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1 **Classification:** PHYSICAL SCIENCES - Anthropology

2 **Title: Rome's urban history inferred from Pb-contaminated waters trapped**  
3 **in its ancient harbor basins**

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16

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19

20 **Abstract**

21 Heavy metals from urban run-off preserved in sedimentary deposits record long-term  
22 economic and industrial development via the expansion and contraction of a city's  
23 infrastructure. Lead concentrations and isotopic compositions measured in the sediments of  
24 the harbor of Ostia – Rome's first harbor – show that lead pipes used in the water supply  
25 networks of Rome and Ostia were the only source of radiogenic Pb, which, in geologically  
26 young Central Italy, is the hallmark of urban pollution. High-resolution geochemical, isotopic,  
27 and <sup>14</sup>C analyses of a sedimentary core from Ostia harbor have allowed us to date the  
28 commissioning of Rome's lead pipe water distribution system to around the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC,  
29 considerably later than Rome's first aqueduct built in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Even more  
30 significantly, the isotopic record of Pb pollution proves to be an unparalleled proxy for

31 tracking the urban development of ancient Rome over more than a millennium, providing the  
32 first semi-quantitative record of the water system's initial expansion, its later neglect,  
33 probably during the civil wars of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, and its peaking in extent during the relative  
34 stability of the early-high Imperial period. The present core record fills the gap in the system's  
35 history before the appearance of more detailed literary and inscriptional evidence from the  
36 late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC onwards. It also preserves evidence of the changes in the dynamics of the Tiber  
37 River that accompanied the construction of Rome's artificial port, Portus, during the 1<sup>st</sup> and  
38 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD.

### 39 **Significance Statement**

40 Isotopic evidence demonstrating that Rome's lead water pipes were the primary source of lead  
41 pollution in the city's runoff reveals the sedimentary profile of lead pollution in the harbor at  
42 Ostia to be a sensitive record of the growth of Rome's water distribution system and hence of  
43 the city itself. The introduction of this lead pipe network can now be dated to around the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.  
44 BC testifying to a delay of about a century and a half between the introduction of Rome's  
45 aqueduct system and the installation of a piped grid. The diachronic evolution of  
46 anthropogenic lead contamination is able to capture the main stages of ancient Rome's  
47 urbanization until its peak during the early-high Empire.

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## 55 **Introduction**

56 Recent cases of lead contamination of drinking water in the Midwestern United States have  
57 highlighted the sensitive equilibrium between essential urban water supply, hydraulic  
58 infrastructures, and economic and public health (1). Lead pollution was already affecting the  
59 urban waters of great Roman cities two millennia ago (2-4) although to a lesser extent than  
60 suggested earlier (5). Harbor sediment cores provide one of the best continuous records of  
61 human impact on the local environment. By combining isotopic analysis of lead in harbor  
62 sediments with evidence derived from archeological materials (e.g. lead pipes) and carbonates  
63 – known as travertine or sinter taken from aqueduct channels – recent studies have shown that  
64 the proportion of foreign lead in sediments constitutes a proxy for the expansion and  
65 contraction of the water supply system and therefore of urban development over the lifetime  
66 of a city (2-4). Urban centers were particularly vulnerable to the interruption of their water  
67 supply network due to natural or human causes (6). Hiatuses in the imported Pb isotopic  
68 record of the Trajanic basin sediments at Portus (core TR14, Fig. 1A), the maritime port of  
69 Imperial Rome, and those from the channel connecting Portus with the Tiber (Canale  
70 Romano, core CN1, Fig. 1A) reflect the 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD Gothic Wars and 9<sup>th</sup> c. Arab sack of Rome  
71 (2). The chronological record at Portus, however, only started with Trajan (AD 98-117),  
72 leaving the earlier history of Rome’s urbanization essentially undocumented except for sparse  
73 archeological evidence and passing mentions in politically biased historical accounts. The  
74 same is the case for the development of Rome’s water distribution network before the reforms  
75 of Agrippa in the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (6), from which point on the admittedly problematic texts of  
76 Vitruvius (7) and Frontinus (Rome’s water commissioner c. AD 100) (8) provide more  
77 information. The first Roman aqueduct, the Aqua Appia (late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC) (6, 9), appears well

78 before any evidence of widespread usage of lead water pipes (*fistulae*, in the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC)  
79 (10), raising the question of how water was distributed.

80 In order to explore these questions, we conducted a high-resolution analysis, including  
81 the measurement of major and trace element concentrations and Pb isotopic compositions, of  
82 a 12 m long sediment core (PO2, Fig. 1B) from Ostia. Ostia, today a featureless coastal plain  
83 near the Tiber river (Fig. 1B), was the first harbor to serve Rome (11). The time span  
84 encompassed by core PO2 is constrained by 15 radiocarbon dates covering the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium  
85 BC (Table S1) (12). Lead concentrations and isotopic compositions also were measured on  
86 sediments from the PTXI-3 core drilled at Portus in the basin of Claudius (AD 41-54) (Fig.  
87 1A), the entry port of the Trajan basin, although at a coarser resolution than the PO2 core.

88

## 89 **Results**

### 90 **Stratigraphy**

91 The stratigraphy of the PO2 core (Fig. 2A) can be subdivided into three main sedimentary  
92 units, pre-harbor (A), harbor (B), and post-harbor (C). (i) *Unit A* is represented by bedded and  
93 shelly grey sands with *Posidonia* attesting to a depositional environment of deltaic  
94 progradation up to the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (12). (ii) *Unit B* is further subdivided into two  
95 subunits, *B1* and *B2*. *Subunit B1* forms the lower harbor sequence characterized by compact  
96 dark grey silt suggestive of a quiet environment and lasting until the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c.  
97 BC. (iii) *Subunit B2* forms the upper harbor sequence and contains levels of yellow sands  
98 brought in by repetitive floods of the Tiber, which occurred from the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.  
99 AD according to the <sup>14</sup>C age-depth model (Fig. 2A). (iv) *Unit C*'s yellow bedded silts from  
100 the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD onward represent floodplain deposits.

### 101 **Lead concentrations and major and trace element systematics**

102 Whole-rock Pb concentrations in the PO2 (Fig. 2A) and PTXI-3 cores (Fig. S1) vary by 1-2  
103 orders of magnitude from their lowest values, and have means of 64 and 106 ppm,  
104 respectively. The lowest values are consistent with the natural Pb background level of 22 ppm  
105 of the Tiber delta sediments (13, 14). The Pb Enrichment Factor ( $EF_{Pb}$ ), defined as the ratio of  
106 Pb to Al (a crustal major element) in the samples normalized to the same ratio in a crustal  
107 reference (e.g., Holocene Tiber delta sediments) (13, 14), monitors the excess of Pb relative to  
108 the natural environment ( $EF_{Pb} = 1$  signifies no Pb excess). The evolution of this pollution  
109 index in the harbor deposits of Ostia (Fig. 2B) goes from (i) values slightly above the natural  
110 Pb background level at the base of the stratigraphic section in the pre-harbor unit A located  
111 between 12 and 9 m core depth, with a mean  $EF_{Pb}$  of  $\sim 2.2$ , to (ii) values highly above the  
112 natural Pb background in the harbor subunit B2 (between  $\sim 6$  and 3 m core depth, mean  $EF_{Pb}$   
113  $\sim 3.8$ ) with three major peaks reaching  $EF_{Pb}$  values between 7 and 9. The other units of the  
114 core (subunit B1 and unit C) have  $EF_{Pb}$  values lower than 2.

115 The stratigraphic record of Pb concentrations varies in concert with the presence of  
116 detrital material, magnetic susceptibility and, to a lesser extent, the median grain size (Fig.  
117 2B). The  $EF_{Pb}$  peaks in subunit B2 attest to a high-energy regime of fluvial activity (gray  
118 shadings in Fig. 2B). Factor Analysis of major and trace element abundances clearly identifies  
119 the siliciclastic component with terrigenous elements such as the rare-earth elements, K, Mn,  
120 and Ba as the first factor (F1, Figs. 2B, S2 and Table S2). Lead concentrations of the *bulk*  
121 sediment are tightly associated with F1 (Fig. 2B,  $r = -0.66$  between  $EF_{Pb}$  and F1), which  
122 emphasizes that the terrigenous fraction is the main carrier of this element. Factor 4 (F4)  
123 inferred from the Factor Analysis opposes Na to heavy metals such as Pb, Sn, and Cd  
124 (Figs. 2B, S2 and Table S2). The strong influence of Na within the stratigraphy reflects either  
125 the salinity of the harbor itself or the invasion of the sediments by the salt wedge, at the  
126 expense of anthropogenic material carried by the Tiber. For the Trajanic harbor as well as for

127 Ostia harbor, the association of the ostracodal marine group with high sediment Na contents is  
128 clear evidence of a marine-dominated environment (11, 14, 15).

### 129 **Lead isotope compositions**

130 The labile Pb can be broken down into three well-defined components. In Fig. 3, the  
131  $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  vs  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  vs  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  3D plot shows an apparently ternary mixture between  
132 geologically ‘recent’ Pb (components  $\alpha'$  and  $\alpha''$ ) and ‘old’ Pb (component  $\beta$ ). The recent  
133 natural Pb is a mixture of volcanic Pb from the Alban Hills (component  $\alpha'$ ) and sedimentary  
134 Pb from the Mediterranean outflow water (component  $\alpha''$  present in local carbonate  
135 sediments) well separated by different  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  values (2). The exact isotope compositions  
136 of the natural components  $\alpha'$  and  $\alpha''$  (Table S3) are somewhat arbitrary, but their specific  
137 assignment does not affect the conclusions reached about the order of magnitude and relative  
138 variations of the anthropogenic component  $\beta$  (see Table S4 for the Pb isotope composition of  
139  $\beta$ ).

140 The anthropogenic origin of the ‘old’ Pb that dominates subunit B2 (Figs. 4 and 5) can  
141 be demonstrated by converting the Pb isotope compositions into their corresponding  
142 geochemically informed parameters, which are the Pb model age  $T_{\text{mod}}$  and the  $^{238}\text{U}/^{204}\text{Pb}$  ( $\mu$ )  
143 and  $^{232}\text{Th}/^{238}\text{U}$  ( $\kappa$ ) ratios (Table S4) using the equations given by Albarède et al. (16). The  
144 advantages of this representation over that based on raw Pb isotope ratios have been  
145 demonstrated in a number of geological and (geo)archeological contexts (2-4, 16-19). In the  
146 present case, Peninsular Italy is a geologically young mountain range ( $T_{\text{mod}} < 30$  Ma); the  
147 presence of Hercynian Pb ( $T_{\text{mod}} > 200$  Ma) in Ostia sediments therefore unambiguously  
148 signals contamination of local waters by foreign Pb, likely lead artifacts (Figs. 3 and 4).  
149 Quantitative breakdown of Pb isotopes into natural and anthropogenic components as  
150 proposed by Delile et al. (2) essentially reproduces the contamination patterns visible in the  
151  $T_{\text{mod}}$  record of Ostia.

152 To characterize the evolution of the anthropogenic Pb signal, we use another pollution  
153 index “ $f_{\beta}$ ”, which is based on the proportion of the anthropogenic  $\beta$  component in the Ostia  
154 sediments (see Methods section for equation details). Beyond some minor trends, the  $EF_{Pb}$ ,  
155  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$ ,  $T_{\text{mod}}$ , and  $f_{\beta}$  records (Fig. 5) largely correlate, showing that the anthropogenic  
156 component does not fluctuate randomly but displays robust peaks and troughs.

## 157

## 158 Discussion

### 159 Natural and anthropogenic Pb sources

160 In Figs. 3 and 4, the pre-harbor and early harbor samples from Ostia (core PO2) and Portus  
161 (cores TR14, CN1, and PTXI-3) plot along the mixing line between the two local sub-  
162 components  $\alpha'$  and  $\alpha''$ . The sandy pre-harbor sediments (unit A of core PO2 and most of core  
163 PTXI-3) show consistently higher values of  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  (Fig. 4A) and  $\kappa$  (Fig. 4B) than the  
164 harbor sediments highly dominated by clays and silts (harbor subunit B1). This can be  
165 explained by changes in mineral sorting processes resulting from varying hydrodynamic  
166 levels. According to Garçon et al. (20), some heavy minerals concentrated in coarse sediments  
167 are extremely radiogenic, allowing sandy sediments to reach higher  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  values (20)  
168 and thus higher values of  $\kappa$  (r of  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  vs  $\kappa \sim 0.7$ ).

169 The intersection of two additional mixing lines – between  $\alpha'$  and  $\alpha''$  and the third  
170 anthropogenic component  $\beta$  – reveals that  $\beta$  is Hercynian in age ( $T_{\text{mod}} \sim 325$  Ma) and  
171 characterized by high  $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  ( $\sim 0.0546$ ) (Fig. 4).  $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  Sediments located on the mixing line  
172  $\alpha'$ - $\beta$  correspond to Pb-contaminated particles that were transported in turbulent conditions,  
173 explaining their presence exclusively in the sandy subunit B2. In contrast, sediments falling  
174 along the  $\alpha''$ - $\beta$  trend were deposited under quieter hydrodynamic conditions, typically the silty  
175 floodplain deposits of unit C. Nevertheless, the whole of the Portus (cores TR14, CN1, and



176 PTXI-3) and Ostia (core PO2) sediments (n = 177) affected by lead pollution converges  
177 towards the same distinct source, or mix of sources, of imported lead.

178 In Roman times, a substantial number of ships' hulls were sheathed -with large mm-  
179 thick lead plates to protect their submerged portions against fouling and corrosion (21). Lead  
180 plates, anchors, and sounding-lead weights are, however, unlikely to have been significant  
181 contributors to the anthropogenic Pb signal of Ostia sediments. The reasons for this are  
182 several. First, in seawater, lead passivation by the deposition of a film of chlorides and  
183 carbonates is fast and efficient (22). Second, because the earliest wreck with a hull sheathed in  
184 lead discovered so far dates to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (23) and the practice had reached a peak by  
185 the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (21), if the sheathing of ship's hulls were a significant lead pollution  
186 source, we would expect an excess of lead to be recorded in the functional harbor unit B1,  
187 which covers the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC. Such lead pollution does not occur, however, until the  
188 harbor unit B2, which was deposited at the end of the use of the harbor (11, 15), from around  
189 the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. In the same way, the practice of lead sheathing of ship's hulls was no longer  
190 significant from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (21), while Pb pollution of Rome's harbor water  
191 column lasts until the 9<sup>th</sup> c. AD (2). Third, and most importantly, the anthropogenic  
192 component  $\beta$  is clearly homogenous (Figs. 3 and 4) (2). This is inconsistent with local  
193 contamination by a fleet covered in lead plates of a variety of origins, but consistent with  
194 distant sources well-mixed during the journey from Rome down the Tiber. Remarkably, the  
195 isotope abundances of component  $\beta$  match those of *fistulae* from the Roman urban water  
196 supply system (Figs. 3 and 4). The persistence of contamination for well over a millennium  
197 (200 BC to AD 800) and the uniqueness of its isotopic composition argue against random  
198 pollution. They rather suggest that a mechanism existed upstream from Ostia that efficiently  
199 mixed the isotopic compositions of all sources of anthropogenic Pb contributing to the  
200 anthropogenic signal so visible in the harbor sediments. Judging from the 20<sup>th</sup> c. mean flow

201 (230 m<sup>3</sup>/s, 24), around 3% (7 m<sup>3</sup>/s) of the Tiber's water was running through Rome's  
202 aqueducts at the peak of the Roman Empire (8, 25), a significant fraction of which passed  
203 through *fistulae*. Lead from Rome *fistulae* therefore seems the only acceptable source of  
204 contamination in Ostia sediments.

205 Our previous research into the source(s) of the imported Pb component of Rome *fistulae*  
206 highlighted the Roman mining districts in Western Europe (Spanish Sierra Morena, the  
207 English Pennines, the German Eifel, or the French Massif Central) (2). It is not clear whether  
208 the Pb ores derive from a single provenance or a mix of these regions, but recycling and  
209 salvaging practices of lead implemented by Romans (6, 10, 26) favor a mixture from several  
210 Hercynian sources. Such recycling would have contributed significantly to the stability of the  
211 isotopic signature of the imported Pb component over the long period observed. Additionally,  
212 the conspicuous isotopic stability in turn argues for long-term stability in the lead trade  
213 networks between Rome and the western half of its Empire.

#### 214 **Control factors of Pb content**

215 Changes in two main processes control the variation in the Pb contents of the PO2 core: (1)  
216 the input of Pb in the hydrological system upstream of the core, and (2) the transport of that  
217 Pb to the PO2 site. The major change in Pb inputs is the construction of the piped water  
218 distribution system in Rome. The imported Pb of Rome's pipes (with older, Hercynian  $T_{mod}$   
219 values) is progressively dissolved and transported down the Tiber to be deposited in the B2  
220 and C units, except during disruptions to flow in the piped system occasioned by damage or  
221 neglect during political unrest, epidemics, natural disasters, etc. Regarding transport, there are  
222 two processes at work (flooding by contaminated river water and dilution by uncontaminated  
223 seawater) connected with Factors 1 and 4, respectively.

224 The correlation of  $EF_{Pb}$  with particle size, as well as with the magnetic susceptibility  
225 and F1, shows that Pb excesses in the bulk sediment trapped in the harbor basin of Ostia were

226 associated with Tiber flooding episodes that acted as a transport vector of Pb pollution. In  
227 other words, a period of increased river discharge (e.g. flooding) resulted in deposition of  
228 larger amounts of larger particles, and hence deposition of more Pb.

229 In subunit B2,  $T_{\text{mod}}$  (representing imported Pb in the labile rather than the bulk fraction)  
230 is not correlated with F1 ( $r = 0.09$ ) but is correlated with F4 ( $r = 0.6$ ). F4 is dominated by  
231 heavy metals such as Sn and Cd, which, like  $T_{\text{mod}}$ , signal anthropogenic influence, and which  
232 are opposed to Na (Fig. S2). Between 250 and 500 cm, several striking drops in Pb  
233 contamination levels occur (see  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$  in Fig. 5A), which consistently are accompanied  
234 by steep marine (F4) peaks (Fig. 2B). It therefore appears that sudden, uncontaminated  
235 seawater inputs into the harbor basin invariably resulted in a decrease in Pb pollution,  
236 probably due to a dilution effect. Dilution by an uncontaminated source of water is commonly  
237 observed in both ancient harbors, for example Sidon (27), and fluvial environments, such as  
238 the Ruhr river, a tributary to the Rhine (28), the Caima River (Portugal) (29), and the Belle  
239 Fourche River (USA) (30).

240

### 241 **A chronology of lead pollution and Roman urbanism**

242 It should first be emphasized that  $^{14}\text{C}$  chronology is particularly imprecise for the time  
243 interval covering the Roman Republic and Empire. Supplemental figure S3 reports errors on  
244 calendar ages from 250 BC to AD 250 using the values of Reimer et al. (31). For a given  
245 value of  $^{14}\text{C}$  age, the range and occasionally the multiplicity of possible calendar ages in this  
246 interval is large and uncertainties cannot be unambiguously represented by a single error  
247 interval. It also must be borne in mind that short-term fluctuations cannot be resolved in  
248 harbor sedimentary records, which average over several decades or more. Thus we here have  
249 cautiously linked the Pb isotope records only to longer-term historical events. Despite this  
250 caveat, four main periods nevertheless can be distinguished from Fig. 5.

251 - *Uncontaminated environment (8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC)*. From the bottom of the core to -563  
252 cm (units A and B1) anthropogenic lead is not visible, even in harbor subunit B1, which dates  
253 from the foundation of Ostia in the 4<sup>th</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (32) to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC.  
254 Figure 5 shows that contamination is not detected until the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. This underscores once  
255 more that Pb pollution derives primarily from the dissolution of *fistulae* (Figs. 3 and 4). Lead  
256 *fistulae* would not be expected at Ostia in this period, since Ostia relied on wells for its water  
257 supply until the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (33). The water of the Aqua Appia and Anio Vetus  
258 aqueducts at Rome, built, respectively, in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. and early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, were distributed  
259 by a lead-free system of masonry channels or terracotta or wooden pipes of which only few  
260 have been found. It seems likely that these aqueducts supplied only a small number of focal  
261 points in the city, perhaps centrally located public fountains. Such a minimalist system was a  
262 far cry from that of Imperial Rome, which supplied hundreds of baths and private residences  
263 through a complex network of *fistulae* (10).

264  
265 - *Manifestation of anthropogenic Pb (basal part of subunit B2)*. The next period (Fig. 5)  
266 is characterized by the first rise of anthropogenic Pb excesses in the sandy harbor subunit B2.  
267 The age-depth models of cores PO2 (Fig. 2A) and PTXI-3 (Fig. S1 and Table S1) both  
268 suggest that Pb contamination began around the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC.

269 This radiocarbon-based age-depth model receives some confirmation from scattered  
270 mentions in textual sources. The first dated stamps on lead pipes do not appear at Rome until  
271 11 BC (10) and even later at Ostia (AD 37-41) (33-35). *Fistulae* seem to have been in use in  
272 water systems at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC in Rome (36), however, and by the late 2<sup>nd</sup>  
273 century BC at nearby Alatri (10). Rome's system of public water basins and private  
274 connections was probably in operation by 184 BC, but lead pipes are not mentioned (9, 37).  
275 Already Cato the Elder (234-149 BC) (38) used the word *fistula* as meaning "pipe".

276 The high-resolution Pb isotopic characterization of core PO2 provides continuous and  
277 detailed insight into water supply and urbanization upstream. Following the first appearance  
278 of anthropogenic Pb in the harbor sediments of Ostia at -563 cm, the trend of decreasing  
279  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$  (Fig. 5A), and  $\mu$  (Fig. 5B) with time, as well  
280 as increasing  $EF_{Pb}$ ,  $T_{\text{mod}}$ , and  $f_{\beta}$  (Fig. 5B) argues for an overall increase of the imported Pb  
281 component. Like at other Roman cities (4, 34), this trend reflects the increase in the  
282 geographic extent and/or density of the lead pipe system as a result of urban development. At  
283 Rome, it is consistent with the repair and expansion of the water supply system that  
284 accompanied the commissioning of the Aqua Marcia (late 140s BC) and Aqua Tepula (125  
285 BC) aqueducts (6).

286 Then, a sudden drop in  $EF_{Pb}$ ,  $T_{\text{mod}}$ , and  $f_{\beta}$ , and a sharp spike in  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ ,  
287  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ , and  $\mu$  take place between -536 and -506 cm core depth (bottom gray  
288 band in Fig. 5A and B), corresponding to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. After the Aqua  
289 Tepula, a century of rampant unrest and outright civil war prevented aqueduct construction  
290 and hampered maintenance (6). The Ostia PO2 core thus provides the first evidence of the  
291 scale of the contemporaneous reduction in flows in Rome's lead pipe distribution system – of  
292 the order of 50% – resulting in decreased inputs of lead-contaminated water into the Tiber.  
293 Octavian (Augustus)'s progressive defeat of his rivals during the 30s BC (39) allowed his  
294 future son-in-law, Agrippa, to take control of Rome's water supply between 40 BC (40) and  
295 33 BC (6). Over the next 30 years, they repaired and extended the existing aqueduct and  
296 *fistulae* system, as well as built an unprecedented three new aqueducts (6, 10), leading to  
297 renewed increase in Pb pollution of the Tiber river. This sequence of events is recorded as a  
298 sharp decrease in  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$  (Fig. 5A), and  $\mu$  (Fig. 5B)  
299 accompanied by a major spike in  $EF_{Pb}$ ,  $T_{\text{mod}}$ , and  $f_{\beta}$  (Fig. 5B) between -506 and -472 cm core.

300 While the correlation between politics, stability, and lead isotopic composition is clear, the  
301 precise mechanism behind this correlation is undoubtedly complex and requires further study.

302  
303 - *Variability in pollution level (late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC/early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD to post AD 250)*. The next  
304 chapter in the PO2 core stretches from -472 to -294 cm, covering the Roman Imperial period.  
305 The end of this phase falls outside the dated portion of the core. The overall trend shows  
306 continuing but declining Pb pollution from a peak around the beginning of this period. This  
307 continued Pb pollution is consistent with the Pb isotopic compositions of sediments deposited  
308 during the High Roman Empire in the Claudian (core PTXI-3, Fig. S1) and Trajanic basins  
309 (cores TR14) (2) at Portus as well as the canal leading to them (core CN1) (2) where  $T_{\text{mod}}$   
310 values are ~ 125-200 Ma and  $\kappa$  values are ~ 3.96-3.98 (2), both indicative of imported lead.  
311 These sustained levels of anthropogenic Pb in multiple cores confirm the picture from textual  
312 and archeological data that the aqueduct and lead pipe distribution system was generally  
313 maintained until at least the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD (41, 42, 10). Reduced dissolution of Pb due to  
314 insulation of the pipes by coating of a limestone deposit known as travertine (8) is unlikely to  
315 be a factor in this decline. Travertine deposits centimeters thick have been observed in many  
316 ancient aqueducts, cisterns, fountains and pools, including those at Rome and Pompeii. The  
317 deposition process is driven by an excess of calcium carbonate (limestone) in the water  
318 resulting from the escape of carbon dioxide to the atmosphere (degassing) (43). In aqueducts,  
319 cisterns, fountains and pools, there is good interaction between the air and the water,  
320 facilitating such degassing. In a pressurized piped system like the ones that distributed water  
321 at Rome and Ostia, however, the water fills the entire pipe, inhibiting degassing and travertine  
322 deposition. Pipe damage – mentioned by two legal sources at Rome (6, 44) – probably led to  
323 regular replacement, thereby exposing fresh, uncoated lead for dissolution. The relative lack  
324 of travertine in pressurized pipes is borne out by our field observations at Rome (2) and

325 around the Bay of Naples (45, 46) where almost all parts of the system are coated in travertine  
326 except the pressurized pipes. Likewise, at Patara in Turkey (43), the pressurized inverted  
327 siphon pipes have much thinner travertine deposits than surrounding areas of the aqueduct.  
328 The travertine deposits from Pompeii (45) and the nymphaeum of Trajan at Ephesus (47)  
329 show elevated levels of lead that was clearly derived from the lead pipes and fittings, despite  
330 the widespread presence of travertine deposits in the systems. At Ostia, the situation is more  
331 complex: early lead contamination of travertine disappeared. The authors posit a change in  
332 water source (48)

333 The smooth declining trend in core PO<sub>2</sub> is punctuated by two further dips in Pb pollution,  
334 the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> in the core (middle and top gray bands in Fig. 5A and B). The 2<sup>nd</sup> decrease  
335 occurs from -470 to -440 cm (sometime between the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD) and the 3<sup>rd</sup>  
336 from -370 to -350 cm (sometime from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD). Instability of the  
337 Tiber's flow regime is excluded as a cause for these drops because of the lack of correlation  
338 between  $f_{\beta}$  and F1 ( $r = 0.2$  in subunit B2). These decreases coincide with two strong marine  
339 (F4) peaks (Fig. 2B)<sub>[H2]</sub>, suggesting the most likely cause is the diversion of the contaminated  
340 Tiber water away from Ostia's harbor. Man-made links between the Tiber and the sea  
341 upstream of Ostia were constructed in this period: the northern canal, the Canale Romano, and  
342 the Claudian basin at Portus (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD) followed by the Trajanic basin and probably the  
343 north-eastern canal (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD) (49). These reductions in Tiber outflow would have  
344 initially and mechanically (i) brought less anthropogenic Pb and (ii) allowed more  
345 uncontaminated seawater to enter the harbor of Ostia, diluting the reduced Tiber-derived Pb.  
346 This would also explain why clear evidence of these anthropogenic Pb drops is not seen in the  
347 TR14 and CN1 cores (2). We cannot rule out, however, that the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> drops in Pb  
348 pollution may be due to damage or neglect of the water distribution system.

349 After the second drop (-470 to -440 cm), the renewed rise in Pb excesses shows that the  
350 Pb concentration in the water recovered to a level only slightly below the previous peak,  
351 while the values of  $f_{\beta}$  recovered to levels consistent with imported lead being the source (Fig.  
352 5B). Once the third drop passed (~ -350 cm), the lead pollution in the harbor water column  
353 returned to approximately two-thirds ( $f_{\beta} \sim 0.3-0.5$ ) (Fig. 5B) of that of the major spike, with a  
354 surge of older Pb in leachates (~ 125-175 Ma) and a dramatic drop in the  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$ ,  
355  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$  (Fig. 5A), and  $\mu$  (Fig. 5B) derived from leaching of the  
356 *fistulae*. This last and durable Pb pollution phase recorded in the upper part of the PO2 core  
357 shows that maintenance of a somewhat reduced water system continued-.

358  
359 - *Decrease of the pollution level (post-AD 250)*. The last period, post-dating AD 250, is  
360 characterized by a decrease in imported lead ( $f_{\beta} \sim 0.2$  in the unit C, Fig. 5B). This decrease is  
361 also observed at the same time in the TR14 and CN1 cores at Portus (2) and is not associated  
362 with a strong period of marine influence (F4, Fig. 2B). It thus represents a contraction of the  
363 effective water distribution system at Rome, likely related to the increase in instability  
364 beginning in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD. Indeed, after the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD., no more aqueducts were built and  
365 maintenance was on a smaller scale (41), while no pipe stamps can be dated to the period  
366 from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> to mid-4<sup>th</sup> c. AD (10). This period of receding Pb contamination corresponds  
367 to the apparent decline of Pb and Ag mining (50) and of overall economic activity in the  
368 Roman Empire (51).

369

## 370 **Materials and Methods**

371 Major and trace element concentrations were determined by complete digestion of the bulk  
372 sediment, whereas Pb isotope compositions were measured only on the most labile fraction in  
373 order to emphasize the anthropogenic contribution. A large selection of major and trace



374 element concentrations were measured for the 12 m long Ostia core PO2 every 14 cm (86  
375 samples) (Table S5), while only Pb concentrations were analyzed for 12 samples from core  
376 PTXI-3. All samples from both cores were additionally measured for their Pb isotope  
377 compositions.

378 **Major and trace elements.** After sieving at 63  $\mu\text{m}$ , aliquots of 100 mg sediment were  
379 weighed into screwtop Savillex beakers and dissolved in a clean laboratory in laminar flow  
380 hoods using a 3:1:0.5 mixture of concentrated double-distilled HF, HNO<sub>3</sub>, and HClO<sub>4</sub>. The  
381 samples were left to attack at 120-130 °C for 48 h, then evaporated to dryness. Perchlorates  
382 were converted to chlorides by drying down with 6 M distilled HCl. The samples were  
383 redissolved in 2 ml concentrated distilled HNO<sub>3</sub>, from which ~10 percent aliquots were  
384 further diluted to 2% HNO<sub>3</sub> and internal standards (10 ppm Sc for ICP-AES and 2 ppb In for  
385 Q-ICP-MS) added. Major elements were analyzed by ICP-AES (ICAP 6000) and trace  
386 elements by Q-ICP-MS (Agilent 7500 CX) at the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon. The  
387 upper limit of blank contribution is negligible for major elements and <2 % of the sample  
388 content for trace elements. The data are listed in Table S5.

389 **Lead isotope compositions.** The same method as described in Delile (13) and Delile et al. (2-  
390 4) was used. After sieving at 63  $\mu\text{m}$ , representative aliquots of 500 mg of sediment were  
391 weighed out into screwtop Savillex beakers, then leached with hot Suprapur chloroform to  
392 separate the labile, or anthropogenic, component of the Pb. A second leaching step was done  
393 with hot dilute double-distilled HBr. The two leachates were combined and evaporated to  
394 dryness. Lead from the leachates was then separated on anion-exchange columns using  
395 distilled 1 M HBr to elute the sample matrix and distilled 6 M HCl to elute the Pb. The  
396 sample residues after leaching were not analyzed in this work because the isotopic  
397 composition of the natural Pb background had already been determined previously (2, 13).  
398 Lead isotope compositions were measured by multi-collector ICP-MS (Nu Plasma 500 HR) at

399 the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon using Tl doping and sample-standard bracketing (52,  
400 53) and the values for NIST 981 of Eisele et al. (54). The total procedural Pb blank was < 20  
401 pg. The external reproducibility of the reported Pb isotope ratios as estimated from the  
402 repeated (every two samples) runs of NIST 981 are 100-200 ppm (or 0.01-0.02%) for ratios  
403 based on  $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  and 50 ppm (or 0.005%) for  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ ,  
404  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$ , and  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{208}\text{Pb}$ . The Pb isotope data are listed in Table S4.

405 The proportion  $f_\beta$  of the  $\beta$  component in the leachate is calculated by least-squares using  
406 three sets of equations, e.g.:

$$407 \left( \frac{^{204}\text{Pb}}{^{206}\text{Pb}} \right)_\alpha f_\alpha + \left( \frac{^{204}\text{Pb}}{^{206}\text{Pb}} \right)_\beta f_\beta = \left( \frac{^{204}\text{Pb}}{^{206}\text{Pb}} \right)_{\text{leach}}$$

408 with similar equations for the  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  and  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  ratios. In these equations,  $f$  is the  
409 proportion of  $^{206}\text{Pb}$  assigned to each component. A closure equation ensuring that all the  $f$ s  
410 sum to 1 must be added.

411

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422

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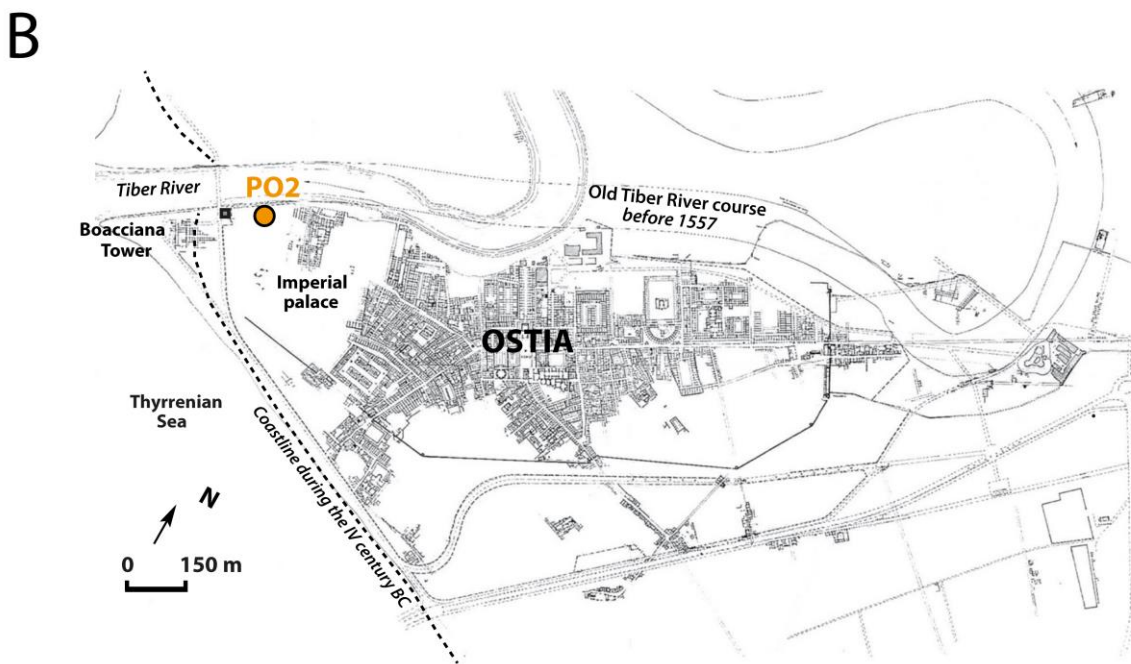
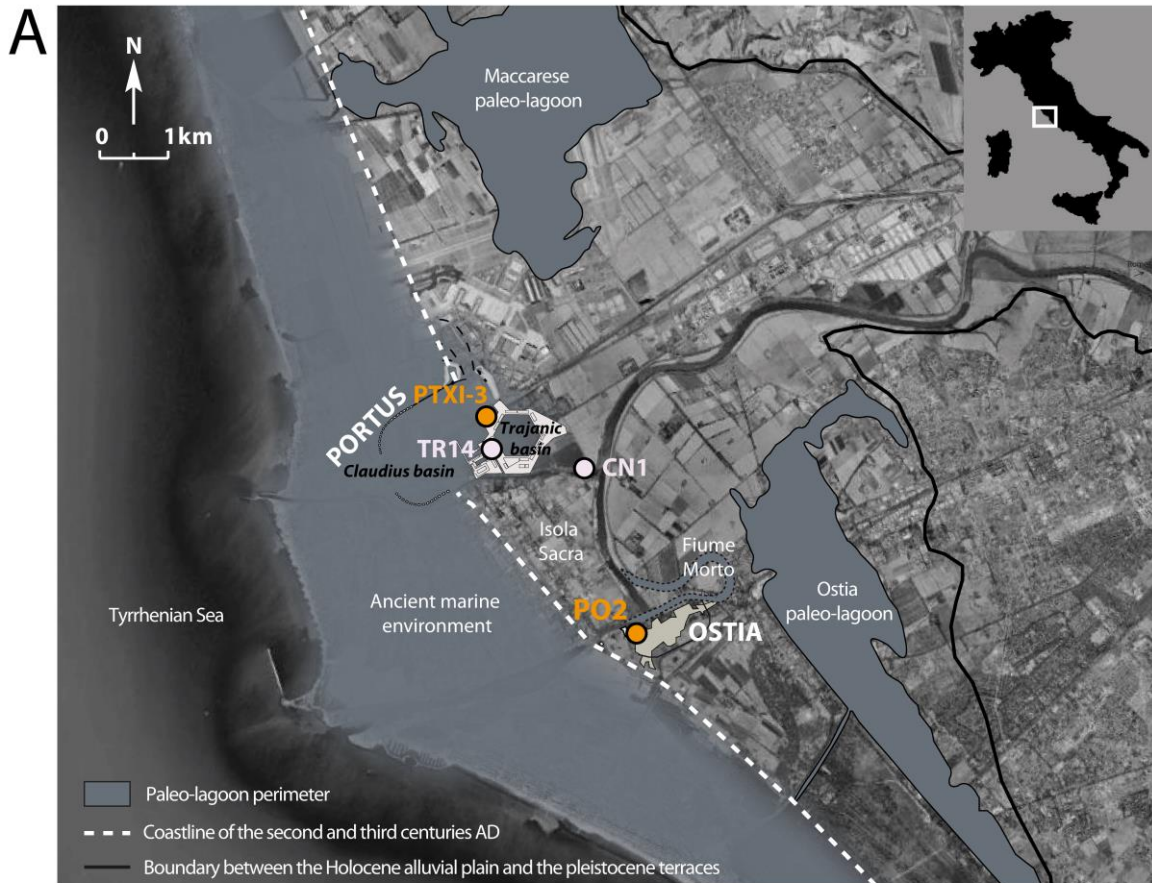
562

## 563 **Author Contributions**

564 H.D. and J.-P.G. designed the project; J.-P.G. carried out the field work; H.D., J.B.-T. and  
565 F.A.-G. produced the data; H.D., D.K.-J., J.B.-T., J.-P.G. and F.A. analyzed and interpreted  
566 the data; H.D., D.K.-J., J.B.-T., and F.A. wrote the paper.

567

568 **Figures**

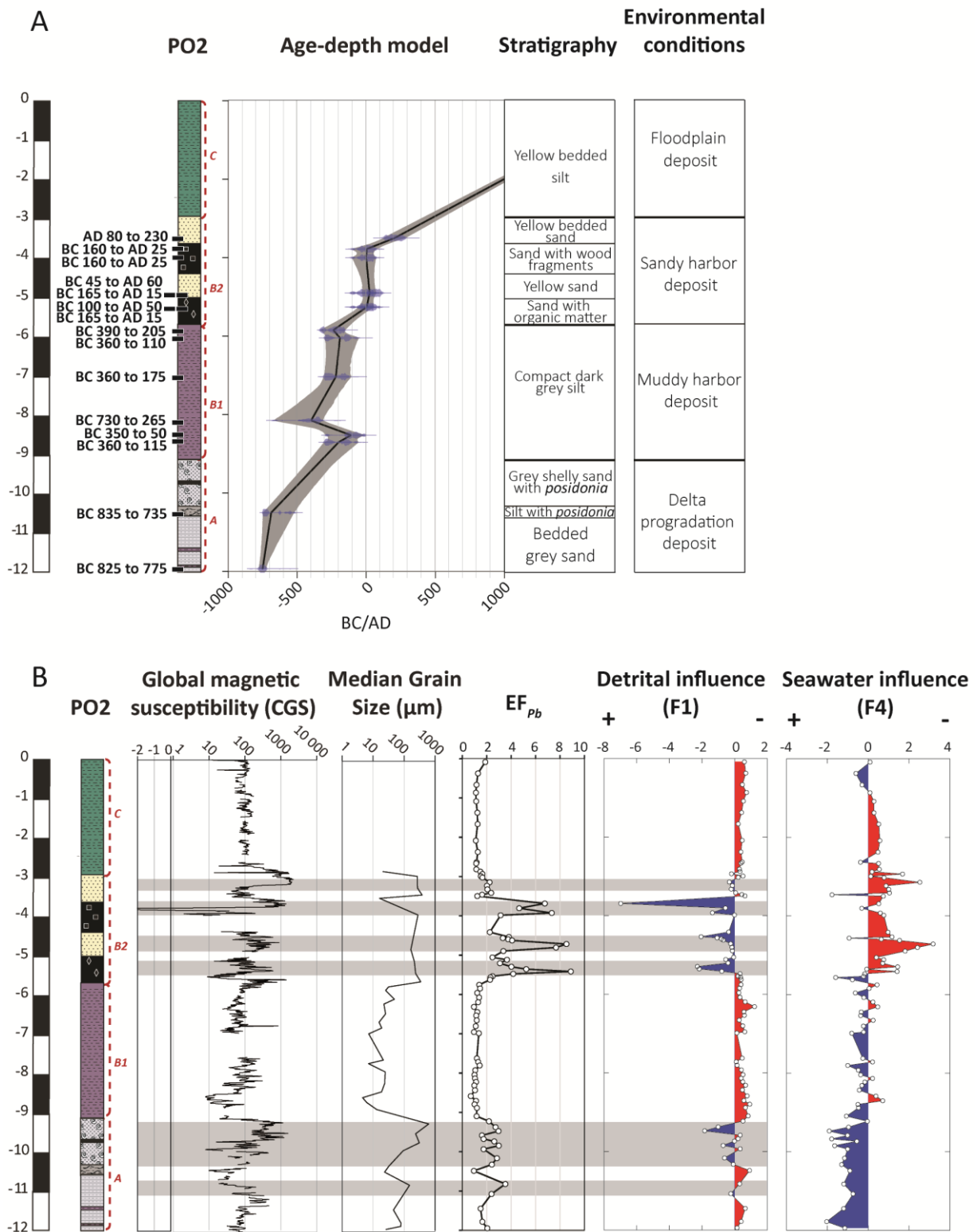


569

570 **Fig. 1.** (A) Location of ancient Rome's harbor basins in the Tiber delta with the position of  
 571 cores PO2 and PTXI-3 (orange circles) analyzed in this work, and cores TR14 and CN1  
 572 analyzed by Delile et al. (2) (modified from ref. 11). (B) Map showing the archeological area

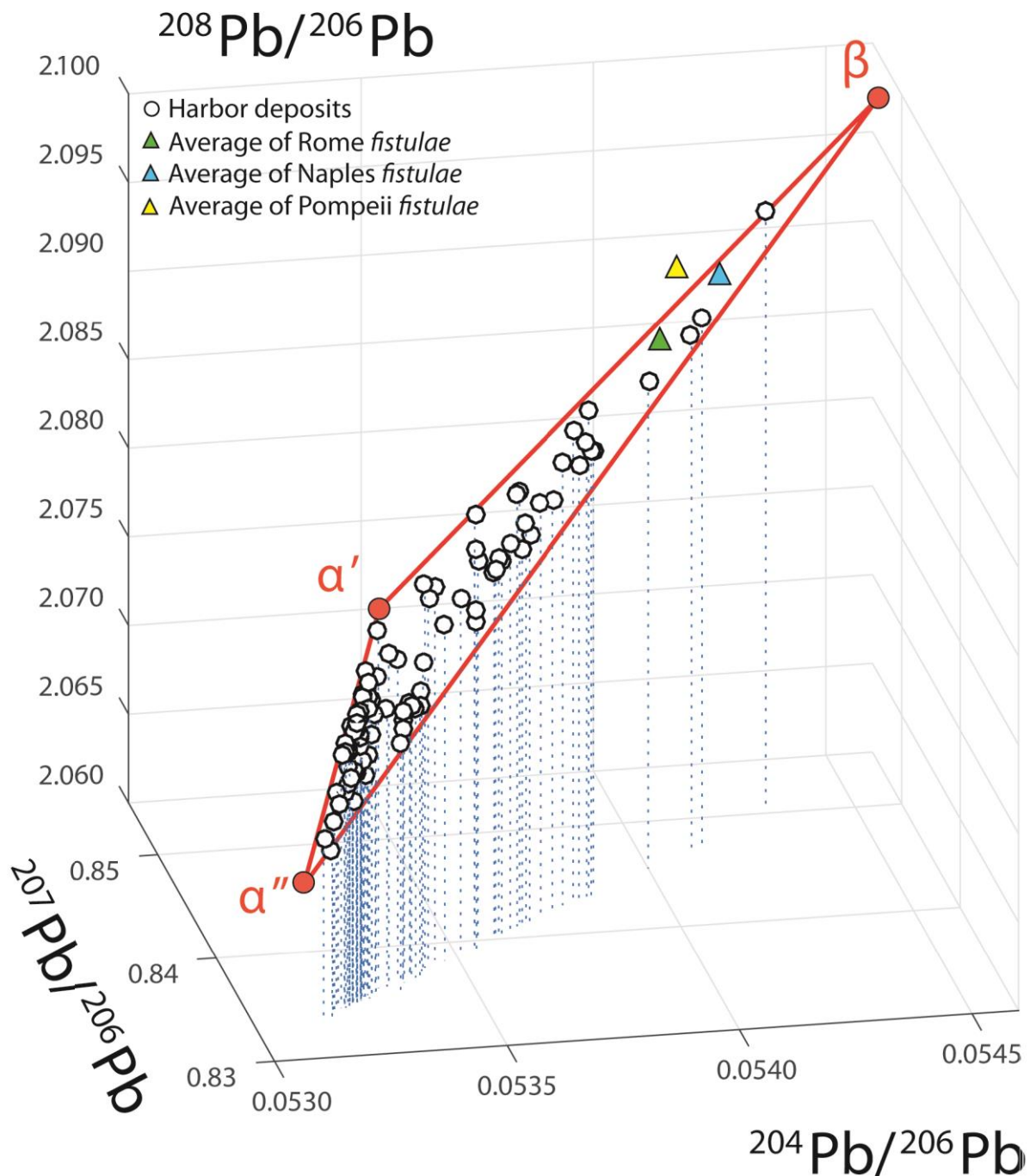


573 of ancient Ostia with the location of core PO2, as well as the old and the new Tiber river  
 574 courses (modified from ref. 11).



575  
 576 **Fig. 2.** Stratigraphic log of core PO2 showing (A) the age-depth model of the core constructed  
 577 using the Clam software (55) from fifteen radiocarbon dates (symbolized by the black labels

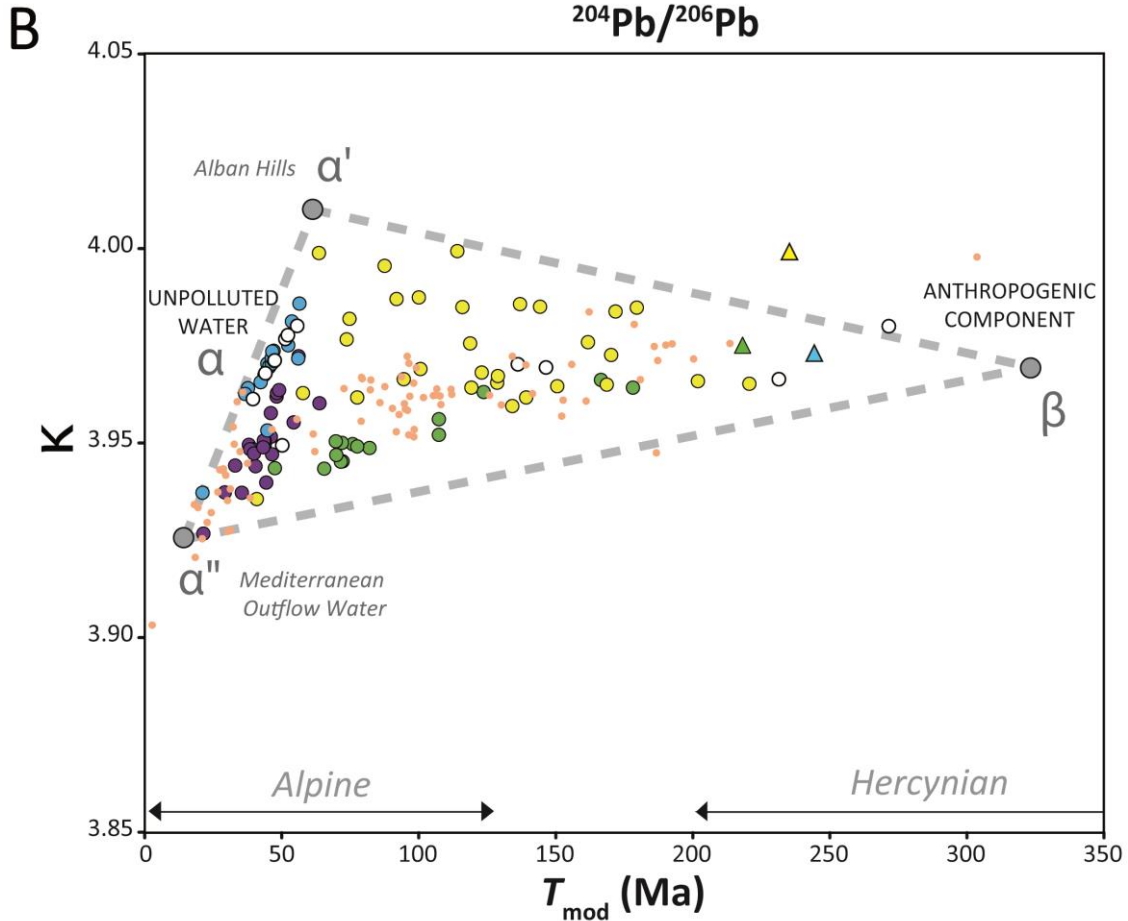
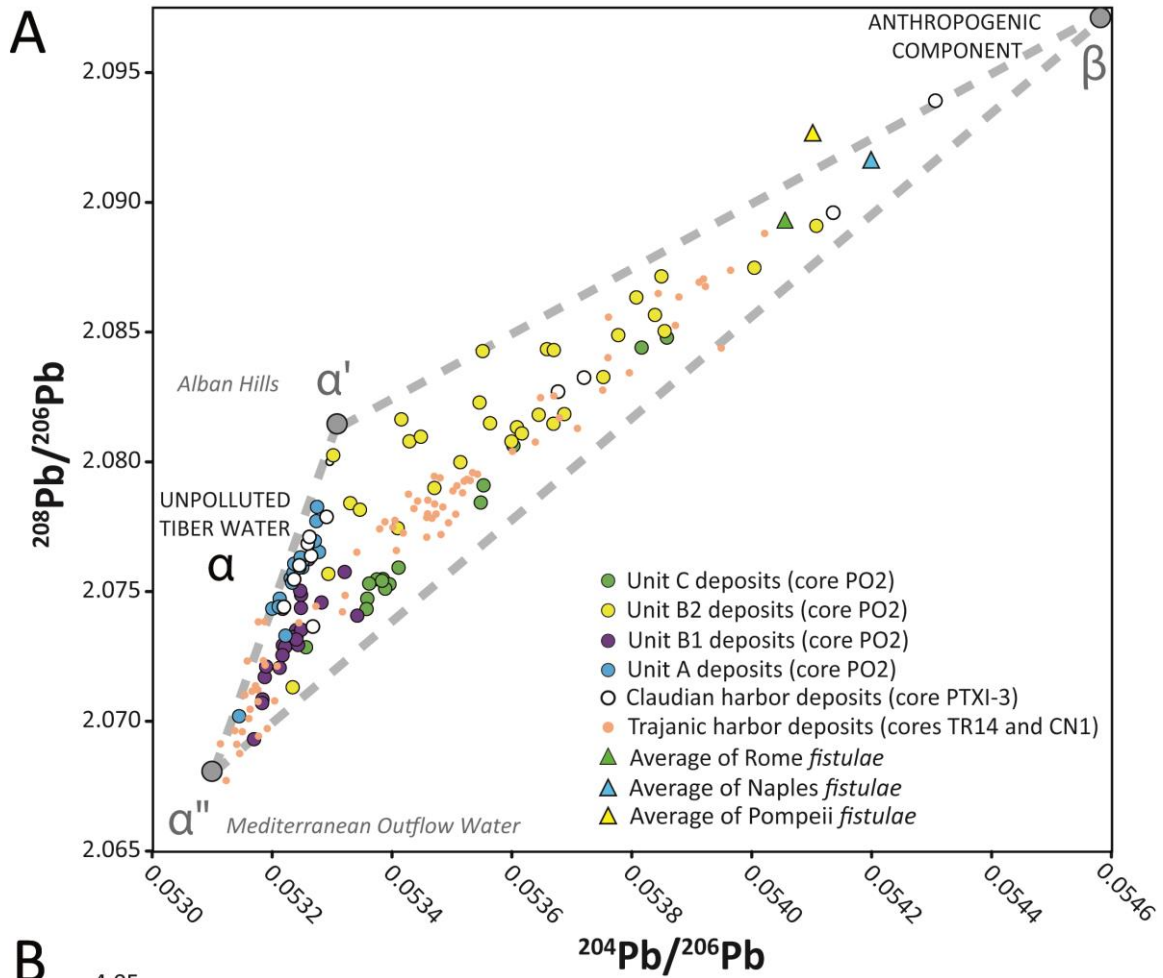
578 on the stratigraphic log). Further details on the age-depth model and the  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates can be found  
579 in the captions to Fig. S3 and Table S1. The stratigraphic description of the core along with  
580 environmental interpretations are shown at the right-hand side; (B) the magnetic susceptibility  
581 values, the grain size 50 percentile (D 50) (11), the Pb enrichment factor ( $\text{EF}_{\text{Pb}}$ ), and Factor 1  
582 (detrital influence) and Factor 4 (seawater influence) of the Factor Analysis of major and trace  
583 element concentrations (see the detailed distribution of the individual elements in Fig. S2).  
584 The gray shadings highlight the synchronicity between the highest  $\text{EF}_{\text{Pb}}$  values, detrital  
585 activity in the harbor basin (negative values of F1), the grain size 50 percentile, and magnetic  
586 susceptibility.



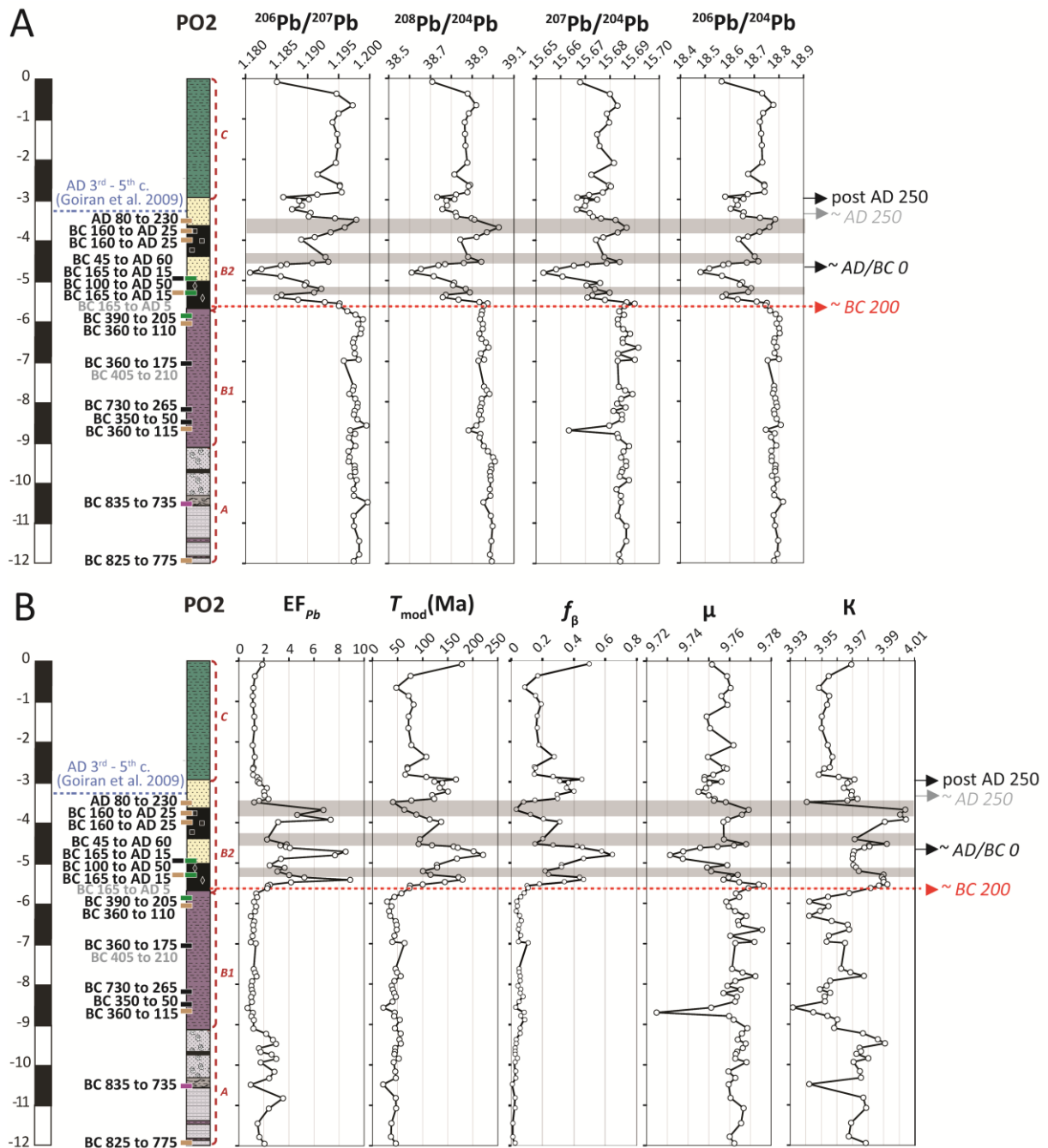
587

588 **Fig. 3.** 3D plot of  $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  vs  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  vs  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  measured on leachates from cores  
 589 PO2 and PTXI-3. The track of the stippled blue drop lines suggests that the 3D data set as a  
 590 whole could be interpreted as a single alignment in  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb} - ^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  space, and  
 591 therefore as a two-component mixture.<sup>[h3]</sup> However, adding  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  to the perspective  
 592 demonstrates that lead is a mixture of three separate components,  $\alpha'$ ,  $\alpha''$ , and  $\beta$ . The three red  
 593 lines connect components  $\alpha'$  and  $\beta$ ,  $\alpha''$  and  $\beta$ , and  $\alpha'$  and  $\alpha''$ . The  $\alpha'$  and  $\alpha''$  mixing line

594 corresponds to unpolluted Tiber water and is composed of Mediterranean outflow water ( $\alpha''$ )  
595 (56) and volcanic rocks from the Alban Hills ( $\alpha'$ ) (57, 58).  $\beta$  is the anthropogenic end-  
596 member located near the *fistulae* from Rome (2), Naples (4), and Pompeii (26).



598 **Fig. 4.** Plots of (A)  $^{204}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  vs  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{206}\text{Pb}$  and (B)  $T_{\text{mod}}$  vs  $\kappa$  for leachates from cores PO2  
 599 (unit C in green, subunit B2 in yellow, subunit B1 in purple, unit A in blue), PTXI-3  
 600 (Claudian harbor), TR14 (Trajanic harbor), CN1 (Canale Romano deposits), and *fistulae* from  
 601 Rome, Naples, and Pompeii (2, 4, 26).



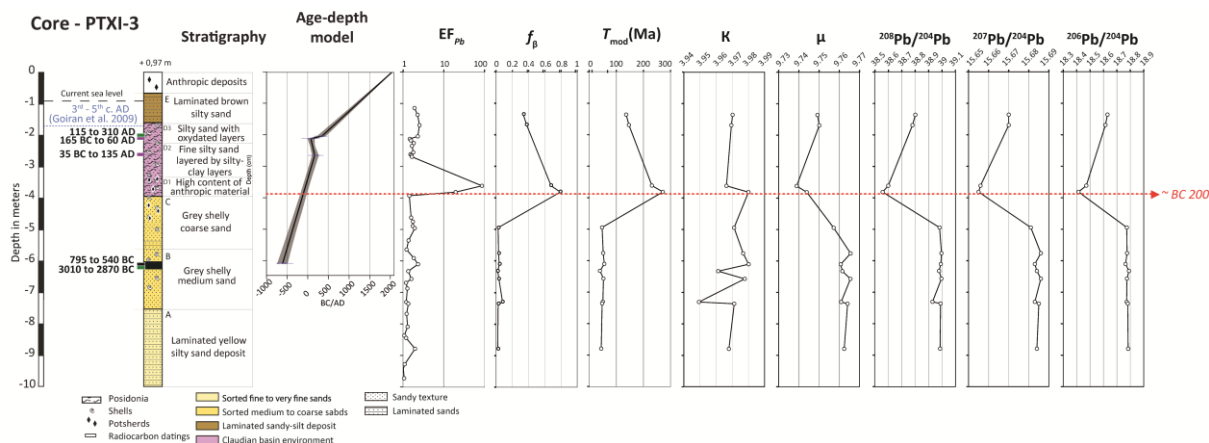
602

603 **Fig. 5.** Downcore variations of (A)  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{207}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{208}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ ,  $^{207}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$ , and  $^{206}\text{Pb}/^{204}\text{Pb}$  and  
 604 (B)  $T_{\text{mod}}$ ,  $f_{\beta}$ ,  $\mu$ , and  $\kappa$ . The red dotted line marks the first appearance of anthropogenic Pb  
 605 pollution recorded in core PO2 from around 200 BC according to the age-depth model. The

606 gray bands show the main declining trends of anthropogenic lead pollution discussed in this  
607 study.

608

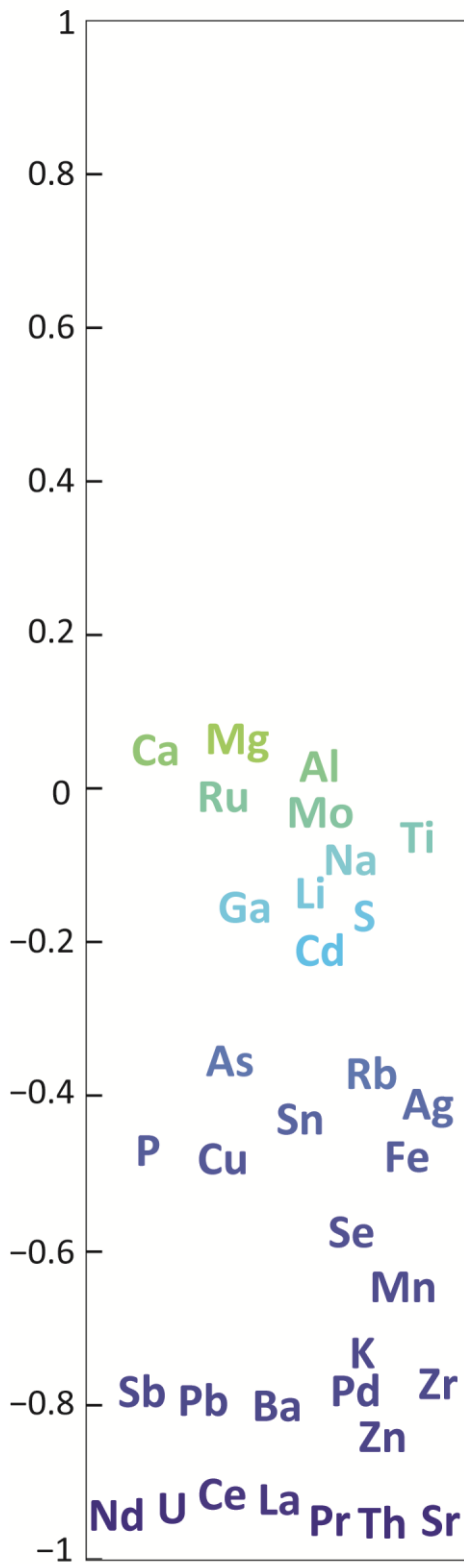
## 609 Supplementary Materials



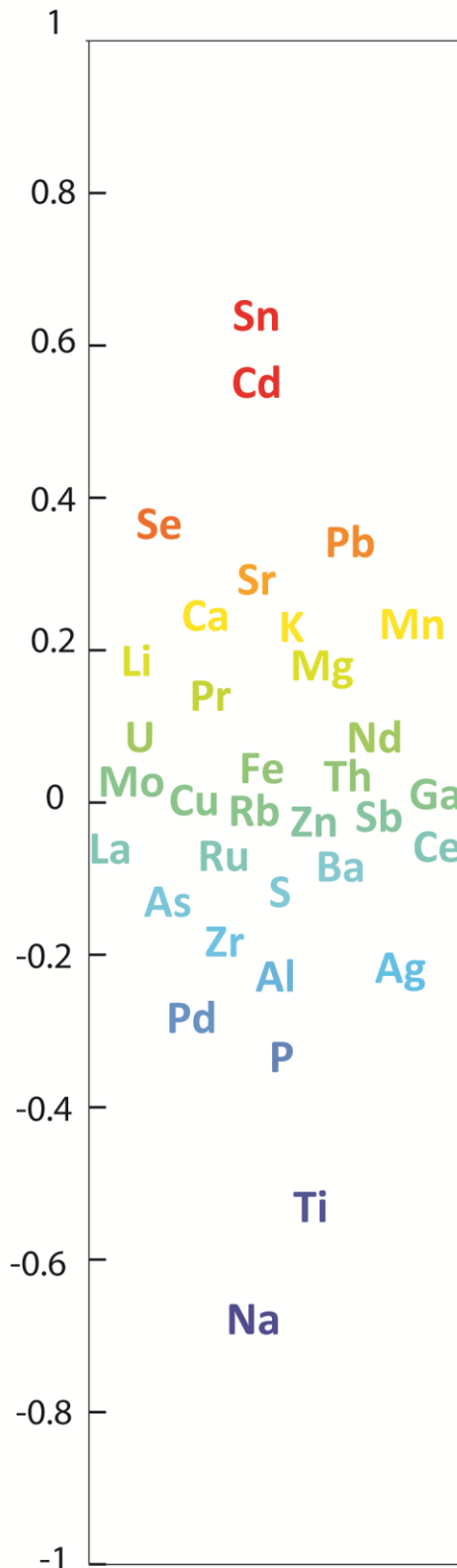
610

611 **Fig. S1.** Stratigraphic log of core PTXI-3 showing its stratigraphic description,  $^{14}C$  dates, the  
612 age-depth model of the core constructed with the Clam software (55),  $EF_{Pb}$ ,  $f_{Pb}$ , the geological  
613 parameters, and the Pb isotopic compositions.

### Factor 1

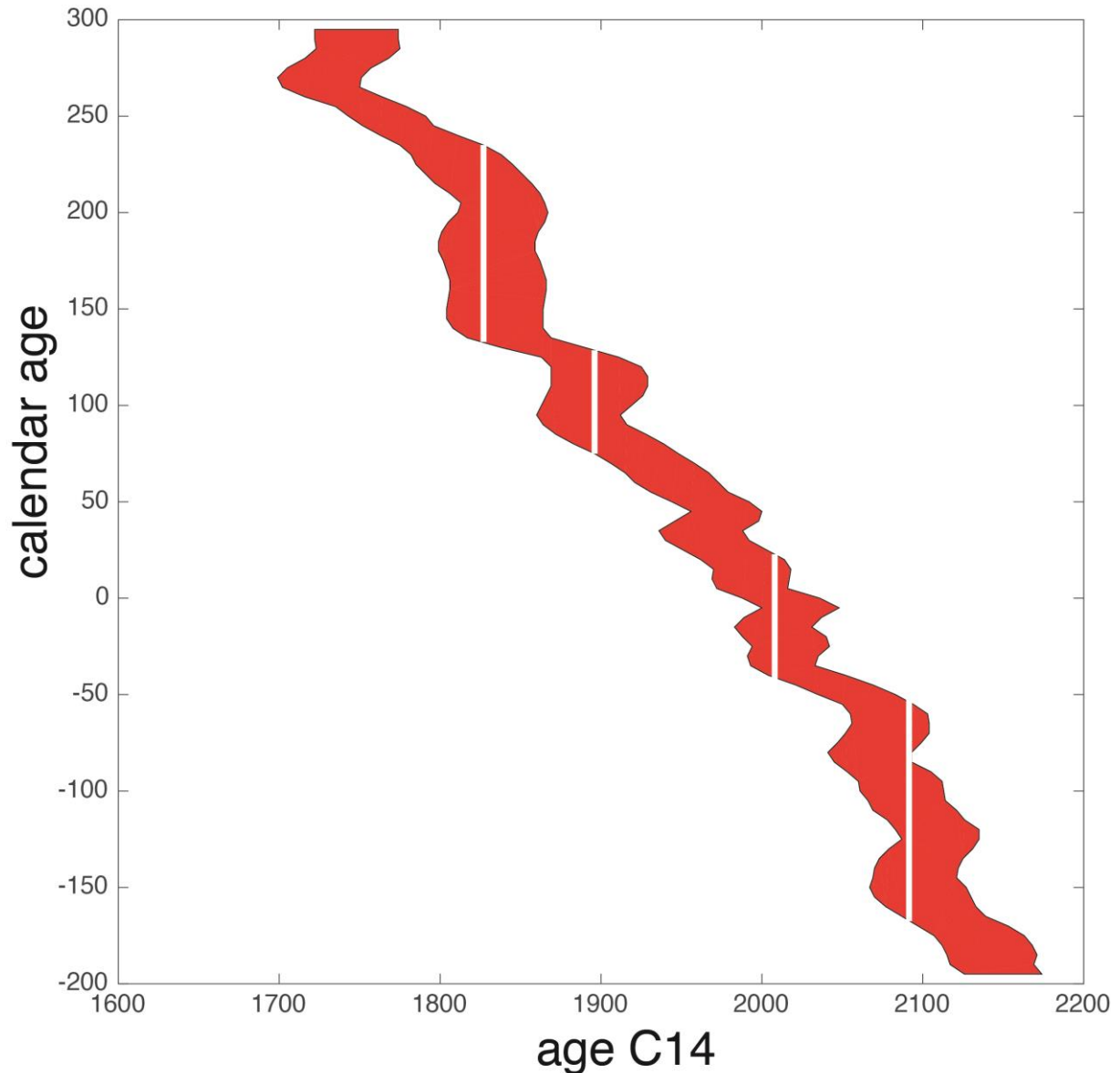


### Factor 4





615 Fig. S2. Factor Analysis of elemental concentrations (34 elements) in the PO2 core for the  
616 two instructive factors. Factors 1 and 4 are anti-correlated with detrital and marine influence,  
617 respectively.



618  
619 **Fig. S3.** Illustration of the uncertainties of the <sup>14</sup>C dates with  $\pm 2$ -sigma uncertainty (or 95%  
620 confidence) intervals. BP ages, calendar years, and uncertainties are from the IntCal13  
621 radiocarbon age calibration (31). The white bars emphasize how large the uncertainties can be  
622 for some dates. Because the <sup>14</sup>C age vs calendar age curve is not single-valued everywhere  
623 (one  $x$  value may correspond to more than one  $y$  value), the magnitude of the 2-sigma (95%)

624 confidence intervals on calendar ages varies and occasionally may break into discontinuous  
625 segments.

626

627 **Table S1.**  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates of cores PO2 and PTXI-3. Ages were calibrated according to the IntCal13  
628 radiocarbon calibration curve (31) using the Clam software (55). The age-depth modeling  
629 procedure was done with the Clam software in order to produce model dates with comparable  
630 to those from Delile et al. (2). However, the Bayesian age-depth modeling software Bacon (1)  
631 provides similar model dates.

632

633 1. Blaauw M, Christen JA (2011) Flexible paleoclimate age-depth models using an  
634 autoregressive gamma process. *Bayesian Anal* 6(3):457–474.

635

636 **Table S2.** Factor 1 and Factor 4 data of the Factor Analysis done on major and trace element  
637 abundances.

638

639 **Table S3.** Pb isotope compositions and  $T_{\text{mod}}$  (Ma),  $\mu$  and  $\kappa$  of the two natural components  $\alpha'$   
640 and  $\alpha''$  and the anthropogenic component  $\beta$ .

641

642 **Table. S4.** Pb isotope compositions,  $T_{\text{mod}}$  (Ma),  $\mu$  and  $\kappa$ , and proportions of the components  $\beta$ ,  
643  $\alpha'$ ,  $\alpha''$  in the sediment leachates from the PO2 and PTXI-3 cores.

644

645 **Table. S5.** Major and trace element concentrations of the sediments from the PO2 core and Pb  
646 concentrations of the sediments from the PTXI-3 core. Values in wt.% for major elements and  
647 in ppm for trace elements.

648