

1 **Title**

2 One Sea but many Routes to Sail. The early maritime dispersal of Neolithic crops from the Aegean
3 to the western Mediterranean.

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18

19 **Abstract**

20 This paper explores the first maritime westward expansion of crops across the Adriatic and the
21 northern coast of the western Mediterranean. Starting in Greece at c.6500 cal BC and following the
22 coastline to the Andalusian region of Spain to c.4500 cal BC, the presence of the main cereal, pulse,
23 oil and fibre crops are recorded from 122 sites. Patterns in the distribution of crops are explored
24 through ubiquity scores, correspondence analysis and Simpson's diversity index. Our findings
25 reveal changes in the frequencies of crops as farming regimes developed in Europe, and show how
26 different crops followed unique trajectories. Fluctuations in the diversity of the crop spectrum
27 between defined areas are also evident, and may serve to illustrate how founder effects can explain
28 some of the patterns evident in large-scale spatio-temporal evaluations. Within the broader
29 westward expansion of farming, regionalism and multi-directional maritime networks described
30 through archaeological materials are also visible in the botanical records.

31

32 **Keywords**

33 Prehistoric agriculture, crop diversity, Neolithic, archaeobotany, western Mediterranean, Adriatic

34

35 **Introduction**

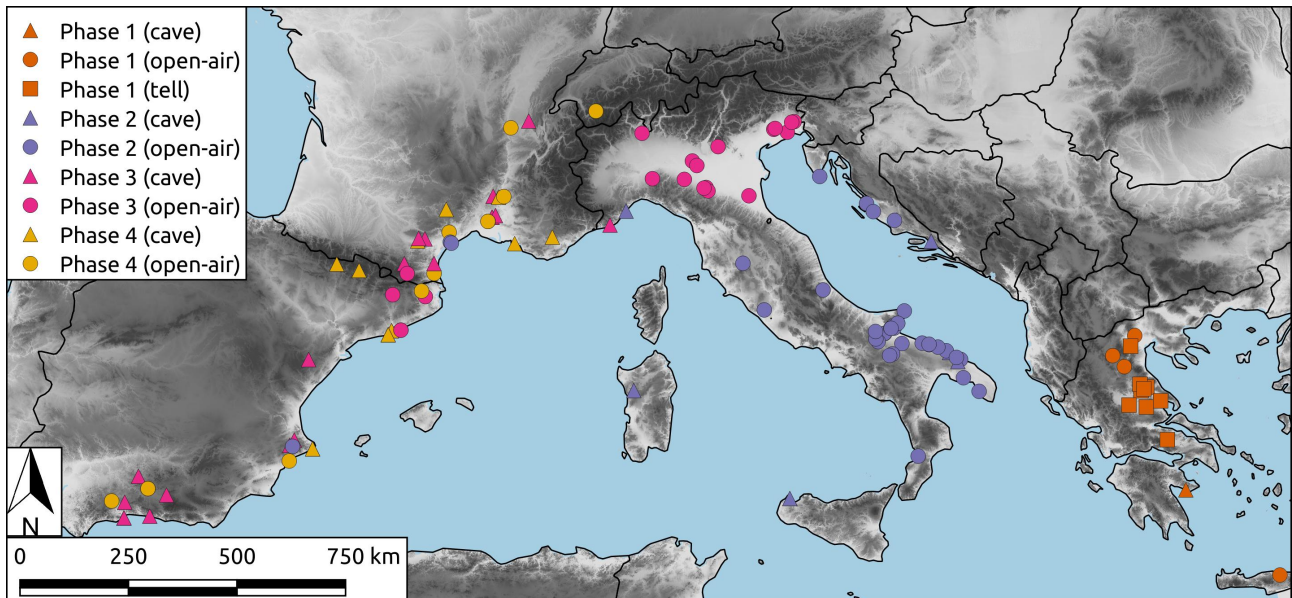
36 The first dispersal of Neolithic farmers into Europe took place along two main routes: inland
37 through Bulgaria, Macedonia and the western Balkans, and seaward following the coastlines of the
38 Adriatic and Mediterranean (e.g. Bocquet-Appel *et al.*, 2009). The migration of the Neolithic was
39 not a uniform or linear progression but consisted of an advance interrupted by variable pauses of
40 settling and adaptations (Guilaine, 2001, 2013). After reaching the Aegean the spread of farming
41 stopped for c.500 years, apparently during a period of Rapid Climate Change (RCC: 6550-6050 cal.
42 BC, Krauss *et al.*, 2017). It has been highlighted that the resumed expansion coincided with the end
43 of the 8.2Ka cooling event, after which a climate more favourable to the cultivation of Neolithic
44 crops is thought to have prevailed (Berger & Guilaine, 2009; Krauss *et al.*, 2017: 2; Pilaar Birch &
45 Vander Linden, 2018: 186). Without falling into a dogmatic climatic determinism, it seems clear
46 that climate was one of the many variables influencing the spread of farming. Both Adriatic
47 coastlines were colonized simultaneously (Biagi *et al.*, 2005; Bocquet-Appel *et al.*, 2009, 2012;
48 Forenbaier and Perhoč, 2015; Mazzucco *et al.*, 2017; McClure *et al.*, 2014), initially by pioneer
49 seafarers who led the way for larger, more permanently settled communities (Forenbaier and
50 Miracle, 2005; Forenbaier *et al.*, 2013). The advance into the Mediterranean also happened as a
51 'leap-frog colonization' (Guilaine, 2017; Zilhão, 2001), though it is calculated to have occurred at a
52 faster rate (Henderson *et al.*, 2014: 1297). Westerly sites dated to the early sixth millennium BC,
53 such as Arene Candide in Liguria (Italy), Pont-de-Roque Haute and Peiro Seignado in the South of
54 France and Mas D'Is near Valencia (Spain), are testimony to the rapid advance of the Neolithic

55 (Manen *et al.*, 2018a; García-Puchol *et al.*, 2017). Radiocarbon dates and material culture speak of
56 varied temporalities, regionalism and numerous multi-directional maritime excursions through
57 which connections with established settlements were maintained as new coastal areas were settled
58 (Guilaine, 2017, 2018; Manen *et al.*, 2018a, 2018b; Rigaud *et al.*, 2018).

59
60 The Neolithic is recognised through its ‘package’, consisting of plants and animals domesticated in
61 the Near East, along with particular architectural, tool and ceramic styles and technologies.
62 However, research has shown that whilst the Neolithic ‘package’ contained all the necessary
63 ingredients for a farming lifestyle, the neolithisation of Europe is better understood through its
64 related yet diverse packages (Guilaine, 2003, 2013, 2018; Manen *et al.*, 2018b; Rigaud *et al.*, 2018;
65 Thomas, 2003; Vander Linden, 2011). Spatio-temporal variations in the plant and animal diets are
66 evident during the neolithisation of Europe, as packages are seen to change, not only with the
67 spread of farming, but also *in situ* through time as pioneer communities became firmly established
68 (e.g. Antolín *et al.*, 2015; Colledge *et al.*, 2005; Conolly *et al.*, 2011; Fiorentino *et al.*, 2013;
69 Gaastra *et al.*, 2019; Manning *et al.*, 2013; Orton *et al.*, 2016; Rottoli and Castiglioni, 2009; Zapata
70 *et al.*, 2004). The pioneer Neolithic colonisation of new areas saw a reduction in the range of crops
71 utilized, before additional crops were, in some areas, re-introduced to the original Near Eastern
72 ‘package’ (Coward *et al.*, 2008; Colledge and Conolly, 2007a,b; Colledge *et al.*, 2004; de Vareilles,
73 Unpublished; McClatchie *et al.*, 2014). Explanations for changes in the suite of cultivated crops, as
74 well as in the importance of particular crop species have been sought through social or cultural
75 forces, and natural adaptations to changing ecological and climatic environments (e.g. Bogaard and
76 Halstead, 2015; Colledge *et al.*, 2005; Gaastra *et al.*, 2019; Krauss *et al.*, 2017; Kreuz *et al.*, 2014;
77 Peña-Chocarro *et al.*, 2018; Whitford, 2018). Other explanations include the effects of different
78 modes of inheritance, such as neutral drift (change resulting from the random copying of certain
79 traits over others, and innovations – Hahn and Bentley, 2003) and homophily (whereby successful
80 interactions between similar people are more likely than between dissimilar people – McPherson *et*
81 *al.*, 2001: 416), both of which may have resulted in reducing crop diversity during the first
82 neolithisation (Drost and Vander Linden 2018; Pérez-Lozada and Fort, 2011; though see Conolly *et*
83 *al.*, 2008 for negligible effects of drift).

84
85 In this article we explore changes in the crop spectrum during the first westward maritime spread
86 across the Adriatic and Mediterranean. Starting at c.6500 BC in Greece, we looked for the
87 archaeobotanical traces of the first farmers to colonize the Adriatic and the north-western
88 Mediterranean. Previous studies have focused on specific areas of the Neolithic Adriatic (e.g.
89 Fiorentino *et al.*, 2013; Reed, 2015; Rottoli and Castiglioni, 2009) and European Mediterranean
90 (e.g. Antolín and Buxó, 2012; Antolín and Jacomet, 2015; Antolín *et al.*, 2015; Bouby *et al.*, 2016;
91 Peña-Chocarro *et al.*, 2018; Zapata *et al.*, 2004), or included coastal zones with inland trajectories
92 for continental-scale analyses (Colledge *et al.*, 2005; Coward *et al.*, 2008). However, it has been
93 demonstrated that the crops cultivated along the maritime and inland routes of the European
94 neolithisation developed independently (Gaastra *et al.*, 2019), and whilst inland developments
95 between SE Europe and the Linearbandkeramik are relatively well understood (Colledge and
96 Conolly, 2007a; Colledge *et al.*, 2005; de Vareilles, Unpublished; Krauss *et al.*, 2017; Kreuz *et al.*,
97 2005), little has been done to investigate the European maritime route (though see Bogaard and
98 Halstead, 2015; Pérez-Jordà *et al.*, 2017). The present study hopes to redress this imbalance by
99 pooling archaeobotanical data from Early Neolithic settlements pertaining to the European maritime
100 route, offering the first statistical approach to describe and interpret developments in the crop
101 spectrum.

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107 Figure 1: Location of sites used in the study. See Table 1 for the description of phases and Figure 13S for a
 108 map with labelled sites
 109

110 **Methodology**

111 One hundred and twenty-two sites from the Aegean to the coast of Málaga, Spain (up to Cueva del
 112 Toro at -4.5423 longitude) are included in this research (Table 3). Every effort was made to locate
 113 original archaeobotanical reports, although many, particularly from Italy, are not widely published.
 114 However, the regional reviews used (referenced in Table 1) are internationally accepted and care
 115 was taken to source any re-evaluations of site dates and details. Sites were chosen according to a
 116 strict chronological framework to represent the very first European westward maritime dispersal of
 117 cultivated crops (Figure 1). The four phases are divided into 500 year brackets, starting at c.6500
 118 cal BC, and Phases 1 to 3 roughly correspond to renewed colonizations of coastal areas and the
 119 developments of new ceramic expressions (Table 1). Phases 3 and 4 along the western northern
 120 Mediterranean are less distinct, representing both pioneer settlements of coastal zones and the
 121 second phase of habitation in others (sites 96, 99, 102, 104 and 117). Although sites in Italy that
 122 clearly post-date the sixth millennium BC are not included, 13 have broad chronological brackets
 123 that span both Phases 3 and 4 (sites 53 to 55 and 57 to 66). The same is true of three French sites
 124 (sites 74, 75 and 76). Finds from the site of Balma Margineda (Andorra) are not included because
 125 AMS dates obtained from plant remains, all found within a single context, span across the sixth and
 126 fifth millennium BC (Manen *et al.*, 2018a) and our Phases 2 to 4. However, a naked barley grain
 127 was dated to 5665-5555 cal BC (95.4%) and is included in barley finds of Phase 2 (Figure 5). Sites
 128 were assigned to a phase following relevant radiocarbon dates where available or cultural
 129 attribution as defined in Table 1.

130

Phase	Chronology (cal. BC)	Extent of the coastal spread	Main archaeological groups
1	c.6500-6100/6000	Greece and Crete	Monochrome, proto-Sesklo
2	c.6100/6000-5500	Dalmatia, South Italy, Sardinia and the Portiragnes area of France	Impressed-Ware, Impresso-Cardial, Guadone
3	c.5500-5000	North Italy and across the northern half of the western Mediterranean	Impressed-Ware, Stentinello, Fiorano, Friuli, Vhó, à Fagninola, Isolino, VBQ (square-mouthed pottery), Gaban, Cardial/Epicardial, Néolithique Ancien Valaisan
4	c.5000-4500	Developments within the western Mediterranean zone	Cardial/Epicardial, Néolithique Ancien Valaisan

131 Table 1: The chronologies, geographical coverage and cultural entities of Phases 1 to 4
 132

133 The dataset comprises of 122 site/phases with records of domesticated crops. The crops included in
 134 this study are the main cereals and pulses cultivated during the Early Neolithic (Table 2). Opium
 135 poppy and flax are also included to document possible early findings. Records of spelt (*Triticum*
 136 *spelta*) and broomcorn millet (*Panicum milliaceum*) are excluded from this study. Low
 137 concentrations of spelt suggestive of its presence as a crop contaminant are noted for the Early
 138 Neolithic (e.g. Huntley, 1996; Kreuz, 1990; Marinval, 2003b; Sargent, 1987), while the first clear
 139 evidence of domestic spelt dates to the Bell Beaker period (Akeret, 2005). Dated millet seeds from
 140 Neolithic contexts tend to belong to much later periods, even if the occasional seed (perhaps a
 141 weed) is found to be of Neolithic date (Hunt *et al.*, 2008; Motuzaite-Matuzeviciute *et al.*, 2013).
 142 Indeed, millet cultivation in Europe is unlikely to pre-date the Bronze Age (e.g. Filipović and
 143 Obradović, 2013: 42-3; Reed, 2015: 612; Stevens *et al.*, 2016: 1545; Tafuri *et al.*, 2018; Valamoti,
 144 2013).

145

Crop category	Species included
Barley	Grains and chaff of <i>Hordeum vulgare sensu lato</i> , <i>H. vulgare vulgare</i> , <i>H. vulgare nudum</i>
Glume wheats	Grains and chaff of <i>Triticum monococcum</i> (einkorn) and <i>T. dicoccum</i> (emmer)
Free-threshing wheats	Grains and chaff of <i>T. aestivum/durum/turgidum</i>
'New' glume wheat	Grains and chaff of <i>T. cf. timophevii</i> , 'new type'
Lentil	Seeds of <i>Lens culinaris</i> , <i>Lens</i> sp.
Pea	Seeds of <i>Pisum sativum</i> , <i>Pisum</i> sp.
Grass/red pea	Seeds of <i>Lathyrus sativus</i> , <i>Lathyrus cicera</i>
Bitter vetch	Seeds of <i>Vicia ervilia</i>
Broad bean	Seeds of <i>Vicia faba</i>
Common vetch	Seeds of <i>Vicia sativa</i>
Chickpea	Seeds of <i>Cicer arietinum</i>
Flax	Seeds of <i>Linum usitatissimum</i>
Poppy	Seeds and capsules of <i>Papaver segiterum/somniferum</i>

146 Table 2: Crop taxa included in the study

147

148 The recording and publication of archaeobotanical remains from the research area varies greatly,
 149 from publications with contextualised and/or quantified data (e.g. Antolín, 2016; Buxó, 1997;
 150 Pérez-Jordà and Peñblia-Chocarro, 2013; Reed and Colledge, 2016; Valamoti, 2011), to mere lists
 151 of taxa by site (e.g. Fiorentino *et al.*, 2013; Marijanović, 2009; Renfrew, 1979; Rottoli and
 152 Castiglioni, 2009). Preservation also varies; whilst most sites reported carbonised remains, 13 only
 153 had data from impressions in ceramics and/or plaster/daub, and waterlogged plant remains were
 154 retrieved from La Draga and La Marmotta (Table 3). In order to overcome such disparities, findings
 155 were reduced to presence/absence of taxa by site/phase as the common means of quantification.
 156 Plant parts (e.g. grain or chaff), archaeological contexts and quantities (absolute or relative) were not
 157 considered, such that a rise in a ubiquity score does not necessarily translate to an increase in the
 158 absolute number of a taxon. There are a growing number of successful uses of such parsimonious
 159 data (ubiquity by site/phase) to explore spatio-temporal patterns in the distribution of taxa across
 160 large geographical areas (e.g. Colledge *et al.*, 2004, 2005; Coward *et al.*, 2008; Gaastra *et al.*,
 161 2019).

162

163 Patterns in the binary dataset were illustrated through ubiquity scores of taxa by phase (Figure 4),
 164 Simpson's diversity index (Figure 7) and correspondence analysis (Figure 8). The latter two were
 165 undertaken in R software (R Development Core Team 2008). Simpson's index (S) is a measure of
 166 diversity more commonly used in ecology, that can be performed on presence/absence data

167 (Gardener, 2014: 151-159). As such, the higher the value of S, the less diverse the assemblage. As
 168 this behaviour is somewhat counter-intuitive, it is frequent to use a value of 1-S, often referred to as
 169 Simpson's index of diversity (D), so that the greater the value, the higher the sample diversity. This
 170 specific index was calculated using the diversity function in the R package *vegan* (Oksanen *et al.*,
 171 2019), and then all values plotted as boxplots based upon their phase attribution (using the R
 172 package *ggplot2*: Wickham, 2016). Correspondence analysis is used to search for patterns in
 173 complex data, by ordering units of analyses according to their similarities. This multivariate
 174 statistical method of ordination is increasingly used to analyse archaeobotanical assemblages and is
 175 suitable for presence/absence data (Smith, 2014). Here it is used to compare variations in the
 176 presence of taxa by phase and site type (R package 'ca'; Nenadić and Greenacre, 2007).

177

178 Whilst some crops may not have been used at particular sites, their absence from archaeobotanical
 179 records may in fact result from the effects of preservation, excavation, sampling strategies and
 180 sample treatment procedures. For example, some reports note that bulk samples were sieved or
 181 floated using large mesh sizes (1mm or even 2mm). Whilst this approach undoubtedly leads to the
 182 loss of small seeds, such as those of poppy and possibly flax, we feel that cereal grains and most of
 183 the cultivated pulses would have been retained. The considerable range in the number of samples
 184 taken from sites may also explain the variation in the number of represented crops per site. To
 185 assess the effects of some potential biases on the patterns of crop distributions, three additional
 186 analyses were performed. Our use of the correlation function tests whether crop diversity is
 187 correlated to sample quantities by plotting the 57 sites with known quantities of samples against
 188 their species richness (Figure 2). Logarithmic values were used to account for the large range of
 189 sample numbers (from 1 to 1281 from site 44; following Lyman, 2015). Similarly, the recovery of
 190 plant impressions without bulk soil sampling (representing 23% (n=9) of Phase 2 sites) can create
 191 biases against particular crops. Cereals added to the temper of pottery or daub may represent a very
 192 specific and selective range of species, and casts of pulses, not to mention other seeds, fruit stones
 193 and nuts, are rarely identified (*cf.* Fuller *et al.*, 2014: 199-205; McClatchie and Fuller, 2014). Site
 194 function is the third condition we assess. Cave sites (including rockshelters) are sometimes
 195 described as temporary or seasonal settlements (e.g. Bonsall *et al.*, 2015; Reed, 2015: 615; Martín
 196 *et al.*, 2010) where crop processing and consumption may have been less prominent/diverse. As 34%
 197 (n=41) of the samples originate from cave sites, we tested for the effect of site function on crop
 198 diversity (Figures 3 and 8).

199

No.	Site	Type	Phase	Preservation status	Source (including C14 dates)
Greece and Crete					
1	Achilleion	Tell	1	Charred	Ivanova <i>et al.</i> 2018; Renfrew 1979; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007
2	Argissa Magoula	Tell	1	Charred	Renfrew 1979; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007
3	Franchti	Cave	1	Charred	Renfrew 1979; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007
4	Gediki	Tell	1	Charred	Ivanova <i>et al.</i> 2018; Renfrew 1979; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007
5	Giannitsa B	Open-air	1	Charred	Ivanova <i>et al.</i> 2018; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007
6	Knossos	Tell	1	Charred	Colledge 2016; Renfrew 1979; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007
7	Mavropigi-Fyllotsairi	Open-air	1	Charred	Valamoti 2011
8	Nea Nikomedeia	Tell	1	Charred	Ivanova <i>et al.</i> 2018; Renfrew 1979; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007

No.	Site	Type	Phase	Preservation status	Source (including C14 dates)
9	Otzaki Magoula	Tell	1	Charred	Ivanova <i>et al.</i> 2018; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007
10	Podromos	Tell	1	Charred	Ivanova <i>et al.</i> 2018; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007
11	Servia-Varytimides	Open-air	1	Charred	Ivanova <i>et al.</i> 2018
12	Sesklo	Tell	1	Charred	Colledge 2016; Ivanova <i>et al.</i> 2018; Renfrew 1979; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007
13	Soufli	Tell	1	Charred	Colledge 2016; Ivanova <i>et al.</i> 2018; Renfrew 1979; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007
14	Toumba Balomenou	Tell	1	Charred	Sarpaki 1995; Valamoti & Kotsakis 2007
Croatia (Dalmatia)					
15	Crno Vrilo	Open-air	2	Charred	Marijanović 2009
16	Kargadur-Ližnjan	Open-air	2	Charred	Komšo 2005
17	Krčina pećina	Cave	2	Impressions	Müller 1994
18	Pokrovnic	Open-air	2	Charred	Reed & Colledge 2016
19	Tinj-Podlivade	Open-air	2	Charred	Huntley 1996
Sardinia, South and Central Italy					
20	Acconia, area C	Open-air	2	Charred	Costantini and Stancanelli 1994
21	Canosa	Open-air	2	Charred	Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
22	Coppa Navigata	Open-air	2	Charred	Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013; Sargent 1987
23	Defensola A	Open-air	2	Charred	Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
24	Filiestru	Cave	2	Charred	Ucchesu <i>et al.</i> 2017
25	Foggia, Ex-ippodromo	Open-air	2	Charred	D'Oronzo and Fiorentino 2006; Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
26	à Foggia, Villa Comunale	Open-air	2	Charred	Nisbet 1982; Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
27	Fontanelle	Open-air	2	Impressions	Coppola and Costantini 1987; Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
28	Grotta delle Mura	Cave	2	Charred	Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
29	à Grotta dell'Uzzo	Cave	2	Charred	Costantini and Stancanelli 1994; Shennan and Steel 2000
30	Grotta Sant'Angelo	Cave	2	Impressions	Costantini and Stancanelli 1994
31	Lagnano da Piede	Open-air	2	Charred	Jones 1987; Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
32	Lago di Rendina, Sito n.3	Open-air	2	Charred	Costantini and Stancanelli 1994
33	La Marmotta	Open-air	2	Charred and waterlogged	Rottoli 1993
34	Le Macchie	Open-air	2	Impressions	Costantini and Stancanelli 1994
35	Masseria Candelaro	Open-air	2	Charred	Costantini and Stancanelli 1994 ; Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
36	Masseria Valente	Open-air	2	Charred	Costantini and Stancanelli 1994; Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013

No.	Site	Type	Phase	Preservation status	Source (including C14 dates)
37	Monte Aquilone	Open-air	2	Impressions	Evelt and Renfrew 1971
38	Monte Calvello	Open-air	2	Charred	D'Oronzo <i>et al.</i> 2008
39	Monte San Vincenzo	Open-air	2	Charred	D'Oronzo <i>et al.</i> 2008
40	Palese	Open-air	2	Impressions	Evelt and Renfrew 1971
41	Pulo di Molfetta	Open-air	2	Charred	Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013; Primavera and Fiorentino 2011
42	Rendina	Open-air	2	Charred	Costantini and Stancanelli 1994; Shennan and Steel 2000
43	Ripa Tetta	Open-air	2	Charred	Costantini and Stancanelli 1994; Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
44	Scamuso	Open-air	2	Charred	Costantini and Stancanelli 1994; Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
45	Terragne	Open-air	2	Charred	Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013; Mercuri <i>et al.</i> 2015
46	Títolo	Open-air	2	Charred	Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
47	Torre Canne	Open-air	2	Impressions	Coppola and Costantini 1987; Evelt and Renfrew 1971; Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013
48	Torre Sabea	Open-air	2	Charred	Costantini and Lentini 2003; Fiorentino <i>et al.</i> 2013; Marival 2003a, 2003b
49	à Villagio Leopardi	Open-air	2	Impressions	Evelt and Renfrew 1971; Costantini and Stancanelli 1994
North Italy					
50	Arene Candide	Cave	2	Impressions	Arroba <i>et al.</i> , 2017; Pearce 2013; Rottoli and Castiglioni 2009
51	Bazzarola	Open-air	3	Charred	Carra 2012; Carra and Ricciardi 2007
52	Cava Barbieri	Open-air	2	Charred	Costantini and Stancanelli 1994
53	Cecima	Open-air	3	Charred	Pearce 2013; Rottoli and Castiglioni 2009
54	Chiozza	Open-air	3	Impressions	Evelt and Renfrew 1971; Pearce 2013
55	à Fagninola	Open-air	3	Charred	Pearce 2013; Rottoli and Castiglioni 2009
56	Lugo di Grezzana	Open-air	3	Charred	Pearce 2013; Rottoli <i>et al.</i> 2015
57	Lugo di Romagna	Open-air	3	Charred	Pearce 2013; Rottoli in press; Rottoli and Pessina, 2007
58	Ostiano-Dugali Alti	Open-air	3	Impression	Nisbet 1995; Pearce 2013
59	Pavia di Udine	Open-air	3	Charred	Pearce 2013; Rottoli and Castiglioni 2009
60	Piancada	Open-air	3	Charred	Pearce 2013; Rottoli and Castiglioni 2009
61	Pizzo di Bodio	Open-air	3	Charred	Pearce 2013; Rottoli and Castiglioni 2009
62	Ponte Ghiara	Open-air	3	Charred	Carra 2012
63	à Rivaltella Cà Romensini	Open-air	3	Charred	Carra 2012; Marziani and Tacchini 1996

No.	Site	Type	Phase	Preservation status	Source (including C14 dates)
64	Sammardenchia	Open-air	3	Charred	Pearce 2013; Rottoli and Castiglioni 2009
65	Valler	Open-air	3	Charred	Pearce 2013; Rottoli and Castiglioni 2009
66	Vhò di Piadena-Campo Ceresole	Open-air	3	Charred	Castelletti and Maspero 1992; Pearce 2013
France					
67	Abri Roc Troué	Cave	4	Charred	Erroux 1992
68	Aspre del Paradís	Open-air	4	Charred	Bouby <i>et al.</i> 2016; Manen <i>et al.</i> 2001
69	Balma de l'Abeurador	Cave	3	Charred	Vaquier and Ruas 2009
70	Baume Bourbon	Cave	4	Charred	Erroux 1976
71	Baume d'Oulen	Cave	3	Charred	Erroux and Marinval unpublished; Bouby <i>et al.</i> 2016
72	Cova de l'Esperit	Cave	3	Charred	Marinval 1988
73	Font Juvénal	Cave	4	Charred	Marinval 1988
74	Font aux-Pigeons	Cave	4	Impressions	Marinval 1988
75	Fontbrégoua	Cave	4	Charred	Savard 2000
76	Grotte de l'Aigle	Cave	3	Charred	Erroux 1979
77	Grotte du Gardon	Cave	3	Charred	Bouby 2009
78	Grotte du Tai	Cave	3	Charred	Bouby <i>et al.</i> 2018; Manen <i>et al.</i> 2018a
79	Grotte Gazel	Cave	3	Charred	Bouby <i>et al.</i> 2016; Manen <i>et al.</i> 2018a
80	Grotte Saint Marcel	Cave	4	Charred	Erroux 1988
81	La Resclauza	Open-air	4	Impressions	Marinval unpublished; Bouby <i>et al.</i> 2016
82	Le Valladas	Open-air	4	Charred	Beeching <i>et al.</i> 2000; Martin unpublished
83	Mas de Vignoles X	Open-air	4	Charred	Bouby and Figueiral 2014
84	Mas Neuf	Open-air	4	Charred	Bouby and Figueiral 2014
85	Peiro Signado	Open-air	2	Charred	Marinval unpublished; Bouby <i>et al.</i> 2016; Manen <i>et al.</i> 2018a
86	Pendimoun	Cave	3	Charred	Binder <i>et al.</i> 1993
87	Périphérique Nord-Lyon	Open-air	4	Charred	Vital <i>et al.</i> 2007
88	Pont de Roque Haute	Open-air	2	Charred	Marinval 2007
89	Roc de Dourgne	Cave	4	Charred	Marinval 1993
Switzerland					
90	Tourbillon	Open-air	4	Charred	Martin 2015
91	La Gillière	Open-air	4	Charred	Martin 2015
92	La Planta	Open-air	4	Charred	Martin 2015
Spain					
93	Abric de la Falguera	Cave	3	Charred	Pérez-Jordà 2013
94	C/Reina Amàlia 31-33	Open-air	4	Charred	Antolín 2016
95	Can Sadurní	Cave	3	Charred	Antolín and Buxó 2011b, Antolín and

No.	Site	Type	Phase	Preservation status	Source (including C14 dates)
96	Can Sadurní	Cave	4	Charred	Schäfer, Submitted; Edo <i>et al.</i> 2011
97	Caserna de Sant Pau	Open-air	3	Charred	Buxó and Canal 2008
98	Coro Trasito	Cave	3	Charred	Antolín <i>et al.</i> 2018; Clemente <i>et al.</i> 2016
99	Coro Trasito	Cave	4	Charred	
100	Cova de l'Or	Cave	3	Charred	Pérez-Jordà 2013
101	Cova de les Cendres	Cave	3	Charred	Buxó 1997
102	Cova de les Cendres	Cave	4	Charred	
103	Cova de Sant Llorenç	Cave	3	Charred	Antolín 2016
104	Cova de Sant Llorenç	Cave	4	Charred	
105	Cova del Sardo	Cave	4	Charred	Antolín 2016
106	Cueva Bajondillo (Torremolino)	Cave	3	Charred	Peña-Chocarro and Zapata 2010; Pérez-Jordà <i>et al.</i> 2017
107	Cueva de los Mármoles	Cave	3	Charred	Peña-Chocarro <i>et al.</i> 2018
108	Cueva de los Murciélagos de Zuheros	Cave	3	Charred	Peña-Chocarro 1999
109	Cueva del Toro (IV)	Cave	3	Charred	Buxó 2004
110	Cueva de Nerja	Cave	3	Charred	Aura Tortosa 2005; Pérez-Jordà <i>et al.</i> 2017
111	Font del Ros	Open-air	3	Charred	Pallarès <i>et al.</i> 1997
112	Hostal Guadalupe	Cave	3	Charred	Peña-Chocarro <i>et al.</i> 2018
113	La Draga	Open-air	3	Charred	Antolín 2016; Antolín and Buxó 2011a; Buxó <i>et al.</i> 2000; Berrocal <i>et al.</i> In press
114	La Higuera	Open-air	3	Charred	Espejo Herreras <i>et al.</i> 2013
115	Los Arcos	Open-air	3	Charred	Peña-Chocarro <i>et al.</i> 2005
116	Los Castillejos	Open-air	3	Charred	Rovira 2007
117	Los Castillejos	Open-air	4	Charred	
118	Mas d'Is	Open-air	2	Charred	Pérez-Jordà 2005, 2013
119	Mas Cremat (Cingle del)	Cave	3	Charred	Pérez-Jordà 2010
120	Plansallosa	Open-air	4	Charred	Bosch <i>et al.</i> , 1998
121	Roca Chica	Cave	3	Charred	Peña-Chocarro <i>et al.</i> 2018
122	Tossal de les Basses	Open-air	4	Charred	Pérez-Jordà 2013

200 Table 3: Summary information on the sites included in the study

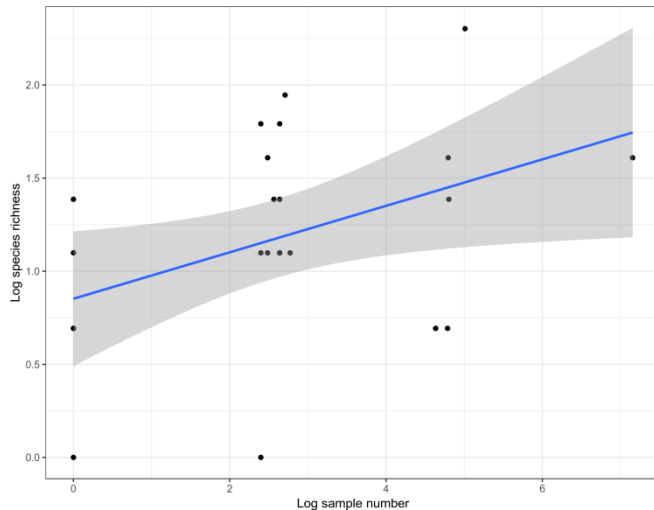
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202 Results

203 *Evaluating the patterns*

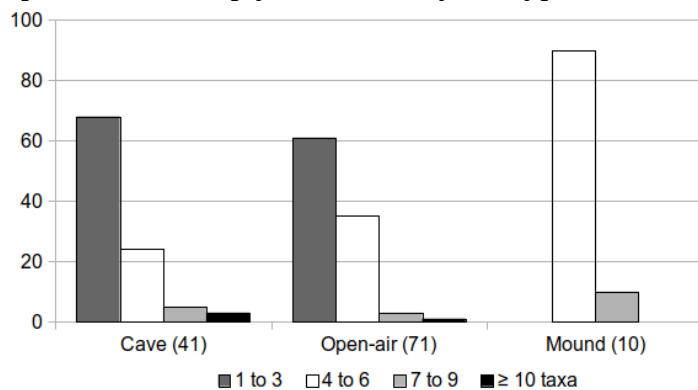
204 The analyses performed on sample numbers, preservation type and site type suggest that patterns of
205 crop distributions are not significantly biased by these external conditions. Figure 2 shows a weak
206 positive correlation between the number of samples and the number of taxa per site (Spearman's
207 rho: 0.458, $p < 0.05$), and that this association only accounts for a very small fraction of the total
208 variance (R^2 : 0.1467, $p < 0.05$). Therefore the number of samples cannot be described as a
209 significant bias against the variable presence of crop taxa by site. Neither was the diversity by phase
210 influenced by sites with records of crops solely from impressions. For instance, the majority of sites
211 with impressions comes from phase 2 (9 out of 13 sites), though this sample size remains limited

212 when compared to the number of sites with remains obtained through flotation for the same period
 213 (n=31). Simpson's index by phase was also calculated without records of impression (not shown
 214 here) but the results were almost identical to Figure 7, demonstrating that the diversity of crop
 215 packages is not strongly biased by the inclusion of impressions.



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236 Figure 2: Graphical representation of the relationship between sample numbers and the species richness per
 237 site (the number of species included in this study, not their absolute quantities), for the 57 sites with known
 238 sample numbers.

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240 The function of sites and possible variations in the use of crops may have influenced distribution
 241 patterns. A third of all sites were caves or rockshelters, the majority of which were from Phases 3
 242 and 4 (50%, n=34). However, Figure 3 demonstrates that caves/rockshelters did not, on average,
 243 contain fewer taxa or indeed a specific range of taxa compared to other site types. None of the site
 244 types form a distinct cluster in the correspondence analyses, which indicates that the distribution of
 245 crop taxa is not simply influenced by site type.



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258 Figure 3: Ubiquity values for the number of crop taxa found at the three types of sites

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260 Frequency charts and crop distribution

261 The 122 sites/phases are not evenly distributed between the three phases. Phases 2 and 3 have a
 262 similar amount of sites (n=40 and 43 respectively), but Phase 1 only has 14 and the last Phase 25.
 263 Discrepancies are also visible in their geographic distributions, with an absence of sites from coastal
 264 areas of Albania, Montenegro, western Italy and parts of southern Spain.

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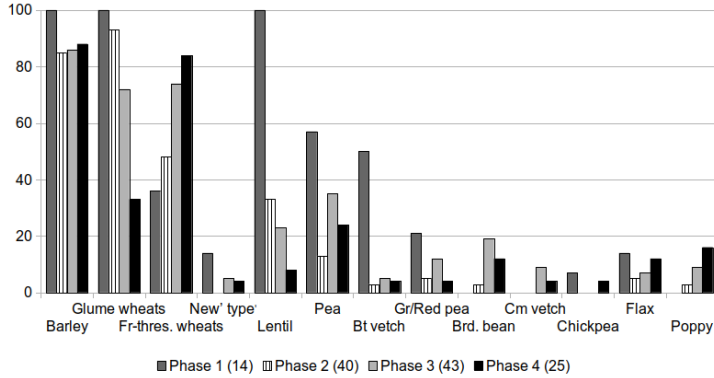


Figure 4: Ubiquity values by phase for the crops included in the study

Barley, emmer, einkorn, free-threshing wheat, lentil, pea, grass/red pea, bitter vetch and flax are present throughout the investigated area. Broad bean and poppy are not recorded from Greek sites, and common vetch is only present in North Italy (sites 59, 60 and 64) and Spain (sites 96 and 108). Chickpea has an unusual distribution, being only present at one of the earliest (site 10) and one of the latest (site 96) sites. The 'new' glume wheat is currently recorded from five sites. It is present in Greece (sites 5 and 7), northern Italy (sites 62 and 111) and Spain (site 96).

The glume wheats emmer and einkorn are ubiquitous in Greece but their frequencies are seen to drop with the westward expansion of farming. They are only recorded from a third of sites in France and Spain during the final Phase 4. The almost exact opposite pattern is evident for free-threshing wheat, which is present in 36% (n=5) of Greek sites (Phase 1) but 84% (n=21) of French and Spanish Phase 4 sites. It is during c.5500-5000 cal. BC in northern Italy, France and Spain when both hulled and naked wheats appear to have been as frequent.

Although barley is present at almost every site, its high frequency may be misleading compared to those of the wheat types. Unlike the latter it is not split into its hulled and naked forms, which may also show bigger spatio-temporal variations. Indeed, where possible, records of naked and hulled barley were accounted for (Figure 6), though results must be seen as preliminary until further identifications can be made on the finds of indeterminate barley that dominate the records. Nevertheless, the gradual decline in hulled barley and incline in naked barley between Phases 1 to 4 is comparable to the same trajectory evidenced in the wheats. Together the records suggest that hulled cereals were the main crops during the first two phases, after which an increasing preference for naked cereals is apparent.

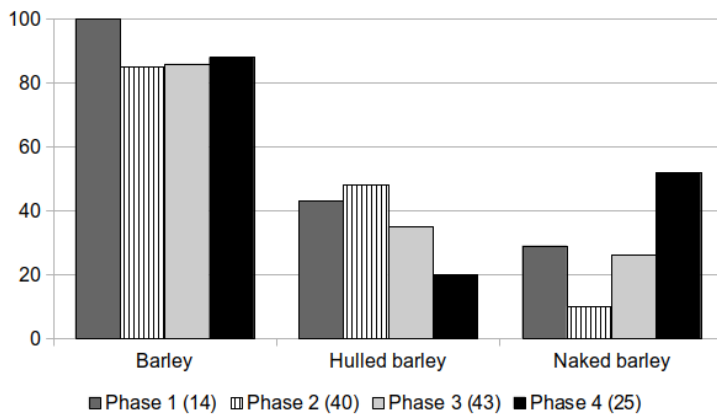


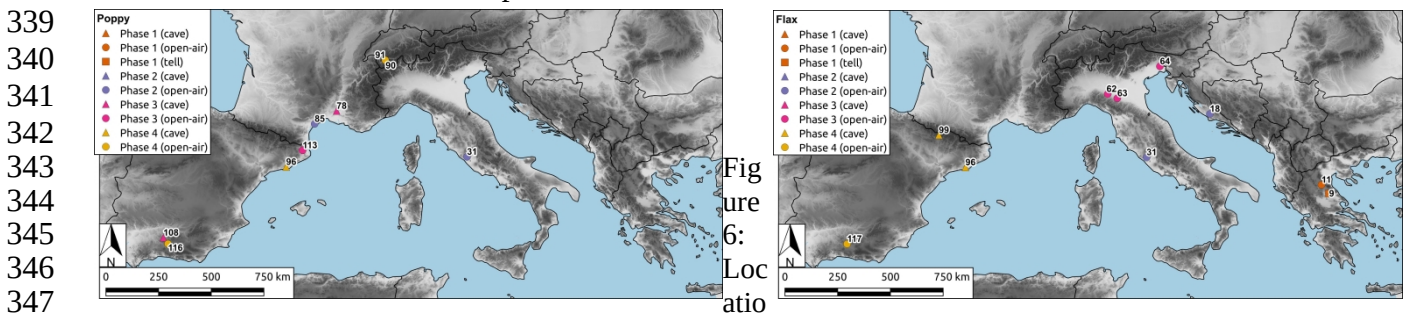
Figure 5: Ubiquity values by phase for hulled and naked barley

Lentil is present in all the Greek sites, and pea and bitter vetch in at least half of them. A sharp decline in frequencies is seen over Dalmatia and southern Italy, particularly for lentil (Phase 2).

318 Bitter vetch then remains rare throughout the Mediterranean whilst the frequency of lentil continues
 319 to drop, whilst that of pea shows a slight increase. Although lentil is ubiquitous at the earliest sites
 320 in Greece, by the time the westward expansion of farming has reached northern Italy, France and
 321 Spain pea is more frequent.

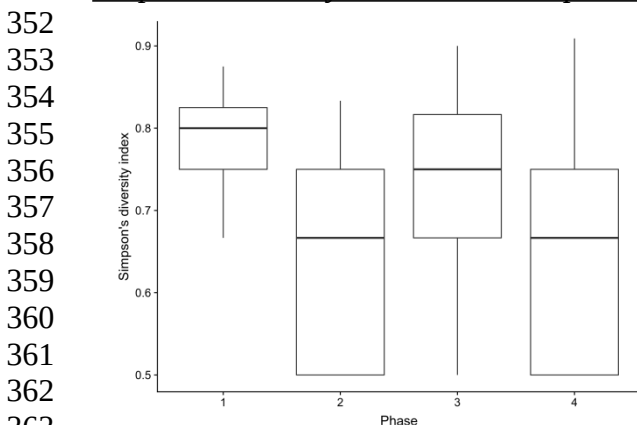
322
 323 The ubiquity scores for grass/red pea are not as high as those for pea but follow a similar pattern.
 324 The main difference is that grass/red pea is rarest from the latest sites. Broad bean and common
 325 vetch have relatively high frequencies during Phase 3. Indeed, broad bean is the third most frequent
 326 pulse in northern Italy, France and Spain during the first half of the sixth millennium BC. Although
 327 frequencies of broad bean and common vetch drop thereafter, they are less rare at the latest sites
 328 than at earlier sites from Dalmatia and southern Italy (Phase 2).

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 330 Flax is present in low frequencies throughout the westward expansion of farming, though it is rarest
 331 from sites dating to the sixth millennium BC (Phases 2 and 3). Although relatively rare, poppy is
 332 the only crop to show a continuous increase in frequency from Phase 2 onwards. It is present across
 333 the western Mediterranean where it is recorded from central Italy (site 33), France (sites 78 and 85),
 334 Switzerland (sites 90 and 91) and up to Andalusia in Spain (sites 96, 108, 116 and 117). It is worth
 335 stressing that both these taxa are likely to be under-represented, not only due to their propensity to
 336 burst when heated (Märkle and Rösch 2008) but also to their small size. The use of 1-2mm
 337 sieving/floating meshes for the recovery of plant remains creates a bias against small seeded crops,
 338 as well as cereal chaff and wild plant seeds.



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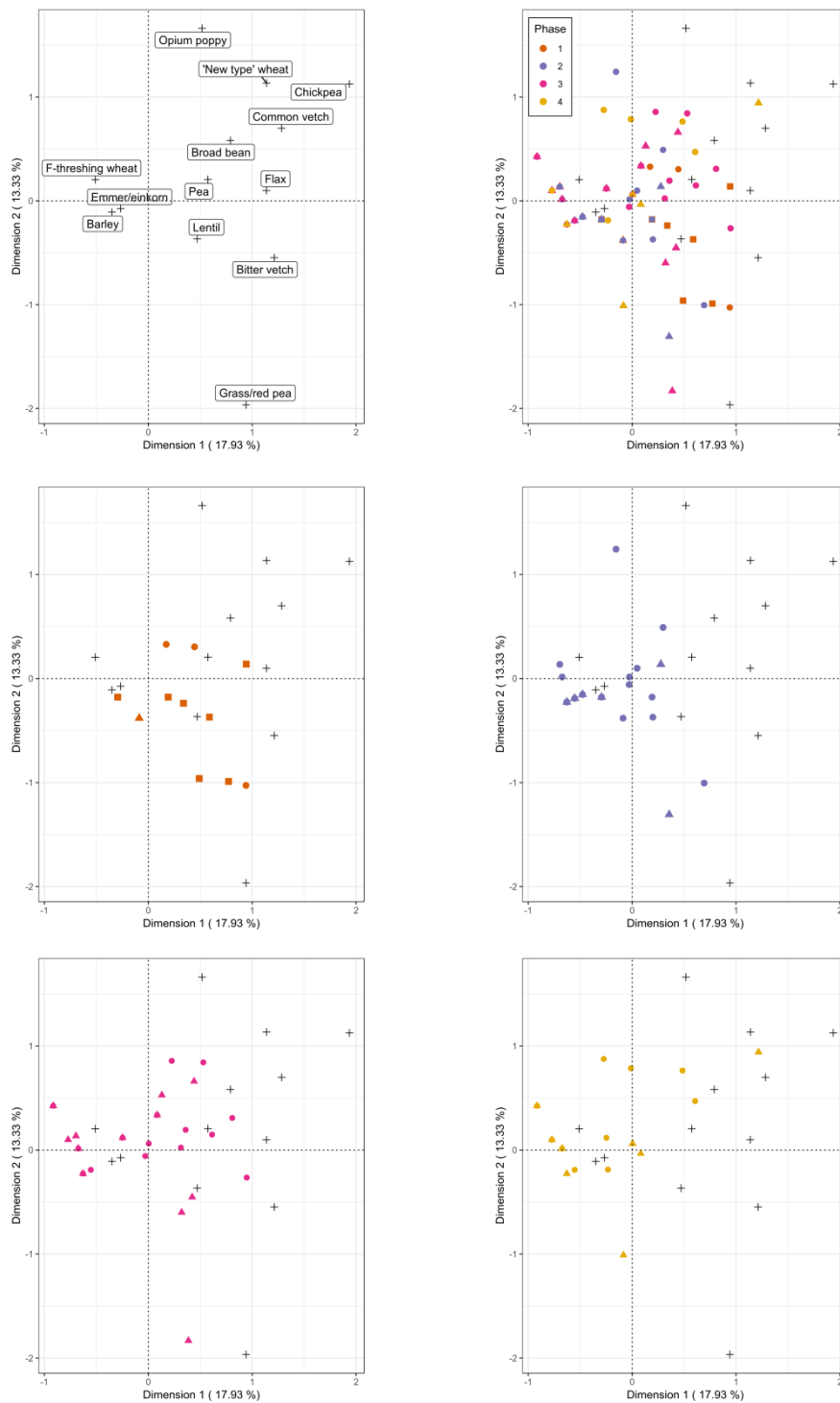
350
 351 Simpson's diversity index and correspondence analyses



364 Figure 7: Simpson's diversity index by phase

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 366 The highest diversity is seen in Phase 1, in which taxa are most evenly distributed along axes 1 and
 367 2 of Figure 8. All Phase 1 sites contain glume wheats, barley and lentil, and about half have pea and
 368 bitter vetch. Free-threshing wheat is less common (found in 36% of sites, n=5), as is grass/red pea
 369 (found in 21% of sites, n=3). Flax is found at Servia and Otzaki Magoula, the latter being the only
 370 site with chickpea. The most significant drop in diversity is seen between Phases 1 and 2. Phase 2

371 sites plot closer to the core Neolithic ‘package’ of glume wheats, barley, lentil and pea, with the
372 exception of a few outliers that contain rare finds of flax (sites 18 and 33), bitter vetch (site 38),
373 grass/red pea (sites 18 and 29) and two new crops: broad bean (site 42) and opium poppy from La
374 Marmotta on the West coast of Italy (site 33) (Figures 6 and 8). Barley and glume wheats continue
375 to be the most frequent crops, though the presence of free-threshing wheat increases by 12%. There
376 is a significant drop in the ubiquity scores of lentil (33%, n=13) and pea (13%, n=5) (Figure 4). The
377 diversity increases into Phase 3, with values of Simpson’s index of diversity spanning a large range.
378 Indeed, the sites of Phase 3 are the most evenly distributed across the CA space, showing not only
379 the highest range in diversity but also the largest geographical coverage (from North Italy to
380 Andalusia). The high ubiquity of barley is maintained, but free-threshing wheats are now as
381 common as hulled wheats (74%, n=32 and 72%, n=31 respectively). Whereas pea and grass/red pea
382 are more frequent than in Phase 2, the drop in the frequency of lentil continues and it is now found
383 in fewer sites than pea. Common vetch is found for the first time in Phase 3 (sites 59, 60, 64, 96 and
384 108), and broad bean has the highest ubiquity score of all phases (19%, n=8). Flax and opium
385 poppy are slightly more common than in the previous phase. Phase 4 has the same diversity index
386 and range of values as Phase 2, although the species richness and abundance differ. Barley is still
387 very common but the high ratio of hulled to free-threshing wheats evident in the first two phases is
388 reversed. Free-threshing wheat is now more frequent, as can be seen by the greater number of Phase
389 4 sites plotting in the top left quadrant of Figure 8. All the pulses are present, although their
390 ubiquity scores are reduced compared to Phase 3, particularly for lentils which falls by 15%. The
391 exception constitutes the only other find of chickpea from the research area (site 96). The
392 frequencies of flax and opium poppy are slightly higher than in Phase 3, and higher than those of
393 lentil, grass/red pea and both vetches.



394 Figure 8: Correspondence analyses of crops by phase. Crop labels and individual phases are presented
 395 separately for ease of viewing
 396

397 **Discussion**

398 Testing the patterns

399 The crop distribution patterns evidenced during the initial neolithisation of the Adriatic and north-
 400 western Mediterranean show spatio-temporal variations in both the range and the ubiquity of crops.
 401 In order to test the significance of these patterns, and before the latter can be discussed, phenomena
 402 which may have altered the true distribution of crop taxa were tested for. Figure 2 indicates that the
 403 range of crop taxa by site is not strongly influenced by the number of samples processed. Sample
 404 numbers were only available for 47% of sites, and volumes were rarely specified. Sample volumes
 405 and other details such as the description and number of features/contexts would have made for a
 406 more accurate comparison between sites. It is worth stressing that this result does not affirm that

407 comprehensive sampling strategies are not more likely to obtain representative assemblages of
408 archaeobotanical remains. Instead, it reassures that the variable presence (not absolute counts) of
409 the twelve crops of interest to this study does not appear to be a direct outcome of variable sample
410 numbers. Similarly, the inclusion of sites whose records of plant remains were obtained solely from
411 impressions within ceramic, plaster and/or daub, does not negatively affect the diversity of crop
412 packages by phase. The range of crops utilised at any particular site is likely to be under-
413 represented in the record of impressions, as pulses and seeds from oil and fibre crops are seldom
414 recovered. However, at the scale of our analyses, the inclusion of impressions does not appear to
415 bias against non-cereal crops, and allows for a more complete record of cereal finds. Results from
416 the analyses performed to evaluate the obtained patterns of crop distribution are specific to the scale
417 of our observations and our research agenda. They were limited by the available data, and we take
418 this opportunity to urge archaeobotanists to include in their reports and publications as many details
419 from excavations, sample strategies, recoveries and processing as possible. These factors can
420 severely bias the plant record, and lead to inappropriate analyses with erroneous interpretations.

421
422 Overall cave sites did not contain a restricted range of crops. The number of taxa found in
423 caves/rockshelters is comparable to that from open-air settlements (Figure 3), suggesting that the
424 same diet of cultivated plants is represented across both site types (*cf.* Antolín *et al.*, 2018).
425 Although aspects of cultivation and crop processing cannot be addressed here, the presence of
426 charred seeds in caves suggests crops were not (uniquely) transported as flour or fully cooked
427 foods. Raw crops may have been an easier and more durable product to transport if caves were only
428 seasonally or occasionally used. Conversely, large quantities of cereal remains could be an
429 indication of more perennial occupations and the cultivation of surrounding soils (Antolín *et al.*,
430 2018; Martin *et al.*, In press).

431
432 The range of taxa found at the Greek tell sites is very consistent. The rapid build-up of tell sites and
433 the dense accumulation of waste tend to lead to better preservation of charred botanical remains
434 (Bogaard and Halstead, 2015: 391; Valamoti, 2005). These hypotheses are supported by our results
435 which show that no fewer than four crop taxa were frequently recovered from the tell sites. Only
436 one site contained more than six crops: Otzaki Magoula with the only find of chickpea as well as
437 flax (present at only two Greek sites). Opium poppy, broad bean and common vetch were not found
438 at any of the Greek sites. The absence of the latter two crops is curious, considering they were
439 present at earlier sites in SW Asia (Caracuta *et al.*, 2016; 2017; Zohary *et al.*, 2012: 89-92).

440 441 Taxa frequencies and crop distributions

442 A spatio-temporal shift is evident from the preference of emmer, einkorn and hulled barley to free-
443 threshing wheat and naked barley. Records of naked barley are currently unsatisfactory although
444 our results suggest it became more common towards the end of the Early Neolithic. At some sites in
445 Andalusia and the region of Valencia (Spain) it was already an important crop during Phase 3 (sites
446 97, 108, 109, 116 and 121) (Pérez-Jordà *et al.*, 2017). Further East in Catalonia its cultivation was
447 not prominent until the Middle Neolithic (c.4500-3200 cal BC) (Antolín *et al.*, 2015). Free-
448 threshing wheat is initially thought to have been a minor crop, or a weed of glume wheats during
449 the first spread of farming through the Balkans and into southern Italy and central Europe (Bogaard,
450 2011: 38; Filipović & Obradović, 2013; Reed, 2015; Rottoli and Pessina, 2007; Valamoti and
451 Kotsakis, 2007). In northern Italy, during our Phase 3, free-threshing wheats become as frequent as
452 the glume ones. However, emmer and einkorn are still found in greater quantities and it seems that
453 free-threshing wheat remained insignificant (Rottoli and Castiglioni, 2009: 95-97). It is only in the
454 western Mediterranean where free-threshing wheat is found in greater frequencies and quantities
455 than the glume wheats (Peña-Chocarro *et al.*, 2018; Pérez-Jordà *et al.*, 2017). Glume wheats were
456 not completely abandoned but persisted at some sites (Antolín *et al.*, 2015; Zapata *et al.*, 2004).
457 Both tetraploid (*Triticum durum/turgidum*) and hexaploid (*T. aestivum*) free-threshing species have

458 been found, though the former is thought to have been the main wheat of the Early Neolithic along
459 the Iberian coast (Peña-Chocarro *et al.*, 2018).

460

461 Hulled cereals are more labour intensive but can grow in poor soils and are more resistant to pests
462 and diseases during growth as well as storage (Nesbitt and Samuel, 1996). Additionally, emmer and
463 einkorn straw are known to have been important products, being used as fuel, for thatching,
464 bedding, basketry and in numerous other ways (Peña-Chocarro and Zapata, 2014; Peña-Chocarro *et al.*,
465 2009). Free-threshing cereals are easier to process since the grains are not firmly encased within
466 their glumes. Pioneer farming communities tended to be small (e.g. Jover Maestre *et al.*, 2019;
467 Porčić, 2018), and lack of labour may have led to a preference in cereals that required less time and
468 energy to process. Although little information is available for the western Mediterranean,
469 entomological analyses suggest that cereal pests existed during the Early Neolithic in the Balkans
470 and central Europe, but then seem to disappear quite early in the neolithisation process
471 (Panagiotakopulu and Buckland, 2018). Contrary to the latitudinal gradient experienced during the
472 inland spread into Europe, the neolithisation of the Mediterranean would not have been subject to
473 significant climatic and seasonal variations. Consequently, and as emmer, einkorn and tetraploid
474 free-threshing wheats are all suited to a Mediterranean climate, farmers may have been able to focus
475 on crops that were better suited to their labour capacities. A reduced threat of pests, along with
476 possible adaptations in storage facilities (Prat *et al.*, Submitted), may also have encouraged a focus
477 on free-threshing wheat. The rise in naked cereals in the western Mediterranean pre-dates evidence
478 for larger settlements and woodland clearings (Badal García *et al.*, 1994; López Sáez *et al.*, 2011;
479 Jalut *et al.*, 2000), suggesting that the change in focus was not caused by a possible shift from an
480 intensive agricultural system to an extensive one based on a restricted range of cultivars. This is
481 also suggested by multi-proxy site-scale analyses such as at the lake dwelling site of La Draga,
482 where naked wheat is one of the main crops (Antolín *et al.*, 2014; Revelles *et al.*, 2014).
483 Nevertheless, naked cereals, together with hulled barley, may have facilitated large-scale cultivation
484 and the rise of settlement densities during the Bronze and Iron Ages, as they are easier/faster to
485 process and store for later re-distribution (e.g. Bouby, 2014; Alagich *et al.*, 2018; Alonso, 1999;
486 Alonso and Bouby, 2017).

487

488 Lentil and pea were part of the original suite of cultivated crops and were the two most common
489 pulses in the Neolithic diet of southern Europe and SW Asia (Zohary *et al.*, 2012: 77-87). They are
490 found during all four phases, although they become less frequent during the westward migration of
491 farming, particularly lentil. Modern cultivars of lentil are more tolerant of drought and heat, and
492 have a slightly longer growing season than peas (Andrews and McKenzie, 2007; Ecocrop). Summer
493 and particularly winter average temperatures during the Early Neolithic of the research area are
494 calculated to have been one to two degrees lower than today's (Mauri *et al.*, 2015: Figs 3 and 4),
495 perhaps creating climatic conditions which were more suitable to pea. The most important stage in a
496 crop's development is its flowering time, and in pulses flowering is sensitive to both temperature
497 (accumulated degree-days) and photoperiod (light duration, quality and radiant energy) (Craufurd
498 and Wheeler, 2009; Iannucci *et al.*, 2008; Weller and Ortega, 2015). Modern pea and lentil varieties
499 have the shortest growing seasons (pea more so than lentil whose cultivation area is more restricted;
500 Cubero, 1981: Fig.2), suggesting that their cultivation over other pulses may have been determined
501 by shorter growing seasons (they would still have had time to fruit if flowering had been delayed by
502 colder temperatures and/or shorter light hours). Nevertheless, it is surprising that some pulses (e.g.
503 broad bean) could be grown in southern Italy (site 42) but not in Dalmatia or Greece, and it seems
504 that climatic adaptations were not the only parameters to determine the selection of crops.
505 Historically, vetches and grass pea are known to have been grown for fodder (e.g. Bouby and Léa,
506 2006; Jones and Halstead, 1995: 103; Zapata *et al.*, 2004: 297). Despite their high protein content,
507 the seeds are toxic to humans and cannot be consumed without lengthy pre-treatments (Bouby and
508 Léa, 2006: 978). Their under-representation in the archaeobotanical record may be related to their
509 secondary economic role (as fodder) or to their lower importance as a food resource. Similarly, the

510 patchy appearance of chickpea may be due to its specific use as an animal food (Antolín and
511 Schäfer, submitted).

512

513 Findings of the ‘new’ glume wheat are becoming more common as the taxa is better represented
514 across research laboratories. Indeed, it’s overall low presence and complete absence from Dalmatia
515 and southern Italy (Phase 2) may be more an artefact of developments in the discipline than real
516 prehistoric crop use, as 60% of Phase 2 sites were published before the formal identification of the
517 ‘new type’ (Jones *et al.*, 2000; Kohler-Schneider, 2003). At present, our results suggest that the
518 ‘new type’ was probably present across the research area though rare in both frequency and
519 absolute quantities.

520

521 Oil plants are equally poorly represented in the studied area, which is most likely due to their
522 difficult preservation by charring (particularly poppy which can be abundant in waterlogged
523 deposits, such as at La Draga or La Marmotta) (Märkle and Rösch 2008; Wilson, 1984). Such a bias
524 in the representation of charred remains of oil plants has been repeatedly observed in the Neolithic
525 lakeshore settlements found in the Alpine foreland (Jacomet *et al.*, 1989). Despite this fact, there is
526 a significant difference between the distribution of flax and opium poppy in our maps. While flax is
527 present in sites located all across the studied region (except southern Italy), poppy is only found in
528 central Italy and the Western Mediterranean region. There are only very scanty references to the
529 presence of poppy in the Near East (Kislev *et al.*, 2004; Rössner *et al.*, 2018), leaving the question
530 open for a domestication of this crop in the western Mediterranean region (Salavert *et al.*, 2018).
531 This phenomenon could have started in central Italy and quickly spread westwards with the first
532 farming settlements found in the NW Mediterranean region. From there it could have spread
533 northwards (Salavert, 2010). Flax was virtually absent from the carpological record in the Iberian
534 Peninsula until relatively recently (Stika, 2005; Rovira, 2007), but it is more commonly found in
535 recent studies thus showing a possible methodological bias that may also account for its absence in
536 southern Italy. Both crops would have been demanding for early farmers and they may have been
537 grown at a very small scale like the small plots of poppy that have traditionally been grown in the
538 house gardens of South Tyrol (Schilperoord, 2017).

539

540 Exploring diversity

541 When a fraction of a farming population leaves to colonise new areas a drop in the diversity of their
542 crop package is expected (Conolly *et al.*, 2008; Drost and Vander Linden, 2018; Pérez-Lozada and
543 Fort, 2011). The loss of taxa through founder effects such as neutral drift and homophily is
544 unpredictable, as is the time required for these taxa to be re-introduced. The drop in the diversity of
545 crop packages during the first westward maritime spread mimics the same phenomena seen along
546 the inland route into Europe (Colledge and Conolly, 2007; Coward *et al.*, 2008; McClatchie *et al.*,
547 2014), where impacts of founder effects are hard to separate from those of rising latitudes and
548 climate change. Conversely, the latter two conditions are less likely to have resulted in the
549 abandonment of particular crops within the Adriatic and Mediterranean zone, suggesting that a drop
550 in diversity, observed in reducing values of Simpson's index, particularly in Phase 2, is more likely
551 an outcome of the process of migration. Changes in diversity indices between Phase 1 and 4 are
552 testimony to the arrhythmic nature of the migration (Guilaine, 2001), which included pauses for
553 establishing settlements and perhaps building networks with other communities across the
554 Mediterranean or further inland. For example, the presence of common vetch in Phase 3 may point
555 to destinations beyond Greece as the pulse is not known within the Adriatic or Aegean at that time
556 (Marinova and Valamoti 2014; de Vareilles, Unpublished). Similarly, broad bean is present in
557 Phase 2 but currently absent from the Greek Neolithic (Marinova and Valamoti, 2014). The signal
558 is further complicated by the increased rate of expansion into the western Mediterranean, and the
559 possible inclusion of fifth millennium sites into Phase 3 (see methodology). As such, we may not
560 have captured the very first migration out of southern Italy, but show the effects of regular, multi-
561 directional movements across the research area. The drop in Simpson’s diversity index in Phase 4

562 appears to illustrates the increased focus on a narrower range of cereals in the western
563 Mediterranean.

564

565 **Conclusion**

566 Changes in both the frequency of taxa and in the diversity of crop packages are evident during the
567 first maritime neolithisation of the Adriatic and north-western Mediterranean. The core group of
568 barley, wheats, lentil and pea are found throughout, though significant changes in the frequency of
569 hulled to naked cereals, and of lentil to pea occurred during the second half of the sixth millennium.
570 Other pulses, such as bitter vetch, grass/red pea and chickpea, appear to have been almost
571 abandoned, whilst some were introduced at later dates. Poppy seems to have held an important role
572 within the western Mediterranean agricultural system, although the precise locale of its
573 domestication currently remains enigmatic. Explaining such diversity is complicated, not least
574 because of the numerous natural and cultural factors that would have shaped the agrarian model.
575 Nevertheless, we suggest that climatic and environmental changes had minor consequences, and
576 that crop packages were more influenced by founder effects and the nature of maritime trajectories.
577 Our results support other archaeological evidence in depicting regional details and multi-directional
578 maritime trajectories, within a broader westward maritime expansion of the Neolithic.

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580 Collation of the dataset for this article has revealed large geographical gaps where further research
581 is clearly needed. Additionally, there is a large disparity between different countries in the levels of
582 published details. Presence/absence data is informative, and we concur with previous examples in
583 demonstrating that such data is suitable for documenting the dispersal of domesticated crops.
584 Nevertheless, our understanding of the first farming communities would be much enhanced by
585 improvements in the recording and publishing of archaeobotanical remains. Seeds should be dated
586 directly wherever possible, particularly the rarer pulses and oil crops. Our use of Simpson's
587 diversity index has shown that outcomes of random processes like founder effects can be tested for.
588 We urge researches to include diverse statistical approaches to test for processes known from
589 theoretical models, which might explain patterns evident in large-scale data. We acknowledge that
590 our results only stand true until further investigations refute them, though we hope that the 'big
591 picture' presented here encourages more detailed and robust data acquisition and manipulation.

592

593 **Acknowledgements**

594 This work was supported by the European Research Council project EUROFARM led by Dr. M.
595 Vander Linden (FP/20072013; ERC Grant no. 313716); the French National Agency of Research
596 project PROCOME led by Dr. C. Manen (ANR-13-CULT-0001-01); the FNS project led by Dr. L.
597 Martin (Grant no. PZ00P1_161307), and the Swiss National Science Foundation as part of a SNF
598 Professorship (PI: F. Antolín, Grant no. PP00P1_170515).

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Title

One Sea but many Routes to Sail. The early maritime dispersal of Neolithic crops from the Aegean to the western Mediterranean

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Authorship Statements

A. de Vareilles – Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analyses, Investigation, Methodology, Project administration, Writing: original draft, Writing: review and editing

L. Bouby - Data curation, Writing: review and editing

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M. Rottoli - Data curation, Writing: review and editing

M. Vander Linden - Data curation, Formal analyses, Funding acquisition, Methodology, Software, Validation, Visualization, Writing: review and editing

F. Antolín - Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analyses, Investigation, Funding acquisition, Methodology, Project administration, Writing: review and editing

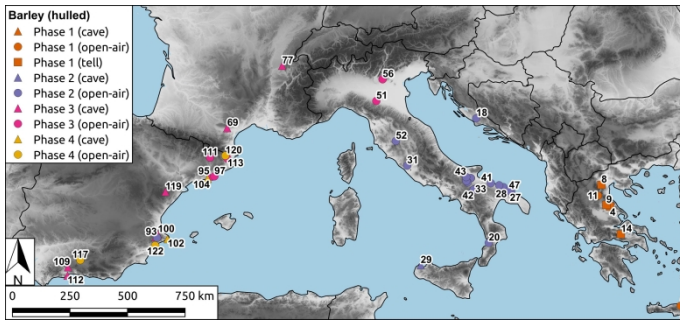


Figure 1S: Distribution map of sites with hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare* subsp. *vulgare*)

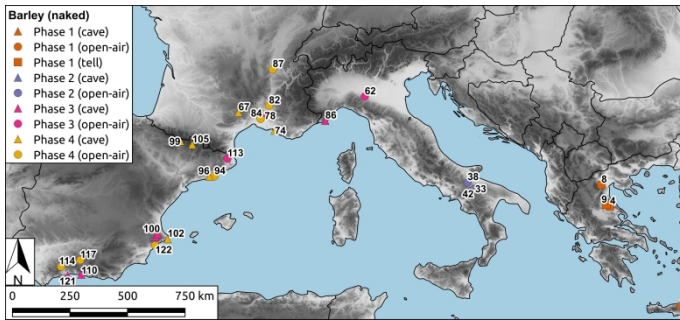


Figure 2S: Distribution map of sites with naked barley (*H. vulgare* var. *nudum*)

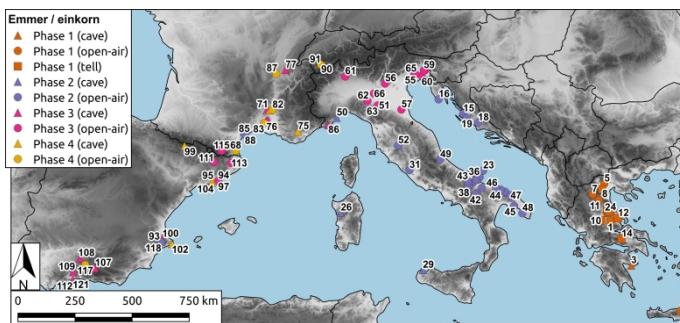


Figure 3S: Distribution map of sites with einkorn and/or emmer (*Triticum monococcum/dicoccum*)

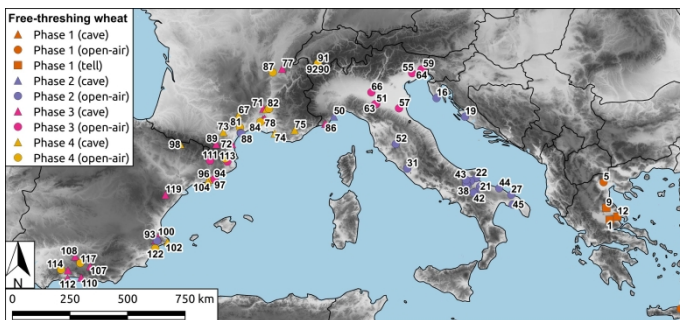


Figure 4S: Distribution map of sites with free-threshing wheat (*T. aestivum/durum*)

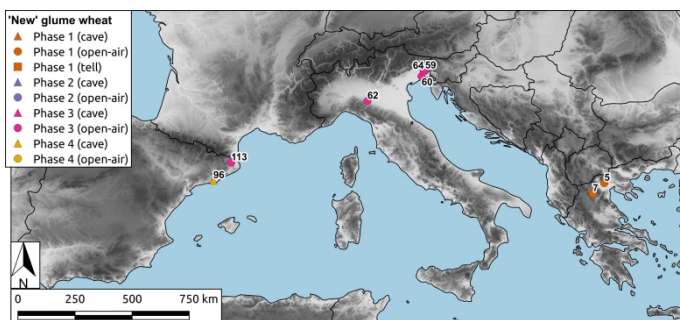


Figure 5S: Distribution map of sites with the 'new' glume wheat

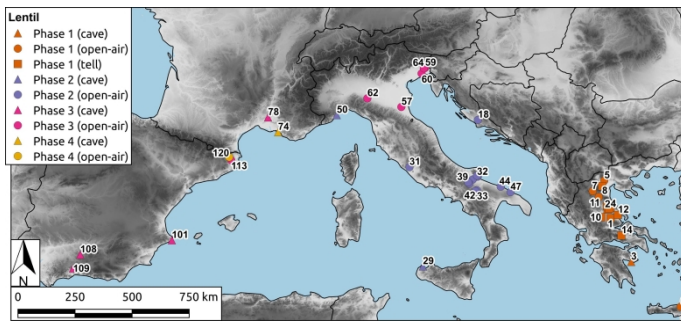


Figure 7S: Distribution map of sites with lentil (*Lens culinaris*)

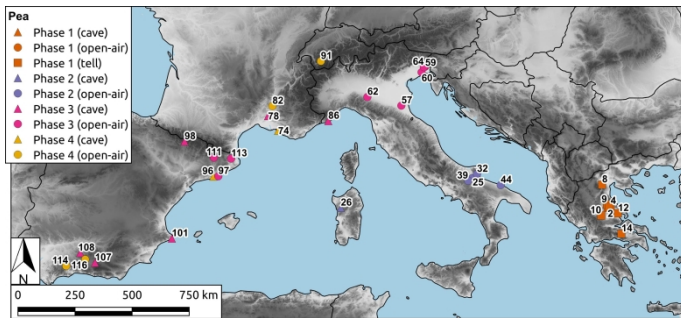


Figure 8S: Distribution map of sites with pea (*Pisum sativum*)

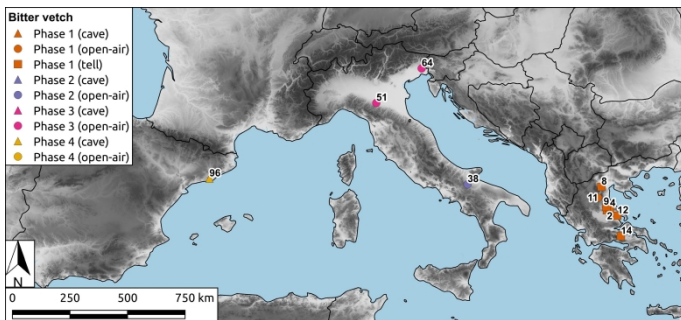


Figure 9S: Distribution map of sites with bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*)

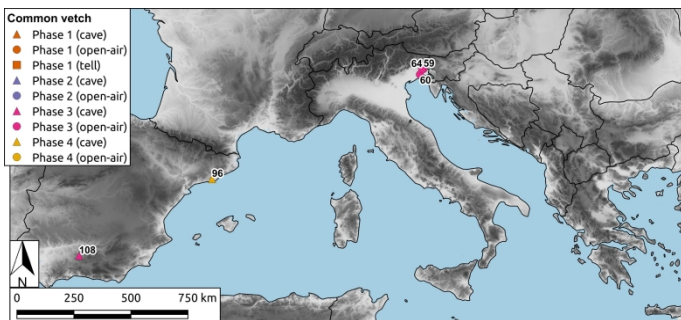


Figure 10S: Distribution map of sites with common vetch (*Vicia sativa*)

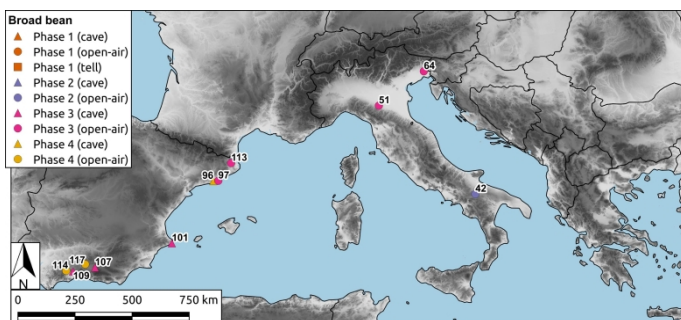


Figure 11S: Distribution map of sites with broad bean (*Vicia faba*)

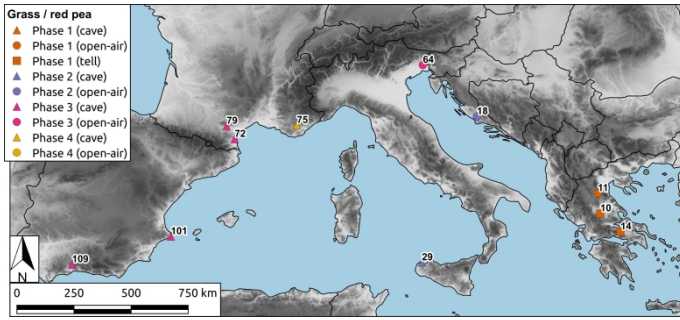


Figure 12S: Distribution map of sites with grass/red pea (*Lathyrus sativus/cicera*)

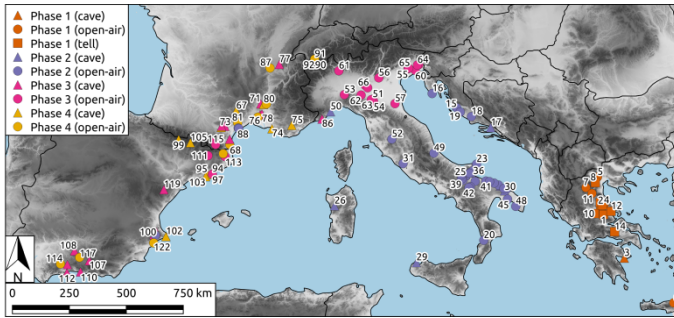


Figure 13S: Distribution map of all sites