

# Geoarchaeology of the Roman port-city of Ostia: fluvio-coastal mobility, urban development and resilience

Ferréol Salomon<sup>1,2</sup>, Jean-Philippe Goiran<sup>3</sup>, Brice Noirot<sup>3</sup>, Elisa Pleuger<sup>4</sup>, Evelyne Buckowiecki<sup>5</sup>, Iliaria Mazzini<sup>6</sup>, Pierre Carbonel<sup>7</sup>, Ahmed Gadhoun<sup>8</sup>, Pascal Arnaud<sup>9</sup>, Simon Keay<sup>2</sup>, Sabrina Zampini<sup>10</sup>, Stephen Kay<sup>11</sup>, Michele Raddi<sup>12</sup>, Alessandra Ghelli<sup>13</sup>, Angelo Pellegrino<sup>14</sup>, Cinzia Morelli<sup>14</sup>, Paola Germoni<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Université de Strasbourg, Faculté de Géographie et d'Aménagement, Laboratoire Image Ville Environnement UMR 7362, 3 rue de l'Argonne, 67083 Strasbourg cedex, France - [ferreol.salomon@gmail.com](mailto:ferreol.salomon@gmail.com)

<sup>2</sup> University of Southampton, Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, Avenue Campus, Southampton SO17 1BF, UK - [S.J.Keay@soton.ac.uk](mailto:S.J.Keay@soton.ac.uk)

<sup>3</sup> Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), UMR 5133-Archéorient, MOM, 7 rue Raulin, 69007 Lyon, France - [jean-philippe.goiran@mom.fr](mailto:jean-philippe.goiran@mom.fr); [brice.noirot@gmail.com](mailto:brice.noirot@gmail.com)

<sup>4</sup> Université de Liège, Département de Géologie, UR Argiles, Géochimie et Environnements sédimentaires, Liège, Belgium - [elisa.pleuger@ulq.ac.be](mailto:elisa.pleuger@ulq.ac.be)

<sup>5</sup> Ecole française de Rome, Piazza Farnese 67, 00186 Roma, Italy - [evelyne.bukowiecki@efrome.it](mailto:evelyne.bukowiecki@efrome.it)

<sup>6</sup> IGAG CNR, Area della Ricerca di Roma 1, Italy - [ilaria.mazzini@gmail.com](mailto:ilaria.mazzini@gmail.com)

<sup>7</sup> Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), UMR 5508-EPOC, 16, rue de Mégret F-33400 Talence, France - [carbonel@free.fr](mailto:carbonel@free.fr)

<sup>8</sup> Institut National du Patrimoine de Tunisie (INP), Département d'archéologie sous-marine, 04, place du château 1008 Tunis, Tunisie - [gadhoun@gmail.com](mailto:gadhoun@gmail.com)

<sup>9</sup> Université Lumière Lyon 2, UMR 5189 - HiSoMA, 5, Avenue Pierre Mendès-France, 69676 Bron Cedex, France - [pascal.arnaud@mom.fr](mailto:pascal.arnaud@mom.fr)

<sup>10</sup> Parsifal Cooperativa di Archeologia, via Macedonia 77, 00179 Roma, Italy - [parsifal@parsifalarcheo.it](mailto:parsifal@parsifalarcheo.it)

<sup>11</sup> British School at Rome, Via Gramsci 61, 00197 Rome, Italy - [s.kay@bsrome.it](mailto:s.kay@bsrome.it)

<sup>12</sup> Udayana University, Jl. Pulau Nias No. 13, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia - [micheleraddi@gmail.com](mailto:micheleraddi@gmail.com)

<sup>13</sup> Independent researcher, via dei Castagni 12, 00040 Rocca di Papa (RM), Italy - [alessandra.ghelli@gmail.com](mailto:alessandra.ghelli@gmail.com)

<sup>14</sup> Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il MNR e l'Area Archeologica di Roma, Sede di Ostia, Via dei Romagnoli, 717, Roma, RM, Lazio/Italia - [angelo.pellegrino@beniculturali.it](mailto:angelo.pellegrino@beniculturali.it); [cinzia.morelli@beniculturali.it](mailto:cinzia.morelli@beniculturali.it); [paola.germoni@beniculturali.it](mailto:paola.germoni@beniculturali.it)

## FIGURES

Figure 1: Location map and boreholes drilled at Ostia. The representation is a composite and illustrates different periods in time. The river course and the coastline are indicative. The structures excavated or identified through geophysical survey for the Roman city of Ostia are shown in white.

Figure 2: Directional analysis of the buildings and roads of Ostia and the cores in their palaeoenvironmental context. The rose diagram shows the general trend of orientation of all of the vectors/structural segments. The colours of the structures refer to the different orientations. The rose diagram is in degrees and the circular values equate to the number of vectors/structures in each class of direction (weight).

Figure 3: Analysis and interpretation of the cores drilled in the northern cardo of Ostia (Cores CAT-3 and CAT-2)

- 45 *Figure 4: Analysis and interpretation of the cores drilled near the Roman river mouth (Cores TB-1 and*  
46 *ISF-1)*
- 47 *Figure 5: Cross section of the coastal progradation of the river mouth promontory in the north of*  
48 *Ostia. The figure shows a quick progradation of the river mouth between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC*  
49 *and a slower mobility of the coastline towards the west during the second part of the 1<sup>st</sup>*  
50 *millennium BC.*
- 51 *Figure 6: Section following approximately the cardo of Ostia. It shows the location of the River Tiber*  
52 *channel close to the castrum in the c. late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC and the subsequent mobility of*  
53 *the river.*
- 54 *Figure 7: Palaeoenvironmental reconstruction of the evolution of the river mouth of the Tiber during*  
55 *the Roman period.*
- 56 *Table 1 – Archaeological dates*
- 57 *Table 2 – Radiocarbon dates (\*Materials in red are calibrated with the Marine13 curve - Reimer et al.,*  
58 *2013)*
- 59 *Supplementary material – Classification of the orientation of the structures of the Roman city of Ostia,*  
60 *supporting Figure 2.*

## 61 **Highlights**

- 62 - A rapid progradation of the Tiber delta occurred between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC bringing a new  
63 perspective on the research of an early settlement at the mouth of the River Tiber;
- 64 - A channel of the River Tiber dated to the middle to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC was  
65 identified below the northern *cardo* of Ostia;
- 66 - The original *castrum* of Ostia (c. late 4<sup>th</sup> / early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC) was built close to the river, and set  
67 back from the river mouth;
- 68 - A republican harbour basin was probably built to the north of the *castrum*;
- 69 - The urban fabric of Ostia records the resilience of this fluvio-coastal port-city during the  
70 Roman period.

## 71 **Abstract:**

72 Ostia is one of the most extensively excavated cities of the Roman period. The port-city of  
73 Rome, which today lies 4km from the coastline, was established in a very constrained environment at  
74 the mouth of the River Tiber. Based on a review of the geoarchaeological and archaeological research  
75 at Ostia, 4 new cores analysed through palaeoenvironmental methods, and 21 new radiocarbon dates,  
76 we propose a new model of the fluvio-coastal landscape of Ostia from its origin: (1) the coastline  
77 shifted rapidly westward between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC followed by a slow progradation and  
78 possible erosion phases until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD; (2) the *castrum* of Ostia (c. late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup>  
79 c. BC) was founded away from the river mouth but close to the River Tiber; (3) between the 4<sup>th</sup> and  
80 the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, the River Tiber shifted from a position next to the *castrum*, below the northern Imperial  
81 *cardo* of Ostia, to 150m to the north; (4) a possible harbour was established to the north of the  
82 *castrum* during the Republican period; (5) the city expanded and a district was built over the harbour  
83 and the palaeochannel between the Republican period and the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, showing  
84 that Ostia was a dynamic and resilient city during that time. Finally, we suggest the possibility to  
85 combine urban fabric analysis (structure orientations) and palaeoenvironmental analysis for  
86 reconstructing the evolution of the city in relation to the fluvio-coastal mobility.

87

88 **Keywords:** Geoarchaeology; Roman city; Palaeoenvironmental analysis; Urban fabric; Resilience;  
89 Ostia; River Tiber; Tiber delta.

90

## 91 **1. Introduction**

92

93 Major fluvial and coastal risks for cities are predicted for the 21<sup>st</sup> c. due to climate change and  
94 anthropogenic pressures. Hazards include floods, storms and quick coastline and river mobility

95 (erosion/sedimentation, sea-level rise, fast sinking due to erosion or groundwater pumping) (Miller  
96 and Douglas, 2004; Dixon et al., 2006; Hallegatte et al., 2010, 2013; Allison et al., 2016; Syvitski et al.,  
97 2009). Additionally, there is a high vulnerability due to a large population living either in a coastal  
98 area or on an alluvial plain. More specifically, large river deltas, combining fluvial and coastal hazards,  
99 are today populated by approximately 500 million people around the world (Aerts et al., 2009;  
100 Bohannon, 2010). Those risks bring major challenges for cities and their surrounding territories  
101 (Rosenzweig et al., 2010; Leichenko, 2011; Albrito, 2012; Jabareen, 2013). The extension and the  
102 consequences of these risks on human societies are unique in human history, but small scale systems  
103 involving complex urban societies also had to face such quick changes in the past.

104 Located at the mouth of the River Tiber, Ostia was a major port-city connecting Rome to the  
105 Mediterranean Sea during the Roman period. Between the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, researchers  
106 estimate that Ostia could have hosted 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants (Calza et al., 1953; Meiggs, 1973;  
107 Cébeillac-Gervasoni et al., 2006). From its foundation in c. the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to its  
108 abandonment in early Medieval period, Ostia experienced ten centuries of environmental change. At  
109 the meeting point between fluvial and coastline dynamics, river mouths are highly mobile  
110 environments subject to change by one single event (storm, flood), seasonality or else over longer  
111 periods (recurrence of events) that could have affected the development of Ostia. Other acute  
112 hazards like earthquakes, tsunami and/or quick subsidence, could also have affected the city, even if  
113 they are still largely debated at Ostia (Galadini and Galli, 2004; Hadler et al., 2015).

114 Ostia is not the only ancient city to have experienced such hazards in the Mediterranean Sea.  
115 The impact of flooding on Roman cities and territories has previously been studied in Rome (Le Gall,  
116 1953; Aldrete, 2007; Leveau, 2008), and in different alluvial plains across the Roman world through  
117 interdisciplinary research (Vita-Finzi, 1969; Bravard et al., 1990; Brown, 1997; Allinne, 2007; Arnaud-  
118 Fassetta et al., 2010). Ancient cities located near a river mouth in the Nile Delta (Stanley et al., 2004;  
119 Stanley, 2005; Stanley and Toscano, 2009) and Meander Delta (Brückner, 1997; Brückner et al., 2002)  
120 have experienced particularly high natural stresses leading fully or partly to their abandonment.

121 Located at a river mouth, Ostia did not experience natural hazards that led to its  
122 abandonment. Fluvial erosion has possibly been recorded during Roman period at the eastern side of  
123 Ostia on the *via Ostiense* (Salomon et al., 2017), river mouth mobility was active at least at the end of  
124 the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC close to the harbour of Ostia (Salomon et al., 2014b), the harbour of Ostia was  
125 filled-up by flood deposits dated between the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (Goiran et al., 2014; Hadler et  
126 al., 2015; Sadori et al., 2016) together with possible coastal storm deposits (Hadler et al., 2015;  
127 Sadori et al., 2016). However, after those events, strong urban development is recorded at Ostia at  
128 the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (Calza et al., 1953; Meiggs, 1973; Adembri, 1996; Pavolini, 2006) and  
129 archaeological evidence shows building activities at sites in the vicinity of the forum at the centre of

130 Ostia (Gering, 2014) and seafront in Late Antique Ostia (David et al., 2014). Similarly, in AD 238, the  
131 *via Severiana* running mostly along the coast between Ostia and Terracina was restored (CIL X 6811,  
132 Brandizzi-Vittucci, 1998). According to ancient texts, the city was still an active harbour in the 4<sup>th</sup> c.  
133 AD (AD 387), when Augustine of Hippo and his mother went to *Ostia Tiberina* in order to embark for  
134 Africa (Augustine, IX, 8-12).

135 Interestingly, Ostia seems to show a resilience over centuries, from the Republican period to  
136 Late Antique period. Using a multidisciplinary approach, this paper reconstructs the fluvio-coastal  
137 dynamics and explores their interactions with Ostia over time: Where was the coastline located, and  
138 where did the River Tiber flow when the initial fort of Ostia (*castrum*) was founded? To what extent  
139 did the coastline and the River Tiber channel move during the Roman period? How did these changes  
140 affect the development of Ostia? New sedimentary cores drilled in Ostia and palaeoenvironmental  
141 analysis together with archaeological and textual evidence will allow us to reconstruct coastal and  
142 river palaeodynamics. Additionally, a GIS analysis of the roads and structures of Ostia will lead to an  
143 understanding of the urban fabric of Ostia aiming to seek a possible imprint of the fluvial and coastal  
144 mobility in the geometry of the city.

## 145 **2. Geological and archaeological context**

### 146 **2.1. The Tiber Delta and its river mouths**

147 Deltas are well known to be very dynamic environments, particularly at the river mouths  
148 (Wright, 1977; Ashton and Giosan, 2011; Fagherazzi et al., 2015). Several studies have focused on the  
149 reconstruction of Mediterranean river mouth mobility from short (single flood or earthquake event)  
150 to long term (Holocene) (Brückner, 1997; Stanley et al., 2004; Vella et al., 2005; Maillet et al., 2006a,  
151 2006b; Lichter et al., 2011; Anthony et al., 2014). At the meeting point between fluvial and marine  
152 processes, between salt and freshwater, a river mouth combines complex and quick changes of  
153 progradation/erosion of the coastline, lateral mobility of the river channel and a very instable sub-  
154 bottom topography. Rapid change at a decennial scale have been reconstructed using aerial  
155 photography and satellite imagery since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. at the mouth of the River Tiber  
156 (*Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali*, 1986) and using old maps and coastal towers over the last  
157 five centuries (Le Gall, 1953; Giraudi, 2004; Bersani and Moretti, 2008; Salomon, 2013).

158 The reconstruction of the evolution of the Tiber delta during the Holocene shows a  
159 transgressive phase initiated around 14 000-13 000 cal BP followed by a progradational phase starting  
160 between 7000 and 5000 cal BP (Bellotti et al., 1995; Giraudi, 2004; Marra et al., 2013; Milli et al.,  
161 2016). Different periods of progradation were identified for the Tiber delta from 6000 cal BP (Giraudi,

162 2004; Bellotti et al., 2007) while several periods of coastal progradation were identified in the time  
163 span of this study using radiocarbon dates: between the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC and the end of  
164 the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC; during the first part of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC; and during the Roman period  
165 (Giraudi, 2004). OSL dates were taken on the beach ridges on the southern part of the Tiber delta and  
166 revealed successive phases of progradation between the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC and the  
167 middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD (Bicket et al., 2009).

168 The model for the mobility of River Tiber during the Holocene suggests a shifting of the  
169 channel from the northern part of the Tiber delta to the southern part, where the Tiber flows today.  
170 An important change seems to occur in the first part / middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, with an  
171 avulsion of the channel from an area somewhere near the future site of Portus (the Imperial port) to  
172 a location next to Ostia Antica (Giraudi et al., 2009; Bellotti et al., 2011). The formation of the  
173 palaeomeander of Ostia occurs sometime afterwards (Bertacchi, 1960; Arnoldus-Huyzendveld and  
174 Pellegrino, 1999; Shepherd, 2006; Salomon et al., 2017). It migrates until the 1<sup>st</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, and the  
175 upstream channel continues to move probably until 1557 when a major flood starts the cut off of the  
176 palaeomeander (Pepe et al., 2016; Salomon et al., 2017). The palaeomeander was definitively cut off  
177 by 1562 (Pannuzi, 2009).

178 Geoarchaeological studies crossing palaeoenvironmental data with archaeological data have  
179 been undertaken primarily at Portus established in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (Arnoldus-Huyzendveld,  
180 2005; Bellotti et al., 2009; Giraudi et al., 2009; Goiran et al., 2010; Sadori et al., 2010; Salomon et al.,  
181 2012; Pepe et al., 2013; Delile et al., 2014b, 2014a), as well as on its canals (Salomon, 2013; Salomon  
182 et al., 2014a) and the harbour of Ostia (Goiran et al., 2014; Hadler et al., 2015; Sadori et al., 2016).  
183 Comparatively less research has focused upon the River Tiber itself (Segre, 1986; Arnoldus-  
184 Huyzendveld and Paroli, 1995; Salomon et al., 2014b, 2017; Pepe et al., 2016) and the coastline  
185 (Giraudi, 2004; Bicket et al., 2009) during the Roman period, and limited palaeoenvironmental data is  
186 available for Ostia.

## 187 **2.2. The origins of Ostia and the urban growth of the city**

188

189 The city of Ostia is indivisible from its location at the mouth of the River Tiber. The Latin  
190 toponym *Ostia* comes from *Ostium* meanings “river mouth”. Additionally, this strategic position led  
191 the city to grow and spread, which was also linked to the growth of Rome only 20km upstream. The  
192 foundation of Ostia and its role at that time remain unclear. At least three reasons justified the  
193 foundation and the development of Ostia: (1) the management of the salt works in the lagoons (Livy,  
194 *Ab Urbe condita*, I, 33, 6-9); (2) the establishment of a fluvio-maritime port downstream of Rome

195 (Aurelius Victor, *De vir. Ill.*, V.3; Ennius, *Annals*, frag 22); and (3) the control of access to the River  
196 Tiber from the Tyrrhenian Sea (Calza et al., 1953; Zevi, 2001a).

197 Traditionally, Roman texts date the origin of Ostia back to the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC during the reign of  
198 Ancus Marcius – 646-616 BC (Cicero *De Re Publica*, II, 3, 5; Florus, I, 4, 2 ; Pliny *H.N.*, III, 56 ; Strabo, V, 3,  
199 5). However, archaeological evidence suggests that the origin of the city of Ostia is related to the so  
200 called *castrum*, a massive structure of 193x120m built in blocks of tuff and dated to between the late  
201 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (Martin, 1996; Zevi, 1996, 2002), with a *terminus post quem* in 267 BC – dated  
202 to c. 400-340 BC after Meiggs (1973), c. 425-400 after Coarelli (1988), and late 4<sup>th</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> BC after  
203 Martin (1996). This structure is interpreted as a military fortress (Calza et al., 1953; Pohl, 1983; Zevi,  
204 1996). The *castrum* corresponds to the earliest building clearly identified at Ostia and defines the  
205 later *cardo* and the *decumanus* of the city. Roads that probably existed before the foundation of the  
206 *castrum* at the mouth of the River Tiber are still visible in the street network of Ostia (Becatti, 1953;  
207 Mar, 1991; Zevi, 1996). Initially, the southern *cardo* (*via Laurentina*) and the *via della Foce* were  
208 possibly segments of a single road, and a road followed roughly the later route of the *via Ostiensis*.

209 In the 19<sup>th</sup> c., archaeologists studying on the urbanism of Ostia suggested the possibility of a  
210 displacement of the settlement from east to west, following a possible progradation of the coastline  
211 toward the west (Canina, 1830). This hypothesis was mostly based on intuition rather than  
212 archaeological evidence. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c., however, the discovery and the excavation of  
213 the *castrum* of Ostia (Calza et al., 1953; Vaglieri, 1911) provided evidence for the origin of urbanism  
214 at Ostia. Based on this new discovery, the archaeologist L.-A. Constans ( 1926) was the first to  
215 hypothesise the existence of a palaeochannel of the River Tiber closer to the *castrum* at its origin.  
216 Constans notes that the distance between the modern channel and the *castrum* (circa 250m) was not  
217 in accordance with the function of the fortress designated to control the access to the River Tiber and  
218 to prevent any other communities installing a similar stronghold. Additionally, Constans suggests a  
219 lateral fluvial mobility of the River Tiber during the Roman period taking into account the existence of  
220 a public area (*ager publicus of praetor urbanus* C. Caninius) between the *decumanus* and the River  
221 Tiber dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC and the stones delineating the limit of the Tiber riverbanks dated to the  
222 first part of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD - *cippi* (Figures 1 and 2). Despite the strong arguments put forward by  
223 Constans (1926), J. Le Gall (1953) in his fundamental work on the River Tiber during the Roman  
224 period (still a reference for the topic) rejects this hypothesis. Le Gall considers that it was impossible  
225 for the River Tiber to flow alongside the *decumanus* without flowing straight into the *castrum*. Since  
226 then, the debate over a possible link between the River Tiber and the *castrum* has been put to one  
227 side due to a lack of further evidence.

228 In 267 BC, Ostia was used as a naval station during the first Punic war (Carcopino, 1929; Zevi,  
229 2001a). During the mid to late Republican period Ostia became a port crucial to the food supply

230 system of Rome and the first warehouses in Ostia can be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (Meiggs, 1973).  
231 Between 63 and 58 BC the city walls were built and enclosed an area of around 70 ha (Zevi, 2001b).  
232 During the Augustan period new public buildings were constructed at Ostia including the theatre built  
233 by Agrippa and the first phase of the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* just to the north. Further significant  
234 transformations to the urbanscape of Ostia took place towards the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. - 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, in  
235 particular during the Hadrianic period (Calza et al., 1953; Meiggs, 1973; Heinzelmann, 2002; Delaine,  
236 2002).

237 At the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD the building activity in Ostia began to slow, although further  
238 structures were built towards the sea beyond the *Porta Marina* until the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD with evidence of  
239 phases of activity later in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD (David et al., 2014; Turci, 2014). Late antique remodellings of  
240 extant buildings have been detected in the vicinity of the *Forum* of Ostia (in the centre of Ostia),  
241 dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD (Gering, 2014). However, Ostia was slowly abandoned in late antique  
242 and early medieval periods.

243 Stöger (2011) summarised the current situation as “If studies on *Ostia* are abundant, there are  
244 still questions to measure and to date the urban spread, and to delimit the maximal extension of the  
245 city”. The new approach considered here brings together the urban archaeological evidence with  
246 geoarchaeological studies with the aim of renewing the discussion about the urban evolution of Ostia  
247 in relationship to its environment.

## 248 **3. Concepts and methods**

### 249 **3.1. Archaeology, geoarchaeology and the urban fabric**

250 A digital map of Ostia (Figure 2) was produced in order to perform an analysis of the urban  
251 fabric. It is formed by the streets, walls and roads discovered by the archaeological excavations, the  
252 structures visible through aerial photography and the geophysical survey results published for the  
253 area. Ostia offers one of the best case studies for studying urbanism during the Roman period  
254 (Parkins, 2005; Stöger, 2011). The data presented here, whilst not exhaustive, illustrate most of the  
255 major discoveries. From the foundation of the *castrum* in the late 4<sup>th</sup>- early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC to the  
256 abandonment of the city during Late Antique / early Medieval period, the city records almost 1000  
257 years of active urban history. The Roman Ostia visible today is a palimpsest with buildings mainly  
258 dating to the Imperial period and especially from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The city is known extensively  
259 but only recently has precise stratigraphy been systematically recorded for establishing more complex  
260 reconstructions through time. Every year, excavations reveal further stratigraphy, new structures and  
261 several temporal trajectories of districts and buildings (Perrier, 2007; David et al., 2014; Gering,  
262 2014). Amongst other indicators, the study of bricks stamps provides amongst the most precise dates

263 for the construction of the walls of building at Ostia (DeLaine, 2002). Due to this chronological  
264 complexity, this analysis of the urban fabric focuses primarily on the physical aspects of urbanism.

265 It is assumed that the geometry or urban fabric of Ostia reflects both natural and anthropic  
266 factors shaping the city across time (coastline and channel location, planning strategy, parcellation,  
267 economic and social processes etc.). Examination of modern cities has shown that landscape features  
268 have a strong effect on the urban morphology (see estuarine shoreline constraints or the  
269 mountainous topography effects on the urban fabric in Mohajeri (2012) and Mohajeri et al. (2013)).  
270 Archaeo-geographical studies of land division, allotment and urban fabric reveal the preservation of  
271 morphologies over centuries and millennia (Gauthiez et al., 2003; Chouquer, 2008; Noizet et al.,  
272 2013; Brigand, 2015; Robert and Sittler, 2016). Geoarchaeological research has mainly focused on  
273 agrarian landscapes during Roman period and the study of both river channel mobility together with  
274 the adaptation of land division and allotment (centuriation) (Doukellis and Fouache, 1992) or  
275 hydraulic landscapes (Berger, 2008; Bernigaud et al., 2014). This study focuses upon the orientation of  
276 the urban structures of Ostia in order to identify districts with external landscape constraints defined  
277 as coastline, river channel or the river mouth itself. The area of the *castrum* is one of the best studied  
278 areas in Ostia with regard to the evolution of the urban patterns from the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC to  
279 the 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD (Calza et al., 1953; DeLaine, 2002; Gering, 2014). It reveals the permanency of street and  
280 building orientations during different phases of the evolution of the city; however a change in the  
281 alignments can be observed (Calza et al., 1953) (see *castrum* area in **Figure 6**). The northern entrance  
282 of the *castrum* is not aligned with the building interpreted as the Republican *capitolium* group (Calza  
283 et al., 1953) and the Hadrianic *capitolium* group (DeLaine, 2002). It is suggested here that there was a  
284 possible inheritance of orientation features across time in the palimpsest of the urban fabric of Ostia.  
285 On this basis, a series of geoarchaeological methods are proposed in order to read the urban fabric in  
286 the light of the palaeoenvironmental results (see discussion 5.4.).

### 287 **3.2. Analysis of the urban fabric – Directional statistics**

288 The roads and walls have been digitalized from geo-referenced maps published in *Scavi di Ostia*  
289 *I: Topografia Generale* (Calza et al., 1953). In addition, structures that have been excavated since then  
290 or observed by aerial photography have also been included (Meiggs, 1973; Pellegrino et al., 1995;  
291 Martin et al., 2002; Pavolini, 2006). Recent discoveries made by geophysical survey (Keay et al., 2014)  
292 on the northern side of the River Tiber channel at Isola Sacra have been also integrated into the map  
293 of Ostia.

294 Due to the complexity of isolating and delimiting walls, as well as the existence of curved walls  
295 or multi-curved, the polylines forming the base map of Ostia have been split into several segments.  
296 Using this data, it has been possible to calculate the street orientation using GIS software. Different  
297 colours have been used to visualize the distribution of street orientations on the map of Ostia and on  
298 a rose diagram (Swan et al., 1995; de Smith et al., 2009; Mohajeri et al., 2013). A discretization was  
299 applied to a group of walls which have a similar orientation. The rose compass (figure 2) shows the  
300 number of polylines and their orientations into different classes (further details about the classes can  
301 be found in *Supplementary Data 1*).

### 302 **3.3. Palaeoenvironmental analyses**

303 Four new cores were drilled using a mechanical rotary coring device in the Roman city of Ostia:  
304 Core CAT-1 (41°45'19.21"N / 12°17'27.24"E / +3.82m), Core CAT-2 (41°45'19.38"N / 12°17'14.24"E /  
305 +4.34m), Core CAT-3 (41°45'17.39"N / 12°17'15.81"E / +4.48m) and TB-1 (41°45'2.18"N /  
306 12°16'40.66"E / +1.24m). In addition, new palaeoenvironmental analyses have been conducted on  
307 Core ISF-1 (41°45'15.98"N / 12°16'35.06"E / +2.24m) generating new dates (Salomon et al., 2014b).

308 The determination of the different stratigraphical units was undertaken using magnetic  
309 susceptibility measurements. Similar methods have already been applied and shown their relevance  
310 for the Tiber delta (Salomon et al., 2012). Magnetic susceptibility was measured every centimetre  
311 using a Bartington MS2E1 (Dearing, 1999) and is expressed in CGS (SI = CGS value x 0.4). Similar  
312 measurements have previously been taken for the coastal, fluvial, lagoonal, and harbour  
313 environments across the Tiber Delta (Delile et al., 2014b; Goiran et al., 2014; Vittori et al., 2015;  
314 Salomon et al., 2017).

315 Several deposits in each stratigraphic unit were sampled (30 samples for 10 metres). Wet  
316 sieving was performed in order to measure the relative content of the coarse fraction (>2 mm), sand  
317 (2 mm at 63 µm) and silt/clay (<63 µm). Further detailed grain-size was obtained using a laser grain-  
318 size technique carried out with a Malvern Mastersizer 2000 (grain-size indicators express the  
319 hydrodynamic context during the deposition - Folk and Ward, 1957; Cailleux and Tricart, 1959).  
320 Complementary information about the palaeoenvironmental context was obtained from 10g of dry  
321 sub-sampled sediment. The sediment was placed successively at 550°C over two hours to measure  
322 the content of organic matter and at 950°C over four hours to measure the carbonate content (Heiri  
323 et al., 2001).

324 In the wet sieved sediments (fraction <125µ m), all ostracods (small bivalved crustaceans) were  
325 picked, normalised to 10 gr of sediment weight and identified in order to deduce the characteristics

326 of the environments, in particular the freshwater and marine influences (Carbonel, 1988; Frenzel and  
327 Boomer, 2005; Ruiz et al., 2005; Mazzini et al., 2011; Vittori et al., 2015).

328 The ceramics were identified and dated by Sabrina Zampini (Table 1). Different organic materi-  
329 als were dated by AMS (Accelerator Mass Spectrometry), obtained on the linear accelerator of Saclay  
330 (Artemis - University Lyon 1) or by the classic method (University Lyon 1). The calibration has been  
331 performed using the curved proposed by Reimer et al. (2013) with the software OxCal  
332 (<https://c14.arch.ox.ac.uk/oxcal/OxCal.html>) (Table 2).

## 333 4. Results

### 334 4.1. Analyses of the street and wall orientations

335

336 Three main orientations characterize the wall and street orientation at Ostia (Figure 2):

- 337 - Group 1: NE-SW (dark blue – 49-66° / 229-246°) and NW-SE (light blue – 139-156° / 319-336°);
- 338 - Group 2: NNE-SSW (red – 3-32° / 183-212° and brown – 32-49° / 212-229°) and WWN-EES  
339 (orange – 93-122° / 273-302° and yellow 122-139° / 302-319°);
- 340 - Group 3: NS (pink – 156-183° / 336-3°) and EW (purple – 66-93° / 246-273°).

341 The main group is located along the eastern *decumanus* and in the area of the *castrum*. The  
342 structures present an orientation NE-SW (dark blue) and NW-SE (light blue) as this urban area  
343 developed along the River Tiber. The northern part of the *decumanus* (*ager publicus*) and the *castrum*  
344 area form a strict perpendicular orientation, with a small deviation which occurs in the southern part  
345 of the *decumanus*. This deviation has been included in the range of variation in the model. Buildings  
346 with a similar range of orientation are located at the river mouth, next to *Torre Bovacciana*, and  
347 towards the south. The two areas offer completely different patterns in the area along the  
348 *decumanus*. Firstly, Insula XI. 1 (*Tempio Collegiale*), Insula XI. 2 (*Caseggiato del Temistocle*) and the  
349 Insula X. 3 (*Terme del Nuotatore*) in *Regio 5* are oriented similarly to group 2 (see topographical  
350 dictionary: <http://www.ostia-antica.org/dict.htm> or Calza et al.(1953)). In the same building complex,  
351 the *Santuario della Bona Dea* (Insula X. 2) has a similar orientation to group 3. Likewise, the *via dei*  
352 *Misuratori del grano* which is associated with *Portico del Piccolo Mercato* (*Regio 1*, Insula VIII. 1) has a  
353 similar orientation to group 3. To the east, two walls of Insula IV. 5 (*Caseggiato dei Doli*), and the  
354 northern wall of Insula III. 6 (*Regio 1*, *Caseggiato*) have the same characteristics. The structures visible  
355 in this area form part of the *Capitolium* group which has been dated using brickstamps to the first  
356 part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (DeLaine, 2002).

357 The second group are oriented NNE-SSW (red) and WNW-EES (orange) and developed in the  
358 south-western part of the city, along the *via della Foce* and *via Laurentina* (southern *cardo*). When  
359 compared to groups 1 and 2 there is a wider variation in the orientations. A more detailed analysis  
360 may perhaps reveal further variabilities, however for the purposes of this analysis they are included  
361 in the same group. A complementary group can also be included relating to structures oriented NE-  
362 SW (dark red – 32-49° / 212-229°) and NW-SW (yellow – 122-139° / 302-319°). One district is located  
363 along *via del Mare* (around the *Schola del Traiano* – 4, V. 16) and the second *via Laurentina* (around  
364 the *Molino*, 1, XIII. 4). The urban fabric in the southwestern part was controlled by the same factors,  
365 with the urban area facing towards the sea.

366 Finally, group 3 is oriented NS (pink) and EW (purple) and is characterized mainly by the urban  
367 areas on both side of the palaeo-Tiber river mouth. It also includes isolated structures to the north  
368 and south of the *decumanus* (see above) and one warehouse in the convexity of the palaeomeander  
369 of Ostia.

370 When assessing the roads, it can be observed that the eastern *decumanus*, the northern *cardo*  
371 and the intramural *via del Mare* follow a direct route. In contrast, the *extra-muros via del Mare*, the  
372 *via della Foce* and the *via Laurentina* (southern *cardo*) have segments with different orientations.

## 373 4.2. Palaeoenvironmental analysis

### 374 4.2.1. Coastal deposits: analysis of Cores CAT-1 and CAT-2

375 Core CAT-2 was drilled 170m from the current Tiber channel, on the northern *cardo*, south of  
376 CAT-3 at the foot of the *castrum* (Figures 3, 5 and 6). Figure 3 presents a detailed analysis of this core.  
377 Core CAT-1 was drilled in the south of Ostia around 200 m of the southern wall of the *castrum* (Figure  
378 6) close to the *via Laurentina* (southern *cardo*). The two stratigraphic sequences are composed of a  
379 lower sandy sequence, with intercalation of organic and silty strata, and a top unit characterized by a  
380 high content of anthropic material. A more detailed analysis is proposed for Core CAT-2.

381 At the bottom of core CAT-2, unit A is composed of an olive coloured well sorted silty sand (75  
382 % of sands and 25 % of silts and clays) with a magnetic susceptibility mostly below 100 CGS and a  
383 median of 40 CGS (7.66 to 7.17m b.s.l.). There are no coarse sediments (>2 mm). Few ostracods were  
384 observed in sample 1152 – 1154 (0.3 ostracod / g of dry and raw sediments), indicating a coastal  
385 environment (*Pontocythere turbida* and *Palmoconcha turbida*).

386 Unit B (7.17 to 6.65m b.s.l.) also has an olive colour and contains a level with *Posidonia* at the  
387 bottom. The magnetic susceptibility has values between 35 and 640 CGS with a median of 227 CGS.  
388 The sandy fraction represents 50% to 75% and the remaining part corresponds to silt. In some

389 samples, coarse sediments have also been found. The ostracod assemblage (8.9 to 18.2 ostracods / g  
390 of dry and raw sediment) reveals a singular type of environment, a mixed influence of coastal,  
391 brackish and freshwater environments (*Cyprideis torosa*, *Palmoconcha turbida*, *Leptocythere sp.*,  
392 *Leptocythere lagunae*, *Costa batei*, *Pontocythere turbida*, *Ilyocypris bradyi*, *Heterocypris salina*,  
393 *Semicytherura sp.*, *Candona sp. juv.*). The two most recent dates in this layer were dated between the  
394 end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> (3365±30 BP / 1385 to 1185 BC / Lyon-11781) and the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC  
395 (3720±30 BP / 2200 to 2030 BC / Lyon-11780).

396 Higher values of magnetic susceptibility were measured (Median=1351 CGS) for the sandy Unit  
397 C (75% to 90% of sand) (6.65m to 4.17 b.s.l.). The sediments are very well sorted. *C. torosa* was  
398 recorded in some samples indicating a brackish environment (2.1 ostracods / g of dry and raw  
399 sediments). Lower energy is recorded in Unit D but still with a high magnetic susceptibility  
400 (Median=1285 CGS) (4.17 to 3.65m b.s.l.). More than 50% of the samples are composed by silts and  
401 clays. No bioindicators were found in this unit. Bedded silty sand similar to Unit C were recorded in  
402 Unit E (3.65m b.s.l. to 0.8m a.s.l.). The magnetic susceptibility is mostly lower with a median at 860  
403 CGS. The deposits from Units C, D and E are dated to the first part of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC (2500±30  
404 BP / 738 to 537 BC / Lyon-11196; and 2530±30 BP / 800 to 540 BC / Lyon-11780).

405 Finally, the top most layer of Core CAT-2 has the highest magnetic susceptibility (Median =  
406 2625CGS) (0.8 to 4.34m a.s.l.). The texture is constituted of one third of coarse sediments, one third  
407 of sands and one third of silts and clays, resulting in a very poor sorting. No bioindicators were found  
408 in this unit. The ceramics provide a date for the bottom of this unit to the 4<sup>th</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> c BC (Table 1).

409 Core CAT-1 offers four stratigraphic units with mostly laminated well sorted medium to fine  
410 sands in Unit A, B and C similar to Units CAT-2/A to E. Unit B has many layers of organic matter. One  
411 of these has been dated by radiocarbon dating to 1690-1525 BC (3325±30 BP / Lyon-11777). The top  
412 of Unit D has a very high magnetic susceptibility and many archaeological remains similar to Unit CAT-  
413 2/F.

#### 414 **4.2.2. River mouth deposits: analysis of Cores TB-1 and ISF-1**

415 Cores TB-1 and ISF-1 come from opposite sides of the palaeo-river mouth of the Tiber  
416 (Figures 4 and 5). Core TB-1 was collected on the external side of the river mouth which was mainly  
417 influenced by the coastal processes. Core ISF-1 records the river mouth deposits in the internal part  
418 dominated by fluvial processes.

419 Core TB-1 was composed of well sorted sand similar to the coastal cores CAT-1 and CAT-2,  
420 however the sands are generally coarser (coarse to very coarse sands). Eight units were observed.

421 The two lower Units A and B (8.75 to 5.96m b.s.l) were laminated medium coarse sand with a  
422 magnetic susceptibility with a median at 114 CGS with values between 21 and 267 CGS. An important  
423 change occurs at 5.96m b.s.l. as ceramics, bricks and stones are included in the sandy matrix in the  
424 Unit C. The median of the magnetic susceptibility of the matrix is a slightly higher compared to the  
425 underlying deposits (163 CGS) but in a much wider range of values (11 to 1154 CGS). Hydrodynamic  
426 conditions reduce considerably in Unit D (4.76 to 4m b.s.l.) together with the magnetic susceptibility  
427 (55 CGS in a range of 17 to 254 CGS). Unit D is composed mostly of layered silts and silty sand  
428 deposited in a mixed environment. The ostracods reveal species characteristic of freshwater  
429 (*Candona* spp., *Ilyocypris bradyi*, *Cypridopsis vidua*, *Heterocypris salina*, *Herpetocypris reptans*,  
430 *Potamocypris producta*, *Limnocythere inopinata*) and a marine environments (*Leptocythere* spp.,  
431 *Aurila woodwardii*, *Loxoconcha* spp., *Semicytherura* spp.), typical of a river mouth interface. Units E  
432 and F are mostly sands with a magnetic susceptibility median at 200 CGS (Range = 26 to 1015 CGS).  
433 These units were deposited between the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC and the 2<sup>nd</sup> / 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (2115±30 BP / 341 to 49 BC /  
434 Lyon-11215; and 2090±30 BP / 195 to 42 BC / Lyon-11214). On top of Unit F, fine yellow laminated  
435 sand (Unit G) followed by grey silty clay (Unit H) were deposited above the current sea level.

436 Core ISF-1 offers many different facies (Salomon et al., 2014b). The facies are mainly sandy and  
437 several layers of silts were recorded, whilst coarse deposits over 2mm were common. The  
438 characteristic of this sequence is the poor sorting index of the deposits. The bottom of Unit A is  
439 composed by medium sand with medium to good sorting dated from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium  
440 BC / beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC (3145±30 BP / 1091 to 881 BC / Lyon-11222; and 3195±30 BP  
441 / 1160 to 930 BC / Lyon-11221). Magnetic susceptibility values were between 18 and 192 CGS for a  
442 median of 192 CGS. Poorly sorted sands and coarse deposits start at 7.50m b.s.l. Some particles  
443 reached 8mm (B-axis). Magnetic susceptibility from 7.50m b.s.l. through to the top have a high  
444 variability between 12 and 6027 CGS with a median of 252 CGS. No ostracods were found in these  
445 high energy or unstable environments. Deposits in Unit B and C have been dated from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> c.  
446 to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (Lyon-11216, 11217, 11218, with Lyon-9322 in Salomon et al., 2014 - Lyon-11219,  
447 112120 have been removed).

#### 448 **4.2.3. Fluvial deposits: Analysis of Core CAT-3**

449 Core CAT-3 was drilled between the current River Tiber channel (80m) and the northern wall of  
450 the *castrum* (100m) in the northern *cardo* (Figures 3 and 6). Four units were identified. At the bottom  
451 of the sedimentary core (Unit A: 12 to 6.51m b.s.l.) were settled laminated silty sands light grey to  
452 grey-olive in colour. No coarse material (>2 mm) was observed. Magnetic susceptibility was measured  
453 below 200 CGS with a median at 24 CGS. Fragments of pieces of unidentifiable marine shells were  
454 also observed. The top of this unit has been dated at 1767-1623 BC (3400±30 BP / Lyon-11198).

455 A sharp discontinuity occurs at 6.51m b.s.l. Unit B is 1m thick, composed by 15% to 20% of  
456 coarse material, rising to 40% at the bottom of this unit. There is a sorting of the coarsest sediments  
457 to the finest from the bottom to the top of the unit. Pebbles were observed with a maximum A axis of  
458 25mm, but were mainly around 8-9mm. Ceramics such as common fineware were found in the layer  
459 dated to the Roman period but without precise dates. Magnetic susceptibility is higher with a median  
460 at 165 CGS. This unit is abiotic.

461 On top of Unit B, Unit C is mainly composed of clay and silt (77% - 96%). It contains a large  
462 piece of wood measuring 20cm. The structure is not laminated and appears to be very homogeneous.  
463 The magnetic susceptibility is lower with a median at 23 CGS. In the upper part of the unit some  
464 coarse sediments were observed, characterizing a transition with the upper unit. An oyster shell was  
465 found around 2.98 m b.s.l. Two radiocarbon dates were taken on this unit. They provide a date  
466 between the 4th c. BC and the 2nd c. AD by three AMS radiocarbon dates on wood and charcoal  
467 ( $2205 \pm 30$  BP / Lyon-11783;  $2190 \pm 30$  / Lyon-11782; and  $2170 \pm 30$  / Lyon-11778). The piece of wood  
468 of an unknown origin has been dated through standard radiocarbon dating to 754-409 BC at -3.82  
469 b.s.l. ( $2445 \pm 35$  BP / Ly-16569). Two identifiable ceramics at different depth give a more recent range  
470 of date from 2nd c. BC to the 3rd c. AD.

471 The unit at the top contains a very coarse content (Unit D). The coarse fraction is composed of  
472 brick fragments, pozzolana and gravels. Its magnetic susceptibility is very unstable with a median at  
473 312 CGS a maximum up to 700 CGS. A fragment of amphora, probably a Dressel 2-4, has been dated  
474 to between 70-60 BC and AD 100 (Table 1).

## 475 **5. Discussion**

### 476 **5.1. Fluvio-coastal environments at the mouth of the River Tiber between** 477 **the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC and the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC** 478

479 New Cores CAT-1, CAT-2, CAT-3 and TB-1, new dates from Core ISF-1 (Salomon et al., 2014b)  
480 but also published Core OST-4 (Hadler et al. , 2015), provide reliable evidence for the evolution of the  
481 river mouth and the coastline mobility from the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC to the end of the Roman  
482 Republican period – 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (Figures 5, 6 and 7). The cross section of Cores CAT-2 / OST-4 / TB-1 in  
483 Figure 5 shows clearly the progradation of the coastline from east to west from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup>  
484 millennium BC to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC. Beach ridges have been observed south of Ostia  
485 through aerial photography (Bellotti et al., 2011), but they have been covered by the archaeological  
486 remains in Ostia.

487 Below the archaeological layers (Units CAT-1/D and CAT-2/F), Cores CAT-1 and CAT-2 record  
488 shoreface deposits of well sorted laminated medium-fine sand and silty sand dating from the end of  
489 the 3<sup>rd</sup> millenium BC to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> millenium BC (Figure 5 and 6). The bottom unit of Core  
490 CAT-3 (Unit A) shows well sorted silty sand corresponding to the same shoreface deposits. The top of  
491 Unit CAT-3/A can be dated to 1767-1623 BC (Figures 3 and 6) and matches the dates of Core CAT-2 at  
492 a similar level (Unit CAT-2/B dated at 2200-3030 BC from organic matter and 1385-1185 BC from  
493 *Posidonia*). Ostracods in Core CAT-2 show a mixed influence of fresh and marine water, especially in  
494 Unit B, suggesting a proximity of the mouth of the River Tiber. Similar environments have already  
495 been identified below the harbour of Ostia towards the east (Core PO-2/A in Goiran et al., 2014).

496 Consequently, the area of the *Castrum* of Ostia was still offshore at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup>  
497 millennium BC. However, the shoreline was nearby to the east since lower to upper shoreface  
498 deposits are dated between the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC  
499 (Units CAT-3/A, CAT-2/A and B, CAT-1/A and B). This new data allows us to adjust the model of  
500 progradation of the Tiber proposed by C. Giraudi (2004) and especially the extension of the  
501 progradational phase 4 (2140-1000 BC). This period of coastal sedimentation starts with more human  
502 impact in the watersheds of Central Italy with the onset of the Bronze Age ar. 2300-2200 BC, but this  
503 period corresponds also to a shift toward aridity dated around 2200 BC (Drescher-Schneider et al.,  
504 2007; Magny et al., 2009; Mercuri and Sadori, 2012).

505 Radiocarbon dates from Units C to E in Core CAT-2 show that the area of the *castrum* was  
506 finally land between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Similar date range has been identified below the  
507 harbour of Ostia at -8 b.s.l. with fluvio-coastal deposits dated to 837-734 BC (Goiran et al., 2014).  
508 However, Core OST-4 located to the south of the harbour of Ostia show that the area of the harbour  
509 was prograded also between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC with coastal sand dated to 801-599 BC at 1.30m  
510 b.s.l. (Hadler et al., 2015) It can be established from the dates of the coastal deposits of Cores CAT-1  
511 and CAT-2 that the coastline was further east before the 8<sup>th</sup> c. and the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Between the 8<sup>th</sup> c.  
512 and the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, the coastline moved quickly from a point to the east of Cores CAT-1 and CAT-2 to  
513 one lying to the west of core OST-4. A similar progradation of the Tiber delta by almost 600 metres  
514 has also been observed in historical times in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. AD, during the Little Ice Age (Le Gall, 1953;  
515 Salomon, 2013). This phase of quick progradation can be partly related to climatic factors. Between  
516 the 9<sup>th</sup> c. and the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, a cool and wet period have been recorded in many part of Europe and the  
517 Mediterranean (Bond et al., 2001; Magny et al., 2007; Geel, 2012; Groenman-van Waateringe and  
518 van Geel, 2016). At the same time, human impact increased in the watersheds of Central Italy (Di  
519 Giuseppe and Patterson, 2009) and many cultivated trees, cereals and weeds became widespread  
520 (Mercuri et al., 2002; Mercuri and Sadori, 2012).

521 Core TB-1 shows a more complex environment (Figure 4 and 5). It is mainly composed of well  
522 sorted sand, coarse and very coarse sand which have been observed through the sequence (Units A  
523 to F) with a high content of anthropic material in Unit C. Units A to F are interpreted as shoreface  
524 deposits with a high influence from the river and from human activity. Unit D shows silty clay deposits  
525 with ostracods from freshwater and marine environments. The shoreface sequence is overlaid by  
526 very fine well sorted dune sand (Unit G) and silty clay floodplain deposits (Unit H). Finally, on top of  
527 the very well sorted coastal sand dated between 1160 and 880 BC (ISF-1/Unit A), Core ISF-1 records  
528 also a river mouth environment with a high human impact but with a higher fluvial signal (Salomon et  
529 al., 2014b). These river mouth deposits show mostly poorly sorted medium to coarse sand dated  
530 between 455 and 220 BC.

531 The progradation slows down after the 8<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, and it was probably interrupted by an  
532 erosional phase (or several phases). The progradation estimated between Core OST-4 and TB-1 was  
533 only of 300 metres between 6<sup>th</sup> c BC and 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC / middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. Climatic reconstructions  
534 provide less clear evidence for the understanding of this period (Berger and Bravard, 2012;  
535 McCormick et al., 2012). Archaeological excavations undertaken in 2011 next to core TB-1 confirm  
536 this chronological reconstruction (Figure 1 - Raddi and Pellegrino, 2011)). Archaeological structures  
537 were discovered and dated between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC / 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.  
538 AD (Raddi and Pellegrino, 2011). Consequently, these structures were built after the progradational  
539 phase dated between 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC in Core TB-1. A higher fluvial activity is recorded in Ancient  
540 texts during the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (Camuffo and Enzi, 1995; Le Gall, 1953), while coastal  
541 progradation is identified in the southern Tiber delta (Bicket et al., 2009). Upstream, the watershed of  
542 the Tiber River records its highest human impact between the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC and the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (Di Giuseppe  
543 and Patterson, 2009; Mercuri et al., 2002), combined with climatic variations (Camuffo and Enzi,  
544 1995; Salomon, 2013) affecting the river mouth mobility.

## 545 **5.2. The *castrum* of Ostia was originally closer to the Tiber and set back** 546 **from the river mouth**

547 The fast progradation phase between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC brings new elements concerning  
548 the potential origin of Ostia during the reign of the legendary fourth king of Rome called Ancus  
549 Marcius (646-616 BC). This foundation of Ostia is only attested in Roman tradition and no  
550 archaeological evidence supports such an early origin. In light of these new results, it is tempting to  
551 look for this early settlement towards the east following the hypothesis of Canina (1830). However,  
552 due to the uncertainty of the radiocarbon dates, any early settlement could have been established  
553 either on the east but also on the west, built on new prograded lands partly eroded in the second  
554 part of the 1<sup>st</sup> millenium BC.

555 Important results are also provided by Core CAT-3 drilled in the *cardo* of Ostia, to the north of  
556 the *castrum/capitolium* (Figure 6). The first interesting result comes from Unit B. Between -6.50 and -  
557 5.50 m b.s.l., Unit B is composed of coarse pebbles that corresponds to the bedload of the River Ti-  
558 ber. The coarsest sediments are rolled pebbles with an A-axis maximum at 2.5cm. Similar facies with  
559 coarser pebbles were found in Cores MO-1, MO-2 and MO-3 published in Salomon et al. (2016a). No  
560 similar deposits have been found in the north-south core cross section in Figure 6. CAT-3/Unit B over-  
561 lays a very well sorted silty sandy deposit interpreted as a shoreface deposit (CAT-3/Unit A), and a  
562 similar interpretation is proposed for sediments below the archaeological strata in Cores CAT-1 and  
563 CAT-2. Consequently, it is possible to establish that a palaeochannel of the River Tiber was flowing  
564 further south of where the current channel and the palaeochannel of 1557 lie (Shepherd, 2006; Sa-  
565 lomon et al., 2017), and below what was to become the northern *cardo* of Ostia. The left riverbank of  
566 this palaeochannel migrated southward, up to a maximum location between cores CAT-3 and CAT-2.  
567 The date of this palaeochannel can be deduced from the dates of the under and overlying units. The  
568 palaeochannel eroded so therefore post-dates the coastal deposits of Unit A from the middle of the  
569 2<sup>nd</sup> millenium BC. It post-dates or is coeval to the coastal progradation of this area happening in the  
570 8<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (Cores CAT-1 and CAT-2). The bedload is covered by silts (Unit C) with a bottom part  
571 dated by radiocarbon technique between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC (370-196 BC). It  
572 can therefore be proposed a date of the riverbed identified in Core CAT-3 between the middle of the  
573 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC and the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. Roman ceramics caught in the bedload reinforce  
574 this chronological framework.

575 The implications of these new results are crucial for our understanding of the palaeogeography  
576 at the mouth of the River Tiber during the foundation of the *castrum* between the late 4<sup>th</sup> and the  
577 early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC. As hypothesised initially by Constans (1926), the *castrum* was a riverine fortress built  
578 close to the riverbank of the Tiber. However, the comment by Le Gall (1953) was also correct, as the  
579 Tiber riverbank was not directly at the foot of the northern wall of the *castrum* (CAT-2), but further  
580 north in an area now identified in between Cores CAT-2 and CAT-3.

581 At the time of its foundation, the fortress of Ostia was not located precisely at the mouth of  
582 the river. The *castrum* was closer to the River Tiber but set back from the promontory. The quick pro-  
583 gradation identified in Cores CAT-1, CAT-2 and OST-4 (8<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC) occurred before the foundation  
584 of the *castrum* (late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC to early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC). These results match the archaeological observations  
585 suggesting that there was originally a curved road prior to the construction of the *castrum* which  
586 connected the *via Severiana* and the *via della Foce* in a single road parallel to the coast leading to the  
587 top of the river mouth promontory (Becatti, 1953; Mar, 1991; Zevi, 1996, 2002).

### 588 5.3. Evolution of the northern area of the *castrum*

589 On top of Unit CAT-3/B, composed of coarse pebbles and interpreted as a riverbed deposit,  
590 Unit CAT-3/C records 3m of silts indicating a calm and protected environment (Figure 6). This deposit  
591 has been precisely dated using both radiocarbon techniques and ceramics. The bottom is dated from  
592 the 4<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC and the top between the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. This unit is covered by 6m of  
593 archaeological material dated at its base between 70/50 BC and AD 100 by ceramics. This date  
594 matches the archaeological studies of the brickstamps of the *Capitolium* group and the structures  
595 built over this area dating from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (DeLaine, 2002) – a *terminus ante quem*  
596 for the deposits of Core CAT-3, Unit C. This new planned urban area during the Hadrianic period  
597 corresponds to a major restructuring of the river side of Ostia. At this time the River Tiber was  
598 flowing at a location between the last archaeological structure identified north of the *Capitolium* and  
599 the course of the river before its cut-off in 1557 (Salomon et al., 2017). When considering this  
600 segment of the river, a displacement of the Tiber channel towards the north seems to have occurred  
601 between the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC and the first decade of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD.

602 Further topographical and chronological indicators can be used if we consider a uniform  
603 migration of the river channel in Ostia towards the north. Firstly, when considering the city wall of  
604 Ostia was built between 63 BC and 58 BC (Zevi, 2001b), and in particular the wall built north of the  
605 *Porta Romana* and the *Torre sul Tevere* (Figure 2), it can be argued that the migration of the River  
606 Tiber towards the north occurred between the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC and 62-58 BC. On the opposite side of the  
607 river, the riverbank is fixed archaeologically to slightly later as several *cippus* delimitating the limit of  
608 the riverbank were set in placed in AD 23-41 (Le Gall, 1953).

609 Secondly, the urban area east of the original *castrum* and north of the *decumanus* can be  
610 related to the migration of the Tiber channel to the north during this period. It was hypothesised that  
611 this area was built over land deposited by the River Tiber (Constans, 1926; Zevi, 2001b). The  
612 interpretation of the data bedload identified in Core CAT-3/Unit-B in their archaeological context  
613 supports this hypothesis. Additionally, this migration of the river from south to north matches the  
614 dynamic of the palaeomeander of Ostia (Salomon et al., 2017). Following the theory of meander  
615 dynamics, the palaeomeander was effectively extending towards the east between the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC and  
616 the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (Salomon et al., 2017) and the neck of the palaeomeander narrowed during the same  
617 time span. This area north of the *decumanus* was delimited by a *cippus* established by the *praetor*  
618 *urbanus* C. Caninius that was dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC (Zevi, 2001b).

619 When bringing together the palaeoenvironmental and archaeological data, it is possible to  
620 reconstruct a migration of the River Tiber channel from a southern location closer to the *castrum* and  
621 the *decumanus* in the late 4<sup>th</sup> to the early-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC towards a course in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC that was  
622 similar to that taken by the Tiber channel in AD 1557, and which was stabilized by 63-58 BC.

623           There remains the problem of the interpretation of Unit C in Core CAT-3 for two reasons: the  
624 nature of the deposit and the chronology. This silty unit marks a sudden change in the stratigraphy,  
625 from high (Unit CAT-3/B) to low energy. With the channel moving toward the north, Core CAT-3 was  
626 drilled in the inner bank of the river. Consequently, there should have been coarse deposits as high as  
627 the topographical surface, if this was the case. A similar sudden change has been observed in the  
628 palaeomeander of Ostia (Unit MO-2/C over MO-2/B in Salomon et al., 2016a) and recently identified  
629 in similar river delta context (Pennington and Thomas, 2016). Several hypotheses can be suggested  
630 for this layer: (1) a harbour deposit similar to the facies described by Goiran et al. (2014) and Hadler  
631 et al.(2015) in the fluvial harbour of Ostia (concerning the harbour muds, see Marriner and  
632 Morhange, 2007; Marriner et al., 2010); (2) an abandoned secondary branch; (3) a deposit due to low  
633 energy in the channel and active flocculation processes related to the salt edge in the channel. Each  
634 of these hypotheses does not exclude the two others.

635           The second issue relates to the dates. Radiocarbon dating suggests a date between 370 and  
636 175 BC, and archaeological evidence indicates a date between 150 BC (ceramics *in situ*) to the  
637 beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (ceramics and the *terminus ante quem* of the building constructed on top  
638 of core CAT 3) (DeLaine, 2002). This complex chronology, typical of an operational harbour context,  
639 could imply dredging activity (Marriner and Morhange, 2006; Salomon et al., 2016), reinforcing the  
640 hypothesis of a harbour. The presence of an older thick piece of wood trapped in the deposits and  
641 many dated ceramics confirm a high human impact associated with this deposit. The dates suggest a  
642 long period of use possibly starting in a period coeval to the foundation of the *castrum* (late 4<sup>th</sup> – to  
643 early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC) to a period after the migration of the Tiber channel to the north (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC / 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD).  
644 Further direct investigation by excavation would be necessary to test this hypothesis.

645           From at least the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD until the cut off of the palaeomeander in 1557, the Tiber channel at  
646 Ostia remains more or less at the same location. This lateral stability was also identified for the  
647 secondary lobe of the palaeomeander of Ostia at least between the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD and 1557 (Salomon et  
648 al., 2017), while climate changes have been identified during this period (Camuffo and Enzi, 1995;  
649 McCormick et al., 2012). This stability is probably related to complex imbricated local factors. It can  
650 be related to upstream constraints on the palaeomeander dynamics (structures in the palaeochannel  
651 at the N-E of the palaeochannel), the reduction of the energy in the natural channel due to the  
652 diversion of water in the canals of Portus, or a possible reinforcing of the riverbanks in the Imperial  
653 period and its success to reduce lateral mobility (hypotheses discussed in Salomon et al., 2016a).  
654 From the cut off of the palaeomeander in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. AD to the 20<sup>th</sup> c. the new Tiber channel migrated  
655 again toward the south and eroded the northern part of the archaeological site of Ostia. This erosion  
656 stopped in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. when the soil from the excavations was dumped into the  
657 concavity of the Tiber channel (Calza et al., 1953).

#### 658 5.4. Fluvio-coastal dynamics influencing the urban fabric of the port-city of 659 Ostia

660 The close interactions between Ostia and its fluvio-coastal environment can be assessed at the  
661 origin, but also later during the Republican and Imperial periods when Ostia became an important  
662 port-city in the port system of Rome (Keay, 2012).

663 Prior the construction of the *castrum*, a road system was probably established at the mouth of  
664 the River Tiber including the *via della Foce* possibly in continuity from the *via Laurentina* (Figures 1  
665 and 2) (Beccatti, 1953, Mar 1991, and Zevi 2002). Following this hypothesis, this curved road might  
666 have tracked the coastline leading to a river mouth promontory. In this sense, it would be the first  
667 archaeological evidence suggesting the presence of a river mouth promontory in the vicinity.  
668 Typically, geomorphological features are used for palaeogeographical reconstructions in the Tiber  
669 delta (Bellotti et al., 1995; Giraudi, 2004; Keay and Paroli, 2011). The beginning of a change in the  
670 orientation of the beach ridges coming from the south is visible in aerial photography from the south  
671 of Ostia (Bellotti et al., 2011). It tends to support the presence of a river mouth promontory close to  
672 but without showing the last definitive clue somewhere to the north – the evidence for beach ridge  
673 features is hidden, now beneath the archaeological remains of the city of Ostia. However, this strong  
674 hypothesis brings many questions: was the road following the coastline all the way? How much does  
675 the road confirm the trace of the coastline? What was the distance between the road and the  
676 coastline? These questions relate finally to one main issue about the date of this road, or the dates of  
677 the different segments of this road. Bringing together archaeological and palaeoenvironmental data,  
678 this initial road system could have been built between the 8<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (during the fast progradation  
679 phase), and the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (with the construction of the *castrum* at Ostia).

680 In the later periods the city of Ostia extended far beyond the limit of the *castrum*. Two  
681 archaeological features can provide fixed stages for the evolution of the coastline: the city wall built  
682 in 64-58 BC (Zevi, 2001b) and the *via Severiana* (end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD). Two opposing interpretations  
683 can be suggested: either the orientations of these structures were controlled by internal factors  
684 (cadastral plan conformation, organic development of the city and auto-adjustment, etc.) or by an  
685 external factor, such as the presence of the coastline. It is also possible that the coastline influenced  
686 directly (road/wall following the coastline) or indirectly (road/wall following structures/cadaster  
687 following past coastlines) the orientations of the ancient roads and buildings. Supplementary cores  
688 would be necessary to reconstruct the evolution of the coastline during the Imperial period and  
689 especially in relation to the *via Severiana*, but some elements can already be proposed for the  
690 evolution of the shore of Ostia between the mid-1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.

691 In Figure 2 it can be seen that almost all the districts south of the *via Laurentina / via della Foce*  
692 have the same range of orientation (mainly 3-32° / 183-212° and 93-122° / 273-302°). In more detail,  
693 there exists a gradient in the orientation from the east of the *via del Mare* ( $\approx 40^\circ$  - SW-NE -  
694 brown/yellow), the *via del Mare* and associated structures ( $\approx 29^\circ$  - SW-NE - red/orange), the buildings  
695 at the south of *via della Foce* ( $\approx 13^\circ$  - SSW-NNE - red/orange), and the structures at the end of the *via*  
696 *della Foce* towards the river mouth ( $\approx 0^\circ$  - S-N - purple). This would suggest a conformation of the  
697 development to the city to the initial curved road of the city being the *via Laurentina* and the *via*  
698 *della Foce*. However, the change in orientation of the *via della Foce* (93° down to 66° - WWS-EEN -  
699 Purple) and the southern segment of the city wall (98.5° - WN-ES - Orange) could be associated to a  
700 change in the orientation of the coastline between the mid-1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC (possible date of the *via*  
701 *della Foce*) and the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (construction of the city wall). Indeed, the rapid progradation during the  
702 8<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC (rapid progradation between Core CAT-2 to OST-4) led to the formation of a promontory  
703 at the river mouth possibly fixed by the original *via Laurentina/via della Foce*. During the 6<sup>th</sup> and the  
704 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, the mean sedimentary budget was reduced at the river mouth (Core OST-4 to TB-1) due  
705 possibly to (1) a reduced sedimentary input from the river not yet identified in the watershed  
706 (anthropo-climatic control); and (2) the partial erosion of the promontory. However, the sediments  
707 from the promontory were probably re-deposited on the northern and southern coasts by longshore  
708 drift, leading to a slight change in the orientation of the shoreline of Ostia.

709 The riverside of Ostia indicates a planned urbanism conforming to the orientation of the *cardo*  
710 – 151.5° - and the *decumanus* – 61.5° (*castrum* area, *capitolium* group, area delineated by C. Caninius  
711 along the river). However, in the *capitolium* group, between the *castrum* area and the River Tiber,  
712 dated by two different phases at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC (DeLaine, 2002), the *via dei Misuratori*  
713 does not relate to the orientations of the *cardo-decumanus*, but is oriented at 71°, relating more to  
714 the orientation of the structures closer to the river mouth. Walls aligned with same orientation at 71°  
715 have been found to the east in the Insula IV. 5 (*Caseggiato dei Doli*), and the northern wall of Insula  
716 III. 6 (*Regio 1, Caseggiato*). Interestingly, cores CAT-2 and CAT-3 have been drilled on one side and  
717 another of this alignment of structures, showing the presence of the River Tiber north of these  
718 structures. Were these structures oriented to an urban district prior to the urban planning at the  
719 beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC? Was this previous urban pattern conforming to the orientation of the left  
720 riverbank of a palaeochannel of the River Tiber? The results from Core CAT-3 / Unit B seem to suggest  
721 such an interpretation, but further archaeological investigation in the substructures of Ostia would  
722 have to be undertaken.

723 The study of the urban fabric together with geoarchaeological cores therefore suggests a high  
724 potential for future research at Ostia and potentially for other extensively excavated Roman cities in  
725 similar geographical positions.

## 726 **5.5. Fluvio-coastal changes and urban resilience of the port-city of Ostia**

727

728 Located at the mouth of the River Tiber, Ostia was a key port-city in the port system of  
729 Republican and Imperial Rome (Keay, 2012). Indeed, Ostia became an even more important  
730 commercial focus after the foundation of Portus in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (Meiggs, 1973; Keay,  
731 2010). The *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* in the centre of Ostia was an important place that was  
732 frequented by merchants from across the Mediterranean, and was emblematic of the intense  
733 economic activity at Ostia in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD. The warehouses built close to the river mouth in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.  
734 AD, but also in other places in Ostia reveals the involvement of the city in port and trade activities  
735 (Heinzelmann, 2002; Bukowiecki and Rouse, 2007). Following recent geophysical surveys (Keay et al.,  
736 2014), there is now clear evidence that Ostia extended on the northern bank the River Tiber  
737 suggesting that the whole of the Tiber channel inside Ostia was used as a linear harbour. Along the  
738 channel, at least one small harbour basin has been excavated near the so-called *Palazzo Imperiale*  
739 along the Tiber channel (Goiran et al., 2014; Hadler et al., 2015). It is possible that Unit CAT-3/C  
740 records another enclosed fluvial harbour established along the river channel.

741 Natural constraints might have affected the regular activity of the port-city. First, the formation  
742 of submerged river mouth bars is reported several times by ancient authors at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC  
743 (; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, XXIX, 24 ; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 2) and the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC / early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD  
744 (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.*, III, 44; Strabo, *Geography*, 5, 3, 5). These sediments relate  
745 partially to the sediment drilled in Core ISF-1 and dated between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. Two types of  
746 solution were considered by Romans: (1) the dredging of the river mouth (Plutarch, *Caesar*, 64, 58);  
747 and (2) the unloading of the big ships offshore onto smaller boats which then transported the goods  
748 to Ostia (To the shore? To the riverbanks? - Strabo, *Geography*, 5, 3, 5). These strategies reveal  
749 respectively the importance of the work that can be considered for such a problem and the flexibility  
750 of the Roman logistics. However, these solutions cannot alone resolve the problem of sedimentation  
751 in such a dynamic environment. The city of Ostia had to cope with these problems on a regular basis  
752 (each season, after each major event etc.).

753 This geoarchaeological study shows the importance of the river and coastal mobility during  
754 Roman period around the city of Ostia. Riverbanks and shores were the point of contact for loading  
755 and unloading ships and boats, and were consequently of primary importance for the city. Their

756 mobility may have affected the infrastructures and the organization of the port of Ostia. However,  
757 Units B and C in Core CAT-3 attest that a district of shops and warehouse was built over a  
758 palaeochannel of the River Tiber and possibly an ancient silted-up harbour as well. The combined  
759 analysis of the urban fabric and the palaeoenvironmental analysis of Core CAT-2, OST-4 (Hadler et al.,  
760 2015) and TB-1, suggests that major coastal changes occurred between the time of the construction  
761 of the *castrum* and the Imperial period, together with intense construction along the seashore.  
762 Whilst further work should be undertaken to precisely define the palaeoenvironmental and  
763 archaeological chronologies, these results show a resilience of the city of Ostia during the Roman  
764 period.

765 Resilience is a polysemic concept and its use must be defined precisely (Reghezza-Zitt et al.,  
766 2012). In this paper, the resilience is related to Ostia as a city facing fluvio-coastal hazards. The  
767 definition of the resilience involves “the capacity of a system to integrate a disruption to its  
768 operation, without changing its qualitative structure” (Aschan-Leygonie, 2000). In other words the  
769 urban resilience of Ostia facing fluvial and coastal disruptions, would involve change in *form* but not  
770 in *structure* of the urban area. The *castrum* of Ostia corresponds to the initial structure from which  
771 the whole city was to develop from the 4<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC onwards, and this urban centre was to be  
772 resilient for almost 1000 years with the capacity to adapt to fluvial and coastal dynamics. Its resilience  
773 decreases during Early Middle Ages and definitely ends with the construction of a new urban centre  
774 called *Gregoriopolis*, and the use of Ostia as a quarry (Pannuzi, 2009). Interestingly, the construction  
775 of another port a few kilometers north of Ostia in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD by the Emperor Claudius  
776 (Portus), did not affect the urban growth of Ostia, but reinforced its resilience for several centuries.

777 Additionally, resilience involves an effect of threshold related either to the society able to help  
778 an urban area to recover from a disruption, or to the intensity of the hazard confronting it. According  
779 to several authors, the legendary Palaeo-Ostia of Ancus Marcius (end of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC) might have  
780 faced a major palaeogeographical change leading to its abandonment, revealing a low resilience for  
781 such hazard at this period. The resilience of the Republican and Imperial Ostia linked to the new fort  
782 of Ostia built at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>- early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC is mostly due to the development of Rome and its  
783 Empire but also to less intense fluvio-coastal changes.

784 Similarly resilient harbour cities have been identified in other areas and in other contexts for  
785 fluvial harbour structures along the Thames in London since Roman period (Bateman and Milne,  
786 1983; Milne, 1985; Rogers, 2011) and for the early medieval wharves of Dorestad (Clarke and  
787 Ambrosiani, 1991), but the case of Ostia remains unique by its double side (coastal/river) and the  
788 importance of the work engaged.

## 789 6. Conclusions

790 While several ancient cities have been abandoned on account of important natural hazards,  
791 the decline of Ostia seems to be mostly related to the decline of Rome and the demands of its  
792 population for food. At the mouth of the Pelusiac branch in the Nile delta, Pelusium was probably  
793 abandoned in the 9<sup>th</sup> c. AD after the shifting of the Pelusiac channel to the east, and the progradation  
794 of the coastline toward the sea (Goodfriend and Stanley, 1999). To the west of the Nile delta, the  
795 cities of Canopus and Herakleion previously located at the mouth of the Canopic branch, lie today  
796 underwater due to the combination of different factors: lower fluvial inputs, coastal erosion, a rise in  
797 sea levels since antiquity, regional subsidence, and quick subsidence due to the destabilisation of the  
798 river mouth promontory after potential earthquakes in Medieval period (Stanley et al., 2004; Stanley,  
799 2005; Stanley and Toscano, 2009; Flaux et al., 2017). A decline of the activity at the mouth of the  
800 Canopic branch had probably already begun in the early Medieval period due to changes of  
801 commercial routes, when a natural event brought an end to the two cities (Flaux et al., 2017). In  
802 Turkey, the Meanderes Delta shows the quickest coastline progradation since 4000 cal BP in the  
803 Mediterranean Sea, and reveals a regular displacement of the main city following the coastline  
804 (Brückner, 1997; Brückner et al., 2002). In this respect, the balance between the intensity of the  
805 hazard and the socio-economical potential of resilience of Ostia is not comparable. The coastal and  
806 river mobility identified in this study were manageable for a port-city controlling the access to the  
807 River Tiber, downstream of Rome.

808 This study emphasizes a very constrained environment and identifies evidence of a resilient  
809 ancient city in such a context. River mouths are affected by very active coastal and channel mobility  
810 making this environment difficult to urbanize. However, despite the problem of the mouth bars  
811 regularly affecting the access of larger vessels, the floods, the coastal mobility, and the river mobility,  
812 Ostia maintained a dynamic urban development for several centuries from the late 4<sup>th</sup>- early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC  
813 to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD. It was a key port-city in the harbour system of Rome, and connected the capital of  
814 the Roman world to the Mediterranean Sea. As such, Ostia was sustained as an active focus of  
815 population and commercial activity. The establishment of Portus in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD was the  
816 most significant adjustment made by the Romans to solve the natural constraints of Ostia and to  
817 provide better harbour facilities. Within Ostia itself, the urbanism shows adjustments and resilience  
818 to fluvio-coastal mobility. These results were obtained by combining the analysis of the urban fabric  
819 analysis and its palaeoenvironmental records, and this method provides a new avenue of research  
820 into the archaeology of Ostia, providing us with a tool for the analysis of the risks and resilience of  
821 cities in a long term perspective.

## 822 Acknowledgments

823 We gratefully acknowledge the financial and logistical support of the *École française de Rome*  
824 and the *British School at Rome*, as well as the financial support from ANR-Poltevere (ANR-11-JSH3-  
825 0002), and a grant from the *Institut Universitaire de France* to Prof. Pascal Arnaud. The research  
826 leading to these results has also received funding from the European Research Council under the  
827 European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) / ERC grant agreement n°  
828 339123. We would like also to thanks Jean-Paul Bravard, Fausto Zevi, Carlo Pavolini and the  
829 anonymous reviewers for their useful comments and suggestions.

## 830 References

- 831 Adembri, B., 1996. A. Gallina Zevi, A. Claridge (dir.) "Roman Ostia" revisited: archaeological and  
832 historical papers in memory of Russell Meiggs. British School at Rome, London, pp. 39–67.
- 833 Aerts, J., Major, D.C., Bowman, M.J., Dircke, P., Aris Marfai, M., 2009. Connecting delta cities: coastal  
834 cities, flood risk management and adaptation to climate change.
- 835 Albrito, P., 2012. Making cities resilient: Increasing resilience to disasters at the local level. *J. Bus.*  
836 *Contin. Emerg. Plan.* 5, 291–297.
- 837 Aldrete, G.S., 2007. *Floods of the Tiber in ancient Rome*. The Johns Hopkins University Press,  
838 Baltimore.
- 839 Allinne, C., 2007. Les villes romaines face aux inondations. La place des données archéologiques dans  
840 l'étude des risques fluviaux. *Géomorphologie Relief Process. Environ.* 67–84.
- 841 Allison, M., Yuill, B., Törnqvist, T., Amelung, F., Dixon, T., Erkens, G., Stuurman, R., Jones, C., Milne, G.,  
842 Steckler, M., Syvitski, J., Teatini, P., 2016. Global Risks and Research Priorities for Coastal  
843 Subsidence. *Eos* 97. doi:10.1029/2016EO055013
- 844 Anthony, E.J., Marriner, N., Morhange, C., 2014. Human influence and the changing geomorphology  
845 of Mediterranean deltas and coasts over the last 6000 years: From progradation to  
846 destruction phase? *Earth-Sci. Rev.* 139, 336–361. doi:10.1016/j.earscirev.2014.10.003
- 847 Arnaud-Fassetta, G., Carcaud, N., Castanet, C., Salvador, P.-G., 2010. Fluvial palaeoenvironments in  
848 archaeological context: Geographical position, methodological approach and global change –  
849 Hydrological risk issues. *Quat. Int.* 216, 93–117. doi:10.1016/j.quaint.2009.03.009
- 850 Arnoldus-Huyzendveld, A., 2005. The natural environment of the Agro Portuense, in: Keay, S., Millett,  
851 M., Paroli, L., Strutt, K. (Eds.), *Portus: An Archaeological Survey of the Port of Imperial Rome*,  
852 the British School at Rome, Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome. British  
853 School at Rome, London, pp. 14–30.
- 854 Arnoldus-Huyzendveld, A., Paroli, L., 1995. Alcune considerazioni sullo sviluppo storico dell'ansa dell  
855 Tevere presso Ostia e sul porto-canale. *Archeol. Laz.* 12, 383–392.
- 856 Arnoldus-Huyzendveld, A., Pellegrino, A., 1999. Traces of historical landscapes preserved in the  
857 coastal area of Rome. *Mem. Descr. Della Carta Geol. D'Italia* 65, 219–226.

- 858 Aschan-Leygonie, C., 2000. Vers une analyse de la resilience des systèmes spatiaux. Espace  
859 Géographique 29, 64–77. doi:10.3406/spgeo.2000.1968
- 860 Ashton, A.D., Giosan, L., 2011. Wave-angle control of delta evolution. Geophys. Res. Lett. 38, L13405.  
861 doi:10.1029/2011GL047630
- 862 Augustine, n.d. Confessions, Books 9-13, v.2. Translated by Carolyn J.-B. Hammond, 2016, Loeb  
863 Classical Library. Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- 864 Aurelius Victor, n.d. De viris illustribus urbis Romae. Translated by M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet 2004, Online.  
865 ed, Scriptorum latinorum collectio. Bibliotheca Augustana, Augsburg.
- 866 Bateman, N., Milne, G., 1983. A Roman Harbour in London; Excavations and Observations near  
867 Pudding Lane, City of London 1979-82. Britannia 14, 207–226. doi:10.2307/526350
- 868 Becatti, G., 1953. La fondazione della città, in: Scavi Di Ostia, Topografia Generale, Ministero Della  
869 Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Delle Antichità E Belle Arti. Libreria dello Stato, Roma,  
870 pp. 93–96.
- 871 Bellotti, P., Calderoni, G., Carboni, M.G., Di Bella, L., Tortora, P., Valeri, P., Zernitskaya, V., 2007. Late  
872 Quaternary landscape evolution of the Tiber River delta plain (Central Italy): new evidence  
873 from pollen data, biostratigraphy and 14C dating. Z. Für Geomorphol. 51, 505–534.
- 874 Bellotti, P., Calderoni, G., Di Rita, F., D'Orefice, M., D'Amico, C., Esu, D., Magri, D., Martinez, M.P.,  
875 Tortora, P., Valeri, P., 2011. The Tiber river delta plain (central Italy): Coastal evolution and  
876 implications for the ancient Ostia Roman settlement. The Holocene 21, 1105–1116.  
877 doi:10.1177/0959683611400464
- 878 Bellotti, P., Mattei, M., Tortora, P., Valeri, P., 2009. Geoarchaeological investigations in the area of the  
879 imperial harbours of Rome. Méditerranée 112, 51–58.
- 880 Bellotti, P., Milli, S., Tortora, P., Valeri, P., 1995. Physical stratigraphy and sedimentology of the Late  
881 Pleistocene-Holocene Tiber Delta depositional sequence. Sedimentology 42, 617–634.
- 882 Berger, J.-F., 2008. Etude géo-archéologique des réseaux hydrauliques romains de Gaule Narbonnaise  
883 (haute et moyenne vallée du Rhône : apports à la gestion des ressources en eau et à l'histoire  
884 agraire antique. Ella Hermon Dir Vers Une Gest. Intégrée Eau Dans Emp. Romain Actes Colloq.  
885 Int. Univ. Laval Octobre 2006 "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 107–112.
- 886 Berger, J.-F., Bravard, J.-P., 2012. Le développement économique romain face à la crise  
887 environnementale : le cas de la Gaule narbonnaise, in: In Berger J.-F. (Coord.), Des Climats et  
888 Des Hommes, Recherches. Coédition La Découverte-Inrap.
- 889 Bernigaud, N., Berger, J.-F., Bouby, L., Delhon, C., Latour-Argant, C., 2014. Ancient canals in the valley  
890 of Bourgoin-La Verpillière (France, Isère): morphological and geoarchaeological studies of  
891 irrigation systems from the Iron Age to the Early Middle Ages (8th century bc–6th century  
892 ad). Water Hist. 6, 73–93. doi:10.1007/s12685-013-0096-9
- 893 Bersani, P., Moretti, D., 2008. Evoluzione storica della linea di costa in prossimità della foce del Tevere.  
894 L'Acqua 5, 77–88.
- 895 Bertacchi, L., 1960. Elementi per una revisione della topografia ostiense. Rendiconti Della Accad. Naz.  
896 Dei Lincei 8, 8–33.

- 897 Bicket, A.R., Rendell, H.M., Claridge, A., Rose, P., Andrews, J., Brown, F.S., 2009. A multiscale  
898 geoarchaeological approach from the Laurentine shore (Castelporziano, Lazio, Italy).  
899 Géomorphologie Relief Process. Environ. 4, 257–270.
- 900 Bohannon, J., 2010. The Nile Delta's Sinking Future. *Science*, New Series 327, 1444–1447.
- 901 Bond, G., Kromer, B., Beer, J., Muscheler, R., Evans, M.N., Showers, W., Hoffmann, S., Lotti-Bond, R.,  
902 Hajdas, I., Bonani, G., 2001. Persistent solar influence on North Atlantic climate during the  
903 Holocene. *Science* 294, 2130–2136.
- 904 Brandizzi-Vittucci, P., 1998. Considerazioni sulla via Severiana e sulla Tabula Peutingeriana. *Mélanges*  
905 *Ecole Fr. Rome Antiq.* 110, 929–993.
- 906 Bravard, J.-P., Le Bot-Helly, A., Helly, B., Savay-Guerraz, H., 1990. Le site de Vienne (38), Saint-Romain-  
907 en-Gal (69) et Sainte-Colombe (69): l'évolution de la plaine alluviale du Rhône de l'âge du Fer  
908 à la fin de l'Antiquité, proposition d'interprétation. *Actes Xe Rencontres Int. D'Archéologie*  
909 *D'Histoire D'Antibes 19-21 Octobre 1989 Archéologie Espac.* Éditions ADPCA Juan--Pins 437–  
910 452.
- 911 Brigand, R., 2015. Archaeogeography and planimetric landscapes, in: *Detecting and Understanding*  
912 *Historic Landscapes, Post-Classical Archaeologies / Studies.* SAP Società Archeologica s.r.l.,  
913 Mantova, pp. 173–208.
- 914 Brown, A.G., 1997. *Alluvial geoarchaeology: floodplain archaeology and environmental change,*  
915 *Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 916 Brückner, H., 1997. Coastal changes in western Turkey; rapid delta progradation in historical times.  
917 *Bull. Inst. Océan.* 63–74.
- 918 Brückner, H., Müllenhoff, M., Handl, M., Van Der Borg, K., 2002. Holocene landscape evolution of the  
919 Büyük Menderes alluvial plain in the environs of Myous and Priene (Western Anatolia,  
920 Turkey). *Z. Für Geomorphol.* 127, 47–65.
- 921 Bukowiecki, E., Rouse, C., 2007. Etude sur la construction des Grandi Horrea d'Ostie. *Chron. Act.*  
922 *Archéologiques L'École Fr. Rome* 119, 283–286.
- 923 Cailleux, A., Tricart, J., 1959. *Initiation à l'étude des sables et des galets.* Centre de documentation  
924 universitaire, Paris.
- 925 Calza, G., Becatti, G., Gismondi, I., De Angelis D'Ossat, G., Bloch, H., 1953. *Scavi di Ostia, Topografia*  
926 *generale, Ministero della pubblica istruzione, Direzione generale delle antichità e belle arti.*  
927 *Libreria dello Stato, Roma.*
- 928 Camuffo, D., Enzi, S., 1995. The analysis of two bi-millenary series: Tiber and Po River Floods, in:  
929 Jones, P.D. Bradley, R.S. Jouzel, J. (Eds.), *Climatic Variations and Forcing Mechanisms of the*  
930 *Last 2000 Years.* Presented at the NATO ASI Series, Series I: Global Environmental Change,  
931 Springer, Stuttgart, pp. 433–450.
- 932 Canina, L., 1830. *Indicazione delle rovine di Ostia e di Porto e della supposizione e dell'intiero loro*  
933 *stato delineata in quattro tavole dall'architetto Luigi Canina.* Mercuri and Boraglia, Roma.
- 934 Carbonel, P., 1988. Ostracods and the transition between fresh and saline waters. Deccker P Colin J-P  
935 Peyrpouquet J-P Eds *Ostracoda Earth Sci.* 157–173.
- 936 Carcopino, J., 1929. *Ostie, Les visites d'art.* E. de Boccard, Paris.

- 937 Cébeillac-Gervasoni, M., Caldelli, M.L., Zevi, F., 2006. Epigraphie latine, Collection U. Armand Colin,  
938 Paris.
- 939 Chouquer, G., 2008. Les transformations récentes de la centuriation, in: *Annales. Histoire, Sciences*  
940 *Sociales*. Editions de l'EHESS, pp. 847–874.
- 941 Cicero, n.d. *On the Republic. On the Laws*. Translated by Clinton W. Keyes, 1928. Loeb Classical  
942 Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- 943 Clarke, H., Ambrosiani, B., 1991. *Towns in the Viking age*. Leicester University.
- 944 Coarelli, F., 1988. I santuari, il Fiume, gli Empori. *Storia Roma* 1, 127–152.
- 945 Constans, L.A., 1926. Ostie primitive. *J. Savants* 10, 436–447.
- 946 David, M., Carinci, M., Graziano, S.M., Togni, S.D., Pellegrino, A., Turci, M., 2014. Nuovi dati e  
947 argomenti per Ostia tardoantica dal Progetto Ostia Marina. *Mélanges L'École Fr. Rome - Antiq.*  
948 doi:10.4000/mefra.2198
- 949 Dearing, J.A., 1999. Environmental magnetic susceptibility. *Using Bartington MS2 Syst.* 32, 54.
- 950 de Smith, M.J., Goodchild, M.F., Longley, P.A., 2009. *Geospatial analysis: a Comprehensive Guide to*  
951 *Principles, Techniques and Software Tools*. Troubador Ltd, Leicester, UK.
- 952 DeLaine, J., 2002. Building activity in Ostia in the second century AD, in: *Ostia E Portus Nelle Loro*  
953 *Relazioni Con Roma, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae. Institutum Romanum Finlandiae,*  
954 *Rome*, pp. 41–102.
- 955 Delile, H., Blichert-Toft, J., Goiran, J.-P., Keay, S., Albarède, F., 2014a. Lead in ancient Rome's city  
956 waters. *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci.* 111, 6594–6599. doi:10.1073/pnas.1400097111
- 957 Delile, H., Mazzini, I., Blichert-Toft, J., Goiran, J.P., Arnaud-Godet, F., Salomon, F., Albarède, F., 2014b.  
958 Geochemical investigation of a sediment core from the Trajan basin at Portus, the harbor of  
959 ancient Rome. *Quat. Sci. Rev.* 87, 34–45. doi:10.1016/j.quascirev.2014.01.002
- 960 Di Giuseppe, H., Patterson, H., 2009. Il dibattito storiografico intorno alla South Etruria Survey e i  
961 nuovi risultati del progetto Valle del Tevere, in: Jolivet Volpe Pavolini (Eds). *Suburbium . II . , Il*  
962 *Suburbio Di Roma Dalla Fine Dell'età Monarchica Alla Nascita Del Sistema Delle Ville, V-II*  
963 *Secolo A. C. Ecole française de Rome, Rome*, pp. 7–26.
- 964 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, n.d. *Antiquitates Romanae/Roman Antiquities: Bks. 3-4, v.2*. Translated by  
965 E. Cary 1939, Loeb Classical Library. Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press,  
966 Cambridge.
- 967 Dixon, T.H., Amelung, F., Ferretti, A., Novali, F., Rocca, F., Dokka, R., Sella, G., Kim, S.-W., Wdowinski,  
968 S., Whitman, D., 2006. Space geodesy: Subsidence and flooding in New Orleans. *Nature* 441,  
969 587–588. doi:10.1038/441587a
- 970 Doukellis, P.N., Fouache, É., 1992. La centuriation romaine de la plaine d'Arta replacée dans le  
971 contexte de l'évolution morphologique récente des deltas de l'Arachtos et du Louros. *Bull.*  
972 *Corresp. Hell.* 116, 375–382. doi:10.3406/bch.1992.1710
- 973 Drescher-Schneider, R., De Beaulieu, J.L., Magny, M., Walter-Simonnet, A.V., Bossuet, G., Millet, L.,  
974 Brugiapaglia, E., Drescher, A., 2007. Vegetation history, climate and human impact over the  
975 last 15,000 years at Lago dell'Accesa (Tuscany, Central Italy). *Veg. Hist. Archaeobotany* 16,  
976 279–299.

- 977 Ennius, n.d. *Annals*. Translated by O. Skutsch 1985. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- 978 Fagherazzi, S., Edmonds, D.A., Nardin, W., Leonardi, N., Canestrelli, A., Falcini, F., Jerolmack, D.,  
979 Mariotti, G., Rowland, J.C., Slingerland, R.L., 2015. Dynamics of River Mouth Deposits. *Rev.*  
980 *Geophys.* 2014RG000451. doi:10.1002/2014RG000451
- 981 Flaux, C., Marriner, N., el-Assal, M., Kaniewski, D., Morhange, C., 2017. Late Holocene erosion of the  
982 Canopic promontory (Nile Delta, Egypt). *Mar. Geol.* 385, 56–67.  
983 doi:10.1016/j.margeo.2016.11.010
- 984 Florus, n.d. *Epitome of Roman History*. Translated by E. S. Forster, 1929, Loeb Classical Library. Loeb  
985 Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- 986 Folk, R.L., Ward, W.C., 1957. Brazos River bar [Texas]; a study in the significance of grain size  
987 parameters. *J. Sediment. Res.* 27, 3–26.
- 988 Frenzel, P., Boomer, I., 2005. The use of ostracods from marginal marine, brackish waters as  
989 bioindicators of modern and Quaternary environmental change. *Palaeogeogr. Palaeoclimatol.*  
990 *Palaeoecol.* 225, 68–92. doi:10.1016/j.palaeo.2004.02.051
- 991 Galadini, F., Galli, P., 2004. The 346 A.D. earthquake( Central-Southern Italy): an archaeoseismological  
992 approach. *Ann. Geophys.* 47. doi:10.4401/ag-3341
- 993 Gauthiez, B., Zadora-Rio, É., Galinié, H., 2003. Village et ville au Moyen Âge : les dynamiques  
994 morphologiques, *Sciences de la ville*. Presses universitaires François-Rabelais/Maison des  
995 sciences de l'Homme " Villes et Territoires ," Tour.
- 996 Geel, B. van, 2012. La crise climatique de 850 avant notre ère, in: J.-F. Berger (Coord.) *Des Climats et*  
997 *Des Hommes*. La Découverte.
- 998 Gering, A., 2014. Le ultime fasi della monumentalizzazione del centro di Ostia tardoantica. *Mélanges*  
999 *L'École Fr. Rome - Antiq.* doi:10.4000/mefra.2140
- 1000 Giraudi, C., 2004. Evoluzione tardo-olocenica del delta del Tevere. *Il Quat.* 17, 477–492.
- 1001 Giraudi, C., Tata, C., Paroli, L., 2009. Late Holocene evolution of Tiber river delta and geoarchaeology  
1002 of Claudius and Trajan Harbor, Rome. *Geoarchaeology* 24, 371–382. doi:10.1002/gea.20270
- 1003 Goiran, J.-P., Salomon, F., Mazzini, I., Bravard, J.-P., Pleuger, E., Vittori, C., Boetto, G., Christiansen, J.,  
1004 Arnaud, P., Pellegrino, A., Pepe, C., Sadori, L., 2014. Geoarchaeology confirms location of the  
1005 ancient harbour basin of Ostia (Italy). *J. Archaeol. Sci.* 41, 389–398.  
1006 doi:10.1016/j.jas.2013.08.019
- 1007 Goiran, J.-P., Tronchère, H., Salomon, F., Carbonel, P., Djerbi, H., Ognard, C., 2010.  
1008 Palaeoenvironmental reconstruction of the ancient harbors of Rome: Claudius and Trajan's  
1009 marine harbors on the Tiber delta. *Quat. Int.* 216, 3–13. doi:10.1016/j.quaint.2009.10.030
- 1010 Goodfriend, G.A., Stanley, D.J., 1999. Rapid strand-plain accretion in the northeastern Nile Delta in  
1011 the 9th century A.D. and the demise of the port of Pelusium. *Geology* 27, 147–150.  
1012 doi:10.1130/0091-7613(1999)027<0147:RSPAIT>2.3.CO;2
- 1013 Groenman-van Waateringe, W., van Geel, B., 2016. Raised bed agriculture in northwest Europe  
1014 triggered by climatic change around 850 BC: a hypothesis. *Environ. Archaeol.* 1–5.  
1015 doi:10.1080/14614103.2016.1141085

- 1016 Hadler, H., Vött, A., Fischer, P., Ludwig, S., Heinzelmann, M., Rohn, C., 2015. Temple-complex post-  
1017 dates tsunami deposits found in the ancient harbour basin of Ostia (Rome, Italy). *J. Archaeol.*  
1018 *Sci.* 61, 78–89. doi:10.1016/j.jas.2015.05.002
- 1019 Hallegatte, S., Green, C., Nicholls, R.J., Corfee-Morlot, J., 2013. Future flood losses in major coastal  
1020 cities. *Nat. Clim. Change* 3, 802–806. doi:10.1038/nclimate1979
- 1021 Hallegatte, S., Ranger, N., Mestre, O., Dumas, P., Corfee-Morlot, J., Herweijer, C., Wood, R.M., 2010.  
1022 Assessing climate change impacts, sea level rise and storm surge risk in port cities: a case  
1023 study on Copenhagen. *Clim. Change* 104, 113–137. doi:10.1007/s10584-010-9978-3
- 1024 Heinzelmann, M., 2002. Bauboom und urbanistische Defizite–zur städtebaulichen Entwicklung Ostias  
1025 im 2. Jh, in: *Ostia E Portus Nelle Loro Relazioni Con Roma, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae.*  
1026 *Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, Rome*, pp. 103–122.
- 1027 Heiri, O., Lotter, A.F., Lemcke, G., 2001. Loss on ignition as a method for estimating organic and  
1028 carbonate content in sediments: reproducibility and comparability of results. *J. Paleolimnol.*  
1029 25, 101–110. doi:10.1023/A:1008119611481
- 1030 Jabareen, Y., 2013. Planning the resilient city: Concepts and strategies for coping with climate change  
1031 and environmental risk. *Cities* 31, 220–229. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2012.05.004
- 1032 Keay, S., 2012. The Port System of Imperial Rome, in: Keay, S. (Ed.), *Portus and the Mediterranean,*  
1033 *Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome.* British School at Rome, London,  
1034 pp. 33–67.
- 1035 Keay, S., 2010. Portus and the Alexandrian Grain Trade Revisited. *Bolletino Archeol.* Online Special  
1036 issue: XVII International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Roma 22-26 Settembre 2008.
- 1037 Keay, S., Parcak, S.H., Strutt, K.D., 2014. High resolution space and ground-based remote sensing and  
1038 implications for landscape archaeology: the case from Portus, Italy. *J. Archaeol. Sci.* 52, 277–  
1039 292. doi:10.1016/j.jas.2014.08.010
- 1040 Keay, S., Paroli, L., 2011. Portus and its Hinterland: Recent Archaeological Research, *Archaeological*  
1041 *Monographs of the British School at Rome.* British School at Rome, London.
- 1042 Le Gall, J., 1953. *Le Tibre, fleuve de Rome dans l'antiquité.* Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- 1043 Leichenko, R., 2011. Climate change and urban resilience. *Curr. Opin. Environ. Sustain.* 3, 164–168.  
1044 doi:10.1016/j.cosust.2010.12.014
- 1045 Leveau, P., 2008. Les inondations du Tibre à Rome: politiques publiques et variations climatiques à  
1046 l'époque romaine, in: *Actes Du Colloque International de Québec (27-29 Octobre 2006), La*  
1047 *Gestion Intégrée Des Ressources En Eau Dans L'histoire Environnementale: Savoirs*  
1048 *Traditionnels et Pratiques Modernes.* "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma, pp. 137–146.
- 1049 Lichter, M., Klein, M., Zviely, D., 2011. Dynamic morphology of small south-eastern Mediterranean  
1050 river mouths: a conceptual model. *Earth Surf. Process. Landf.* 36, 547–562.  
1051 doi:10.1002/esp.2077
- 1052 Livy, n.d. *Ab urbe condita/History of Rome: Bks. 1-2.* Translated by B.O. Foster 1919, Loeb Classical  
1053 Library. Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- 1054 Livy, n.d. *Ab urbe condita/History of Rome: Bks. 28-30, v.8.* Translated by F.G. Moore 1949, Loeb  
1055 Classical Library. Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press.

- 1056 Magny, M., De Beaulieu, J.-L., Drescher-Schneider, R., Vanni re, B., Walter-Simonnet, A.V., Miras, Y.,  
1057 Millet, L., Bossuet, G., Peyron, O., Brugiapaglia, E., others, 2007. Holocene climate changes in  
1058 the central Mediterranean as recorded by lake-level fluctuations at Lake Accesa (Tuscany,  
1059 Italy). *Quat. Sci. Rev.* 26, 1736–1758.
- 1060 Magny, M., Vanni re, B., Zanchetta, G., Fouache, E., Touchais, G., Petrika, L., Coussot, C., Walter-  
1061 Simonnet, A.V., Arnaud, F., 2009. Possible complexity of the climatic event around 4300–  
1062 3800 cal. BP in the central and western Mediterranean. *The Holocene* 19, 823–833.  
1063 doi:10.1177/0959683609337360
- 1064 Maillet, G.M., Sabatier, F., Rousseau, D., Provansal, M., Fleury, T.J., 2006a. Connexions entre le Rh ne  
1065 et son delta (partie 1) :  volution du trait de c te du delta du Rh ne depuis le milieu du XIXe  
1066 si cle. *G omorphologie Relief Process. Environ.* 111–124. doi:10.4000/geomorphologie.558
- 1067 Maillet, G.M., Vella, C., Provansal, M., Sabatier, F., 2006b. Connexions entre le Rh ne et son delta  
1068 (partie 2) :  volution du trait de c te du delta du Rh ne depuis le d but du XVIIIe si cle.  
1069 *G omorphologie Relief Process. Environ.* 125–140. doi:10.4000/geomorphologie.559
- 1070 Mar, R., 1991. La formazione dello spazio urbano nella citt  di Ostia. *Mitteilungen Dtsch. Arch ol.*  
1071 *Inst. R mische Abt.* 98, 81–109.
- 1072 Marra, F., Bozzano, F., Cinti, F.R., 2013. Chronostratigraphic and lithologic features of the Tiber River  
1073 sediments (Rome, Italy): Implications on the post-glacial sea-level rise and Holocene climate.  
1074 *Glob. Planet. Change* 107, 157–176. doi:10.1016/j.gloplacha.2013.05.002
- 1075 Marriner, N., Morhange, C., 2007. Geoscience of ancient Mediterranean harbours. *Earth-Sci. Rev.* 80,  
1076 137–194. doi:10.1016/j.earscirev.2006.10.003
- 1077 Marriner, N., Morhange, C., 2006. Geoarchaeological evidence for dredging in Tyre’s ancient harbour,  
1078 Levant. *Quat. Res.* 65, 164–171.
- 1079 Marriner, N., Morhange, C., Goiran, J.-P., 2010. Coastal and ancient harbour geoarchaeology. *Geol.*  
1080 *Today* 26, 21–27.
- 1081 Martin, A., 1996. Un saggio sulle mura del castrum di Ostia (Reg. I, ins. X, 3), in: Gallina Zevi, A.,  
1082 Claridge, A.J. (Eds.), “Roman Ostia” revisited, *Archaeological and Historical Papers in Memory*  
1083 *of Russell Meiggs, British School at Rome and Soprintendenza Archeologica Di Ostia.* London,  
1084 pp. 19–38.
- 1085 Martin, A., Heinzelmann, M., De Sena, E.C., Cecere, M.G.G., 2002. The urbanistic project on the  
1086 previously unexcavated areas of Ostia (DAI-AAR 1996-2001). *MAAR* 259–304.
- 1087 Mazzini, I., Faranda, C., Giardini, M., Giraudi, C., Sadori, L., 2011. Late Holocene palaeoenvironmental  
1088 evolution of the Roman harbour of Portus, Italy. *J. Paleolimnol.* 46, 243–256.  
1089 doi:10.1007/s10933-011-9536-7
- 1090 McCormick, M., B ntgen, U., Cane, M.A., Cook, E.R., Harper, K., Huybers, P., Litt, T., Manning, S.W.,  
1091 Mayewski, P.A., More, A.F.M., Nicolussi, K., Tegel, W., 2012. Climate Change during and after  
1092 the Roman Empire: Reconstructing the Past from Scientific and Historical Evidence. *J.*  
1093 *Interdiscip. Hist.* 43, 169–220. doi:10.1162/JINH\_a\_00379
- 1094 Meiggs, R., 1973. *Roman Ostia.* Clarendon Press, Oxford.

- 1095 Mercuri, A.M., Accorsi, C.A., Bandini Mazzanti, M., 2002. The long history of Cannabis and its  
 1096 cultivation by the Romans in central Italy, shown by pollen records from Lago Albano and  
 1097 Lago di Nemi. *Veg. Hist. Archaeobotany* 11, 263–276.
- 1098 Mercuri, A.M., Sadori, L., 2012. Climate changes and human settlements since the Bronze age period  
 1099 in central Italy. *Rendiconti Online Soc. Geol. Ital.* DOI: 10.3301/ROL.2011.63, 32–34.
- 1100 Miller, L., Douglas, B.C., 2004. Mass and volume contributions to twentieth-century global sea level  
 1101 rise. *Nature* 428, 406–409. doi:10.1038/nature02309
- 1102 Milli, S., Mancini, M., Moscatelli, M., Stigliano, F., Marini, M., Cavinato, G.P., 2016. From river to shelf,  
 1103 anatomy of a high-frequency depositional sequence: The Late Pleistocene to Holocene Tiber  
 1104 depositional sequence. *Sedimentology* n/a-n/a. doi:10.1111/sed.12277
- 1105 Milne, G., 1985. *The port of roman London*. BT Batsford.
- 1106 Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1986. *Tevere : un'antica via per il mediterraneo*, Rome  
 1107 (Italy). Assessorato alla cultura. Ufficio centrale per i beni ambientali architettonici. Istituto  
 1108 Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Roma.
- 1109 Mohajeri, N., 2012. Effects of landscape constraints on street patterns in cities: Examples from  
 1110 Khorramabad, Iran. *Appl. Geogr.* 34, 10–20. doi:10.1016/j.apgeog.2011.09.007
- 1111 Mohajeri, N., French, J.R., Batty, M., 2013. Evolution and entropy in the organization of urban street  
 1112 patterns. *Ann. GIS* 19, 1–16. doi:10.1080/19475683.2012.758175
- 1113 Noizet, H., Mirlou, L., Robert, S., 2013. La résilience des formes. *Études Rural.* 191–219.
- 1114 Pannuzi, S., 2009. *Il Castello di Giulio II ad Ostia Antica*, Documenti di archeologia postmedievale. Ed.  
 1115 All'Insegna del Giglio, Firenze.
- 1116 Parkins, H., 2005. *Roman Urbanism: Beyond The Consumer City*. Routledge.
- 1117 Pavolini, C., 2006. *Ostia, Guide archeologiche Laterza*. G. Laterza, Roma - Bari.
- 1118 Pellegrino, A., Olivanti, P., Panariti, F., 1995. Ricerche archeologiche nel Trastevere Ostiense. *Archeol.*  
 1119 *Laz.* 12, 393–400.
- 1120 Pennington, B.T., Thomas, R.I., 2016. Paleoenvironmental surveys at Naukratis and the Canopic  
 1121 branch of the Nile. *J. Archaeol. Sci. Rep.* 7, 180–188. doi:10.1016/j.jasrep.2016.03.053
- 1122 Pepe, C., Giardini, M., Giraudi, C., Masi, A., Mazzini, I., Sadori, L., 2013. Plant landscape and  
 1123 environmental changes recorded in marginal marine environments: The ancient Roman  
 1124 harbour of Portus (Rome, Italy). *Quat. Int.* 303, 73–81. doi:10.1016/j.quaint.2012.11.008
- 1125 Pepe, C., Sadori, L., Andrieu-Ponel, V., Salomon, F., Goiran, J.-P., 2016. Late Holocene pollen record  
 1126 from Fiume Morto (Dead River), a palaeomeander of Tiber River near Ancient Ostia (central  
 1127 Italy). *J. Paleolimnol.* doi:10.1007/s10933-016-9903-5
- 1128 Perrier, B., 2007. Les trois édifices successifs : Schola du Trajan, Domus à Péristyle, Domus aux  
 1129 Bucranes. Presented at the Actes du colloque interational de Saint-Romain-en-Gal en  
 1130 l'honneur d'Anna Gallina Zevi, Vienne, 8-10 février 2007 "Villa, maisons, sanctuaires et  
 1131 tombeaux tardo-républicains," Edizioni Quasar, pp. 15–32.
- 1132 Pliny, n.d. *Historiae Naturae/Natural History: Bks. 3-7, v.2*. Translated by H. Rackham 1942, Loeb  
 1133 Classical Library. Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

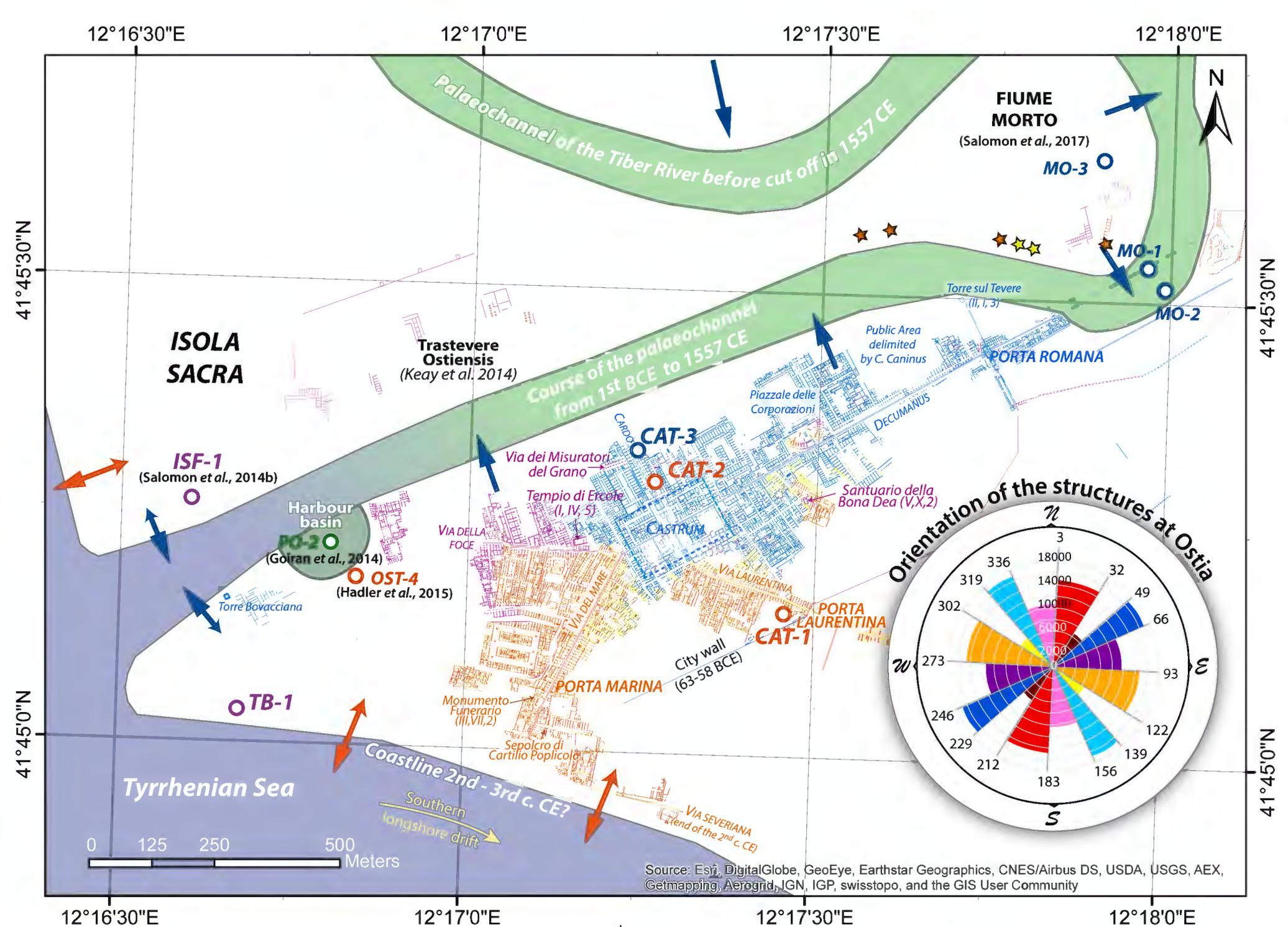
- 1134 Plutarch, n.d. *Lives: Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar. v.7.* Translated by B. Perrin,  
1135 1919, Loeb Classical Library. Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- 1136 Pohl, I., 1983. Was Early Ostia a Colony or a Fort? *Parola Passato* 38, 123–130.
- 1137 Raddi, M., Pellegrino, A., 2011. *Indagini Archeologiche - Preliminari alla realizzazione del progetto del*  
1138 *nuovo “Ponte della Scafa” - Relazione tecnica. Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni*  
1139 *Archeologici di Roma e Ostia, Rome.*
- 1140 Reghezza-Zitt, M., Rufat, S., Djament-Tran, G., Le Blanc, A., Lhomme, S., 2012. What Resilience Is Not:  
1141 Uses and Abuses. *Cybergeo Eur. J. Geogr.* doi:10.4000/cybergeo.25554
- 1142 Reimer, P.J., Bard, E., Bayliss, A., Beck, J.W., Blackwell, P.G., Bronk Ramsey, C., Buck, C.E., Cheng, H.,  
1143 Edwards, R.L., Friedrich, M., Grootes, P.M., Guilderson, T.P., Haflidason, H., Hajdas, I., Hatté,  
1144 C., Heaton, T.J., Hoffmann, D.L., Hogg, A.G., Hughen, K.A., Kaiser, K.F., Kromer, B., Manning,  
1145 S.W., Niu, M., Reimer, R.W., Richards, D.A., Scott, E.M., Southon, J.R., Staff, R.A., Turney,  
1146 C.S.M., van der Plicht, J., 2013. IntCal13 and Marine13 radiocarbon age calibration curves 0-  
1147 50,000 years cal BP. *Radiocarbon* 55, 1869–1887.
- 1148 Robert, S., Sittler, B., 2016. Water as a morphogen in landscapes/L'eau comme morphogène dans les  
1149 paysages, *Proceedings of the XVII UISPP World Congress (1–7 September 2014, Burgos,*  
1150 *Spain).* Archaeopress, Oxford.
- 1151 Rogers, A., 2011. Reimagining Roman Ports and Harbours: The Port of Roman London and Waterfront  
1152 Archaeology. *Oxf. J. Archaeol.* 30, 207–225. doi:10.1111/j.1468-0092.2011.00365.x
- 1153 Rosenzweig, C., Solecki, W., Hammer, S.A., Mehrotra, S., 2010. Cities lead the way in climate-change  
1154 action. *Nature* 467, 909–911. doi:10.1038/467909a
- 1155 Ruiz, F., Abad, M., Bodergat, A.M., Carbonel, P., Rodríguez-Lázaro, J., Yasuhara, M., 2005. Marine and  
1156 brackish-water ostracods as sentinels of anthropogenic impacts. *Earth-Sci. Rev.* 72, 89–111.  
1157 doi:10.1016/j.earscirev.2005.04.003
- 1158 Sadori, L., Giardini, M., Giraudi, C., Mazzini, I., 2010. The plant landscape of the imperial harbour of  
1159 Rome. *J. Archaeol. Sci.* 37, 3294–3305.
- 1160 Sadori, L., Mazzini, I., Pepe, C., Goiran, J.-P., Pleuger, E., Ruscito, V., Salomon, F., Vittori, C., 2016.  
1161 Palynology and ostracodology at the Roman port of ancient Ostia (Rome, Italy). *The Holocene*  
1162 959683616640054. doi:10.1177/0959683616640054
- 1163 Salomon, F., 2013. *Géoarchéologie du delta du Tibre : Evolution géomorphologique holocène et*  
1164 *contraintes hydrosédimentaires dans le système Ostie - Portus (Thèse de doctorat en*  
1165 *Géographie Physique / Géoarchéologie).* Université Lyon 2.
- 1166 Salomon, F., Delile, H., Goiran, J.-P., Bravard, J.-P., Keay, S., 2012. The Canale di Comunicazione  
1167 Traverso in Portus: the Roman sea harbour under river influence (Tiber delta, Italy).  
1168 *Géomorphologie Relief Process. Environ.* 75–90. doi:10.4000/geomorphologie.9754
- 1169 Salomon, F., Goiran, J.-P., Bravard, J.-P., Arnaud, P., Djerbi, H., Kay, S., Keay, S., 2014a. A harbour–canal  
1170 at Portus: a geoarchaeological approach to the Canale Romano: Tiber delta, Italy. *Water Hist.*  
1171 6, 31–49. doi:10.1007/s12685-014-0099-1
- 1172 Salomon, F., Goiran, J.-P., Pannuzi, S., Djerbi, H., Rosa, C., 2017. Long-Term Interactions between the  
1173 Roman City of Ostia and Its Paleomeander, Tiber Delta, Italy. *Geoarchaeology* 32, 215–229.  
1174 doi:10.1002/gea.21589

- 1175 Salomon, F., Goiran, J.-P., Pleuger, E., Mazzini, I., Arnoldus-Huyzendveld, A., Ghelli, A., Boetto, G.,  
1176 Germoni, P., 2014b. Ostie et l'embouchure du Tibre. *Chron. Act. Archéologiques L'École Fr.*  
1177 Rome. doi:10.4000/cefr.1062
- 1178 Salomon, F., Keay, S., Carayon, N., Goiran, J.-P., 2016. The Development and Characteristics of Ancient  
1179 Harbours—Applying the PADM Chart to the Case Studies of Ostia and Portus. *PLOS ONE* 11,  
1180 e0162587. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0162587
- 1181 Segre, A.G., 1986. Considerazioni sul Tevere e sull'Aniene nel Quaternario. In: *Il Tevere e le altre vie*  
1182 *d'acqua del Lazio antico.* *Archeol. Laz.* VII, 9–17.
- 1183 Shepherd, E.J., 2006. Il “Rilievo Topofotografico di Osita dal Pallone.” *AArea* II 15–38.
- 1184 Stanley, D.J., Goddio, F., Jorstad, T.F., Schnepf, G., 2004. Submergence of Ancient Greek Cities Off  
1185 Egypt's Nile Delta - A Cautionary Tale. *GSA Today* 14, 4–10.
- 1186 Stanley, J.-D., 2005. Submergence and burial of ancient coastal sites on the subsiding Nile delta  
1187 margin, Egypt. *Méditerranée Rev. Géographique Pays Méditerranéens J. Mediterr. Geogr.* 65–  
1188 73. doi:10.4000/mediterranee.2282
- 1189 Stanley, J.-D., Toscano, M.A., 2009. Ancient Archaeological Sites Buried and Submerged along Egypt's  
1190 Nile Delta Coast: Gauges of Holocene Delta Margin Subsidence. *J. Coast. Res.* 158–170.  
1191 doi:10.2112/08-0013.1
- 1192 Stöger, J., 2011. *Rethinking Ostia: a spatial enquiry into the urban society of Rome's imperial port-*  
1193 *town.* Leiden University Press.
- 1194 Strabo, n.d. *Geography, Books 3-5, v.2.* Translated by H. Leonard Jones, 1923, Loeb Classical Library.  
1195 Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- 1196 Suetonius, n.d. *Lives of the Caesars. Julius. Augustus. Tiberius. Gaius. Caligula. v.1.* Translated by J.C.  
1197 Rolfe 1914, Loeb Classical Library. Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- 1198 Swan, A.R.H., Sandilands, M., McCabe, P., 1995. *Introduction to geological data analysis.* Blackwell  
1199 Science Ltd, Oxford, U.K.
- 1200 Syvitski, J.P.M., Kettner, A.J., Overeem, I., Hutton, E.W.H., Hannon, M.T., Brakenridge, G.R., Day, J.,  
1201 Vörösmarty, C., Saito, Y., Giosan, L., Nicholls, R.J., 2009. Sinking deltas due to human  
1202 activities. *Nat. Geosci.* 2, 681–686. doi:10.1038/ngeo629
- 1203 Turci, M., 2014. Un complesso termale tardo-antico. *Mélanges L'École Fr. Rome - Antiq.*  
1204 doi:10.4000/mefra.2237
- 1205 Vaglieri, D., 1911. *Notizie di Scavi.*
- 1206 Vella, C., Fleury, T.-J., Raccasi, G., Provansal, M., Sabatier, F., Bourcier, M., 2005. Evolution of the  
1207 Rhône delta plain in the Holocene. *Mar. Geol., Mediterranean Prodelta Systems* 222–223,  
1208 235–265. doi:10.1016/j.margeo.2005.06.028
- 1209 Vita-Finzi, C., 1969. *The Mediterranean Valleys: geological changes in historical times.* Cambridge  
1210 University Press.
- 1211 Vittori, C., Mazzini, I., Salomon, F., Goiran, J.-P., Pannuzi, S., Rosa, C., Pellegrino, A., 2015.  
1212 Palaeoenvironmental evolution of the ancient lagoon of Ostia Antica (Tiber delta, Italy). *J.*  
1213 *Archaeol. Sci.* 54, 374–384. doi:10.1016/j.jas.2014.06.017

- 1214 Wright, L.D., 1977. Sediment transport and deposition at river mouths: a synthesis. Geol. Soc. Am.  
1215 Bull. 88, 857–868.
- 1216 Zevi, F., 2002. Origini di Ostia, in: Bruun C., Zevi A.G. (Ed), Ostia E Portus Nelle Loro Relazioni Con  
1217 Roma. Istitutum Romanum Finlandiae, Roma, pp. 11–32.
- 1218 Zevi, F., 2001a. Les débuts d’Ostie. Presented at the Descoedres J.-P. (dir.), Ostia port et porte de  
1219 Rome antique, Georg éditeur, pp. 3–9.
- 1220 Zevi, F., 2001b. Ostie sous la République. Presented at the Descoedres J.-P. (dir.), Ostia port et porte  
1221 de Rome antique, Georg éditeur, pp. 10–18.
- 1222 Zevi, F., 1996. Sulle fasi piu antiche di Ostia, in: “Roman Ostia”revisited: Archaeological and Historical  
1223 Papers in Memory of Russell Meiggs. British School at Rome, Londres, pp. 69–89.
- 1224







**Cores and their palaeo-environmental context**

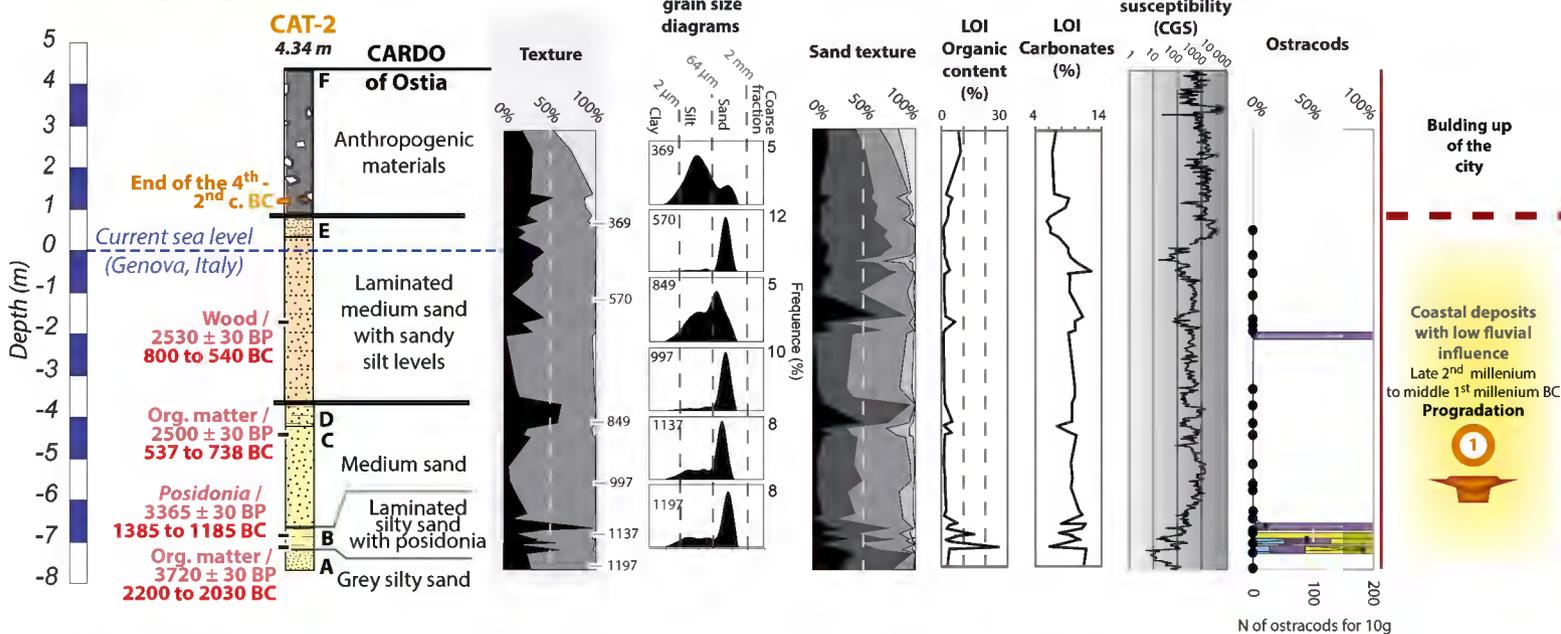
- Coastal deposits
- Fluvial deposits
- River mouth deposits
- Roman fluvial harbour

- ★ Cippi demarcating the Tiber river banks (23 to 41 CE - ★: moved ?)

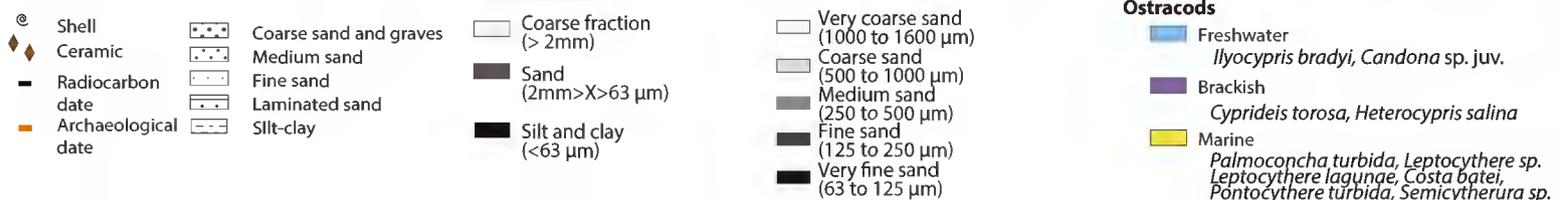
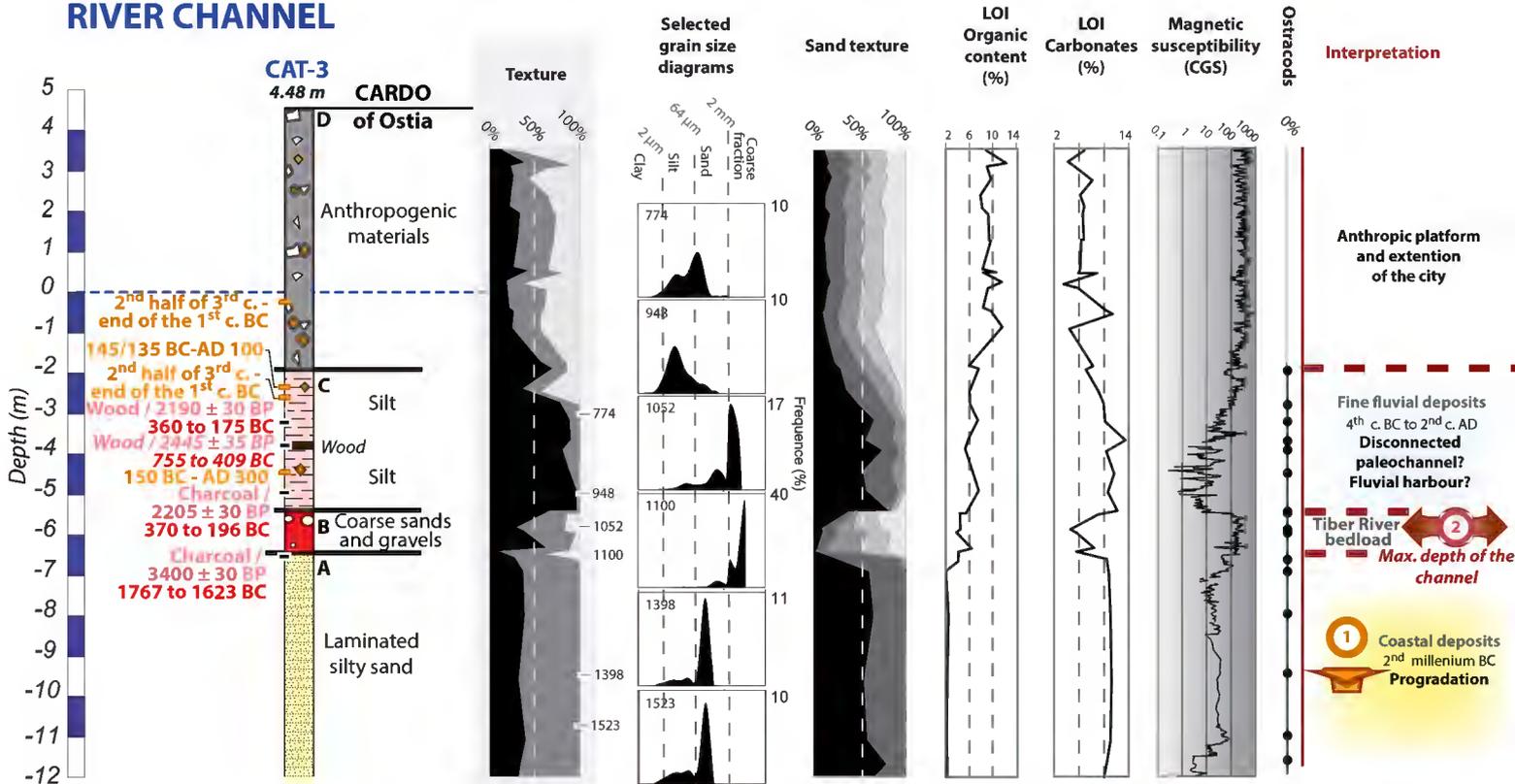
**Fluvio-coastal dynamics during the Roman period**

- ➔ Fluvial dynamics
- ➔ Coastal dynamics

# SANDY COAST

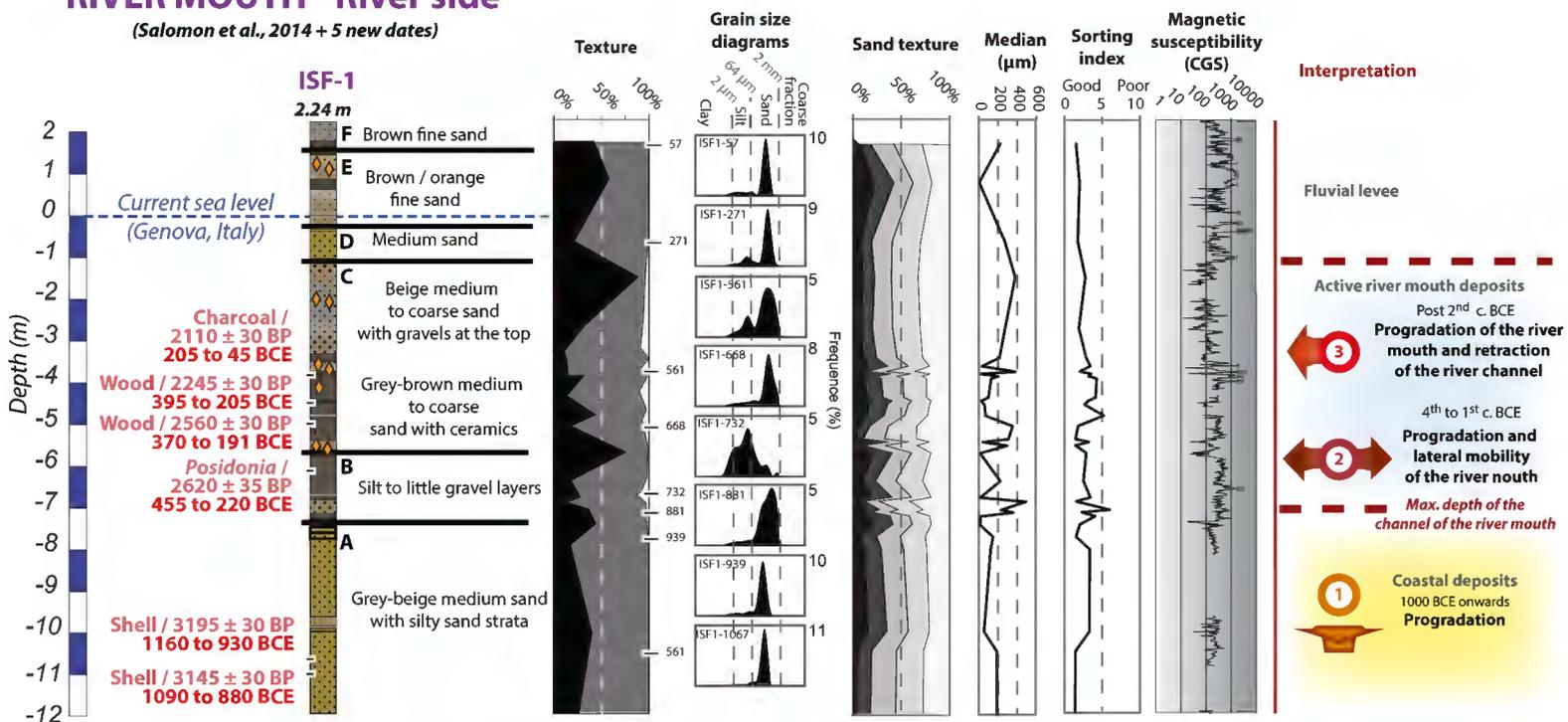


# RIVER CHANNEL

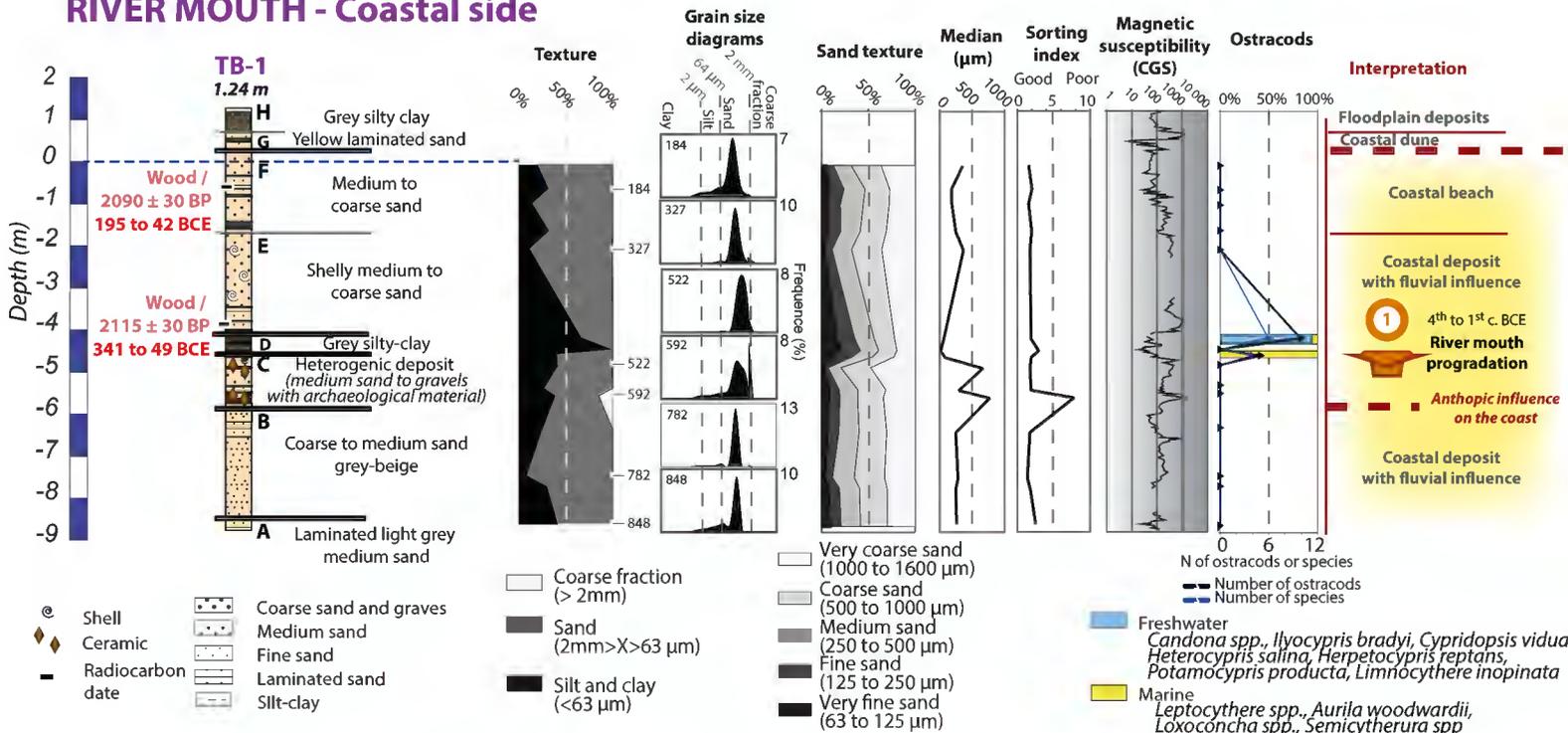


# RIVER MOUTH - River side

(Salomon et al., 2014 + 5 new dates)

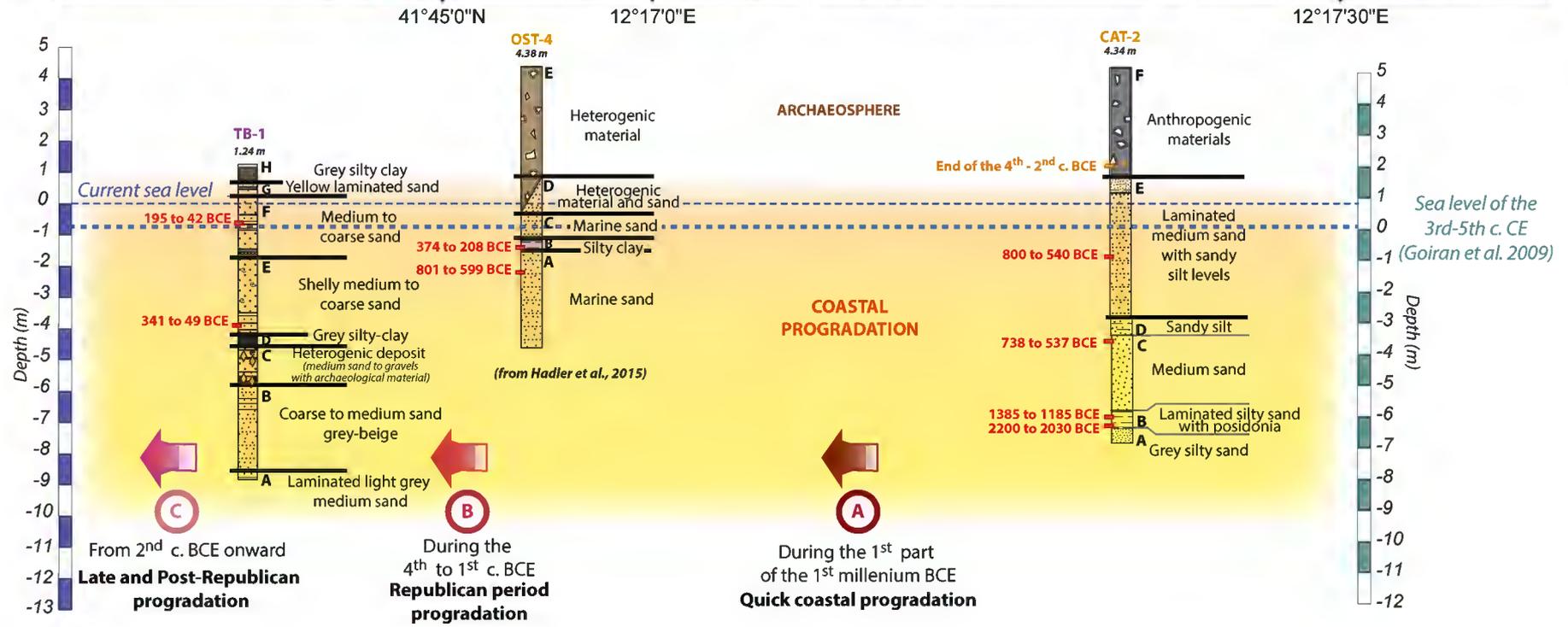


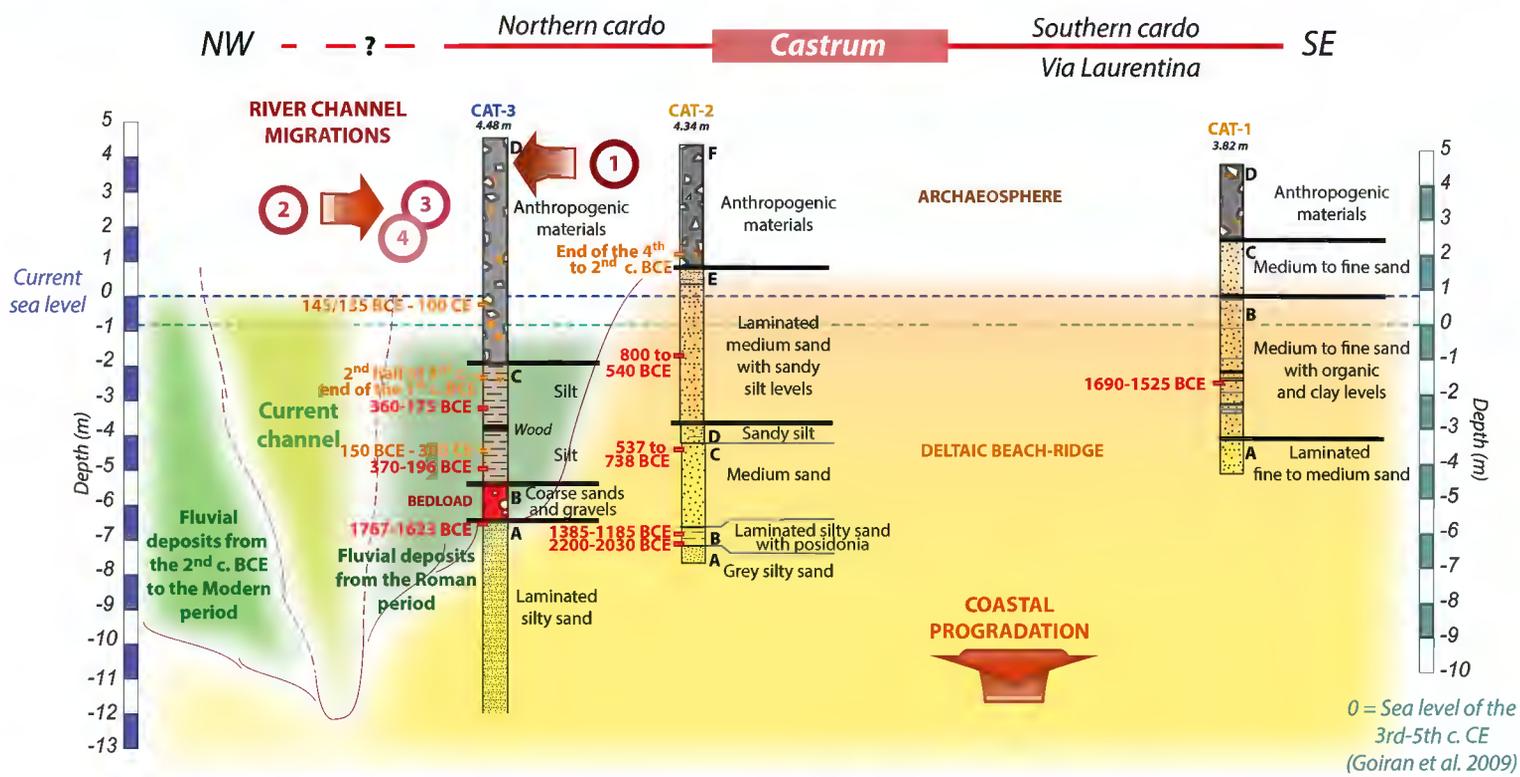
# RIVER MOUTH - Coastal side



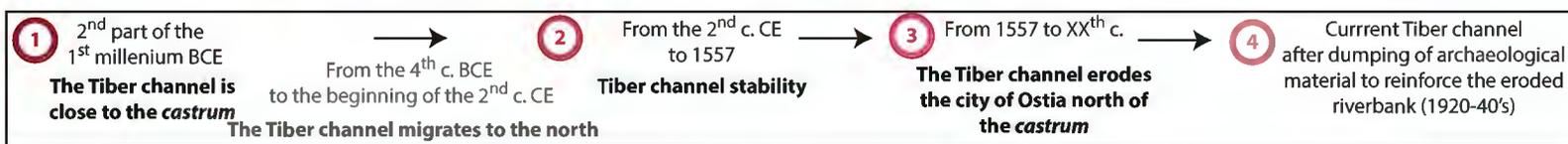
12°16'30"E

12°17'0"E





**Main phases of the evolution of the left riverbank of the Tiber River at the north of the castrum**



EARLY 1<sup>ST</sup> MILLENNIUM BCE

1



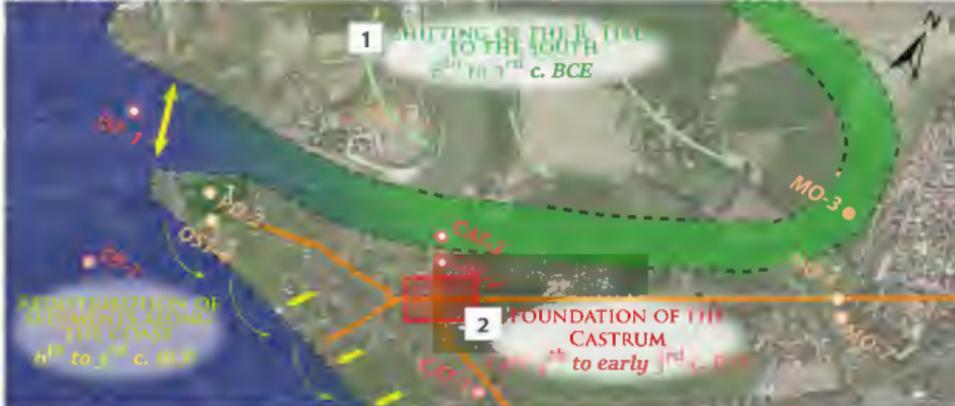
8<sup>TH</sup> TO 5<sup>TH</sup> C. BCE

2



4<sup>TH</sup> TO 3<sup>RD</sup> C. BCE

3



3<sup>RD</sup> C. BCE TO 1<sup>ST</sup> C. CE

4



1<sup>ST</sup> C. TO 5<sup>TH</sup> C. CE

5



CAT-1 ● NEW DATA

PO-2 ● PUBLISHED DATA (Goiran et al. 2014, Hadler et al. 2015; Salomon et al. 2014b, 2017)

Core	Sample	Depth below surface (m)	Depth below sea level (s.l.m - Genoa) (m)	Sample description	Age estimation
CAT-2 (+4.34m)	OST-2 / 3.23m	3.23	+1.11	Fragment of common ware; fragment of vase of open shape black-gloss pottery	End of the 4 <sup>th</sup> - 2 <sup>nd</sup> BC
CAT-3 (+4.48m)	OST-3 / 6.99m	6.99	-2.65	Body sherd of amphora produced in Campania; corresponds probably to a Greco-Italic or Dressel 1	Second half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> – end of the 1 <sup>st</sup> BC
CAT-3	OST-3 / 4.85m	4.85	-0.51	Body sherd of amphora produced in Campania; corresponds probably to a Dressel 1 or Dressel 2-4	145-135 BC to 100 AD
CAT-3	OST-3 / 9.03m	9.03	-4.69	Fragment probably of a vase of thin-walled pottery	150 BC - 300 AD
CAT-3	OST-3 / 7.14m	7.14	-2.80	Body sherd of amphora produced in Campania corresponds probably to a Greco-Italic or Dressel 1	Second half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> – end of the 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BC

Table 1 – Archaeological dates

Core	Sample	Depth below surface (m)	Depth below sea level (s.l.m - Genoa) (m)	Lab. sample	Dating support	<sup>14</sup> C yr B.P.	±	Activity (pMC)	Age calibrated BC-AD (Reimer et al., 2013) - 2σ
TB-1 (+1.24m)	Torre Bovacciana TB1 180-183	1.82	-0.58	Lyon-11214(SacA3 7192)	Wood	2090	30	77.07 ± 0.25	195 to 42 BC
TB-1	Torre Bovacciana TB1 415-420	4.17	-2.93	Lyon-11215(SacA3 7193)	Bone	2115	30	76.84 ± 0.25	341 to 49 BC
ISF-1 (+2.24m)	Isola Sacra Fiume 1 606-609	6.08	-3.84	Lyon-11216(SacA3 7194)	Charcoal	2110	30	76.88 ± 0.25	204 to 46 BC
ISF-1	Isola Sacra Fiume 1 693-697	6.95	-4.71	Lyon-11217(SacA3 7195)	Wood	2245	30	75.62 ± 0.24	393 to 206 BC
ISF-1	Isola Sacra Fiume 1 734-737	7.36	-5.12	Lyon-11218(SacA3 7196)	<i>Posidonia*</i>	2560	30	72.69 ± 0.25	367 to 191 BC
ISF-1	<i>ISF-1 785</i> (in Salomon et al., 2014)	7.85	-5.61	Lyon-9322	<i>Posidonia*</i>	2620	35	-	455 to 220 BC
ISF-1	Isola Sacra Fiume 1 879-882	8.81	-6.57	Lyon-11219(SacA3 7197)	Charcoal	41500	150 0	0.57 ± 0.11	-
ISF-1	Isola Sacra Fiume 1 910	9.10	-6.86	Lyon-11220(SacA3 7219)	<i>Shell*</i>	37040	840	0.99 ± 0.10	40267 to 37697 BC
ISF-1	Isola Sacra Fiume 1 1298	12.98	-10.74	Lyon-11221(SacA3 7220)	<i>Shell*</i>	3195	30	67.17 ± 0.23	1160 to 930 BC
ISF-1	Isola Sacra Fiume 1 1330-1335	13.33	-11.09	Lyon-11222(SacA3 7221)	<i>Shell*</i>	3145	30	67.59 ± 0.23	1091 to 881 BC
CAT-1 (+3.82m)	40121 Ostie OST1 632-633	6.32	-2.5	Lyon-11777 (SacA40124)	Organic matter	3325	30	66.10 ± 0.22	1687 to 1527 BC
CAT-2	OST-2 / 1150	11.50	-7.16	Lyon-11781(SacA4)	<i>Posidonia*</i>	3365	30	65.78 ± 0.21	1383 to 1185 BC

(+4.34m)				0128)					
CAT-2	OST-2 / 1150	11.50	-7.16	Lyon-11195(SacA3 7181)	Wood	6805	30	42.85 ± 0.20	5738 to 5638 BC
CAT-2	OST-2 / 635	6.35	-2.01	Lyon-11197(SacA3 7183)	Organic matter	3220	30	66.97 ± 0.24	1605 to 1425 BC
CAT-2	OST-2 / 1124	11.24	-6.9	Lyon-11780(SacA4 0127)	Organic matter	3720	30	62.94 ± 0.21	2201 to 2031 BC
CAT-2	OST-2 / 885	8.85	-4.51	Lyon-11196 (SacA37182)	Organic matter	2500	30	73.25 ± 0.24	738 to 537 BC
CAT-2	OST-2 / 613	6.13	-1.79	Lyon-11779 (SacA40126)	Wood	2530	30	72.99 ± 0.22	797 to 543 BC
CAT-3 (+4.48m)	OST-3 / 748	7.48	-3	Lyon-11778(SacA4 0125)	Charcoal	2170	30	76.35 ± 0.22	360 to 116 BC
CAT-3	OST-3 / 1110	11.10	-6.62	Lyon-11198 (SacA37184)	Charcoal	3400	30	65.45 ± 0.23	1767 to 1623 BC
CAT-3	OST-3 / 960	9.6	-5.12	Lyon-11783 (SacA40130)	Charcoal	2205	30	76.01 ± 0.22	370 to 196 BC
CAT-3	OST-3 / 780	7.8	-3.32	Lyon-11782 (SacA40129)	Wood	2190	30	76.14 ± 0.23	361 to 178 BC
CAT-3	OST-3 / 830	8.30	-3.82	Ly-16569	Wood	2445	35	73.76± 0.31	755 to 409 BC
OST-4 (+4.38m)	OST 4/14HK (in Hadler et al. 2014)	5.72	-1.34	MAMS-19753	Charcoal	2229	17	-	374 to 208 BC
OST-4	OST4/19PR (in Hadler et al., 2014)	6.68	-2.30	MAMS-19754	Plant remain	2562	19	-	801 to 599 BC

1 Table 2 – Radiocarbon dates (Materials in red are calibrated with the Marine13 curve - Reimer et al.,  
2 2013)