

1 **Impact of anthropogenic activities on woodland in northern Syria (4th-2nd mill. BC):**  
2 **Evidence from charcoal assemblages and oak measurements**

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16

17 **Keywords**

18 Anthracology – diameter measurements – ring width – Uruk period – Early Bronze Age – Middle  
19 Bronze Age -northern Syria – vegetation – herbivore impact

20

21 **Abstract**

22 In this paper charcoals from the Syrian sites Tell Mozan and Tell Jerablus are investigated to  
23 understand the impact of 4th to 2nd millennium BC settlement and urbanization on the vegetation.  
24 In total 18,786 charcoal fragments from these sites have been identified and additionally oak  
25 charcoals have been measured for their maximal diameter and annual ring widths. Our results show  
26 that while oak had reached its maximal expansion in the Mid-Holocene, and vegetation in the  
27 Euphrates Valley was lush than today, strong anthropogenic impact on the vegetation was  
28 occurring, probably already prior to the Late Chalcolithic period. Due to potentially enormous herds  
29 of sheep and goat, and possibly large-scale agriculture with perhaps some understory cropping, oak  
30 was growing very slowly, to the degree that it must often have had a shrub-like appearance. People  
31 did not apply systematic oak woodland management practices, such as coppicing or pollarding. They  
32 used dung as an additional fuel, probably to cover for shortages in wood resources. The land appears  
33 to have been used both intensively and extensively to a degree that was not sustainable in the long  
34 term, especially in the Early Bronze Age. Overgrazing and unsustainable agricultural practices  
35 increased desertification and made the political, settlement and provisioning systems vulnerable to  
36 collapse. This, combined with aridity impact on the oak, probably led to a decrease in oak proportion

37 at Mozan in the Middle Bronze Age, which matches with the contemporary regional increase in  
38 desert-steppe environments observed from the seed data.

## 39 **Introduction**

40 Anthracology plays a key role in the reconstruction of woody vegetation in much of the Near East,  
41 since palynological research is hampered by poor pollen preservation. The discipline has traditionally  
42 focused on the identification of species and taxa recovered from excavation contexts at  
43 archaeological sites to investigate wood use and vegetation development. More recently, several  
44 new methods have been introduced which allow for the extraction of additional archaeological and  
45 palaeoenvironmental information. One of these is wood diameter analysis, a technique which can  
46 identify which parts of the tree have been used, enabling the reconstruction of firewood use and  
47 management, and practices such as coppicing (cutting down to near ground level to grow new  
48 shoots), pollarding (cutting to the main stem or trunk encouraging lateral branches) and woodland  
49 clearance (Dufraisse 2006; Kabukcu 2018; Salavert and Dufraisse 2014; Wright 2018). In combination  
50 with annual ring-width data, diameter analysis can also provide information on the structure and  
51 appearance of the woodland and the environmental conditions trees experienced during their  
52 lifetime (Deckers 2016; Nelle 2002).

53 Most of Syria, especially also our research area, is geobotanically classified as associations of  
54 Mesopotamian steppes of *Artemisietea herbae-albae mesopotamica* (Zohary 1973). The modern  
55 landscape of northeastern Syria is largely devoid of woodland, although small stands of *Populus*  
56 *euphratica* (Euphrates poplar), *Salix acmophylla* (weeping willow), and *Tamarix tetrandra* or *T.*  
57 *smyrnensis* (tamarisk) are found along the Euphrates River valley and major tributaries such as the  
58 Khabur. Outside of the river valleys, most of the landscape is given over to dry farming of wheat and  
59 barley (Shafer and Blomo 1980: 32), and after harvesting in the summer plant life is very limited.  
60 Interannual variability in rainfall in this region is high and the limit of dry-land farming (often  
61 represented by the 250 mm isohyet, although this should not be taken as a hard border) has shifted  
62 regularly to the north upon low rainfall and to the south upon high rainfall (Wilkinson 1997, Hewett  
63 et al. submitted). Over the last decades, the area has received progressively less rainfall, in  
64 comparison with long-term averages (compare Hewett et al. submitted with data from between  
65 1961-1990 with [www.worldweatheronline.com](http://www.worldweatheronline.com)).

66 Anthracological research indicates that the landscape looked somewhat different in the Mid-  
67 Holocene (ca. 6200-2200 BC), with deciduous oak having a more southward distribution and riverine  
68 vegetation being lush (e.g., Charles et al. 2010; Deckers, 2010; Deckers & Riehl, 2007; Deckers &  
69 Pessin, 2010; Engel 1993; Pessin 2004, 2007; Willcox 1999). This was probably favored by moister  
70 conditions during the Mid Holocene than today (Wick et al. 2003). Also during the Mid-Holocene (ca.  
71 6200-2200 BC) the region went through the first of two phases of urbanization, initially in the fourth  
72 millennium BC, followed by a second iteration in the mid-late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC (Ur 2010a; Wilkinson  
73 et al. 2014; Lawrence et al. 2021). The first phase in the Late Chalcolithic (4400 to 3000 BC) is marked  
74 by population agglomeration in some areas (especially in the Upper Khabur Basin, but also visible to  
75 a lesser degree in other fertile plains), specialized craft production (including mass production of  
76 ceramics), monumental architecture, long-distance trade, religious institutions and large-scale  
77 feasting, but there is no evidence for writing at that time in northern Syria (Ur 2010a; Wilkinson et al.  
78 2014). This phase then was followed by a phase of population and urban stability, before the second  
79 urbanization peak (Palmisano et al. 2021).

80 From 2600 BC onward a second wave of urbanization occurred, representing “the most pervasive  
81 phase of urban settlement prior to the 20th century AD” (Ur 2010a: 404). It was marked by a three to  
82 four-tiered settlement hierarchy, and the urban centers included massive city walls, palaces and

83 temples. There is evidence for increased specialization and intensification in the pastoral sector (Ur  
84 2010a; Gaastra et al. 2020; Gaastra et al. 2021; Price et al. 2017), with dung being increasingly used  
85 as (additional) fuel at Middle Euphrates sites, especially those further south, suggesting decreased  
86 availability of woody resources (Miller 1997). Writing is used for the first time during this phase,  
87 specifically in the realm of the palace and its economic administration (Kolinski 2007). The texts  
88 indicate that specialist pastoralists were a significant part of the political economy (Arbuckle and  
89 Hammer 2019), with city states managing huge holdings of e.g., sheep and evidence for intensive  
90 textile and meat production (Milano 1995; Archi 1993; Sallaberger 2004). Additionally, based on  
91 lower  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values of seeds and a lack of change in the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values, it has been argued that  
92 extensification instead of intensification took place within the agricultural sector. This would have  
93 consisted of the expansion of the agricultural land to produce more harvest instead of increasing  
94 energy input per unit area, for example through manuring or irrigation, to achieve a larger harvest  
95 (Styring et al. 2017). The presence of intensive off-site sherd scatters surrounding the settlements,  
96 however, indicates that manuring nonetheless took place (Wilkinson 1989). Pastoralism and  
97 agricultural extensification in combination with population increase would likely have impacted the  
98 scale of agricultural and pastoral land use, and therefore the survival of woodland.

99 After the second wave of urbanization, settlement disruptions took place in northern Mesopotamia  
100 at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC (2200-2000 BC). Climatic drying may have played a role in this  
101 (Staubwasser and Weiss 2006; Weiss et al. 1993), perhaps also in combination with unsustainable  
102 land use practices (Wilkinson 1997; Lawrence et al. 2021). In the Upper Khabur Basin, many sites  
103 were abandoned, but in the Middle Euphrates settlement change is more limited. In fact, it has even  
104 been argued that the latter region may have received refugees from other areas (Burke 2014). In the  
105 second millennium BC the Eastern Upper Khabur region was repopulated, but settlement was more  
106 uneven, with fewer urban centers. The texts of that period indicate that the landscape was used for  
107 agriculture and pasture (Ristvet 2007).

108 We would thus expect to see a strong impact of urban societies on vegetation, especially during the  
109 second wave of urbanization, combined with climatic impact on vegetation towards the end of the  
110 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. Anthracology can help in understanding land use, climate and their impact on the  
111 vegetation. Here we describe the results of charcoal identifications, of wood diameter analysis and  
112 annual ring width measurements on charcoal samples from two sites in northern Syria, Tell Jerablus  
113 Tahtani and Tell Mozan. Both sites are well-studied multiperiod sites, which allows us to investigate  
114 changes over time. Both sites also were located within the southward distribution of oak, which  
115 allows us to compare data for oak (Deckers 2016). Additionally, we purposely selected a small  
116 (Jerablus) and a large (Mozan) site (Peltenburg 1999 and Pfälzner 2010) to understand possible  
117 differences between the impact of small and large sites on the vegetation. We compare our data  
118 with available data from other sites in the region. The goal is to understand how woodland resources  
119 were managed, whether there is evidence for unsustainable land-use, and whether we can identify  
120 the impact of aridification. This allows us to contribute to the question of the organization of Bronze  
121 Age centers and their impact on the environment.

## 122 **The sites**

123 Tell Jerablus is a multiperiod tell site, located on the right bank of the Euphrates River in northern  
124 Syria, about 4 km south of the Turkish border (Fig. 1). It received a long-term average annual rainfall  
125 of 458 mm between 1961-1990 (Hewett et al. submitted). Excavations took place at the site under  
126 the direction of Edgar Peltenburg and 5 major occupation periods could be identified between the  
127 later part of the Late Chalcolithic (from ca. 3600 BC onwards) and Islamic period (13<sup>th</sup> century AD)  
128 (Peltenburg 1999). Here we focus on Periods I and II, respectively the Late Chalcolithic/Uruk and the  
129 Early Bronze Age. The site was founded in the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC (Period IA) before the Uruk period.

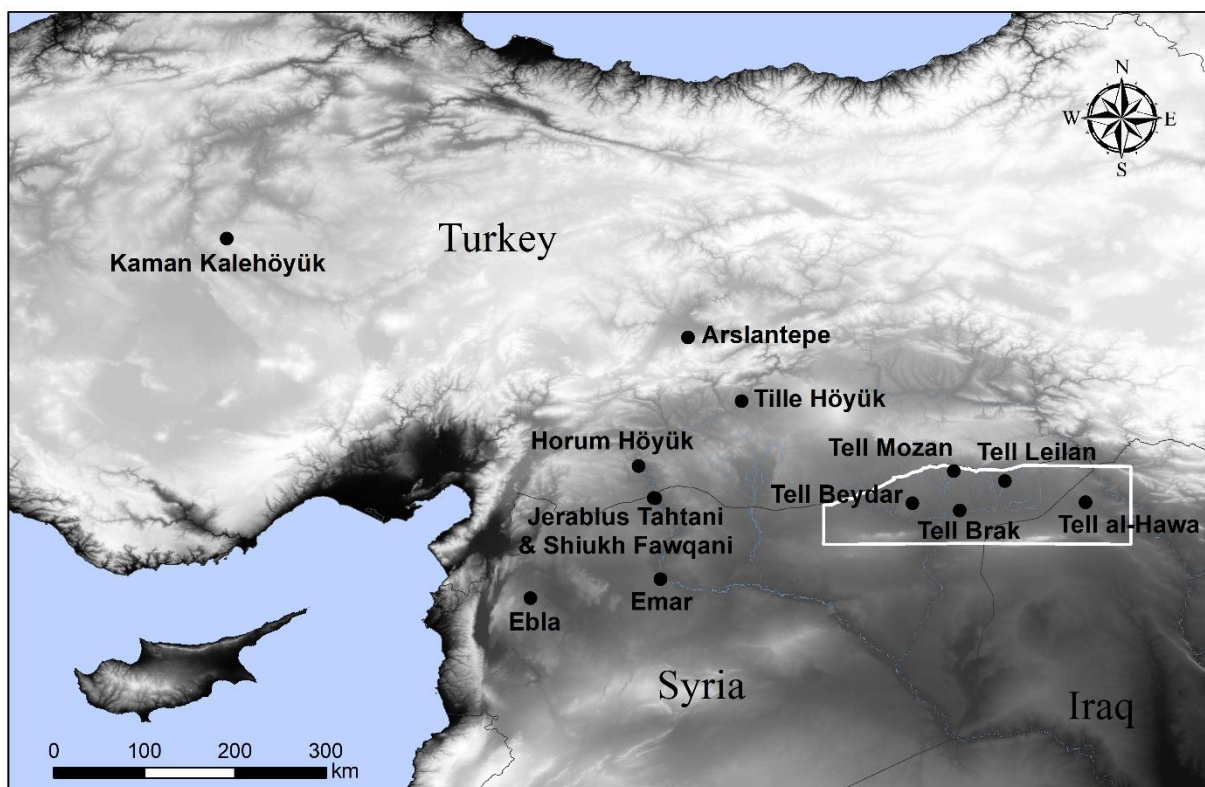
130 The pre-Uruk settlement evidence consists of pits, middens, mudbrick walls, postholes, hearths and  
131 surfaces, but no coherent architectural insight could be gained. Directly above the Late Chalcolithic  
132 levels, Uruk period occupation was found (Period IB, dated to ca. 3500-3000 BC) (Peltenburg and  
133 Wilkinson 2008). As in other areas (Algaze 2008), the Uruk period is marked by a sudden intrusion of  
134 southern Mesopotamian material culture, suggesting Jerablus may then have been an Uruk colony or  
135 an enclave. This occupation ends abruptly but there is no evidence for destruction (Peltenburg and  
136 Wilkinson 2008). After the Uruk phase an open Early Bronze Age settlement was built over an area of  
137 ca. 12 ha (Period IIA, from ca. 3000 BC onwards) (Wilkinson et al. 2007). There remains evidence for  
138 long distance contacts at the site during that period. Subsequently, at about 2825-2720 BC the  
139 settlement was destroyed and burnt to ashes. Perhaps as a response to this event, a fortification wall  
140 was constructed during the following Period IIB (ca. 2800-2250 BC) and the lower town was  
141 abandoned, with settlement (still seemingly domestic in nature) confined to the area surrounded by  
142 walls. The construction of the fortifications and the arrangement of houses within the walls were all  
143 part of a single plan, and the scale of the fortifications suggest a central administration capable of  
144 mobilizing a significant amount of labor. It has been suggested this power was the nearby urban  
145 center at Carchemish, only about 4 km to the North (Peltenburg 2016). Alternatively, it may have  
146 been an autonomous initiative, related to internal upheaval and site-based authority (Peltenburg  
147 2016). Similar fortifications are known from several other small tells during this period and may be  
148 part of a pattern of fortifying even very small sites (Lawrence and Rey 2020). Jerablus was not itself a  
149 large urban center at this time, but possibly rather a kind of outpost, perhaps to control riverine  
150 traffic or pastoralists. Soon after the construction of the fortifications, probably around 2500 BC (still  
151 Period IIB), a glacis was built, and the entire structure was artificially raised. From that period,  
152 granary structures and evidence for textile, metal production and crop-processing have been  
153 discovered. Based on the overall evidence the excavator suggests this mirrors the intensification of  
154 production and increased specialization visible at other sites which has been related with the  
155 emergence of city states at that time (Peltenburg 2016). In the case of Jerablus, it is possible that  
156 Ebla controlled it, since Ebla claimed control of Carchemish and associated small sites (Lawrence and  
157 Rey 2020). Around the mid-3rd millennium BC major flooding of Tell Jerablus and its surroundings  
158 took place, but the community persisted. Around 2270-2155 BC the site was abandoned, and it has  
159 been suggested that the inhabitants went to the nearby center of Carchemish (Peltenburg 2016).

160 Tell Mozan is located 250 km east of Jerablus in the Upper Khabur Basin of Syria (Fig. 1) and received  
161 on average 434 mm/year over the long-term (Hewett et al. submitted). Investigations of CORONA  
162 satellite photographs from the 1960s and geomorphological research indicates that an intermittent  
163 stream ran through the western lower town of Mozan probably during the Early Bronze Age (Deckers  
164 and Pustovoytov 2011). The site has been excavated under the direction of Giorgio Buccellati,  
165 Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati and Peter Pfälzner. Occupation at Mozan dates back to at least the beginning  
166 of the fourth millennium BC, but not much is known about the site between the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC  
167 and the Early Jezirah II period (EJII) (2750-2600 BC) (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1999). While the  
168 settlement was largely confined to the 15-ha upper town during the EJII (2750-2600 BC), in the Early  
169 Jezirah III (EJIII) period (2600-2300 BC) significant settlement expansion took place, extending over an  
170 area of 120 ha and protected by a fortification wall. It had several large, monumental buildings and a  
171 central plaza, suggesting a complex and structured political system. This was the major phase of  
172 urbanization (Pfälzner 2010). Tell Mozan has been identified as the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium Hurrian  
173 capital of Urkesh. It was probably an ally or vassal of the Akkadian Empire around 2300 BC (Buccellati  
174 and Kelly-Buccellati 1999). From the Early Jezirah IV (EJIV) (2300-2100 BC) through the Early Jezirah V  
175 (EJV) period (2100-2000 BC), a gradual population decline took place at the site, especially within the  
176 lower town. However, unlike many other sites in this area, Mozan was continually occupied across  
177 the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. In the Early Jezirah V period domestic dwellings were constructed

178 in the upper city, which may be indicative of a decline in the importance of centralised authority  
179 within the city. However, continuation is visible, and a merchant house was built during the Early  
180 Jezirah V period (Pfälzner 2010). The continued occupation at the site between 2200 and 1900 BC  
181 may correlate with the then newly established kingdoms of Urkesh and Nawar (Buccellati and Kelly-  
182 Buccellati 1999). From the Middle Bronze Age onwards (2000 BC) the lower town was abandoned,  
183 but several of the existing architectural structures in the upper town continued to be in use,  
184 including a merchant house from which a lot of the investigated charcoals derive. Besides that, some  
185 new foundations for houses and new street arrangements were laid out, and a new ceramic  
186 assemblage appears. This suggests that some new occupants may have arrived at the site about that  
187 time, but they did not necessarily replace the population (Pfälzner 2010). During the second  
188 millennium BC the city passed to the rulers of Mari and became a vassal (Buccellati and Kelly-  
189 Buccellati 1999), before being abandoned about halfway through the second millennium BC (Pfälzner  
190 2010).

191 Besides our own data from Jerablus and Mozan, our results are compared with anthracological data  
192 from Kaman-Kalehöyük (Fig. 1), which is a multi-period site in Turkey, about 500 km away from our  
193 sites. We especially compare with second and first millennium BC diameter data from domestic  
194 contexts from this site. At that time, Kaman was a modest sized town or large village (Wright 2018).

195 Additionally, we also compare data with available ring width data from the Euphrates Valley. Earliest  
196 comparative evidence derives from Horum Höyük, a Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age site in Turkey,  
197 ca. 40 km north of Jerablus (Pessin 2004), today receiving approximately 510 mm of rainfall annually  
198 on average (Hewett et al. submitted) (Fig. 1). Additionally, ring width measurement data is available  
199 for Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Tell Shiukh Fawqani, which is located on the opposite bank of the  
200 Euphrates to Jerablus (Fig. 1) (Pessin 2004). Exceptional long and well-dated sequences of ring widths  
201 are available from the Late Bronze Age to Iron Age site of Tille Höyük, located further north in Turkey  
202 on the right bank of the Euphrates, receiving today on average 514 mm rainfall/year (Fig. 1)(Griggs  
203 and Manning 2009; Griggs et al. <https://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/paleo-search/study/8516>, accessed  
204 online 09.06.2020, Hewett et al. submitted)



206 **Fig. 1.** Map with location of the sites mentioned in the text. The white delineation indicates the area  
 207 mentioned in Fig. 12.

208

209 **Materials and methods**

210 In total 242 charcoal samples, consisting of 16 943 identifiable fragments, were analyzed from the  
 211 archaeological sites of Tell Mozan (8444 fragments from 162 samples) and Tell Jerablus (8499  
 212 fragments from 80 samples). While a proportion of the samples derives from flotation contexts,  
 213 many also represent hand-picked samples. The charcoal identification results are calculated as find  
 214 percentages. The indeterminate category, that consisted of fragments that could not be identified  
 215 into detail due to e.g., size or lack of literature, was excluded from the calculations. Sample by  
 216 sample results with contextual information have been published previously in Deckers 2010, and  
 217 Wilkinson and Deckers 2015 and a summary of some Jerablus samples in Deckers and Riehl 2007.  
 218 Almost all samples were retrieved from domestic contexts; only 4 were from grave fills. A summary  
 219 of the sampled contexts is available in Table I.

Context type	Jerablus			Mozan			
	IB	IIA	IIB	EJIII	EJIV	EJV	MBA
hearth/oven		1	3				
ash around oven					1		
fill of pit		1	8		6	11	4
dump				31	13	1	5
fill of building		4					
fill		1	19	24	10	10	21
occupation deposit	1		7	4	5	1	1
floor			2				
storage jar/fill of pot		1	1				2
installation							1
pot spread			2				
brickfall					2		2
pisé fall							4
grave/grave fill			1				3
wall collapse			1				
slope wash			1				
wall			4				
indet.	1	5	16				
<b>Number of samples</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>Number of fragments</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>2929</b>	<b>5352</b>	<b>4182</b>	<b>2355</b>	<b>755</b>	<b>1152</b>

220

221 **Table I.** Contextual information for the charcoal samples from Tell Jerablus and Tell Mozan.

222 From those charcoal samples 328 oak fragments were selected based on the visibility of the rays,  
 223 which may be obscured through charring or cracking, or due to small fragment size. The maximal  
 224 diameter present was measured, respectively calculated in order to understand whether small,  
 225 medium or large-size timber was used and from that to infer woodland management. Table II shows  
 226 more detailed contextual information for the samples, as well as where subsamples from the same  
 227 context were taken. While it cannot be excluded that samples from the same tree or branch may

228 have been sampled especially when the same context was sub-sampled, overall, the large majority of  
229 the contexts that were investigated tend not to represent remains from a single firing event, but  
230 averaged out remains from multiple firing events, hence long-lasting fire-wood exploitation and in  
231 this way also are less likely to contain fragments from the same tree (Asouti and Kabukcu 2021). The  
232 investigated Mozan area does not show evidence for large-scale conflagration, but twenty-eight  
233 measured fragments from context Fs2083 (2300-2100 BC) derive from a building that shows  
234 evidence for burning and thus may contain charcoal not related with fuel use (cf. Table II). At Jerablus  
235 the IIA settlement was destroyed by a fire (Peltenburg 2016, Pfälzner 2010), however only very few  
236 fragments measured may relate to architecture and carpentry remains (cf. Table I and II).

237 All measurements for the diameter calculations were undertaken using a Keyence digital microscope.  
238 For the diameter measurements, trigonometry methods were generally applied (Paradis-Grenouillet  
239 et al. 2010), although in a few cases (3) whole transversal sections of a twig were available, meaning  
240 measurement could be performed with the circle tool. In 163 cases the isosceles triangle  
241 trigonometry method was applied, while in 162 cases, trigonometry based on a constructed right-  
242 angle triangle was used (Paradis-Grenouillet et al. 2010). Since according to Paradis-Grenouillet et al.  
243 (2013) the trigonometry method by use of an isosceles triangle appears to be the most accurate  
244 method, the trigonometry method with a right-angled triangle was only used when that method was  
245 not possible e.g., by the fragmentary state of the charcoal, that does not have the last annual ring  
246 preserved over the distance of two rays. The latter method was also applied to on an earlier batch of  
247 samples that are included into the statistics (Deckers 2016). Diameter assessment focused on larger  
248 fragments. Samples were selected based on the presence of minimally two well visible multiseriate  
249 rays over minimally 2 mm, mostly more though (see transversal fragment sizes in Table II). In order to  
250 understand the reproducibility of the measurements, they were repeated two or three times -in  
251 exceptional cases four times-. The measured values were averaged, and the standard deviation  
252 calculated (Table II). Four measurements were taken when one measurement was retrieved from  
253 another couple of rays that resulted in significantly different results. To avoid a sampling bias another  
254 measurement was done on this set of rays then. No bark or cambium could be detected in the  
255 samples.

256 **Table II.** Diameter measurements, standard deviations of the measurements, annual ring widths and  
257 growth rate calculations, fragment sizes and contextual information for samples from Tell Jerablus  
258 and Tell Mozan. Where possible fragment sizes are given based on transversal measurements along a  
259 ray and perpendicular on a ray.

260 Linear regression in combination with variance analysis was used to assess the correlation between  
261 the diameter and the standard deviation.

262 Additionally, from those fragments for which the diameter of the last preserved annual ring could be  
263 successfully measured, 1101 annual ring widths were measured. Previously measured annual ring  
264 widths as published in Deckers (2016) were also included in some of the analysis to add additional  
265 data. They derive from the same sites and periods (Table II).

266 The maximal diameters for the different sites and periods were compared with one another and with  
267 reference studies to investigate changes in woodland management and wood availability. A  
268 comparison with experiments on the charring of wood with a diameter of 15 cm provides  
269 information on the resulting distribution of fragments amongst the diameter classes (Dufraise and  
270 García Martínez 2011). These results mirror the conceptual model that shows that the largest volume  
271 of charcoal material from a log lays within the largest diameter size class, it is the class near to the  
272 diameter of the log that is charred. On the contrary, the model also predicts that the smallest volume  
273 of wood in a charred trunk, will be represented by diameters within the lowest diameter class



274 (Dufraisse 2006). Additionally, our dataset was compared with diameter data from the site of Kaman-  
275 Kalehöyük in Turkey (Wright 2018). This is so far the only site that published diameter analysis results  
276 that can be compared with our data. It is, however, located ca. 500 km away. The samples from that  
277 site derive only from rubbish pits and hearth contexts (Wright 2018).

278 The annual ring measurements were used to calculate an average growth rate, and this was used to  
279 calculate an approximate cambial age for the last annual ring present, by assuming a constant growth  
280 (Table II). This calculation can only be an approximation since trees do not show constant growth,  
281 with variations a function of growing conditions (which forms the basis of dendrochronology) and life  
282 cycles (for example, young trees grow faster than older trees (Schweingruber 1993)).

283 The distribution of cambial age calculated through this method was then investigated. Combining  
284 cambial age and diameter data allows us to identify, for example, coppicing practices, since these  
285 should produce assemblages with large amounts of young small diameter twigs that typically lack  
286 fungal hyphae.

287 Finally, the distributions of the average ring width by period were analyzed. This could provide  
288 information on climatic changes through time. Water is critical for oak growth meaning reductions in  
289 soil moisture, and in the dry farming plains of Northern Mesopotamia therefore rainfall, will be  
290 especially visible in the width of the late wood (Griggs et al. 2007). The annual ring widths were also  
291 compared to ring width data from well published assemblages from the region, including Tille Höyük  
292 (Griggs et al., <https://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/paleo-search/study/8516> accessed online 09.06.2020),  
293 Shiukh Fawqani and Horum Höyük (Pessin 2004), and to present-day data from Iran on oaks in  
294 various conditions (from dieback oak that were in poor condition by drought and human impact to  
295 healthy oak) (Tongo et al. 2020). To compare our charcoal values with present day growth we  
296 considered a shrinking of about 24% during former charcoalification as has been established through  
297 experimental charcoalification of oak (Paradis-Grenouillet and Dufraisse 2018).

298 Statistical tests were applied as suitable for the data available. Groups were always first checked for  
299 normality (Shapiro-Wilk test), variance (Levene test) and number. Depending on these conditions, it  
300 was decided to either apply Welch with Games-Howell follow-up test and/or Kruskal-Wallis with  
301 Dunn's test follow-up. All statistical tests were done at the significance level of  $p < 0,05$ .

302 In order to investigate the impact of herbivore browsing on oak, 121 fragments of which the  
303 diameter was calculated, were previously investigated for signatures of browsing (Deckers 2016),  
304 that may consist of slow growth, abrupt growth reduction and improvement, irregular annual rings,  
305 unpronounced annual rings discontinuous vessel ring in early wood, lack of early wood vessels, small  
306 early wood vessels, collapse of wood structure, vessel collapse, lack of multiseriate rays, and  
307 disoriented woody structure. Not all these characteristics, however, can be exclusively assigned to  
308 browsing impact (Schweingruber 2001).

309 Furthermore, hollow ways have been mapped for the Upper Khabur Basin in Northeastern Syria  
310 based on CORONA satellite photographs to investigate possible land use zones (data from Ur 2010b).  
311 They are the imprints of ancient tracks, radiating from the archaeological sites, particularly well  
312 preserved in the Upper Khabur Basin, less in the Middle Euphrates region (Wilkinson 2004, 81-82, fig.  
313 5.1). Though it is difficult to exactly date the ancient tracks, it is thought that most of them in this  
314 region date to the late fourth and 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC (Wilkinson et al. 2010; Ur 2009), contemporary  
315 with the charcoal samples. Hollow ways can be used as a proxy for delineating the area under  
316 agriculture. This approach assumes that flocks were prevented from trampling on cultivated land  
317 close to settlements but were allowed to roam freely in pastures. The creation of hollow ways is a  
318 result of the constrained movement between cultivated fields, and the fade out points of these  
319 features indicates the beginning of unconstrained movement, and therefore open pasture (Wilkinson

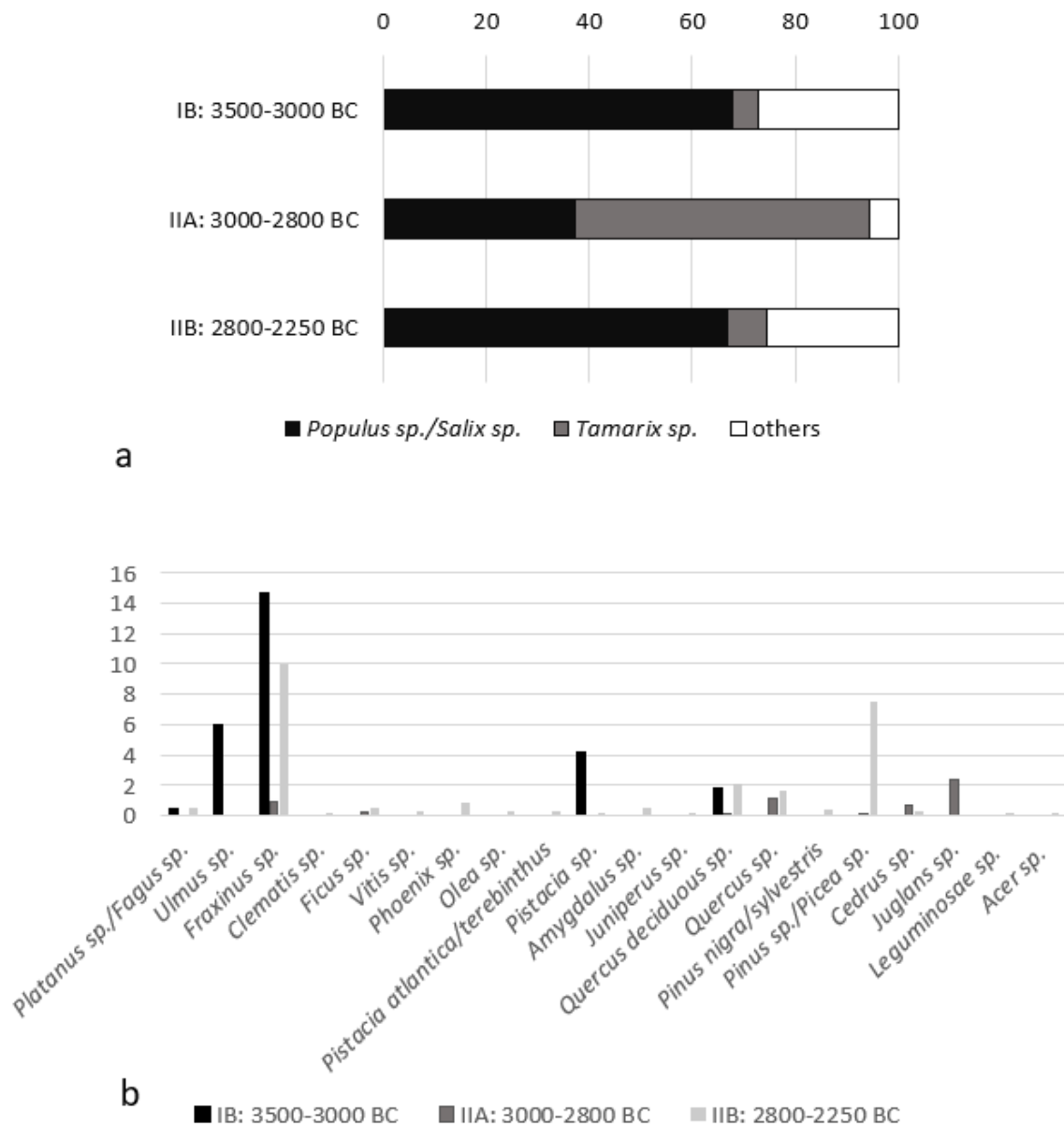


320 1994; Ur 2009). As such, the ends of the hollow ways radiating from a settlement provide evidence  
321 for the extent of cultivated land.

322 Besides the hollow ways potential vegetation for the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC was mapped based  
323 on GIS-modelling of the wild plant fruit/seed data from archaeological sites in that period and region  
324 to compare the charcoal results with. The methodology for this has been described in detail in de  
325 Gruchy et al. (2016) and is based on the principle that there are natural constraints, such as soil  
326 properties, elevation and slope that pose limits to where taxa can grow, while the associated habitats  
327 (fields, steppe, desert, maquis, meadows, etc.) serve to inform the type of land cover in the locations  
328 the taxa grow. While each individual taxon may grow in many different habitats, collectively the  
329 dozen or more taxa able to grow in a single space will share some common habitats more than  
330 others. In this way, the most common natural habitat between the taxa of a space has been  
331 interpreted as the potential land cover type of that space. Where two or more natural habitats were  
332 equally likely in a space, an 'all-of-the-above' approach is taken. For example, if desert and steppe  
333 were equally likely habitats in a space, that space is interpreted as desert steppe (see de Gruchy et al.  
334 2016, p. 254). While in instances where steppe is the most common habitat, additional steps were  
335 taken to discern if the plants indicate a more grassy steppe or shrubby steppe (de Gruchy et al. 2016,  
336 p. 255). It should be noted that much of the land cover mapping in this area was based on the  
337 available soil map with a resolution of 1:500,000. This coarse resolution does not allow for the  
338 routine identification of more localized habitats, meaning zones such as riverine gallery forest have  
339 not been mapped.

## 340 **Results**

341 The anthracological results from Tell Jerablus show high percentages of *Populus sp./Salix sp.* and  
342 *Tamarix sp.* (Fig. 2a). The proportions of *Populus sp./Salix sp.* to *Tamarix sp.* fluctuate somewhat by  
343 period, and from period IB (3500-3000 BC) and IIA (3000-2800 BC) only a few samples were  
344 investigated and thus the observed changes may be not representative. Besides the major two taxa,  
345 some other riverine taxa were present (Fig. 2b): *Fraxinus sp.* (ca. 15% in IB (3500-3000 BC), 1% in IIA  
346 (3000-2800 BC), 10% in IIB (2800-2250 BC)), *Ulmus sp.* (ca. 6% in IB (3000-2800 BC), *Platanus/Fagus*  
347 *sp.* (0,5% in IB (3500-3000 BC) and 0,6% in IIB (2800-2250 BC)) and *Clematis sp.* (0,02% in IIB (2800-  
348 2250 BC) (Fig 2b). Cultivated taxa, such as *Ficus sp.*, *Vitis sp.*, *Olea sp.* and *Phoenix sp.* were almost  
349 exclusively present in period IIB (2800-2250 BC) (ca. 2%), except for a small percentage of *Ficus sp.*  
350 from IIA (3000-2800 BC) (Fig. 2b). Imported taxa, like *Pinus nigra/sylvestris* and *Cedrus sp.* were  
351 present in periods IIA (3000-2800 BC) and IIB (2800-2250 BC), with proportionally more in IIB (ca. 8%)  
352 (Fig. 2b). Open oak woodland taxa were also present amongst the different periods, with deciduous  
353 *Quercus sp.* present in all the periods, with the highest percentages (ca. 4%) in period IIB (2800-2250  
354 BC) (Fig. 2b). *Pistacia sp.* were present in layers from period IIB (2800-2250 BC) (0,4%) and IA (3500-  
355 3000 BC) (4%), while other taxa of open oak woodland such as *Juniperus sp.* (0,07%) and *Amygdalus*  
356 *sp.* (0,5%) were found only in period IIB (Fig. 2b).



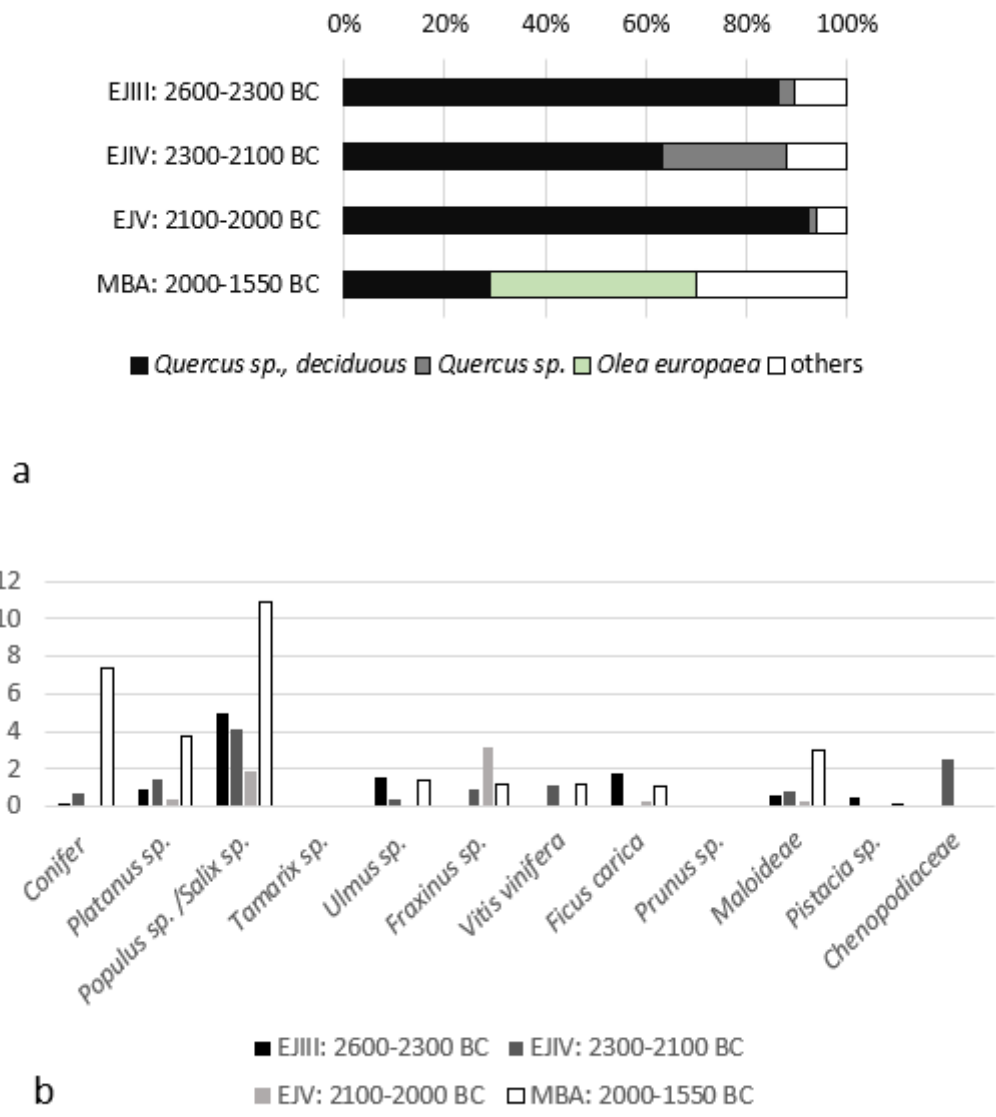
358

359 **Fig. 2.** Charcoal fragment count percentages from Tell Jerablus. a) Proportions of the most abundant  
 360 taxa, b) Proportions of less common taxa ("others" in 2a). For details on the number of fragments  
 361 and samples, see Table I.

362

363 The anthracological analysis from Tell Mozan indicates that oak – mostly, if not all, deciduous oak –  
 364 was the proportionally most represented taxon amongst the charcoals, representing between 28%  
 365 (MBA layers – 2000-1500 BC) and 92% (EJV – 2600-2300 BC) of the fragments identified across the  
 366 different periods (Fig. 3). While *Quercus sp.* has its lowest percentages in the MBA layers (Fig. 3a),  
 367 cultivated taxa, especially *Olea europaea* (ca. 41%) (Fig. 3a), but also *Vitis vinifera* and *Ficus carica*  
 368 (Fig. 3b) increased compared to the previous periods. This increase coincides with proportionally  
 369 more species associated with higher levels of moisture -possibly from riparian locations- in total  
 370 percentages, including *Populus sp./Salix sp.* (ca. 11%), *Platanus sp.*, *Ulmus sp.*, *Fraxinus sp.* (Fig. 3b).

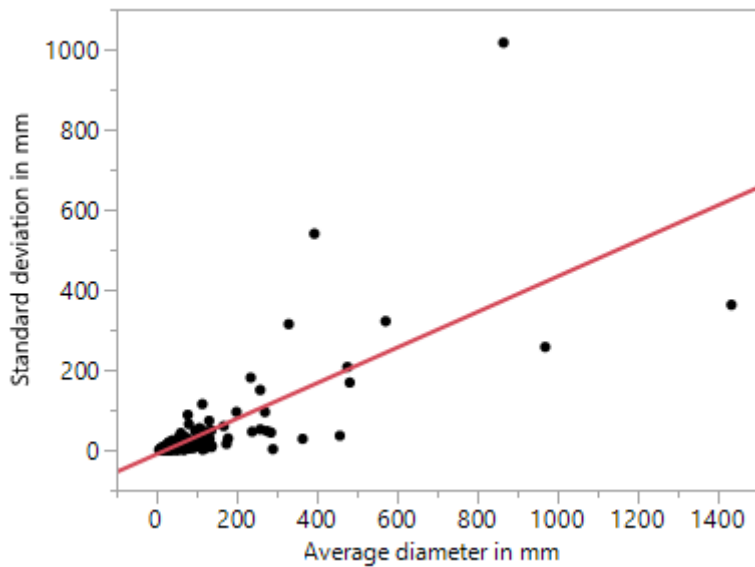
371 Additionally, compared to the Early Bronze Age there is an increased proportion of non-local taxa in  
 372 MBA layers, especially of conifers like *Pinus brutia/halepensis* that have a circum-Mediterranean  
 373 distribution (Zohary 1973: figs. 134 and 135) (Fig. 3b). However, although the proportion is high all  
 374 remains were recovered from a single sample, a fill outside a house that appears to have belonged to  
 375 elite (Pfälzner 2012).



376  
 377 **Fig. 3.** Charcoal fragment count percentages from Tell Mozan. a) Proportions of the most  
 378 represented taxa, b) Proportions of less common taxa. For details on the number of samples and  
 379 fragments see Table I.

380 Regarding the deciduous *Quercus sp.* diameter measurements, linear regression analysis in  
 381 combination with variance analysis shows a very high significant correlation between diameter  
 382 measurements and standard deviation (p value 0,001); more precisely, the larger the diameter, the  
 383 larger the standard deviation for the different measurements is (Fig. 4). Previous research found that  
 384 diameter measurements of more than 20 cm are unreliable (Paradis-Grenouillet et al. 2013).

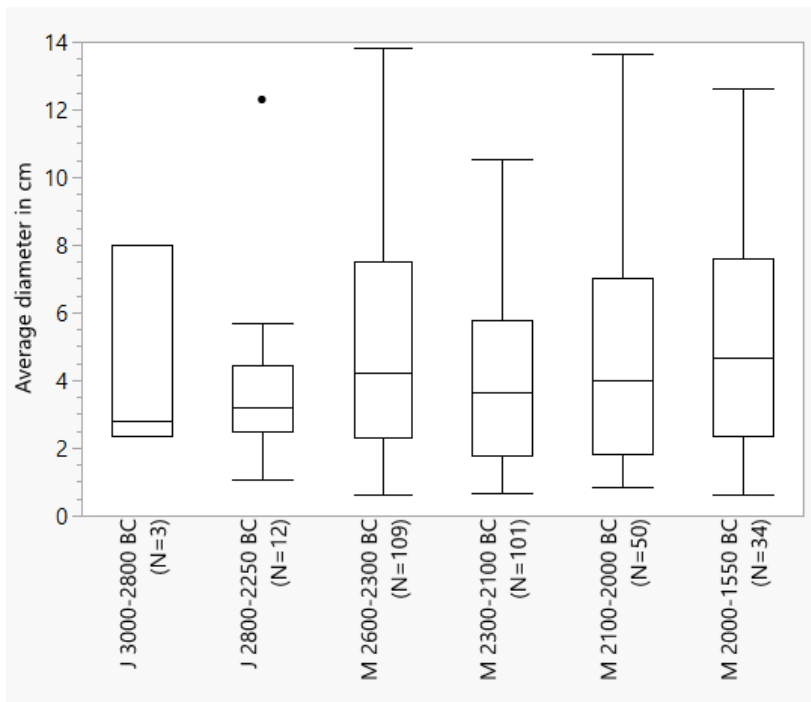
385 Therefore, we put all the large diameter measurements in Fig. 6 in one diameter class “more than 15  
386 cm”, indicating large diameters which cannot be measured precisely.



387

388 **Fig. 4.** Linear regression of standard deviation over the average diameter for the diameter  
389 measurements on oak.

390 The boxplot diagrams for oak diameter summarized according to the age of the sample context show  
391 that approximately half of the values are below 5 cm in all periods and that 75% of samples have a  
392 diameter clearly below 10 cm in all periods (Fig. 5). Based on non-homogeneous variance, non-  
393 normal distribution and low sample number for some groups, a Kruskal-Wallis test on the dataset  
394 was performed that shows no significant differences at the level  $p < 0,05$  in the distribution of the  
395 samples (Chi square = 5,41,  $p = 0,372$ ,  $df = 5$ ).



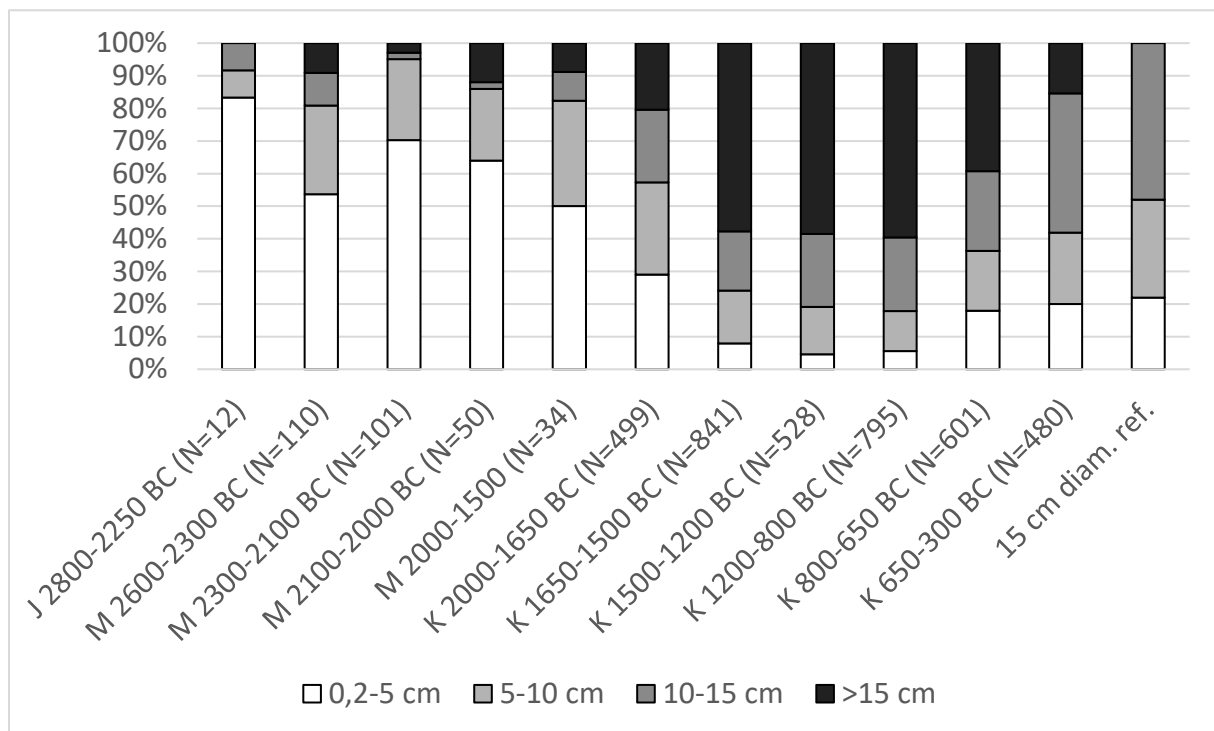
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397

398 **Fig. 5. Boxplot diagrams of oak diameters according to the period (i.e., the age for the layers the**  
 399 **charcoal was found in). Samples that could not be assigned that precisely to one of the periods**  
 400 **detailed were omitted.**

401 In figure 6 the diameter data of oak for the different phases is summarized in diameter classes and  
 402 compared with the diameter distribution for published reference data of a 15 cm diameter log  
 403 (Dufraisse and García Martínez 2011) and data from Kaman-Kalehöyük in Turkey (Wright 2018). The  
 404 two northern Syria sites show a different pattern to both Kaman-Kalehöyük and the 15cm log  
 405 burning, with a greater proportion of the assemblage in the 0-5cm range and a lower proportion of  
 406 larger fragments.

407



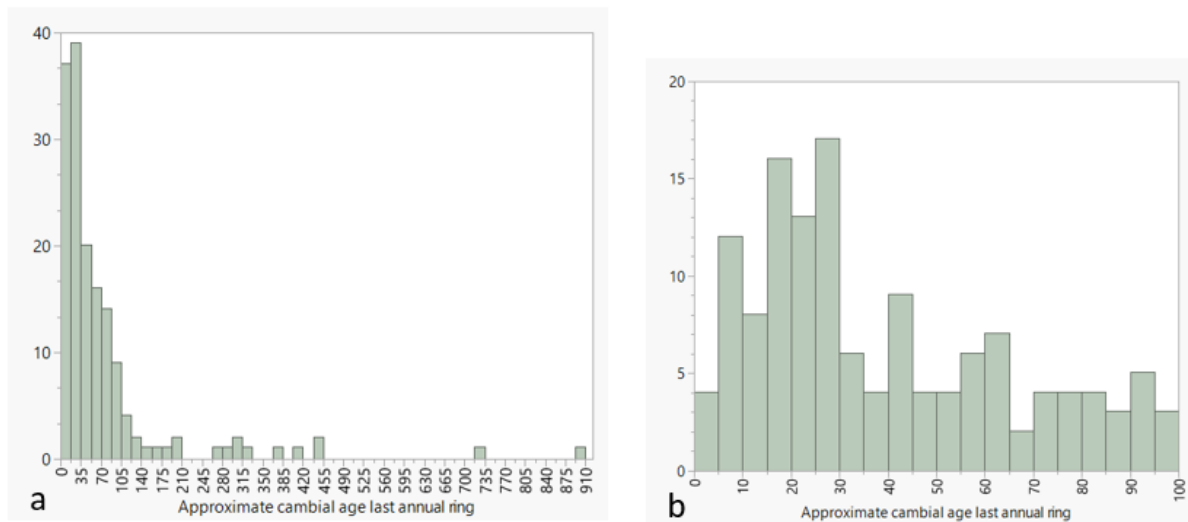
408

409 **Fig. 6. Distribution of charcoal diameters amongst diameter classes for the different periods. The**  
 410 **reference data, indicated with „ref.“, is for a 15 cm diameter log.**J= Jerablus, M= Mozan, K= Kaman-  
 411 **Kalehöyük**

412 The results of the cambial age estimation for the last available annual ring on the charcoal fragments  
 413 show that just under half of the fragments represent cambial ages of 35 years or less (81 fragments),  
 414 while just over half were older (85 fragments) (Fig. 7), including trees which seem to have been 730  
 415 and more than 900 years old. The 900-year-old tree has a diameter measurement of only 57 cm  
 416 which would equal about 70 cm by calculating a 24% shrinking during carbonization, which can be  
 417 considered as slow growth. The 730-year-old oak had a diameter of ca. 1 m, which would have been  
 418 without shrinking during carbonization ca. 1,24 m, which is more substantial. Compared to these  
 419 values, in temperate regions oaks of 730 or 900 years, would often be more than double this size  
 420 (e.g., Haneca 2005). An estimated value of 2520 years old was omitted from the graph since it was  
 421 likely an overestimate (Sample MZ01\_q2866a\_3). It should be noted though that also the 900- and  
 422 730-year estimates may be overestimates since the slow growth measurements were done on wood  
 423 of old cambial age, which grows slower than wood from young cambial age (Schweingruber 1993).  
 424 While we try to detect chronological trends in the data, the results shown in Fig. 7a and b indicate  
 425 that we should keep in mind during interpretation that oak trees can be long-lived; and that the

426 measured annual ring widths and diameters may not be directly dated to the context in which they  
427 were recovered.

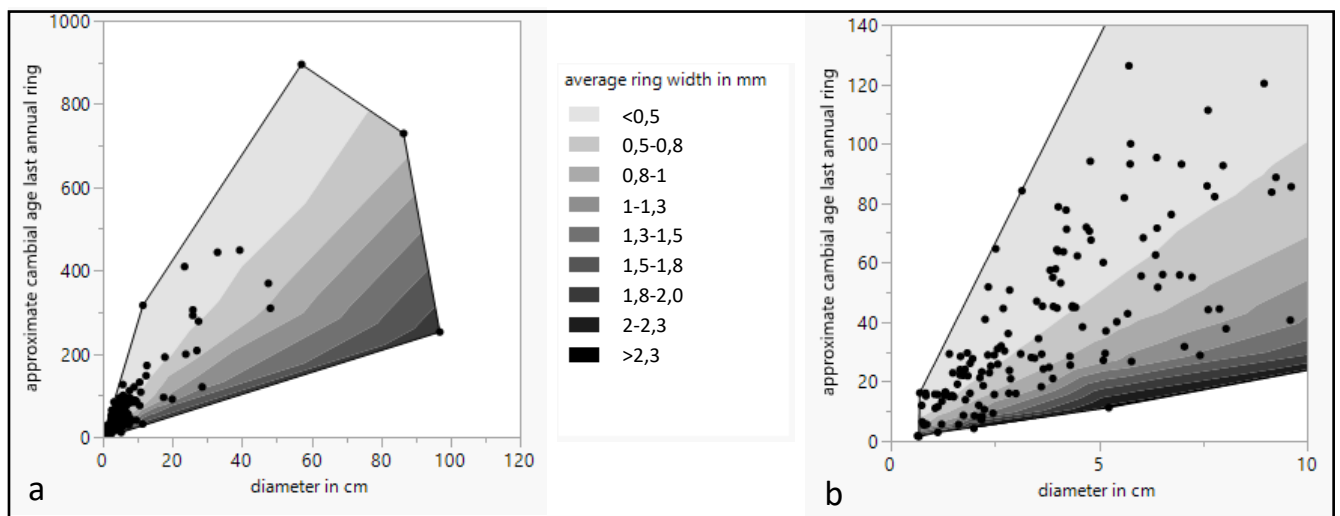
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429

430 **Fig. 7.** a. Distribution of number of oak samples according to their approximate cambial age of the  
431 last preserved annual ring. b is a zoomed in version of a. Sample MZ01\_q2866a\_3 with an estimated  
432 cambial age of 2520 years is not depicted. b. Zoom-in of figure a within the reach of 0-100 years of  
433 approximate cambial age of last preserved annual ring.

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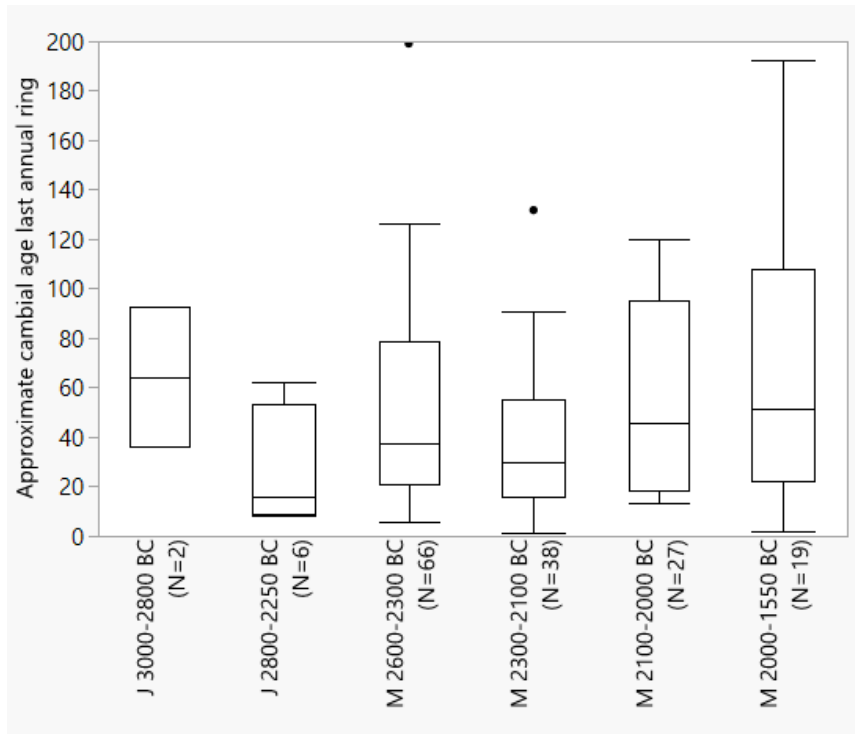
442

443 **Fig. 8.** Approximate cambial age of the last preserved annual ring versus diameter in cm of oak with  
444 indication of the average ring width – a. all the data from Tell Mozan and Jerablus, b. detail of the  
445 data.

446 Figure 8 plots the diameter, cambial age and growth rate. The lighter grey sections indicate slow  
447 growth, while the darker greys the opposite. Because the data are clustered in the light grey sections,  
448 we can infer slow growth is common. Only 16 fragments had a minimal estimated cambial age below  
449 10 years, while only 3 were below 4 years.

450 Some differences over time are visible in the boxplots that depict the distribution of the  
451 measurements of the last preserved annual ring over time (Fig. 9). In particular, the median of the  
452 approximate cambial age of the last preserved annual ring from Middle Bronze Age Mozan (M 2000-  
453 1550 BC) appears to be higher than in previous periods. Half of the measured values were above 52

454 years old. In the previous periods at Mozan the median has changed from 37 years in the period  
 455 between 2600-2300 BC, to 30 years in the period between 2300-2100 BC, 45 years between 2100-  
 456 2000 BC. Since the sample number was small and the data for the different groups was not always  
 457 normally distributed, a Kruskal-Wallis test on the whole dataset was also performed, but no  
 458 significant differences were visible at the level  $p < 0,05$  in the distribution of the samples (Chi square =  
 459 6,70,  $p = 0,242$ ,  $df = 5$ ).



460

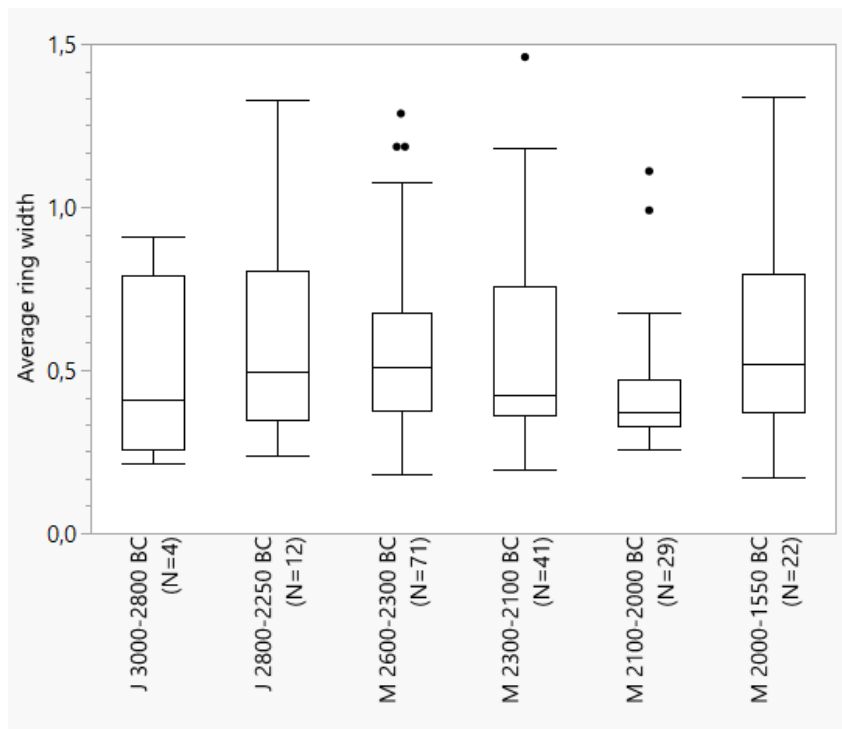
461 **Fig. 9.** Boxplot diagrams that show the distributions of the last preserved annual ring versus the  
 462 period of the samples for oak (zoomed in into the reach of 0-200 - not all outliers are visible). Sample  
 463 MZ01\_q2866a\_3 was omitted from the analysis as well as samples that did not belong to one of the  
 464 periods detailed.

465 Figure 10 shows box-plot diagrams for the ring width of the samples for the different periods. Most  
 466 marked is the boxplot with the ring widths for the period between 2100-2000 BC from Mozan. The  
 467 median is smallest for this period, being 0,4 mm. Additionally, 75% of the measurements are smaller  
 468 than 0,5 mm, whereas the 3<sup>rd</sup> percentile for the other periods is higher, between 0,8 and 0,7. Since  
 469 unequal variances occur, the data is not normally distributed and not all groups have more than 30  
 470 samples, a Kruskal-Wallis test was undertaken on the whole dataset. However, no significant  
 471 differences could be observed (Chi square = 8,40,  $p = 0,142$ ,  $df = 5$ ). On a smaller dataset with only  
 472 those groups with 30 or more observations (see Fig. 10), a Welch test was performed, that showed  
 473 significant differences for the means of Mozan 2600-2300 BC, Mozan 2300-2100 BC and Mozan  
 474 2100-2000 BC at a 0,05 significance ( $F(2, 75, 26) = 4,92$ ,  $p = 0,001$ ). A Games-Howell follow-up test  
 475 showed that the significant difference was between 2600-2300 BC and 2100-2000 BC, while no  
 476 significant difference could be discerned between 2600-2300 BC and 2300-2100 BC and between  
 477 2300-2100 and 2100-2000 BC.

478 The average ring width for charcoal samples from all periods from both sites is 0,58 mm. Considering  
 479 the 24% shrinkage due to charcoalification, an average annual growth of 0,7 mm is calculated, with a  
 480 range between 0,2 and 2,9mm.

481



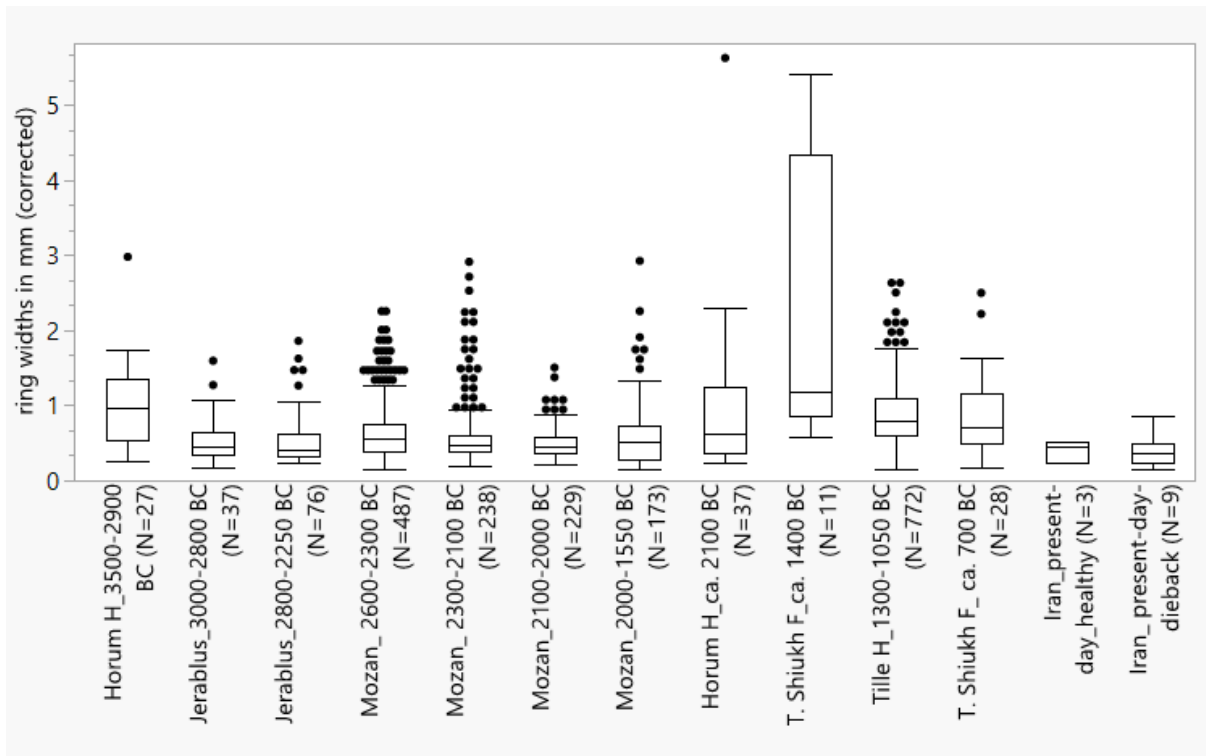


482

483 **Fig. 10.** Boxplot diagrams of oak fragments showing the distribution of the average ring  
 484 widths/fragment for each period (some outliers are not visible due to zooming in). Samples that did  
 485 not belong to one of the periods detailed are excluded.

486 An overview of the available comparison data on annual ring widths, all corrected for the 24%  
 487 shrinkage, is visible in the boxplots of Fig. 11. Ring width data for oak charcoal was found for Tille  
 488 Höyük located approximately 100 km north of Jerablus in Turkey, (Griggs et al.  
 489 <https://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/paleo-search/study/8516>, accessed online 09.06.2020), Horum Höyük  
 490 on the Middle Euphrates in Turkey somewhat north of Jerablus (Pessin 2004) and Tell Shiukh  
 491 Fawqani on the Middle Euphrates in Syria, just to the south of Jerablus (Pessin 2004) (figure 1). Both  
 492 Tille and Horum experience a slightly moister climate than Jerablus in the present day, while Shiukh  
 493 Fawqani is close enough for the climate to be considered identical. Additionally, some present-day  
 494 ring width values for oak in different health statuses were also available for *Quercus brantii* from the  
 495 Ilam region in Iran today (Tongo et al. 2020). The latter region receives slightly more rainfall and has  
 496 lower temperatures than our research area in the present day as it is at a higher elevation.

497



498

499 **Fig. 11.** Boxplots that show the distribution of the oak ring width data from Mozan and Jerablus  
 500 compared with those from the archaeological sites Tille Höyük (Griggs et al.  
 501 <https://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/paleo-search/study/8516>, accessed online 09.06.2020), Horum Höyük  
 502 and Shiukh Fawqani (Pessin 2004). In order to be able to compare the charred archaeological data  
 503 with the present-day values for Iran, a correction of 24% has been calculated. N refers to average  
 504 ring width/fragment for Horum Höyük and Tell Shiukh Fawqani, to average ring width/region for Iran,  
 505 whereas to individual ring width measurements for Mozan, Jerablus and Tille Höyük.

506 A Kruskal-Wallis test was performed since not all data has a normal distribution and the variance is  
 507 unequal, as well as there are samples with few observations. The results indicate that not all  
 508 distributions are the same (Chi square = 479,87,  $p = < 0,0001$ ,  $df = 12$ ). A follow-up Dunn's test shows  
 509 that the groups as depicted in Table III differ. Besides the in fig. 11 visibly differing Shiukh  
 510 Fawqani\_ca. 1400 BC and Mozan (all periods) and Fawqani\_ca. 1400 BC and Jerablus (all periods),  
 511 also significant differences in the distributions have been detected between Tille Höyük and Mozan  
 512 (all periods), Tille Höyük and Jerablus (all periods), Shiukh Fawqani\_700 BC and some periods from  
 513 Mozan and Jerablus. Furthermore, also the distributions of the present-day Iranian dieback samples  
 514 differ from those of Shiukh Fawqani\_ca. 1400 BC, Horum Höyük\_3500-2900 BC, and Tille Höyük.  
 515 Moreover, there are also differences in the distributions of the Mozan 2100-2000 BC samples and  
 516 those from 2600-2300 BC of the same site. Finally, the Horum Höyük\_3500-2900 BC samples differ  
 517 from the Mozan samples and 3000-2800 BC Jerablus samples.

518

Groups that show significant differences		p-value
Shiukh Fawqani_ ca. 1400 BC	Mozan_ 2600-2300 BC	0,00
Shiukh Fawqani_ ca. 1400 BC	Mozan_ 2300-2100 BC	<,0001
Shiukh Fawqani_ ca. 1400 BC	Mozan_ 2100-2000 BC	<,0001
Shiukh Fawqani_ ca. 1400 BC	Mozan_ 2000-1550 BC	<,0001
Shiukh Fawqani_ ca. 1400 BC	Jerablus_ 3000-2800 BC	<,0001

Shiukh Fawqani_ ca. 1400 BC	Jerablus_ 2800-2250 BC	<,0001
Tille Höyük_1300-1050 BC	Mozan_ 2600-2300 BC	<,0001
Tille Höyük_1300-1050 BC	Mozan_ 2300-2100 BC	<,0001
Tille Höyük_1300-1050 BC	Mozan_ 2100-2000 BC	<,0001
Tille Höyük_1300-1050 BC	Mozan_ 2000-1550 BC	<,0001
Tille Höyük_1300-1050 BC	Jerablus_ 3000-2800 BC	<,0001
Tille Höyük_1300-1050 BC	Jerablus_ 2800-2250 BC	<,0001
Shiukh Fawqani_ 700 BC	Mozan_ 2100-2000 BC	0,00
Shiukh Fawqani_ 700 BC	Mozan_ 2300-2100 BC	0,01
Shiukh Fawqani_ 700 BC	Mozan_ 2000-1550 BC	0,02
Shiukh Fawqani_ 700 BC	Jerablus_ 2800-2250 BC	0,00
Horum Höyük_ ca. 2100 BC	Mozan_ 2100-2000 BC	0,01
Mozan_ 2100-2000 BC	Mozan_ 2600-2300 BC	<,0001
Mozan_ 2600-2300 BC	Horum Höyük_3500-2900 BC	0,00
Mozan_ 2000-1550 BC	Horum Höyük_3500-2900 BC	<,0001
Mozan_ 2300-2100 BC	Horum Höyük_3500-2900 BC	<,0001
Jerablus_ 3000-2800 BC	Horum Höyük_3500-2900 BC	0,00
Jerablus_ 2800-2250 BC	Horum Höyük_3500-2900 BC	<,0001
Mozan_ 2100-2000 BC	Horum Höyük_3500-2900 BC	<,0001
present day-dieback	Shiukh Fawqani_ 700 BC	0,04
present day-dieback	Tille Höyük_1300-1050 BC	0,00
present day-dieback	Horum Höyük_3500-2900 BC	0,00
present day-dieback	Shiukh Fawqani_ ca. 1400 BC	<,0001

519

520 **Table III.** Results of the Dunn's test on the ring-width dataset. Only those groups that showed  
521 significant differences are depicted with their p-value.

522 A Welch test on a reduced dataset with only groups with more than 20 observations included (cf. Fig.  
523 11), also suggests that not all means are the same ( $F(9, 213,77) = 54,44, p < 0,001$ ). A follow-up  
524 Games Howell test indicates that Horum Höyük samples from 3500-2900 BC and the different Mozan  
525 phase samples are significantly different for their means. Also the Tille Höyük samples differ from  
526 Mozan and Jerablus samples from the different phases. Furthermore, the Mozan 2300-2100 BC and  
527 2600-2300 BC samples differ significantly for their mean from the Mozan 2100-2000 BC samples  
528 (Table IV).

529

Site and period	Results of the GH test			Mean in mm
Horum Höyük_3500-2900 BC	A			1,03
Horum Höyük_ ca. 2100 BC	A	B	C	0,92
Shiukh Fawqani_ ca. 700 BC	A	B		0,89
Tille Höyük_ 1300-1050 BC	A			0,88
Mozan_2600-2300 BC		B		0,63
Mozan_2300-2100 BC		B		0,59
Mozan_2000-1550 BC		B	C	0,57
Jerablus_2800-2250 BC		B	C	0,53
Jerablus_3000-2800 BC		B	C	0,53
Mozan_2100-2000 BC			C	0,49

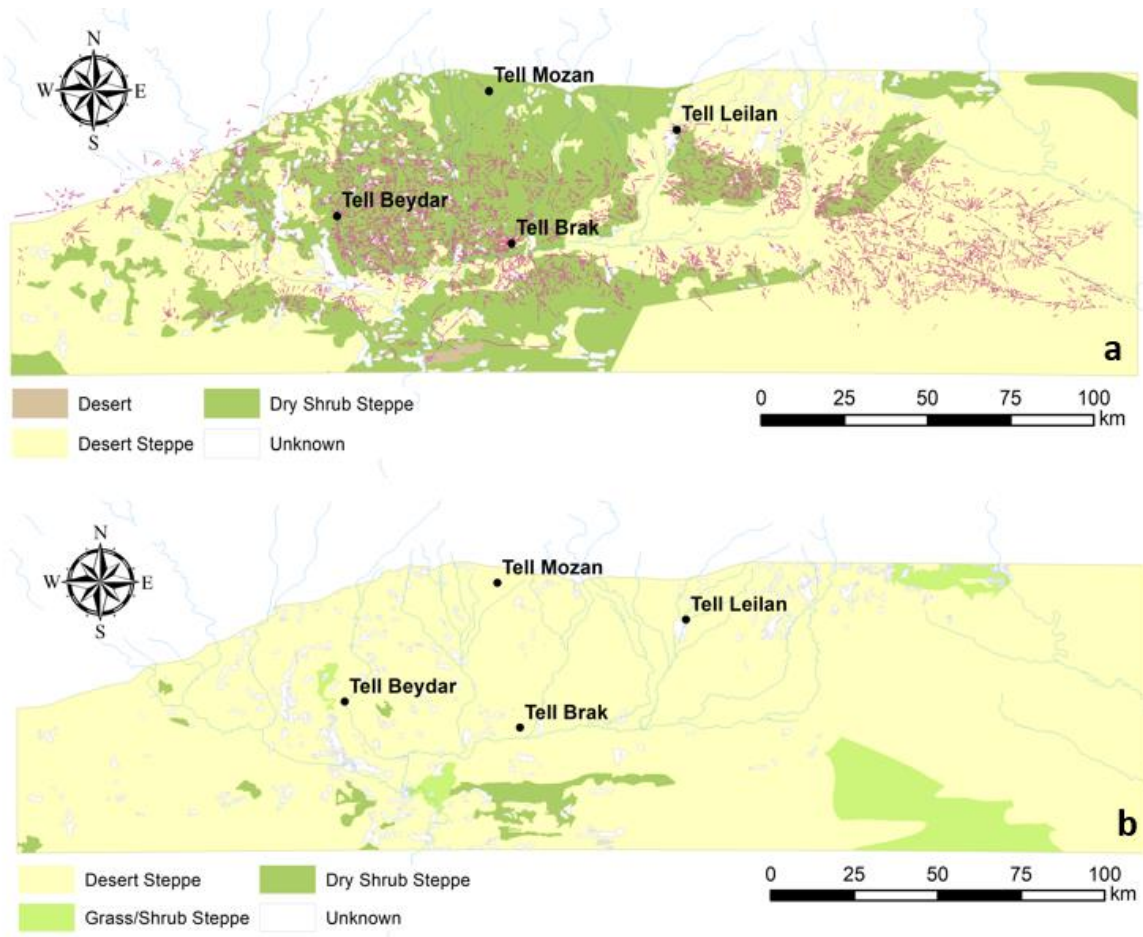
530

531 **Table IV.** Mean corrected annual ring width for different sites and results of the Games Howell test  
532 on annual ring width for the different sites. Sites that are not connected by the same letters differ  
533 significantly. A correction factor of 24% shrinking has been applied.

534 Possible morphological signatures for the impact of browsing have been found on 12 of the 121 oak  
535 charcoal fragments from Mozan. These consisted of the lack of early wood vessels, irregular annual  
536 rings, disoriented structures, discontinuous thick rays, and vessel collapse (as previously published in  
537 Deckers 2016). No charcoals from other sites were investigated for these signatures so far.

538 In Figure 12 the potential vegetation based on the GIS modelling of archaeobotanical fruit/seed  
539 remains for the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC is depicted, as well as the hollow ways assumed to date  
540 mainly to the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. Hollow ways, that possibly delineate the area occupied by  
541 cultivation, indicate that a large part of the Upper Khabur Basin was used for agriculture. It is likely  
542 that further areas were under cultivation, but the hollow ways have not survived later processes of  
543 landscape transformation, such as heavy ploughing and later irrigation schemes. While dry shrub  
544 steppe appears to have been strongly represented in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC  
545 this vegetation type was clearly reduced.

546



547

548 **Fig. 12.** Potential vegetation maps of the Upper Khabur Basin in north-eastern Syria for the 3<sup>rd</sup>  
549 millennium BC (a) and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC (b) based on vegetation modelling in GIS using  
550 archaeobotanical wild plant seed/fruit remains. On map (a) also the hollow ways are indicated (pink  
551 linear features) (data from Ur 2010b).

552

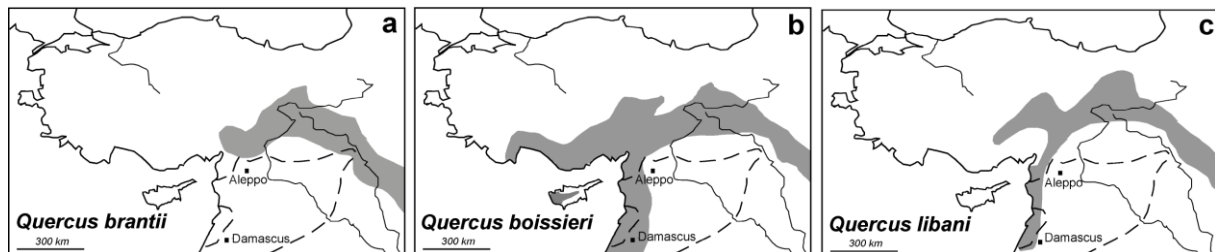
## 553 Discussion

554

### 555 Former southwards distribution of oak

556 The charcoal taxa proportions from Tell Mozan and Tell Jerablus are different from one another. This  
557 relates largely to the different location of the sites: While Jerablus sits along the Euphrates River and  
558 is dominated by riverine taxa (such as mainly *Populus/Salix* and *Tamarix*), Tell Mozan was located on  
559 a much smaller and intermittent wadi in the Upper Khabur Basin, and as with other sites in the  
560 region (Deckers 2016) oak woodland taxa were most common. Oak is present at Jerablus, and other  
561 sites along the Middle Euphrates (Deckers 2019), but in small proportions, 4% in period IIB (2800-  
562 2250 BC), and no higher than 14% at other sites with a marked gradient from north to south likely a  
563 result of rainfall gradients. Based on the present-day vegetation, Hillman (in Moore et al. 2000)  
564 suggested that the potential vegetation of the Upper Khabur Basin and the Middle Euphrates at  
565 Jerablus discounting the Euphrates valley riparian forest, would have been deciduous oak-Rosaceae  
566 park woodland.

567 Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify oak charcoal to the species level. Although no oak is  
568 present in northeastern Syria today, based on the oak distribution maps from Zohary (1973) we  
569 deduce that *Quercus brantii* would be the most likely candidate (Fig. 13). Today, this tree species  
570 typically overlaps with steppe vegetation, as well as being associated with *Q. infectoria* ssp. *boisseiri*,  
571 Rosaceae species, and *Pistacia atlantica/terebinthus*. Further north, the number of associating trees  
572 increases and under more favourable conditions *Q. brantii* is even replaced by *Q. infectoria* ssp.  
573 *boissieri* or/and *Q. libani* (Zohary 1973).



574

575 **Fig. 13.** Distribution of a) *Quercus brantii*, b) *Quercus infectoria boissieri* and c) *Quercus libani* (after  
576 Zohary 1973).

### 577 Evidence for oak management, coppicing or pollarding?

578 *Q. brantii* trees and oak in general are considered valuable resources in the Near East. They have  
579 been exploited for food (Mason and Nesbitt 2009), fodder, building material, fuel, shade, and leather  
580 tanning, and are often deliberately managed to enhance resource gain (e.g., Valipour et al. 2014;  
581 Soltani et al. 2015). In the northern Zagros of Iran, for example, silvopastoral management of oaks  
582 traditionally consists of “Galazani” treatment, which comprises the harvesting of pollarded trees on a  
583 3 to 4-year cycle for animal fodder in winter. Additionally, this manipulation of the tree causes the  
584 presence of enough herbaceous cover for animal browsing in the dry season (Valipour et al. 2014). In  
585 the Tur’Abdin in Eastern Turkey, just north of the Syrian border and Tell Mozan, shredding (removal  
586 of the lower branches) and coppicing are practiced, while some trees are allowed to grow bigger for  
587 acorn production (Mason and Nesbitt 2009). In Central Anatolia there is widespread evidence for oak  
588 woodland management, consisting of coppicing, pollarding, and shredding, while large areas of oak  
589 woodland pasture have also been attested (Asouti and Kabukcu 2014). Most of these kinds of  
590 woodland management practices would typically result in the presence of small diameter charcoal

591 fragments within the archaeological record, which is the case in Northern Syria, with between 30%  
592 and 83% of measured fragments having a diameter less than 5 cm and between 80 and 96% a  
593 diameter less than 10 cm.

594 However, the cambial age distribution of the last preserved annual ring indicates that the majority of  
595 wood present at the sites had an estimated cambial age of more than 35 years, which is  
596 approximately the longest known coppicing interval (Nicolescu et al. 2017). As mentioned above, oak  
597 harvesting cycles in adjacent areas are only about 4 years. Therefore, the presence of many small  
598 diameters amongst our data may be the result of slow growth. An average growth rate of 0,7  
599 mm/year implies a radial growth of about 14 cm in 100 years, while the minimal growth that was  
600 measured of only 0,20 mm would imply a trunk with a diameter of only 4 cm in 100 years. This fits  
601 well with vegetation reconstructions based on wild plant seeds from archaeological sites that  
602 indicate a dry shrub steppe -almost as dry as a desert but with small trees or shrubs (de Gruchy et al.  
603 2016, 254)- occurred across the Khabur Basin Plains of Northeastern Syria in the Early Bronze Age, up  
604 to about the limit of present-day dry farming (de Gruchy et al. 2016; ADEMNES) (Fig. 12). Moreover,  
605 there are indications that dung was used as an additional fuel in Tell Mozan, which may suggest -if  
606 dung was not the preferred fuel (Peña et al. 2003)- that wood resources were not that plentiful  
607 available (Deckers 2016), since the woody vegetation was rather open and mostly shrub was  
608 available.

609 A Kruskal-Wallis test could not detect significant differences in the distributions between the  
610 samples from dieback oak in Iran and the samples from Mozan or Jerablus, while the Tille Höyük  
611 samples for example were significantly different for their distribution (Table III). The dieback of oak in  
612 Iran today is due to climatic drying, overgrazing, understory cropping and land-use changes that  
613 made the oaks prone to diseases (Tongo et al. 2020). Narrowest ring widths were observed in trees  
614 that showed strong dieback, but the average ring width values differed from area to area in Iran  
615 (Tongo et al. 2020). The largest average growth with strong dieback was 0,37mm per year and came  
616 from the Dalab woodlands. About 13% of the measurements from Tell Mozan and Tell Jerablus had a  
617 smaller annual growth than this figure, while 31% had annual growth values less than 0,47 mm. The  
618 latter value is the mean value for moderate dieback in Ilam (cf. Table III). Hence, a proportion of the  
619 oak in Mozan and Jerablus seems to have grown as slow as severe and moderate dieback oak from  
620 Iran, so it is possible that (some of the) oak was under pressure, perhaps through overgrazing.

#### 621 **Slow growth of oak and herbivore browsing**

622 In the Karadag area in Turkey, slow growth in oak scrub is associated with intensive grazing by  
623 caprine herds and feral horses (Asouti and Kabukcu 2014). The morphological analysis of oak  
624 charcoals indicates that some may show morphological features of browsing. Studies on foraging  
625 behaviour of cattle and goats in oak woodlands in Greece have shown that while cattle only feed on  
626 herbaceous species, goats browse quite strongly on oak (41% of their total intake) and have a  
627 negative impact on the growth of the shoots (Papachristou and Platis 2011). Slow growth has often  
628 been cited in relation to herbivore browsing pressure, and the impact appears to increase closer to  
629 the limits of the natural habitat zone of the tree species (e.g., Speed et al. 2011; Trotter et al. 2002).  
630 Phytolith investigations of coprolites from Early Bronze Age Tell Abd, south of Jerablus along the  
631 Euphrates, demonstrates that sheep/goat were grazing in woody areas or fed by additional woody  
632 fodder (Riehl 2019). Besides herbivores, omnivores can impact on oak woodland, e.g., pigs by  
633 rooting. This causes a decrease in aboveground biomass and reduces the survival of tree seedlings,  
634 limiting tree regeneration and reproduction (Sweitzer and Van Vuren 2002). Enamel investigations on  
635 pig teeth from the study region (Leilan) indicate changes over time in the management of pigs, with  
636 more indications of stress after 2600 BC, possibly related with increased penning of pigs and  
637 intensification (Price et al. 2017). Textual evidence also indicates that they were kept in pens rather  
638 than being herded by the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC (Price et al. 2017). If these management practices were  
639 universal, pigs may have had some impact on woodland before 2600 BC but would not be

640 responsible for the slow-growing oak after 2600 BC. The shift from free roaming to penning pigs may  
641 even have been a consequence of the depletion of oak woodland and the resulting absence of  
642 suitable foodstuffs such as acorns (Price et al. 2017), although more data is required to assess the  
643 validity of this argument.

644 Archaeozoological remains from sites in northern Syria indicate that during the fourth and 3<sup>rd</sup>  
645 millennium BC specialised pastoralism had developed (Zeder 1995). Evidence from Tell Mozan  
646 indicates that sheep and goat bones dominate the archaeozoological record, as was the case at most  
647 sites in the region, whereas pigs, accounting for up to 10% of the domesticated species, seem to have  
648 played a smaller role, but still important at the household level (compare Doll 2010 with Zeder 1995  
649 and a summary in Price 2017). Estimations for land use in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC based on site sizes,  
650 population levels and pre-modern energy requirements have been calculated for the Upper Khabur  
651 Basin and suggest that the area was so intensively inhabited that hardly enough land was available  
652 for pasture, which implies impact on the oak woodland was likely if all the pasture took place in the  
653 surroundings of the sites (Deckers 2016, but also Wilkinson 1994, 2003 and Kalayci 2016). Based on  
654 the extension of hollow ways (cf. Fig. 12a) several scholars have inferred that the area available for  
655 pasture was extremely limited (Wilkinson 2003, Ur 2009). In these areas animals may have been  
656 taken further away from the site into the steppe beyond the cultivation zone and/or had to be fed by  
657 additional cultivated fodder, putting them into competition with people for food (Wilkinson 2003).  
658 More complex linkages between pastoralism and cultivation, such as the grazing of flocks on failed  
659 crops in bad years, may have been used to mitigate risk in areas where limited rainfall meant stable  
660 crop yields could not be guaranteed (see Wilkinson et al. 2014). In the Jerablus surroundings  
661 settlement density was lower than in the Upper Khabur region, but was still higher than in areas  
662 further south, and agricultural needs may have limited available pastoral areas (Wilkinson et al.  
663 2012). Further work on local land use practices is required to fully contextualise our results.

664 Textual evidence indicates that pastoral activities during the Early Bronze Age were a major aspect of  
665 the political economy, with even higher numbers of animals than calculated in the estimations of  
666 Deckers (2016). At the Early Bronze Age centre of Tell Beydar, about 60 km southwest of Tell Mozan,  
667 ancient texts indicate that the central institution administered 7,400 sheep and goat (Sallaberger  
668 2004). Texts from Ebla, located ca. 150 km southwest of Jerablus and likely the political centre of the  
669 entire region, indicate that urban institutions controlled large herds. The number of sheep under the  
670 control of the Ebla palace has been estimated as between 80 000 and 110 000 according to Archi  
671 (1993). He noted that these were only the sheep directly controlled by the palace, and we can  
672 assume that most rural communities had their own flocks. According to an estimate by Milano  
673 (1995), also based on the texts from Ebla, a flock would have consisted of 67 000 sheep and there  
674 would have been 10 of them, a total of 670 000 sheep. Regardless of the precise numbers, sheep  
675 rearing was a major economic activity and wool production was an important asset (e.g., Milano  
676 1995; Doll 2010). However, in the calculations of the land needed to feed the people as undertaken  
677 in Deckers (2016), Wilkinson (1994) and others (e.g., Kalayci 2016), sheep for wool were not  
678 included. Despite this, all three reconstructions suggest there was hardly enough land available to  
679 feed the inferred human populations.

#### 680 **Extensive agricultural fields and their impact on oak woodland**

681 The extensification of farming practices over the Late Chalcolithic and Bronze Age may also have put  
682 pressure on woodland resources (Styring et al. 2017), either by pushing pastoral activity into new  
683 areas or more directly by extending into wooded environments. The latter could include woodland  
684 clearance and replacement with cultivated fields, or by understory cropping. In particular, as in Iran,  
685 understory cropping may have caused reduced annual growth of the oaks (Tongo et al. 2020). While  
686 compared to animal husbandry, agriculture proportionally takes up less land per caloric output, the



687 extension of hollow ways that delineate the agricultural land under use (Ur 2009; Ur 2010b) (Fig. 12a)  
688 and the calculations of agricultural land based on settlement size (Deckers and Riehl 2008; Deckers  
689 2016), both indicate that a large area of the land was used for agriculture (see also Riehl 2010 and  
690 Kabukcu 2012), which may have been cleared of its woody vegetation. The charcoal data from  
691 Jerablus indicates that fruit tree cultivation may have been most intense in phase IIB (2800-2250 BC)  
692 (ca. 2%). No decrease in oak percentages is visible at that time, but this may also reflect the fact that  
693 only few charcoal samples have been investigated from the previous periods (see Table I).  
694 Additionally, due to the location of Jerablus at the Euphrates edge, it is likely that fields, vineyards  
695 and fruit orchards may have been located near to the Euphrates and thus mostly impacted the  
696 riverine woody vegetation and not the oak woodland. A reduction in riverine taxa from phase IA to  
697 IIB is visible and may be indicative of degradation of the riverine woodland diversity. Oak woodland  
698 may therefore have remained less affected by agriculture in that area.

699 In Mozan, on the other hand, cultivated charcoal taxa percentages were similarly high in the EJIII  
700 phase (2600-2300 BC) and slightly lower in the following Early Bronze Age phases (1% in the phase  
701 2300-2100 BC, 0,2% in the phase 2100-2000 BC). Oak dominates this site and only diminishes during  
702 the Middle Bronze Age, when there was a peak in fruit tree taxa in the charcoal remains, up to 43%  
703 of the fragments identified (mostly olive). This shift to fruit tree exploitation occurred as the  
704 settlement diminished in size. Interestingly, no olive stones have been found in the Middle Bronze  
705 Age occupation layers (Riehl 2010), but this may be due to olive processing taking place at another  
706 location. Olive charcoal, possibly pruning waste, appears to have been more readily available from  
707 the Middle Bronze Age onwards at Mozan (Riehl 2010).

#### 708 **The impact of the fluctuating climate on oak and its growth**

709 Besides human impact through pastoral activities and agriculture, climatic stress may also have been  
710 responsible for the slow growth of the oaks in northern Syria and a general reduction of oak  
711 woodland. The period under consideration here, between 3500 and 1550 BC, witnessed climatic  
712 fluctuations as reflected in a variety of local palaeoclimate records (Finné et al. 2019; Jones et al.  
713 2019; Palmisano et al. 2021). The period between 3500 and 3000 BC appears to have been  
714 somewhat moister than today, with the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC even wetter. From the  
715 second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC onwards climatic conditions became increasingly drier, with an  
716 arid peak around 2200 BC that was also seen in many other regions (e.g., summary in Kaniewski et al.  
717 2018).

718 Although there is no pollen data for this region, anthracology has established that oak appears to  
719 have expanded to its maximum extent in the Fertile Crescent by the mid-Holocene. This also fits with  
720 the pollen data available to the north of our study region, that shows the maximal oak pollen  
721 expansion between 4000 and 2000 BC (Wick et al. 2003). Ideally, we could use the modern Iranian  
722 data to identify expected annual ring widths under different climatic conditions. It is of note that the  
723 sites that are located in moister conditions (like Tille Höyük and Horum Höyük) are significantly  
724 different from the Iranian samples in their distributions, whereas those from Mozan and Jerablus do  
725 not show significant differences. Interestingly, there are also significant differences in the means of  
726 the annual ring width between 2600-2300 BC and 2100-200 BC and 2300-2100 BC and 2100-2000 BC,  
727 with the smallest mean annual ring width for 2100-2000 BC, which is possibly related with the 2200  
728 BC arid event. It is of note that at Mozan the upper quartile and upper whisker is lower than in other  
729 periods for the period 2100-2000 BC (Fig. 10), which may relate to aridity, causing fewer oaks with  
730 good growth. Further investigation is required to assess whether this aridity pattern for the phase  
731 2100-2000 BC recurs when more measurement data becomes available, especially when data from  
732 the Middle Bronze Age can be added to the statistics. The pattern, however, may also have been  
733 caused by the fact that the measured annual rings of the charcoals may not be approximately related

734 to the layer they were found in. The variety of the annual ring widths may also have been caused by  
735 possible different specific locations in the landscape.

### 736 **Woodland Exploitation and Land Use during the Late Chalcolithic and Bronze Age**

737 Our anthracological analyses demonstrate that there are clear differences in the types of woodland  
738 exploited at Jerablus and Mozan. Whereas the inhabitants of Jerablus were more reliant on riverine  
739 species, at Early Bronze Age Mozan people were more reliant on oak. This difference can be  
740 explained by the different locations of both sites, with Jerablus sitting right along the Euphrates,  
741 while Mozan is not located along a perennial river. The Euphrates woodland vegetation was not only  
742 lushier than the oak woodland further away from the river, it was possibly also the zone that was  
743 exploited most for agriculture. The find of burned dung pellets (Kabukcu 2012) in combination with  
744 riverine woodland at Jerablus even more so indicates that there was not much non-riparian  
745 woodland nearby.

746 Some shifts in the exploitation of woodland can be observed at both sites, most likely through the  
747 displacement of woodland by fruit tree cultivation, e.g., in phase IIB (2800-2250 BC) at Jerablus and  
748 from the MBA (2000-1550 BC) at Mozan. In Jerablus a smaller variety of riverine taxa were exploited  
749 from phase IIB (2800-2250 BC) onwards, when more fruit tree wood was used, likely the result of  
750 pruning. A similar change is visible from the MBA (2000-1550 BC) onwards in Mozan, when olive  
751 became the dominant taxon among the wood charcoal, possibly related to its local cultivation and  
752 the availability of pruning remains. Strangely this shift to olive exploitation is not reflected in the  
753 seed remains from the site, perhaps indicating specialized production either in part of the site which  
754 has not yet been excavated or in the local area, alternatively may indicate the wood was selected for  
755 a specific use. The increased abundance of grape pips in the later part of the MBA at Mozan may  
756 support an argument of a generally increased cultivation of fruit trees. The attendant reduction in  
757 use of oak at the same time as the increase in the proportions of olive wood in the record may also  
758 be indicative of a decrease in oak in the landscape, although this is difficult to disentangle using  
759 proportional data.

760 While oak has been exploited mostly for wood fuel and possibly also some carpentry (typically more  
761 after re-use as fuel) to a much lesser degree at Tell Jerablus than at Tell Mozan, its remains tell a  
762 similar story of exploitation. No systematic oak woodland management practices, such as coppicing  
763 or pollarding took place, indicating rather opportunistic wood use without much planning and effort,  
764 where necessary accompanied by dung as fuel. In Mozan for example, charcoal as well as a coprolite  
765 was found in an oven context, which suggests that the oak wood resources were scarce there  
766 (Deckers 2011), but also in Jerablus burned dung pellets were found throughout the site that indicate  
767 the use of dung as additional fuel (Kabukcu 2012) Often small diameter oak wood was used, that  
768 derived from shrub-like oak, that was growing very slowly. The slow growth was likely caused by  
769 intensive animal husbandry in this zone under arid conditions and perhaps also by understory  
770 cropping.

771 The additional use of dung as fuel probably caused a reduction in the availability of dung for  
772 manuring. As seen in Styring et al. (2017) fresh dung no longer seems to have been used as manure  
773 as indicated by the lower  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values of crop remains from the Early Bronze Age compared to  
774 previously. However, Wilkinson (1989; 1994) has indicated that field scatters with pottery sherds  
775 indicate a zone of manuring surrounding many Early Bronze Age settlements. This manuring,  
776 however, would not have consisted of dung, but of ash from dung after it was used as fuel in the  
777 settlement and enriched with other household refuse, including the pottery sherds which make this  
778 practice visible archaeologically. The use of ash however, may have reduced the visibility of manuring  
779 in the  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values of the crops since the charring of plant residues (as well as dung) at high

780 temperatures causes a strong loss of N with little opportunity for fractionation (Saito et al. 2007).  
781 Lower N availability in the soils is also known to cause lower  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  values in the plants (Craine et al.  
782 2015). Although the lower N levels suggest that the use of ash would be less effective than fresh  
783 manure, this kind of manuring is still valuable and practiced today in some areas (Wilkinson 1989).  
784 Given the decline in efficacy of ash over fresh manure, we might assume that past farmers would  
785 prefer to burn wood and manure fresh. The shift to ash may therefore be interpreted as enforced  
786 and related to an overall decrease in available woody resources (Shahack-Gross and Finkelstein 2008;  
787 Watson 1979). While dung was already used as fuel in Chalcolithic period sites (Miller and Marston  
788 2012; Smith et al. 2019), it's scale of use may have increased in the Early Bronze Age.

789 The trend in the use of wood from shrub-like oak appears to be consistent through time at both sites.  
790 Although the data from Jerablus is preliminary, a proportion of the oak seems to have grown slowly  
791 in the Late Chalcolithic. This implies that the land in the surroundings of Jerablus and Mozan was  
792 already heavily exploited by the Late Chalcolithic. Resource exploitation calculations, population  
793 calculations and inferred cultivation areas from hollow ways in the larger region have all suggested  
794 that the land was used at its limits in the Early Bronze Age (Deckers and Riehl 2008; Ur 2009; Deckers  
795 2016; Lawrence et al. 2021) and so much land was under agriculture that areas available for pasture  
796 were severely constrained, just as large-scale exploitation of sheep for textiles was becoming a major  
797 part of the economy (Milano 1995; Archi 1993; Sallaberger 2004). In the North Jazira Survey (to the  
798 east, adjacent to our research area) it has even been suggested that the abandonment of a large part  
799 of the previously densely settled survey area during the Ninevite V period (c. 3000–2500 BC) was a  
800 deliberate strategy to make space for pastoralism (Wilkinson and Tucker 1995). Pasture probably put  
801 pressure on the oak, caused overgrazing, and generally may have resulted in desertification, as has  
802 been seen in many dryland environments (Zerboni and Nicoll 2018), including in the present-day  
803 Levant (Köchy et al. 2008), but also in Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Jordan (Henry et al.  
804 2016). Settlement and radiocarbon proxy studies in Lawrence et al. (2021) indicate that the  
805 population had grown beyond sustainability in the Early Bronze Age, which made communities  
806 vulnerable to desertification and crop failure, especially with the additional 4,2 kyr BP drying. It is  
807 possible that geomorphological instability brought about by desertification may even have  
808 contributed to the formation of hollow ways, although more research is required to assess this.

809 The decrease in oak in favour of olive may be symptomatic of the depletion of oak in the site's  
810 surroundings at that time. The use of dung as an additional fuel in the Early Bronze Age at Mozan  
811 (Deckers 2011), but also at other Early Bronze Age sites, indicates that there was already some  
812 scarcity of woody resources, but limited depletion, in this region. Vegetation reconstructions based  
813 on seed data have shown an increase in desert-steppe environments in the Upper Khabur Basin  
814 during the Middle Bronze Age compared to the Early Bronze Age (de Gruchy et al. 2016) (Fig. 12).  
815 Despite both the impact of early urban societies and climatic drying by the end of the period under  
816 consideration, vegetation appears to have been lusher than today, with oak still having a more  
817 southwards distribution than at present.

## 818 **Conclusion**

819 This study has demonstrated the value of combining diameter with ring width data for reconstructing  
820 the presence and types of ancient woodland management practices. Without the ring-width data,  
821 incorrect anthracological conclusions would have been drawn. The triangulation method appears to  
822 be the best method in measuring diameters as investigated by Paradis-Grenouillet et al. (2013), but it  
823 should be remembered that it produces larger errors for large diameter fragments.

824 The anthracological analysis shows that the vegetation was lusher than today, with riverine gallery  
825 forest along the Euphrates and oak scrub-woodland away from the Euphrates and within the Upper

826 Khabur Basin. Oak had reached its maximal expansion into northern Syria in the mid-Holocene. The  
827 landscape, however, was not pristine, and consisted of extensive, large-scale agriculture surrounding  
828 the densely spaced settlements. The limited uncultivated land was likely used for potentially  
829 enormous herds of sheep and goat, which formed an important part of the economy. Both  
830 understory cropping and sheep and goat grazing, perhaps in combination with arid conditions,  
831 caused extremely slow growth of the oak, and most trees must have had a scrub-like appearance  
832 already by the Chalcolithic period. People exploited these oaks for fuel and possibly carpentry, in  
833 large proportions at Mozan and to a lesser extent at Jerablus and did not apply systematic woodland  
834 management practices at any point during the study period. They did use dung as an additional fuel  
835 (e.g., Mozan), probably to cover scarcity in fuel resources, which may have contributed to the  
836 increased use of dung ash instead of fresh dung as manure. It is this shift which brings material  
837 culture from household refuse into the manure, and results in the spreads of battered sherds  
838 recorded in archaeological surveys. More broadly, we see here impacts on the vegetation which  
839 could be related to overexploitation and unsustainable practices, making the land vulnerable to  
840 desertification and increased the risk of systemic collapse (Lawrence et al. 2021).

841 From the Middle Bronze Age onwards in Mozan, oak resources appear to have become more  
842 depleted. Olive wood was used more, which probably relates to a generally increased fruit tree  
843 cultivation that produced more readily available woody resources through regular pruning  
844 requirements. The decrease in oak at that time fits with the observed increase in desert-steppe  
845 environments in the seed remains from archaeological sites in the region during the Middle Bronze  
846 Age, but not with the absence of fruits of olive. It is possible that specialized olive production was  
847 taking place at an as yet unrecovered location. It seems unlikely that olive wood was imported for  
848 fuel in the absence of other olive products.

849 The charcoal analysis indicates that settlements impacted the vegetation. It seems that small as well  
850 as large settlements had a similar impact on the (oak) vegetation. Additionally, anthropogenic  
851 footprints are already visible from the Late Chalcolithic and throughout the period investigated, so  
852 the landscape was already heavily used before the Early Bronze Age major urbanization phase.

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Mozaan	MZ99 BP63 S2_2	2100-1550	4,9	12,9				trigonometry in a rectangle triangle	3x4 mm	pit fill, A63, q696, Fs283
Mozaan	MZ01 BP45 S1_2	2300-2000	1,6	1,5				trigonometry in a rectangle triangle	3x6 mm	pit fill, A74, q1677, Fs1776
Mozaan	MZ01 BP84_3	2600-1550	2,0	1,1	0,36	2		28 trigonometry in a rectangle triangle	5x5 mm	
Mozaan	MZ01_q2867a_3	2600-1550	5,1	13,5	0,87	3		29 trigonometry in an isosceles triangle	4x6 mm	
Mozaan	MZ01_q2934_3	2600-1550	1,1	0,5	0,36	7		16 trigonometry in a rectangle triangle	4x3 mm	
Jerabius	JT98 C156_3	3500-3000	4,1	21,2				trigonometry in a rectangle triangle		floor of building, Area III, Unit 2192
Jerabius	JT96_C91_1512a_3	3000-2800	2,8	2,4	0,39	14		36 trigonometry in an isosceles triangle	7x4 mm	pit fill, Area III, Unit 1512
Jerabius	JT98 C131b_2	3000-2800	2,4	2,7				trigonometry in a rectangle triangle		pit fill, Area III, Unit 2028
Jerabius	JT98 C131a Unit III 2028	3000-2800			0,21	8				pit fill, Area III, Unit 2028
Jerabius	JT00 C219	3000-2800			0,91	5				occupation deposit, Area IIIA, Unit 2757
Jerabius	JT96_C91_1512b_3	3000-2800	8,0	22,8	0,43	12		93 trigonometry in a rectangle triangle	7x4 mm	fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT96_C134[1563]a_3	2800-2250	3,0	3,1				trigonometry in an isosceles triangle	6x3 mm	fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT96_C134[1563]c_3	2800-2250	2,1	3,6	1,33	2		8 trigonometry in an isosceles triangle	7x4 mm	fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT96_C134[1563]d_3	2800-2250	4,5	7,4	0,36	5		62 trigonometry in an isosceles triangle	7x4 mm	fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT96_C134[1563]e_3	2800-2250	4,0	14,0	0,45	6		45 trigonometry in an isosceles triangle	5x3 mm	fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT96_C134[1563]h_3	2800-2250	2,8	1,9	0,88	3		16 trigonometry in an isosceles triangle	5x5 mm	fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT96_C134[1563]i_3	2800-2250	2,5	0,8	1,31	1		9 trigonometry in an isosceles triangle	6x3 mm	fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT96_C134[1563]b_3	2800-2250	1,0	0,4				trigonometry in a rectangle triangle	6x4 mm	fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT96_C134[1563]f_3	2800-2250	4,4	3,0				trigonometry in a rectangle triangle	5x3 mm	fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT96_C134[1563]g_3	2800-2250	5,7	10,0				trigonometry in a rectangle triangle	6x3 mm	fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT93 C11 235	2800-2250			0,24	19				building fill, Area IIIC, Unit 235
Jerabius	JT94 C14	2800-2250			0,36	6				floor, IIIC, Unit 342
Jerabius	JT94 C14a	2800-2250			0,55	8				floor, IIIC, Unit 342
Jerabius	JT94 C14b	2800-2250			0,35	6				floor, IIIC, Unit 342
Jerabius	JT95 C61 Awl 989	2800-2250			0,28	12				indetermined, Area I, Unit 989
Jerabius	JT98 C132a	2800-2250			0,55	5				fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT98 C132c	2800-2250			0,57	5				fill, Area I, Unit 1563
Jerabius	JT00 C227 3096 a_2	2800-2250	12,3	5,2				trigonometry in a rectangle triangle		occupation deposit, Area I, Unit 3096
Jerabius	JT00 C227 3096 b_2	2800-2250	2,6	0,0				trigonometry in a rectangle triangle		occupation deposit, Area I, Unit 3096
Jerabius	JT00 C227 3096 d_3	2800-2250	3,4	12,4				trigonometry in a rectangle triangle		occupation deposit, Area I, Unit 3096

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