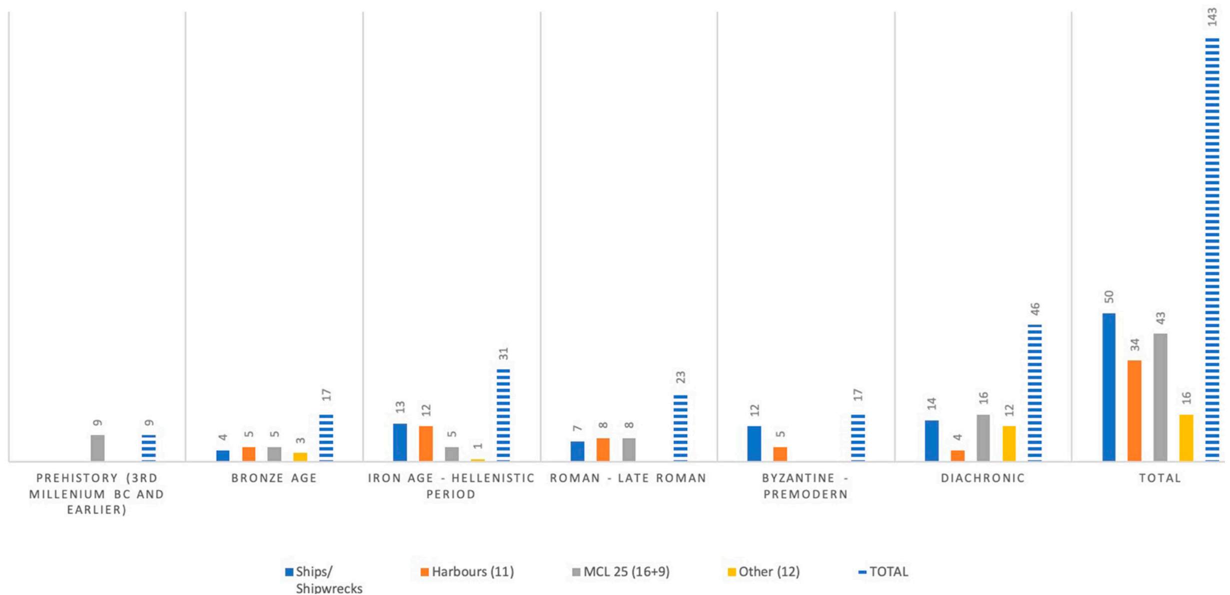

Figure 4. The 143 contributions of the Nicosia Conference arranged by theme (Ships/Shipwrecks, Harbours, Maritime Cultural Landscape/ MCL) and the historical period concerned.

Submerged settlements of later periods were the subject of only four of 143 contributions, keeping their position on the fringes of maritime areas of concern; that is, where Muckelroy placed them 40 years ago (1978: 9) (Appendix, Paper no. 17, Poster no. 11; Euser, 2020/SR 10; Lolos and Simosi, 2020/SR 12). There is little doubt that coastal archaeology and harbour geoscience have been the new frontier of maritime archaeology (Marriner and Morhange, 2007), with an incredibly large number of projects that constantly change the picture of the Mediterranean coasts (Morhange *et al.*, 2016).

Given all the above, it is perplexing how difficult it still is to locate harbours physically. This is especially true for urban ones, when their existence is attested in literary and epigraphic evidence but they have invariably been built over, in some cases continuously, since their first conception. The harbour of Classical Torone in the Aegean (Beness and Hillard, this volume), of Istros on the Danube Delta, Romania (Bivolaru *et al.*, this volume), or the less known Rhizon on the Adriatic coast (Bajtler and Trusz, 2020/SR 1), are only a few examples of these 'phantom ports'. Even well-surveyed and excavated ancient cities, such as Akko, Israel, (Artzy *et al.* and Sharvit *et al.*, this volume), lack evidence for many phases and aspects of their harbour topography, due to coastal changes and modern use. Wooden constructions are preserved only under certain taphonomic conditions, rare in the Mediterranean, so their remains are often archaeologically elusive or enigmatic, such as those of pilings, bollards or possible slipways found off Ashkelon, Israel (Galili *et al.*, this volume). Monumental constructions have traditionally been at the centre of harbour studies (see, for example the enigmatic submerged structures at the Roman harbour of Fossae Marianae linked to the Rhone River, France, in Fontaine *et al.*, this volume). The presence of shipsheds, especially after the seminal publication by Blackman *et al.* (2014), have been a decisive factor for the characterization of ports as naval bases and have consequently attracted the attention of archaeologists, regardless of their period or region of expertise (see Dundar and Kocak for Classical Patara, Cabrera Tejedor and Amores Carredano for Islamic Seville, both this volume). Fortifications, a purely terrestrial feature, are also well integrated into the discussion of ports of strategic importance and the fluctuation of their role over their long histories, from Classical Patara in Lycia (Dundar and Kocak, this volume) to fortified Crusader ports along the Levantine Coast (Antaki-Masson).

Apart from urban harbours, coastal zones with anchorages that varied in size, depth, and exposure to winds can shed light on a more inconspicuous but still intriguing aspect of maritime activity by full- or part-time seafarers. Rural anchorages are usually surveyed, not excavated, and when multiple-period use is documented, local diachronic maritime capacities and cultures can be detected (see, *e.g.* Khalil, 2020/SR 4 on Marsa Bagoush, Egypt, and Papakosta, 2020/SR9 on Petounda, Cyprus). At the same time, seafront industries, such as quarrying, are hard to date or to distinguish from functions that preceded or followed them – a characteristic case is Dana Island in Cilicia (Jones, this

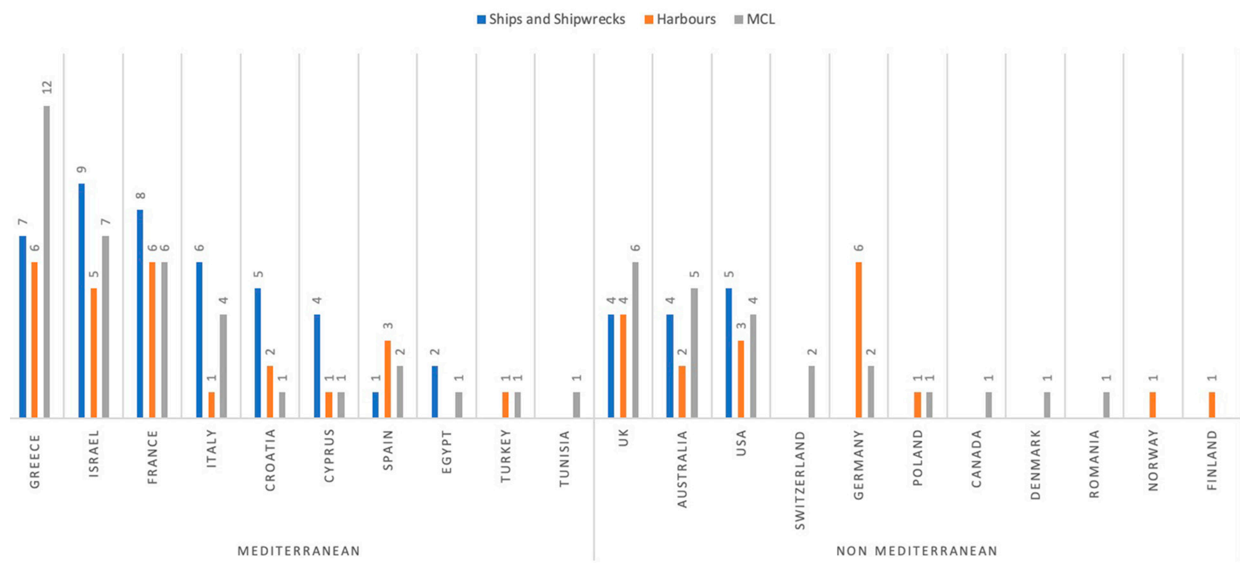

Figure 5. Contributions (oral presentations and posters) at the Nicosia Conference arranged by the presenter's country of origin. Since there were several collaborative projects, the total number is higher than the number of papers (157 vs 143).

volume). Such glimpses into the maritime *longue-durée* can be better contextualized through more theoretical or historical approaches, in which concepts such as 'seascapes' and 'coastscapes' have been used extensively and mark a rather recent trend in maritime archaeology (see for example in this volume Howitt-Marshall's paper on maritime connectivity in Early Neolithic Cyprus, and Obied's critical approach to geographers' descriptions of Roman Levant).

Harbours, where ancient Mediterranean seafarers left their most conspicuous traces, are not only where geoscientists, terrestrial and maritime archaeologists meet, but also the places where the 'small worlds' of maritime archaeology, created around ships, harbours, and landscapes, work alongside each other. Excavations of silted harbours, for example, have a long history of shipwreck discoveries that have contributed significantly to the history of shipbuilding. Starting in the 1990s, with the discovery of the iconic ships at Place Jules Verne in the port of Marseilles (Pomey, 1998), these projects demonstrate the high potential of ship archaeology, when it is free of underwater environment constraints. Seven shipwrecks at the ancient harbour of Naples, Italy (four of which are discussed in this volume by Boetto *et al.*) and the Mandirac 1 ship, found built into the Narbonne port channel in France (Jezegou *et al.*, this volume), are also very characteristic examples of the wealth of information that can be gleaned from such sites. Not only do they add to our knowledge about small crafts and port vessels (Boetto *et al.*, 2011), but they also provide unique insights into shipbuilding craftsmanship, for example, through the detailed study of repairs and maintenance practices. Such studies that delve into the specifics of shipbuilding techniques build on previous work about Roman traditions, particularly in the western Mediterranean, where a large number of shipwrecks have been excavated. Shallow-water harbours have also yielded a rich record of shipwrecks. A typical example is the submerged harbour of Thonis-Heracleion, in Egypt, where more than 70 ancient vessels have been discovered by the Institut Européen d'Archéologie Sous-Marine (Robinson, 2018; Appendix, Paper no. 47). An accidental discovery of three ships in the modern harbour of Rhodes is one such rare site in the Aegean; Wreck No. 4 is dated to the 12th century CE (Koutsouflakis and Rieth, this volume) and adds an important piece to the puzzle of Byzantine shipbuilding after the 11th century CE.

Late Bronze Age shipwrecks seem to retain a central place in archaeologists' attention in the eastern Mediterranean, as three recent discoveries can attest. One of them, a Minoan cargo assemblage found at Koulenti, off the coasts of Laconia, Greece (Spondylis, 2012; Appendix, Poster no. 23), has not been excavated yet, whereas investigation is ongoing at two other sites: a Late Helladic shipwreck at Modi, Argolid, Greece (Agourides and Michalis, this volume), and an oxhide-ingot cargo dated to the 16-15th centuries BCE, recently discovered off the shores of Kumluca, Antalya, Turkey (Öniz, 2019; 2019a). As far as the date of the sites under consideration is concerned, the remaining shipwreck-related contributions at the Nicosia conference presented a new tendency, not seen at the TROPIS symposia. The numbers are almost equally divided between sites dated to 1st millennium BCE and those dated to medieval or pre-modern periods (Fig. 3). This growing Mediterranean interest in medieval ships began with the Late Roman shipwrecks excavated in the shallow Dor/Tantura lagoon, Israel, among others, because of their significant contribution to the key issue of the transition from shell-first to frame-first construction (Kahanov, 2011; Pomey *et al.*, 2012). Byzantine ships attracted a lot more scholarly attention after the discovery of 37 shipwrecks dating from the 5th to the 11th centuries CE at Yenikapı, Istanbul (Kocabaş, 2015, Pulak *et al.*, 2015). Promising research in the same periods continues in Israel, with the early Islamic-period shipwreck of Ma'agan Mikhael B (Cohen and Cvikel, 2019; Cohen and Creisher, 2020/SR 2) as well as the Ottoman ones, Akko 1 and Akko Tower (Appendix, Paper no. 77, Poster no. 22; Cvikel, 2016). Two important 16th-century ships, the Gnalic (Rossi and Castro, 2012; Appendix, Poster nos 28, 39) and Girolamo (Appendix, Paper no. 81), have also been recently been investigated in Croatia, and the *Paragan*, a late 17th- early 18th-century wreck, is under study in Corsica (Appendix, Poster no. 29).

Numerous shipwreck survey projects have been conducted recently in the open sea, triggered by significant progress in remote sensing in both deep and shallow waters. A positive remark is that these regional projects aim primarily at understanding the maritime cultural landscape and contextualizing the discovered shipwrecks within it, instead of looking for well preserved, iconic shipwrecks, suitable for full excavation. A characteristic example is the survey of Fournoi, a small group of islands in the northeastern Aegean. Following a tradition of good collaboration with the local community, established by the Institute of Nautical Archaeology (INA) in Turkey decades ago, the team has mapped 58 new shipwreck sites, which they attempt to place in their maritime and historical contexts (Campbell and Koutsouflakis, this volume). A similarly seamless approach between shipwreck and landscape archaeology was also adopted by the Delos and Rheneia Underwater Survey (Zarmakoupi and Athanasoula, 2018; Appendix, paper no. 27). Away from the coast, deepwater surveys are often more shipwreck-centric,

following a tradition now at least three decades old (Wachsmann, 2011). Although they often happen on the back of geomorphology surveys, for example the Eratosthenis Seamount Project (Ballard *et al.*, 2018), they are increasingly conducted with archaeology as one of their prime focuses, such as the large-scale Maritime Archaeology Project (MAP) in the Black Sea (https://blackseamap.com). In the Mediterranean, several deepwater archaeological surveys have enriched the map of shipwrecks considerably; for example, one along the southwestern coast of Turkey that resulted in the discovery of 30 shipwrecks (Brennan *et al.*, 2012), the Illyrian Coastal Exploration Program (Royal, 2012), the Battle of the Egadi Islands Project (Tusa and Royal, 2012), the Archeorete Eolie 2010 at the Aeolian islands (Appendix, Poster no. 26), or the Atlantis Project in the straits of Messina (Bazzano *et al.*, 2020/SR 5).

Photogrammetry and 3D-imaging applications have also been developed into a fast-expanding interdisciplinary research trend in maritime archaeology (McCarthy *et al.*, 2019; for an interesting history of the techniques used at the port of Alexandria, see Hairy, 2020/SR 11). When digital mapping is used on shipwreck sites during excavation, not only does it save precious fieldwork time, but it also allows for a very comprehensive reconstruction of the site's topography (for a very characteristic example, see the work conducted at Modi by Vlachaki *et al.*, 2020/SR 8). Moreover, it can create the basis for constructive hypotheses regarding the cargo stowage system, such as that suggested for the Mazotos shipwreck, Cyprus (Demesticha, this volume; on a similar approach for marble cargoes see Balleti *et al.*, 2016). Apart from saving time in the field, a very promising application of 3D-imaging lies with current developments in cultural heritage studies that prioritize public awareness. The idea that virtual- and augmented-reality technologies should be used to bring underwater archaeological sites closer to non-experts has great potential and reveals a very dynamic impact from public and digital archaeology (Costa *et al.*, 2020/SR 3; Appendix, Paper nos 63 and 66).

Digital applications have also been used extensively for ship reconstructions, which have proven very informative in advance of, but also during, the full-scale build (see for example Tanner *et al.*, 2020, for Sutton Hoo and Poveda, 2015, for *Gyptis*). It is worth noting that they have improved rather than discouraged the construction of full-scale replicas. *Ma'agan Mikhael II*, (Cvikel and Hillman, this volume) is the third Mediterranean ship reconstruction based on an excavated shipwreck, following on the legacy of the *Kyrenia II*, a successful experiment in shipbuilding (Katzev and Katzev-Womer, 1985) and navigation (Katzev, 1990), as well as of *Gyptis*, built in Marseilles in 2013 as a 'sailing replica, based on the archaeological remains and structural analysis of the 6th-century archaic Greek sewn boat Jules-Verne 9' (Pomey and Poveda, 2018). There are always some tantalizing questions, such as the hull's depth, that are still open for debate, and some concessions remain unavoidable, such as the use of modern tools in construction or the adherence to modern security regulations during sailing. There is little doubt, however, that experiments on construction, processes, and function are valuable ways to test scientific hypotheses about ancient shipbuilding and seafaring (Reynolds, 1999: 390) and in any case they are not expected to replicate processes of the past (see, *e.g.* Appendix, Poster no. 24 about the Kyrenia ship anchor, and Poster no. 31 on ways of bending wooden planks). What is more, these projects' post-test life cycles are also of interest and add intriguing values to the biographies of the original ships; *Kyrenia II* became so emblematic that it grew into a national symbol in the Republic of Cyprus (Dimitriou, 2016: 68), whereas *Gyptis* 'enabled the city [of Marseilles] to reconnect with its earliest maritime heritage' (Pomey and Poveda, 2018: 55).

Under The Mediterranean I: the book

The 13 papers presented in the first three sessions of the Nicosia conference, devoted to Honor Frost and her legacy, have already been published in a separate volume (Blue, 2019). As far as the remaining 143 (89 oral presentations and 54 posters) are concerned, we decided against publishing a proceedings volume, acknowledging two main factors: i) the large number of papers (Appendix), and ii) the fact that conference proceedings are no longer credited very highly in academic evaluations. This is especially true for volumes with short papers that summarize results already published, or already planned to be published elsewhere in better detail. Instead, our strategy was to publish original articles, written by those of the conference participants that wished to work on longer versions of their original papers. Therefore, we gave the participants three options: a) not to contribute, if no new data or ideas could be presented, or if their work was already in press at the time of the conference; b) send a short report of their work in progress, to be published online on the HFF webpage (https://honorfrostfoundation.org/publications/short-reports/under-the-mediterranean/); and c) send longer versions of their papers to be published in a peer-reviewed volume, of which this book is the product.

The three overarching themes were the subjects of the vast majority of the conference contributions (Fig. 3): ships and shipwrecks, harbours, and maritime cultural landscapes. The final number of papers submitted proved to be remarkably low: 12 appeared as short reports and 23 long articles were submitted for

publication, of which 19 appear in this volume, after a peer-review process. This small percentage (13.3%) of the overall contributions to the conference could be the result of many different parameters and is indicative of how competitive academic conditions have shaped archaeological realities in the 21st century. The editors' frustration notwithstanding, this is a useful inference from this conference that provides a good lesson for the future. Archaeological *fora* are important and there is no question that the community should try and keep them alive because fervent discussions and exchange of ideas cannot happen only through published articles and books. But alongside printed books and journals, maybe it is time to establish more alternative ways to disseminate our work and promote scholarly dialogue.

'Corrupting' 'Boundless' or 'Transmitting' (Horden and Purcell, 2000; Abulafia, 2011; Broodbank, 2013), the Mediterranean provides the overall cohesion of these papers. The uniqueness of this sea that has given its name to the landscapes and cultures that surround it has created the basis for a sophisticated historiography of seas, or a 'new thalassology' (Horden and Purcell, 2006), alongside which various Mediterranean archaeologies have also been developed (Knapp and van Dommelen, 2014). Still, maritime archaeology does not seem to have a distinctive place among them, although ships and boats, harbours and ports, coasts and seascapes, connectivity and exchange, all play a prominent role in their making. The reason is not the lack of research, because activity is robust, as was demonstrated at the Nicosia conference. It may lie closer to the fact that maritime archaeology itself developed as a *thematic* sub-discipline without engaging with pervasive issues of Mediterranean archaeology, such as the (until recently) lack of theoretical debate, the chronological and conceptual divide between prehistoric and later periods, or the lack of comparative work (Renfrew, 2003). However, with the significant progress made in all these matters, and an exponential increase of underwater- and land-oriented literature, time seems ripe for new syntheses and more assimilated narratives about the maritime Mediterranean.

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