



**Universitat de Lleida**

Document downloaded from:

<http://hdl.handle.net/10459.1/63056>

The final publication is available at:

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.crpv.2017.01.004>

Copyright

cc-by-nc-nd, (c) Académie des sciences, Elsevier Masson SAS, 2017



Està subjecte a una llicència de  
[Reconeixement-NoComercial-SenseObraDerivada 4.0 de Creative Commons](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/)

# Plant Resources from the Bronze Age and the First Iron Age in the Northwestern Arc of the Mediterranean Basin

## *Ressources végétales de l'Âge du bronze et de l'Âge du fer dans le Nord-Ouest du Bassin Méditerranéen*

Natàlia Alonso (corresponding author)

GIP-GRAPHIA, Departament d'Història, Fac. de Lletres, INDEST, Universitat de Lleida.

Pl. Victor Siurana, 1, 25003 Lleida, Catalonia, Spain, nalonso@historia.udl.cat

ORCID: 0000-0003-4081-0262

Laurent Bouby

CNRS-INEE, UMR 5059, Centre de Bio-Archéologie et d'Ecologie, Institut de Botanique

163 Rue Auguste Broussonet, 34090 Montpellier, France, laurent.bouby@umontpellier.fr

### Abstract

This paper updates the question of plant resources during the Bronze Age and First Iron Age in the Northwestern Mediterranean Basin. Among the cereals, six-row hulled barley is dominant throughout the territory whereas naked and hulled wheats take on greater or lesser roles from region to region. Millet cultivation developed during the Bronze Age and became widespread in the First Iron Age. Apart from cereals, pulses, oil species and fruit appear to be secondary. Results from the study of archaeobotanical remains on wetland sites, however, leads us to question this finding, as oil plants and fruit are much better represented in waterlogged conditions. The cultivation of vine began in the First Iron Age. In spite of a number of characteristics common to plants throughout the study area, regional differences, evident in the Bronze Age, seem to dissipate in the First Iron Age.

**Keywords:** Archaeobotany, Northwestern Mediterranean, Bronze Age, First Iron Age

### Résumé

Cet article propose une nouvelle synthèse concernant les plantes exploitées pour leur intérêt économique dans l'arc nord-occidental de la Méditerranée, au cours de l'âge du Bronze et du Premier âge du Fer. L'orge polystique vêtue s'impose dans tout le territoire alors que blés nus et vêtus prennent un rôle plus ou moins marqué en fonction des régions. La culture des millets se développe au cours de l'âge du Bronze et se généralise au Premier âge du Fer. La présence des légumineuses, des oléagineuses et des fruits apparaît secondaire. L'étude de sites de milieu humide conduit cependant à relativiser quelque peu ce constat, les oléagineuses et les fruits étant bien mieux représentés dans le matériel gorgé d'eau que parmi les restes carbonisés par rapport aux céréales. La culture de la vigne débute au Premier âge du Fer. Au-delà de ces caractéristiques communes, des différences régionales apparaissent clairement au cours de l'âge du Bronze. Celles-ci semblent largement se diluer au Premier âge du Fer.

**Mots clés:** Archéobotanique, Nord-Ouest Méditerranéen, Âge du Bronze, Premier âge du Fer

## 1. Introduction

The Northwestern Mediterranean is characterised by river valleys and lowlands bordered by saltwater lagoons (Fig. 1). Its two main rivers (and their tributaries) are the Rhône to the east and

the Ebro to the west. The Pyrenees massif, oriented east-west and roughly perpendicular to the coastline, is the main mountain range. The Albères Massif, its easternmost extension, varies in altitude from over 2000 m to sea level, and literally runs into the Mediterranean. This range divides the study area in two main sectors that roughly correspond to Catalonia in the south and Languedoc in the north.

This region's agrarian economy in historical times was Mediterranean with the most common crops in the plains being vine, olives, a variety of fruits and winter cereals (naked wheat, barley). This agricultural tradition can be traced to Neolithic settlements dating to 5800-5600 cal BC in Languedoc and to about 5500 cal BC in Catalonia (Antolín, 2016; Guilaine and Manen, 2007). These early populations already combined the cultivation of crops and livestock husbandry with the exploitation of natural resources. Most of the archaeobotanical record dating to the Neolithic consists of cereals: naked wheat (*Triticum aestivum/turgidum*), emmer (*T. dicoccum*), einkorn (*T. monococcum*), naked barley (*Hordeum vulgare var. nudum*) and hulled barley (*H. vulgare var. vulgare*) (Marinval, 1993; Buxó, 2007; Antolín, 2016; Antolín et al. 2015). Local crop traditions and specificities seem therefore to have their roots in Prehistory, 3,000 years before the Bronze Age.

The goal of this paper is to identify and study the continuities and changes and regional specificities of agricultural resources throughout the region inferred from archaeobotanical analyses from the end of the Neolithic and the beginning of Antiquity. This period corresponds to a period of about 1,500 years comprising the Bronze Age and First Iron Age. The end of the First Iron Age was chosen as the study's stopping point because it coincides with the arrival of the first Greek, Etruscan and Phoenician colonies in both Catalonia and Languedoc, settlements that ushered in Western Mediterranean's integration into the agricultural economy of Antiquity.

The study of the regional characteristics of agriculture is particularly interesting because, besides geographical differences, this territory was split up into different cultural units that varied over time and often experienced different external influences (Py, 2012). It must be noted that these archaeobotanical analyses present a number of challenges stemming for the most part from the spatial and temporal heterogeneity of the corpus, as well as the heterogeneous nature of the data.

## **2. Materials and methods**

The vast arc-shaped study area between the Ebro and Rhone Rivers includes both coastal and inland sites throughout what are currently the administrative districts of Languedoc-Roussillon (Gard, Lozère, Hérault, Aude and the Eastern Pyrenees departments) and Catalonia (Girona, Barcelona,

Tarragona and Lleida) (Fig. 1). Most of the archaeobotanical data comes from excavations carried out in the four following regions (Table 1): Languedoc, Pyrenees, Eastern Catalonia and Western Catalonian Plain.

The chronological framework includes all the sites dated between the early second millennium BC and the middle of the first millennium BC, roughly from 2100 to 500 BC. This timeframe corresponds to several chrono-cultural periods that vary in nomenclature and range from region to region:

- South of France: Early Bronze Age (2100-1700 cal BC), Middle/Late Bronze (1600-1400 cal BC), Late Bronze Age II-III (1400-725 cal BC), First Iron Age (750-500 cal BC).
- Eastern Catalonia: Initial Bronze Age (2300-1300 cal BC), Late Bronze Age (1350-750 cal BC), First Iron Age (700-550 cal BC).
- Western Catalonian Plain: Full Bronze Age (2100-1650 cal BC), Segre-Cinca Group I (1650-1250 cal BC), Segre-Cinca Group II (1250-1000 cal BC), Segre-Cinca Group III (1000-800/750 cal BC), First Iron Age (750-550 cal BC).

To facilitate the analysis, the sites were grouped in the following broad chronological periods:

- Period 1 (2100-1350/1250 cal BC): corresponding roughly to the Early/Middle Bronze Age, Initial Bronze Age, and Full Bronze/Segre-Cinca Group I.
- Period 2 (1350/1250-750 cal BC): corresponding roughly, depending on the area, to the Late Bronze Age or the Segre-Cinca Group II and III.
- Period 3 (750-600/500 cal BC): corresponding roughly to the First Iron Age.

The archaeobotanical samples were collected on 67 sites over the last several decades. Some of these sites have multiple levels of occupation with different chronological phases corresponding to the list of periods cited above (Fig. 1 and Table 2). Open settlements, sometimes fortified, are the most common type of site. Their number increases in the later chronological phases, while cave dwellings decline to only 9% in the First Iron Age (Fig. 2).

The methodology and the sampling systems also varied from site to site, giving rise, in some cases, to uneven results. In fact, 35% of the analyses are based on a single sample (for the whole site or for specific levels), while 40% of the analyses do not surpass 10 samples. The methods of sample processing generally allowed recovery of all types of remains. Yet, the size of the smallest sieving mesh was not specified in the publications of a dozen sites. Furthermore, fine sieving at ten sites was not undertaken leading to incomplete archaeobotanical registers. Most of the seeds and fruits recovered are preserved in a charred form. Yet well-preserved waterlogged remains at several

settlements in southern France (La Conque, La Fangade, La Motte, Port Ariane) afford a more complete view of the plant resources.

From the methodological perspective, this paper presents an overview of the plant taxa of economical value from the different studies. These plants are listed according to their ubiquity by chronological phase and by region (Table 3). We also conducted a deeper analysis on how the carpological data is structured chronologically and geographically based on a Correspondence Factor Analysis (CFA) following the method proposed by Bouby (2014). Yet to conduct this research and attain reliable results, it was necessary that the data set, gleaned from work of different researchers, be standardised and purged of "noise". Therefore, prior to the analyses, it was necessary to standardise the terminology (Colledge, 2001; Valamoti, 2004). For instance, if a certain species was common among the data (*e.g. Triticum dicoccum*), then other less precise identifications (*e.g. Triticum cf. dicoccum*) due, for example, to problems of preservation, were merged into the group so as to not create two different taxa.

The unit of analysis to carry out the CFA of the sites, was the chronological phase if the site were to contain more than one. Each phase brings together all the samples that analysed at the site for that peculiar chronological period. In order to obtain a representative range of data, only the phases with a minimum of 50 plant remains were retained (van der Veen, 1992), reducing the number of CFA assemblages from 84 to 52. By the same token, so as to assure the proper perception of the structure of the data, it was necessary to eliminate unusual taxa producing detrimental "noise". Therefore, only the plants present in at least 5% of the assemblages were retained (van der Veen, 1992; Valamoti, 2004) thus restricting the analyses to 32 taxa, of which five were supplementary (husks of hulled wheat, husks of undetermined wheat, grains of undetermined wheat and barley, seeds of cultivated pulses). These were, in fact, inaccurate identifications that could lead to bias due to the diversity of encoding methods of the different researchers.

Furthermore, the CFA could not be applied to the total number of remains since it reflects above all the quantity of samples carried out at the sites, as well as the random nature of preservation of plant remains (Pearsall, 2000). Therefore, the number of remains was converted into percentages and then transformed into scores of abundance according to a semiquantitative scale of four classes (1 = up to 2%; 2 = 2-15%, 3 = 15 to 50%, 4 => 50%), a method that allows a better comparison of the variety of types of sites and sampling procedures (Robinson, 2003; Bouby and Marinval, 2004; Jacomet, 2006).

A second approach was also conducted using a Principal Component Analysis (PCA) on data quantified by the Index of Relative Abundance (IRA) following the research of Hastorf et al.

(2005). The advantage is that it combines the concepts of taxa abundance and ubiquity into a single index. The PCA results are not presented because, on the one hand, the use of the IRA would reduce the range of data to only 29 assemblages, and secondly, the results confirm the CFA without offering more.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Preliminary regional and chronological approach

Based on the plants remains from the different sites, we can make headway into understanding the general changes of cultivated plants according to their regional and chronological ubiquity (Table 3).

##### 3.1.1. Languedoc

Although the number of sites with seed and fruit remains is scarce in Languedoc in the Early/Middle Bronze Age (Period 1), this period offers a variety of cereals such as hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), naked barley (*Hordeum vulgare* var. *nudum*), naked wheat (bread wheat or durum wheat, *Triticum aestivum* / *turgidum* ssp. *durum*) and hulled wheat (emmer, *Triticum dicoccum* and einkorn, *Triticum monococcum*). Hulled barley and hulled wheat are predominant during the Late Bronze Age and the First Iron Age, whereas naked wheat is equivalent to emmer. The Late Bronze Age (Period 2) sees the introduction of cultivated millet, especially common millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) followed by Italian millet (*Setaria italica*). The emergence of spelt (*Triticum spelta*), recovered in large quantities at Baume Layrou (Bouby et al., 2005), is noteworthy (Fig. 3). Naked barley (*Hordeum vulgare* var. *nudum*), in turn, is residual. Chaff, in particular that of emmer and einkorn, is also considerable throughout all the chronological phases. Barley and naked wheat chaff, on the contrary, are less common.

Broad bean (*Vicia faba*) is the only pulse that has been identified at Early/Middle Bronze Age (Period 1) sites, while this variety in the Late Bronze (Period 2) and First Iron Age (Period 3), although more common, is random, and apparently does not play an important role. Lentil (*Lens culinaris*) and grasspea (*Lathyrus cicera* / *sativus*) are probably the most common pulses. Flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) is found in the Early/Middle Bronze Age (Period 1) and the Late Bronze Age (Period 2) in the form of seeds and capsules. Furthermore, opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) is known in the Late Bronze Age (Period 2) and camelina (*Camelina sativa*) in the First Iron Age (Period 3). These last two taxa have been detected only in Languedoc partly due to their presence at wetland sites. In this region their ubiquity is similar to that of pulses.

Flax and poppy are represented mainly by waterlogged remains in wetland-contexts and rarely in a charred state on dry sites. The waterlogged remains date to the later phases of the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age on the banks of Thau Basin (Periods 1 and 2) (Bouby et al., 1999; Bouby, 2014).

Preservation due to wet conditions has also resulted in a wide variety of fruit in this area, notably many types that are not present elsewhere. This is the case of strawberry tree (*Arbutus unedo*), cornelian cherry (*Cornus mas*) and danewort (*Sambucus ebulus*). The most common fruit harvested, found mostly in charred conditions, are acorns (*Quercus* sp.), hazelnuts (*Corylus avellana*) and grapes (*Vitis vinifera*). They date specifically to the Late Bronze and First Iron Age (Periods 2 and 3). The charred acorns at Portal Vielh (Bouby, 2014) is the most remarkable fruit concentration (Fig. 3).

The dioecious wild grapevine is indigenous to Western Mediterranean and Europe and still present today in Languedoc (This *et al.*, 2001). The domestic form of grape is identified at La Cougourlude (550-475 BC) by morphometric analyses of the pips (Figueiral-Bouby, unpublished). Modern wild and domesticated grapevines bear pips of different shape which can be distinguished with a high degree of statistical confidence by geometric as well as traditional morphometry (Bouby et al., 2013).

### 3.1.2. Pyrenees

The data available for the Pyrenees is mainly from the Bronze Age. There are, in fact, only two sites with archaeobotanical remains from the First Iron Age. Cereals dominate in the Early to Middle Bronze Age (Period 1) and persist in later periods. They comprise for the most part hulled and naked barley, naked wheat and emmer. It is noteworthy that naked barley is just as common as other cereals, yet suffers a clear decline in the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 3). Millet, both common and Italian, is present from the Early/Middle Bronze Age (Period 1). Chaff, especially barley and emmer, are sporadic and less frequent in the Pyrenees than in Languedoc. The absence of chaff could be explained, at least in part, by the fact that sieving with a 0.5 mm mesh was not carried out systematically in the Pyrenees.

Traces of rye (*Secale cereale*) are recorded in the Late Bronze Age (Period 2) at Llo (Ruas et al., 2009). These remains, probably weeds, are, to date, the only indication of this cereal in the Late Bronze Age (Period 2). Spelt, in turn, is identified in Iron Age (Period 3) context.

Pulses are fairly diversified. Vetch (*Vicia sativa*) is only known in the Late Bronze Age (Period 2) of the Northwestern Mediterranean at Montou (Buxó, 2006). This single example, as in the case of

rye, is probably adventitious and not indicative of cultivation. The most characteristic Pyrenean legume is pea (*Pisum sativum*), known from the Early to the Middle Bronze Age (Period 1). It was recovered in a concentration (corresponding to storage) in Late Bronze Age context at Llo (Ruas et al., 2009) (Fig. 3).

Acorn is the most common fruit. A concentration from the First Iron Age (Period 3) was brought to light at Abri Sous les Rideaux (Bouby-Ruas, unpublished) along with hazelnuts and grapes. Wild apple was also known in the Early Bronze Age (Period 1) and is represented by a drupe at Cova 120 (Agustí et al., 1985).

### 3.1.3. Eastern Catalonia

Sampling took place fairly systematically in Eastern Catalonia, especially at sites of the First Iron Age (Period 3). As noted above, these sites are concentrated specifically in the central coastal region.

Cereals are well represented especially by hulled barley. Emmer and naked wheat are balanced from the point of view of ubiquity. As in the case of Languedoc, millet and Italian millet were introduced in the Late Bronze Age (Period 2). These two types of millet were, in fact, strongly represented at most sites of this area in the First Iron Age (Period 3), whereas naked barley and einkorn are rare.

Chaff is rarely recorded. It is only present in two cases (hulled barley and naked wheat). However, in the First Iron Age (Period 3), the quantity of emmer chaff increases. Yet its number is insignificant when compared, for example, to numbers in Languedoc.

The situation of legumes in this region is more complete. Although only bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*) has been identified during the Initial Bronze Age (Period 1), in the Late Bronze Age (Period 2), and especially during the First Iron Age (Period 3), legumes increase in number and diversity. The most important are peas and especially lentils, recovered in large concentrations at Turó de la Font de la Canya (López 2004) (Fig. 3). Faba and vetch, in turn, have only been identified in this area at First Iron Age sites. The same applies to alfalfa (*Medicago sativa*) that in the Late Bronze Age is only identified in this area.

Oil plants are only represented by flax, a species that is documented for the first time in the First Iron Age. Among the fruit is mastic (*Pistacia lentiscus*) and acorns. This last species, in particular, is still most commonly represented by concentrations from the Initial Bronze Age (Period 1) at Can Roqueta (Rovira and Buxó, 1999) and in the First Iron Age (Period 3) at Barranc de Gàfols



(Cubero, 1998).

One of the most interesting facts observed in Eastern Catalonia, which we will explore further in this study, is the progressive increase of the vine, both in ubiquity - it is present in more than 50% of the First Iron Age sites – and in important concentrations dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC at Turó de la Font de la Canya (López, 2004). This fruit is present not only in the form of pips, but also as fragments of pedicels and mesocarps, waste products indicative of wine making (Fig. 3).

#### 3.1.4. Western Catalonian Plain

This area, the least extensive and with the lowest number of sampled sites, provides nonetheless a wide variety of cereals from the middle of the second millennium. Hulled barley, naked wheat and emmer, and large numbers of millet and Italian millet are recovered at sites from the Segre-Cinca Group I (Period 1). This balance between cereals will remain almost unchanged until the First Iron Age (Period 3). Naked barley, however, has not been identified and einkorn is residual. Chaff of hulled barley and, above all naked wheat, is well represented (Fig. 3).

Pulses in the form of lentils and peas, on the contrary, are rare. It must be noted that the few finds are very poorly preserved making this family difficult to determine when recovered among other common unidentifiable legumes. The only oil plant is flax, identified at Minferri, a site dating to the Full Bronze Age (Period 1) (Alonso et al., 2006) (Fig. 3). The principal fruit is acorn, recovered in a concentration as is often the case, at Tozal de los Regallos (Alonso, 1999). Mastic and grapes stand out among the other fruit. Mastic, in particular, dates to the Full Bronze Age (Period 1) and may in fact have no relation with fruit consumption as its branches are known to have been collected for firewood (Alonso et al., 2015).

### 3.2. Results of the Correspondence Factor Analysis (CFA)

As noted above, a Correspondence Factor Analysis (CFA) was carried out so as to observe the chronological and geographical structure garnered from the carpological data from 52 sites and 32 taxa following the standards explained above. Compared to the results of the ubiquity of taxa presented above, CFA is rooted on abundance values allowing a comprehensive analysis of the data from all phases avoiding preconceptions regarding the chronological or geographical grouping of sites.

The first two axes of the CFA expressed 23.8% of the inertia. The sites are first organised according to geography, and secondly according to chronology. (Fig. 4).

Axis 1 demarcates the sites of the Pyrenees (linked to the positive pole) from those of Languedoc, (in the negative space). The Pyrenees sites are associated with naked barley, naked wheat and pea, whereas those in Languedoc are linked to cereal chaff (mainly hulled wheat), millet, Italian millet and poppy. Axis 2 initially marks a difference between Languedoc (in the positive space) and the Western Catalonian Plain (attracted to the negative pole). This last region is linked to mastic, naked wheat, hulled barley chaff, Italian millet and flax. Eastern Catalonia is halfway between the Western Catalonian and the Pyrenees/Languedoc group. In sum, a fairly clean geographic north-east/south-west gradient stands out by the spread of sites around the origin of the graph. Axis 3 (8.85% of inertia, not seen in the figure) can be added to this design since it reveals a disparity between the Western Catalonian Plain (associated with naked wheat, lentils and fig) and the Pyrenees and Languedoc (for the most part linked to acorn, hazelnut, poppy and fava).

The effect of chronology is added to that of geography in the distribution of the sites in the first CFA plot. There is a gradient from ancient to recent sites that stretches from the positive to the negative pole of axis 1, and from the negative to the positive pole of axis 2. Therefore, the chronological effect is not identical from one region to another. In Languedoc and the Pyrenees – and also perhaps Eastern Catalonia - Period 1 is mostly linked to naked barley and naked wheat, while other plants such as hulled wheat, millet and poppy in particular are gaining in importance over time. Yet there is a lag between these two regions as seen by earlier innovative developments taking place in Languedoc. Chronology in Catalonia is marked on axis 2. In Eastern Catalonia the situation during the earliest phase is different from that of the North, especially because of the lack of naked barley. Yet the trend is for the model to proceed in the direction of that of Languedoc. The Western Catalonian Plain also reveals a different situation, especially due to the absence of naked barley and the early arrival of millet. During the First Iron Age (Period 3), its tendency is to approach the situation of Eastern Catalonia and Languedoc.

#### **4. Significance, distribution and chronological changes of plant resources in northwestern Mediterranean arc**

From the data obtained in this study we can infer that the Correspondence Factor Analysis provides interesting information about early plant exploitation in terms of spatial organisation and chronological changes.

To begin with, the overall results corroborate the important role of cereals compared to that of other taxa such as pulses and fruit. Of course, it must be borne in mind that charring favours the preservation of cereals. Furthermore, there is a marked increase in the use of hulled barley

throughout the territory, while naked barley, characteristic of the Pyrenees and Languedoc in the Period 1, suffers a clear decline toward the beginning of the first millennium. A similar situation occurs in Eastern Catalonia, although naked barley is not as prevalent in the earlier chronological phases. The Western Catalonian Plain, in turn, is characterised by its absence.

An increase in hulled wheats throughout the Bronze Age and the First Iron Age is generally recognised throughout all the territory. These cereals, especially emmer, in Languedoc are most often represented by chaff. Naked wheat is characteristic of the Pyrenees and the Western Catalonian Plain where its chaff, in addition to that of hulled barley, is also abundant. Einkorn is residual and other taxa such as spelt and rye appear sporadically in Languedoc and in the Pyrenees.

In spite of the frequency of cereal chaff at some sites and in certain areas, it is not homogeneous in the archaeological record. This lack of uniformity may be related to the taphonomy of the remains and their means of processing (parching or not, carried out in bulk outside of the settlement or little by little day-by-day indoors, etc) and/or the use of their by-products after harvesting. In addition, an important factor in the question of the preservation of chaff remains depends on their archaeological and sedimentary contexts. Charred remains can, at times, be abundant and will increase in number in waterlogged conditions.

Millet and Italian millet, spring cereals, are introduced from the middle of the second millennium in the Western Catalonian Plain and in the Pyrenees (Period 1), and from the Late Bronze Age (Period 2) in Eastern Catalonia and Languedoc. Although these crops are abundant in the Western Catalonian Plain in the Segre-Cinca Group I phase (Period 1), it is in the First Iron Age (Period 3) that they will spread throughout all of the territory.

Pulses, in general, can be considered complementary, since, with a few exceptions, they are neither ubiquitous or numerous. However several types mark differences between geographical areas. This is the case of the pea in the Pyrenees and the fava in the Pyrenees and Languedoc. Nonetheless, the largest diversity of pulses occurs during the First Iron Age, especially in the Eastern Catalonia. Yet the lentil remains the most frequent and abundant throughout the whole archaeological record.

The only oil plant present throughout the different regions is flax. It is known since the second millennium in the Western Catalonian Plain and in Languedoc. Due to preservation, it is more abundant and diversified on wetland sites in Languedoc where it coincides with the poppy.

Regarding fruit, acorns appear to stand out in all the different regions and certain concentrations can be attributed to storage. The thirteen fruit taxa reveal their great diversity and that fruit harvesting played an important role in the economy of the early populations. Due to conditions of preservation, fruits are probably under-represented at dry sites. Wetland sites along Languedoc's coast, for

example, provide a more accurate portrait than charred finds from dry sites, particularly in the case of fig, mastic, bramble, elder and grape.

Two species, olive and grapevine, are particularly important due to the value their cultivation will attain during the Iron Age. Olives in the First Iron Age (Period 3) are only known at two settlements with evidence of Greek influence, notably San Martí d'Empúries and Illa d'en Reixach (Buxó, 2008). Although archaeobotanical remains of olives are scarce, it cannot be ruled out that they were cultivated at this time.

Data regarding grapevine are now more abundant and informative. The number of charred grape pip finds is progressively increasing attaining ubiquity values comparable to those of minor cereals (millet) during the First Iron Age (Period 2). This points to a growing economic significance of vine. The presence of this fruit from the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC in large quantities at indigenous sites with Phoenician influences such as Turó de la Font de la Canya or Sant Jaume/Mas d'en Serrà (López et al., 2011), and/or in association with certain seeds with clear domestic morphology notably at Cougourlude or at Sant Martí d'Empúries (Figueiral and Bouby, unpublished; Buxó, 2008) indicates that its cultivation already played a significant role at the time.

Other important concentrations of *Vitis* in the Ebro Valley, several hundred kilometres inland from the study area, date to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. This is the case of Cerro de la Cruz (Zaragoza) (Pérez et al., 2007) and Alto de la Cruz (Navarra) (Cubero, 1990). These examples serve as evidence of the rapid spread of viticulture in the Iberian Peninsula. These finds reinforce the idea that viticulture was already established in the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the region and that its increase in ubiquity, although not in all cases quantified by a high number of remains, can correspond to its general expansion.. This spread varies in time from site to site. Grape cultivation in southern France, notably in the Rhone Valley and the coastal plain of Languedoc, for example, is not recorded before the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> or possibly the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Py and Buxó, 2001; Bouby, 2014; Bouby et al., 2014).

Grapevine cultivation also marks a turning point in the development of agriculture. In fact, throughout all the Bronze Age, despite several innovations, the agricultural system remained basically unchanged. Fruit trees, initially in the form of grapevines and later olive trees (and fig), are species with a delayed return that break with an agricultural rhythm that, up to then, was rooted only on obtaining immediate returns, in the form of grains and pulses. The addition of arboriculture by the northwestern Mediterranean population therefore implies long-term ties to their territory because these types of crops require perennial plantations.

The question of whether the cultivation and domestication of grapes resulted from the dynamics of indigenous agriculture or as a consequence of Mediterranean colonial influence is compelling. The

archaeological record at this stage cannot provide a clear answer. Nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out that the tradition of indigenous arboriculture was exploited by colonial contacts for wine production.

The increase in relevance of viticulture, together with the expansion of millets, and the consolidation of hulled barley, suggests a uniformity of taxa cultivated in the northwestern Mediterranean arc between the Ebro and Rhone Rivers during the First Iron Age. As gleaned from the CFA analysis, the sites of this period are grouped in the centre of the graph, while differences between the different regions are much more pronounced during the Bronze Age (Fig. 4).

The chronological changes in crop plants that can be tracked from one micro-region to another in Catalonia and Languedoc are in accordance with the global picture of crop plants at the Western Mediterranean and European scale. Most of the changes identified during the Bronze Age in these southern regions, such as the spread and proliferation of millets, spelt, hulled barley and oil plants, take place earlier and are more pronounced to the north of the Alps as evidenced in Switzerland and Northeastern France (e.g. Stika and Heiss, 2013; Bouby, 2014; Bouby et al., in press). On the other hand, there is no evidence of cultivation of fruit trees in these regions north of the Alps during the Bronze Age and the First Iron Age.

The situation to some extent in Italy seems to mirror that observed in Catalonia and Languedoc with the occurrence of similar changes (Castelletti *et al.*, 2001; Fiorentino *et al.*, 2004; Mercuri *et al.*, 2006, 2015; Stika and Heiss, 2013). Spelt seems to play a significant role only in the Alpine area of northern Italy, while millets appear to increase in prominence during the First Iron Age. As to the role of emmer, there seems to exist a similarity between northern Italy and southern Mediterranean France (Bouby, 2014).

Although the picture is not entirely clear, grape cultivation appears to have been introduced earlier in Italy than in southern France or even Catalonia. Certain authors have even proposed that it was cultivated in the Northern Italy as early as the Bronze Age (Mercuri *et al.*, 2006 ; Bellini *et al.*, 2008). Hard evidence from the morphology of pips leads to suppose it was also cultivated in Sardinia about 1300 BC (Orrù *et al.*, 2013).

Turning to the situation of cereals in the South, that is, in the region of Valencia and Andalusia, there are little changes as naked wheats and barleys remain predominant. A transition from naked barley to hulled barley also takes place in the Bronze Age. This change is not synchronous with that of the region of Valencia as it disappears in the middle of the second millennium, while in Andalusia it remains an important crop until the Late Bronze Age. However, after this period, naked barley also vanishes (Pérez, 2013; Rovira 2007; Stika and Heiss, 2013).

Emmer, although present, begins to wane and there is no evidence of spelt. Millet, meanwhile, is very rare until the First Iron Age appearing sparsely in Andalusia (Rovira, 2007) and unknown in the region of Valencia until the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC (Pérez, 2013).

A profound transformation of the agrarian structure is only discernible from the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC along the Mediterranean coastline south of the Ebro. This is marked mainly by the ~~important~~ pivotal introduction of fruit trees, for the most part grapevine, fig, olive as well as pomegranate and the apple-pear. This indicates a diversified fruit production tightly linked to the Phoenician colonial presence (Pérez, 2013, 268).

### **Acknowledgements**

The authors express their gratitude to D. López, N. Rovira, R. Buxó, I. Figueiral and P. Marinval for providing unpublished data. They also thank M.-P. Ruas and D. López for photographs of Llo and Turó de la Font de la Canya. The translation is by T. J. Anderson. Natàlia Alonso's participation is in the framework of projects HAR2016-78277-R and SGR2014-273.

### **Bibliography**

- Agustí, B., Alcalde, G., Burjachs, F., Buxó, R., Colomer, A., Juan-Muns, N., Oller, J., Ros, M.T., Rueda, J. 1987. Dinàmica de la utilització de la Cova 120 per l'home en els darrers 6000 anys, Sèrie Monogràfica 7, Centre d'Investigacions, Arqueològiques de Girona, Girona.
- Alonso, N. 1995. Estudi de llavors i fruits dels jaciments arqueològics de la Cova d'Anes (Prullans, la Cerdanya) i de la Cova de les Portes (Lladurs, el Solsonès) i el seu context pirinenc, Actes del Xè Col.loqui Internacional d'Arqueologia de Puigcerdà, pp. 97-104.
- Alonso, N. 1999. De la llavor a la farina. Els processos agrícoles protohistòrics a la Catalunya Occidental, Monographies d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, 4, C.N.R.S. éditions, Lattes.
- Alonso, N. 2008a. Crops and agriculture during the Iron Age and late antiquity in Cerdanyola del Vallès (Catalonia, Spain), *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 17.1, pp. 75-84.
- Alonso, N. 2008b unpublished. Informe preliminar de las muestras arqueobotánicas de semillas y frutos de La Codera (Alcolea de Cinca, Huesca).
- Alonso, N., Buxó, R. 1991. Estudis sobre restes paleocarpològiques al Vallès Occidental: primers resultats del jaciment de les Sitges UAB (Cerdanyola del Vallès, Vallès Occidental), *Limes*, 1, pp. 18-35.
- Alonso, N., Buxó, R. 1995. Agricultura, alimentación y entorno vegetal en la Cova de Punta Farisa (Fraga, Huesca) durante el Bronce medio, *Espai/Temps*, Quaderns del Departament de Geografia i Història, Universitat de Lleida, Lleida.
- Alonso, N., Canal, D. 2009. Les restes arqueobotàniques de llavors i fruits en els nivells protohistòrics i romans d'Olèrdola, In: Molist, N. (Ed.), *La intervenció al sector 01 del Conjunt Històric d'Olèrdola. De la prehistòria a l'etapa romana (campanyes 1995-2006)*, Monografies d'Olèrdola, 2, Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, Barcelona, pp. 477-478.
- Alonso, N., Buxó, R., Rovira, N. 2007. Recherches sur l'alimentation végétale et l'agriculture du site de Port Ariane: étude des semences et fruits, *Lattara*, 20, pp. 219-250.
- Alonso, N., Gené, M., Junyent, E., Lafuente, A., López, J. B., Moya, A., Tartera, E. (Coord.) 2002. Recuperant el passat a la línia del Tren d'Alta Velocitat. L'assentament protohistòric, medieval i d'època moderna de El Vilot de Montagut (Alcarràs, Lleida), GIF-Generalitat de Catalunya, Lleida.

- Alonso, N., Junyent, E., Lafuente, A., López, J. B., Moya, A., Tartera, E., Vidal, A. (Coord.) 2006. Agricultura i poblament a la plana occidental catalana durant l'edat del bronze, Condicions de vida al món rural, Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, Lleida, pp. 711-726.
- Alonso, N., Junyent, E., Lafuente, A., López, J.B. 2008. Plant remains, storage and crop processing inside the Iron Age fortress of Els Vilars d'Arbeca (Catalonia, Spain), *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 17, Suplement 1, pp. 149-159.
- Alonso, N., Pérez, G., Rovira, N., López, D. 2015. Gathering and consumption of wild fruits in the east of the Iberian Peninsula from the 3rd to the 1st millennium BC, *Quaternary International*, 404, pp. 69-85.
- Antolín F. 2016. Local, intensive and diverse? Early farmers and plant economy in the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula (5500-2300 cal BC), *Advances in Archaeobotany 2*, Barkhuis Publishing, 511p.
- Antolín F., Jacomet S., Buxó R. 2015. The hard knock life. Archaeobotanical data on farming practices during the Neolithic (5400-2300 cal BC) in the NE of the Iberian Peninsula. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 61, pp. 90-104.
- Bellini C., Mariotti-Lippi M., Mori Secci M., Aranguren B., Perazzi P., 2008. Plant gathering and cultivation in prehistoric Tuscany (Italy). *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 17, Sup. 1 : 103-112.
- Bouby L. 2010. Agriculture dans le Bassin du Rhône du Bronze final à l'Antiquité. Agrobiodiversité, économie, cultures, Thèse de Doctorat, Toulouse, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 3 volumes, 963 p.
- Bouby L. 2014. L'agriculture dans le Bassin du Rhône du Bronze final à l'Antiquité. Agrobiodiversité, économie, cultures, Toulouse, Archives d'Ecologie Préhistorique, 335 p.
- Bouby L., Marinval P. 2004. Fruits and seeds from Roman cremations in Limagne (Massif Central) and the spatial variability of plant offerings in France. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 31, pp. 77-86.
- Bouby L., Figueiral I., Bouchette A., Rovira N., Ivorra S., Lacombe T., Pastor T., Picq S., Marinval P., Terral J.-F. (2013). Bioarchaeological insights into the process of domestication of grapevine (*Vitis vinifera* L.) during Roman times in Southern France. *PLoS One*, 8(5), e63195.
- Bouby L., Marinval P., Terral J.-F. 2014. From secondary to speculative production? The protohistorical history of viticulture in Southern France. In : Chevalier A., Marinaeva E., Peña-Chocarro L. (dir.), *Plants and people: choices and diversity through time*. Oxbow Books, Londres & Philadelphie, pp. 175-181.
- Bouby L., Fages G., Treffort J.-M. 2005. Food storage in two Late Bronze Age caves of Southern France, pp. palaeoethnobotanical and social implications. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 14, pp. 313-328.
- Bouby L., Leroy F., Carozza L. 1999. Food plants from late Bronze Age lagoon sites in Languedoc, southern France: reconstruction of farming economy and environment. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 8, pp. 53-69.
- Bouby L., Zech-Matterne V., Bouchette A., Cabanis M., Derreumaux M., Dietsch-Sellammi M.-F., Durand F., Figueiral I., Marinval P., Paradis L., Pradat B., Rousselet O., Rovira N., Schaal C., Toulemonde F., Wiethold J. (In press). Ressources et économie agricole en France à l'âge du Bronze et au Premier âge du Fer : les données carpologiques. In : Carozza L., Marcigny C., Talon M. (dir.), *L'habitat et l'occupation du sol à l'âge du Bronze et au début du Premier âge du Fer*.

Collection « Recherches archéologiques », Inrap, Paris.

Buxó R. 1993. Des semences et des fruits. Cueillette et agriculture en France et en Espagne Méditerranéennes du Néolithique à l'âge du Fer. Mémoire de Thèse. Université de Montpellier 2, Montpellier, 2 vol., 633 p.

Buxó, R. 1997. Arqueología de las plantas, Ed. Crítica, Barcelona.

Buxó, R. 1999. Les restes de llavors i fruits. In: Aquilué, X. (dir.), Intervencions arqueològiques a Sant Martí d'Empúries (1994-1996). De l'assentament precolonial a l'Empúries actual, pp. 605-611.

Buxó, R. 2006. Les restes des semences et fruits archéologiques de la grotte de Montou. Etudes Rousillonnaises, 22, pp. 33-42.

Buxó, R. 2007. Crop evolution: new evidence from the Neolithic of west Mediterranean Europe. In: Colledge S., Conolly J. (dir.), The Origins and Spread of Domestic Plants in Southwest Asia and Europe. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, pp. 155-171.

Buxó, R. 2008. The agricultural consequences of colonial contacts on the Ibera Peninsula in the first millennium B.C., Vegetation History and Archaeobotany, 17.1. 145-154.

Buxó, R., Català, M. 1994. Llavors i fruits, Alcalde, G., Molist, M., Toledo, A., Procés d'ocupació de la Bauma del Serrat del Pont (La Garrotxa) a partir del 1450 AC., Publicacions Eventuals d'Arqueologia de la Garrotxa, 1, pp. 71-75.

Buxó, R., Català, M. 1997. Llavors i fruits Alcalde, G., Molist, M., Saña, M., Toledo, A., Procés d'ocupació de la Bauma del Serrat del Pont (La Garrotxa) entre el 2900 i el 1450 cal a.C., Publicacions Eventuals d'Arqueologia de la Garrotxa, 2, pp. 32-33.

Castelletti L., Castiglioni E., Rottoli M., 2001. L'agricoltura dell'Italia settentrionale dal Neolitico al Medioevo. In : Failla O., Forni G. (dir.), Le piante coltivate e la loro storia. Milano, FrancoAngeli : 33-84.

Colledge S. 2001. Plant Exploitation on Epipaleolithic and Early Neolithic Sites in the Levant. British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 986. Archaeopress, Oxford, 256 p.

Cubero, C. 1990. Análisis paleocarpológicos de muestras del Alto de la Cruz. In: Maluquer, J., Gracia, F., Munilla, C., Alto de la Cruz (Cortes, Navarra). Campañas, 1986-1988, Trabajos de Arqueología Navarra, 9, pp. 199-218.

Cubero, C. 1998. La agricultura durante la Edad del Hierro en Cataluña a partir del estudio de las semillas y los frutos, Monografies del SERP, 2, Barcelona.

Erroux, J. 1966. Les orges hallstattiennes du Lycée Technique de Montpellier. O.G.A.M., 18, 5-6, pp. 455-456.

Erroux, J. 1981. Etude des graines des sites préhistoriques des Causses : La Poujade, St-Etienne-de-Gourgas, Pompignan. Paléobiologie Continentale, 12, 1, pp. 273-278.

Erroux, J. 1982. Analyse de grains de céréales provenant de la grotte des Eglises, Ussat Ariège. Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française, 38, pp. 152-156.

Erroux, J. 1984). Etude de quelques graines de la Liquière. In : Py M. (dir.), La Liquière (Calvisson, Gard), village du Premier âge du Fer en Languedoc oriental. Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise, Suppl. 11. CNRS, Paris, pp. 349-350.

Erroux, J. 1988. Etude des grains, fruits et graines de la grotte de Saint-Marcel (Ardèche). In : Gilles R., Le Néolithique et l'Age du Bronze à la grotte de Saint-Marcel (Ardèche). Ardèche Archéologie, 5, pp. 42-45.

Erroux, J. 1993. Les céréales carbonisées. In : Roudil J.-L., Dedet B., Columbeau P., Erroux J., Chabal L., Les débuts du Bronze final dans les gorges de la Cèze (Gard). I, La grotte du Hasard à



- Tharaux. Documents d'Archéologie Méridionale, 16, pp. 157-158.
- Fiorentino G., Castiglioni E., Rottoli M., Nisbet R., 2004. La colture agricole nel corso dell'età del Bronzo : sintesi dei dati e linee di tendenza. In: Cocchi Genick D. (dir.), L'età del Bronzo Recente in Italia. Atti del Congresso Nazionale Lido di Camaiore, 26-29 ottobre 2000 : 219-226.
- Guilaine J., Hopf M. 1984. Vestiges d'agriculture et céramiques protohistoriques de la grotte de Buffens (Caunes-Minervois, Aude). In : Eléments de pré- et protohistoire européenne. Hommages à J.-P. Millotte. Les Belles Lettres, Paris, pp. 629-638.
- Guilaine J., Manen C. 2007. From Mesolithic to Early Neolithic in the western Mediterranean. Proceedings of the British Academy, 144, pp. 21-51.
- Hastorf C.A., Whitehead W.T., Johannessen S. 2005. Late Prehistoric Wood Use in an Andean Intermontane Valley. Economic Botany, 59, 4, pp. 337-355.
- Hinojo, E., López, D., 2008. Aportacions a l'agricultura protohistòrica de Catalunya: les sitges de la primera edat del ferro del jaciment de Can Gambús 2 (Sabadell, Vallès Occidental). In: Actes del I Congrés de Joves Investigadors en Arqueologia dels Països Catalans: la protohistòria als Països Catalans, Universitat de Barcelona, Ajuntament de Vilanova del Camí, pp. 137-144.
- Jacomets S. 2006. Plant economy of the northern Alpine lake dwellings – 3500-2400 cal. BC. Environmental Archaeology, 11, 1, pp. 65-84.
- Kraus-Kashani, G. 1991. L'anàlisi paleocarpològica, a: Edo, M., Blasco, A., Millán, M., Blanch, P., La cova de Can Sadurní. Begues. Baix Llobregat. Sis campanyes d'excavació. 1978-1983. Memòria d'excavacions, Barcelona, pp. 107-118.
- López, D. 2004. Primers resultats arqueobotànics (llavors i fruits) al jaciment protohistòric del Turó de la Font de la Canya (Avinyonet del Penedès), Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent, 14, pp. 149-177.
- López, D. 2007a unpublished. Estudi arqueobotànic de les llavors i fruits a l'assentament arqueològic de Mas d'en Boixos (Pacs del Penedès, Alt Penedès), report unpublished.
- López, D. 2007b unpublished. Estudi arqueobotànic de les llavors i fruits al jaciment arqueològic de Torrebonica (Terrassa, Vallès Occidental), report unpublished.
- López, D. 2010a unpublished. Informe del tractament de les mostres de sediment i estudi arqueobotànic de les llavors i fruits de l'excavació arqueològica dels jaciments de Vinya d'en Pau, Santa Maria dels Horts i El Bordellet (Vilafranca del Penedès, Alt Penedès), report unpublished.
- López, D. 2010b unpublished. Informe del tractament de les mostres de sediment i estudi arqueobotànic de les llavors i fruits de l'excavació arqueològica de Cinc Ponts en el marc del projecte constructiu Remodelació dels enllaços i implantació de peatges tancats a l'autopista AP-7. Enllaç Vilafranca Nord (Vilafranca del Penedès, Alt Penedès), report unpublished.
- López, D., Buxó, R., Garcia, D., Moreno, I. 2011. Noves aportacions sobre agricultura i alimentació durant la primera edat del ferro a Catalunya: dades de l'assentament de Sant Jaume (Alcanar, Montsià), Pyrenae, 42, 1, pp. 77-118.
- Marinval Ph. 1985. Etude des paléo-semences de deux fosses-silos du Premier Age du fer à L'Arriasse, Vic-le-Fesq (Gard). Documents d'Archéologie Méridionale, 8, pp. 147-150.
- Marinval, Ph. 1988. Cueillette, agriculture et alimentation végétale de l'Épipaléolithique jusqu'au 2ème âge du Fer en France méridionale. Apports paléthnographiques de la carpologie. Mémoire de thèse, EHESS, Paris, 2 vol., 458 p.
- Marinval, Ph. 1993. Approche carpologique de la néolithisation du sud de la France. In : Anderson P.C. (ed.), Préhistoire de l'agriculture : nouvelles approches expérimentales et ethnographiques. Paris, CNRS, Monographies du CRA, 6, pp. 256-263.

- Mercuri A.M., Accorsi C.A., Bandini Manzzanti M., Bosi G., Cardarelli A., Labate D., Marchesini M., Trevisan Grandi G., 2006. Economy and environment of Bronze Age settlements – Terramaras – on the Po Plain (Northern Italy): first results from the archaeobotanical research at the Terramara di Montale. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 16: 43-60.
- Mercuri A.M. et al., 2015 Pollen and macroremains from Holocene archaeological sites: a dataset for the understanding of the bio-cultural diversity of the Italian landscape. *Review Palaeobotany Palynology*, 218: 250-266.
- Moyat P., Dumont A., Mariotti J.F., Janin T., Greck S., Bouby L., Ponel P., Verdin P., Verger S. 2007. Découverte d'un habitat et d'un dépôt métallique non funéraire du VIIIe s. av. J.-C. dans le lit de l'Hérault à Agde, sur le site de la Motte. *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, 54, pp. 53-84.
- Orrù M, Grillo O, Lovicu G, Venora G, Bacchetta G., 2013. Morphological characterisation of *Vitis vinifera* L. seeds by image analysis and comparison with archaeological remains. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 22: 231–242.
- Pearsall D.M. 2000. *Palaeoethnobotany : A Handbook of Procedures*. Academic Press, New York, 700 p.
- Peña-Chocarro L. 2000. Agricultura y alimentación en el poblado de la edad del Bronce de Peñalosa (Baños de la Encina, Jaén). *Complutum*, 11: 209-219.
- Pérez Jordà, G. 2009. Estudio paleocarpológico, J.V. Picazo, J.M. Rodanés (coord.), Los poblados del Bronce Final y Primera Edad del Hierro, Cabezo de la Cruz, La Muela, Zaragoza, Gobierno de Aragón, Dept. de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Zaragoza.
- Pérez Jordà G. 2013. La agricultura en el País Valenciano entre el VI y el I milenio a.C.. *Prehistòria i Arqueologia*, Universitat de València, València, p. 374.
- Py M. 2012. *Les gaulois du Midi. De la fin de l'Âge du Bronze à la conquête romaine*, Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée. Errance, Paris, 400 p.
- Py M., Buxó R. 2001. La viticulture en Gaule à l'âge du Fer. *Gallia*, 58 , pp. 29-43.
- Robinson D.E. 2003. Neolithic and Bronze Age Agriculture in Southern Scandinavia – Recent Archaeobotanical Evidence from Denmark. *Environmental Archaeology*, 8, pp. 145-165.
- Roudil J.-L. 1972. *L'Âge du Bronze en Languedoc oriental*. Paris, Klincksieck, 355 p
- Valamoti S.M. 2004. Plants and People in Late Neolithic and Bronze Age Northern Greece. An archaeobotanical investigation. *BAR International Series*, 1258. Archaeopress, Oxford, 186 p.
- Rovira N. 2007. Agricultura y gestión de los recursos vegetales en el sureste de la Península Ibérica durante la prehistoria reciente. *Universitat Pompeu Fabra*, Barcelona.
- Rovira, N., Buxó, R. 1999. Análisis paleocarpológicos. In: González Marcén et al. (dir-), *Can Roqueta. Un establiment pagés prehistòric i medieval (Sabadell, Vallès Occidental)*, Barcelona, pp. 220-235.
- Ruas, M.-P., Bouby, L., Campajó, P., 2009. Agriculture en montagne cerdane au Bronze final: les données carpologiques de Llo-Lo Lladre (Pyrenées-Orientales), De Méditerranée et d'ailleurs. *Mélanges offerts à Jean Guilaine*, Toulouse, pp. 638-660.
- Stika H.P., Heiss A., 2013. Plant cultivation in the Bronze Age. In: Fokkens. H, Harding A (dir.), *The Oxford Handbook of the European Bronze Age*. Series: Oxford Handbooks in Archaeology, Oxford University Press, Oxford : 348-369.
- This P., Roux C., Parra P., Siret R., Bourse T., Adam-Blondon A.-F., Yvon M., Lacombe T., David T., Boursiquot J.M. (2001). Caractérisation de la diversité d'une population de vignes sauvages du

Pic Saint-Loup (Hérault) et relations avec le compartiment cultivé. *Genetics Selection Evolution*, 33, Suppl. 1: 289–304.

Veen Van Der M. 1992. *Crop Husbandry Regimes. An Archaeobotanical Study of Farming in northern England 1000 BC - AD 500*. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs, 3. University of Sheffield, Sheffield, 227 p.

Zeist Van W., Guilaine J., Gascó J. 1983. L'orge du Bronze moyen de la grotte des Cazals (Sallèles-Cabardès, Aude). *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*, 80, 4, pp. 117-118.

## Captions

Fig. 1. Bronze Age and First Iron Age sites in the northwestern Mediterranean arc with archaeobotanical studies (see Table 2 for listing).

*Fig. 1. Sites de l'âge du Bronze et du premier Âge du Fer avec études archéobotaniques (voire Table 2 pour la liste)*

Fig. 2. Stacked histogram indicating the number of sites with archaeological studies by chronological period (a) and region (b).

*Fig. 2. Histogramme empilé indiquant le nombre de sites avec des études archéologiques par période chronologique (a) et région (b).*

Fig. 3. (1) Hulled barley, *Hordeum vulgare* (Lattes Port Ariane) [photo: L. Damelet]; (2) Naked wheat, *Triticum aestivum/turgidum* ssp. *durum* (Minferri) [photo: SRI, UDL]; (3) Naked barley, *Hordeum vulgare* var. *nudum* (La Brégoule) [photo: L. Bouby]; (4) Emmer, *Triticum dicoccum* (Grésine) [photo: L. Bouby]; (5) Spelt, *Triticum spelta* (Baume Layrou) [photo: L. Bouby]; (6) Wheat and barley chaff (El Vilot) [photo: SRI, UDL]; (7) Millet, *Panicum miliaceum* (Cova de Punta Farisa) [photo: MAC]; (8) Italian millet, *Setaria italica* (Cova de Punta Farisa) [photo: MAC]; (9) Poppy, *Papaver somniferum* (Grésine) [photo: L. Bouby]; (10) Lentils, *Lens culinaris* (Turó de la Font de la Canya) [photo: SRI, UDL]; (11) Peas, *Pisum sativum* (Llo) [photo: L. Bouby]; (12) Charred grape pips, *Vitis vinifera* ssp. *vinifera* (Turó de la Font de la Canya) [photo: D. López]; (13) Waterlogged grape pips, *Vitis vinifera* ssp. *vinifera* (Cougourlude) [photo: L. Bouby]; (14) Flax, *Linum usitatissimum* (Minferri) [photo: SRI, UDL]; (15) Acorns, *Quercus* (Boulevard Périphérique Nord de Lyon) [Photo: A. Guey].

*Fig. 3. (1) Orge vêtue, Hordeum vulgare (Lattes Port Ariane) [photo: L. Damelet]; (2) Blé nu, Triticum aestivum/turgidum ssp. durum (Minferri) [photo: SRI, UDL]; (3) Blé nu, Hordeum vulgare var. nudum (La Brégoule) [photo: L. Bouby]; (4) Blé amidonnier, Triticum dicoccum (Grésine) [photo: L. Bouby]; (5) Épeautre, Triticum spelta (Baume Layrou) [photo: L. Bouby]; (6) Chaff de blé et d'orge (El Vilot) [photo: SRI, UDL]; (7) Millet, Panicum miliaceum (Cova de Punta Farisa) [photo: MAC]; (8) Millet des oiseaux, Setaria italica (Cova de Punta Farisa) [photo: MAC]; (9) Pavot somnifère, Papaver somniferum (Grésine) [photo: L. Bouby]; (10) Lentille, Lens culinaris (Turó de la Font de la Canya) [photo: SRI, UDL]; (11) Pois, Pisum sativum (Llo) [photo: L. Bouby]; (12) Pépins de raisin carbonisés, Vitis vinifera ssp. vinifera (Turó de la Font de la Canya) [photo: D. López]; (13) Pépins de raisin imbibés, Vitis vinifera ssp. vinifera (Cougourlude) [photo: L. Bouby]; (14) Lin, Linum usitatissimum (Minferri) [photo: SRI, UDL]; (15) Glands, Quercus (Boulevard Périphérique Nord de Lyon) [Photo: A. Guey].*

Fig. 4. Graphic representation at the first factorial level of the results of the Correspondence Factor Analysis conducted on taxa with economic value. A: taxa. B: sites. (Period 1: 2100-1350/1250 cal BC; Period 2: 1350/1250-750 cal BC; Period 3: 750-600/500 cal BC).

*Fig. 4. Représentation au premier plan factoriel des résultats de l'Analyse Factoriel de Correspondance réalisé sur les taxons avec valeur économique. A: projection des taxons. B: projection des sites (Periode 1: 2100-1350/1250 cal BC; Periode 2: 1350/1250-750 cal BC; Periode 3: 750-600/500 cal BC).*

Table 1. Table summarising of the number of sites par period and region.

*Table 1. Table résumé du nombre de sites par période et région.*

Table 2. Sites represented in Figure 1 and general archaeological and archaeobotanical data. Region: L: Languedoc; P: Pyrenees; EC: Eastern Catalonia; WCP: Western Catalonian Plan.

Chronology: EBA: Early Bronze Age; MBA: Middle Bronze Age; IBA: Initial Bronze Age; GSC: Segre-Cinca Group; LBA: Late Bronze Age; IA: First Iron Age

*Table 2. Sites représentés à la figure 1 et données archéobotaniques générales. Region: L: Languedoc; P: Pyrénées; EC: Est de Catalogne; WCP: Plaine Occidentale Catalane. Chronologie: EB: Bronze Ancien; MB: Bronze Moyen; IB: Bronze Initial; GSC: Groupe du Segre-Cinca; LB, Bronze Final; IA: Premier Âge du Fer).*

Table 3. Ubiquity of taxa with economic value represented by period and by region (only charred remains). (Period 1: 2100-1350/1250 cal BC; Period 2: 1350/1250-750 cal BC; Period 3: 750-600/500 cal BC).

*Table 3. Ubiquité des taxons avec valeur économique par phase chronologique et région (seulement restes carbonisées). (Periode 1: 2100-1350/1250 cal BC; Periode 2: 1350/1250-750 cal BC; Periode 3: 750-600/500 cal BC).*

Figure 1

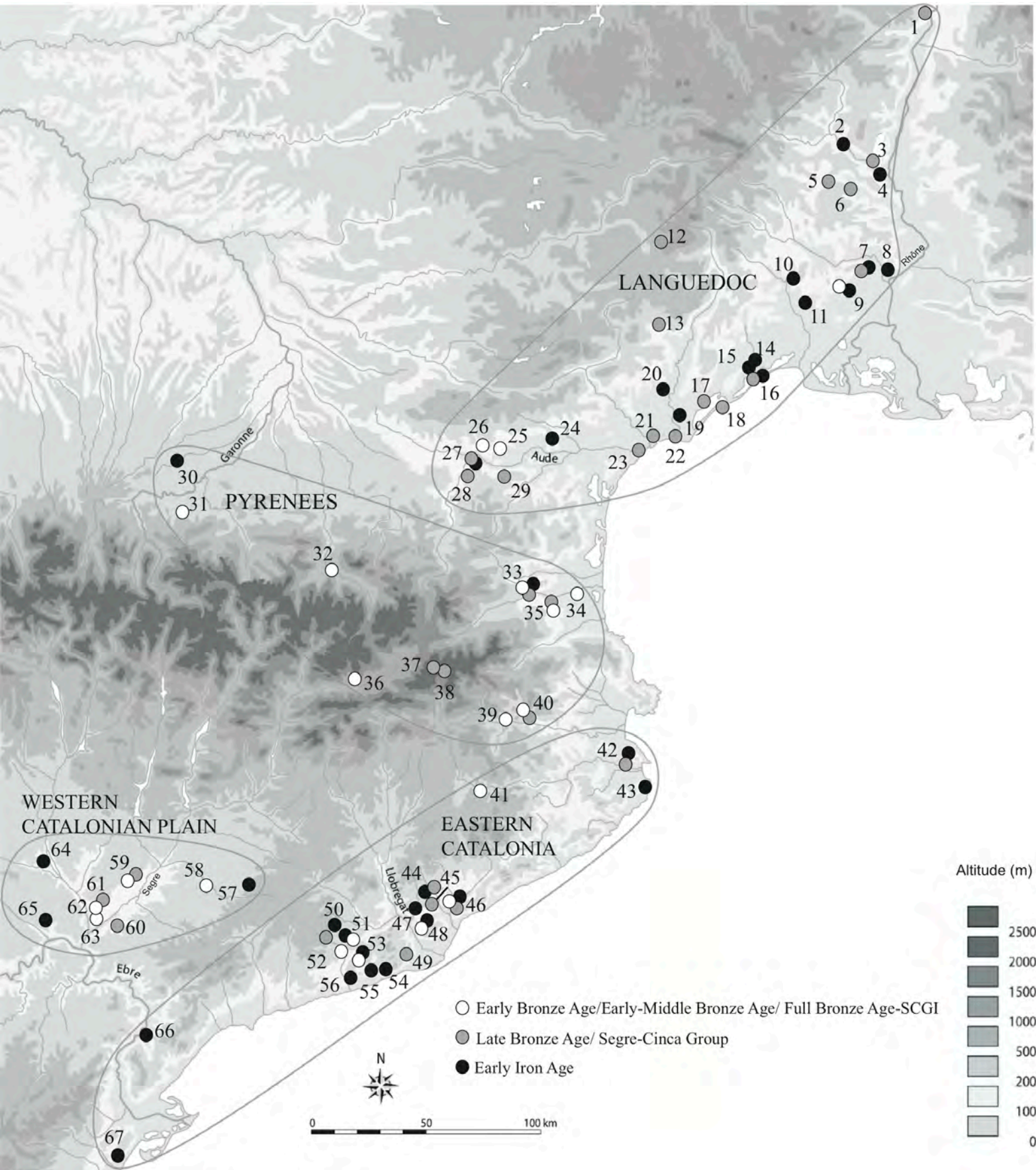
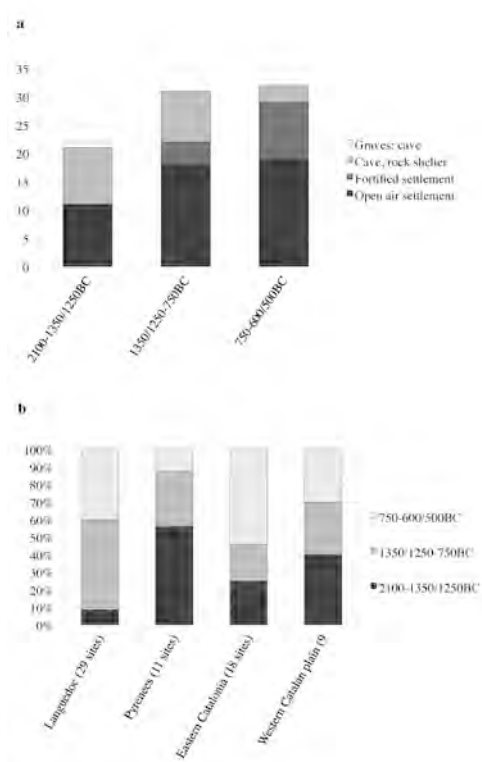


Figure 2



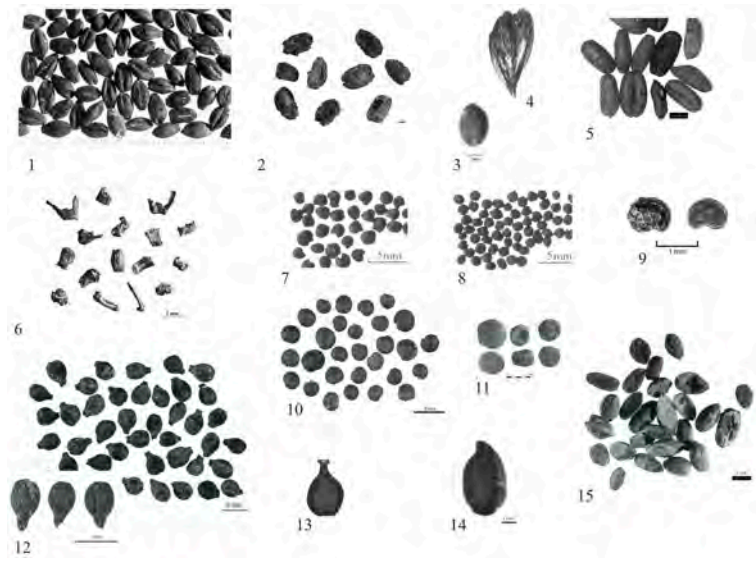




Figure 4

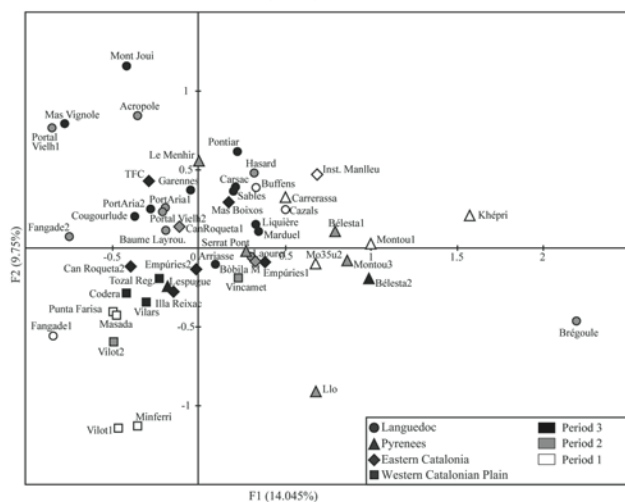
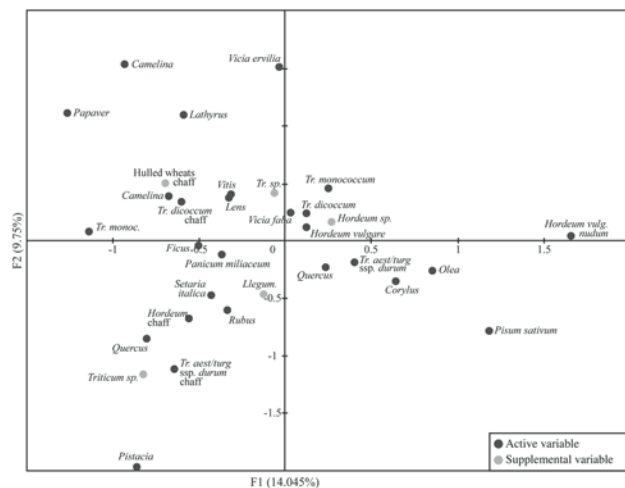


Table 1

	<b>Languedoc</b>	<b>Pyrenees</b>	<b>Eastern Catalonia</b>	<b>Western Catalonian Plan</b>	
Number of sites	29	11	18	9	67
Period 1 (2100-1350/1250 cal BC)	3	9	5	4	21
Period 2 (1350/1250-750 cal BC)	18	5	6	3	32
Period 3 (750-600/500 cal BC)	14	2	13	3	32
	35	16	24	10	



Table 3

Region	LANGUEDOC			PYRENEES			EASTERN CATALONIA			WESTERN CAT. PLAIN			TOTAL
Period	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	
Number of sites	4	17	14	9	5	2	6	5	12	4	3	3	84
<b>Cereals, seeds</b>													
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> var. <i>nudum</i>	1	3	1	7	2	1	1	3	3	-	-	-	22
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> var. <i>vulgare</i>	3	13	13	6	5	2	6	5	13	4	3	3	75
<i>Hordeum</i> sp.	-	2	1	3	2	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	14
<i>Panicum miliaceum</i>	-	5	5	3	1	1	-	2	8	3	3	3	34
<i>Secale</i> sp.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>Setaria italica</i>	-	2	2	1	-	1	-	1	9	3	2	2	23
<i>Triticum aestivum/turgidum</i> ssp. <i>du</i>	2	11	7	7	4	2	5	3	11	4	2	2	59
<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	3	10	9	7	3	1	4	3	11	4	3	3	60
<i>Triticum monococcum</i>	3	8	5	2	2	-	1	1	4	-	1	-	26
<i>Triticum spelta</i>	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>Triticum</i> sp.	1	7	8	4	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	32
<b>Cereals, chaff</b>													
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	2	6	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	4	-	2	19
<i>Triticum aestivum/turgidum</i>	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	3	1	2	12
<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	2	7	7	2	-	1	-	1	3	3	1	1	28
<i>Triticum monococcum</i>	1	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	8
<i>Triticum spelta</i>	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>Triticum</i> hulled	1	5	4	1	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	1	16
<i>Triticum</i> sp.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	4
<b>Pulses, oil plants</b>													
<i>Lathyrus cicera/sativus</i>	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	6
<i>Lens culinaris</i>	-	1	4	1	-	-	-	2	7	1	-	2	17
<i>Medicago sativa</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
<i>Pisum sativum</i>	-	1	-	1	3	1	-	1	6	1	-	-	13
<i>Vicia ervilia</i>	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	4
<i>Vicia faba</i>	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	6
<i>Vicia sativa</i>	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	3
<b>Oil plants</b>													
<i>Camelina sativa</i>	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
<i>Linum usitatissimum</i> , seeds	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	1	7
<i>Linum usitatissimum</i> , capsule	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>Papaver somniferum</i>	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
<b>Fruits gathered</b>													
<i>Arbutus unedo</i>	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>Cornus mas</i>	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>Corylus avellana</i>	-	2	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
<i>Ficus carica</i>	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	2	6
<i>Malus</i> sp.	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
<i>Olea europaea</i>	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	6
<i>Pistacia lentiscus</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	1	-	6
<i>Prunus</i> sp.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>Prunus spinosa</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
<i>Quercus</i> sp.	1	4	3	4	4	2	-	1	4	1	1	1	25
<i>Rosa</i> sp.	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<i>Rubus fruticosus</i>	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	5
<i>Sambucus ebulus</i>	-	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
<i>Sambucus</i> sp.	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
<i>Vitis vinifera</i>	-	5	4	2	3	1	2	1	8	1	1	2	29