# 1 Environmental conditions in the SE Balkans since the Last Glacial Maximum and 2 their influence on the spread of agriculture into Europe

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### 33 Abstract

34 The Thracian Plain in the SE Balkans was one of the main corridors through which Neolithic 35 agriculture spread into continental Europe. Previous studies have invoked rapid sea-level and 36 climatic changes to explain the timing of agricultural expansion. We present a new record of vegetation, fire and lacustrine sedimentation from Bulgarian Thrace to examine environmental 37 38 change in this region since the Last Glacial Maximum. Our record indicates the persistence of 39 cold steppe vegetation from  $\sim$ 37,500 to 17,900 cal. a BP, semidesert vegetation from  $\sim$ 17,900 to 10,300 cal. a BP, forest-steppe vegetation from ~10,300 to 8900 cal. a BP, and mixed oak 40 woods from ~8900 to 4000 cal. a BP, followed by widespread deforestation, burning and 41 42 grazing. Early-Holocene forest expansion in Bulgarian Thrace closely followed changes in the 43 Black Sea's regional moisture balance and appears to have been influenced by solar-forced 44 changes in seasonality. We suggest that climatic aridity and/or enhanced seasonality – lasting until at least ~8900 cal. a BP - could have delayed the spread of early agriculture from the 45 46 Aegean coast into the continental lowlands of the Balkans and thence into the rest of Europe.

47 Keywords: pollen; charcoal; magnetic susceptibility; late Quaternary; early agriculture;48 Neolithic transition

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### 50 **1. Introduction**

51 Climate changes during the late Pleistocene and early Holocene triggered major migrations of 52 species and biomes in temperate latitudes (Roberts, 1998). A potential example of this is the 53 spread of Neolithic farming into Europe, which resulted in the transmission of technology, 54 cultural traditions, genetic heritage and multiple plant and animal species from Western Asia. 55 The degree to which environmental change influenced this complex and essentially cultural 56 event remains the topic of a vast scientific debate (e.g. Weninger et al., 2006; Turney and 57 Brown, 2007; Bocquet-Appel et al., 2009; Haak et al., 2010; Özdoğan, 2011; Pross et al., 2011; Magyari et al., 2012). It has been argued that rapid environmental changes, such as the 8200 cal. 58 59 a BP climatic event and Black Sea flood, had major impacts on the Neolithic transition (Ryan et al., 1997; Weninger et al., 2006; Turney and Brown, 2007; Pross et al., 2011). While the precise 60 timing of the arrival of Neolithic agriculture in SE Europe remains contentious, there is general 61 agreement that farming reached the Aegean coast somewhat earlier than the Balkans' inland 62 63 valleys and plains (Boyadziev 1995, 2009; Perles, 2004; Turney and Brown, 2007; Reingruber 64 and Thissen, 2009; Pinhasi et al., 2012).

Geographical factors mean that the Thracian Plain is one of the probable corridors through which agriculture made its way into the rest of Europe (Bocquet-Appel et al., 2009; Özdoğan, 2011). The first agricultural settlements in Bulgarian Thrace date to around 8000 cal. a BP (Boyadziev, 1995, 2009). Until now there has been no direct palaeoenvironmental evidence from this area to enlighten debate about the causes of the apparent delay in agricultural expansion.

Here we present a late-Quaternary pollen, non-pollen palynomorph, magnetic susceptibility and
charcoal record from a site that was formerly Bulgaria's largest inland water body. Our aim is to
address the following questions:

- How did the vegetation of the Thracian Plain respond to climate changes since the Last
   Glacial Maximum?
- 76 2. Could the environment have influenced the Neolithic transition to agriculture?
- 3. Is Neolithic and later human activity registered palaeoecologically?

# 78 1.1. Regional setting

79 The Thracian Plain is a fertile basin wedged between the mountain chains of the Balkans and 80 the coastlines of the Aegean, Marmara and Black Seas. Throughout its history, the plain has 81 acted as a cultural conduit between East and West, criss-crossed by trade routes and rich in archaeological remains. It was one of the main routes by which agriculture made its way into
Europe from Western Asia, and was home to Europe's earliest metalworking cultures (Renfrew,
1978; Bailey, 2000; Bocquet-Appel et al., 2009; Haak et al., 2010). Archaeobotanically, six
Neolithic sites on the Thracian Plain and adjacent foothills have been analysed, showing that the
full range of Near Eastern crops was cultivated here (Marinova 2006; Leshtakov et al. 2007).

87 In contrast to other parts of Europe, surprisingly little is known about the environmental context 88 of early agriculture on the Thracian Plain. Previous palynological studies of Bulgaria's past 89 vegetation have focussed on the mountains (e.g. Tonkov et al., 2011; Marinova et al., 2012) or on present-day coastlines (e.g. Filipova, 1985; Bozilova and Beug, 1992). Mountain sites were 90 91 too remote from early farming populations to directly register the arrival of agriculture and 92 pastoralism in the region, while the coastal sites began to form as sea-levels rose 8000–6000 93 vears ago, usually missing the early-Holocene advent of agriculture altogether. The lowlands, 94 where most of the Neolithic settlements were situated, lack detailed palaeoenvironmental 95 records (Marinova and Thiebault, 2008; Marinova et al., 2012). The few pollen data that exist 96 from Bulgaria's Thracian Plain miss the early Holocene altogether (Filipovitch and Stojanova, 97 1990; Magyari et al., 2008; Tonkov et al., 2008a, 2009).

98 These studies unanimously assert that the Thracian Plain was dominated by oak forests prior to 99 clearing associated with agriculture, but none provide direct palynological evidence that would 100 support such a claim. Oak pollen never exceeds 20% in mid to late Holocene pollen records 101 from Sadovo and Straldzha, leading the authors of these studies to conclude that the Thracian 102 Plain's oak forests were destroyed prior to ~4000 cal. a BP (Filipovitch and Stojanova, 1990; 103 Tonkov et al., 2008a, 2009). Chapman et al. (2009) suggest that oak trees grew around the 104 Ezero wetlands (Fig. 1) in the early-mid Holocene, but present pollen and macrofossil diagrams 105 covering a later period (3200–2200 cal. a BP) and indicating deforested, agricultural landscapes. 106 Only marine sediments from the Black Sea provide good evidence for the early-mid Holocene 107 expansion of *Quercus*; the timing of subsequent deforestation is unclear, however, with some 108 marine and coastal records showing an abrupt decline in Quercus around 6000 cal. a BP and others showing no decline at all (Bozilova and Beug, 1994; Atanassova, 2005; FilipovaMarinova et al., 2011, 2012; see also Shumilovskikh et al., 2012). In the marine cores,
moreover, palaeoecological responses to human impact, climatic changes and sea-level rise can
be difficult to disentangle (Filipova-Marinova et al., 2011; Shumilovskikh et al., 2012).

113

# 114 2. Material and methods

## 115 **2.1. Site description**

The Straldzha Mire is located in the Karnobat Lowlands at the foot of the Stara Planina
Mountains (Fig. 2). These lowlands are part of the pre-Balkan sunkland that extends westward
to the Bulgarian capital, Sofia (Georgiev, 1991). The mire occupies a large, shallow depression
underlain by Pleistocene silts and gravels and is surrounded by low hills of Upper Cretaceous
limestones, marls and volcanic deposits (Stoyaneva and Michev, 2007; Tonkov et al., 2008a).
The mire formerly covered an area of around 14,000 ha (Bonchev, 1929), making it the largest
freshwater wetland basin in Bulgaria.

Early 20<sup>th</sup> century botanists recorded that the Straldzha Mire was a diverse reed-swamp dominated by *Phragmites australis*, with floating islands in areas of open water, a thick peat layer and halophilous vegetation distributed around the margins (Stoyneva and Michev, 2007; Tonkov et al., 2008a). Artificial drainage of the Straldzha Mire proceeded from 1932 to 1939, initially by deepening the bed of the Marash, a creek that runs along the western edge of the mire. Expansion of the canal system continued and, by the 1960s, the mire was completely drained (Stoyaneva and Michev, 2007).

The area around the mire, like most of Bulgarian Thrace, is thought to have once been vegetated
by oak forests (*Q. cerris, Q. pubescens* ssp. *pubescens, Q. frainetto* and *Q. robur*), with *Ulmus minor* and *Fraxinus angustifolia* ssp. *oxycarpa* communities distributed over floodplains

133 (Bondev, 1991). Today, few remnants of these forest communities remain and the entire134 lowland is an agricultural landscape.

The climate of Bulgaria's Thracian Plain is transitional between Mediterranean and continental zones, with two precipitation maxima: in winter and May-June (Fig.2). Average annual precipitation amounts to 540 mm and the average temperature is 12 °C, reaching an absolute maximum of 38 °C (Gâlâbov, 1973).

# 139 **2.2. Sampling and analytical techniques**

In March 2008, we dug a trench 520 cm deep and 30 cm wide into the side of the "Straldja" tile factory's quarry in the lowest part of the Straldzha Mire (Fig. 2;  $42^{\circ}37'49''N$ ,  $26^{\circ}46'12''E$ , 138 m a.s.l.).The quarry is located near the 'Gyola' area where Tonkov et al. (2008a, 2009) obtained their late Holocene pollen record. Samples ~20cm<sup>3</sup> in size were taken at 5-cm intervals until a depth of 140 cm from the surface and thereafter at 20-cm intervals. The samples were immediately sealed in plastic bags and stored in a refrigerator.

Subsamples of 1cm<sup>3</sup> were extracted for pollen analysis, combined with *Lycopodium* spore tablets (University of Lund), treated with 10% HCl, density separation in sodium polytungstate (s.g. 2.0) and acetolysis for 1 minute, prior to being mounted in glycerol and identified at 400× magnification. At least 200 (average 600) terrestrial pollen were counted in each sample. Pollen identifications were made with reference to Moore et al. (1991) and Reille (1999). Non-pollen palynomorphs were classified according to Jankovská and Komárek (2000), van Geel (2001) and van Geel and Aptroot (2006).

Microscopic charcoal (<200  $\mu$ m) was quantified on pollen slides using the point-count method (Clark, 1982), while macroscopic charcoal (>250  $\mu$ m) was quantified using a modification of the 'Oregon sieving method' (Long et al., 1998; Mooney and Tinner, 2011). A known volume (~2 cm<sup>3</sup>) of sediment was placed in dilute (4.2%) sodium hypochlorite (bleach) for 24 hours (Rhodes 1998) and then washed through a 250  $\mu$ m sieve. The captured material was hand-sorted to remove extraneous material and the charcoal photographed using a high-resolution digital 159 camera. Charcoal concentrations were quantified using image analysis software (Scion Image 160 4.0.3.2). This resulted in the concentration of macroscopic charcoal >250  $\mu$ m, expressed as an 161 area (mm<sup>2</sup> per cm<sup>3</sup>). Charcoal particles of this size should predominantly reflect local fire events 162 (Long et al., 1998; Whitlock and Larsen, 2001; Conedera et al., 2009). Charcoal concentrations 163 were then converted to an influx (also known as charcoal accumulation rates or CHAR), by 164 normalising for the deposition time of the sample.

165 Dual-frequency magnetic susceptibility measurements were run on a Bartington MS2 magnetic 166 susceptibility meter following the protocols outlined by Dearing (1999) and Herries and Fisher 167 (2010). Additional mineral magnetic analysis was undertaken on a Magnetic Measurements Variable Field Translation Balance (VFTB), including isothermal remanent magnetisation 168 169 (IRM) acquisition curves and backfields, hysteresis loops and thermomagnetic curves. These 170 mineral magnetic measurements provide information on changes in the magnetic minerals 171 present (i.e. magnetite, maghaemite and haematite), their magnetic grain size and 172 concentrations, thus allowing changes in sediment source and alteration to be identified and the 173 driving forces behind magnetic susceptibility changes to be established.

Since the upper part of the Straldzha quarry record may have been disturbed or truncated by quarrying activities, we obtained additional cores from three locations on the mire (Fig. 2) where material excavated during construction of drainage canals preserved the original sediment surface. The cores were collected with an Eijkelkamp auger. Samples from the westernmost site (canal core, Fig. 2) were taken at 10-cm intervals (5-cm intervals around sedimentological changes) and pollen extracted as described above, although *Lycopodium* markers were unavailable at the time. Results were plotted using Psimpoll (Bennett, 2004).

# 181 **2.3. Numerical analyses**

Pollen data were analysed numerically to elucidate the palaeoclimatic significance and
palaeovegetational context of the results. We used Detrended Correspondence Analysis (DCA:
Hill and Gauch, 1980) and minimum variance cluster analysis (Ward, 1963) to compare pre-

185 existing pollen data to the new record. We made use of data publicly available through the 186 European Pollen Database (Fyfe et al., 2009) and selected a number of representative records 187 from the Bulgarian mountains and the Black Sea area (Fig. 1) in order to compare geographical 188 and altitudinal patterns in vegetation development. Pollen taxonomy was standardised to a base 189 of 99 taxa (see supplementary information), resulting in some loss of information. This 190 standardisation was necessary to remove the influence of different pollen-taxonomic systems 191 (e.g. differentiation of Quercus morphotypes). Analyses were implemented in the program PC-192 Ord (McCune and Mefford, 1999). A combination of minimum variance clustering and 193 indicator species analysis (Dufrêne and Legendre, 1997) was used to determine an optimum 194 number of groups. We selected the maximum number of groups in which each group had at 195 least one statistically significant indicator (p=0.001; Monte Carlo test, 1000 permutations). 196 Results were plotted on timescales provided in the European Pollen Database or, in the case of 197 Lake Varna, from the original publication (Bozilova and Beug, 1994).

## 198 **2.4. Chronology**

199 Thirteen Accelerator Mass Spectrometer radiocarbon dates were obtained for the Straldzha 200 profiles. In the absence of macrobotanical material for dating, five of the radiocarbon 201 determinations were made on pollen concentrates extracted using the Australian Nuclear 202 Science and Technology Organisation's procedure based on Brown et al. (1989). The remaining samples were cleaned to remove rootlets and pre-treated by acid washing in dilute HCl, then 203 204 organic residues were dated. An age-depth model was constructed for the quarry section using 205 Markov chain Monte-Carlo analysis, a Bayesian statistical approach to age modelling 206 implemented in OxCal 4.1.7 (Bronk Ramsey, 2009), based on the IntCal09 calibration curve (Reimer et al., 2009). The age-depth model was extended by linear extrapolation to cover the 207 208 entire quarry section (Fig. 3). Sediment accumulation rates in the upper part of the record were 209 also applied to the upper metre of the canal core. The lowermost sample in the core was 210 statistically matched with the beginning of palaeovegetation phase 4 (Section 3.2) and the 211 intervening ages interpolated from the AMS date at 110-cm depth (Fig. 3).

# 213 **3. Results**

# 214 **3.1. Sediment description and mineral magnetics**

215 Sediment descriptions for the two Straldzha Mire records appear in Table 1. The most important 216 change in the sedimentary sequence occurred around 125 cm in the quarry section, where the 217 grey to orange-brown sediments laid down under oxidising conditions (Unit III) were overlaid 218 by darker peaty silts and lighter lake marls (Units IV and V). Additional cores collected near drainage canals showed Unit VII to be ~25 cm thicker in the western part of the Straldzha Mire 219 220 compared to the east. In several fields near the quarry this top layer has been lost completely, 221 exposing the underlying light-grey marl (Unit VI). The canal core is more likely to represent the 222 full sedimentary sequence of this unit.

Magnetic susceptibility measurements (X<sub>LF</sub>; Fig. 4) broadly follow lithological changes, 223 exhibiting medium and variable values  $(0.31-0.15\times10^{-6} \text{m}^3 \text{kg}^{-1})$  in the silty units (I–III), low and 224 stable values  $(0.11-0.08 \times 10^{-6} \text{m}^3 \text{kg}^{-1})$  in the marl sediments (IV–VI, and VII in the canal core) 225 and very high values  $(1.25-0.64 \times 10^{-6} \text{m}^3 \text{kg}^{-1})$  in the disturbed surface sediments (Unit VII in the 226 quarry record; Unit VIII in the canal core). The magnetic mineralogy of the Straldzha sediments 227 228 is dominated by varying proportions of: (1) authigenic and detrital ferrimagnetic material, 229 principally magnetite, and (2) paramagnetic material that is mainly due to the presence of 230 paramagnetic iron-bearing, but generally unoxidised, clay minerals (see supplementary information and Table 1). The basal silt units have much higher amounts of ferrimagnetic 231 232 material, consisting of both magnetite and maghaemite of likely detrital origin. The marls have 233 very little ferrimagnetic material and are dominated by paramagnetic material, possibly 234 authigenic. The disturbed surface sediments are dominated by large amounts of ultra-fine grained magnetite, consistent with ferrimagnetic enhancement via pedogenesis. High magnetic 235 236 susceptibility is related to the draining of the mire.

## **3.2. Numerical analyses and pollen stratigraphy**

A pollen diagram, depicting both the quarry section and core, is shown in Fig. 4 (see also supplementary information). Like the core of Tonkov et al. (2008a, 2009), collected nearby, pollen preservation in the sediments was variable. We attribute this to the alkalinity of the sediments, the continental climate and the fact that the wetland was artificially drained some decades ago.

Cluster analysis (Fig. 5; supplementary information) was used to group the pollen record into 243 five palaeovegetation phases (Fig. 4), the names of which are based on the assumed ecological 244 245 preferences of the indicator taxa listed in Table 2. DCA axes 1 and 2 explain 46% and 20% of 246 variance respectively and produced results in strong agreement with the cluster analysis 247 (supplementary information). Axis 1 gives high scores to samples abundant in deciduous tree 248 taxa (especially *Quercus*) and low scores to samples with abundant coniferous taxa (especially 249 Pinus). Given the present-day ecology and distribution of the tree species represented, this axis 250 perhaps best reflects a winter temperature and/or rainfall seasonality gradient. Axis 2 gives high 251 scores to samples with abundant tree taxa and low scores to the most important xerophytic taxa, 252 Chenopodiaceae and Artemisia. This axis is thus most easily attributed to a moisture gradient.

## 253 3.2.1. Cold steppe phase (517.5–167.5 cm, quarry section)

The lowermost zone is dominated by the pollen of herbs and grasses, with an abundance of *Artemisia* (24–37%) and Poaceae (8–25%). Chenopodiaceae, *Ranunculus*-type and *Polygonum aviculare*-type are well represented. *Pinus* is the most abundant arboreal pollen type (3–26%), but *Quercus, Betula, Juniperus* and *Celtis* also occur throughout. *Pediastrum* is abundant (up to 12 times the terrestrial pollen sum).

### 259 3.2.2. Semidesert phase (167.5–105 cm, quarry section)

At the beginning of the second zone, *Artemisia* and arboreal pollen decline and Chenopodiaceae rises to a peak, completely dominating the pollen assemblage (58–69%). Toward the end of the zone, arboreal pollen begins a resurgence led by *Quercus, Corylus* and *Ulmus*. At the same time, charred particles, dung-inhabiting fungi and various indicators of shallow water (*Typha latifolia*-type, *Gleoetrichia*-type, and *Spirogyra*-type) increase, while magnetic susceptibility
declines.

### 266 **3.2.3.** Forest-steppe phase (105–55 cm, quarry section)

267 A suite of grassland taxa (e.g. Allium, Centaurea, Dipsacus, Filipendula-type, Galium-type,

268 *Heracleum*-type, *Sanguisorba minor*) increases in the third zone against a background of slowly

rising *Quercus* values and the constant presence (<1%) of *Pistacia*. Spores of dung-inhabiting

270 fungi (*Sporormiella* and *Sordaria*) and charred particles decline through this zone.

#### 271 3.2.4. Oak woods phase (55–20 cm, quarry section; 170–105 cm, canal core)

*Quercus* increases rapidly in the fourth zone, this time reaching its highest proportions for the
entire record (up to 52%). Average pollen concentrations of *Quercus* are three times higher than
in the previous zone, while *Ulmus* and *Corylus* concentrations double (supplementary
information). Charcoal, Chenopodiaceae, grassland taxa and dung fungal spores are reduced. *Potomogeton* and *Pediastrum* occur throughout.

#### 277 **3.2.5.** Deforestation phase (20–0 cm, quarry section; 105–65 cm, canal core)

The final zone shows a sharp decline in *Quercus, Corylus* and *Ulmus*, and an increase in charred particles, dung fungal spores, Poaceae and *Plantago lanceolata*-type. The canal core, which is regarded as a more complete representation of this phase, indicates that deforestation was preceded by the late succession of *Fagus* and *Carpinus* and followed by considerable peaks in *Salix, Alnus* and fern spores, and a temporary recovery of *Quercus*. All of these taxa decrease toward the end of the zone, when Chenopodiaceae, *Triticum*-type and macroscopic charcoal increase.

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## 286 **3.3. Age-depth model**

Radiocarbon dating results are provided in Table 3. Three dated points were initially excluded 287 288 from the age-depth model, having both low organic content and large error margins. Residual carbonates adhering to the pollen grain walls may explain the discrepancy between <sup>14</sup>C ages for 289 290 pollen concentrates and bulk sediment samples (Kilian et al., 2002). Using the remaining points, 291 performance statistics indicated poor agreement between the data and the model (agreement 292 index A<sub>model</sub> 12%), especially in relation to samples Wk-32001 and Wk-32002. Exclusion of 293 Wk-32001 increased the model's agreement index to a more acceptable level (A<sub>model</sub> 58%). This 294 model (Fig. 3) places the Pleistocene-Holocene boundary around 128-130 cm, close to the 295 lithological change and initial oak pollen increase at 125 cm.

296

# 297 4. Discussion

# 4.1. Late Quaternary vegetation on Bulgaria's Thracian Plain

299 Two important considerations should be taken into account in interpreting the palaeovegetation 300 record from Straldzha Mire. The first concerns the age-depth model. Considerable uncertainty is 301 attached to the pre-Holocene section, which is affected by low organic content, possible old 302 carbon effects and overlapping ages for different sediment depths. We cannot exclude the 303 possibility that intervals of rapid sedimentation and/or hiatuses occurred during this period (e.g. Magyari et al., 2008; Tonkov et al., in press), although certain features of the pollen record 304 305 (discussed below) suggest continuous sedimentation. The second consideration is that the pollen 306 source-area of large sites (>100 ha) is dominated by a regional pollen component (Jacobson and 307 Bradshaw, 1981; Sugita, 2007). Palaeovegetation records from such sites are representative of a large spatial area, estimated at  $\sim 10^4 - 10^5$  km<sup>2</sup> (Sugita, 2007), and recent modelling suggests even 308 greater areas may be involved (Theuerkauf et al., 2012). Only large-scale vegetation changes are 309 thus expected to register in the Straldzha pollen record. 310

#### 311 4.1.1. Cold steppe phase (~37,500–17,900 cal. a BP)

312 An Artemisia-dominated cold steppe phase occurred from the beginning of the Straldzha quarry 313 record until ~17,900 cal. a BP. This phase corresponds to pollen spectra dated to Marine Isotope 314 Stages (MIS) 2 and 3 in the Tenaghi Philippon record (Müller et al., 2011) and also occurs in 315 pollen records from the Black Sea (Atanassova, 2005; Shumilovskikh et al., 2012) and the 316 mountains of SW Bulgaria (Fig. 5). Similar pollen assemblages appear in the earliest part of the 317 Ezero record (Magyari et al., 2008), dated around 15,000 cal. a BP, and were interpreted as a 318 landscape of dry steppe and wooded steppe. Plant macrofossil data from Ezero indicate that 319 arboreal taxa such as Juniperus, Celtis, Ouercus, Betula and certain Rosaceae were present on 320 the Thracian Plain, but their presence is hardly evident from pollen data perhaps because of 321 reduced pollen production under glacial conditions (Magyari et al., 2008; Feurdean et al., 2012; 322 see also Willis, 1994). Similar patches of xeric woodland were probably present around the Straldzha Mire, since the same pollen taxa occur during the cold steppe phase and the eastern 323 324 Balkans is regarded as one of the probable refugial areas for deciduous thermophilous trees 325 (Krebs et al., 2004; Leroy and Arpe, 2007; Bozilova et al., 2011). The presence of Betula, 326 however, seems to indicate a climate considerably colder than at present (Tarasov et al., 1998; 327 Magyari et al., 2008). The magnetic susceptibility and mineralogy of this period suggests that 328 detrital input into the lake alternated with derived, pedogenically enhanced sediments, and this 329 potentially reflects colder but variable climatic conditions consistent with deposition during 330 MIS 3 and into MIS 2. Ordination results also suggest climatic variability through this phase (Fig. 6). 331

Pine trees were also present in the region throughout the last glacial period. *Pinus* pollen concentrations did not vary substantially from the Pleistocene to the Holocene (supplementary information), suggesting that much of the *Pinus* pollen in Straldzha Mire was blown in from distant sources. The lowest arboreal pollen contribution (7.5%) is recorded at the earliest part of the cold steppe phase, corresponding to the grey silt band around 35,000 cal. a BP. Similar minima, dated to ~39,000 cal. a BP (mid MIS 3), are recorded at Lake Prespa (Leng et al., in press) and Tenaghi Philippon (Müller et al., 2011), possibly reflecting a regional climatic
fluctuation. Higher arboreal percentages (up to 35%), especially of *Pinus*, in the later part of the
phase are most likely to reflect the expansion of frost-tolerant woodland during MIS 2 (Müller
et al., 2011).

The Straldzha Mire probably existed as an ephemeral lake during the cold steppe phase. The lake water was colonised by *Potomogeton* and coccal green algae (mostly *Pediastrum kawraiskyi* and *Botryococcus*). *P. kawraiskyi* is common in Lateglacial sediments from Europe and is generally associated with large lakes and cool conditions (Jankovská and Komárek, 2000). Strong evaporation occurred during the full glacial, indicated by the presence of gypsum crystals in the sediments.

### 348 4.1.2. Semidesert phase (~17,900–10,300 cal. a BP)

349 The subsequent Chenopodiaceae-dominated phase straddles the Pleistocene-Holocene 350 transition, taking in the Lateglacial and early Holocene. A fundamental change in the 351 environment of the Thracian Plain occurred between 17,900 and 13,200 cal. a BP, as indicated 352 by a major shift in pollen assemblages and magnetic mineralogy (Fig. 4). This shift coincides 353 with the expansion of deciduous Quercus around Tenaghi Philippon, interpreted as an indication of increasing moisture and less severe winters (Müller et al., 2011). The lack of any 354 355 corresponding *Quercus* expansion around Straldzha may be attributed to a substantial decrease 356 in moisture, as suggested by the ordination results; there was also no apparent temperature rise 357 (Fig. 6). This interpretation is corroborated by the magnetic mineralogy, which demonstrates 358 declining ferrimagnetic enhancement of externally derived soils, as would be expected in drier 359 and/or colder climates. Reduced precipitation could also decrease sediment and magnetic input 360 to the lake, further diminishing magnetic susceptibility.

The prevalence of Chenopodiaceae pollen suggests that the Lateglacial climate of Bulgarian Thrace was not analogous to that of the Last Glacial Maximum. Chenopodiaceae may have even been prominent in the halophyte vegetation of the Straldzha Mire: *Atriplex prostrata* ssp.

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*calotheca, Camphorosma monspeliaca* and *Sueda maritima* were recorded around the margins
of the mire prior to 20<sup>th</sup>-century drainage (Tonkov et al., 2008a). It is possible that these
halophytes occupied larger areas of the mire basin during the Lateglacial, with vegetation
similar to that of present-day saline lakes in semidesert and steppe areas (Connor et al., 2004;
Magyari et al., 2012). Hydrological changes are indicated by magnetic susceptibility
measurements (Fig. 3), the decline of green algae and the appearance of cyanobacteria
(*Gleoetrichia*), perhaps indicating a carbonate-enriched, shallow lake (Chmura et al., 2006).

371 However, similarly aged Chenopodiaceae peaks occur in several pollen records from the Black 372 Sea (Atanassova, 2005; Filipova-Marinova et al., 2012), at middle elevations in the Rhodope 373 Mountains (Huttunen et al., 1992; Stefanova et al., 2006b) and even in the Veleka River 374 refugium in SE Bulgaria (Filipova-Marinova, 2003). This suggests that the Lateglacial 375 expansion of Chenopodiaceae at Straldzha was more than simply a local-scale phenomenon. 376 Chenopodiaceae dominance is not, however, seen in Lateglacial pollen records from the Rila and Pirin Mountains, SW Bulgaria. At these high-elevation sites, Chenopodiaceae is always 377 378 subdominant to Artemisia (Fig. 5; Bozilova and Tonkov, 2000; Stefanova et al., 2006a; Tonkov 379 et al., 2008b, in press). The same applies to most areas surrounding the Mediterranean (e.g. van 380 Zeist and Bottema, 1991; van der Knaap and van Leeuwen, 1997; Lawson et al., 2004, 2005; 381 Müller et al., 2011). Only in the continental interiors of Western Asia does Chenopodiaceae prevail over Artemisia in pollen spectra of Younger Dryas age (e.g. van Zeist and Bottema, 382 1991; Wick et al., 2003; Djamali et al., 2008; Connor, 2011; see also El-Moslimany, 1990). 383 Hence the Lateglacial and early Holocene of Bulgarian Thrace were most likely characterised 384 385 by pronounced continentality and drought.

A regional increase in fire occurrence during the early Holocene also appears to be related to this pattern (Fig. 4; Turner et al., 2008, 2010; Magyari et al., 2012; Panagiotopoulos et al., in press). Microscopic charcoal concentrations rise during the early Holocene (Unit III–IV transition). This increase does not produce any obvious peak in magnetic susceptibility because microscopic charcoal likely entered the lake via aerial deposition from regional fires. The 391 magnetic mineralogy, however, changes significantly at this time, displaying a gradual 392 transition from deposits dominated by detrital inputs to those dominated by authigenic 393 formation. As the Holocene progresses (Unit IV), magnetic susceptibility increases slightly, 394 probably corresponding to minor variations in detrital inputs. As with the pollen, the charcoal 395 and magnetic records remain consistent with enhanced climatic seasonality or aridity.

396 The timing and duration of Lateglacial and early-Holocene aridity in the region is strongly 397 linked to summer insolation (Wright et al., 2003; Stefanova et al., 2006b; Tzedakis, 2007; Leng 398 et al., in press). The Straldzha record suggests that the summer insolation maximum overrode 399 the effect of the North Atlantic circulation in the continental lowlands of the Balkans. The 400 Bølling-Allerød interstadial and Younger Dryas stadial, both temperature events that are clearly 401 registered in the Rila and Pirin Mountains (Atanassova and Stefanova, 2003; Stefanova et al., 402 2006a; Tonkov et al., 2008b, 2011), had a minor impact on the vegetation of the Rhodope 403 Mountains (Huttunen et al., 1992; Bozilova et al., 2011) and no substantial effect on the 404 vegetation of the Thracian Plain. This could reflect differences in how vegetation at different 405 altitudes responds to climate. Around Lake Prespa, western Balkans, trees at lower altitudes 406 were "relatively unaffected" by the Younger Dryas, while higher elevation pines responded 407 strongly (Panagiotopoulos et al., in press). The Younger Dryas often has an ambiguous signal in 408 isotopic and palynological records from the Black Sea region (Badertscher et al., 2011; 409 Filipova-Marinova et al., 2012; Shumilovskikh et al., 2012; see also Bottema, 1995). Aridity, 410 not temperature, seems to have been the key factor limiting lowland forest development during 411 the Straldzha semidesert phase.

### 412 **4.1.3.** Forest-steppe phase (~10,300–8900 cal. a BP)

The vegetation of the third phase must have been relatively open, based on the diversity of xeric and mesic herbs represented in the pollen record. Similar herbaceous taxa are represented in most of the pollen diagrams from Bulgaria that cover the early Holocene (e.g. Bozilova and Tonkov, 2000; Tonkov et al., 2002, 2008b, in press; Stefanova and Ammann, 2003; Stefanova et al., 2006a; Bozilova et al., 2011). Typically, Holocene afforestation in the mountains of Bulgaria was led by *Betula*, followed by *Quercus*, then *Ulmus* and *Tilia*, and somewhat later by *Corylus*. Holocene succession around Straldzha Mire was quite different, as could be expected of a lowland area. *Betula* does not play a prominent role, while *Corylus*, *Ulmus* and *Quercus* increase simultaneously. Marine pollen records from the Black Sea show much the same succession (Atanassova, 2005; Filipova-Marinova et al., 2012), indicating a distinct pattern of lowland landscape development.

424 The forest-steppe phase is relevant to the discussion of climatic, fire and grazing controls on 425 post-glacial forest succession, since it clearly reflects the pattern – widespread in the Eastern 426 Mediterranean, Black and Caspian Seas region – of a delayed oak forest expansion in the early 427 Holocene, accompanied by elevated proportions of *Pistacia* pollen (van Zeist and Bottema, 1991; Roberts and Wright, 1993; Willis, 1994; Wright et al., 2003; Filipova-Marinova, 2003; 428 429 Stevens et al., 2006; Panagiotopoulos et al., in press). Previous studies posited that afforestation 430 was delayed by dry early Holocene climates, contradicting evidence for wet climates from lake-431 levels, isotopic analyses and speleothems (Roberts et al., 2011; cf. Chen et al., 2008). 432 Prehistoric human activities may have also played a role in stalling forest expansion (Roberts, 433 2002).

434 Changes in the seasonal distribution of rainfall may explain the apparent contradiction between 435 lake-level and palynological proxies. Djamali et al. (2010) show that penetration of the Indian 436 Summer Monsoon can have profound effects on the seasonality of rainfall in Western Asia, by 437 blocking spring rainfall and promoting a more Mediterranean, winter-dominated precipitation 438 regime. They suggest that increased monsoonal influence until ~6300 cal. a BP limited the 439 spread of plant species that rely on spring rains. On the Mediterranean coast, a wet climate with enhanced Mediterranean characteristics (wet winters and dry summers) persisted from 9500 to 440 441 7800 cal. a BP, followed by a trend toward drier, less seasonal climates until 5000 cal. a BP 442 (Peyron et al., 2011). For the same period, pollen records suggest increased summer moisture in the Central Balkans and Hungarian Plain (Magyari et al., 2010; Panagiotopoulos et al., 2012). 443

Early-Holocene climatic zones in SE Europe appear to have been quite different to what weobserve at present (Wright et al., 2003).

446 Around Straldzha Mire, which at the time was a carbonate-rich lake with predominantly 447 authigenic sedimentation, oak forest expansion stalled for 2500-3000 years after its initial 448 Holocene advance (Fig. 5). A delay of 2800 years was also observed at Shiroka Polyana in the Rhodope Mountains (1400 m a.s.l.; Stefanova et al., 2006b), as well as at Skala Wetland in the 449 450 Stara Planina (470 m), a site 20 km north of Straldzha Mire, where a substantial oak pollen 451 increase (from <1% to 38%) occurred between levels dated to 9100 and 7600 cal. a BP (Connor, 452 unpubl. data). Early-Holocene delayed afforestation is also observed in recent high-resolution 453 pollen records from the southern Black Sea, with maximum tree pollen percentages achieved 454 only after 8000 cal. a BP (Fig. 7; Shumilovskikh et al., 2012; Filipova-Marinova et al., 2012). 455 The delay was therefore widespread and substantially longer than its counterpart on the Aegean 456 coastline or in the Bulgarian mountains, where rainfall was perhaps less of a limiting factor. At 457 Tenaghi Philippon, for example, arboreal pollen exceeds 50% around 11500 cal. a BP and 75% 458 around 10,000 cal. a BP (Müller et al., 2011); on Bulgaria's Thracian Plain the same thresholds 459 were crossed around 8600 and 6800 cal. a BP respectively, demonstrating prolonged early-460 Holocene aridity. *Pistacia* pollen, the hallmark of this phase in the Balkans and western Asia (Willis, 1994; Roberts et al., 2011), is present in small but constant quantities (<1%) throughout 461 462 the forest-steppe phase. Pistacia pollen also appears sporadically between ~10,000-7000 cal. a 463 BP in pollen records from other areas on or around the Thracian Plain (i.e. Kupena: Huttunen et al., 1992; and Arkutino and Varna: Bozilova and Beug, 1992, 1994), while P. terebinthus is 464 465 recorded in Neolithic archaeobotanical assemblages from Bulgaria (Marinova, 2009). Pistacia's poor pollen productivity (Roberts, 2002) implies that P. terebinthus shrubs took part in the early 466 467 Holocene vegetation of the Thracian Plain, which also included a mixture of deciduous oaks, 468 rosaceous shrubs and grassy meadow communities. Importantly, charcoal concentrations and 469 the occurrence of dung-inhabiting fungi are reduced during the forest-steppe phase, so grazing 470 and fire were perhaps not the main factors stalling the expansion of oak.

#### 471 **4.1.4.** Oak woods phase (~8900–4000 cal. a BP)

472 Around 8700 cal. a BP, Quercus commenced a rapid expansion and meadow vegetation 473 contracted, creating a forest landscape that persisted until ~4000 cal. a BP. Increased 474 representation of Corylus, Ulmus and Tilia pollen indicates that other forest species increased 475 simultaneously with oak, while *Pistacia* and other xerophytes declined. Changes in climatic 476 seasonality and monsoonal forcing may explain the expansion of oak forest around the 477 Straldzha Mire, but it also corresponds to a period of sea-level rise in the Black Sea (see also 478 Filipova-Marinova et al., 2012; Shumilovskikh et al., 2012). This enormous body of water has 479 had a strong bearing on the Holocene climate of the surrounding lands, clearly demonstrated by 480 the link between sea level and oxygen-isotope signatures in stalagmites from Sofular Cave (Fig. 6; Fleitmann et al., 2009; Badertscher et al., 2011). It is likely that the Black Sea's influence on 481 482 regional atmospheric humidity was sufficient to allow oak forests to expand, overriding the signal of solar-forced climatic changes. Its effects may have been felt as far as the Rila 483 484 Mountains, where a marked change in diatom assemblages coincides with *Quercus* expansion 485 around 8800 cal. a BP (Lotter and Hofmann, 2003).

At the end of the Straldzha oak woods phase, *Carpinus betulus* and *Fagus* make a belated arrival. These two taxa tend to appear relatively late in Bulgarian pollen records (e.g. Huttunen et al., 1992; Tonkov et al., 2002; Stefanova and Ammann, 2003), except those from coastal refugia (Bozilova and Beug, 1992, 1994; Filipova-Marinova, 2003). Fire occurrence also appears to have increased toward the end of the oak forest phase, reflecting a pattern observed across the Eastern Mediterranean region (Vannière et al., 2011).

#### 492 **4.1.5.** Deforestation phase (~4000 cal. a BP onwards)

493 A phase of deforestation represents the final stage in the vegetation history of Bulgaria's 494 Thracian Plain and is more faithfully registered in the canal core than in the quarry section. The 495 only other pollen records from the plain, Sadovo and Straldzha-1, begin around 4000 cal. a BP 496 and indicate that deforestation had already occurred by that time (Filipovitch and Stojanova, 497 1990; Tonkov et al., 2008a). Deforestation, accompanied by fires and grazing, eliminated *Ulmus*  498 from the Straldzha region. Corylus and Quercus also declined, but both managed a brief 499 recovery, which was also attended by peaks in light- and moisture-demanding pioneer species 500 (Salix, Alnus and Polypodiaceae). Cluster analysis associated this recovery stage with grasslands 501 (Fig. 5). Subsequent fires (occurring locally, judging from the abundance of macroscopic 502 charcoal) appear to have removed most of the regrowth, forming something like the present-day 503 landscape. A gradual increase in magnetic susceptibility is seen at this time that likely reflects 504 increased erosion due to deforestation. The timing of major deforestation on the Thracian Plain, 505 from about 4000 cal. a BP, agrees with previous studies from the Balkans (Willis, 1994), but is 506 rather late in terms of the greater Eastern Mediterranean region, where earlier, large-scale 507 clearances are detected around 5000 cal. a BP (Roberts et al., 2011).

508 Anthropogenic interference in Bulgaria's vegetation is thought to have a long history, dating 509 back to the Neolithic Period (Bozilova and Tonkov, 1990, 1998; Willis and Bennett, 1994). 510 Pollen of cultivated plants, especially cereals, are regarded as primary indicators of 511 anthropogenic activity, while secondary indicators in steppic areas include *Plantago*, *Rumex*, 512 Polygonum aviculare, Urtica, Artemisia, Chenopodiaceae and the Asteraceae subfamily 513 Cichorioideae (Bozilova and Tonkov, 1998). The application of these indicators, both primary 514 and secondary, to the Straldzha record is confounded because they occur throughout the 515 Lateglacial and Holocene, presumably as a natural part of the vegetation. This issue applies, in 516 varying degrees, to other lowland sites in Bulgaria (Bozilova and Tonkov, 1990; Marinova and 517 Atanassova, 2006; Marinova et al., 2012), and elsewhere in SE Europe (Magyari et al., 2012; 518 Panagiotopoulos et al., in press) and Anatolia (Bakker et al., 2011). The Straldzha Mire is also 519 so large that only extensive landscape modification could be expected to be detected palaeoecologically (Janssen, 1986; Halstead, 2000; Kalis et al., 2003). The intensive, local-scale 520 521 impacts of the first farmers in SE Europe are most convincingly detected in pollen records from 522 small, adjacent sites located near Neolithic settlements (Andrič, 2007; Magyari et al., 2012). 523 Nevertheless, the almost constant presence of Vitis, Triticum-type, Rumex, Urtica, Cannabis-524 type and *Pteridium* through the Straldzha oak-woods phase seems at odds with the inference of a densely forested landscape, and may indeed reflect small-scale human interventions in the
vegetation of the Thracian Plain, akin to the intensive 'garden' agricultural model proposed by
Bogaard (2004). The only definitive evidence for human impact is the deforestation phase itself,
which also includes the occurrence of *Agrostemma githago* alongside *Triticum*-type pollen, as
clear signs of cereal cultivation (Behre, 1981; Marinova et al., 2012).

## 530 4.2. A model for Bulgaria's Lateglacial and Holocene palaeovegetation

Cluster analysis defines 10 principal pollen-derived associations in the Lateglacial and 531 532 Holocene history of Bulgaria's vegetation (Fig. 5; Table 2). The data used in defining these 533 groups cover a wide range of environments, including the Black Sea coast, the Thracian Plain, 534 the middle altitudes of the Rhodope Mountains and the higher altitudes of the Rila and Pirin 535 Mountains. The vegetation history of the individual sites has been described in detail in the 536 original publications, but our analysis highlights a number of common features in Bulgaria's 537 vegetation history. Given that the chronology for individual sites is often poor, we compare 538 reconstructions with better dated records where possible (e.g. Tonkov et al., 2006).

#### 539 **4.2.1. Lateglacial (16,000–11,500 cal. a BP)**

540 In the Rila Mountains, the replacement of cold steppe vegetation with meadows and pine woods 541 during the Lateglacial is linked to warming phases (Tonkov et al., 2006, 2011; Bozilova and 542 Tonkov, 2011). In accordance with previous interpretations, our analysis suggests that patches 543 of woody vegetation (pine and birch) occasionally appeared in otherwise open vegetation 544 around Lake Sedmo Rilsko during the Bølling-Allerød interstadial, dated between 15,000 and 12,800 cal. a BP (Bozilova and Tonkov, 2011). The apparent difference in the timing and 545 duration of the meadow phase at Suho Ezero is an artefact of poor dating (Tonkov et al., 2006). 546 547 The same applies to the Besbog record – subsequent re-coring at the lake's centre produced a 548 complete Lateglacial sequence with woodland expansion between 13,800 and 12,600 cal. a BP 549 and a subsequent reduction during the Younger Dryas (Stefanova et al., 2006a,b). Lateglacial vegetation around Kupena Mire is interpreted as "montane steppe-forest" (Huttunen et al., 1992; 550

Tonkov et al., in press). Our analysis indicates that grassland and meadow vegetation persisted 551 552 through the Lateglacial, contrasting with vegetation at both higher and lower elevations (Fig. 5). 553 The brief appearance of semidesert vegetation around Kupena corresponds temporally to the 554 Younger Dryas, but may relate to the summer insolation peak at the same time, which best explains the transition from cold steppe to semidesert vegetation in the lowlands around 555 556 Straldzha (Fig. 6). Reconstruction of cold steppe in marine core A-159 agrees with Lateglacial 557 aridity and restricted woodland distribution inferred from neighbouring marine records (Atanassova, 2005; Mudie et al., 2002; Filipova-Marinova et al., 2012). 558

### 559 **4.2.2. Early Holocene (11,500–8000 cal. a BP)**

560 A major reorganisation of Bulgaria's vegetation occurred during the early Holocene. Deciduous 561 forest communities ascended into the high mountains, favoured by high summer insolation 562 (Stefanova and Ammann, 2003). Although the Besbog record has a hiatus during this period, more recent analysis shows that the deciduous woodland phase lasted until ~7500 cal. a BP in 563 564 the high mountains (Stefanova et al., 2006a; Tonkov et al., 2008), comparable to the birch 565 woods phase reconstructed for Suho Ezero (Fig. 5). The transition to woodland took considerably longer at lower altitudes - around 9500 cal. a BP at Kupena and 8700 cal. a BP at 566 567 Straldzha. It is difficult to assess the reconstruction of cold steppe in marine core A-159 because 568 of poor age control and uncertainty about the source-area of the pollen. Other marine records for 569 the early Holocene follow the succession observed at Straldzha (Filipova-Marinova et al., 2012; 570 Shumilovskikh et al., 2012). Temporary indications of aridity observed around 8000 cal. a BP in 571 several lowland records could represent effects of the 8200 cal. a BP event, which is registered 572 palynologically in Black Sea sediments (Filipova-Marinova et al., 2012).

### 573 **4.2.3. Mid-Holocene (8000–4000 cal. a BP)**

In agreement with our reconstruction (Fig. 5), coniferous forests moved into the high mountains
during the mid-Holocene (Bozilova and Tonkov, 2000; Stefanova et al., 2006a; Tonkov et al.,
2006; Panagiotopoulos et al., in press). Reconstruction of meadows at Besbog conflicts with

577 evidence for pine woods around the site (Stefanova et al., 2006a) and appears to an artefact of Poaceae pollen produced by the lakeshore vegetation. While conifers dominated at higher 578 579 altitudes, oak forests were widespread at lower elevations. In some places, mid-Holocene 580 vegetation along the Black Sea coast appears to have been quite similar to today's, with forest-581 steppes persisting in the north (Shabla) and Euxinian 'longoz' forests in the south (Arkutino). 582 This interpretation is supported by other studies from the same areas (Marinova and 583 Atanassova, 2006; Filipova-Marinova, 2003). The two Lake Varna records exhibit substantial 584 differences; salinity changes and prehistoric human impacts are thought to have strongly affected the Arsenala profile (Bozilova and Beug, 1994). Arsenala's 'semidesert' vegetation 585 reconstructed after 5000 cal. a BP may be simply a reflection of saltmarsh vegetation. 586

#### 587 **4.2.4.** Late Holocene (4000 cal. a BP to the present)

588 Spruce and beech forests played an increasing role in high-elevation vegetation dynamics during the late Holocene (Bozilova and Tonkov, 2000; Stefanova and Ammann, 2003). However, as 589 590 our reconstruction shows, pines remained dominant around Besbog in the Pirin Mountains 591 (Stefanova et al., 2006a). At Kupena, a series of rapid shifts in forest dominance occurred from oak to fir to beech to pine - though these are inconsistently represented in different pollen 592 593 records from the site (Huttunen et al., 1992; Tonkov et al., in press). The reconstruction (Fig. 5) misleadingly places the fir stage into 'birch woods', the closest statistical analogue given the 594 595 scarcity of *Picea* pollen (supplementary information). Subsequent forest-steppe and pine forest stages are in agreement with the recent history of Kupena (Tonkov et al., in press). In the 596 597 lowlands, the two Straldzha records display a clear divergence in their reconstructed late-598 Holocene vegetation (Fig. 5). The earlier record was collected near a spring (E. Marinova, pers. 599 comm.), so halophytes growing locally may have directly contributed to high percentages of 600 Chenopodiaceae pollen, leading to our reconstruction of semidesert vegetation. Differences in 601 sample pretreatment could also offer an explanation. In any case, most of the landscape around 602 Straldzha remained without forest through the late Holocene. Relatively stable late-Holocene

vegetation is reconstructed along the Black Sea coast, in accordance with nearby marine pollen
records (Atanassova, 2005; Filipova-Marinova et al., 2012).

605 Bulgaria's vegetation history demonstrates the complex interactions between Mediterranean and 606 continental climate systems, influenced by the Black Sea moisture balance, North Atlantic 607 climate variability, precession-driven insolation variations and the strength of the monsoon 608 system. Vegetation of the high mountains seems to have responded strongly to North Atlantic 609 circulation, probably because orographic rainfall means they are better watered and so the 610 vegetation is primarily limited by temperature. Bulgaria's Thracian Plain is shielded from 611 westerly air streams by the same mountains, so here moisture availability and rainfall 612 seasonality (precipitation vs evaporation) were probably the main controls on Lateglacial-613 Holocene vegetation development. The strong relationship between the oxygen-isotope curve from Sofular Cave (Badertscher et al., 2011) and Straldzha DCA axis 1 (Fig. 6) suggests that the 614 615 Black Sea's moisture balance was the primary determinant of Holocene forest cover in 616 Bulgarian Thrace.

### 617 **4.3. Human-environment interactions**

618 The same factors that limited the spread of forests may have also influenced the timing of the 619 introduction of agriculture into the SE Balkans. Some authors have linked the dispersal of 620 agriculturalists through Europe after 8200 cal. a BP to their displacement from the Black Sea 621 basin by rising sea levels (Ryan et al., 1997; Turney and Brown, 2007), or to rapid climatic 622 changes (Weninger et al., 2006). Prior to this time, however, climatic conditions on Bulgaria's 623 Thracian Plain were possibly too dry for agriculture. The Tenaghi Philippon record (Müller et 624 al., 2011) demonstrates that the Aegean coastline was far less arid than Bulgarian Thrace at the 625 beginning of the Holocene, explaining why the earliest agricultural settlements on the European continent may have been established there. Early-Holocene aridity, driven by Black Sea 626 627 moisture balance and solar forcing, may have been a major deterrent to early agriculture on the Thracian Plain. The mountain barriers of the Balkans, combined with the aridity of the lowland 628

plains, conspired to delay the transmission of agriculture through the eastern Balkans to the restof Europe.

631 A similar hiatus is present in the spread of agricultural communities to Western Anatolia. 632 Despite the presence of agriculturalists in Central Anatolia at Can Hassan and Aşıklı Höyük and on the coastal margins of the Aegean, no Neolithic settlements prior to the late 7<sup>th</sup> millennium 633 634 BC have yet been uncovered in Western Anatolia (Özdoğan, 2011). Shortly after 8400 cal. a 635 BP, numerous agricultural sites appeared across the inner region of Western Anatolia (Özdoğan 636 2008). It may be that the arid conditions that prevailed on the Thracian Plain also extended to 637 the West Anatolian hinterland and restricted the spread of the Neolithic westward from the 638 Central Anatolian plateau.

639 It is not surprising to see afforestation progressing alongside the introduction and expansion of agriculture during the Neolithic era on the Thracian Plain. Oak forests appear to have been 640 prevalent around all Bulgarian Neolithic sites from which wood remains have been studied 641 (Marinova and Thiebault, 2008). The impact of the earliest European farmers on the landscape 642 was relatively small (Willis and Bennett, 1994; cf. Magyari et al., 2012). Indeed, interpretation 643 644 of the weed flora of Bulgarian Neolithic archaeobotanical assemblages indicates that early 645 agriculture did not significantly affect the local oak woodland; instead it created a mosaic of 646 openings for grazing, foraging and farming through intensive garden cultivation (Bogaard 2004; 647 Marinova and Thiebault, 2008).

In the Yambol Region of SE Bulgaria, in which the Straldzha Mire is located, some 52 Neolithic and Chalcolithic archaeological sites are known (Fig. 8; Lichardus et al., 2002; AKB, 2012) Maximum populations for tell settlements in the East Balkans have been estimated at 120–150 persons (Chapman, 1989). Intensive mixed farming (small-scale, labour-intensive cultivation and herding) dominated Neolithic Europe (Bogaard, 2004), requiring ~0.5 ha per person (Milisaukskas and Kruk, 1989; cf. Bogaard, 2004). These estimates suggest that the inhabitants of a large village needed ~60–75 ha of land for agriculture, most of which would have fallen within 1 km of the settlement (Milisauskas and Kruk, 1989). Even if half of the agricultural land was fallow at any given time, the Neolithic population of the Yambol Region would only have required no more than 75 km<sup>2</sup> of cleared land – only about 2% of the region. It must be recognised that the Neolithic archaeological record in the Thracian Plain (including the Yambol Region) is much less complete than that of other areas of the SE Balkans (Boyadzhiev 2009). Nevertheless, the limited agricultural footprint required by all known sites is not likely to be visible in the palaeoecological record of a lake as large as Straldzha was at that time.

662 The Straldzha record suggests strong human impact, including deforestation, burning, grazing, 663 and erosion, beginning around 4000 cal. a BP, coincident with other major clearances in the 664 Balkans (Willis, 1994). The second millennium BC corresponds roughly to the Middle and Late 665 Bronze Ages in SE Bulgaria, periods that are, unfortunately, poorly attested on the Thracian 666 Plain (Leshtakov, 2002; 2009; Boyadziev, 1998). In the early second millennium (the Middle 667 Bronze Age) many sites were abandoned, including most tells, while stock-breeding appears to 668 have become more mobile (Leshtakov, 2009). Changes in settlement patterns and subsistence 669 strategies become clearer in the latter second millennium (the Late Bronze Age), when more 670 numerous, distributed, and often short-lived settlements were founded across the Thracian Plain 671 and uplands on its periphery (Leshtakov, 2002; 2009; Athanassov, 2011). For the Yambol 672 Region, Fig. 8 indicates the decline of tell settlements and the increasing proportion of short-673 lived 'flat' sites over time. In this figure, the number of tell sites represents a maximum - few 674 new tells are likely to be discovered - while the number of flat sites is a minimum, likely to increase with further archaeological investigation. Evidence from recent surface survey, while 675 hampered by poor chronological control, revealed three previously unknown (Late?) Bronze 676 Age surface scatters in 30 km<sup>2</sup> of the Yambol Region, replacing one Early Bronze Age tell in 677 678 the study area (Iliev et al., 2012).

679 Settlement pattern changes are accompanied by long-term changes in subsistence strategies. In
680 addition to increasing mobility of stock-breeding posited by Leshtakov (2009), palaeozoological
681 evidence from north Bulgarian and coastal sites suggest that by the Late Bronze Age cattle

bones dominate assemblages from the SE Balkans (Athanassov, 2011; cf. Benecka and Ninov,
2002, for Neolithic trends in the Thracian Plain itself). Metallurgy became a significant
economic activity as Thrace entered long-distance trade networks in the Late Bronze Age;
copper ingots of all known Mediterranean types can be found in Bulgaria, indicating the degree
of economic integration and craft specialisation (Leshtakov, 2009).

687 Evidence to date, although incomplete, suggests that human impact on the environment during 688 the second millennium BC probably resulted from greater demand for charcoal stemming from 689 increased metal production, combined with a shift in agro-pastoral regimes. Long-lasting 690 villages (such as produce tells), relying upon intensive agriculture, gave way to more numerous 691 but ephemeral settlements, supported by extensive, mobile stock-breeding, largely of cattle. 692 Cultivation also became less intensive, and perhaps shifting. The new regime required the 693 exploitation of a much larger area, including colonisation of new, sometimes marginal, 694 agricultural lands, and it had a greater impact on that land, producing a clearly visible 695 palaeoecological signal (Porozhanov, 1998; Leshtakov, 2009; Athanassov, 2011; cf. Halstead, 696 2000, for an analogous process in Late Neolithic Greece). Further research, however, is required 697 to clarify the extent, nature, and chronology of human impact on the environment of the ancient 698 Thracian Plain, especially through (1) surface survey (enhanced by an improved understanding 699 of regional prehistoric ceramic fabric chronologies) to clarify settlement patterns, (2) excavation 700 of prehistoric rural sites, including palaeobotany and palaeozoology, to reveal more about 701 subsistence strategies, (3) geological investigation of ancient soils to better understand the scale 702 of agriculture necessary to support attested populations, and (4) local palaeoecological study 703 (e.g. of river terraces) to detect small-scale vegetation disturbances associated with prehistoric 704 farming.

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# 709 **5. Conclusions**

710 New palaeoenvironmental data from Bulgaria's Thracian Plain suggest that early-Holocene conditions remained much more arid in the continental lowland areas of the Balkans than in 711 712 coastal or mountain areas. Intensified summer insolation seems to have resulted in extreme 713 warm-season drought and delayed the spread of forests across lowland Thrace for thousands of 714 years until the regional moisture balance of the Black Sea region changed. Early-Holocene 715 aridity, along with other cultural and environmental factors, probably limited the expansion of 716 early agriculture from the coastal areas of Anatolia and Greece. The decline of aridity on the 717 Thracian Plain from 8600 cal. a BP must be seen as one of the potential triggers for agriculture's expansion into continental Europe. Anthropogenic deforestation does not occur 718 719 until after ca. 4000 cal. a BP, and may have been the result of a combination of new, extensive 720 agro-pastoral regimes and greater fuel demands for metal processing.

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  and Palaeoecology. Pensoft Publishers, Sofia Moscow, pp. 127-136.
- 1143
- 1144

#### 1145 Table 1. Sediment descriptions from the Straldzha Mire. Sharp boundaries appeared

1146 between units I–II, II–III, III–IV, VI–VII and VII–VIII; all other boundaries were diffuse.

		~	~		
Unit	Quarry section	Core	Sediment description		
VIII	_	0–65 cm	Disturbed sediment excavated during canal construction		
VII	0–15 cm	65–110 cm	Black, peaty silt with crumbly texture and gastropod		
			fossils (Planorbidae)		
VI	15–80 cm	110–170 cm	Light-grey marl with freshwater bivalve remains		
			(Unionidae)		
V	80–100 cm	170-?	Dark-grey marl with freshwater bivalve remains		
IV	100–125 cm	_	Black, very compact, silty marl sediments		
III	125–465 cm	_	Orange-brown to grey silty sediments with some		
			mottling, vertical cracking and occasional inclusions of		
			small (1–2 mm) quartz pebbles		
II	465-500 cm	_	Grey silt band with no mottling		
Ι	500-520 cm	_	Orange-brown silty sediments with gypsum inclusions		

1147

1149 Table 2. Indicator taxa for the 10 major pollen associations in Bulgaria's Lateglacial and

1150 Holocene vegetation history. These indicators, particularly those with low indicator values

1151 (IV), may not be applicable to pollen records other than those analysed (Fig. 5).

Group name	Indicator taxa and indicator values				
Forest-steppe	Centaurea (20), Cerealia-type (32), Filipendula-type (19), Lamiaceae (19)				
Semidesert	Chenopodiaceae (51), Cirsium-type (19)				
Grassland	Linum (35), Poaceae (32), Saussurea-type (18), Saxifraga (23), Scrophulariaceae				
	(25), <i>Taxus</i> (15)				
Cold steppe	Artemisia (46)				
Oak woods	Corylus (23), Ulmus (28)				
Euxinian forest	Carpinus betulus (46), Fagus (27), Fraxinus excelsior (27), F. ornus (27),				
	Ophioglossum (24), Ostrya-type (58), Quercus (30), Vitis (14)				
Pine woods	Pinus (32)				
Birch woods	Betula (38), Ranunculus (27), Rosaceae (24), Rumex (28), Tilia (24)				
Meadows	Asteraceae subfamily Asteroideae (24), Rubiaceae (18)				
Fir-spruce forest	Abies (46), Campanula (27), Ericaceae (21), Picea (65)				

1152

1154 Table 3. Accelerator Mass Spectrometer radiocarbon ages for the two Straldzha records.

1155 Age ranges for the core (marked \*) are based on calibrated ages while those for the quarry

- 1156 are based on modelled ages from the Monte Carlo simulation. All ages were calibrated
- 1157 using the IntCal09 database in Calib 6.02 (Stuiver and Reimer, 1993).

Site	Sample	Laboratory	Material	Radiocarbon	Calibrated	Modelled age
	depth	number		age ( <sup>14</sup> C a	age (cal. a	range(cal. a BP)
	(cm)			BP)	BP)	
Quarry	25-30	Beta-	Organic	5570±40	6354±62	6645–6170
		246649	sediment			
	60–65	OZM-410	Pollen	8675±45	9643±62	10180–9530
			concentrate			
	60–65	Wk-32001	Lake sediment	8855±45	9966±203	10180–9530
	100-105	Beta-	Organic	8980±50	10080±161	10500–9650
		246650	sediment			
	125-130	Beta-	Organic	9710±40	11156±74	11335-10700
		308484	sediment			
	155-160	Wk-32002	Lake sediment	14696±65	17831±240	18605–16945
	155-160	OZM-411	Pollen	16000±80	19157±255	19875-18280
			concentrate			
	255-260	OZM-412	Pollen	27090±190	31360±239	32820-30750
			concentrate			
	355-360	Wk-32003	Lake sediment	23653±114	28370±378	29515-27570
	355-360	OZM-413	Pollen	26080±150	30800±313	31395–29625
			concentrate			
	455–460	OZM-414	Pollen	29040±150	33830±640	34800-31910
			concentrate			
Core	100	Beta-	Organic	3100±30	3316±70	3384-3247*
		294415	sediment			
	110	Beta-	Organic	4230±40	4746±118	4861–4796,
		300663	sediment			4762-4641*

1158

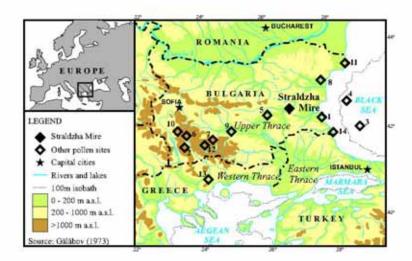




Fig. 1. Map of the Eastern Balkans showing the location of the Thracian Plain, Straldzha Mire
and other sites mentioned in the text. 1- Arkutino; 2- Besbog (Pirin Mts); 3- Black Sea A-159;
4- Black Sea GGC-18; 5- Ezero; 6- Dry Lake (Suho Ezero, Rila Mts); 7- Kupena (Rhodope

- 1165 Mts); 8- Lake Varna (Arsenala and Poveljanovo); 9- Sadovo; 10- Sedmo Rilsko; 11- Shabla-
- 1166 Ezerets; 12- Shiroka Polyana; 13-Tenaghi Phillipon; 14- Veleka River.

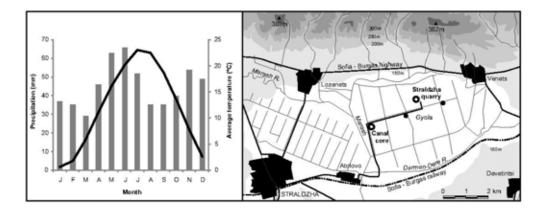
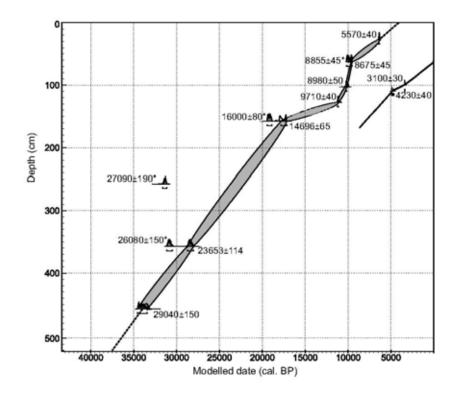


Fig. 2. Climate diagram for Yambol (left) and a map of the Straldzha Mire (right) indicating the
location of the Straldzha quarry section and canal core (large circles). Other coring locations are

- 1170 denoted by small circles. Drainage lines are shown as thin black lines. Source: Gaydarska
- 1171 (2007) and 1985 Soviet topographic map K-35-54 (1:50,000).



1172

Fig. 3. Age-depth model for the Straldzha quarry record (grey shading) and the canal core (solid
black line). Asterisks (\*) indicate dates that were not considered in the model. Dashed lines are
extrapolations.

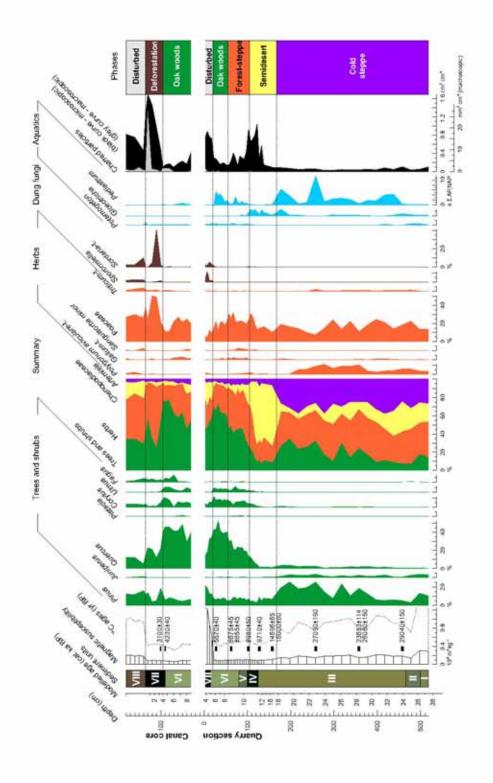
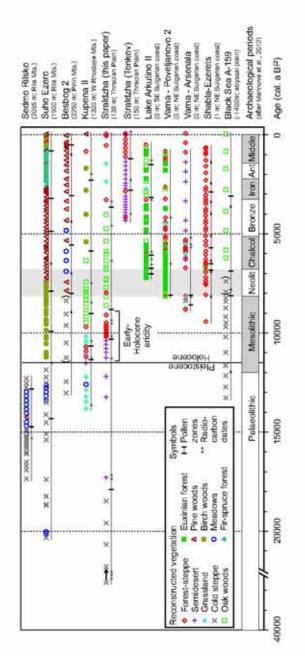


Fig. 4. Stratigraphic diagram from the Straldzha quarry section (bottom) and canal core (top).
Modelled ages, depths, sediment units (coloured using photographs of the sediment profile),

1179 magnetic susceptibility measurements (dotted line is a 5x exaggeration), pollen and spore

- 1180 percentages, charred particles (microscopic and macroscopic) and palaeovegetation phases are
- shown. See supplementary information for the complete dataset.



1183 Fig. 5. Cluster analysis results plotted by age, showing the development of Bulgaria's

- 1184 vegetation at different pollen sites through the Late Pleistocene and Holocene. Symbol legend
- at left. Samples in parentheses are suspected to be too young compared to equivalent samples in
- 1186 more recently published and better dated pollen records from the same or nearby sites

- 1187 (Stefanova et al., 2006a,b; Filipova-Marinova et al., 2012). Pollen data from this paper,
- 1188 Atanassova (2005), Filipova (1985), Bozilova and Beug (1992, 1994), Tonkov et al. (2008a;
- 1189 2009), Huttunen et al. (1992), Stefanova and Bozilova (1995), Bozilova and Smith (1979),
- 1190 Bozilova et al. (1986) and Bozilova and Tonkov (2011).

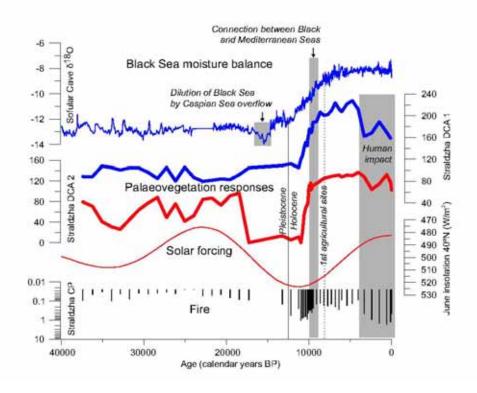
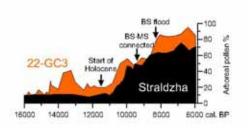
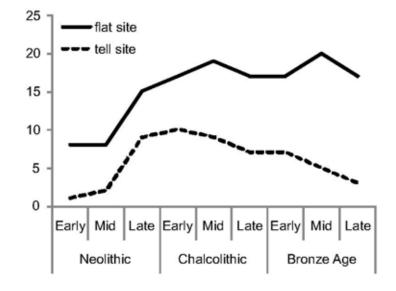


Fig. 6. Response of palaeovegetation around Straldzha Mire (bold curves at centre) to regional
climatic changes (Black Sea moisture balance from Fleitmann et al., 2009; summer insolation
from Berger et al., 1978). Fire history (microcharcoal, bottom) is also compared to solar forcing.
Grey areas indicate periods in which the records were affected by other factors.



- 1197 Fig. 7. Comparison of arboreal pollen percentages from Straldzha Mire and Black Sea core 22-
- 1198 GC3 (Shumilovskikh et al., 2012) from 16,000 to 6000 cal. a BP, showing delayed early-
- 1199 Holocene afforestation. Major events in the Black Sea (BS) are also indicated: connection with
- 1200 the Mediterranean Sea (MS: Badertscher et al., 2011) and flood (Turney and Brown, 2007).



1202 Fig. 8. Prehistoric settlement types in the Yambol Region (after AKB, 2012).

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