

THE FUTURE NEOLITHIC IN THE AEGEAN

Burçin Erdoğan¹

¹ University of Akdeniz, Department of Archaeology, burcinerdogu@akdeniz.edu.tr

Abstract

Scholars working in the Aegean are used to associating the term Neolithic always with plant cultivation and domesticated animals. On the other hand, the recent trends in redefining the Neolithic reveal that the Neolithic is marked not only by the onset of farming and animal husbandry, but also by sedentism, structural transformation, symbolic behavior and sensory perception of landscape etc. This essay reveals that the Aegean 9th millennium BC communities show the same general trends as the Cypriot and Anatolian Pre-Pottery Neolithic, and it is necessary to consider a Neolithic period without pottery in the Aegean.

Keywords: Aegean – Neolithic – PPNA – Cyprus – Central Anatolia – Western Anatolia.

<https://doi.org/10.53250/stprae16.1-10>

Introduction: Defining (or re-defining) the ‘Neolithic’

It is generally accepted that the transition from a hunter-gatherer to a farming way of life is what defines the start of the Neolithic in Europe. But I agree with J. Thomas that, ‘farming’ and ‘the Neolithic’ are not quite the same thing: ‘*Farming is an economic system that involves control over the reproduction of animals and plants, while the Neolithic is a form of sociality that is often (but not always) associated with it*’ (Thomas 2013, 678). One of the recent trends in redefining the Neolithic reveals that the Neolithic is marked not only by the onset of farming, but also by the emergence of complex symbolic and socio-political systems (Cauvin 1989; Hayden 1993; Hodder 1990). In addition, archaeological evidence in the Near East and Anatolia shows that the earliest sedentism and monumental buildings began without agriculture and animal husbandry. The discoveries at Göbekli Tepe (ca. 9500 cal. BC) indicate that sedentary hunter-gatherer groups had already developed complex, perhaps religious ideas, together with monumental ceremonial sites to practice the communal rituals (Dietrich et al. 2012). Interpretative approaches concerned with how farmers thought about the world through a variety of metaphors linked to domestication now dominate especially the North European Neolithic (Hod-

der 1990; Thomas 1991 & 1993). Monumentality, social memory, structural transformation, cultural landscape and sensory perception of the environment are argued to be the motive forces of the North European Neolithic (Bradley 2000; Hodder 1990; Thomas 1991, 1999 & 2007; Tilley 2007; Whittle 2003). On the other hand, scholars working in Southeast Europe are used to associating the term Neolithic always with plant cultivation and domesticated animals.

Like the Aegean Mesolithic groups, the Near Eastern (especially the Tigris Basin) Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA) groups were hunters and gatherers (Perlès 2014). No element suggests pre-domestic cultivation; in addition, wild cereals were rare or absent (Willcox & Savard 2011). So why call the Near Eastern PPNA societies 'Neolithic'? Are sedentism and social and ritual complexity of these societies making them Neolithic societies? Central Anatolian Pre-Pottery Neolithic and the Cypriot PPNA communities engaged in intensive hunting and gathering with some cultivation. No domesticated animals occurred. Buildings very similar to large communal buildings were also found. Is the Neolithic characterized by sedentism or some cultivation or animal management or symbolic and ritual behavior? It seems that all of these traits characterized the Neolithic and a period known in geology as the Younger Dryas (10,700–9600 cal. BC) created the border between the Epipalaeolithic and the Neolithic in the Near East (e.g. Benz et al. 2015). In this essay I would like to discuss how to redefine the Neolithic in the Aegean. Before presenting my approach, it is necessary to focus on the Pre-Pottery Neolithic of Central Anatolia and Cyprus.

A view from Central Anatolia and Cyprus

The Neolithic in Central Anatolia is a distinct phenomenon. Ninth millennium cal. BC Central Anatolia is characterized by sedentary communities engaging in intensive hunting and gathering (Özbaşaran 2011; Stiner et al. 2014). The earliest Neolithic communities in the region are best documented at the sites of Aşıklı Höyük and Boncuklu. Pınarbaşı has also revealed a ninth millennium cal. BC occupation. At both Aşıklı and Boncuklu (fig. 1), oval structures with mud-brick walls and a central hearth were found (Özbaşaran 2012; Baird et al. 2012 & 2018). Human remains were discovered beneath the floors. The architectural tradition at Pınarbaşı is different as the site is characterized by sunken curvilinear buildings with wattle and daub superstructures (Baird et al. 2018). An oval, ca. 10-meter communal building was also found at Aşıklı. The chipped stone assemblages of Central Anatolian sites were dominated by obsidian and characterized by microliths.

No domestic animals were present at all sites, but at Aşıklı Höyük and Boncuklu, caprines were managed (Stiner et al. 2014; Baird et al. 2018). Crop plants are preserved, including familiar founder crops as einkorn, emmer wheat and barley, but the gathering of wild food resources and the hunting of animals remained significant to the subsistence economy. On the other hand, there are no domesticated cereals and

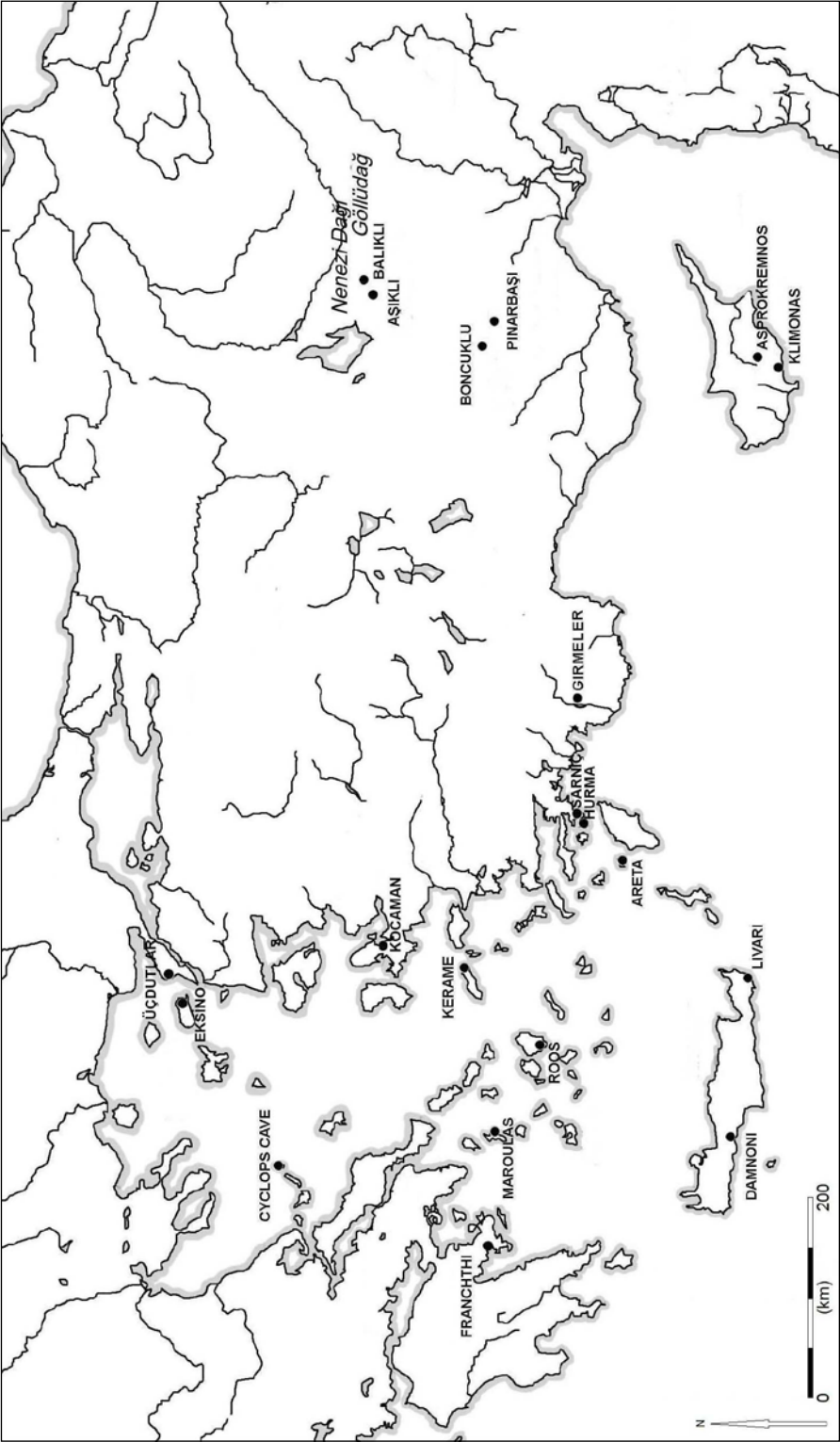


Figure 1. Map showing the sites mentioned in the text. Image Credit: the author.

animals at Pınarbaşı, which is considered a Pre-Pottery Neolithic settlement (Baird et al. 2018).

For many years, the Khirokitia Culture (ca. 7000–5500 cal. BC) was the earliest known Pre-Pottery Neolithic culture in Cyprus. The perspective on Cyprus changed abruptly with the discovery of PPNA (ca. 9000–8400 cal. BC) and PPNB (ca. 8400–7000 cal. BC) sites such as Ayia Varvara Asprokremnos, Ayios Tychonas Klimonas, Parekklisha Shillourokambos, Kissonerga Mylouthkia, Akanthou–Tatlisu Arkosykos and Ais Giorkis (Simmons 2014; Knapp 2020). It is accepted that the Cyprus PPNA groups had arrived from the mainland. The establishment of sedentary communities allowed intensive hunting of wild boar (Vigne et al. 2012 & 2017; Knapp 2020). The chipped stone industry is characterized by projectile points, burins and micro-drills. At Klimonas, cereal chaff of barley (*Hordeum spontaneum/distichon*) and emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum/dicoccoides*) were used as building material. This evidence indicates that cereals were probably cultivated locally (Vigne et al. 2012 & 2017). The presence of sickle blades may also indicate harvest activities. The earliest buildings were of the round house type. A circular communal building ten meters in diameter was also found at Klimonas (Vigne et al. 2017).

The evidence from the Aegean islands and the Western shore of Anatolia

The recent excavations in the Aegean islands show that hunting/gathering/fishing semi-sedentary or quasi-sedentary communities arose in the region several hundred years before the appearance of farming. The site of Maroulas on Kythnos is dated to the first half of the 9th millennium cal. BC. At Maroulas, remains of more than 30 circular or oval stone dwellings, occasionally with stone pavements, were found (Sampson et al. 2010). Burials were recovered under the floors of dwellings or between them. Evidence of secondary burials, including skull removal was also present. The people at Maroulas subsisted on a variety of resources, such as fish, land snails, pigs, and edible plants. Basin-like grinding stones may have been used for food processing. The presence of hare, fox, and birds at Maroulas suggests that these animals were also hunted. *Patella* was also systematically collected from inshore, and many of which could be stored. Only young pigs are present at the site and they were managed or were in a transitional stage of domestication (Trantalidou 2003 & 2010). The evidence of fishing from Maroulas is significant. The fishers applied a highly selective fishing strategy. They targeted a specific, rather restricted range of taxa.

The small-scale excavation at the contemporary site of Kereme I on Ikaria (Dodecanese) yielded no architectural structures except hearths and some stone rings. Both at Maroulas and Kereme I, the lithic industry consists of flake-based technology. The most frequent tools are denticulated-notched forms, end-scrapers, perforators and arched backed pieces (Sampson et al. 2012). Only a few Melian obsidians were found and blade elements are represented almost exclusively on obsidian. Again a few Melian obsidian tools were also found at the contemporary site of Damnoni in Crete (Carter et al. 2018).

The Cyclope Cave on Gioura has also revealed a ninth millennium cal. BC occupation. The site's subsistence economy was based mainly on marine fishing and bird hunting. The evidence of fishing from the Cyclops Cave seems to indicate seasonal and inshore fishing. Sea mussels and land snails also played an important role in the diet. Osteometric data show that goats were managed or were in a transitional stage of domestication (Trantalidou 2003). The lithic industry of the Cyclope Cave is marked by flake technology. Flake tools, end-scrapers, retouched flakes and notched tools are characteristic (Sampson et al. 2008; Kaczanowska & Kozłowski 2008). Similar chipped stone artifacts with some differences (e.g. macrotools or retouched blades) were also found at Livari in Crete, Stélida and Roos on Naxos, and Areta on Chalki (Sampson et al. 2016; Carter et al. 2016; Sampson 2019). No excavations have been conducted at these sites and no absolute dates have so far been determined. The most recent surveys in the Gelibolu, Karaburun and Bozburun Peninsulas also point to the presence of a dense hunter-gatherer population with flaked-type of microlithic industry (Özbek & Erdoğan 2015; Çilingiroğlu et al. 2020; Atakuman et al. 2022).

The late 9th millennium cal. BC site of Girmeler is situated in the Eşen Valley on the Southwestern Anatolian coast. Girmeler consists of two caves with a mound in front. A small trench in the remaining base of the mound revealed probably an oval structure with a lime-plastered floor (Takaoglu et al. 2014). The lime-plastered floor included small particles of stones and was evidently renewed at least twice. Two postholes gouged into the plaster floor have also been noted. The structure appears to have had superstructures of wattle and daub. It also contains two circular sunken mud-plastered basins, hearths and a sunken rectangular feature. These features show the long term and regular use/reuse of the structure.

The chipped stone industry of the Girmeler Cave consists of flake-based technology (Erdoğan et al. 2021). Tools are rare and consist of end and circular scrapers on flakes, perforators, blades, and bladelets. Some blades have parallel lateral edges. No microliths were found at the site, but there are some sickle blades. The preliminary analysis of animal bones indicates that *Sus scrofa* (wild boar), *Capreolus capreolus* (roe deer), *Dama dama* (European fallow deer), *Capra aegagrus* (wild goat), *Caracal caracal* (caracal), *Vulpes vulpes* (red fox) and *Lepus europaeus* (European hare) were common at the site, indicating that hunting was part of the subsistence strategy of the settlers of the site (Erdoğan et al. 2021). Fish and birds were also consumed. Aurochs were not detected in the animal bone assemblage. Charred plant remains from the site were poorly preserved. Some of the grains belong to barley (*Hordeum* sp.), wheat (*Triticum* sp.) and feather grass (*Stipa* sp.). Glume bases of glume wheats are also present in the samples (Erdoğan et al. 2021). The presence of sickle blades may indicate harvest activities. Large grinding stones were also discovered.

The Aegean vs Central Anatolia and Cyprus

The 9th millennium cal. BC Aegean communities can be compared with the Anatolian Pre-Pottery Neolithic and Cypriot PPNA communities. All are characterized by a sedentary community engaged in intensive hunting (table 1). Comparisons between the Aegean, Central Anatolian, and Cypriot PPNA communities show that people lived in oval structures. Intramural/subfloor burial customs were practiced in both the Aegean and Central Anatolia. The term sedentism is used in many different ways and encompasses a range of settlement forms. For example, Higgs & Vita-Finzi (1972) defined *sedentary-cum-mobile* societies as ‘a mobile element associated with sedentary occupation’. The sedentism in Central Anatolia, Cyprus, and the Aegean refers to semi-sedentary or quasi-sedentary mobility patterns wherein macrobands at base camp settlements are annually inhabited by at least some members of the group, for example, the aged. It seems different types of environments show sedentism developing along quite different paths.

Archeozoological and botanical data suggest that the quest for food became more diversified. Subsistence at Central Anatolian sites was mostly dependent on the gathering of wild food resources and the hunting of animals (Baird 2012; Baird et. al. 2012; Özbasaran 2012). The Central Anatolian Pre-Pottery Neolithic and the Cypriot PPNA communities also practiced agriculture. The subsistence strategy of Girmeler is similar to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic Central Anatolia as well as the Cypriot PPNA, which was mostly dependent on the gathering of wild food resources and the hunting of animals. Glume wheats were also a real component of the subsistence strategy. The subsistence

The Aegean islands (Maroulas)	Central Anatolian Early PPN (Aşıklı, Boncuklu)	Cypriot PPNA (Asprokremnos, Klimonas)	The Aegean Western coast (Girmeler)
8800–8000 cal. BC	8500–8000 cal. BC	9000–8400 cal. BC	8200–7700 cal. BC
circular/oval buildings	circular/oval buildings	circular/oval buildings	circular/oval buildings
intramural/sub-floor burials	intramural/sub-floor burials		intramural/sub-floor burials
fishing–hunting–gathering	hunting–gathering	hunting–gathering	fishing–hunting–gathering
goat and pig managed	caprines managed		
	some domesticated cereals	some domesticated cereals	some domesticated cereals
flaked-type of industry	microlithics / projectile points	projectile points	flaked-type industry
sedentism	sedentism	sedentism	sedentism

Table 1. Comparative characteristics of Cypriot PPNA, Central Anatolian Pre-Pottery Neolithic, the Aegean Islands and the Aegean Western Coasts.

of the Aegean sites was mostly dependent on fishing, gathering and small game hunting. Geographical location seems to be the major determinant of diet. No domestic animals were present in all regions, but caprines were managed at Aşıklı Höyük and Boncuklu, pigs at Maroulas and goats in the Cyclope Cave.

The chipped stone industries of Central Anatolia and the Cypriot PPNA are different from those of the Aegean. The chipped stone industries of the Central Anatolian Pre-Pottery Neolithic were dominated by obsidian and characterized by microliths (Özbaşaran 2011). The chipped stone industry of Cyprus PPNA is characterized mainly by projectile points. Tools of the communities were probably intimately related to their natural environments (i.e. islands, plateaus etc.) and needs.

The new ancient DNA evidence

Although DNA studies on early Holocene human skeletons of Girmeler are still in their infancy, initial results show that the 9th millennium BC people at Girmeler possessed a very ancient gene comparable to the Central Anatolian Pınarbaşı Epipalaeolithic people.

The aDNA evidence showed that the earliest Girmeler people were the ancestors of the first Neolithic communities that started the Neolithic way of life in Western Anatolia and possibly spread to southwestern Europe. Again, the aDNA studies show that there was no mass migration to the Aegean from the Near East and especially from the Levant in the early Neolithic, ca. 7th millennium BC.¹ All these new data highlight the acculturation models in the transition to the Neolithic way of life in the Aegean.

Towards a new Aegean Neolithic

I agree with Tilley (2007) and others (e.g. Hodder 1990; Thomas 1999; Whittle 2003) that the start of the Neolithic in Europe was neither technological nor economic in character but a matter of changing ideologies of modes of thought mediated through material forms: ‘The Neolithic was a matter of mind over matter or circumstances, a triumph of the will, a new set of ideas’ (Tilley 2007, 329). The start of the Neolithic should be understood not as an economic adjustment, but as a cognitive transformation that redefined human self-awareness.

The 9th millennium cal. BC communities in the Aegean, Cyprus and Central Anatolia show roughly the same general trend. On the other hand, they have their own regional distinct features. It is clear that a number of traits traditionally associated with the Neolithic of Central Anatolia and Cyprus appeared in the 9th millennium cal. BC communities of the Aegean, including sedentism, burial customs, animal management and the use of plant foods (Girmeler). It should be considered that the transition to the Neolithic way of life in the Aegean followed the Younger Dryas, like it was in Anatolia and Cyprus. We may start to think about a Pre-Pottery Neolithic period in the Aegean.

¹ Mehmet Somel, NEOGENE Synthesis Workshop, 20/04/2022.

Acknowledgements: This article partially includes the paper I presented at the ARWA: The International Association for Archaeological Research in Western & Central Asia on the 6th December 2021. I wish to thank Terry Christenson for his kind corrections to the language in this paper.

REFERENCES

- Atakuman et al. 2022:** Ç. Atakuman, B. Erdoğan, H.C. Gemici, İ Baykara, M. Karakoç, P. Biagi, E. Starnini, D. Guilbeau, N. Yücel, D. Turan & M. Dirican. Before the Neolithic in the Aegean: The Pleistocene and the Early Holocene record of Bozburun – Southwest Turkey. – *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 17/3, 2020, 323–355. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15564894.2020.1803458>
- Baird et al. 2012:** D. Baird, A. Fairbairn, L. Martin & C. Middleton. The Boncuklu Project: The origins of sedentism, cultivation and herding in Central Anatolia. – In: M. Özdoğan, N. Başgelen & P. Kuniholm (eds.) *The Neolithic in Turkey: New excavations and new research*. Vol. 3, Central Turkey. Istanbul: Archaeology & Art Publications, 2012, 219–244.
- Baird et al. 2018:** D. Baird, A. Fairbairn, E. L. Jenkins, L. Martin, C. Middleton, J. Pearson, E. Asouti, Y. Edwards, C. Kabukcu, G. Mustafaoglu, N. Russell, O. Bar-Yosef, G. Jacobsen, X. Wu, A. Baker & S. Elliott. Agricultural origins on the Anatolian plateau. – *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115/14, 2018, 3077–3086.
- Benz et al. 2015:** M. Benz, K. Deckers, C. Rossner, A. Alexandrovskiy, K. Pustovoytov, M. Scheeres, M. Fecher, A. Coskun, S. Riehl, K.W. Alt & V. Özkaya. Prelude to village life. Environmental data and building traditions of the Epipalaeolithic settlement at Kortik Tepe, Southeastern Turkey. – *Paleorient* 41/2, 2015, 9–30.
- Bradley 2000:** R. Bradley, R. An archaeology of natural places. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Carter et al. 2016:** T. Carter, D.D. Mihailovic, Y. Papadatos & C. Sofianou. The Cretan Mesolithic in context: new data from Livari Skiadi (SE Crete). – *Documenta Praehistorica* 43, 2016, 87–101.
- Carter et al. 2018:** T. Carter, T.F. Strasser, E. Panagopoulou, K. Campeau & D.D. Mihailovic. Obsidian circulation in the early Holocene Aegean: a case study from the Mesolithic Damnoni (SW Crete). – *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 17, 2018, 173–183.
- Cauvin 1989:** J. Cauvin, J. La neolithisation au Levant et sa première diffusion. – In: O. Aurenche & J. Cauvin (eds.) *Néolithisations*. (BAR International Series 526) Oxford: Archaeopress, 1989, 3–36.
- Çilingiroğlu et. al. 2020:** Ç. Çilingiroğlu, M. Kaczanowska, J.K. Kozłowski, B. Dinçer, C. Çakırlar, & D. Turan. Between Anatolia and the Aegean: Epipalaeolithic and Mesolithic foragers of the Karaburun Peninsula. – *Journal of Field Archaeology* 45/7, 2020, 479–497. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00934690.2020.1786929>
- Dietrich et al. 2012:** O. Dietrich, M. Heun, J. Notroff, K. Schmidt & M. Zarnkow. The role of cult and feasting in the emergence of Neolithic communities. New evidence from Göbekli Tepe, SE Turkey. – *Antiquity* 86 (333), 2012, 674–695.

- Erdoğu et al. 2021:** B. Erdoğu, T. Korkut, T. Takaoglu, L. Atici, N. Kayacan, D. Guilbeau, M. Ergun & T. Doğan. Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene finds from the 2020 trial excavation at Girmeler, southwestern Turkey. – *Anatolica* 47, 2021, 299–320.
- Higgs & Vita-Finzi 1972:** E.S. Higgs & C. Vita-Finzi. Prehistoric economies: a territorial approach. – In: E.S. Higgs (ed.) *Papers in Economic Prehistory*. Cambridge: University Press, 1972, 27–36.
- Hodder 1990:** I. Hodder. *The Domestication of Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990.
- Kaczanowska & Kozłowski 2008:** M. Kaczanowska & J. Kozłowski. Chipped stone artefacts. – In: A. Sampson (ed.) *The Cave of the Cyclops: Mesolithic and Neolithic networks in the Northern Aegean, Greece: Vol. I: Intra-site analysis, local industries, and regional site distribution*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press, 2008, 169–178.
- Knapp 2020:** B.A. Knapp. Maritime narratives of prehistoric Cyprus: Seafaring as everyday practice. – *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 15, 2020, 415–450.
- Özbaşaran 2011:** M. Özbaşaran. The Neolithic on the Plateau. – In: S. Steadmann & G. McMahon (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia (10,000–323 B.C.E.)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 99–124.
- Özbaşaran 2012:** M. Özbaşaran. Aşıklı. – In: M. Özdoğan, N. Başgelen & P. Kuniholm (eds.) *The Neolithic in Turkey: New excavations and new research. Vol. 3, Central Turkey*. Istanbul: Archaeology & Art Publications, 2012, 135–158.
- Özbek & Erdoğu 2015:** O. Özbek & B. Erdoğu. Initial occupation of the Gelibolu Peninsula and the Island of Gökçeada (Imbroz) in the Pre-Neolithic and Early Neolithic. – *Eurasian Prehistory* 1/1–2, 2015, 97–128.
- Perlès 2014:** C. Perlès. Neolithic Anatolia as seen from the West. – In: M. Özdoğan, N. Başgelen & P. Kuniholm (eds.) *The Neolithic in Turkey. Vol. 6, 10500–5200 BC: Environment, settlement, flora, fauna, dating, symbols of belief, with views from north, south, east and west*. Istanbul: Archaeology and Art Publications, 2014, 403–432.
- Sampson 2008:** A. Sampson. *The Cave of the Cyclops: Mesolithic and Neolithic networks in the Northern Aegean, Greece*. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press, 2008.
- Sampson 2019:** A. Sampson. *Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sailors in the Aegean and the Near East*. Cambridge: University Press, 2019.
- Sampson et al. 2010:** A. Sampson, M. Kaczanowska & J.K. Kozłowski. The prehistory of the Island of Kythnos (Cyclades, Greece) and the Mesolithic settlement at Maroulas. Krakow: Polish Academy of Sciences, 2010.
- Sampson et al. 2012:** A. Sampson, M. Kaczanowska & J.K. Kozłowski. Mesolithic occupations and environments on the Island of Ikaria, Aegean, Greece. (*Folia Quaternaria Monograph* 80) Krakow: Polish Academy of Sciences, 2012.
- Sampson et al. 2016:** A. Sampson, J.K. Kozłowski & M. Kaczanowska. Lithic Industries of the Aegean Upper Mesolithic. – *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 16/3, 2016, 229–243.
- Simmons 2014:** H.A. Simmons. *Stone Age sailors: Paleolithic seafaring in the Mediterranean*. London: Left Coast Press, 2014.
- Stiner et al. 2014:** C.M. Stiner, H. Buitenhuis, G. Duru, L.S. Kuhn, M.S. Mentzer, D.N. Munro, N. Pöllath, J. Quade, G. Tsartsidou & M. Özbaşaran. A forager–herder trade-off, from broad-

- spectrum hunting to sheep management at Aşıklı Höyük, Turkey. – Proceedings of the National Academy of Science 111/23, 2014, 8404–8409.
- Takaoğlu et al. 2014:** T. Takaoğlu, T. Korkut, B. Erdoğan & G. Isin. Archaeological evidence for 9th and 8th millennia BC at Girmeler Cave near Tlos in SW Turkey. - *Documenta Praehistorica* 41, 2014, 111–118.
- Thomas 1991:** J. Thomas. *Rethinking the Neolithic*. Cambridge: University Press, 1991.
- Thomas 1999:** J. Thomas. *Understanding the Neolithic*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Thomas 2007:** J. Thomas. Mesolithic–Neolithic transitions in Britain: From essence to inhabitation. – In: A. Whittle & V. Cummings (eds.) *Going over: The Mesolithic–Neolithic transition in north-west Europe*. Oxford: University Press, 2007, 423–439.
- Thomas 2013:** J. Thomas. Comments to J. Robb, Material culture, landscapes of action, and emergent causation: A new model for the origins of the European Neolithic. – *Current Anthropology* 54/6, 2013, 677–678.
- Tilley 2007:** C. Tilley. The Neolithic sensory revolution: Monumentality and the experience of landscape. – In: A. Whittle & V. Cummings (eds.) *Going over: The Mesolithic–Neolithic transition in north-west Europe*. Oxford: University Press, 2007, 329–345.
- Trantalidou 2003:** K. Trantalidou. Faunal remains from the earliest strata of the Cave of Cyclope, Youra. – In: N. Galanidou & C. Perles (eds.) *The Greek Mesolithic: Problems and perspectives*. London: British School at Athens, 2003, 143–172.
- Trantalidou 2010:** K. Trantalidou. Dietary adaptations of coastal people in the Aegean Archipelago during the Mesolithic period: The macrofauna assemblages of Maroulas on Kythnos. – In: A. Sampson, M. Kaczanowska & J.K. Kozłowski (eds.) *The prehistory of the Island of Kythnos (Cyclades, Greece) and the Mesolithic settlement at Maroulas*. Krakow: Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and University of the Aegean, 2010, 163–177.
- Vinge et al. 2012:** J.-D. Vigne, F. Briois, A. Zazzo, G. Willcox, T. Cucchi, S. Thiébaud, I. Carrère, Y. Franel, R.C.M. Touquet, C. Moreau, C. Comby & J. Guilaine. The first wave of cultivators spread to Cyprus at least 10,600 y ago. – *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* 109/22, 2012, 8445–8449. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.12016931>
- Vinge et al. 2017:** J.-D. Vigne, F. Briois, T. Cucchi, Y. Franel, P. Mylona, M. Tengberg, R. Touquet, J. Watez, G. Willcox, A. Zazzo & J. Guilaine. Klimonas, a late PPNA hunter-cultivator village in Cyprus: new results. – In: J.-D. Vigne, F. Briois & M. Tengberg (dir.) *Nouvelles données sur les débuts du Néolithique à Chypre. Actes de la séance de la Société préhistorique française, Paris, 18–19 mars 2015. (Séances de la Société préhistorique française 9)* Paris: Société préhistorique française, 2017, 21–46.
- Whittle 2003:** A. Whittle. *The archaeology of people: Dimensions of Neolithic life*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Willcox & Savard 2011:** G. Willcox & M. Savard. Botanical evidence for the adoption of cultivation in southeast Turkey. – In: M. Özdoğan, N. Başgelen & P. Kuniholm (eds.) *The Neolithic in Turkey: New excavations and new research. Vol. 2, The Euphrates Basin*. Istanbul: Archaeology and Art Publications, 2011, 267–280.