

**On-site data cast doubts on the hypothesis of shifting cultivation in the Late Neolithic (c. 4300–2400 cal. BC).
Landscape management as an alternative paradigm**

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Keywords:	Central Europe, wetland settlements, archaeobotany, archaeozoology, type of farming, niche construction, use of fire
Abstract:	This article brings together in a comprehensive way, and for the first time, on- and off-site palaeoenvironmental data from the area of the Central European lake dwellings (a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Site since 2011). The types of data considered are: high-resolution off-site pollen cores, including micro-charcoal counts, and on-site data, including botanical macro- and micro-remains, hand-collected animal bones, remains of microfauna, and data on woodland management (dendrotypology). The period considered is the Late Neolithic (c. 4300–2400 cal. BC). For this period, especially for its earlier phases, discussions of land-use patterns are contradictory. Based on off-site data, slash-and-burn – as known from tropical regions – is thought to be the only possible way to cultivate the land. On-site data however show a completely different picture: all indications point to the permanent cultivation of cereals (<i>Triticum</i> spp., <i>Hordeum vulgare</i>), pea (<i>Pisum sativum</i>), flax (<i>Linum usitatissimum</i>) and

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	opium-poppy (<i>Papaver somniferum</i>). Cycles of landscape use are traceable, including coppicing and moving around the landscape with animal herds. Archaeobiological studies further indicate also that hunting and gathering were an important component and that the landscape was manipulated accordingly. Late Neolithic land-use systems also included the use of fire as a tool for opening up the landscape. Here we argue that bringing together all the types of palaeoenvironmental proxies in an integrative way allows us to draw a more comprehensive and reliable picture of the land-use systems in the Late Neolithic than had been reconstructed previously largely on the basis of off-site data.

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9 **On-site data cast doubts on the hypothesis of shifting cultivation in the Late**
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18 *Review article*
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22 **Abstract**
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24 This article brings together in a comprehensive way, and for the first time, on- and
25 off-site palaeoenvironmental data from the area of the Central European lake
26 dwellings (a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Site since 2011). The types of data
27 considered are: high-resolution off-site pollen cores, including micro-charcoal
28 counts, and on-site data, including botanical macro- and micro-remains, hand-
29 collected animal bones, remains of microfauna, and data on woodland
30 management (dendrotypology). The period considered is the Late Neolithic (c.
31 4300–2400 cal. BC). For this period, especially for its earlier phases, discussions of
32 land-use patterns are contradictory. Based on off-site data, slash-and-burn – as
33 known from tropical regions – is thought to be the only possible way to cultivate
34 the land. On-site data however show a completely different picture: all indications
35 point to the permanent cultivation of cereals (*Triticum* spp., *Hordeum vulgare*), pea
36 (*Pisum sativum*), flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) and opium-poppy (*Papaver*
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9 *somniferum*). Cycles of landscape use are traceable, including coppicing and
10 moving around the landscape with animal herds. Archaeobiological studies further
11 indicate also that hunting and gathering were an important component and that
12 the landscape was manipulated accordingly. Late Neolithic land-use systems also
13 included the use of fire as a tool for opening up the landscape. Here we argue that
14 bringing together all the types of palaeoenvironmental proxies in an integrative
15 way allows us to draw a more comprehensive and reliable picture of the land-use
16 systems in the Late Neolithic than had been reconstructed previously largely on
17 the basis of off-site data.
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31 **Keywords**

32 Central Europe, wetland settlements, archaeobotany, archaeozoology, type of farming, niche
33 construction, use of fire
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42 **Introduction**

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44 The main purpose of this article is to contribute to a long-standing and ongoing
45 debate on the type of land use in the Late Neolithic (LN hereafter; c. 4300–2400
46 cal. BC; Figure OSM 1) in the regions bordering the Alps (Figure 1). There are
47 generally two extreme positions, which can be summarized as ‘permanently
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9 cultivated plots' *versus* 'shifting cultivation' models. The first hypothesis is based
10 on archaeobiological on-site-data (for definitions see Jacomet, 2007a) and
11 ethnographic sources, the second rests to a large degree on off-site data, but also
12 experimental work. Whereas off-site evidence is primarily based on pollen and
13 micro-charcoal, on-site evidence relies on archaeobotanical and isotope analyses
14 of a whole range of materials, notably botanical macro- and micro-remains,
15 especially weeds and crops, archaeozoological remains and animal dung, as well as
16 wood remains (for a more thorough description of the evidence and citations, see
17 OSM text, chapter 'State of research and interpretation tools').
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20 For many years various researchers have stated that empirical on-site data suggest
21 that slash-and-burn cultivation was not practised (at least not regularly) during
22 the LN in the alpine foreland (see e.g. Brombacher and Jacomet, 1997, p. 270 f.;
23 Hosch and Jacomet, 2004, p. 128 ff.). They favour the idea of a sophisticated
24 landscape management, which also included the use of fire. Fields, once cleared,
25 are thought to have been used relatively permanently and worked intensively, and
26 this included weeding and perhaps even manuring. Yet the idea of shifting
27 cultivation is surprisingly resilient, despite much empirical data against it. The
28 main reason for this is that the more marginal landscapes, including the hilly and
29 mountainous areas of the Alps themselves and the regions bordering them, are
30 considered as less amenable to agriculture, for reasons related to climate and/or
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9 poorer soil quality (Schier, 2009; Kreuz et al., 2014). This is seen in contrast to
10 Early and partly Middle Neolithic settlement areas (*Altsiedellandschaften*), which
11 were established from 5500 cal. BC onwards on the most fertile loess soils of
12 Central Europe (see Kreuz, 2012) where slash-and-burn is thought to have been
13 unnecessary because the natural soil fertility was high enough. The alpine areas
14 are thought to have been settled only relatively late (after around 4400 cal. BC) by
15 agro-pastoral communities and the only option to farm in such landscapes would
16 have been shifting cultivation (see the so called 'tertiary neolithisation' or '*tertiäre*
17 *Neolithisierung*' after Schier, 2009, p. 19 ff.). Recently however, systematic surveys
18 have illustrated that the prealpine midlands of France and Switzerland were
19 settled by Middle Neolithic communities from 4800 cal. BC onwards (Bois Aubert et
20 al., 2001; Ebersbach et al., 2012; Kreuz et al., 2014; Martin, 2014; Martin, 2015).
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In this article we undertake for the first time a comprehensive and critical
comparison of the two types of palaeoenvironmental data (Figure 2) for the central
European lake-dwelling area, which should enable us to assess which of the two
existing hypotheses are the more plausible or probable. We discuss

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9 methodological problems and combine the existing evidence in order to present an
10 integrative new view of LN human-animal-environmental interactions. The
11 prealpine environments of Central Europe are probably the world's best location
12 for such an attempt. Here, in the last 30 years or so a large amount of high-
13 resolution on- and off-site-data have been gathered and studied (for details see
14 OSM text chapters 'State of research and interpretation tools' and 'Results of on-
15 site data: Basic aspects of animal and plant husbandry'). Indeed the presence of
16 many lakes of glacial origin, which offer excellent preservation conditions, make
17 the region eminently suitable for both types of investigations. During the LN, the
18 so-called 'pile dwellings' on lakeshores and in bogs were in existence (Suter et al.,
19 2009) and these have left some of the best preserved on-site-evidence worldwide.
20 This is underlined by the fact that they were designated as UNESCO World Cultural
21 Heritage sites in 2011 (www.palafittes.org; Menotti and O'Sullivan, 2013; see
22 Figures 3 and 4). The region considered here may therefore also serve as a model
23 region for both integrative archaeological research and earth system studies in the
24 timeframe and region under study.
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Shifting cultivation *versus* intensive garden cultivation: state of the art

Here we shall address the two systems under review but refer readers to our more detailed overview of the state of research and interpretation tools available in the OSM chapters 'State of research and interpretation tools' and 'Results of on-site-data'. Although the main topic of this article is agrarian activities, these cannot be understood without looking at the subsistence economy system as a whole, especially if the research agenda includes reconstructing cycles of land use and the role that fire played in shaping the landscape. Therefore we shall consider different aspects of landscape management activities here.

On-site data

Methodological problems affecting the interpretation of on-site data include data collection techniques, sample sizes and representativeness, questions of interpretation of species composition (e.g. lack of modern analogues for the weed flora) and the problem of the 'patchiness' of wetland settlement layers with many factors influencing the artefact and ecofact composition of the samples. Extensive and profound research in the last few years has contributed to a better understanding of some of the methodological problems, but cannot be discussed in detail in this context (see the above mentioned OSM-chapters).

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9 On the basis of archaeobiological analyses of more than 100 sites located in
10 different natural environments of the prealpine regions (Figures 3 and 4) we can
11 claim that our knowledge of Neolithic *animal and plant husbandry is quite detailed:*
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13 The economically most important domestic animals in the LN were cattle, pigs and
14 sheep as well as goats (Schibler, 2006; Schibler, 2016 [in press]). For their
15 successful keeping, at least semi-open land was needed. Animals also provided
16 manure which may have played an important role in the agricultural system. An
17 increase in herd sizes, mainly of cattle, towards the end of the LN has been
18 observed (Ebersbach, 2002; Schibler, 2006 and Figure OSM 2). LN plant economy
19 in the area under investigation was based on cereals on the one hand, and pulses,
20 oil, fibre and medicinal plants on the other. The importance of the cultivars
21 changed in the course of the LN (Figure OSM 3; see e.g. Jacomet, 2006; Jacomet,
22 2007b; Herbig, 2009). For more details see OSM text, chapter 'Results of on-site
23 data', and relevant literature cited there).
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9 LN land use is mainly reconstructed with the help of weeds, largely on the basis of
10 the weed spectra of cultivar stocks (see Figure 5 and OSM Table 5 and literature
11 cited there). A compilation of all available data from the Northern Alpine foreland
12 in the late 1990s revealed over 60 wild plant taxa that can be considered weeds in
13 the LN (see tables in Brombacher and Jacomet, 1997, pp. 258–261; OSM Table 5).
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20 Beside annuals, perennials were also regularly present. There was a relatively
21 diverse weed flora from the early phases of the LN onwards. Its composition is,
22 however, not directly comparable to modern weed communities, which are
23 dominated by annuals; we see the presence of many opportunistic ‘weedy’ taxa,
24 which today are more typical of perennial ruderals stands, forest fringes etc.,
25 which had also spread onto the fields. The latter taxa were most probably mixed in
26 with woodland, woodland edges, coppiced stands and so on.
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44 The results of both classic archaeobotanical studies and FIBS analysis (Functional
45 Attribute studies; see e.g. Bogaard 2004; for more details see OSM Text chapter
46 ‘Results of on-site data: Evaluation of the weed spectra’) show coincidentally that
47 the richest, most humiferous soils in the surroundings of the settlements were
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9 used for fields. The often high soil fertility values of the weeds point in the
10 direction of some kind of manuring or to a naturally high soil fertility. Recently the
11 analyses of ^{15}N isotopes in charred cereal grains from LN contexts have shown that
12 some sort of manuring of the fields must have existed over longer periods
13 (Bogaard, 2012; Bogaard et al., 2013; Styring et al., 2015 [in press]). The regular
14 presence of annuals gives clear indications of highly disturbed soil conditions on
15 the fields. This suggests a labour-intensive management of plots, which must have
16 existed for at least several years, interrupted by only short fallow periods of no
17 more than one to two years. Perennials capable of vegetative propagation by
18 individuals are also indicative of highly disturbed plots because they can regrow
19 from small parts (see also Kreuz, 2012, chapter 7).

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22 Intensive field tillage appears to have been in existence as early as the earliest
23 phases of the LN, and it becomes even more pronounced from the middle of the
24 fourth millennium cal. BC onwards, when annuals are recorded in increasing
25 quantities. Without a high degree of disturbance, annual weed species would not
26 have survived and would have rapidly become overgrown by competitive, mostly
27 perennial weeds or woodland clearing taxa (see Figure 5).

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30 There are also clear indications that stubble fields and fields left fallow were
31 grazed, which had the side effect of manuring them (the same was noticed already
32 in the early Neolithic LBK (LBK phase I to phase II; Kreuz, 2012). The regular
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9 presence of winter annuals points to winter cropping of at least some cereals (such
10 as naked wheat or emmer), especially from Horgen times (around 3400 cal. BC)
11 onwards. The results of the FIBS evaluation show that cereals were predominantly
12 planted as winter crops (80% of the cases; e.g. Bogaard et al., 2013). Regular
13 admixtures of small proportions of a second cereal in stocks suggest that some
14 kind of crop rotation was practised, because it is an effective way of keeping pests
15 and diseases at bay as well as to keep soil nutrient contents more balanced
16 (Jacomet et al., 1989, p. 166 ff.).

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27 In wetland settlement layers, animal dung, mostly of ruminants (sheep/goat and
28 cattle) is very often encountered (a very good example is shown on Figure 6).

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Investigations of plant macro- and micro-remains (mainly pollen) in ruminant
dung gave valuable indications of the surfaces on which the animals grazed (see
e.g. Kühn et al., 2013; for more details see OSM text, chapter 'Results of on-site
data', subchapter 'Evidence based on ruminant dung').

<INSERT FIGURE 6>

In several of the dung pieces of small ruminant investigated in different
settlements covering the fifth and fourth millennia cal. BC there are clear

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9 indications that animals grazed on burnt surfaces of land, as evidenced by high
10 amounts of micro-charcoal (Figure 7a and 7b; Kühn and Wick, 2010).

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13 The seeds, vegetative plant parts and pollen in these pieces of dung point mostly to
14 woodland as grazing ground, and not to the grazing of fields or ruderal/fallow
15 places which were burnt before cereals were sown.
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19 This suggests that LN people burnt parts of the woodland deliberately, probably to
20 obtain more pastures (and also foraging and hunting grounds, see OSM text
21 chapter 'Results of on-site-data', subchapters 'Evidence based on open-land-taxa'
22 and 'Evidence based on gathering and hunting') – as is well known from
23 ethnographic sources from climatically similar regions (e.g. Smith, 2011). Remains
24 of dung with plant spectra that would indicate the presence of stubble fields or
25 fallow land do not contain high amounts of micro-charcoal (as shown by the
26 lowermost sample on Figure 7b).
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47 Furthermore, evidence based on dendrotypology (dendroarchaeology) gives many
48 indications of different types of woodland management, including coppicing and
49 coppiced stands (see e.g. Billamboz, 2014; for more details see OSM chapter
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9 'Results of on-site data', subchapter 'Evidence based on dendrotypology').

10 Gathering and hunting played an important role too and may have included
11 targeted or specific landscape management practices, e.g. the tending of hedges or
12 fruit trees. All these types of landscape management were intertwined and cannot
13 be seen in isolation.
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20 21 22 *Off-site data*

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24 Like those affecting on-site data, the methodological problems of off-site data are
25 manifold: they pertain to data collection techniques (e.g. is micro-charcoal counted
26 or not?; or time resolution of the data), problems of species determination, the
27 explanatory power of species correlated to lake/mire catchment areas, the
28 question of actualistic comparisons, and the possible patchiness of prehistoric
29 landscapes. Generally, as off-site data is extracted from natural environments, the
30 differentiation between natural and anthropogenic impacts on the characteristics
31 observed constitutes a major issue (Sugita, 2007a; Sugita, 2007b; Lechterbeck,
32 2013). Off-site information on human impact and landscape management is based
33 on observations documenting, for example, rapid changes in woodland species
34 proportions, increases in the percentage of open land in general, peaks of charcoal
35 and an increasing importance of single species or their combination with species
36 which prosper in disturbed or open environments, such as *Plantago lanceolata*.
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9 To date, the quality and quantity of off-site data available is unevenly distributed
10 over the prealpine area. The best investigated areas are the regions of Lake
11 Constance and the Hegau (Rösch, et al., 2008; Rösch, et al., 2014; Lechterbeck et al.,
12 2014), while data of the same quality (especially time resolution) from western or
13 southern Switzerland is barely available.
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20 During land-use phases of the fourth and early third millennia cal. BC, many high-
21 resolution pollen diagrams of the western part of Lake Constance (Figure 8) show
22 a strong decrease in *Fagus* in several phases (e.g. Rösch 2013; Rösch et al., 2014;
23 Lechterbeck, 2013; Lechterbeck et al., 2014; ongoing research by. L. Wick; Figure
24 9).
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32 In parallel, secondary forest elements such as *Corylus* and *Betula* and micro-
33 charcoal increase. This is interpreted as a replacement of the *Fagus*-dominated
34 woodland by semi-open or shrubby vegetation, probably also coppiced forests,
35 coinciding with the beginning of the LN. The fluctuating micro-charcoal curves
36 with high peaks are interpreted as indicating woodland burning, especially in the
37 fifth and first half of the fourth millennium, when charred particles are much more
38 frequent than those that are recorded both earlier and later. Therefore, the
39 interpretation is that slash-and-burn cultivation was mainly practised in the
40 earlier phases of the LN (most recently: Rösch, 2013; Rösch et al., 2014, see also
41 OSM text chapter 'Results of off-site data'). In the slash-and-burn model, fields are
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9 thought to have been rotated in a yearly cycle with long fallow-phases (over ten
10 years) in between.
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24 Recently the main line of interpretation that posits that high frequencies of micro-
25 charcoal in off-site data are caused by anthropogenic burning connected to
26 agriculture has triggered a revival of the slash-and-burn-hypothesis for Neolithic
27 farming communities (see compilation in Schier [2009]), although it is a very old
28 conception of how to begin farming in a wooded landscape (e.g. Clark, 1952;
29 Modderman, 1971; older literature compiled by Troels-Smith, 1990; for a new
30 synopsis see Isaakidou, 2011, p. 92 ff.).
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39 To test the relevance of this interpretation, an experiment in a forested area of
40 south-western Germany was designed (Rösch et al., 2002a; Ehrmann et al., 2014).
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The results show that slash-and-burn cultivation results in much higher yields
than permanent cultivation (even with manuring). But these yields drop to near
zero in the second year, forcing the constant relocation of fields. Clearing the
forest, burning and preparing the fields leads to an average workload per hectare

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9 that is much higher than in permanent cultivation systems, and the demand for
10 land is up to 16 times higher than for permanent cultivation. Rösch (2013, p. 114)
11 points out that successful burning needs a very high amount of weak wood, i.e. a
12 fallow phase of about 12 years is necessary to produce sufficient wood for another
13 fire.
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20 A further argument for slash-and-burn cultivation is that there are (almost) no
21 weeds in LN cereal stocks (Rösch et al., 2014, p. 131). This is in agreement with the
22 experiments, where there were almost no weeds at all in the harvest.
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27 The slash-and-burn hypothesis therefore combines a set of observations of LN on-
28 site and off-site data: high charcoal peaks in pollen cores, a dense woodland to deal
29 with at the beginning of the sequence, and finally high settlement mobility with
30 sites occupied for just a few years up to slightly more than a decade (Ebersbach,
31 2010). The authors mentioned consider that it was the shifting cultivation pattern
32 that could have forced people to move their settlements so frequently. This is seen
33 as representing a contrast to the Early (LBK) and Middle Neolithic settlement
34 patterns; at that time, according to the most commonly accepted hypothesis,
35 settlements were permanent for periods of several hundred years (see e.g. Strien,
36 2005). As settlement duration and dynamics differ between the Early-Middle and
37 the Late Neolithic, farming techniques must have differed too. Therefore,
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9 permanent agriculture in Bogaard's (2004) and Kreuz's (2012) view, is accepted
10 for the LBK period, whereas similar results are rejected for the LN.

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13 In a recent article, M. Rösch (2013, p. 115) admits that burning was perhaps
14 independent from agriculture and carried out for other purposes such as hunting
15 or animal husbandry. This is based on observations of an abundance of charcoal in
16 LN coprolites of sheep and goat, but an absence of such charcoal in the Bronze Age
17 (Rösch refers to unpublished data of L. Wick; see below). In an article of 2008
18 (Rösch et al., 2008, but also 2013, p. 115) Rösch considers that on-site data points
19 to an intensification of agriculture in the later phases of the LN, in the Horgen
20 culture (from around 3400 cal. BC onwards). However, off-site data still indicate
21 that slash-and-burn agriculture and chopping down forests were being practised.
22 He argues that it is not clear whether different agricultural regimes were being
23 practised at the same time or whether the former slash-and-burn system was
24 modified and improved, or both. One such modification could have been the
25 fertilisation of permanent fields on the best soils and the preparation of such fields
26 for cultivation by burning wood brought in from a coppiced forest on less fertile
27 soils.
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48 In Final Neolithic Bell Beaker times (around 2300 cal BC) – when settlements are
49 located somewhat further away from the lakes – the slighter evidence of burning is
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9 seen in connection with the increased importance of animal herding and more
10 extended pastures (Lechterbeck et al., 2014).
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16 **Discussion: Which land-use/landscape management is the more likely?**

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18 In the following section, the evidence and methodological aspects of the slash-and-
19 burn hypothesis are discussed in detail and compared with other results from all
20 kinds of data that could help us understand LN agricultural techniques and the
21 wider economic and environmental context.
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29 *Is a comparison between Early/Middle Neolithic and Late Neolithic micro-charcoal*
30 *values possible?*
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34 From the onset of the LN onwards (in the western part of Lake Constance around
35 4000 cal. BC) the micro-charcoal values in off-site pollen diagrams are up to five
36 times higher than those of earlier phases (see Figure 9). But can we really compare
37 Early and Middle Neolithic charcoal values with LN values?
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44 In the off-site pollen diagrams from the western part of Lake Constance, micro-
45 charcoal curves begin long before the LN; in fact micro-charcoal is present in the
46 Mesolithic, although in lesser quantities than in the LN (e.g. in the diagrams of
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Durchenbergried and Hornstaad: Rösch, 1990; Rösch, 1992). This is also becoming

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apparent in ongoing work on Mainau (Figure 9), Schleinsee, Degersee and Buchensee (unpublished data by L. Wick). Micro-charcoal is also constantly present in the Early and Middle Neolithic periods, with even some high peaks during the Middle Neolithic in the Mainau diagram (Figure 9). Then, from around 3900 cal. BC onwards until 2500 cal. BC, very high charcoal peaks become visible. This is unsurprising, as the pollen diagrams mentioned are close to LN settlement areas, whereas they are rather more distant from the Early and Middle Neolithic settlement zones. Known Early and Middle Neolithic settlements were located at some distance from the lake rich morainic areas, around 20 km to the west, in the region of Hegau (LBK Flomborn phase settlement, from 5300 cal. BC onwards, at Hilzingen: Stika, 1991; Middle Neolithic Rössen culture settlement at Singen-Offwiesen: Dieckmann et al., 1998; Lechterbeck et al., 2014). It is, however, possible that the Middle Neolithic charcoal peak in the Mainau diagram (around 4600 cal. BC; Figure 9) mirrors settlements nearby whose archaeological traces have so far eluded us (like in the region of Zurich, Erny-Rodmann, 1995; Ebersbach et al., 2012). As cereal type pollen is also present, we can exclude that these traces were left by late hunter-gatherers.

In order to establish whether there was a real difference between micro-charcoal amounts in the Early/Middle Neolithic on the one hand and the LN on the other, we would need to have at our disposal off-site pollen-cores in the immediate

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9 proximity of Early/Middle Neolithic settlements. There is, however not a single (!)
10 pollen diagram near an Early Neolithic LBK settlement in which micro-charcoal
11 has been systematically investigated. Micro-charcoal was not counted in the
12 Luttersee diagram (near an LBK-settlement in the region of Göttingen, Germany:
13 Beug, 1992); neither was it counted in the floodplain profiles of the LBK-
14 settlement region in the Wetterau (Hesse, Germany: Stobbe, 1996), or at Sersheim
15 (near Stuttgart, Germany: Smettan, 1986).
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20 To conclude, a direct comparison of LN off-site micro-charcoal from the lake-
21 dwelling region with Early to Middle Neolithic micro-charcoal from the loess-
22 regions is not possible because there are no equivalent data. If we cannot exclude a
23 simple correlation between micro-charcoal peaks and the proximity of a
24 contemporaneous settlement, then it will not be possible to reconstruct different
25 land-use systems based on micro-charcoal values.
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40 *Are micro-charcoal values in off-site pollen diagrams related to cultivation?*
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43 Rösch (2013) argues for the existence of a slash-and-burn cultivation regime
44 mainly in the earlier phases of the LN (the so called 'Jungneolithikum', see Figure
45 OSM 1). But he concedes that in the later phases of the LN, from 3400 cal. BC
46 onwards, a more permanent cultivation regime may have existed. However, in
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9 some profiles, the highest and most continuous micro-charcoal values occur after
10 the 'Jungneolithikum', during the Horgen and Corded Ware phases (see Figure 9).
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12 This raises the question of why Horgen and Corded Ware people left so many
13 traces in the micro-charcoal record if the landscape was already half-open
14 bushland and cultivation had possibly become more permanent. And why does
15 charcoal occur during all the periods analysed right up to the Late Bronze Age or
16 even later? These questions remain unanswered. Furthermore, charcoal peaks
17 which reflect the burning of woodland to create new fields should result in higher
18 amounts of NAP after burning events, but a detailed analysis to establish whether
19 such a correlation is really visible in the data has never been undertaken. In any
20 case, it becomes obvious that the interpretation of micro-charcoal values is far
21 from straightforward. The sources of charcoal could have been very diverse. A
22 direct link between high micro-charcoal values and cereal growing and its
23 cultivation techniques is merely one possibility among a number of possible
24 interpretations. Another would involve the burning of stubble fields to reduce the
25 weed flora and pests (e.g. Kreuz et al., 2014). Hearth fires or catastrophic fires
26 which burnt the settlements down (the latter was quite frequent, as we know from
27 on-site data) are a further possible source of charcoal. That the input from hearths
28 is likely to be considerable can be demonstrated by a rough and conservative
29 calculation: if fifty households burn just 5 kg of wood per day, then in the course of
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9 20 years more than 1800 tons of wood would be turned into ash and charcoal.

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11 Since the settlements were located on the shore and were flooded at least
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13 seasonally, there should be traces of such quantities of material, at least in off-site
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15 sediments close to the shore.
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18 Occasional conflagrations would have increased the amount of charcoal. Be that as
19
20 it may, if all the micro-charcoal was derived from hearth fires, we should at least
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22 see the same quantities in the Bronze Age, which is however not the case. Finally,
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24 natural fires could theoretically also be considered, but there are no pre-Neolithic
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26 micro-charcoal peaks which point in this direction in the region under
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28 consideration.
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32 To conclude, the interpretation of micro-charcoal values in off-site high-resolution
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34 pollen diagrams is extremely ambiguous, and clear conclusions about the type of
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36 cultivation regimes applied in the LN cannot be drawn. It is however true that the
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38 highest average values are reached during the LN. This was obviously a period
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40 when burning played a more important role, and it is highly likely that the source
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42 of at least a (large?) part of the charcoal comes from 'burning the landscape',
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44 whatever the reason was (see below).
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50 *Can experiments prove shifting cultivation during the LN?*
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9 Experiments are of great value for testing the plausibility of one or another
10 hypothesis. However, experiments concerning land use are very difficult to set up;
11 for instance the soil conditions are never the same today as they were thousands of
12 years ago. Experiments are therefore not in themselves a proof – just because ‘it
13 works’ – that prehistoric agricultural techniques were of one type or another.
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20 The group around M. Rösch has tested experimentally the land-use system (slash-
21 and-burn) it had reconstructed on the basis of the high charcoal values in off-site
22 pollen diagrams (see previous sections for citations). They concluded that slash-
23 and-burn agriculture is the best, if not the only, method to practise successful
24 agriculture with Neolithic tools and methods in a forested area on non-optimal
25 soils. However, their experimental design has several drawbacks. First of all, the
26 experimental plots are situated on soils with a pH-value that is comparatively
27 lower than the usual values of the morainic soils in the hinterland of the lakeshore
28 settlements. This reduces the availability of nitrogen and phosphorous. Rösch et al.
29 (2002b, p. 30 ff.) state that the ash from burning, which raises the pH value,
30 counteracts this. In addition, the plots were not thoroughly weeded – in opposition
31 to what the weed composition indicates for Neolithic fields (see above). The
32 results from unburnt plots showed that yields were very low or even non-existent,
33 while they were high on burnt plots, where the fire had reduced competition by
34 weeds, raised the pH value, and removed fine roots from trees and former forest
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vegetation (for yields, see next section). It is hardly surprising that unburnt plots give little yields when they are located on acidic soil and left unattended, but this is not comparable to the techniques used in permanent cultivation systems. The result is therefore an unavoidable consequence of the experimental design and cannot be transferred to prehistoric settings.

Finally, the experimental plots were relatively small and surrounded by dense woodland, a setting which is again not comparable to Neolithic environments, at least not after a few hundred years of human impact, in the periods after 3500 cal. BC.

Despite their flaws, these experiments are of great value, because they have shown that shifting cultivation may have been feasible during Neolithic times in temperate woodlands north of the Alps. The experiments have also produced interesting data on workload in relation to yields and on the amount of woodland necessary to maintain a shifting cultivation system for several hundred years. The ratio of field under cultivation to fallow land turned out to be about 1:36 and therefore only 3% of the area around the settlements could be used for crop growing – the other 97% being used to produce fertilizer in the form of charcoal (Rösch, 2013). Above all, the higher workload and the much higher demand for land when applying a shifting cultivation system may have caused a problem (as the experiments have also shown). Before burning, the trees had to be cut down,

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9 the wood dried and transported to be stored in heaps. All this is hard and time-
10 consuming work and would not have been undertaken without good reason (the
11 very high yields, see above).
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15 There are other types of experiments which have shown that permanent
16 cultivation may have worked in Neolithic times. Unfortunately they are located on
17 soils over loess in the Rhineland, and are therefore rather distant from the lake-
18 dwelling area. Such an experiment was carried out by Cologne University in the
19 Hambach forest (Lüning and Meurers-Balke, 1980). The results obtained there
20 were later used by Bogaard (2002) for her interpretation of Early Neolithic land
21 use.
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32 To conclude, modern experiments inevitably have their shortcomings; in the best
33 case they can provide insights into how cultivation *may* have worked. They are,
34 however, not a proof of the existence of one or another cultivation regime in
35 prehistoric times, and their results should not be used as a main line of argument
36 for reconstructing former farming regimes.
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46 *What were the yields when applying different forms of cultivation regimes?*
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48 Estimates of how high the yields in LN times may have been differ greatly, and we
49 are far from having answered this question (for an overview see Bogaard, 2004,
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9 table 2.1). Historical data from medieval Europe with very low yield values (450–
10 900 kg/ha) are based on three-field systems which had suffered from permanent
11 cultivation that lasted for centuries and had too little manure input (see Reynolds,
12 1997). Most authors therefore agree that these data are hardly comparable with
13 Neolithic data. Kreuz (2012, pp. 123–124) assumes a minimal yield of 800 kg/ha
14 for cereals and legumes for the early Neolithic LBK if the ratio between sown and
15 harvested crops is 1:10; this corresponds to modern yields considered as ‘good’ in
16 the traditional agriculture of the central Anatolian highlands where the climate is
17 harsh (Ertug-Yaras, 1997, p. 229). Ethnographic data from a mountainous area in
18 Asturias (northern Spain) show higher yields: there, manured and intensively
19 worked permanent plots produce rather high yields of over 1500 kg/ha over many
20 years (up to 1800–1900 kg/ha were recorded; Bogaard, 2004, table 2.1; see also
21 Charles et al., 2002). Intensive garden cultivation including irrigation and
22 manuring with up to 40 t/ha can increase yields to up to 2500 kg/ha, and for
23 barley even up to 3000 kg/ha (Ebersbach, 2002, 133 and villages 18A–C).
24
25 The yields on the experimentally burnt plots at Schwäbisch Hall-Wackershofen
26 and Forchtenberg in south-western Germany mentioned above were very high in
27 the first year (2500–4000 kg/ha; only old strains of cereals considered; Ehrmann
28 et al., 2014, p. 16), being close to the yields obtained by modern agriculture. In the
29 following year, however, they dropped to near zero; the authors conclude that
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9 permanent cultivation with tillage but without fertilizer is not possible in south-
10 western Germany. This is in strong contrast to manured and intensively cultivated
11 permanent plots like those in Asturias which continue to give quite high yields for
12 many years. There are also several 'long-term-cereal growing' experiments like the
13 Rothamstead experiment (see Bogaard, 2004, p. 23 f.) that gave reasonable yields
14 over many years, even without manuring (see for more information see Baum et
15 al., submitted).
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24 To conclude: assumptions about the amount of agricultural land needed in
25 Neolithic times can vary dramatically depending on which yield values and which
26 agrarian techniques we use. Quite intensive cultivation methods ('garden-like' to
27 use Bogaard's words, 'park-like' in the early Neolithic LBK according to Kreuz)
28 coincide with small plots of less than half a hectare per person to meet the calorie
29 requirements, while slash-and-burn techniques with a twenty-year-rotation
30 system may need up to ten times more land in the vicinity of the villages and have
31 to be kept undisturbed to allow for forest regrowth to fuel the next burning event.
32 Yields mainly depend on the nutrients available for growing, and these can be kept
33 to a sufficient level by different methods: regular shifting of fields to 'virgin' soils,
34 burning, manuring, or good crop rotation systems including pulses.
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9 *What can on-site data contribute to explain the high micro-charcoal values in off-site*
10 *locations?*

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13 Because off-site micro-charcoal values are clearly difficult to interpret and
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15 experiments have drawbacks we must consider other evidence for reconstructing
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17 plausible landscape management systems in LN times. On-site data confirm the off-
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19 site observations that burning parts of the (wood-) land was an important element
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21 of Neolithic land management systems. Micro-charcoal in faeces of sheep and goat
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23 in combination with other plant remains point mostly to woodland as grazing
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25 grounds (Figure 7). Domestic animals grazed areas of woodland that had
26
27 previously been burnt, but without any indications that fields existed in the same
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29 areas at the same time. Burning may therefore have been a method of creating
30
31 pastures. We thus have good evidence from on-site data that the main source of
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33 high micro-charcoal values in off-site pollen diagrams can be attributed to
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35 attempts by LN people to open up the landscape for better grazing, possibly also to
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37 create hunting and gathering grounds. Such techniques are known from
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39 ethnographic sources, e.g. among North American Forest Indians (e.g. Smith,
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A secondary vegetation rich in shrubs developed on such burnt surfaces – as well
as in managed woodland – as clearly shown by the off-site pollen data, but also
illustrated by the large amounts of gathered plants and the growing diversity of

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9 hunted open-land animals in the LN (see OSM text chapter 'Results of on-site data,
10 subchapter 'Evidence based on gathering and hunting'). As Lechterbeck (2013, p.
11 134, based on the literature cited there) has noted, burning supports the growth
12 and flowering of hazel. Hazel is relatively fire resistant because of its robust
13 rootstock from which shoots rapidly re-grow. Already present in the undergrowth
14 of the forest, hazel could spread and flower more easily when larger trees were
15 cleared away. However, an unhindered spread of bushes, but also of coppices, is
16 only possible when grazing animals are kept away. As Bleicher and Herbig (2010)
17 have shown, and as corroborated by many historical sources and modern
18 observations, goats successfully prevent the regrowth of forests. It is mainly goats
19 that are important for clearing land overgrown, for instance, by brambles (*Rubus*
20 *fruticosus*), and goats may have primarily been kept for such a purpose. The high
21 frequency of *Rubus* prickles found in sheep/goat dung supports this idea (see e.g.
22 Kühn and Wick, 2010). In any case no secondary forest would grow on patches of
23 previously burnt land if a certain number of goats, sheep and cows were grazing
24 there. If a slash-and-burn system was practised, the rapid and undisturbed
25 regrowth of the forest would have been necessary and hence grazing by small
26 ruminants on burnt woodland patches should have been avoided. What then were
27 the causes of the development of secondary woodland?
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9 We have very good indications from on-site data that at least parts of the domestic
10 herds were kept away from the settlements, even at a large distance (see e.g. Kühn
11 and Hadorn, 2004), and were probably accompanied by herdsman and dogs to
12 prevent the animals from grazing where inappropriate. In the LN Federsee basin
13 the settlement of Alleshhausen-Grundwiesen was probably a seasonally used camp
14 for cattle and herdsman (Bleicher, 2009, p. 128 ff.), combined with the (summer)
15 cultivation of flax. Here the cultural layers consist almost entirely of cattle dung.
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27 *Is the high degree of settlement mobility caused by the slash-and-burn economy?*

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29 One of the most intriguing traits of LN wetland settlements is their instability,
30 short lifetime and repeated relocation. Recent studies have shown durations of
31 occupation of less than twenty years, in some cases even less than ten years for
32 entire settlements with several dozen houses (Ebersbach, 2010; Ebersbach 2013,
33 294; Schlichtherle et al., 2011). It is of course tempting to see a causal connection
34 between the huge land requirements of slash-and-burn cultivation and the high
35 degree of settlement mobility. Instability and mobility also occur at a level beyond
36 settlements and within settlements. In the Federsee area several contemporaneous
37 sites were relocated within five- or ten-year cycles at the same rhythm, as Bleicher
38 (2009) has shown.
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9 Within settlements the life cycles of single houses can be much shorter than the
10 duration of occupation of the settlement as a whole, with 'pioneer houses' often
11 erected two or three years earlier than the majority of the houses, and groups of
12 houses already abandoned after a few years (see e.g. Leuzinger, 2000; Doppler
13 2013). We therefore conclude that groups of people inhabiting one or several
14 houses, but not comprising the inhabitants of a whole settlement, moved in and
15 out of the settlement at different times; a settlement was not a stable unit in itself.
16
17 If and how such behaviour is connected to agricultural activity or to other factors
18 such as social tensions, alliances and personal networks, is unknown and open to
19 debate. Some authors have suggested that the rapid depletion of forests –as shown
20 by dendrotypology – caused the relocations, as suitable timber is one of the
21 resources needed in huge quantities when establishing a settlement (see
22 Billamboz, 2010; Billamboz, 2014). In addition, rises in lake levels or demographic
23 growth may have been the reason for the instability and short life of LN
24 settlements (Pétrequin, 2013). Although it is usually difficult or impossible to
25 prove that a connection existed between two settlements directly following each
26 other in time, the striking example of Hornstaad Hörnle 1A suggests that reasons
27 other than following the movement of slash-and-burn fields were at the root of
28 high settlement mobility: the settlement was founded in 3917 cal. BC and grew to
29 around 50 houses before it burnt down in 3910 cal. BC. Immediately afterwards, in
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9 3909 cal. BC, parts of the settlement were rebuilt, and a new settlement –
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11 Hornstaad Hörnle 3 – was established only a few hundred metres away (Billamboz,
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13 2006).
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16 It can be assumed that between two settlement phases a succession took place on
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18 former cultivated plots, but also on land used for other purposes (Bleicher and
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20 Herbig, 2010). It is more or less necessary for settlers to remove regrown
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22 vegetation including bushes in order to reclaim former plots for the next
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24 settlement phase of fifteen or so years, and fire would be the easiest way to do it.
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26 The 'pioneers' may have had the task of preparing the fields for the arrival of the
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28 rest of the settlers. Bleicher and Herbig (2010) also argue that the highly
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30 interconnected and mobile settlement structure led to almost identical open-land
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32 plant spectra in the various settlements, and that domestic animals may have
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34 played an important role in building up these meta-populations in the open
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36 surfaces. This can be corroborated by spectra from other parts of the lake-dwelling
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38 area, for example the region of Zurich. Furthermore, dendrotypology has
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40 documented the existence of intensive and lasting woodland management, with
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42 different patches of secondary forest kept free of grazing animals and other
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44 disturbances to provide the timber favoured for house posts after approximately
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46 twenty years. On sites like Saint-Blaise (on Lake Neuchâtel) the repeated use of
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9 possibly the same forest patches for successive settlement phases at the same site
10 was visible in the growth history of timber (Gassmann, 2007).

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13 In sum, continuous and strategic land and forest management within the same
14 regions may have contributed to the gradual opening of the landscape; this can be
15 seen in all archaeobiological data gathered for the LN, especially after 3000 cal. BC.

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18 At the same time there are also indications of additional seasonal movements of
19 people and animals into alpine areas, as evidenced for example in dung pieces
20 containing plants growing at higher altitudes in the Alps (Kühn and Hadorn, 2004).

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23 Such movements to higher altitudes – a kind of transhumance – are also indicated
24 by Sr^{87}/Sr^{86} isotope analysis of cattle bones (Doppler et al., 2015 [in press]). The
25 use of mountainous areas by herdsmen is also corroborated by off-site pollen data,
26 e.g. from the Vogelsberg, the Eifel region and the Black Forest (see discussion in
27 Kreuz et al., 2014, p. 91 ff. and literature cited there) in which LN activities linked
28 to opening up the forest, including the use of fire, are traceable.

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31 In conclusion, cycles were an integral part of the LN economy. Different kinds of
32 on-site data indicate that burning woodland during the LN played an important
33 role. However we do not see a direct correlation between agricultural activities
34 and burning in our empirical datasets nor do we have proof that high settlement
35 mobility was caused by slash-and burn agriculture. What is clearly visible, on the
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9 other hand, is that the landscape was being burnt to create pastures, hunting and
10 gathering grounds. Connections between settlement dynamics, land-use
11 management systems and the individual mobility of people and animals may have
12 been much more complex and caused by many different factors. We are convinced
13 that they can only be traced if all the available data, including settlement
14 archaeology and questions pertaining to the social structures of prehistoric
15 societies, are combined and tackled in a transdisciplinary approach.
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27 *The question of the number of weeds in cereal stocks: what is 'a few'?*

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29 One of the main arguments used by proponents of a shifting cultivation model is
30 that 'even assuming ear harvest, the small proportion of weeds [...] is striking and
31 resembles the purity of the harvest from the Forchtenberg slash-and-burn fields'
32 (Rösch et al., 2014, p. 129). First of all, the number of weeds per stock at Hornstaad
33 varies greatly – there are from 12 to 140 remains of annuals and from 2 to 49
34 remains of perennials (see OSM Table 5). The number of taxa is between 4 and 15
35 annuals and 1 to 8 perennials (see OSM Table 5).
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45 Numbers might indeed be low, but usually there are at least some. The number of
46 weed seeds found in stocks depends on the cleaning stage, but also on the volume
47 of the samples analysed. If we analyse small samples of a maximum of 500 ml –
48 which was in fact almost always the norm (the Hornstaad samples were also very
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9 small) – conclusions about the number of weeds present on Neolithic fields are
10 purely hypothetical. A much more thorough analysis of uncleaned stored crops
11 remains to be undertaken.
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15 LN stocks represent very short-term, single events at a given stage of cleaning. This
16 may contrast with, for example, Early Neolithic cleaning residues in pits (Bogaard,
17 2011b; Kreuz, 2012), which could represent longer term accumulations of
18 numerous single (but similar) events (Kreuz, 1990). Over time, a larger number of
19 weeds (together with chaff) may have accumulated. The generally higher average
20 quantity of weeds in LBK pits could reflect this.
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29 The number of taxa in LBK pits, however, is fairly similar to that found in the most
30 diverse Hornstaad stocks (see OSM 5). Therefore, Rösch et al.'s statement (2014, p.
31 130) that weed percentages at Hornstaad are lower compared to Vaihingen is not
32 comprehensible. It would be more fruitful to compare the weed spectra from LBK
33 pits to the weed spectra from mixed samples in lakeshore settlements, which may
34 represent several years of accumulation. Such evaluations remain to be
35 undertaken but are difficult to carry out because of the mixed character of the
36 assemblages.
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50 *Differences in the weed and cereal spectra of the successive Neolithic periods*
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9 We do not see major differences (or almost no differences at all) between the weed
10 spectra of the Early Neolithic and those of the LN (see OSM Table 5). In both
11 periods, annual weeds dominate in the stocks (but also in mixed samples; see
12 Figure 5) and many of the weed taxa are the same (see OSM Table 5). The few
13 visible differences may be explained by the 1000 years or more that elapsed
14 between the two periods, a time when new taxa from outside Central Europe may
15 have reached our region, and by differences in the surrounding landscape and
16 vegetation. We cannot, on the basis of the weed evidence, agree with Rösch et al.'s
17 argument (2014, p. 130) that land use systems of the later stages of the Final and
18 Late Neolithic were totally different from the land use of the Early Neolithic. Thus
19 we also do not understand why Rösch (see cited works) and also Schier (2009)
20 accept intensive land use in the Early Neolithic and reject it for (mainly the earlier
21 stages of) the LN. In our view it is not surprising that the few FIBS evaluations of
22 LN weed spectra by Bogaard (2004; 2011a) gave the same results as those of the
23 Early Neolithic: they point to permanent fields, which were intensively worked and
24 maybe even manured (Bogaard et al., 2013; Styring et al., 2015 [in press]).
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26 Furthermore, there appears to be no great differences in terms of taxa composition
27 when different periods of the LN are compared. In stocks of the earlier phases
28 annual weeds are even more widespread than in stocks of the Horgen culture (late
29 fourth millennium cal. BC). In the mixed assemblages, however, the number of
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9 annual weeds increases in the second half of the LN, which could indicate that
10 winter cereal growing became more important and that the plots were more
11 intensively maintained; perhaps pigs played some part here in working (and
12 manuring) the fields as their numbers rise markedly with the onset of the Horgen
13 culture (Figure OSM 2). Overall, we do not see substantial differences: permanent
14 cultivation continued. This is also corroborated by the N isotope analyses of the
15 1200-year-long stratigraphic sequence recorded at Sippligen on Lake Constance
16 (Styring et al., 2015 [in press]).
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27 The difference of the cereal spectra 'of the Late Neolithic from the phases before
28 and after' (Rösch et al., 2014, p. 130) constitutes a further argument in favour of
29 the shifting cultivation hypothesis. Here the authors refer to the dominance of
30 tetraploid naked wheat in the first half of the fourth millennium cal. BC; but this
31 type of naked wheat also appears in the second half of the fourth millennium in
32 larger amounts (Figure OSM 3), and is still present in later periods (although never
33 again in such large amounts). Moreover, the argument that there are more cereals
34 in the earlier phases of the LN is not convincing given that a systematic
35 comparison of density values, for example, has not been carried out. On the basis of
36 the evidence from mixed assemblages (containing large amounts of chaff remains)
37 we do not see such a difference.
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9 More fundamental and greater differences in the weed and cultivar spectra appear
10 with the onset of the Bronze Age (BA). South of the Alps this is apparent as early as
11 the earliest phases of the BA, as the new on-site investigations of Early BA sites on
12 the fringes of Lake Garda show (Perego, 2015). North of the Alps such
13 developments become apparent with the beginning of the Middle to Late BA. We
14 are therefore in complete agreement with Rösch et al.'s (2014) statement that the
15 'extensive ard land-use systems of the Bronze Age were different in terms of
16 agricultural practices' (see also Jacomet and Brombacher, 2009). Not surprisingly,
17 a FIBS analysis of charred chaff and weed remains of Middle BA pits in central
18 Switzerland showed that cereal growing was carried out at that time on larger,
19 extensively worked fields (Zibulski, 2001; Bogaard, 2011a).
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36 *Differences between modern experimental fields and Neolithic weed spectra – how*
37 *long does it take for Neolithic-type weed floras to develop?*
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40 The fact that the composition of the weed flora is different from today's fields
41 cannot be taken as an argument to prove the existence of shifting cultivation (see
42 above and OSM text chapter 'Results of on-site-data indicative of the farming
43 regime and landscape management'). A comparison of the wild plant lists of
44 experimental fields treated with slash-and-burn in Wackershofen and
45 Forchtenberg (Rösch et al., 2002a) with Neolithic weed spectra (Figure 5 and OSM
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9 Table 5) clearly shows that they are completely different. It is therefore not
10 possible to propose an interpretation of Neolithic weeds on the basis of the
11 experimental wild plant spectrum. The closest similarity is provided by the spectra
12 of the experimental 3-field-system at Wackershofen. This is in agreement with our
13 expectations but suggests rather the opposite of shifting cultivation.
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20 The results of experiments assessed in the course of the Hambach experiment
21 (near Cologne, Germany) mentioned earlier showed that Neolithic-type weed
22 floras need ten years or more to develop (Bogaard, 2002; Bogaard, 2004; Bogaard
23 and Jones, 2007). Although these experiments had several drawbacks, at least they
24 showed that there were weeds on the fields. With shifting cultivation there should
25 have been no weeds at all (let us recall the statement cited above referring to the
26 'purity of the harvest from the Forchtenberg slash-and-burn fields' by Rösch et al.,
27 2014), either in the stocks nor in the mixed samples from the cultural layers. As
28 this is not the case, we reject the hypothesis of a LN shifting cultivation based on
29 empirical on-site data.
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45 *Soil fertility issues in the LN*

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47 All on-site data point to fertile soils. The nature of the soils in the loess belt of
48 Central Europe is a matter of debate (see e.g. Eckmeier et al., 2007). What is certain
49 is that in very dry regions like parts of the Wetterau there were highly fertile
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9 czernozems that had developed naturally on a small scale (pers. comm. Prof. H.
10 Thiemeyer, Frankfurt). It is not certain whether luvisols later developed out of
11 these, or whether they had developed directly on loess in less dry regions. The
12 latter is supposed by some researchers (Brönnimann and Rentzel [in prep.]). To
13 summarize, soils in the loess landscapes were fertile and well suited to agriculture,
14 but czernozem development is likely to have been regionally limited. Regarding
15 soil fertility, therefore, the prealpine luvisols that developed on the subsoil of the
16 last glaciation were probably not all that different from luvisols on loess. It has yet
17 to be determined how different prealpine Neolithic luvisols on morainic ground
18 were from luvisols in Early Neolithic loess landscapes. We therefore do not agree
19 with Schier's (2009) view that a spread of Neolithic agriculture beyond the fertile
20 loess areas was only made possible through slash-and-burn cultivation.

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22 Really poor soils, mostly on siliceous bedrock, exist in several mountainous areas
23 of Central Europe. In regions like the southern part of Westphalia
24 (Rothaargebirge) (Pott, 1986), or the central Black Forest, or the Emmental in
25 Switzerland, we know of cultivation regimes known as 'Haubergswirtschaft'. Such
26 regimes included the cyclical use of patches of land cleared by burning. It was not
27 possible to produce a cereal crop on these parcels of land (mostly rye was sown, a
28 cereal that grows extremely well on poor soils but which was not introduced to
29 our region before the Late Roman period); they were intended to provide
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9 firewood, charcoal, bark for tanning etc. and the burnt surface was used as pasture.
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11 Similar regimes are known in Scandinavia, e.g. in Finland (Lahtinen and Rowley-
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13 Conwy, 2013). In such regions, slash-and-burn may have been the only option to
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15 produce a crop. Whether slash-and-burn was also practised in the surroundings of
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17 some Neolithic sites of unknown character in the south-western French Alps
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19 remains to be clarified; there, einkorn, a cereal of which certain strains grow well
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21 on poor soils today (Bogaard et al., 2016), plays a quite important role (Martin,
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23 2014).
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27 Some new isotope data (Bogaard et al., 2013) even suggest that manuring was
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29 practised from the Early Neolithic onwards. Similar results were obtained by
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31 Kanstrup et al. (2014) for the fourth millennium cal. BC onwards in Denmark. In
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33 Hornstaad there are indications that the manuring of fields in which different
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35 cereals were grown was not the same, and there is also variation in the data
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37 obtained in different parts of the settlement (Bogaard et al., 2013; Styring et al.,
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39 2015 [in press]), suggesting that manuring rates varied spatially and according to
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41 the species grown in a given year. All in all it seems that the interdependence
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43 between animal herding and plant cultivation was strong (Ebersbach, 2002). To be
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45 efficient, manuring needs a certain minimal number of domestic animals on the
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47 one hand, and on the other hand manuring has important implications for the
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49 investment in land and territorial claims by farming groups (see Bogaard, 2012). A
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Tamil proverb puts this succinctly: 'No fodder, no cattle, no manure, no crop' (cited by Thomas, 2000, p. 4). The question of soil fertility and how to keep it high (by shifting fields or manuring, not forgetting crop rotation systems) is surely one of the most important research issues related to land-use management.

To conclude, empirical weed data point to permanent cultivation from the beginning of the LN onwards with no profound differences from what we know for earlier phases of the Neolithic. There are no convincing arguments, based on empirical data, that support the existence of shifting cultivation. Soil fertility was no doubt a crucial issue, but it can be kept at a high level by using different techniques, and recent isotope data indicate that manuring played an important part already in the Neolithic.

Conclusions

Although the on-site results presented in this article are very encouraging, archaeobiologists are still far from being in a position to reconstruct the LN economy and environment comprehensively. First of all, future research needs to reach a better understanding of wetland layer formation processes (ongoing SNF Project IPAS Basel, no. CR30I2_149679). Based on this, much more research on the functional attributes of weed taxa is needed. Analyses of ^{15}N isotopes in cereal grains (and perhaps other cultivars) will be crucial to understand manuring

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9 techniques – which in turn are connected to animal keeping strategies. Much more
10 dung analysis is also needed, and more systematic comparisons between on-site
11 micro- and macro-remain data. Nevertheless the existing data already allows us to
12 draw a quite plausible picture of how the LN economy may have worked and what
13 impact it had on the landscape.
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20 On-site weed data point to permanent, rather intensively tilled fields and maybe
21 even the use of manure. However we cannot exclude that on a freshly cleared piece
22 of land cultivation was practised for a short time – if fire was used. Some kind of in-
23 field out-field system may well have existed, with most fields cultivated
24 permanently and intensively in the vicinity of the villages and some out-fields
25 occasionally prepared on burnt forest land. Moreover, there was a very close and
26 intense relationship between plant and animal husbandry.
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36 Settlement archaeology and dendroarchaeology both show that relocations and
37 cyclical patterns were an integral part of the LN economy. Settlements were short-
38 lived and people moved around within settlement areas (or even between them)
39 with their domestic animals. For clearing land they undoubtedly used fire as a
40 landscape management tool, as shown by micro-charcoal in dung and off-site data.
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48 On-site data also confirms that gathering (see e.g. Antolin et al, 2015 [in press])
49 and hunting were highly important. Part of the gathering system consisted
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9 probably also of woodland management, including coppicing and perhaps
10 pollarding. Such an intensive use of wild resources lets us suppose that people
11 manipulated the landscape to obtain higher and more secure yields of wild fruits
12 and good timber for building purposes. An opening of the landscape also favours
13 successful hunting. And the necessity to provide good grazing grounds for
14 domestic animals (especially cattle) was crucial. As our on-site data also show, this
15 landscape management included the use of fire, creating in the process mosaics of
16 micro-environments such as liminal areas, bush-rich landscapes, etc. This fits well
17 with niche-construction theories (e.g. Smith, 2011). All in all, LN people had a
18 successful survival strategy (see also Baum et al., submitted). It was clearly
19 resilient, able to cope with changing weather conditions or short-term climatic
20 fluctuations.
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36 Using on-site data – in combination with an alternative interpretation of off-site
37 data – the surface areas needed to feed humans and animals can be estimated in a
38 more realistic way. On-site data are therefore an important basis for model-based
39 simulations on a small scale (e.g. Baum, 2014; Baum et al., submitted, and ongoing
40 research by Baum). These modelling attempts have shown that the amount of open
41 or semi-open land is fundamentally different depending on which farming regime
42 it relies on (Figure 10; Baum, 2014). On the basis of a combination of on- and off-
43 site data we consider the model shown in Figure 10a as the most reliable.
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9 Modelling approaches have the potential to open-up wider archaeological
10 perspectives on the practices and impacts of early agrarian societies (Whitehouse
11 and Kirleis, 2014). Moreover, the results can be incorporated into land cover
12 and Kirleis, 2014). Moreover, the results can be incorporated into land cover
13 simulations on a larger scale, e.g. of the Early Anthropocene (Kaplan et al., 2009;
14 Kaplan et al., 2011; Ruddiman, 2004; Ruddiman, 2013; Ruddiman et al., 2011; Ellis
15 et al., 2013). For all this, it is crucial to bring together – in an integrative way – as
16 many types of palaeoenvironmental proxies as possible in order to gain more
17 plausible insights into the landscapes that existed thousands of years ago. We
18 believe that this article contributes to this goal.

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29 As a final offering, we propose to re-write the conclusions of Lechterbeck et al.
30 (2014, p. 108): ‘Some very elaborate land use models based on experimental data
31 suggest that the expansion of secondary forest elements was caused by “slash and
32 burn” or “swidden” cultivation (Rösch, 2013; Schier et al., 2013)’. A more
33 appropriate formulation, based on a comprehensive knowledge of on-site data,
34 would be: ‘The expansion of secondary forest elements was caused by different
35 landscape management practices which included the use of fire’.

36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 **Acknowledgments**

48
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Glockenbecherkultur und der Bronzezeit. Antiqua 33, Basel: Verlag
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333-339.

For Peer Review

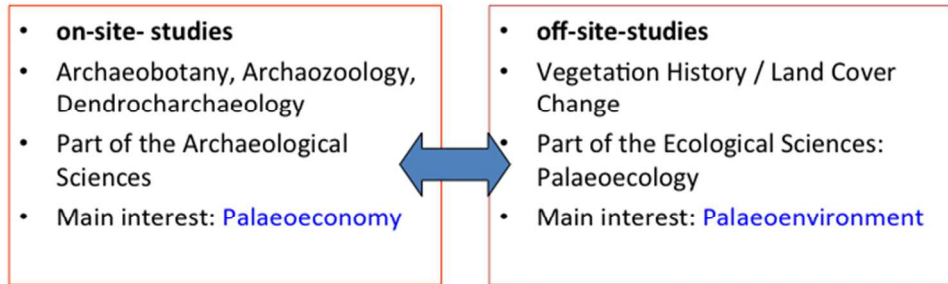


Figure 1. Map of the area considered in this article. From Euratlas <http://www.euratlas.com>, slightly modified by S. Jacomet.
254x190mm (72 x 72 DPI)

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Fig. 2, Jacomet et al.



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Figure 2. Scheme showing the relationships between the different types of palaeoenvironmental data considered in the text (on- and off-site data). By S. Jacomet.
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Fig. 6, Jacomet et al.

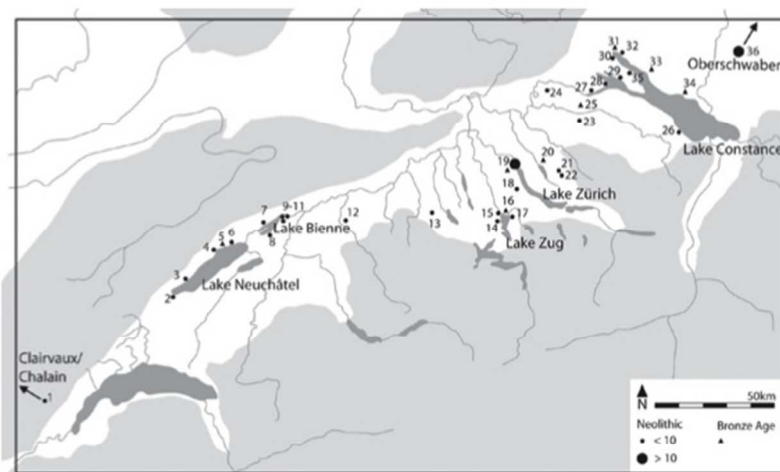


Figure 3. Map of Neolithic and Bronze Age sites of the northern alpine lake dwelling area for which archaeobotanical data exist. Neolithic sites date between 4300 and 2400 cal BC, Bronze Age sites between 1900 and 850 cal BC. On most of the sites several settlement layers of different ages were investigated. For detailed legend and references see Tables OSM 1 and OSM 2.
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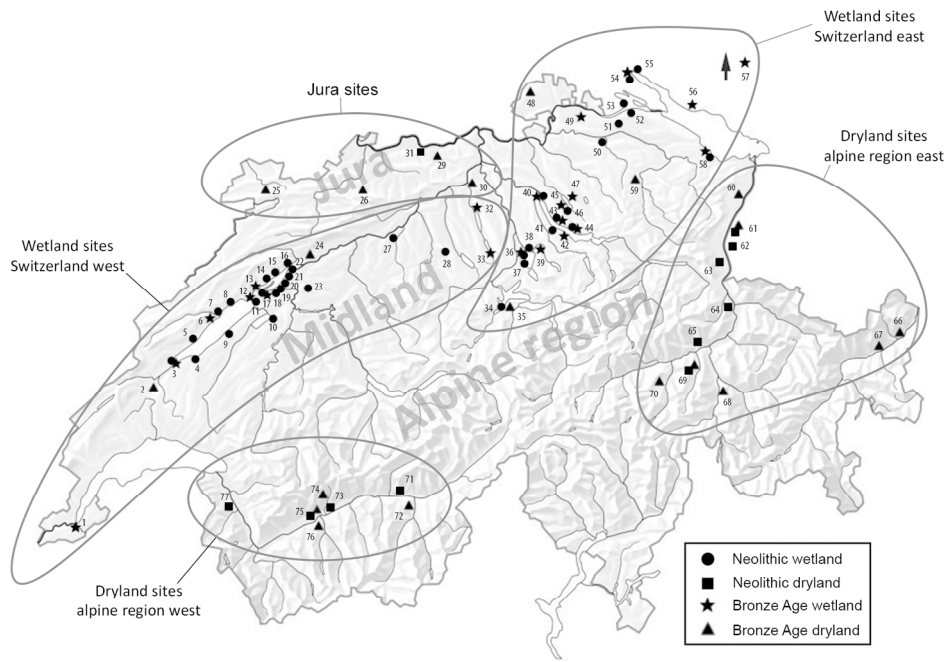


Figure 4. Major regions of Switzerland and location of Neolithic and Bronze Age wetland and dryland sites with archaeozoological data. For detailed legend and citations see Tables OSM 3 and 4 (from Schibler, 2016, [in press]).
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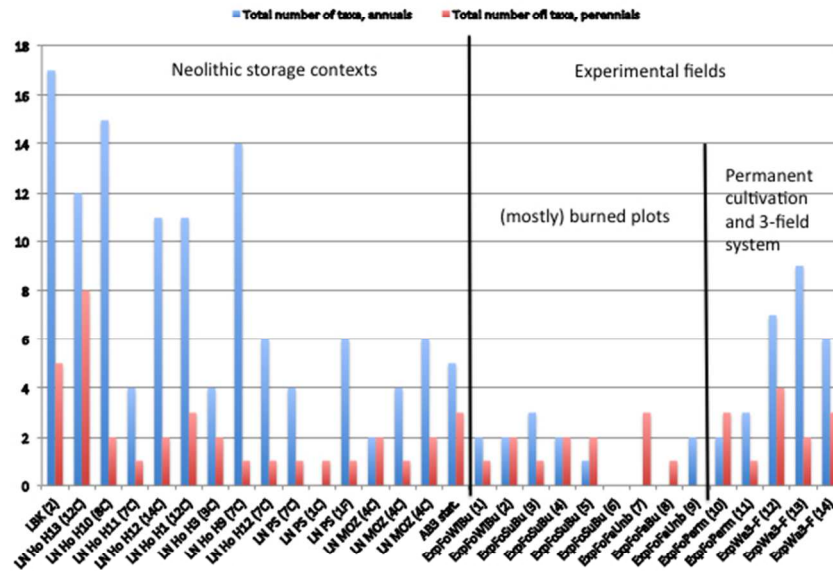


Figure 5. Numbers of annual (blue) and perennial (red) weeds in Early and Late Neolithic cereal and flax stores (from Maier, 2001; Brombacher and Jacomet 1997; Brombacher and Jacomet 2003; Kreuz 2012) compared to those of the experimental fields at Wackershofen and Forchtenberg (data from the latter after Rösch et al., 2002a). Abbreviations: LBK = LinearBandKeramik (Early Neolithic); LN = Late Neolithic; Ho = Hornstaad Hörnle I, AH (Archaeological Horizon) 2 (burnt layer); numbers in brackets mean number of stocks analysed; C = Cereals; F = Flax; MOZ = Zürich-Mozartstrasse; PS = Port-Stüdeli; AB3 = Arbon Bleiche 3; stat. = results of statistical analyses (Spearman Rank Correlation); in total 80 LN stocks considered. LNE = Earlier Phases of Late Neolithic (ca 4300-3600 cal BC); LNL = Later phases of Late Neolithic (3300 – 2500 cal BC); ExpFo = Experimental Fields in Forchtenberg; WiBu (1) winter sown cereals, burned surface; SuBu = summer sown cereals, burned surface; FaUnb = Fallow land, unburned; FaBu = Fallow land, burned; Perm = permanent cultivation; ExpWa3-F = Experimental Fields in Wackershofen, 3-field System; number in brackets = number of the relevee in Rösch et al., 2002a. For more details see Tables OSM 1 and OSM 5

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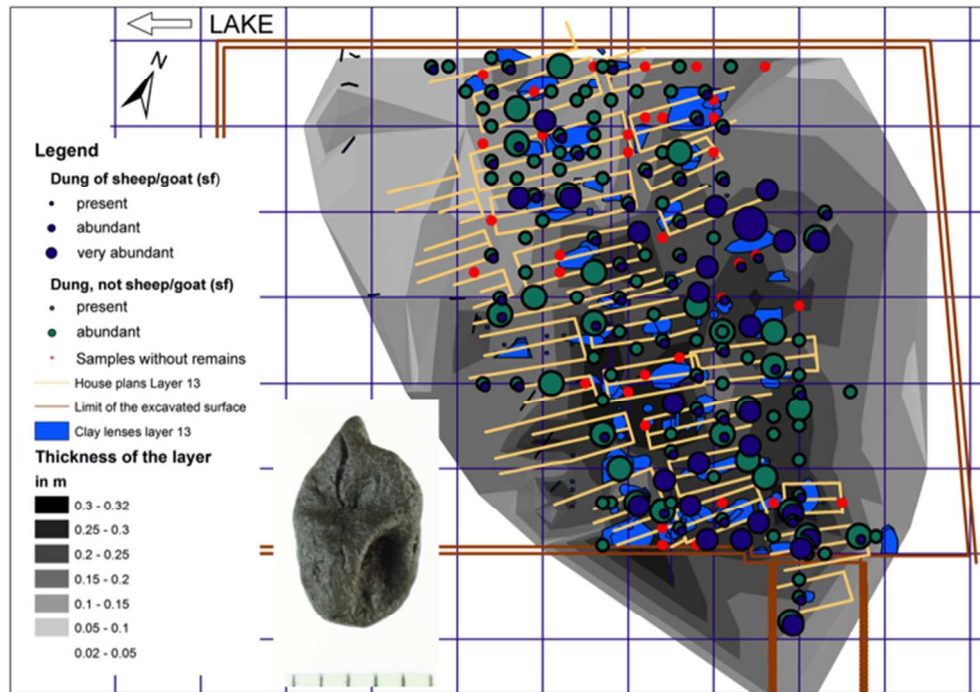
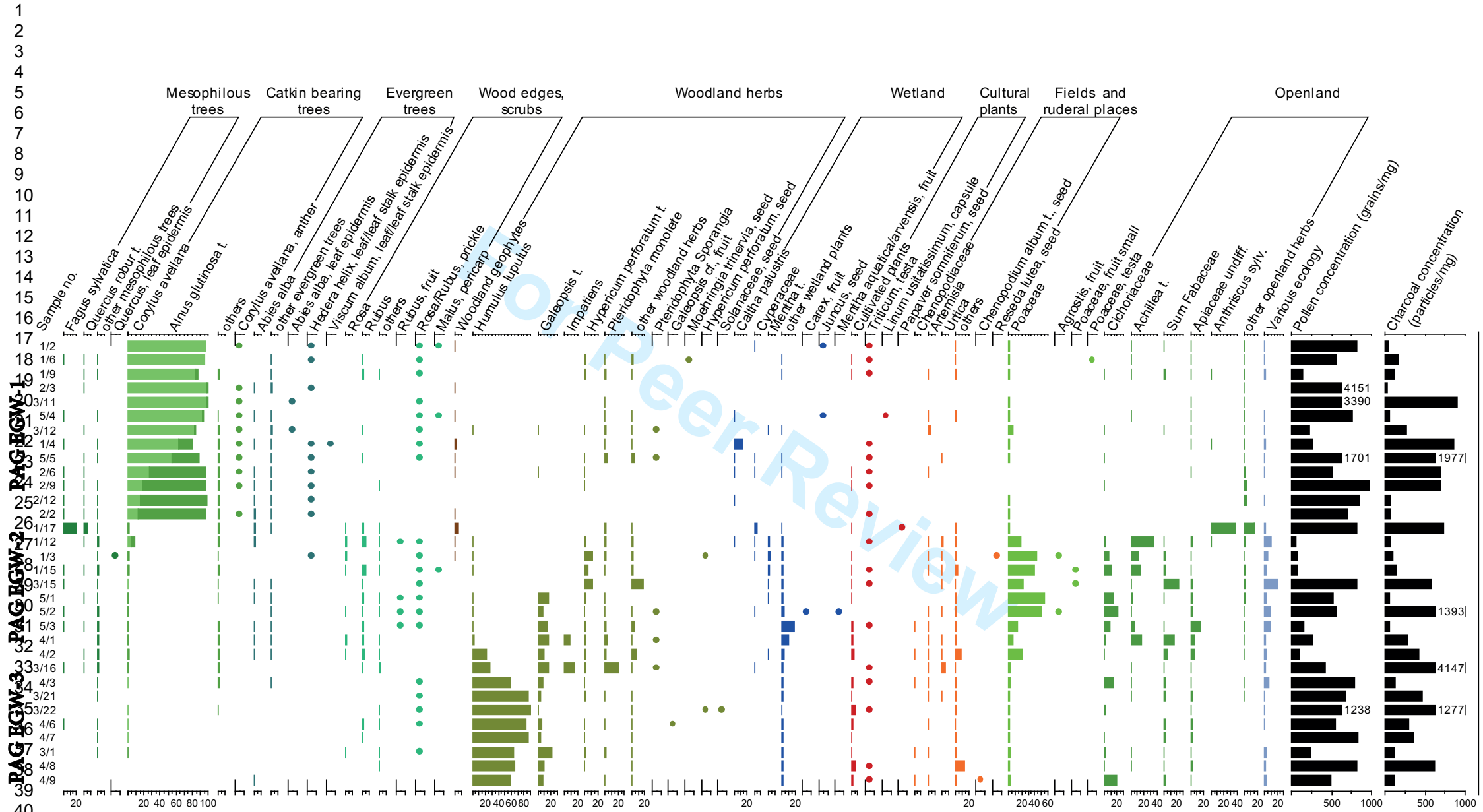


Figure 6. Presence of ruminant dung in the settlement layer of Zurich Parkhaus Opéra layer 13 (Horgen culture, 3175–3157 cal BC). Figure by F. Antolin. The photograph shows a goat/sheep dung piece (photograph by G. Haldimann, ©IPNA Basel University). For more details see Antolin et al., 2016 [in press]. 254x190mm (72 x 72 DPI)



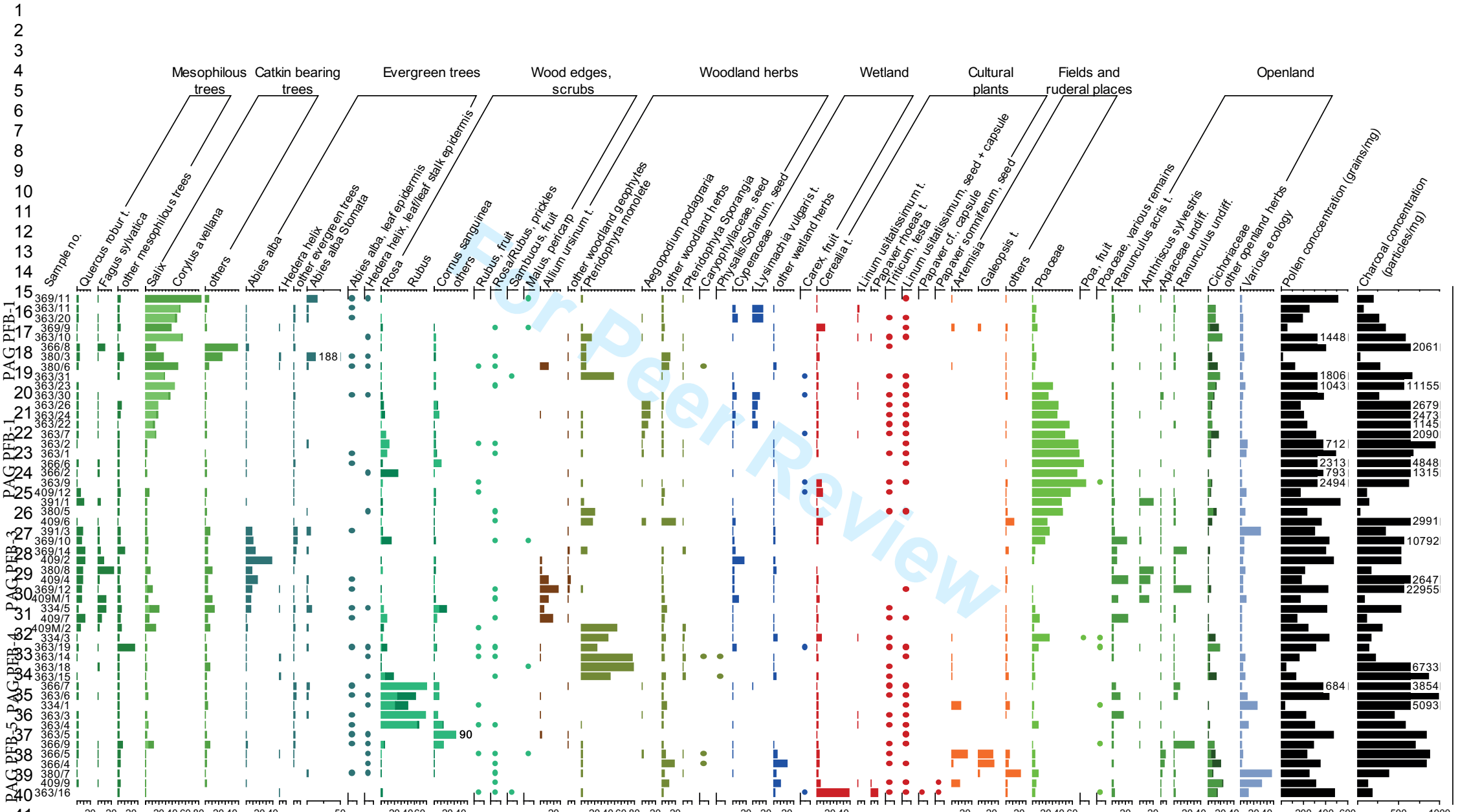


Fig. 5, Jacomet et al.

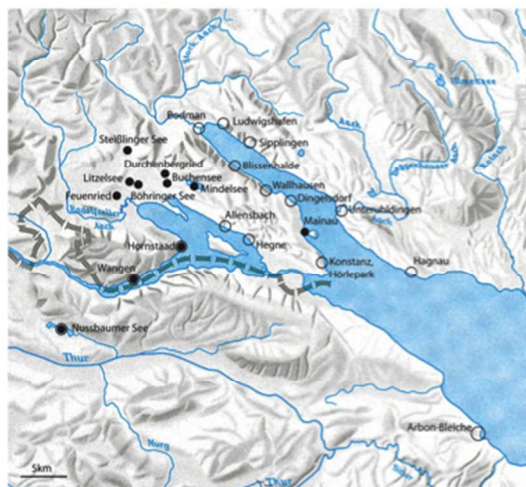


Figure 8. Location of the high-resolution pollen diagrams (black dots) in the western Lake Constance region (after Rösch et al., 2014, p. 122) (white squares represent archaeological sites with archaeobotanical investigations).

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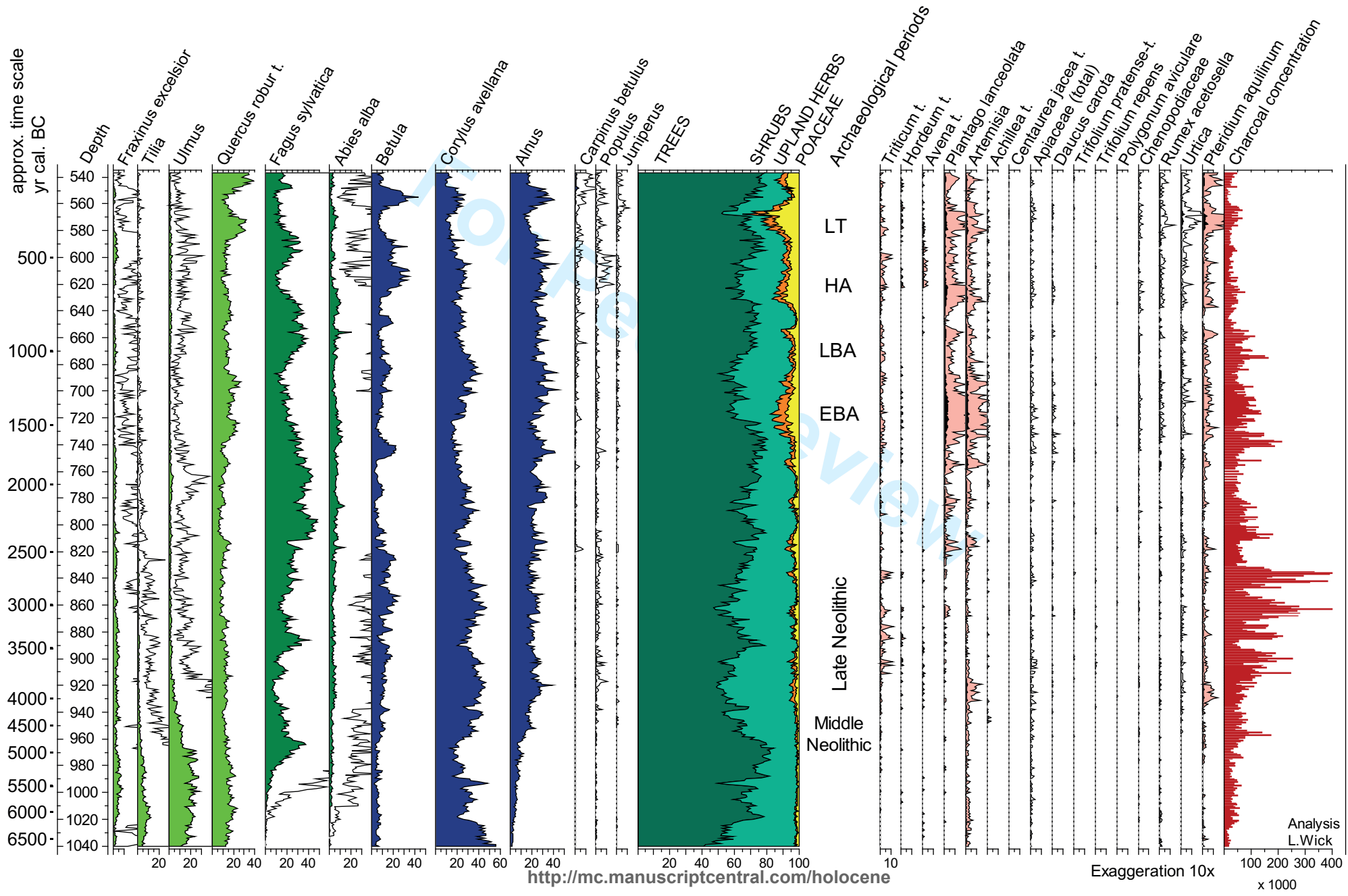
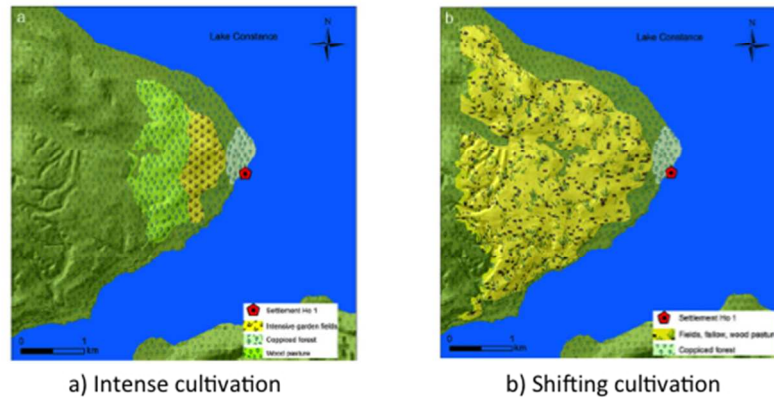


Fig. 3, Jacomet et al.



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Figure 10. Possible amounts of open and shrubby land around a Late Neolithic settlement (Hornstaad-Hörnle I, Lake Constance, 3918–3905 cal BC). Modelling attempt based on a) permanent fields with intensive cultivation (left) and b) the existence of slash-and-burn cultivation (from Baum, 2014).
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9 **On-site data cast doubts on the hypothesis of shifting cultivation in the Late**
10 **Neolithic (c. 4300-2400 cal. BC). Landscape management as an alternative**
11 **paradigm**

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14 **Online Supplementary Materials (OSM): OSM text**

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17 **Supplement to Introduction:**

18 Whether or not the wetland sites mirror economically specialised settlements or
19 socially marginalised groups is a matter of debate see e.g. Whittle, 1996, p. 216 ff.;
20 Pétrequin et al., 2005). In the hinterland near the lakes only a few coeval
21 settlements are known, but recent survey programmes show peaks of settlements
22 and activities related to high settlement densities on the lake shores (e.g. Mauvilly
23 and Boisaubert, 2005; dendroarchaeological studies also indicate such dense
24 occupation, e.g. Billamboz, 2014). On the basis of archaeobotanical on-site data we
25 do not see – at first sight – any difference in plant husbandry between lakeshore
26 sites and the few hinterland settlements when taphonomic filters are taken into
27 account (see e.g. Jacomet, 2013); this, however, has to be evaluated in greater
28 detail.
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34 **State of research and interpretation tools**

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36 *Off-site data*

37 Off-site pollen data can be used as a proxy for the intensity of land use (Figure 2,
38 print text). When considering the area discussed in this article we must mention in
39 particular the ten (and more) high-resolution pollen diagrams that exist; these
40 mostly come from sediments from the central part of small lakes in the western
41 part of the area around Lake Constance investigated from the 1980s onwards by
42 the research group around M. Rösch (for an overview see fig. 5 and table 7, p. 108
43 in Lechterbeck et al., 2014). This is currently the best-investigated area with
44 regards to pollen analysis in Europe. The profiles are independently dated by more
45 than 200 radiocarbon dates, and the time models have been carefully revised (by
46 applying a Bayesian approach). The main aim of these studies was to reconstruct
47 not only the vegetation history but also the type of human use of the landscape
48 since the Neolithic. The places investigated lie mainly in the region of Upper
49 Swabia, the western part of Lake Constance (Rösch et al., 2014) and the Hegau
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9 which is located somewhat further to the west (Lechterbeck et al., 2014; fig. 5).

10 In these bogs and (mostly small) lakes there was no evidence of direct human
11 influence on deposition. The human impact of nearby settlements, however, has
12 left traces in such sediments in the form of open-land pollen or micro-charcoal. As
13 numerous investigations of the last decade have shown, it is rather complicated to
14 reconstruct quantitatively from pollen data the degree to which the landscape was
15 open or the type of use it was put to (see e.g. Sugita, 2007a; Sugita, 2007b;
16 Broström et al., 2008; Hellmann et al., 2009; Gaillard et al., 2010; Trondman et al.,
17 2014). The reason for this is that pollen data catch the amalgamate effects of a
18 large number of partly unidentified processes on pollen rain. If there are no
19 empirical actualistic data available as a basis for comparison, it seems impossible
20 to reconstruct in detail specific single practices of unknown consequences from the
21 sum of all the processes.
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25 26 *On-site data*

27 The main aim of archaeobiological on-site investigations is to reconstruct the
28 subsistence economy (Figure 2, print text). We define subsistence as 'all activities
29 which are necessary to satisfy pure biological needs (not only food but also
30 clothing and shelter) as well as essential social and spiritual requirements'
31 (Jacomet and Schibler, 2010).
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35 *Generalities/Basics.* Biological on-site data encompass the disciplines of
36 archaeobotany and archaeozoology as well as dendrotypology (for definitions see
37 Jacomet, 2007a, and Billamboz, 2014). Here we describe in greater detail the state
38 of the art and the grounds on which interpretation are based because this is rarely
39 found in the palaeoecological literature. We concentrate on wetland sites; indeed
40 the sheer quantity of remains of wild and domesticated species and high resolution
41 both in time and space on such sites can supply many empirical facts for the
42 reconstruction of former land use.
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45 The main difference between on- and off-site data is that the remains we
46 investigate on human occupation sites (on-site data) are part of a sediment that is
47 to a very large degree of anthropogenic origin. Human behaviour, the activities in a
48 settlement in the past, belongs to the most important factors influencing the
49 spectra of bioarchaeological remains in anthropogenic layers (so-called cultural
50 transformation, after Schiffer, 1991; Schiffer, 2002; summarized in Jacomet,
51 2007a).
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9 Examining on-site data is essential for establishing how the remains entered a
10 given context and its formation processes (for basics, see e.g. Davis, 1987; Kreuz,
11 1990; Kreuz, 1995; Kreuz, 2012; Van der Veen, 2007; Jacomet, 2013). Remains
12 from cultural layers represent a mixture of single events and accumulations of
13 remains over longer periods of settlement activity, transformed by synchronous
14 and later taphonomic processes.
15

16 We have to make sure that we do not take single events, which might be
17 unrepresentative, as 'the average'. On the other hand, if we can reconstruct such
18 single events, these can give extremely valuable information on specific activities
19 or past plant assemblages (e.g. animal dung or uncleaned cereal stocks, see below).
20 Detailed and representative intra-site investigations form the basis of any relevant
21 synthesis (e.g. Jacomet and Brombacher, 2005; Antolin et al., 2015 [in press]).
22

23 Natural influences also play a role in layer formation (natural transformation *sensu*
24 Schiffer, 1991; Schiffer, 2002): as lakeshore settlements were located in a highly
25 dynamic environment – the lake shore – we can detect water influences or phases
26 of drying out, or relocations (are remains *in situ* or not?), and there may also be
27 signs of erosion or selective preservation (see e.g. Jacomet et al., 1989; Leuzinger,
28 2000; Ismail-Meyer et al. 2013, p. 331; Bleicher and Ruckstuhl, 2015). Bog
29 settlements are less influenced by such natural factors, but there organic
30 preservation is subject to other selection mechanisms (see e.g. Herbig, 2006). In
31 general, the reasons why organic materials are well preserved in organic
32 waterlogged layers are poorly understood (e.g. Bleicher and Schubert, 2015).
33

34 All these aspects show that the interpretation of on-site data is in no way
35 straightforward and influenced by even more factors than off-site data. For
36 interpretation we use several so-called 'middle range tools' (tools from
37 contemporary situations such as the ecological values of weeds that help explain
38 past situations; after Binford and Binford, 1968).
39

40 The numerous comprehensive archaeobiological investigations of the last decades
41 have however made clear that the principle of 'uniformitarianism' (meaning 'the
42 present is the key to the past') can often not be transferred to past situations when
43 humans are involved.
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49 *Archaeobotany*. Figure 3 in the print text shows the state of the archaeobotanical
50 on-site research concerning the Neolithic lake dwellings in the vicinity of the Alps
51 (for more details see Jacomet, 2006; Jacomet, 2007b; Jacomet, 2008; Jacomet,
52 2009; Herbig, 2009). In particular, plant macroremains like seeds, fruits, chaff or
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9 wood were investigated (here we do not treat on-site pollen data which are only
10 available in small quantities).

11 Systematic research over the last forty years has yielded a large amount of
12 macroremain data from over 100 settlement layers from all parts of the northern
13 Alpine foreland (Figure 6 in the print text) as well as from other regions like
14 Slovenia, see Tolar et al., 2011) and most of these data are stored in the ArboDat
15 database (Kreuz and Schäfer, 2014).
16

17 A recent example of a comprehensively-sampled settlement layer is the Horgen
18 cultural layer 13 of the Zürich-Parkhaus Opéra site (Bleicher and Harb, 2015),
19 which is currently being examined (Figure OSM 4; Antolin et al., 2016 [in press]).
20 In wetland settlement layers a much larger spectrum and a greater number of
21 remains and taxa are present than in dryland sites (burnt layers may be an
22 exception). It is mostly waterlogging that causes their preservation. For the
23 methodology used in our investigations (sampling, recovery etc.) we refer to
24 published works on this subject (e.g. Hosch and Zibulski, 2003; Jacomet and
25 Brombacher, 2005; Vandorpe and Jacomet, 2007; Tolar et al., 2009; Antolin et al.,
26 2015; Steiner et al., 2015).
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30 In order to reconstruct environmental conditions we use the following 'middle
31 range tools': besides ecological grouping, based on actualistic (modern or
32 ethnographic) data (see Behre and Jacomet, 1991), we apply statistical methods
33 like Spearman's rank correlation for finding correlations between, for example,
34 wild plants and cultivated taxa (e.g. Hosch and Jacomet, 2004). The so-called
35 'closed assemblages', such as uncleaned cereal stocks which still contain the weeds
36 that grew on the fields, constitute an important source of information. Their
37 spectra can be evaluated in the way mentioned above. More recently, they were
38 used in functional attribute studies aimed at reconstructing crop growing
39 conditions and land management practices (Functional interpretation of Botanical
40 Surveys or FIBS; Jones 2002; Bogaard 2004 and 2011; Bogaard et al., 2016); for
41 explanations see below, chapter 'Results of on-site data: Evaluation of the weed
42 spectra based on their life forms, other functional attributes and ecological
43 demands'). Also very recently, isotope research (like $^{14}\text{N}/^{5}\text{N}$) was carried out on
44 the cereal grains found in such assemblages, which suggested that manuring took
45 place (Bogaard, 2012; Bogaard and Outram, 2013; Bogaard et al., 2013).
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50 *Archaeozoology.* The state of the art concerning archaeozoology is presented by
51 Schibler (e.g. Schibler, 2006 and Schibler, 2016, [in press] and Figure 4, print text).
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9 Data on hand-collected large bones (mostly mammals) from over 100 settlements
10 are available. Archaeozoological (bone) data are also stored in a database
11 (OSSOBOOK; Schibler, 1998; Kaltenthaler et al., 2015). Several overviews and
12 evaluations, including basics of methodology, are published (see Schibler, 2006;
13 Schibler, 2016 [in press] and citations there).
14

15 The state of research concerning small bones (mostly of birds, fishes and
16 amphibians) or mussels, snails or insects, which are extracted from soil samples
17 (often the same as those used for botanical macroremains) is at present less
18 satisfactory but information on such kinds of remains, indicative, for example, of
19 fishing techniques has nonetheless greatly improved over the last fifteen years
20 (e.g. Hüster Plogmann, 2004; Lemdahl, 2004; Schmidt, 2011).
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23 *Dendrotypology.* Dendrotypology is a dendroarchaeological approach that was
24 developed from the 1980s onwards in parallel to pure dendrochronological dating
25 (for a recent summary of the methodology and results from the western Lake
26 Constance region see Billamboz, 2014). Dendrotypology rests on the classification
27 of timber (based on the tree rings) according to tree age, growth patterns and the
28 degree of stem conversion, which form the basis for creating dendro-groups. These
29 provide an insight into the structure and dynamics of the forest stands that were
30 exploited (from clearing activities and coppicing practices to forest degradation).
31 In our investigation area such analyses have mainly been developed since the
32 1980s by A. Billamboz in the western Lake Constance region (Billamboz, 2014)
33 and in Upper Swabia (primarily in the Federsee region; Bleicher, 2009); the
34 situation is less satisfactory in the rest of Switzerland but is however improving
35 (Suter and Francuz, 2010; Bleicher et al., 2013).
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40 *Other interpretation tools.* As further interpretative tools we also use the results of
41 experimental archaeology (such as experimental fields: Bogaard, 2002; Schier et
42 al., 2013; Ehrmann et al., 2014) and ethnographic data (e.g. Charles et al., 2002;
43 Smith, 2011a and b). In the latter case we must ensure that examples from similar
44 climatic regions are used. Ethnographic data cited in the literature on Native North
45 American forest communities and their abilities to shape a wooded landscape in
46 temperate climate zones is most promising (e.g. Smith, 2009; Smith, 2011a; more
47 indications of burning in the overview by Scherjon et al., 2015).
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51 **Results of on site-data: Basic aspects of animal and plant husbandry**

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10 During the Late Neolithic (hereafter LN), domestic animals and cultivated plants
11 played an important role in the economy. Beside cattle, pigs and sheep as well as
12 goats there were dogs too. In the LN, all these domestic animals continue to be
13 important, in variable proportions (Schibler, 2006; Schibler, 2016 [in press]), with
14 increasing herd sizes observed towards the end of the LN (Ebersbach, 2002;
15 Schibler, 2006; see Figure 4, print text).

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18 For overviews on the LN plant economy see Herbig, 2009; Jacomet, 2006; Jacomet,
19 2007b; Jacomet, 2008; Jacomet, 2009; Jacomet, 2014). The main cereals were
20 different wheat taxa. Tetraploid naked wheat (*Triticum turgidum* s.l.¹) and emmer
21 (*Triticum dicoccum*) were the most important taxa, whereas einkorn (including
22 two-grained *Triticum monococcum*) is quite rare and only locally important (e.g.
23 Karg and Märkle, 2002). There were always considerable quantities of six-rowed
24 barley (*Hordeum vulgare*). The other main cultivars were flax (*Linum*
25 *usitatissimum*) and opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*); pea (*Pisum sativum*)
26 appears rarely in larger amounts. However, pea may be underrepresented; as the
27 ongoing investigations on the Horgen culture layer 13 of Zürich Parkhaus-Opéra
28 show: there are many fragments of subfossil pea pods, which may have been
29 overlooked in earlier investigations (Antolin et al., 2016 [in press]). Although the
30 quantification of plant remains represents a methodological challenge and the
31 results are hypothetical, model calculations give us an idea that carbohydrate-rich
32 sources were highly important to meet the daily demand for calories (Gross et al.
33 1990; Schibler and Jacomet, 2010; on the importance of gathered fruits, see
34 below).

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38 The reasons behind the change of the importance of cultivars in the course of the
39 LN (Figure OSM 3) are not yet clear. A changing environment may have played a
40 role, but also – and perhaps primarily – various cultural influences from the East or
41 the West (see e.g. Jacomet, 2007b; Kreuz et al., 2014).

42 43 44 45 **Results of on-site data indicative of the farming regime and landscape** 46 **management, incl. difficulties in reconstructing the Late Neolithic weed flora** 47

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52 ¹ The nomenclature of scientific plant names for cultivars follows the traditional classification, after
53 Zohary, Hopf and Weiss (2012).
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9 For several reasons it is difficult to define what a weed was in LN times. As weeds
10 are crucial for land-use reconstruction, the reasons for this are explained here:
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13 *Mostly mixed assemblages*

14 The settlement layers of the LN lakeshore settlements are mixed assemblages
15 containing the refuse from all kinds of different activities. Among others, there are
16 hundreds of thousands of (mainly) chaff remains of cereals, but also capsule
17 fragments of flax, pod fragments of pea or even capsule fragments of poppy, to a
18 very large extent preserved in a subfossil state (for a new and up-to-date example
19 see Antolin et al., 2016 [in press]). There is also a large variety of open-land taxa in
20 the same samples; many of them can be attributed to the 'crop weeds' ecological
21 group by actualistic grouping (see compilation in Brombacher and Jacomet, 1997,
22 p. 258 ff.). Such a combination of cultivar remains and weed taxa reflects the
23 typical refuse found in agrarian settlements, well comparable with, for example,
24 refuse in Early Neolithic Linearbandkeramik (LBK) pits, although the latter is
25 present in charred form only (see e.g. Kreuz, 2012).
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31 *Cleaning stages in mixed assemblages not clearly identifiable*

32 For mixed refuse layers in lake-dwelling sites it is difficult to define the cleaning
33 stages. If we compare the combination of remain types and taxa with ethnographic
34 data (e.g. Hillman, 1984; Jones, 1987; Jones, 1990) we see that remains of
35 winnowing and perhaps also sieving are present in the cultural layers, including
36 the weeds (for an attempt, see Jacomet et al., 1989, p. 169). We therefore conclude
37 that annual weed taxa which are still known as crop weeds today were also crop
38 weeds in LN times. This is corroborated by statistical approaches (Spearman rank
39 correlation; see Hosch and Jacomet, 2004, fig. 101, p. 130) conducted for the site of
40 Arbon-Bleiche 3 (around 3380 cal. BC). There, some typical annual weeds (partly
41 the same as those already considered to be weeds on the basis of actualistic
42 approaches) but also some perennials showed a high degree of correlation with
43 cultivars (Figure 5 in the print text; OSM Table 5).
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49 *Unknown (or hypothetical) processes before the harvest (tillage, weeding, harvesting
50 methodology)*

51 Tillage practice must have been different from what we know from ethnographic
52 sources (for a thorough description of examples of the latter, see Kreuz, 2012).
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9 There are no undisputable finds of ploughs (ards), the few known examples being
10 far from straightforward to interpret (see Brombacher and Jacomet, 1997, p. 270);
11 only hoe-like instruments are regularly found (see e.g. Leuzinger, 2002). Whether
12 the ardmakes found in the eastern Alps (canton of Grisons, south-eastern
13 Switzerland) can be dated to the Neolithic remains to be clarified (there are no ¹⁴C
14 data directly from the ard furrows; Rageth, 1992; Rageth and Defuns, 1992).

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16 We do not know if weeding was practised. We can only assume it was carried out,
17 based on assumptions and comparisons with, for example, present-day organic
18 farming. As for harvesting techniques, we can take the growth heights of the weed
19 taxa as an indicator, assuming that most of the weeds were harvested with the
20 cereals. If weed seeds appear in stocks it is highly likely that they were harvested
21 with the cereals; this is well known from ethnographic sources. Therefore, in
22 archaeobotany, the height of the weeds is usually taken as an indication of the
23 height of the harvest. If we can find large quantities of very low growing weeds
24 (e.g. *Aphanes arvensis*), it is highly probable that cereals (for example) were cut
25 very close to the ground. If we can only find high growing weeds, the culms were
26 cut at some distance from the ground, and low growing weeds could not be
27 harvested. In LN stocks, low growing weeds are generally present, so we must
28 assume that harvest height was usually quite close to the ground.
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34 *Which proportion of the weeds is represented in storage contexts?*

35 Undoubtedly the best basis for reconstructing the weed flora in LN times is the
36 spectrum of wild plants appearing in storage contexts representing single events
37 (the so-called closed assemblages). There are many different kinds of such storage
38 contexts represented in lakeshore settlements, from ears stored in an uncleaned
39 state to very well cleaned stocks in which only grains are present. A systematic
40 evaluation of the cleaning stages of these stocks, based on the ethnographic data
41 mentioned above, is unfortunately missing. Moreover, we cannot always exclude
42 secondary mixing of materials during a conflagration when houses collapsed.
43 Nevertheless, uncleaned or only partly cleaned stocks are known from several
44 settlements (see Figure 5 in the print text and OSM Table 5; e.g. Maier, 2001;
45 Brombacher and Jacomet, 2003). In these, seeds of annual weeds in today's sense
46 are regularly present, although in very different amounts (from zero to 15 taxa,
47 from zero to more than 100 remains). There are however also a series of other
48 taxa present in the stocks; these taxa are considered today to be ruderals,
49 grassland plants, plants of woodland clearings etc.; in Neolithic times they must
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9 have been weeds too (see Figure 5 in the print text and OSM Table 5: 1–8 taxa and
10 0–50 remains; see tables in Brombacher and Jacomet, 1997, pp. 258–261; OSM
11 Table 5).

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13 Beside annuals perennials were also regularly present. The same – incidentally –
14 holds true for the LBK fields of the loess landscapes (Kreuz and Schäfer, 2011), and
15 is shown on Figure 5 in the print text and in OSM Table 5. The spectrum of wild
16 plants known from storage contexts representing single events is eminently
17 comparable with ‘weedy’ wild plant spectra in mixed samples (see Figure 5 in the
18 print text and OSM Table 5).

19
20 One so far not mentioned reason for the difficulties to compare modern weed
21 communities with Neolithic ones is that not all of today’s weed species (the
22 anthropochores) were present in Central Europe at the time (see e.g. Willerding,
23 1986; Jacomet and Brombacher, 2009; Kreuz, 2012) and therefore many
24 opportunistic ‘weedy’ taxa, which today are more typical of forest fringes etc., had
25 also spread onto the fields.
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28 29 **Results of on-site data: Evaluation of the weed spectra based on their life** 30 **forms, other functional attributes and ecological demands** 31

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33 For an overview of ‘traditional’ evaluations based on ecological groups, life forms
34 and Ellenberg indicator values (Ellenberg, 1991) we refer to Brombacher and
35 Jacomet (1997, p. 256 ff.), Maier (2001) and Hosch and Jacomet (2004, p. 128 ff.).
36 More recently, a novel type of evaluation method for weeds was introduced, the
37 FIBS-approach (Functional Interpretation of Botanical Surveys) (see e.g. Jones
38 (2002), Bogaard (2004), Bogaard (2011) and Bogaard et al. (2016)). ‘This
39 alternative approach uses functional attributes, which measure the ecological
40 characteristics of weed species, and is not dependent on the co-occurrence of
41 particular species or the reliability of field observations to indicate species
42 preferences. Functional attributes permit the ‘translation’ of present-day
43 ecological data to archaeobotanically attested species and, through an
44 understanding of ecological processes, provide the means to disentangle the
45 separate effects of different husbandry practices, so allowing the identification of
46 novel combinations of practices in the past’ (from Jones, 2002). FIBS was applied
47 to assemblages from two sites only: the burnt cereal (mainly tetraploid naked
48 wheat) stock layer of the settlement of Hornstaad-Hörnle IA (3910 cal. BC) and a
49 similar layer containing a store of emmer from the settlement of Zurich-
50 Mythenschloss dating to the period of the Corded Ware culture (around 2700 cal.
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9 BC; Brombacher and Jacomet, 1997).

10 The most important results are briefly presented in the print text.

11 12 13 *Hints on grazing the fallows*

14 In the region of Zurich, one of the best investigated lakeshore areas, the weed
15 spectrum shows an increase in the presence of plants growing on present-day
16 grassland in the course of the LN (Figure OSM 5). This points to grazing the fallows
17 or the stubble fields, which had the side-effect of manuring them (the same was
18 noticed already in the early Neolithic LBK (LBK phase I to phase II; Kreuz, 2012).
19 This also means that some parts of the landscape remained open for longer
20 periods and suggests that there was a permanent and steady pressure on such
21 places from both humans and animals. Here, but perhaps also in the floodplains,
22 the first grassland plant communities may have developed during the third
23 millennium cal. BC, in parallel with larger herd sizes (Figure OSM 2). This
24 grassland is however not yet directly comparable with modern sown, manured
25 and irrigated grassland.
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30 **Results of on-site data indicating opening the landscape for pastures and** 31 **hunting/gathering grounds**

32 33 *Evidence based on denrotypology (types of woodland management)*

34 By analysing large masses of timber used for building from the lakeshore villages it
35 has become increasingly clear how dynamic the settlement pattern during the LN
36 usually was: settlement phases were generally short (mostly five to seventeen
37 years; for an overview see Bleicher, 2009, pp. 144–152). Longer settlement
38 durations are documented only exceptionally. Often, the settlements move around
39 within a certain region. Bleicher (2009) has reconstructed ten-year cycles of
40 woodland management (*'Freistellungsreaktionen und Stockwaldphasen'*) in two
41 settlement areas in the surroundings of lake Federsee in Upper Swabia. There are,
42 however, also locations to which people always came back, and therefore these
43 regions were settled continuously for over 1000 years with only a few decades of
44 interruption (like the Zurich region or Sipplingen on Lake Constance)
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49 In some time periods young wood from coppices of managed woodland with short
50 rotations of 10–20 years was used for building purposes. Abrupt growth changes
51 in young oak tree ring series reflect successive coppice rotations (as seen for
52 instance in the hinterland of Sipplingen on Lake Constance). On the other hand, in
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9 some periods (after longer breaks in settlement activity) natural forest stands with
10 old-grown trees were felled, as at the beginnings of the Pfyn and Horgen cultural
11 sequences in the western part of the region around Lake Constance (see Figure
12 OSM 1 for chronology). There are clear indications that the settlements at the
13 lake's shore were part of a larger system involving the hinterland where
14 settlement occupation must have existed too (although very little is known of such
15 occupation). In the final phases of the exploitation cycles there might be signs of
16 land overuse and woodland degradation, especially towards the end of the
17 Neolithic (e.g. Corded Ware phases in the western part of Lake Constance, although
18 not visible in the N isotope record; see Styring et al., 2015).

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21 For more details we refer to the recent compilation by Billamboz (2014) for the
22 western part of Lake Constance, the supra-regional overview of Bleicher (2009, pp.
23 144–152) and to Suter and Francuz (2010) for the state of the art in western
24 Switzerland. Ongoing analyses in the Zurich region show similar trends (Bleicher
25 et al., 2013).

26
27 To conclude, there were evidently sophisticated cycles of woodland use in
28 existence. A mosaic-like landscape in areas used for timber, but also as a source of
29 leafy hay, pasture and wild fruits (see below) can be reconstructed (for an
30 ethnographic example see Figure OSM 6).

31 32 33 *Evidence based on ruminant dung*

34 In wetland settlement layers, animal dung, mostly of ruminants (sheep/goat and
35 cattle) is very often encountered (a very good example is shown on Figure 6 in the
36 print text). It therefore seems clear that ruminants were kept inside the
37 settlements, at least some of the time, for example for milking.

38 It also shows that there was at least some dung available, but its use cannot be
39 reconstructed directly. Investigations of plant macro- and micro-remains (mainly
40 pollen) in ruminant dung gave valuable indications on the surfaces on which the
41 animals grazed (see Rasmussen, 1989; Rasmussen, 1993; own investigations
42 include Akeret and Jacomet, 1997; Akeret et al., 1999; Akeret and Rentzel, 2001;
43 Haas, 2004; Kühn and Hadorn, 2004; Kühn and Wick, 2010; Marinova et al., 2013;
44 Kühn et al., 2013). So far mainly dung of small ruminants, goat and sheep, has been
45 investigated (it is in fact indistinguishable). Two examples are shown on Figures
46 7a and 7b in the print text which are explained here more in detail:

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48 Figures 7a and 7b include only the major taxa (i.e. quantitatively and/or
49 ecologically significant), among them all the taxa with macrofossil finds. Pollen,
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9 spores, stomata, and fern sporangia are shown as percentages, related to the total
10 sum of pollen and Pteridophyta spores. Pollen and micro-charcoal concentrations
11 are given as grains or particles per mg of wet material. In order to facilitate the
12 comparison of the micro- and macrofossil remains, the macroremains (dots,
13 indicating presence/absence) are combined with the respective pollen taxa (bars)
14 in the diagrams. The pollen taxa are summarized into groups representing
15 different habitats (woodland, open land etc.) or fodder types (e.g. evergreen trees).
16 The samples are arranged according to their pollen assemblages; the pollen
17 assemblage groups (PAGs) represent different fodder types or natural habitats,
18 respectively.
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22 *Figure 7a (print text): Pollen and macroremain diagram of Egolzwil 3 (Late*
23 *Neolithic, 4260 cal. BC). 32 pellets were investigated for both, macroremains and*
24 *pollen resp. microcharcoal.*
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26 *Plant macroremains:* Trees/shrubs are represented by regular finds of *Rosa/Rubus*
27 prickles, leaf epidermis of *Hedera helix* and anthers of *Corylus avellana*. Fruits of
28 *Rubus*, leaf epidermis of *Abies alba*, *Viscum album* and *Quercus* were found in lower
29 frequencies. Herbs are represented by single finds of seeds/fruits or epidermis of a
30 larger number of taxa, growing today on open land, ruderal and/or wet habitats
31 (along ditches or in marshy areas). Cultivars are mainly represented by high
32 quantities of *Triticum* testa. Remains of other cultivars were found in only small
33 amounts.
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36 *Microremains:* The pollen concentrations are generally high. Nearly all dung
37 samples contained high amounts of micro-charcoal. The pollen spectra were
38 divided into three pollen assemblage groups (PAG): PAG EGW-1 (13 samples; No.
39 1/2 to 2/2) shows a dominance of *Corylus* and/or *Alnus*, accompanied by
40 woodland geophytes flowering in early spring. PAG EGW-2 (10 samples, No. 1/17
41 to 4/2) shows high percentages of Poaceae pollen in combination with taxa from
42 woodland edges and open woodland like *Rosa*, *Rubus*, *Galeopsis*, and *Hypericum*
43 *perforatum* type. PAG EGW-3 (9 samples, No. 3/16 to 4/9) is characterised by taxa
44 growing in fresh and/or rather open woodland habitats, such as *Humulus lupulus*,
45 *Impatiens*, *Galeopsis*, and Pteridophyta. Cereal pollen was found in most of the
46 samples.
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51 *Figure 7b (print text): Pfäffikon Burg (Late Neolithic, 3100 cal. BC). 52 pellets were*
52 *investigated for both, macroremains and pollen resp. microcharcoal.*
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9 *Plant macroremains:* Phanerophytes are represented by continuously occurring
10 prickles of *Rosa/Rubus*, fruits of *Rubus* as well as regular finds of leaf epidermis of
11 *Abies alba* and *Hedera helix*. Other trees/shrubs are rare (not shown on the
12 diagram). Herbs of open land and/or fresh habitats are represented only by a
13 rather small number of taxa, occurring in low frequencies. Remains of cultivars
14 however are frequent, especially *Triticum* testa and flax remains. Sporangia of
15 ferns were also found regularly.

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17 *Microremains:* The pollen concentrations are generally high. Nearly all the samples
18 show high quantities of micro-charcoals. The pollen spectra were assigned to five
19 PAGs, pointing to a great variety of fodder sources in the landscape: PFB-1 (9
20 samples, No. 369/11 to 363/31) is dominated by *Salix* and *Corylus avellana*, with
21 herbaceous taxa indicating grazing in open woodland and wetland, such as
22 Pteridophyta and Cyperaceae. Pollen values of deciduous trees are generally low.
23 PFB-2 (15 samples, No. 363/23 to 409/6) is characterised by very high
24 percentages of Poaceae, accompanied by shrubs and herbs representing woodland
25 edges, coppices and open land areas; other non-arboreal pollen (NAP) are rare. In
26 PFB-3 (10 samples, No. 391/3 to 409/07) rather high percentages of mesophilous
27 deciduous trees are combined with *Abies alba* pollen and stomata, and various
28 amounts of *Corylus*, *Alnus*, and *Betula*. Among the NAP, Pteridophyta, *Allium*
29 *ursinum* t., *Ranunculus acris* t., *Anthriscus sylvestris*, and Cyperaceae show higher
30 values. PFB-4 (11 samples, No. 409M/2 to 363/4) shows a strong dominance of
31 either Pteridophyta spores or shrub pollen (*Rosa*, *Rubus*) representing open
32 woodland habitats. *Ranunculus acris* t. and *Anthriscus sylvestris* belong to the most
33 frequent herb taxa. PFB-5 (7 samples, No. 363/5 to 363/16) is very poor in tree
34 pollen and dominated by plants growing on fields and ruderal places, such as
35 *Artemisia*, *Papaver rhoeas* t., and *Triticum* t. The lowermost sample 363/16 with
36 the highest amount of Cerealia-type pollen contains only a low percentage of
37 charcoal.
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44 *Evidence based on open-land-taxa (grassland, woodland edges etc.)*

45 In general, we can see an increase in diversity but also the ubiquitous presence of
46 open-land taxa in the course of the LN (see examples in Brombacher and Jacomet,
47 1997). Not only has the weed flora become more diverse (see above) but also
48 other open-land communities have become more widespread. Domestic animals
49 play once again an important role in this context. In the dung pieces mentioned
50 above, there is much evidence for winter- and summer grazing and foddering of
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9 the ruminants in the vicinity of the settlement (see previous chapter for
10 references). This is corroborated by the insect data (e.g. Lemdahl, 2004; Schmidt,
11 2011). There must have been quite extensive, heavily pastured surfaces close to
12 the settlements. An attempt to model the grazing pressure based on the minimum
13 number of individuals (MNI) of domestic animals at the settlement of Arbon-
14 Bleiche 3 (around 3380 cal. BC) shows that 5–10 (minimum 2, maximum 13) km²
15 around the settlement were needed to provide enough fodder for the herd
16 (Jacomet et al., 2004, p. 399; for modelling attempts in the Zurich region see
17 Ebersbach, 2003). There was, however, no grassland in today's sense in the LN.
18 First grassland plant communities used for pastures and haymaking resembling
19 modern grassland communities did not exist before the Late Bronze Age or even
20 the Late Iron Age in Central Europe (see e.g. Körber-Grohne, 1990; Körber-Grohne,
21 1993; Willerding, 1999; Kreuz, 2005, p. 174 ff.; Jacomet and Brombacher, 2009,
22 and fig. 5 there).

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26 On what surfaces then did the animals browse? In the course of the LN we see an
27 increase in the ubiquitous presence of some grassland taxa (macroremains; Figure
28 OSM 5 shows 4 taxa as examples of the general trend.

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30 It is mainly during the third millennium cal. BC that some kind of grassland-like
31 plant communities became more important. This is corroborated by on-site pollen
32 studies from the region of Zurich (Erny-Rodmann, 1995). However, whether these
33 taxa really grew on grassland in today's sense, or were established, for instance, on
34 grazed short-fallows or in open woodlands, is difficult to ascertain (another
35 possibility may be beaver meadows in floodplains). Some of the taxa obviously
36 grew on fields and fallows as the weed spectra show. In any case, this development
37 goes hand in hand with increasing cattle herd sizes, which can be reconstructed on
38 the basis of data from bone concentrations in occupation layers (Figure OSM 2;
39 (Schibler et al., 1997: Synthesis) and is most probably a result of a rising grazing
40 pressure that reached its maximum during the Corded Ware phases from 2800 cal.
41 BC onwards. An intensification of woodland management practices like coppicing
42 also played a role (see above). The appearance in the macroremain record of
43 thorny plant species like juniper (*Juniperus*) or holly (*Ilex*), which became more
44 widespread under high pasture pressure towards the later phases of the LN, is in
45 good agreement with these observations (Brombacher and Jacomet, 1997, p. 277,
46 table D359; corroborated by ongoing analyses in the Zurich region).

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50 Off-site pollen data from the Mainau site (western Lake Constance) show rising
51 micro-charcoal values in these periods (Figure 9 in the print text); this can be
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9 interpreted as a need to expand grazing areas by burning. The latter would
10 support our contention that fire played a crucial role in shaping a more open
11 landscape in the course of the LN.
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14 *Evidence based on gathering and hunting*

15 In well-investigated LN settlement layers we can find over 100 species of wild
16 plants, and most of them were useful in one way or another (see e.g. Jacomet et al.,
17 1989; Antolin et al., 2015 [in press]). Not only did food for humans have to be
18 provided by gathering, but also fodder (and pasture) for animals, and wood for
19 constructions and firewood (for the latter see e.g. Dufraisse, 2008), as well as bast
20 fibres etc. (as an example see Jacomet et al., 2004: Synthesis). Human food in the
21 form of fruits rich in starch and fat (like hazelnuts, acorns and beechnuts) and
22 vitamins (like rose hips, raspberries, wild strawberries, crab apples) appears in
23 huge quantities in LN settlement layers. The waterlogged preservation of the
24 layers is one of the reasons why gathered fruits are so well represented in
25 lakeshore settlements (Jacomet, 2013; Colledge and Conolly, 2014). There is plenty
26 of evidence that such fruits were indeed eaten because human faeces rich in such
27 fruits are documented (see e.g. Maier, 2001). Some are also found in crusts inside
28 pots: they were cooked.
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31 It is however hard to quantify what proportion of the calories was provided by
32 hunted and gathered food. On the basis of a well-sampled, recently-investigated
33 cultural layer from Zürich Parkhaus-Opéra (layer 13; the dendrochronological
34 dating indicates that the village was occupied for just over twenty years from 3176
35 to 3153 cal. BC; Bleicher and Harb, 2015 [in press]), we think that gathered foods
36 in the nutrition could have provided up to 20% of the calories (Figure OSM 7;
37 Antolin et al., 2015 [in press]). Accumulations of gathered food, e.g. hazelnut shells,
38 were also present in the rubbish heaps of Zürich Parkhaus-Opéra (layer 13). This
39 and many examples from other LN wetland settlements show that hazelnuts were
40 always important in the nutrition. At Hornstaad-Hörnle I the settlement including
41 the whole of that year's harvest burnt down in 3910 cal. BC (Maier, 2001); in the
42 layer directly above this burnt layer there is a layer full of hazelnut shells, which
43 suggests that hazelnuts also served as an important staple in times of need. In
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9 many settlements there are stocks with gathered plants (e.g. Gachnang-Niederwil
10 or Hornstaad-Hörnle 1A; van Zeist and Boekschoten-van Helsdingen, 1991; Maier,
11 2001). We can even put forward the hypothesis that fruit-bearing shrubs and trees
12 (and probably also valuable annuals; Schlichtherle, 1981) were tended to achieve
13 higher productivity. It would otherwise not have been possible to collect their
14 fruits in large amounts, as represented by tens of thousands of remains (for details
15 see Antolin et al., 2015 [in press]). In addition to providing calories gathered plants
16 also had the important role of providing vitamins and microelements (see Kreuz,
17 2012).

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24 In order to create landscapes suitable for a good yield in gathered wild plants we
25 consider opening and keeping the landscapes open by burning to be a good
26 strategy. This hypothesis is well supported by ethnographic sources. Burning was
27 widespread to create good gathering grounds, e.g. among Native North American
28 forest communities which in some ways were intermediate between farmers and
29 hunter-gatherers (see Smith's 2001 'low level food production'; or 'niche
30 construction', e.g. Kendal et al., 2011; Smith, 2011a). For more examples from
31 different parts of the world we refer to Scherjon et al. (2015). It must however be
32 borne in mind that burning the landscape is a characteristic of hunter-gatherer
33 groups whereas the LN communities were clearly farmers.

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37 Burning may also have played an significant part in creating better hunting and
38 browsing grounds since in several phases of the LN, hunting was important for the
39 provision of food (Schibler, 2016 [in press]). This may hold for whole settlements
40 or only for parts of them as investigations in Arbon-Bleiche 3, for example, have
41 shown for the period around 3380 cal. BC (Deschler-Erb and Marti-Grädel, 2004).
42 Good hunting grounds in the surroundings of the settlements must indeed have
43 been of crucial importance. Larger areas of open land and a well-structured
44 landscape are also the reason why animals like hare or red fox become
45 increasingly important in the course of the LN (mean percentages of bones rise
46 from almost zero to well above 2–3% or even more; see figs. 10 and 11 in Jacomet
47 and Schibler 2006).
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Results of off-site data concerning opening the landscape and landscape management

The woodland in the western part of Lake Constance was dominated by *Fagus sylvatica* and other broad-leaved trees like *Quercus*, *Tilia*, *Ulmus* or *Acer* (e.g. Rösch 2013; Rösch et al., 2014; Lechterbeck, 2013; Lechterbeck et al., 2014). During land-use phases of the fourth and early third millennium cal. BC, several phases in which *Fagus* decreased strongly are visible in the many high-resolution pollen diagrams from there. In parallel there is an increase in secondary forest elements such as *Corylus* and *Betula*. This is interpreted as a replacement of the *Fagus*-dominated woodland by semi-open/shrubby vegetation, probably also coppiced forests, at the beginning of the LN. At the same time an increase of micro-charcoal (fluctuating curves) indicates woodland burning. During the strongest land-use phases of the LN, the natural woodland was in some places almost completely replaced by shrubs and coppiced forest; there are cases where the *Fagus* pollen curve declines from more than 30% to less than 10%, and a decrease in *Tilia* and *Ulmus* is also visible. The *Quercus* curve does not show such fluctuations, possibly because some oak trees were tended for a good yield in acorns.

Human impact is clearly visible in regions where settlements are located nearby (Lechterbeck et al., 2014, p. 109, mentions the Hornstaad and Mainau profiles). NAP and cereals also occur in higher values (Figure 9 in the print text). When settlements are located further away such impact is less visible (described as short episodes of forest disturbances with compensation by secondary forest elements – namely hazel and birch). Although agriculture is indicated by cereal pollen, a large increase of NAP and especially *Plantago lanceolata* is not recorded (as in the Luttersee profile near an Early Neolithic LBK settlement near Göttingen or in the later Corded Ware and Bell Beaker phases in the western Lake Constance region). Cereal pollen is usually rare. All this is interpreted as follows: extensive open land such as grazed forests, pastures, meadows or fallow land with strong pollen emissions of Poaceae, *Plantago lanceolata* and other wind-pollinated herbs did not exist.

An attempt by Lechterbeck (2013) to apply the models developed by the POLLANDCAL network (Sugita, 2007a; Sugita, 2007b; Gaillard et al., 2010) to reconstruct quantitatively the land cover for the western Lake Constance region in the older phase of the LN (4200–3700 cal. BC) on the basis of the results from two small lakes, Buchensee and Steisslinger See (the latter in the Hegau, more than 20

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9 km to the west of Lake Constance) is not further considered here as the results
10 concerning woodland/shrubby vegetation cover do not differ from the effects
11 mentioned above. In addition, only one model (the slash-and-burn model) was
12 used to reconstruct the land use and the results are therefore unbalanced.
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For Peer Review

List of illustrations and legends**Figures and Tables in the OSM = Online Supplementary Materials****OSM figures**

Figure OSM 1. Chronological table with the cultural groups mentioned in the text. Abbreviations. MK=Michelsberger Kultur; LBK=Linearbandkeramik; SOB = Südostbayerisches Mittelneolithikum; Br-O=Brubach Oberbergen (from Jacomet, 2007b). In the region considered here there are Early and Middle Neolithic cultural groups, and the transition Mesolithic-Neolithic can be roughly placed into the sixth millennium cal BC.

Figure OSM 2. Development of herd sizes in the course of the Late Neolithic, based on densities (concentrations) of hand-collected animal bones (numbers per layer volume and settlement duration). After Schibler, 1997.

Figure OSM 3. The changing importance of cultivated plants during the Late Neolithic, based on roughly quantified data, showing their approximate importance. Only settlements with some kind of representative sampling and more than around 500 cereal remains are shown. Numbers in bold indicate years cal BC. Figure by S. Jacomet, published in Suter, 2008, p. 345.

Figure OSM 4. House plans and surface sampling of the settlement Zürich Parkhaus Opéra layer 13 (Horgen culture, 3175–3157 cal BC). For more details of features see Bleicher and Ruckstuhl, 2015 [in press]. Figure after Antolin et al., 2015 [in press].

Figure OSM 5. Ubiquity of some grassland taxa and changes in the course of the Late Neolithic (based on waterlogged seeds). Figure S. Jacomet.

Figure OSM 6. Heavily utilised woodland (mainly for coppicing); Nemrut Dagi, Southern Turkey (photograph S. Jacomet, June 2009).

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9 Figure OSM 7. Example of the ubiquitous presence of gathered plants in Late
10 Neolithic lakeshore layers: densities (remains per litre of sediment, displacement
11 volume) of subfossil hazelnut shells in Zurich Parkhaus Opéra layer 13 (Horgen
12 culture, 3175–3157 cal BC). Figure by F. Antolin.
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16 **OSM Tables**

17 OSM Table 1. List of wetland sites investigated by archaeobotany. For their
18 location (numbers) see Figure 3 in the print text.
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21 OSM Table 2. Bibliographic references to OSM Table 1.
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24 OSM Table 3. List of wetland sites investigated by archaeozoology (large, hand-
25 collected bones). For their location (numbers) see Figure 4 in the print-text.
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28 OSM Table 4: Bibliographic references to OSM Table 3.
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31 OSM Table 5. List of weedy taxa found in Neolithic stocks of cereals and flax, and
32 wild plants growing on experimental fields (more explanations in the text).
33 Archaeobotanical data are based on Maier, 2001; Brombacher and Jacomet 1997;
34 Brombacher and Jacomet 2003; Kreuz 2012. Experimental data from Rösch et al.
35 2002.
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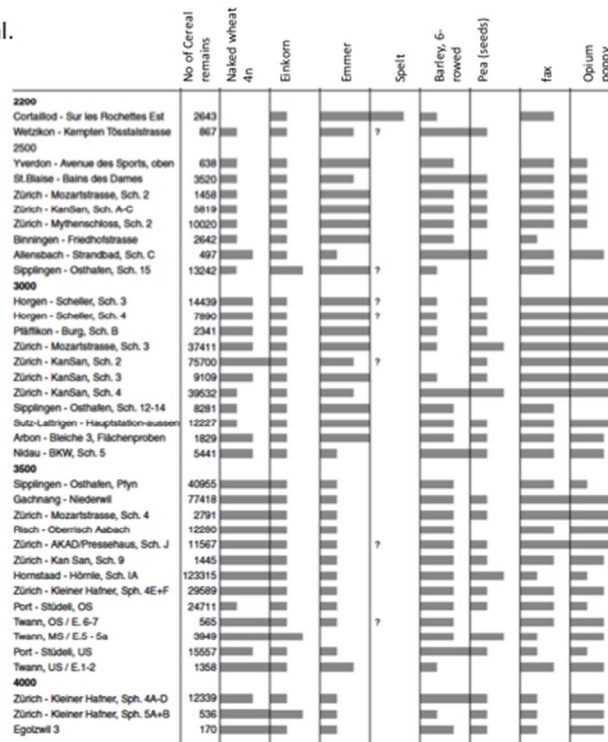
BC cal	Southern France	Jura (Franche Comté)	Western Switzerland	Upper Rhine area (south) and Neckar region	Central Switzerland	Eastern Switzerland and Lake Constance	Upper Suabia incl. Federsee	Bavaria and Western Austria	Eastern Austria	BC cal	phases (Lüning 1996)	phases (Driehaus 1960)		
2200	Campaniforme	Fontbousse	Campaniforme	Glockenbecher	Glockenbecher	Glockenbecher	????	Glockenbecher	Glockenbecher	2200	Endneolithikum (Latest phase of the Late Neolithic)	jüngeres		
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2600											Horgen	Horgen	mittl. Latrigen	?
2700	Port Conty	Port Conty frühes Latrigen	spätes Cortaillod	Munzingen B	(MK VI)	Munzingen B	frühes Horgen Übergang Pfyn/Horgen	ältestes Horgen Übergang Pfyn/Horgen	????	Altheim / Mondsee				
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3000											Néolithique Moyen Bourguignon ancien	Néolithique Moyen Bourguignon ancien	frühes Cortaillod	Entzheim B
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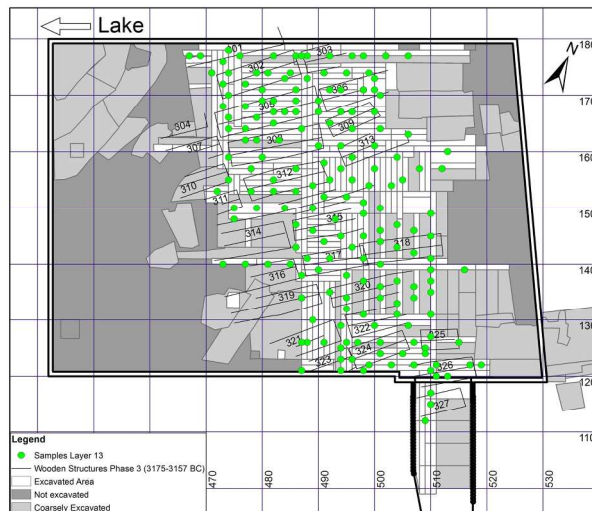
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Fig. 10, Jacomet et al.



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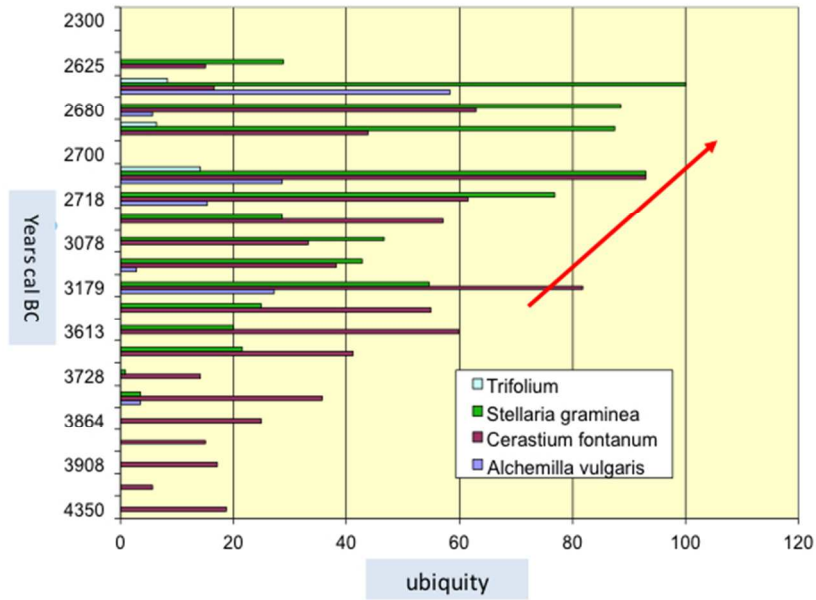


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Fig. 12, Jacomet et al.



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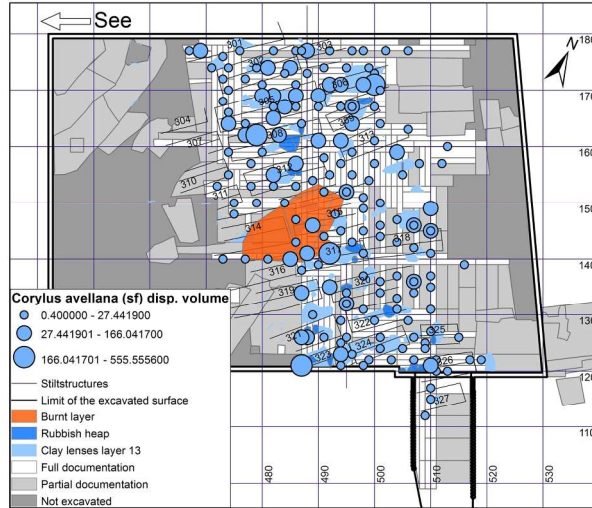
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5	region: after dating). Swiss sites not specified with country-code			
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10	Chalain (F) station 19, Schichten H-K	1	3050	Clairvaux Ancien
11	Chalain (F) station 3, Schicht VIII	1	3198	Horgen
12	Clairvaux (F) II	1	3470	Port Conty
13	Clairvaux (F) III, Schichten II und III (u und m)	1	2975	Clairvaux récent
14	Clairvaux (F) V Motte Aux Magnins	1	3659	Néolithique Moyen Bourguignon récent
15	Yverdon VD Avenue des Sports m (13/14-10, Schlichtherle-Profil)	2	2730	Auvernier Cordé, früh
16	Yverdon VD Avenue des Sports o (9a-2 Schlichtherle Profil)	2	2600	Auvernier Cordé
17	Yverdon VD Avenue des Sports u (Schi 16-14, Schlichtherle-Profil)	2	2750	Lüscherz récent
18	Concise VD Sous Colachoz AUC (Häuf.-Klass.)	3	2699	Auvernier Cordé
19	Concise VD Sous Colachoz COC (Häuf.-Klass.)	3	3868	Cortailod Classique
20	Concise VD Sous Colachoz COM (EMS (Konz.))	3	3709	Cortailod-Moyen, Ens. 2
21	Concise VD Sous Colachoz COM (EMT) grob analys. (Konz!)	3	3709	Cortailod-Moyen, Ens. 2
22	Concise VD Sous Colachoz COT1 (Häuf.-Klass.)	3	3666	Cortailod tardif
23	Concise VD Sous Colachoz COT2 (Häuf.-Klass.)	3	3567	Cortailod tardif
24	Auvernier NE Brise-Lames	4	2792	Lüscherz
25	St.Blaise NE Bains des Dames (Auv. Cordé Anc.)	6	2700	Auvernier Cordé Ancien
26	St.Blaise NE Bains des Dames (Auv. Cordé Moy.)	6	2600	Auvernier Cordé Moyen
27	St.Blaise NE Bains des Dames (Lüscherz)	6	2900	Lüscherz récent
28	Twann BE mittl. Horgener KS	7	3176	Horgen occidental (Latrigen, spätes)
29	Twann BE MS (E3-4)	7	3702	Cortailod tardif
30	Twann BE MS (E5 - 5a)	7	3643	Cortailod tardif
31	Twann BE OS (6-7)	7	3596	Cortailod tardif
32	Twann BE OS (E8-9)	7	3536	Cortailod tardif
33	Twann BE US, E1-2	7	3838	Cortailod classique
34	Lüscherz BE Kleine Station XV, Schn. 1-3	8	3410	Horgen occidental (Latrigen, frühes)
35	Sutz BE Latrigen VI, Riedstation	9	3410	Horgen occidental (Latrigen, frühes)
36	Sutz BE Latrigen, Hauptstation VII, aussen	9	3203	Horgen occidental (Latrigen, spätes)
37	Port BE Stüdeli, OS	10	3572	Cortailod, spätes
38	Port BE Stüdeli, US	10	3686	Cortailod, spätes
39	Nidau BE Schlossmatte BKW lb, Schicht 5	11	3406	Horgen occidental (Latrigen, frühes)
40	Seeberg BE Burgäschisee-Süd	12	3760	Cortailod, klass. Zentralschweizerisches bzw. Zürich Hafner
41	Egolzwil LU 3, Wauwilier Moos	13	4282	Egolzwiler K.
42	Risch ZG Oberrisch, Aabach,	14	3710	Pfyner K. bzw. Zürich-Seefeld
43	Cham ZG Eslen	15	4225	Egolzwil/frühes zs. Cortailod bzw. Zürich Hafner
44	Cham ZG St. Andreas	15	3700	Pfyn (-Cortailod?)
45	Zug ZG Riedmatt	near 16	3100	Horgener K.
46	Oberrieden ZH Riet	near 18	3300	Horgener K., früh
47	Zug ZG Vorstadt 26, Rössliwiese	17	3050	Horgener K.
48	Horgen ZH Dampfschiffsteg	18	3713	Pfyner K.
49	Horgen ZH Scheller 3	18	3061	Horgener K.
50	Horgen ZH Scheller 4	18	3078	Horgener K.
51	Zürich Mozartstrasse Schicht 2	19	2625	Schnurkeramik
52	Zürich KanSan Schicht A	19	2675	Schnurkeramik
53	Zürich Mythen Schloss Schicht 2	19	2680	Schnurkeramik
54	Zürich KanSan Schicht B/C	19	2685	Schnurkeramik
55	Zürich KanSan Schicht D	19	2705	Schnurkeramik
56	Zürich KanSan Kreuzstr. B,D (nur Getreide)	19	2718	Schnurkeramik
57	Zürich KanSan Schicht E (F?)	19	2718	Schnurkeramik
58	Zürich AKAD/Pressehaus, Schicht C2	19	2719	Schnurkeramik
59	Zürich KanSan Schicht 2A	19	2911	Horgener K.
60	Zürich Parkhaus Opéra Schicht 14	19	3090	Horgener K.
61	Zürich KanSan Schicht 2	19	3126	Horgener K.
62	Zürich Mozartstrasse Schicht 3	19	3126	Horgener K.
63	Zürich Parkhaus Opéra Schicht 13	19	3165	Horgener K.
64	Zürich KanSan Schicht 3	19	3179	Horgener K.
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10	Zürich KanSan Schicht 4	19	3239	Horgener K.	Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
	Zürich Mythenschloss Schicht 3	19	3240	Horgener K.	Jacomet, Brombacher, Dick 1989; Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
11	Zürich KanSan Schicht 5	19	3616	Pfyner K. bzw. Zürich-Seefeld	Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
	Zürich Mozartstrasse Schicht 4 u,m,o	19	3668	Pfyner K. bzw. Zürich-Seefeld	Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
12	Zürich Mozartstrasse Schicht 4 Pfyner B	19	3714	Pfyner K. bzw. Zürich-Seefeld	Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
13	Zürich KanSan Schicht 7 (=AKAD J)	19	3719	Pfyner K. bzw. Zürich-Seefeld	Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
	Zürich AKAD/Pressehaus, Schicht J	19	3728	Pfyner K. bzw. Zürich-Seefeld	Jacomet 1981; Jacomet et al. 1989; Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
14	Zürich Kan San Schicht 9	19	3827	Pfyn/Cortailod-Ub. bzw. Zürich Hafner	Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
15	Zürich Mozartstrasse Schicht 5 u,o	19	3880	Cortailod, klass. Zentralschweizerisches bzw. Zürich-Hafner	Jacomet, Brombacher & Dick 1989; Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
	Zürich Mozartstrasse Schicht 6	19	3908	Cortailod, klass. Zentralschweizerisches bzw. Zürich-Hafner	Jacomet et al. 1989; Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
16	Zürich Kleiner Hafner Schichten 4E/F	19	3968	Cortailod, klass. Zentralschweizerisches bzw. Zürich-Hafner	Jacomet, Brombacher & Dick 1989; Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
	Zürich Kleiner Hafner Schichten 4A-C/D	19	4185	Cortailod, frühes zentralschweizerisches bzw. Zürich-Hafner	Jacomet, Brombacher & Dick 1989; Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
17	Zürich Kleiner Hafner, Schichten 5A+B	19	4384	Egolzwiler K.	Jacomet, Brombacher & Dick 1989; Brombacher & Jacomet 1997
18	Pfäffikon ZH Burg	21	3100	Horgener K.	Zibulski 2010
	Gachnang TG Niederwil	23	3659	Pfyner K.	van Zeist & Boekschoten-van Helsdingen 1991
19	Pfyn TG Breitenloo	near 23	3708	Pfyner K.	Karg in Leuzinger 2007
20	Thayngen SH Weier, Sch. 16-19, Profil III	24	3822	Pfyner K.	Jørgensen 1975, Fredskild 1978
	Arbon TG Bleiche 3 Flächenproben	26	3384	Pfyn/Horgener K.	Hosch 2003; Hosch und Jacomet 2004
21	Arbon TG Bleiche 3 Profilproben	26	3384	Pfyn/Horgener K.	Brombacher und Hadorn 2004
22	Wangen (D) Hinterhorn Kr. Konstanz	27	3371	Horgener K.	Riehl 1993 and Riehl unpublished manuscript
	Hornstaad (D) V südl. Pfahlfeld	28	3176	Horgener K.	Rösch 1990a
	Hornstaad (D) V nördl. Pfahlfeld Kr. Konstanz	28	3400	Horgener K.?	Rösch 1990a
24	Hornstaad (D) Hörmle IB Kr. Konstanz	28	3586	Pfyner K.	Maier unpublished data
	Hornstaad (D) Hörmle II, Kr. Konstanz	28	3869	Pfyner K.	Rösch 1985
25	Hornstaad (D) Hörmle IA Kr. Konstanz	28	3917	Pfyner K. (Hornstaader Gr.)	Maier 2001
	Allensbach (D) Strandbad ob. Schicht C	29	2829	Horgener K.	Karg 1990
26	Allensbach (D) Strandbad unt. Schicht B	29	3150	Horgener K.	Karg 1990
	Bodman (D) Blissenhalde Kr. Konstanz	30	3600	Pfyner K.	Rösch 1987
27	Bodman (D) Weiler I	30	2900	Horgener K.	Herbig 2009 a and b
28	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schicht 16B	32	2860	Horgener K.	Maier 2010 (in Billamboz et al., 2010, FS Schlichtherle) and Maier in prep.
	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schicht 15	32	2900	Horgener K.	Herbig 2009b
29	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schicht 16A	32	2900	Horgener K.	Maier 2010 (in Billamboz et al., 2010, FS Schlichtherle) and Maier in prep.
30	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schicht 15 = o	32	2917	Horgener K.	Jacomet 1990; Maier in prep.
	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schicht 12-14 = u/m	32	3200	Horgener K.	Jacomet 1990; Maier in prep.
31	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schicht 13-14	32	3200	Horgener K.	Herbig 2009b
32	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schicht 11 = u	32	3316	Horgener K.	Jacomet 1990
	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schichten 7-9	32	3700	Pfyner K.	Maier 2010 (in Billamboz et al., 2010, FS Schlichtherle) and Maier in prep.
33	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schicht 9	32	3706	Pfyner K.	Riehl 2004; Maier in prep.
	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schicht 3	32	3900	Pfyner K.	Herbig 2009b
34	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schicht 1	32	3919	Pfyner K. (Hornstaader Gr.)	Maier 2010 (in Billamboz et al., 2010, FS Schlichtherle) and Maier in prep.
35	Sipplingen (D) Osthafen, Bodenseekreis, Schicht 2	32	4000	Pfyner K. (Hornstaader Gr.)	Herbig 2009b; Maier in prep.
	Unteruhldingen (D) Bayenwiesen Befund 1020	33	3000	Horgener K.	Herbig 2009b
36	Unteruhldingen (D) Bayenwiesen Befund 0940	33	3300	Horgener K.	Herbig 2009b
	Wallhausen (D) Ziegelhütte, Kr. Konstanz	35	3350	Horgener K.	Rösch 1990b
37	Wallhausen (D) Ziegelhütte, Kr. Konstanz	35	3750	Pfyner K.	Rösch 1990b
38	Alleshhausen (D) Taschenwiesen, Kr. Biberach	36	2900	Goldberg III	Herbig 2009 a and b
	Olzreute (D) Enzisholz III, Kr.	36	2900	Horgen/Goldberg 3	Herbig 2009 a and b
39	Schreckensee (D) G III Schichten	36	2900	Goldberg III	Herbig 2009 a and b
40	Alleshhausen (D) Grundwiesen, Kr. Biberach	36	2916	Goldberg III	Maier 2004
	Seekirch (D) Achwiesen, Kr. Biberach	36	2916	Goldberg III	Maier 2004
41	Königsegsee (D)	36	3000	Horgen	Herbig 2009b
42	Seekirch (D) Stockwiesen, Kr. Biberach	36	3030	Horgen/Goldberg III, Ub.	Maier 2004
	Torwiesen II (D) Bad Buchau, Kr. Biberach	36	3283	Horgener K.	Herbig 2002, 2006
43	Torwiesen II (D) Bad Buchau, Kr. Biberach	36	3283	Horgener K.	Maier 2011
44	Bad Buchau (D) Dullenried	36	3300	Horgen	Herbig 2009 a and b

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site / settlement (after numbers on map Fig. 3; within one site / region: after dating). Swiss sites not specified with country-code	Number on map Fig. 3	Dendro Date (earliest or approx.)	culture (see Fig. OSM 1)	Publication of archaeobotanical data
Egg (D) Obere Güll 1	36	3300	Horgener K.	Herbig 2009b
Oedenahlen (D) Riedwiesen, Kr. Biberach	36	3700	Pfyn/Altheim	Maier 1995
Schreckensee (D) Pfyn-Altheimer Schichten	36	3700	Pfyn-Altheim	Herbig 2009 a and b
Reute (D) Schorrenried Kr. Ravensburg	36	3738	Pfyn/Altheim	Hafner 1998
Alleshäusern (D) Hartöschle Kr. Biberach	36	3920	Schussenrieder K.	Maier 2004
Degersee (D)	36	4000	Schussenrieder K./Pfyner K. (Hornstaad-Gr.)	Herbig 2009b
Bad Buchau (D) Bachwiesen 1	36	4100	Schussenrieder K.	Herbig 2009 a and b
Hegne (D) Galgenacker Kr. Konstanz	near 29	2672	Schnurkeramik	Rösch 1990c
Maurach (D) Ziegelhütte, Befund 520	near 33	2500	Schnurkeramik	Herbig 2009b
Maurach (D) Ziegelhütte, Befund 540	near 33	2700	Schnurkeramik	Herbig 2009 a and b
Meersburg (D) Ramsbach	near 33	2900	Horgener K.	Herbig 2009 a and b
Nussdorf (D) Strandbad	near 33	3200	Horgener K.	Herbig 2009b
Litzelstetten (D) Ebenewiesen	near 35	2600	Schnurkeramik	Herbig 2009b
Litzelstetten (D) Krähenhorn I	near 35	4000	Pfyner K. (Hornstaader Gr.)	Herbig 2009 a and b
Litzelstetten (D) Krähenhorn II	near 35	4000	Pfyner K. (Hornstaader Gr.)	Herbig 2009 a and b
Staad (D) Hohenegg, Schicht 4	near 35	3000	Horgener K.	Herbig 2009 a and b
Staad (D) Hohenegg, Schicht 3	near 35	3300	Horgener K.	Herbig 2009b
Staad (D) Hohenegg, Schicht 2	near 35	3800	Pfyner K.	Herbig 2009b
Staad (D) Hohenegg, Schicht 1	near 35	3900	Pfyner K.	Herbig 2009b
Charavines (F) Dép. Isère	not on map	3000	CSR	Bocquet, Caillat & Lundstrom-Baudais 1986
Ehrenstein (D) Kr. Ulm, Phasen I-III	not on map	3955	Schussenrieder K.	Hopf 1968
Montilier FR Strandweg (Lac Morat)	not on map	3900	Cortailloid classique	Jacquat 2005
Pestenacker (D) Kr. Landsberg, Phasen I-III	not on map	3496	Altheimer K.	Neef 1991, Bittmann unpublished manuscript 1999, Bittmann 2001
Stansstaad NW Kehrsiten (Lake Lucerne)	not on map	3480 / 3448	Pfyn (late) / Horgen (early)	Brombacher in prep. (mentioned in Tobler 2010, see Billamboz et al., 2010, FS Schlichtherle)
Stansstaad NW Kehrsiten (Lake Lucerne)	not on map	?	Cortailloid	Brombacher in prep. (mentioned in Tobler 2010, see Billamboz et al., 2010, FS Schlichtherle)

Table OSM 2**References to Table OSM 1 (and Figure 3)**

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For Peer Review

BCal	Western and central Switzerland				Eastern Switzerland				No.	Settlements	References	Dating	Dating	Settlement		References	Taphonomy	
	No.	Settlements	References	No.	Settlements	References	No.	Settlements						References	No.			Settlement
2500	8	St. Blaise Bains des Dames H	Stopp unip. (IPAS)					75	Sion-Sous les Scex	Chaix/Sidi Maamar 1993	2700-2500BC		56	Hagnau D-Burg, 7-12	Kokabi 1990		Wetland	
	8	St. Blaise Bains des Dames G	Stopp unip. (IPAS)					64	Untervaz-Haselbodensecke	Braschler unip. (IPAS)	2800-2400BC		56	Hagnau D-Burg, 2-6	Kokabi 1990		Wetland	
	8	St. Blaise Bains des Dames F	Stopp unip. (IPAS)					69	Cazis-Petrushügel	Primas 1985	3200-3000BC		12	Hauterive NE-Champrevéyres C 3	Studer 1991; Borello/Chaix 1983		Wetland	
	8	St. Blaise Bains des Dames E	Stopp unip. (IPAS)					62	Eschen-Lutzengüetle	Hartmann-Frick 1959	3200-3000BC		47	Grefensee ZH-Böschchen 2007	Veszeli/Hüster Plogmann 2007; Schibler 1987b		Wetland	
	8	St. Blaise Bains des Dames Auv.	Stopp unip. (IPAS)					65	Tamins-Crestis	Primas 1979	3200BC		40	Zürich ZH-Grosser Hafner	Schibler unip. (IPAS)		Wetland	
								64	Untervaz-Haselboden	Braschler unip. (IPAS)	3300-3200BC		39	Zug ZG-Sumpf	Schibler 1996b		Wetland	
								75	Sion-Sous les Scex	Chaix/Sidi Maamar 1993	3700-3450		40	Zürich ZH-Alpenquai	Wettstein 1924		Wetland	
								77	Collombey-Barmaz I	Chaix 1976	3700-3450BC		6	Cortaillod-Est	Chaix 1986		Wetland	
2600	7	Auvernier La Saunerie	Stampfli 1976b					75	Sion-St. Guérin	Chaix 1976	3700-3450BC		17	Vinelz BE-Ländli	Stampfli unip. (IPAS)		Wetland	
								73	St. Léonard-Sur le Grand Pré	Chaix 1976	3700-3450BC		57	Wasserburg D-Buchau	Kokabi 1990		Wetland	
	19	Sutz Lattrigen Rütli S5	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)					71	Raron-Heidnischbühl	Chaix 1976	3700-3450BC		45	Fällanden ZH-Riedspitz	Schibler unip. (IPAS)		Wetland	
	19	Sutz Lattrigen Rütli S1	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)					61	Schellenberg-Borscht	Hartmann-Frick 1964	3800-3700BC		13	Le Landeron NE-Les Marais	Borello/Chaix 1983		Wetland	
								62	Eschen-Lutzengüetle	Hartmann-Frick 1959	3800-3700BC		43	Meilen ZH-Schellen	Schibler unip. (IPAS)		Wetland	
	17	Vinelz Alte Station NW MS+OS	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)					75	Sion-Petit Chasseur II	Chaix 1976; Gallay/Chaix 1984	3900-3700BC		49	Uerschhausen TG-Horn (excl. Schicht 1)	Markert unip.		Wetland	
2700	19	Sutz Lattrigen Rütli S2+3F6+7	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)					62	Eschen-Lutzengüetle	Hartmann-Frick 1959	4000BC		1	Genève GE-Eaux-Vives	Revelliod/Reverdin 1927		Wetland	
	17	Vinelz Alte Station NW US	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)					31	Murnpf-Chapf	Braschler/Schibler 2009	4100-3900BC		32	Hallwil AG-Rostbau	Steinmann 1923 & 1925		Wetland	
	19	Lüscherz Dorf, Aussere Station OS	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)					75	Sion-Avenue Ritz	Chemai/Velarde 2002	4200-4000BC							
	18	Lüscherz Dorf, Aussere Station US	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)					63	Sevelen-Pfeffersbühl	Ebersbach	4300-4000BC		74	Ayent VS-Le Château	Chaix 1990b		Dryland	
	18	Biel Virgèlz-Hallen	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)					61	Schellenberg-Borscht	Hartmann-Frick 1964	4500BC		2	Bavois VD-En Raillon	Chaix 1984		Dryland	
	11	Thielle Wawe, Pont-de-Thielle	Chaix 1977					75	Sion-Plantia	Chaix/Ginestet et al. 1987	5000BC		69	Cresta GR-Cazis, Planum 14	Plüss 2011		Dryland	
	7	Auvernier Brise-Lames	Desse 1976										35	Loppburg NW-Stansstad	Stopp 2007		Dryland	
	4	Yvonand 4	Clutton-Brock 1990										26	Nunningen SO-Portflue	Schibler 1996b		Dryland	
	3	Yverdon Garage Martin 11-12	Chaix 1976 b										60	Oberriet SG-Montlingerberg	Würgler 1962		Dryland	
2800	8	St. Blaise Bains des Dames 7	Stopp unip. (IPAS)										24	Pierlerden BE-Under Siedebrunne 3	Deschler-Erb 2005		Dryland	
	18	Lüscherz-Fluh	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)										30	Mörken AG-Kestenberg II+III	Schmid 1952		Dryland	
	17	Vinelz Grabung Strahm 1960	Stampfli 1965/66										66	Ramosch GR-Mottata	Würgler 1962		Dryland	
	17	Vinelz Stranboden Schnitt 16	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)										68	Savognin GR-Padnal, Horizont H-B	Bopp-Ito unip. (IPAS)		Dryland	
2900													48	Schlietheim SH-Auf der Egg	Rehazek unip. (IPAS)		Dryland	
	21	Nidau BKW 3	Glass/Schibler 2000										76	Vex VS-Le Château	Chaix 1990a		Dryland	
													29	Witnau AG-Witnauerhorn 3b	Schibler 1996a		Dryland	
3000													36	Cham ZG-Oberwil	Schibler/Veszeli 2001		Dryland	
													25	Cornol JU-Mont Terri	Morel 1988		Dryland	
													69	Cresta GR-Cazis, Planum 10-12	Plüss 2011		Dryland	
													59	Kirchberg SG-St. Iddaburg	Würgler 1956		Dryland	
													70	Lumbrein-Srin GR-Crestaulta	Rüegger 1942		Dryland	
													68	Savognin GR-Padnal, C	Bopp-Ito unip. (IPAS)		Dryland	
													67	Scuol GR-Avant Muglins	Rehazek unip. (IPAS)		Dryland	
													67	Scuol GR-Munt Baselgia, I-II	Kaufmann 1983		Dryland	
													67	Scuol GR-Munt Baselgia, I-III	Kaufmann 1983		Dryland	
	15	Twam OH	Stampfli 1980										72	Zeneggen VS-Kasteltschuggen	Chaix unip.		Dryland	
													74	Ayent VS-Le Château	Chaix 1990b		Dryland	
3100													69	Cresta GR-Cazis, Planum 1-8	Plüss 2011		Dryland	
	9	Portaban Les Grèves	Chaix et al. 1983										68	Savognin GR-Padnal, D	Bopp-Ito unip. (IPAS)		Dryland	
	8	St. Blaise Bains des Dames 9	Stopp unip. (IPAS)										68	Savognin GR-Padnal, E	Bopp-Ito unip. (IPAS)		Dryland	
	18	Lüscherz Binggeli	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)										61	Schellenberg FL-Borscht	Hartmann-Frick 1964; Kuhn 1937		Dryland	
	14	La Neuville-Chavannes	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)										67	Scuol GR-Motta Sfondraz	Schibler in Rageth 1998		Dryland	
	15	Twam MH	Stampfli 1980										75	Sion VS-Petit-Chasseur	Chaix 1976a		Dryland	
3200	20	Lattrigen VII aussen	Mari-Grädel in prep. (IPAS)										76	Vex VS-Le Château	Chaix 1990a		Dryland	
3300																		
	20	Lattrigen VII	Glass/Schibler 2000											58	Arbon TG-Bleiche 2	Kuhn/Güller 1946		Wetland
3400	15	Twam UH	Stampfli 1980											54	Bodman D-Schachen, Befund 2+4	Kokabi 1990		Wetland
	21	Nidau BKW 5	Glass/Schibler 2000											57	Bad Buchau D-Forschner	Kokabi 1990		Wetland
3500														33	Hochdorf LU-Baldegg	Heschler/Rüegger 1940		Wetland
	15	Twam E9	Becker/Johansson 1981											44	Meilen ZH-Obermeilen	Kuhn 1935		Wetland
	15	Twam E8	Becker/Johansson 1981											42	Wädenswil ZH-Vorder Au S.1	Rehazek 2005		Wetland
	22	Port Südell OS	Stampfli/Schibler/Hüster-Plogmann 2003											42	Wädenswil ZH-Vorder Au S.0	Rehazek 2005		Wetland
	7	Auvernier Port III	Chaix 1985											3	Yverdon VD-Garage Martin	Chaix 1976b		Wetland
	5	Consoie E6	Chiquet 2012											40	Zürich ZH-Bauschanze	Rehazek unip. (IPAS)		Wetland
	19	Sutz Lattrigen VII innen	Kerdy unip. (IPAS)											40	Zürich ZH-Mozartsstrasse, 1o	Hüster Plogmann/Schibler 1997		Wetland
	3	Yverdon Garage Martin 14-16b	Chaix 1976b											40	Zürich ZH-Mozartsstrasse, 1u	Hüster Plogmann/Schibler 1997		Wetland
	15	Twam E7	Becker/Johansson 1981															
	15	Twam E6	Becker/Johansson 1981															
3600	3	Yverdon Garage Martin 18-20	Chaix 1976b															
	15	Twam E5a	Becker/Johansson 1981															
	15	Twam E5	Becker/Johansson 1981															
	5	Consoie E4A	Chiquet 2012															
	5	Consoie E3B	Chiquet 2012															
	15	Twam E4	Becker/Johansson 1981															
	22	Port Südell US	Stampfli/Schibler/Hüster-Plogmann 2003															
	5	Consoie E2B	Chiquet 2012															
	15	Twam E3	Becker/Johansson 1981															

RC no.	Western and central Switzerland			Eastern Switzerland			No.	Settlements	References	Dating	Dating No.	Settlement	References	Taphonomy
3700	7	Auvernier Port Va	Chaix 1985	40	Zürich AKAD/Pressehaus J	Hüster-Plogmann/Schibler 1997								
	23	Seedorf Lobsigensee III	Ginella unpub. (IPAS)	55	Sippelingen-Osthafen, Schicht 9	Stappan 2004								
				51	Pflyn Breitenloh	Leuzinger 2007								
				37	Zug Riesch	Schäfer unpub. (IPAS)								
				40	Zürich Seefeld Kan.San. 7	Hüster-Plogmann/Schibler 1997								
				40	Zürich Seefeld Kan.San. 8	Hüster-Plogmann/Schibler 1997								
				43	Feldmellen Vorderfeld 5	Schibler/Veszei 1998								
				44	Mellen Rohrenhaab 4/4a	Sakellaris 1979								
28		Egoltzwil 5	Stampfli 1978a	41	Horgen Dampfschiffsteg	Sakellaris 1979								
				43	Feldmellen Vorderfeld 6	Schibler/Veszei 1998								
27		Burgäschisee Süd	Boessneck/Jéquier/Stampfli 1963	43	Feldmellen Vorderfeld 7	Schibler/Veszei 1998								
27		Burgäschisee SW	Josien 1956 and Stampfli 1964	43	Feldmellen Vorderfeld 8	Schibler/Veszei 1998								
				43	Feldmellen Vorderfeld 9	Schibler/Veszei 1998								
7		Auvernier Port Vb-c	Chaix 1985	40	Zürich Pressehaus L	Hüster-Plogmann/Schibler 1997								
				40	Zürich Seefeld Kan.San. 9	Hüster-Plogmann/Schibler 1997								
3800	15	Twam E1+2	Backer/Johansson 1981	40	Zürich Kleiner Hafner 4G	Schibler 1987a								
	23	Seedorf Lobsigensee III	Ginella unpub. (IPAS)	40	Zürich Mozartstrasse 5 oben	Hüster-Plogmann/Schibler 1997								
	28	Egoltzwil 4	Stampfli 1992	40	Zürich Kleiner Hafner 4F	Schibler 1987a								
	4	Vionand III 1+2	Chaix 1978a	40	Zürich Mozartstrasse 5 unten	Hüster-Plogmann/Schibler 1997								
	10	Muntelier Fischergässli	Morel 2000	52	Steckborn Turg	Markert 1985								
	10	Muntelier Strandweg	Reynaud Savioz 2005											
	10	Muntelier Dorf	Lopez 2003	44	Mellen Rohrenhaab 5	Sakellaris 1979								
	23	Seedorf Lobsigensee IV A-C2	Ginella unpub. (IPAS)	40	Zürich Kleiner Hafner 4E	Schibler 1987a								
	23	Seedorf Lobsigensee IV C3	Ginella unpub. (IPAS)	40	Zürich Mozartstrasse 6 oben	Hüster-Plogmann/Schibler 1997								
3900				40	Zürich Mozartstrasse 6 unten	Hüster-Plogmann/Schibler 1997								
				53	Homstaad Höhle I AHA	Kokabi 1990								
				40	Zürich Kleiner Hafner 4D	Schibler 1987a								
4000				36	Cham-Erlen ZG	Huber/Schaeren								
4100				40	Zürich Kleiner Hafner 4C	Schibler 1987a								
				40	Zürich Kleiner Hafner 4B	Schibler 1987a								
4200				40	Zürich Kleiner Hafner 4A	Schibler 1987a								
4300	28	Egoltzwil 3	Stampfli 1992	40	Zürich Kleiner Hafner 5A+B	Schibler 1987a								

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HOLOCENE

Literature			Kreuz 2012	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Brombacher & Jacomet 2003	Brombacher & Jacomet 2003	Brombacher & Jacomet 2003	Hosch & Jacomet 2004	Dick 1989	Dick 1989	Dick 1989	Brombacher & Jacomet 1997	Brombacher & Jacomet 1997	Kreuz 2012	Rösch et al 2002: Vegetation sur July 6th 2001 (12-14). Original c	
Preservation (archaeological remains)		ecology (partly after Rösch et al. 2002)	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	subfossil remains	subfossil remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	mostly subfossil remains	mostly subfossil remains	charred remains		
		life form (Info Flora)	2 stocks LBK (5400-5000 cal BC)	naked wheat house 13 Hörnle I, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	naked wheat house 10 Hörnle I, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	naked wheat house 11 Hörnle I, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	naked wheat house 12 Hörnle I, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	naked wheat house 1 Hörnle I, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	naked wheat house 3 Hörnle I, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	barley house 9 Hörnle I, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	hulled wheat house 12 Hörnle I, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	7 barley stocks from Port US (3700 BC)	1 emmer stock with Einkorn from Port OS (3600 BC)	1 flax stock, Port OS (3600 BC)	Aktion Bleiche 3: results of statistical analyses (p. 130) / ubiquities	4 barley stocks, Zurich Mozartsstrasse, Horgen K. (3100 BC)	4 naked wheat stocks, Zurich Mozartsstrasse, Horgen K. (3100 BC)	4 emmer stocks, Zurich Mozartsstrasse, Horgen K. (3100 BC)	lakeshore settl. mixed assemblages (roughly semiquant.), 4300-3600 cal BC	lakeshore settl. mixed assemblages (roughly semiquant.) 3300-2500 cal BC	from LBK pits (mixed assemblages) (present=1) (without rare of)		Forchtenberg winter field bread wheat, burned	Forchtenberg Winter field, bread wheat, burned
Survey No. (experimental fields)				12 samples	8 samples	7 samples	14 samples	12 samples	4 samples	7 samples													1 2	
Herbaceous layer, (%) (experimental fields)																							80	90
Herbaceous layer, (cm) (experimental fields)																							120	110
																						1=rare, 2=middle ubiquity, 3= high ubiquity <10%, 10-50%, >50%	1=present	
Total number of remains				79	146	29	27	64	14	100	102	18	12	207			4	7	31					
<i>Agropyron repens</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual																						
<i>Alopecurus myosuroides</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Atriplex patula</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Coryza canadensis</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual																						
<i>Equisetum arvense</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Euphorbia exigua</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Geranium dissectum</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Grapphium uliginosum</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual																						
<i>Gypsophilum maritima</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual																						
<i>Juncus bufonius</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual																						
<i>Juncus tenuis</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual																						
<i>Kickxia elatine</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Kickxia spuria</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Lactuca serriola</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual																						
<i>Lamium purpureum</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Mantha arvensis</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Myosotis arvensis</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Oxalis europaea</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Plantago major</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual																						
<i>Polygonum mile</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual																						
<i>Senecio vulgaris</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Sonchus arvensis</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
<i>Tribolium hybridum</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual																						
<i>Tussilago farfara</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual																						
<i>Veronica persica</i>	crop weeds	annual																						
Total number of annuals only on the experimental field ecology after Rösch et al. 2002																							1	
<i>Acer pseudoplatanus</i>	Coppice trees	perennial																						+
<i>Agrostis tenuis</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial																						+
<i>Anemone nemorosa</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Abrus fabae-folius</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Bromus hordeaceus</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial																						+
<i>Calamagrostis cf. arundinacea</i>	Wildling associations	perennial																						+
<i>Carex leporina</i>	Wildling associations	perennial																						+
<i>Carex pallescens</i>	Wildling associations	perennial																						+
<i>Carex sylvatica</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Carpinus betulus</i>	Coppice trees	perennial																						+
<i>Cirsium palustre</i>	Wet grassland	perennial																						+
<i>Cirsium vulgare</i>	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial																						+
<i>Convallaria majalis</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Crepis mollis</i> (cf. G)	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial																						+
<i>Dactylis glomerata</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial																						+
<i>Deschampsia caespitosa</i>	Wet grassland	perennial																						+
<i>Dryopteris austriaca</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Epilobium angustifolium</i>	Wildling associations	perennial																						+
<i>Epilobium hirsutum</i>	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial																						+
<i>Epilobium montanum</i>	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial																						+
<i>Epilobium tetragonum</i>	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial																						+
<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	Coppice trees	perennial																						+
<i>Festuca cf. heterophylla</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Festuca pratensis</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial																						+
<i>Glechoma hederacea</i>	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial																						+
<i>Holcus lanatus</i>	Wet grassland	perennial																						+
<i>Hypericum hirsutum</i>	Wildling associations	perennial																						+
<i>Juncus effusus</i>	Wet grassland	perennial																						+
<i>Lathyrus pratensis</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial																						+
<i>Luzula luzuloides</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Luzula pilosa</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Melica uniflora</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Milium effusum</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Oxalis acetosella</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Plantago media</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial																						+
<i>Poa trivialis</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial																						+
<i>Potentilla sterilis</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Quercus robur</i>	Coppice trees	perennial																						+
<i>Rubus fruticosus</i>	Shrubs	perennial																						+
<i>Rubus idaeus</i>	Shrubs	perennial																						+
<i>Sambucus nigra</i>	shrubs	perennial																						+
<i>Scrophularia nodosa</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+
<i>Senecio sylvaticus</i>	Wildling associations	perennial																						+
<i>Stellaria holostea</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						+

Literature			Kreuz 2012	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Maier 2001	Brombacher & Jacomet 2003	Brombacher & Jacomet 2003	Brombacher & Jacomet 2003	Hosch & Jacomet 2004	Dick 1989	Dick 1989	Dick 1989	Brombacher & Jacomet 1997	Brombacher & Jacomet 1997	Kreuz 2012	Rösch et al 2002: Vegetation su	Rösch et al 2002: Vegetation su
Preservation (archaeological remains)			charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	subfossil remains	subfossil remains	charred remains	charred remains	charred remains	mostly subfossil remains	mostly subfossil remains	charred remains		
	ecology (partly after Rösch et al. 2002)	life form (Info Flora)	2 stocks LBK (5400-5000 cal BC)	naked wheat house 13 Hörnle 1, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	naked wheat house 10 Hörnle 1, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	naked wheat house 11 Hörnle 1, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	naked wheat house 12 Hörnle 1, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	naked wheat house 1 Hörnle 1, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	naked wheat house 3 Hörnle 1, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	barley house 9 Hörnle 1, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	hulled wheat house 12 Hörnle 1, AH2 (3910 cal BC)	7 barley stocks from Port US (3700 BC)	1 emmer stock with einkorn from Port OS (3600 BC)	1 flax stock, Port. OS (3600 BC)	Arbon Bleiche 3: results of statistical analyses (p. 130) / ubiquities	4 barley stocks, Zurich Mozartsstrasse, Horgen K. (3100 BC)	4 naked wheat stocks, Zurich Mozartsstrasse, Horgen K. (3100 BC)	4 emmer stocks Zurich Mozartsstrasse, Horgen K. (3100 BC)	lakeshore settl. mixed assemblages (roughly semiquant.), 4300-3600 cal BC	lakeshore settl. mixed assemblages (roughly semiquant.) 3300-2500 cal BC	from LBK pits (mixed assemblages) (present=1) (without rare of)		Forchtenberg winter field bread wheat, burned	Forchtenberg Winter field, bread wheat, burned
Survey No. (experimental fields)				12 samples	8 samples	7 samples	14 samples	12 samples	4 samples	7 samples	7 samples												1	2
Herbaceous layer, (%) (experimental fields)																							80	90
Herbaceous layer, (cm) (experimental fields)																							120	110
																				1=rare, 2=middle ubiquity, 3= high ubiquity		1=present		
<i>Taraxacum officinale</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial																						
<i>Trifolium pratense</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial																						
<i>Valeriana officinalis</i> agg.	Wet grassland	perennial																						
<i>Vicia sepium</i>	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial																						
<i>Viola reichenbachiana</i>	Forest herbs	perennial																						
Total number of perennials on experimental fields only																							7	17
Total number of taxa	74 Taxa																							

For Peer Review

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Literature	ecology (partly after Rösch et al. 2002)	life form (Info Flora)	keys at Forchtenberg, June 19th, 2000 (1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9) and Forchtenberg, July 6th 2001 (2, 4, 6, 10, 11) AND Vegetation surveys of arable fields and fallow land in the three-field-system at Wackershofen, sites replaced by "*" (meaning presence)											
			Forchtenberg Summer field, emmer, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, emmer, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, barley, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, barley,	Forchtenberg Fallow land, beside summer field, unburned	Forchtenberg Fallow land, north of winter field, burned	Forchtenberg Fallow land, northwest of winter field, unburned	Forchtenberg Permanent cultivation, bread wheat, autumn sown	Forchtenberg Permanent cultivation, barley, spring sown	Wackershofen 3-field-system winter field	Wackershofen 3-field system, summer field	Wackershofen 3-field system fallow field
Survey No. (experimental fields)			3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Herbaceous layer, (%) (experimental fields)			50	35	50	35	80	95	100	90	93	70	80	95
Herbaceous layer, (cm) (experimental fields)			70	130	70	100	120	70	140	140	50	60	50	60
Crops (% for experimental fields, numbers for archaeological samples)														
<i>Triticum aestivum</i>	crops	annual				15			20				(+)	*
<i>Triticum nudum</i> 4n (durum type)	crops	annual												
<i>Triticum dicoccon</i>	crops	annual	15	15										
<i>Triticum monococcum</i> und <i>dicoccon</i>	crops	annual												
<i>Triticum monococcum</i> (incl. 2-grained)	crops	annual												
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	crops	annual			20					3				
<i>Triticum spelta</i>	crops	annual									20			
<i>Avena sativa</i>	crops	annual					+						40	
<i>Phacelia tanacetifolia</i>	crops	annual											+	
<i>Sinapis alba</i>	crops	annual											+	
<i>Linum usitatissimum</i>	crops	annual												
<i>Papaver somniferum</i>	crops	annual												
<i>Lens culinaris</i>	crops	annual												
<i>Pisum sativum</i>	crops	annual												
<i>Vicia ervilia</i>	crops	annual												
<i>Vicia faba</i>	crops	annual												
<i>Anethum graveolens</i>	crops	annual												
Weeds														
<i>Aethusa cynapium</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Agrostemma githago</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Anmi majus</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Anagallis arvensis</i>	crop weeds	annual											+	+
<i>Aphanis arvensis</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Aronia serpyllifolia</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Asperula arvensis</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Atriplex patula</i> (and <i>patula</i> /hastata)	crop weeds	annual												+
<i>Atriplex/Chenopodium</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Brassica campestris</i> (=rapa)	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Bromus (cf) sterilis</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Bromus cf arvensis</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Bromus cf secalinus</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Camelina cf sativa</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Capsella bursa-pastoris</i> (seeds+fruits)	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Chenopodium album</i>	crop weeds	annual												+
<i>Chenopodium ficifolium</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Chenopodium hybridum</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Chenopodium murale</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Chenopodium polyspermum</i>	crop weeds	annual												+
<i>Chenopodium spec.</i>	crop weeds (mostly)	annual												
<i>Centaurea cf cyanus</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Cuscuta spec.</i>	weed/ruderal	annual												
<i>Descurainia sophia</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Digitalis ischaemum</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Digitalis sanguinalis</i> (cf genus)	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Echinocystis crus-galli</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Euphorbia exigua</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Galeopsis tetrahit</i> -type	weed/ruderal	annual												+
<i>Galeopsis cf ladanum</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Galium aparine</i> (incl. type and cf. spurium etc.)	weed/ruderal	annual		+										(+)
<i>Hyoscyamus niger</i>	ruderal	annual												
<i>Lamium amplexicaule</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Lapsana communis</i>	weed/ruderal/woodland glades	annual												+
<i>Lathyrus trisulcus</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Lathyrus missolia</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Matricaria perforata</i> and <i>recutita</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual											+	+
<i>Medicago lupulina</i>	ruderal/meadows	annual-2/3 years												
<i>Moehringia trinervia</i>	woodland	annual-perennial								+				
<i>Papaver argemone</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Papaver rhoeas</i> / <i>dubium</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Picris hieracioides</i>	ruderal	annual												+
<i>Poa annua</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual												+
<i>Polygonum aviculare</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Polygonum convolvulus</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Polygonum dumetorum</i>	woodland glades	annual												(+)
<i>Polygonum lapatholium</i>	ruderal	annual												
<i>Polygonum lapatholium/persicaria</i>	crop weeds/ruderal	annual												
<i>Polygonum persicaria</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Sciranthus annuus</i>	crop weeds	annual											(+)	+
<i>Setaria verticillata</i> /viridis	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Sherardia arvensis</i> (cf)	crop weeds	annual												

Literature		keys at Forchtenberg, June 19th, 2000 (1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9) and Forchtenberg, July 6th 2001 (2, 4, 6, 10, 11) AND Vegetation surveys of arable fields and fallow land in the three-field-system at Wackershofen, sites replaced by "*" (meaning presence)												
Preservation (archaeological remains)	ecology (partly after Rösch et al. 2002)	life form (Info Flora)	Forchtenberg Summer field, emmer, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, emmer, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, barley, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, barley,	Forchtenberg Fallow land, beside summer field, unburned	Forchtenberg Fallow land, north of winter field, burned	Forchtenberg Fallow land, northwest of winter field, unburned	Forchtenberg Permanent cultivation, bread wheat, autumn sown	Forchtenberg Permanent cultivation, barley, spring sown	Wackershofen 3-field-system winter field	Wackershofen 3-field system summer field	Wackershofen 3-field system fallow field
Survey No. (experimental fields)			3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Herbaceous layer, (%) (experimental fields)			50	35	50	35	80	95	100	90	93	70	80	95
Herbaceous layer, (cm) (experimental fields)			70	130	70	100	120	70	140	140	50	60	50	60
<i>Stilene cretica</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Stilene gallica</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Stilene cf. noctiflora</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Sinapis arvensis</i>	crop weeds	annual	+	+									+	
<i>Sisymbrium spec.</i>	different, dep. on the species	annual												
<i>Solanum nigrum</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Sonchus asper</i>	weed/ruderal	annual							+		+	+	+	
<i>Sonchus oleraceus</i>	crop weeds	annual	+											
<i>Stachys cf. arvensis (incl. annual/arvensis)</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Stellaria media</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Thlaspi arvense</i>	crop weeds	annual											+	
<i>Torilis japonica</i>	weed/ruderal/forest fringes	annual/perennial												
<i>Trifolium dubium (incl. campestre/dubium/arvense)</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	annual												+
<i>Valerianella dentata</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Valerianella locusta</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Veronica (cf) arvensis</i>	crop weeds	annual										(+)		+
<i>Vicia angustifolia</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Vicia hirsuta</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Vicia spec.</i>	crop weeds	annual												
<i>Vicia tetrasperma (incl. hirsuta/tetrasperma)</i>	crop weeds	annual									+	+	+	+
<i>Viola tricolor</i>	crop weeds	annual												
Total number of taxa, annuals	73 Taxa		3	2	1	0	0	0	2	2	3	7	9	6
Total number of remains, annuals														
<i>Agrimonia eupatoria</i>	forest edges/meadows	perennial												
<i>Ajuga reptans</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial								+				
<i>Aquilegia vulgaris</i>	woodland	perennial												
<i>Arctium minus and spec.</i>	ruderal	perennial												
<i>Artemisia vulgaris and spec.</i>	ruderal	perennial												
<i>Campanula rapunculoides</i>	forest fringes	perennial												
<i>Carex hirta</i>	ruderal	perennial												
<i>Carex spec.</i>	not assignable	perennial												
<i>Cerastium fontanum</i>	meadows	perennial												
<i>Cirsium luteolans</i>	woodland	perennial												
<i>Cirsium arvense</i>	Wildling associations	perennial		+	+					+	+	+	+	+
<i>Clinopodium vulgare</i>	Wildling associations	perennial												
<i>Daucus carota</i>	ruderal/meadows	perennial												
<i>Eupatorium cannabinum</i>	clearings/wet meadows	perennial	+	+	+		+	+						
<i>Fragaria vesca (incl. spec.)</i>	woodland	perennial								+				
<i>Hypericum perforatum</i>	forest edges/meadows	perennial						+						
<i>Lolium/Festuca</i>	meadows	perennial												
<i>Luzula cf. multiflora</i>	meadows	perennial												
<i>Malva silvestris (incl. spec.)</i>	ruderal	perennial												
<i>Nepeta cataria</i>	ruderal	perennial												
<i>Origanum vulgare</i>	forest edges/meadows	perennial												
<i>Phleum pratense</i>	meadows/weeds	perennial										+		
<i>Pimpinella cf. saxifraga</i>	meadows	perennial												
<i>Potentilla reptans</i>	ruderal/meadows	perennial												
<i>Prunella vulgaris</i>	meadows/ruderal	perennial												
<i>Ranunculus repens</i>	ruderal/meadows	perennial											+	+
<i>Rumex crispus (incl. obtusifolius u.a.)</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	perennial										+	+	+
<i>Rumex spec.</i>	not assignable	perennial (mostly)												
<i>Sambucus ebulus</i>	ruderal	perennial												
<i>Stilene vulgaris</i>	meadows	perennial												
<i>Stellaria graminea (incl. palustris)</i>	meadows	perennial												
<i>Thalictrum flavum</i>	meadows	perennial												
<i>Thymus spec.</i>	meadows	perennial												
<i>Trifolium repens</i>	ruderal / disturbed places	annual										(+)		
<i>Urtica dioica</i>	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial			+		+							
<i>Verbascum spec.</i>	ruderal/meadows	perennial (mostly)												
<i>Verbena officinalis</i>	ruderal	perennial												
Total number of taxa, perennials	37 Taxa		1	2	2	0	3	1	0	3	1	4	2	3
Total number of remains, perennials														
<i>Brassicaceae</i>		not assignable												
<i>Caryophyllaceae</i>		not assignable												
<i>Chenopodiaceae (incl. Caryophyllaceae/Chenopodiaceae)</i>		not assignable												
<i>Fabaceae</i>		not assignable												
<i>Galium spec.</i>		not assignable												
<i>Poaceae</i>		not assignable												
<i>Potentilla spec.</i>		not assignable												
<i>Ranunculus spec.</i>		not assignable												
Total number of taxa	56 Taxa													

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Literature		keys at Forchtenberg, June 19th, 2000 (1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9) and Forchtenberg, July 6th 2001 (2, 4, 6, 10, 11) AND Vegetation surveys of arable fields and fallow land in the three-field-system at Wackershofen, sites replaced by "*" (meaning presence)													
Preservation (archaeological remains)		ecology (partly after Rösch et al. 2002)	life form (Info Flora)	Forchtenberg Summer field, emmer, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, emmer, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, barley, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, barley,	Forchtenberg Fallow land, beside summer field, unburned	Forchtenberg Fallow land, north of winter field, burned	Forchtenberg Fallow land, northwest of winter field, unburned	Forchtenberg Permanent cultivation, bread wheat, autumn sown	Forchtenberg Permanent cultivation, barley, spring sown	Wackershofen 3-field-system winter field	Wackershofen 3-field system summer field	Wackershofen 3-field system fallow field
Survey No. (experimental fields)				3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Herbaceous layer, (%) (experimental fields)				50	35	50	35	80	95	100	90	93	70	80	95
Herbaceous layer, (cm) (experimental fields)				70	130	70	100	120	70	140	140	50	60	50	60
Total number of remains															
Agropyron repens	ruderal / disturbed places	annual											+	+	+
Alopecurus myosuroides	crop weeds	annual											+	+	+
Atriplex patula	crop weeds	annual												+	
Coryza canadensis	ruderal / disturbed places	annual													
Equisetum arvense	crop weeds	annual											+	+	+
Euphorbia exigua	crop weeds	annual												+	
Geranium dissectum	crop weeds	annual												+	+
Gratiola officinalis	ruderal / disturbed places	annual											+		
Gynerium minus	ruderal / disturbed places	annual											+		
Juncus bufonius	ruderal / disturbed places	annual											+		
Juncus tenuis	ruderal / disturbed places	annual		+			+			+					
Kickxia elatine	crop weeds	annual											+		
Kickxia spuria	crop weeds	annual												+	
Lactuca serriola	ruderal / disturbed places	annual											(+)		
Lamium purpureum	crop weeds	annual												+	
Mentha arvensis	crop weeds	annual											+		+
Myosotis arvensis	crop weeds	annual												+	+
Oxalis europaea	crop weeds	annual												+	+
Plantago major	ruderal / disturbed places	annual											+	+	+
Polygonum mile	ruderal / disturbed places	annual												+	+
Senecio vulgaris	crop weeds	annual												(+)	
Sonchus arvensis	crop weeds	annual		+											+
Thlasium arvense	ruderal / disturbed places	annual												+	+
Tussilago farfara	ruderal / disturbed places	annual												(+)	+
Veronica persica	crop weeds	annual												+	+
Total number of annuals only on the experimental field ecology after Rösch et al. 2002				1	1		1		1			1	10	15	10
Acer pseudoplatanus	Coppice trees	perennial													
Agrostis tenuis	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial					+								
Anemone nemorosa	Forest herbs	perennial													
Athyrium filix-femina	Forest herbs	perennial													
Bromus hordeaceus	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial													+
Calamagrostis cf. arundinacea	Wilding associations	perennial					+								
Carex leporina	Wilding associations	perennial					+								
Carex pallescens	Wilding associations	perennial						+							
Carex sylvatica	Forest herbs	perennial						+							
Carpinus betulus	Coppice trees	perennial													
Cirsium palustre	Wet grassland	perennial					+		+	+					
Cirsium vulgare	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial													
Convallaria majalis	Forest herbs	perennial					+								
Crepis mollis (cf. G)	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial													(+)
Dactylis glomerata	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial					+		+	+					
Deschampsia caespitosa	Wet grassland	perennial					+		+	+					
Dryopteris austriaca	Forest herbs	perennial													
Epilobium angustifolium	Wilding associations	perennial							+	+					
Epilobium hirsutum	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial													
Epilobium montanum	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial													
Epilobium tetragonum	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial													
Fagus sylvatica	Coppice trees	perennial													
Festuca cf. heterophylla	Forest herbs	perennial													
Festuca pratensis	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial					+								
Glechoma hederacea	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial													
Holcus lanatus	Wet grassland	perennial													(+)
Hypericum hirsutum	Wilding associations	perennial													
Juncus effusus	Wet grassland	perennial													
Lathyrus pratensis	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial													+
Luzula luzuloides	Forest herbs	perennial													
Luzula pilosa	Forest herbs	perennial													
Melica uniflora	Forest herbs	perennial													
Milium effusum	Forest herbs	perennial													
Oxalis acetosella	Forest herbs	perennial													
Plantago media	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial													
Poa trivialis	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial					+								+
Potentilla sterilis	Forest herbs	perennial													
Quercus robur	Coppice trees	perennial													
Rubus fruticosus	Shrubs	perennial					+		+	+					
Rubus idaeus	Shrubs	perennial													
Sambucus nigra	Shrubs	perennial													
Scrophularia nodosa	Forest herbs	perennial													
Senecio sylvaticus	Wilding associations	perennial					1								
Stellaria holostea	Forest herbs	perennial													

Literature		keys at Forchtenberg, June 19th, 2000 (1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9) and Forchtenberg, July 6th 2001 (2, 4, 6, 10, 11) AND Vegetation surveys of arable fields and fallow land in the three-field-system at Wackershofen. Codes replaced by "*" (meaning presence)												
ecology (partly after Rösch et al. 2002)		life form (Info Flora)	Forchtenberg Summer field, emmer, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, emmer, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, barley, burned	Forchtenberg Summer field, barley,	Forchtenberg Fallow land, beside summer field, unburned	Forchtenberg Fallow land, north of winter field, burned	Forchtenberg Fallow land, northwest of winter field, unburned	Forchtenberg Permanent cultivation, bread wheat, autumn sown	Forchtenberg Permanent cultivation, barley, spring sown	Wackershofen 3-field-system winter field	Wackershofen 3-field system, summer field	Wackershofen 3-field system fallow field
Survey No. (experimental fields)			3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Herbaceous layer, (%) (experimental fields)			50	35	50	35	80	95	100	90	93	70	80	95
Herbaceous layer, (cm) (experimental fields)			70	130	70	100	120	70	140	140	50	60	50	60
<i>Taraxacum officinale</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial										+	+	+
<i>Trifolium pratense</i>	Forest fringes, meadows	perennial											(+)	+
<i>Valeriana officinalis</i> agg.	Wet grassland	perennial			+			+						+
<i>Vicia sepium</i>	Ruderal communities mostly on damp ± shady places	perennial											(+)	+
<i>Viola reichenbachiana</i>	Forest herbs	perennial								+				+
Total number of perennials on experimental fields only			7	6	14	6	12	7	12	8	14	4	5	6
Total number of taxa	74 Taxa													

For Peer Review