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**Anthropogenic activity in prehistory as seen from archaeological and palaeoenvironmental data in the south-eastern Baltic on the background of the Holocene climate**

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3 **Anthropogenic activity in prehistory as seen from archaeological and**  
4 **palaeoenvironmental data in the south-eastern Baltic on the background of the Holocene**  
5 **climate\*.**

6

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26 **Abstract**

27 An overview of the archaeological and palaeoenvironmental data from the south-eastern  
28 Baltic (Kaliningrad region) is presented on the background of the Holocene climate description.  
29 Information on natural palaeoarchives (lakes Kamyshovoe and Chistoe, as well as bogs Kozje,  
30 Velikoe, Zelau) combined with archaeological materials from prehistoric sites provides a  
31 picture of ancient anthropogenic activity and main stages of evolution of local communities

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32 starting from the Mesolithic. Modern Analog Technique (MAT) method applied for the  
33 Kamyshovoe lake palynological data is used to reconstruct the seasonal temperature and  
34 precipitation trends and values during the Holocene in the south-eastern Baltic and to provide  
35 a background to ancient human activity. During the Mesolithic, climate conditions changed  
36 from those close to the late Glacial through a period of warmer and wetter climate with  
37 parameters close to the present day to conditions of climatic optimum, when temperature was  
38 several degrees higher than modern ones. Archaeological material testifies that the subsistence  
39 strategies of that time were based on fishing, fowling and hunting along with active exploration  
40 of forest plant resources, though due to scarcity of data, tracing changes in human activities  
41 corresponding to dynamic of climate and palaeoenvironment is difficult. While the first part of  
42 the Neolithic fell during the Holocene climatic optimum, from about 5500 cal yr BP the climate  
43 changed towards colder temperatures and a shift in seasonal moisture content: summers became  
44 wetter and winters less snowy. Farming (cattle breeding and plant cultivation) started to play a  
45 role in the subsistence strategy of the local Neolithic population, gaining more importance  
46 during the Bronze Age, a period with relative temperature stability but significant precipitation  
47 fluctuations. Since the start of the Iron Age (2800 cal yr BP), intensity of anthropogenic activity  
48 (farming and metallurgy) in the south-eastern Baltics grew with some interruptions during the  
49 Migration period (5-6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD) and the Teutonic Order's conquest of the area in the 13-  
50 14<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Since the Iron Age, temperatures remain close to modern ones. Several  
51 "wetter" episodes are distinguished coinciding with the Roman Time, Migration Period and the  
52 Little Ice Age during the Medieval Period.

53 **Keywords:** anthropogenic activity, archaeology, prehistory, palaeoclimate, south-eastern  
54 Baltic, Modern Analog Technique method

55

## 56 **1. Introduction**

57 The Holocene, despite the relatively short duration in geological terms, is a period when  
58 radical changes in climate occurred, the main features of modern landscapes were formed, and  
59 significant anthropogenic changes in the natural environment first manifested. As an  
60 interglacial period, the Holocene appears to be an interval of relatively warm and stable climate.  
61 However, numerous fluctuations of precipitation and temperature are visible on a more detailed  
62 time scale, showing that climate changed essentially during the last 11 700 years (Borisova,  
63 2014).

64 Though large number of studies were carried out, the issues related to climatic

65 fluctuations and their reflection at the local and regional level remain poorly understood  
66 (Mayewski et al., 2004). During the last decades, at the junction of palaeoclimatology and the  
67 humanities, mainly archaeology, a separate line of research formed with a focus on the role of  
68 the main climatic fluctuations in the development of human civilisation (Weninger et al., 2006;  
69 Chiotis et al., 2018; Novenko et al. 2019; Burke et al., 2021; Degroot et al., 2021). Thus, the  
70 influence of sharp climate changes on the heyday and decline of the ancient civilizations of the  
71 Middle East and the Mediterranean in the Middle and Late Holocene has been traced (Weninger  
72 et al., 2006; Chiotis et al., 2018; Shaikh Baikloo Islam et al., 2020); attempts have been made  
73 to identify the connection between individual climatic events with certain aspects of society  
74 development, eg. production technologies of flint tools and 8.2 ka BP cooling (Morisaki et al.,  
75 2018), drought at 4.2–3.9 ka BP and societal collapse and resilience across the Mediterranean  
76 and west Asia (Weiss, 2016), etc. The increasing attention to this topic is triggered by the  
77 understanding that the correlation of archaeological data and palaeoenvironmental archives  
78 offers a unique opportunity to observe the complex interactions between natural and  
79 anthropogenic systems under different climatic regimes and at different spatial and temporal  
80 scales (Burke et al., 2021; Degroot et al., 2021). This, in turn, can shed a light at the deep  
81 reasons for human society evolution, and serve as a basis for predictive constructions and  
82 recommendations for future strategies of interaction with environment.

83 Over the past decade, the main problems that hinder the development of this scientific  
84 direction have become clear: first of all, a critical lack of data at regional and local levels, as  
85 well as the lack of detailed data correlation from different branches of science - archaeology,  
86 palaeoclimatology, palaeogeography, etc. (Novenko et al., 2019; Degroot et al., 2021). With a  
87 significant amount of diverse unconsolidated information available, to date, there are no  
88 regional generalising interdisciplinary studies with a sufficient volume and resolution of  
89 palaeoecological information that would make it possible to trace or unambiguously  
90 demonstrate the influence of palaeoclimatic fluctuations on cultural - economic development  
91 of society at all stages of its evolution in the Holocene, especially when it comes to such regions  
92 that are insufficiently studied in palaeoecological and archaeological terms, such as the forest  
93 zone of Eurasia.

94 This article is a first step towards understanding of the “climate-ancient society” relation  
95 in the south-eastern Baltic. The natural environment of this region was in a stage of active  
96 formation during the last deglaciation and in the Holocene and its dynamic is consistently  
97 reflected in the palaeoarchives: lacustrine, bog, lagoon sediments (Druzhinina et al., 2015;  
98 2020; 2023). Located at the intersection of several cultural regions, this territory reflects the

99 historical processes that took place in wide areas of Eastern Europe (Suvorov, 1985). At the  
100 same time, the presence of unique reserves of amber made the southeastern Baltic, known as  
101 far back from the Mesolithic, a regional center of exchange, trade and attraction of various  
102 cultural traditions, including those associated with ancient technologies. This together may  
103 provide a new insight into the history of nature and society interaction in this part of Europe  
104 during the Holocene. This paper presents an overview of the available at the moment published  
105 palaeoecological information (Arslanov et al., 2011; Druzhinina et al., 2015, 2020, 2023;  
106 Napreenko et al., 2016, 2021) combined with data on economic activities in prehistory obtained  
107 from archaeological materials (unpublished reports on archaeological excavations of 1970<sup>th</sup>; as  
108 well as Timofeev, 1996; Levkovskaya and Timofeev, 2004; Zhilin, 2013; Zaltsman, 2019) on  
109 the background of detailed climatic reconstruction. The latter is completed using the Modern  
110 Analog Technique (MAT) method (Overpeck et al., 1985; Juggins, 2020), applied for the first  
111 time on data from the south-eastern Baltic. Previously obtained results of the palynological and  
112 geochronological analysis of the Kamyshovoe lake sequence (Druzhinina et al., 2015, 2020)  
113 are used for the MAT reconstruction. Function MAT takes a dataset of biological data (species  
114 abundances) and a single associated environmental variable, and generates a model of closest  
115 analogues, or matches, for the modern data using one of a number of dissimilarity coefficients  
116 (Juggins, 2020). Essential novelty of this research is that not only temperature but seasonal  
117 precipitation is also described and taken into account when considering the palaeoclimatic base  
118 for the prehistoric human activity in the south-eastern Baltic.

119  
120

## 121 **2. Study area. Methods and material.**

### 122 *2.1 Study area*

123 The territory of the south-eastern Baltic (Kaliningrad region) is located in the west of  
124 the Russian (East European) Plain. The modern relief was formed as a result of the direct  
125 activity of glaciers of the last Valdai glaciation, as well as limno- and fluvioglacial processes.  
126 The territory is represented by an alternation of vast plains and lowlands with several hilly-  
127 ridge uplands. The climate of the region is transitional from the marine climate of Western  
128 Europe to the temperate continental climate of Eastern Europe. The cold period of the year  
129 ranges from 90 to 105 days with the mean January temperature from -3°C on the coast to -6.5°C  
130 in the east. The warmest month is July with an average monthly temperature of +16.5°C to  
131 +18°C. Air humidity is high: from 70% in summer to 80-90% in winter. The annual  
132 precipitation is 600-700 mm, its distribution over the territory and seasons is uneven. The area

133 is in a zone of excess moisture. The entire territory of the south-eastern Baltic region belongs  
134 to the forest zone, to the mixed coniferous-deciduous forests landscape subzone. The structure  
135 of the soil cover is based on the change of soils from brown forest soils with a simple uniform  
136 profile to complex soddy-podzolic and soddy-eluvial-gley soils (Geographical..., 2002).

### 137 *2.1 Palaeoenvironmental and archaeological materials*

138 The palaeoenvironmental data considered in this paper were obtained from the  
139 Kamyshovoye and Chistoe lakes (Druzhinina et al., 2015, 2020, 2023) and Velikoe, Zelau and  
140 Kozje bogs study (Arslanov et al., 2011; Napreenko-Dorokhova et al., 2016; Napreenko et al.,  
141 2021) (Fig. 1). The data from palynological studies at Zedmar archaeological complex are also  
142 used (Levkovskaya and Timofeev, 2004). In addition to palynological research data, all of the  
143 listed objects have a reliable geochronological basis. The study of the Kamyshovoe sequence  
144 also included geochemical and chironomid analysis (Druzhinina et al., 2020, 2022, 2023).  
145 Detailed description of the methods is presented in the mentioned papers.

146 The archaeological materials considered in the article were obtained during excavations  
147 of the Vyshtynets Mesolithic sites (Zhilin, 2013); the Zedmar archaeological complex and  
148 Utinoe Boloto site, attributed to the late Mesolithic – Neolithic Zedmar Culture (Timofeev,  
149 1973, 1975, 1996); Pribrezhnoe and Ushakovo sites belonging to the Primorskaya Corded Ware  
150 Culture Group (Zaltsman, 2019); and Grachevka, Russkoe, and Salskoe Iron Age sites  
151 (Gurevitch, 1960; Koval, 2021). Archaeological research at the majority of these sites was  
152 complemented by zoo-archaeological and macrobotanical studies (Gurevitch, 1960; Timofeev,  
153 1996; Zaltsman, 2019), while use-wear analysis was performed at Vyshtynets and Zedmar tool  
154 assemblages (Zhilin, 2013; Timofeev, 1975, 1996).

155

### 156 *2.2. Palaeoclimate reconstruction*

157 The palynological data used for the quantitative climate reconstruction have been  
158 obtained during the Kamyshovoe lake study (Druzhinina et al., 2015, 2023). The sub-samples  
159 of 1–3 cm<sup>3</sup> for pollen analysis were prepared and investigated using a standard chemical  
160 procedure (Erdtman, 1936; Grichuk, 1940), including treatment of the sediments with a heavy  
161 liquid (CdI<sub>2</sub>+KI). Lycopodium spores were added in order to calculate pollen concentrations  
162 (Stockmarr, 1971). Pollen identification was based on Moore et al. (1991). In the most of the  
163 samples number of counted terrestrial pollen grains exceeded 500 with exception of some  
164 samples where the number of pollen grains was extremely low. The Kamyshovoe lake pollen  
165 diagram is published in the previous works (Druzhinina et al., 2015, 2023).

166 In total, 141 samples were used for climate reconstruction, including 120 for the  
167 Holocene part of the sequence. Before the reconstruction, fossil pollen records were adjusted  
168 to the datasets. All taxon names were harmonized to ensure compatibility between modern and  
169 fossil datasets. Almost all the terrestrial pollen types found in the sediments were used for the  
170 reconstruction, except some water plants, such as Cyperaceae and *Typha*. The reconstruction  
171 was made by the application of the Modern Analog Technique (MAT) using a function  
172 integrated with the Rioja package (Juggins, 2020) for R (version 4.2.0) (R Core Team, 2021).  
173 The European modern pollen dataset (EMPD) by Davis et al. (2020) was utilized for the  
174 reconstruction. The technique is based on a large reference dataset of modern pollen  
175 assemblages which is compiled from various geographic locations. Each sample in this dataset  
176 is associated with known climate data (e.g., mean annual temperature, seasonal precipitation).  
177 Each fossil pollen assemblage is statistically compared to this dataset using similarity measures.  
178 Once the closest modern analogs are identified, the climate parameter are averaged to infer the  
179 climate conditions for the time period represented by the fossil pollen sample. More details on  
180 the method applied can be found in Gedminienė et al. (*In prep.*).

181

### 182 **3. Results and Discussion**

#### 183 *3.1 Mesolithic (11700 – 6500 cal yr. BP)*

184 People began to explore the south-eastern Baltic territory during the late Palaeolithic –  
185 early Mesolithic (Druzhinina, 2010; Druzhinina et al., 2023). The previously obtained  
186 chironomid data for the Kamyshovoe lake show that from 11 900 to 11 500 cal yr BP a period  
187 of gradual increase in summer temperatures begins (Druzhinina et al., 2020). Based on  
188 chironomid data and geochemical indicators, short-term climatic oscillations were recorded ~11  
189 400; 11 200; 10 700; 10 400; 9700; 9300 and 8200 cal yr BP (Druzhinina et al., 2020). During  
190 the cooling periods, summer temperatures remained at the values characteristic of the Younger  
191 Dryas, and warming comparable to the Allerød apparently occurred only after 9700 cal yr BP,  
192 when the value of the mean July temperature reached +15...+15.2 °C. A relatively stable but  
193 gradual temperature increase was reconstructed after 9500 cal yr BP (Druzhinina et al., 2020).  
194 MAT reconstruction provides a similar summer temperature trend and points at the more severe  
195 winters between 11 300 and 10 300 cal yr BP (Fig. 2). During this interval, along with the  
196 reduced snow precipitation mean winter temperature dropped to -15 °C, which is about 5 degrees  
197 lower than at the beginning of the Holocene. According to MAT reconstruction, seasons  
198 became mild and wet after 10 300 and till 9900 cal yr BP, when summer and winter precipitation  
199 grew up to 70-90 mm per month, and winter temperature reached -1...-2 °C. Further, summer

200 temperatures increased to about +16 °C and were accompanied by decreased precipitation,  
201 while winters became dryer and colder (mean T DJF up to -5 °C). The increase in mean annual  
202 temperature, which began about 9000 cal yr BP, marked the onset of the Holocene Climatic  
203 Optimum (HCO) with summer and winter temperatures reaching +19 °C and +1 °C  
204 accordinally. During the Mesolithic this warmer period was interrupted by several coolings: the  
205 “8.2 event”, short-term climate fluctuation centered at 7800 – 7600 and a cooling of 7100 –  
206 6600 cal yr BP (Figure 2).

207 Undoubtedly, climatic instability was also reflected in the Early Holocene vegetation  
208 dynamics. The proportion of birch (*Betula*) and pine (*Pinus*) in the forests composition  
209 fluctuated with a gradual increase in the amount of the latter, while the density of vegetation  
210 cover changed insignificantly. Elm (*Ulmus*) appeared in the forests of the south-eastern Baltic  
211 from about 11 000 cal yr BP, hazel (*Corylus*) became widespread from 10 400 cal yr BP, and  
212 later - from 9700 cal yr BP - broadleaved species became increasingly important (Druzhinina  
213 et al., 2015; 2020).

214 Due to the scarce archaeological research, the knowledge on the local south-eastern  
215 Baltic Mesolithic communities remains rather general and does not allow tracing changes in  
216 subsistence strategies, which probably existed in dynamic palaeoenvironment. Recent studies  
217 of early to late Mesolithic sites in the Baltic sea area demonstrate high adaptive flexibility of  
218 subsistence strategies and considerable botanical knowledge of Mesolithic communities about  
219 local and regional vegetation distributions in different ecozones, using selected taxa for  
220 specified tasks (Blaesild et al., 2024; Wačnik et al., 2020; Druzhinina et al., 2023).  
221 Archaeological data testify that the subsistence strategies of that time were based on fishing,  
222 fowling and hunting along with active exploration of forest plant resources for such daily-life  
223 activities as woodworking, textile making, basketry, etc. While the earliest items from organic  
224 materials (utensils, traps, etc.) are found in Poland at Szczepanki site (Wačnik et al., 2020), the  
225 Mesolithic activities listed above are reflected in the results of the use-wear analysis of flint  
226 assemblage from the Mesolithic sites located on the shores of lake Vishtynetskoe (Fig. 1)  
227 (Zhilin, 2013). Starting from ~ 10 500 cal yr BP regional pollen and geochemical data testify  
228 the first signs of anthropogenic pressure on the landscapes. At that time, the presence of  
229 localised deforestation is recorded in the pollen spectra of lakes Kamyshovoe and Chistoe  
230 (Druzhinina et al., 2023). Woods may have been burned not only to increase hunting and  
231 mobility, but also to spread certain plant species, of which hazel was probably the most  
232 important as it constituted part of the Mesolithic diet, was used for various economic purposes  
233 (as wood, fibres) and as fuel (Bishop et al. 2015; Gross et al. 2019). Thus, *Corylus* in the pollen



234 spectra in the Kamyshovoe and Chistoe lakes fluctuates between 20 and 40 % throughout the  
235 Mesolithic, which is much higher than, for example, the value of it in the Kozje Bog spectrum,  
236 not exceeding 2-3 % (Napreenko et al., 2021). The archaeological and palaeobotanical evidence  
237 of hazel propagation and simultaneous forest burning was obtained in the neighbouring  
238 territories of Suwalki Upland (Wačnik et al. 2020). High values of *Corylus* in the Kamyshovoe  
239 pollen record are accompanied by the simultaneous peaks of bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*, up  
240 to 18 %) and the elevated values of geochemical indicators of wood fuel burning (Ba, Sr)  
241 (Druzhinina et al., 2023).

242

### 243 3.2 Neolithic (6500 – 4000 cal yr BP)

244 The Neolithic Period in the south-eastern Baltic coincides with the second half of the  
245 HCO and embraces the change of climate, which occurred afterwards. According to MAT  
246 reconstruction, the Mesolithic – Neolithic transition took place during the relatively long-  
247 lasting climatic cooling from 7100 to 6600 cal yr BP. Along with the lower temperature (+16  
248 °C), both summer and winter humidity grew. Warmer and dryer conditions recovered around  
249 6500 cal yr BP and continued until 5500 cal yr BP, except the cooling centered at 6300 – 6200  
250 and the “5.9 event”, which is expressed by the short-lasting drop of summer temperature  
251 reflected on the MAT reconstruction curves at around 5800 cal yr BP. During the second half  
252 of the Neolithic, from ~5500 cal yr BP onwards, the climate started to change substantially.  
253 The mean summer temperature lowered from +19 to +14...16 °C. The lowering of winter  
254 temperature was more expressed: from +1 to -5...-7°C. While summer precipitation had  
255 increasing trend (from max 80-90 mm per month during the HCO up to 100 mm per month at  
256 the end of the Middle Holocene, around 4200 cal yr BP), winters became dryer (from 60 to 40  
257 mm per month respectively). Within the slightly fluctuating climatic trends, several episodes  
258 deserve attention. Around 5200 cal yr BP, the period with softer and snowy winters took place.  
259 Later, conditions close to the HCO with warm, dry summers were observed at ~4700 cal yr BP.  
260 The Neolithic – Bronze Age transition is marked by the interval (4100 – 4000 cal yr BP) with  
261 the driest and colder winters on the general background of raising humidity.

262 During the first half of the Neolithic temperate deciduous forests (*Quercetum mixtum*)  
263 spread over, while values of pine (*Pinus*) and birch (*Betula*) reduced. Oak (*Quercus*), elm  
264 (*Ulmus*), lime (*Tilia*) and hazel (*Corylus*) were the main elements (Napreenko et al., 2021).  
265 Composition of vegetation started to change at 6000 - 5500 cal yr BP with the end of HCO and  
266 was expressed in reduction of deciduous forests and spreading of spruce (*Picea*).

267 The Neolithic of the region is represented by sites of the two archaeological cultures

268 best studied so far: the Zedmar (Zedmar and Utinoe Boloto sites) and the Primorskaya Corded  
269 Ware Culture Group (Pribrezhnoe and Ushakovo sites). In Poland, archaeological studies of the  
270 sites also attributed to the Zedmar culture indicate that a new strategy of settling and economy  
271 with stationary settlements was spread in this region during the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition  
272 (Wačnik et al., 2020). Thus, the significant growth of the local population is indicated by the  
273 increased amount and diversity of archaeological finds (animal bones, pottery, flint and stone  
274 tools, bone and wooden implements, amber ornaments, dwelling objects, fireplaces, burials)  
275 starting from 6500 cal yr BP at Szczepanki site (Wačnik et al., 2020). Emergence of stationary  
276 settlements probably inhabited all year round together with a significant growth of the local  
277 population resulted in increased anthropogenic pressure on the local landscapes, visible in  
278 archaeological and palaeocological data from Kaliningrad region (Druzhinina, 2023). The  
279 growing number of plants-indicators of anthropogenic activity (weed, pasture, and meadow  
280 plants), microcharcoal and *Pteridium* peaks, presence of Onagraceae (cypress) in the  
281 Kamyshovoe and Chistoe pollen records attests to a larger extent of open spaces and wood  
282 exploitation starting from ~7000 cal yr BP, while TiO<sub>2</sub> as an indicator of soil erosion shows a  
283 gradually increasing trend from ~6000 cal yr BP (Druzhinina et al., 2023). Microcharcoal data  
284 combined with information on pollen of ruderals, open habitats, and dry pastures, reflect the  
285 peaks of human activity at ~6300, 5900, 5700, 5200, 4700, 4300, 4000 cal yr. BP.

286 Fishing, fowling and hunting remained major occupations of the early Neolithic people,  
287 as stated from large bone collection at Utinoe Boloto site, represented by wild boar, tur, elk, roe  
288 deer, red deer, bear, marten; pike or perch and bird remains (Timofeev, 1975). Bones of cattle,  
289 goats/sheep found at Zedmar site provide the first zooarchaeological evidence of domestication  
290 and small scale local cattle breeding in this part of the Baltic region at least from ~6000 cal yr  
291 BP (Timofeev, 1975, 1996). *Plantago lanceolata* as indicator of agriculture and, in particular,  
292 grazing is present in the pollen spectra from 6300 cal yr BP (Druzhinina et al., 2023). During  
293 the first half of the Neolithic the earliest attempts to plant cultivation took place. At the Zedmar  
294 site, bone and horn tools for soil tilling, identified by use-wear analysis and with the earliest  
295 dating of 6950 - 5550 cal yr BP were found. The earliest archaeological layer at Zedmar  
296 containing *Cerealia* and *Fagopyrum* pollen is dated to 5990 - 5710 cal yr BP (Druzhinina,  
297 2023). Along with *Cerealia*, pollen of segetal and ruderal weeds (*Brassicaceae*, *Chenopodium*,  
298 *Plantago lanceolata*) were detected in the simultaneous cultural layer. During the second half  
299 of the Neolithic period, from 5200 – 5100 cal yr BP, a new stage of the prehistoric farming is  
300 observed, when agriculture seems to expand in scale and importance in this part of the Baltic  
301 (Druzhinina, 2023). This is evidenced from pollen record at Kozje Bog (since 5100 cal yr BP)

302 and archaeological finds of stone mattocks, grinding stones, pestle grinders and charred grains  
303 of wheat embracing intervals of 5250 – 4850 cal yr BP at Pribrezhnoe and 5100 – 3750 cal yr  
304 BP at Ushakovo sites. Data from Zedmar site and Chistoe lake indicate the constant presence  
305 of Cerealia in the pollen spectrum since 4400 cal yr BP and 4600 cal yr BP respectively.  
306 Available archaeological and palaeogenetic data point that aforementioned changes in  
307 subsistence strategy related to increasing role of agriculture can be connected to the inflow of  
308 new population - agriculturalists from the Cord Ware Culture (Druzhinina, 2023).

309

### 310 *3.3 Bronze Age (4000 – 2800 cal yr BP)*

311 The Bronze Age in the south-eastern Baltic can be generally characterised as a period  
312 with a relatively stable temperature trend fluctuating near +15 °C during summer and -5°C in  
313 winter, but with sharp and essential changes in precipitation (Fig. 2). After short interval (4100  
314 – 4000 cal yr BP) with the dryest and colder winters in the beginning of the period, the  
315 remarkable growth of amount of rain and snow occurred in the region. The highest peak of  
316 summer precipitation throughout the Holocene is reconstructed for the time ~3700 cal yr BP  
317 (120 mm per month). After 3500 cal yr BP it drops to 75 mm per month and further fluctuates  
318 not exceeding 90 mm, except for a short-lasting peak of precipitation at ~3100 cal yr BP (107  
319 mm per month). The similar trend is observed for winter as well. The "2800" cold event,  
320 recorded in many natural archives in Europe (Borisova, 2014) marks the end of the Bronze Age  
321 in the south-eastern Baltic. According to MAT reconstruction, the cooling was expressed in  
322 slightly colder winters and the beginning of a long-lasting trend for reduced precipitation both  
323 in summer and winter.

324 In the Bronze Age, the main feature of vegetation evolution was recovery of pine in the  
325 composition of woods, along with continuous substantial presence of spruce, lime and alder  
326 (Napreenko et al., 2021, Druzhinina et al., 2023).

327 Few details of the Bronze Age settling strategy and economy are known from local  
328 archaeological data, so far represented mostly by grave mounds and by the corresponding  
329 horizons of Pribrezhnoe and Ushakovo sites (Zaltsman, 2019). According to the latter and to  
330 the regional palynological evidence, farming became one of the main occupations of the  
331 population (Druzhinina et al., 2023). Cerealia continued to be present in the pollen spectra of  
332 Zedmar site and Chistoe lake throughout the Bronze Age. In the Kamyshovoe sediments,  
333 Cerealia emerged at ~ 3800 and 2800 cal yr. BP, while in the Kozje Bog a remarkable peak is  
334 recorded in the interval 4000 – 3500 cal yr BP. Presence of Cerealia correlates with a  
335 simultaneous increase of ruderals and *Pteridium* curves on the pollen diagrams. Taking into

336 account increased agricultural activities, part of the pine forests could also have a secondary  
337 origin reflecting human-induced deforestation.

338 During this historical period, metal became increasingly integral to human life and  
339 metallurgy as a new essential activity began to play a role in an anthropogenic impact on  
340 landscapes of the south-eastern Baltic (Druzhinina et al., 2022, 2023). Probably, a diverse trade  
341 of metal existed in the Baltic and in Scandinavia: finished and prefabricated metal products  
342 were transported here from various centres and re-smelted in local workshops according to local  
343 traditions and demand (Holmqvist, et al. 2019). While the early Bronze Age (before 3100 cal  
344 yr BP) metal producing evidence is rare, several dozen of later sites where bronze casting  
345 remains have been found are discovered in the Baltic region from Estonia to Poland (Podėnas  
346 and Čivilytė, 2019). A major simultaneous increase in content of the Pb, Ni, Zn and As  
347 indicators of metallurgical production since ~3100 cal yr BP in the Kamyshovoe lake sediments  
348 may show a growing demand for metal objects in the south-eastern Baltic area, and input of  
349 local or regional metal smelting workshop pollution into lakes (Druzhinina et al., 2022).

350

#### 351 *3.4 Iron Age (2800 – 1400 cal yr BP)*

352 According to the MAT reconstruction, during the Iron Age, the stable temperature trend  
353 continued with a mean summer temperature of +16 °C and winter values of -6...-7 °C, except  
354 for a period with slightly higher temperature of -4 °C during 2500 – 2000 cal yr BP. The Iron  
355 Age embraces the period with stability in precipitation (70-80 mm per month in summer and  
356 40 mm per month in winter). Increased values of this parameter are recorded only for the  
357 aforementioned interval with warmer winters, probably marking the beginning of Roman  
358 Climatic Optimum. The period under consideration clearly correlates with the visible on the  
359 pollen diagrams deforestation (lakes Kamyshovoe, Chistoe; bogs Kozje, Velikoe, Zelau) as the  
360 share of NAP increased gradually (Arslanov et al., 2011; Napreenko-Dorokhova et al., 2016;  
361 Napreenko et al., 2021; Druzhinina et al., 2023). Secondary pine and birch forests seem to take  
362 over the natural vegetation. Spruce remains one of the main species in the woods. Remarkable  
363 feature of the Iron Age vegetation is maximum spreading of hornbeam (*Carpinus*), reflected in  
364 all studied pollen records.

365 The Iron Age saw a new phase in the intensification of anthropogenic activity.  
366 Continuous cultivation of crops and an increasing variety of Cerealia is observed in the region.  
367 Pollen of *Secale*, *Hordeum*, *Triticum* along with pollen of segetal (*Centaurea cyanus*,  
368 *Chenopodium album*, *Cannabis*, etc.) and ruderal (species of Asteraceae, Chenopodiumaceae,  
369 *Plantago*, *Polygonum*, *Urtica*, etc.) weeds recorded in Kamyshovoe, Chistoe, Kozje, Zelau and

370 Velikoe sequences indicate that the area of arable land was expanding. Archaeological sites  
371 attributed to this period provide a substantial macrobotanical evidence for agricultural  
372 activities. Besides farming inventory represented in many archaeological assemblages, the  
373 Grachevka finds contain charred and non-charred grains of wheat (*Triticum vulgare* and  
374 *Triticum aestivum*) and millet (*Panicum miliaceum L.*), while during the excavation of Russkoe  
375 site numerous finds of cultivated pea (*Pisum sativum*) were obtained (Gurevitch, 1960; Koval,  
376 2021).

377 During this period, iron replaced bronze as the most common metal used for making  
378 utensils, tools and weapons. One of the advantages of iron over bronze was the availability of  
379 raw materials (i.e. lake and bog ores), whereas bronze production needed copper and tin ores,  
380 which had to be transported and traded. Iron-smelting required much more heat during the  
381 process, thus increasing demand for wood and charcoal and causing further deforestation. Metal  
382 slags are found at Salskoe, Russkoe, Grachevka and other sites in Kaliningrad region  
383 (Gurevitch, 1960; Koval, 2021). Increase in content of the metallurgical production indicators  
384 in the Kamyshovoe sequence continues during the entire interval dated to Iron Age period  
385 (Druzhinina et al., 2022, 2023).

386

### 387 *3.5 Migration period and Medieval Times (1400 – 400 cal yr BP)*

388 According to MAT reconstruction, the period of relative temperature stably continued  
389 during the time under consideration (Fig. 2). On the contrast to temperature trend, two episodes  
390 with high peaks of precipitation are observed. The first one at ~1400 cal yr BP shows a sharp  
391 increase both in summer (from 70 to 105 mm per month) and winter (from 40 to 60 mm per  
392 month) precipitation accompanied by a temperature fluctuation of several degrees, causing  
393 colder summer, but warmer winter (Fig. 2). Apparently, this character of climatic change could  
394 be related with double-eruption event at 536 AD and 540 AD (van Dijk et al., 2024). The  
395 products of volcanic eruptions released into the atmosphere not only change the temperature  
396 near the earth's surface, but also contribute to prolonged and/or abundant precipitation  
397 (Muravyev, 2007). Double eruptions or cluster eruptions are thought to have a more profound  
398 and longer-lasting impact on the surface climate than single ones. According to van Dijk et al.  
399 (2024), the double-eruption event in the mid-sixth century was exceptional not only in the CE,  
400 but also in the context of the Holocene.

401 The Migration Period in the European history is characterized by complex social-  
402 demographic processes and changes in power and development centres. The study of the  
403 anthropogenic activity and settling pattern in the southern Baltic (in particular, western and

404 northern Poland) based on the 52 palynological records revealed essential regional differences in  
405 terms of chronology and the extent of anthropogenic colonisation reflected in deforestation and  
406 crop cultivation (Pędziszewska et al., 2020). During the Roman period (1th-4th century AD),  
407 particularly high values of settlement and agricultural indicators were characteristic of Suwalki  
408 Upland. The anthropogenic activity did not diminish here drastically also during the Migration  
409 period (4th-6th century AD), though the crisis of this time is reflected in the whole study area,  
410 as demonstrated by the rising values of forest indicators, reduction of anthropogenic indicators  
411 in the vegetation and the disappearance of cereal pollen from many sites (Pędziszewska et al.,  
412 2020). In the southern Baltic depopulation and change of settlement pattern began in the 3th–  
413 4th century AD and reached its maximum in the 5th-6th century AD. The simultaneous short-  
414 term drop of nearly all geochemical indicators of human activity in the interval dated to 4th-6<sup>th</sup>  
415 century AD is observed in the Kamyshovoe sediment record and so do the pollen data on cereals  
416 and other plants-anthropogenic indicators in Kamyshovoe and Kozje bog (Napreenko et al.,  
417 2021; Druzhinina et al., 2023). Remarkable increase of plants – indicators of soil erosion and  
418 grazing (*Artemisia*, *Plantago lanceolata*, *Rumex*) starts during this interval. The complex  
419 demographic and socio-economic situation of that period is probably reflected in the burials of  
420 the 6th-7th centuries AD on the Sambian Peninsula, which are characterised by the scarce  
421 funerary inventory (Suvorov, 1985).

422 The next peak of precipitation took place at ~700 - 600 cal yr BP (Fig. 2). Only summer  
423 precipitation values changed at that time: from 77 to 90 mm per month, probably marking the  
424 start of the Little Ice Age. Palaeogeographic data for the northern hemisphere and especially  
425 data on glaciers and vegetation show that climate changes started at around 700 - 600 cal yr BP  
426 were one of the most abrupt and profound during the Holocene (Borisova, 2014). The effect of the  
427 Little Ice Age cooling, lasting from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century according to various estimates,  
428 affected medieval society in most parts of Europe (Wanner et al., 2008). Meanwhile, this  
429 cooling is hardly expressed on the MAT reconstruction curve. The possible reason may be that  
430 during this period the natural vegetation was largely altered by anthropogenic activities, so  
431 pollen data composition from this period used in the reconstruction mitigates the real climatic  
432 (at least temperature) curves. For example, studies by Pędziszewska et al. (2020) show that in  
433 the 9th-10th centuries significant areas in the southern Baltics (Poland) had already largely been  
434 deforested and the lands were used for farming purposes. In the south-eastern Baltics, since 7th-  
435 8th century AD, the increasing human activity is indicated not only by the considerable amount  
436 of settlements in that period (Suvorov, 1985), but also by the remarkable growth of the charcoal  
437 and geochemical anthropogenic indicators in the Kamyshovoe sequence (Druzhinina et al.,

438 2023). The regional pollen diagrams (Kamyshovoe, Chistoe, Kozje, Velikoe, Zelau) show the  
439 growing amount of Cerealia, and *Secale*, *Triticum*, *Hordeum*, *Cannabis* and *Fagopyrum* are  
440 present in the spectra. This along with increasing percentage of indicators of pastures, meadows  
441 etc. testify that natural vegetation was altered to a high degree, therefore the palaeoclimatic  
442 pollen-based reconstruction could be biased.

443 In this part of the Baltic region, the onset of the Little Ice Age and the resulting changes  
444 in natural parameters coincide with the dynamic historical events associated with the Teutonic  
445 Order's conquest of the area in the 13-14th centuries (Suvorov, 1985). As previous studies have  
446 shown, during this period of struggle between the local population and the Crusader knights,  
447 there was a temporary desolation of lands and, on the contrary, an increase in anthropogenic  
448 load in certain territories, change of human activities, etc. (Druzhinina et al., 2023). These  
449 factors make it extremely difficult to divide causes into climate and anthropogenic when it  
450 comes to vegetation dynamics or reasons for certain changes in society.

451

#### 452 **4. Conclusion**

453 The overview of the archaeological and palaeoenvironmental data from the south-  
454 eastern Baltic presented on the background of the detailed climatic description provides a  
455 framework for further research of the "climate - human" relation and role of climatic events in  
456 the evolution of human society. Within the recent state-of-the-art in archaeological and  
457 palaeoclimatic research, the following conclusions can be made.

458 According to the MAT reconstruction, during the Mesolithic, people lived in three  
459 different types of climatic conditions. From the beginning of the Holocene until 10 400 cal yr  
460 BP, the conditions were cold and close to those of the Younger Dryas; this was the time of  
461 birch-pine forest dominance. Then a period of warmer and wetter climate with parameters close  
462 to the present day began, causing a change in forest structure and an increase in the number of  
463 deciduous species. The third stage of the Mesolithic, since 8500 cal yr BP, took place in  
464 conditions of climatic optimum with the dominance of broad-leaved forests. Increase in  
465 archaeological data will make it possible to trace the changes in Mesolithic subsistence  
466 strategies that probably occurred with changing environmental conditions during that time.

467 The Mesolithic – Neolithic transition took place during the relatively long climatic  
468 cooling (7100 - 6600 cal yr BP) within climatic optimum. A new strategy of settling and  
469 economy with stationary settlements marked the beginning of the Neolithic, a period when  
470 development of society took place under dynamic climatic conditions as well. While the first  
471 part of the Neolithic fell during the climatic optimum of the Holocene and era of broad-leaved

472 forests, from about 5500 cal yr BP the climate changed towards colder temperatures and a shift  
473 in seasonal moisture content: summers became wetter and winters less snowy, and the role of  
474 conifers increases in broadleaved forests. Since the Neolithic, farming (cattle breeding and plant  
475 cultivation) started to play a role in the subsistence strategy of the local population.

476 The beginning of the Bronze Age corresponds with a start of relative temperature  
477 stability in both summer and winter, with values close to modern ones. Along that, significant  
478 fluctuations in humidity during this historical period occurred: maximum values of summer  
479 precipitation for the Holocene in the interval 3900 - 3700 cal yr BP and a sharp decrease in  
480 humidity in the second half of the period are recorded. Available archaeological and  
481 palynological evidence show that farming became one of the main occupations during the  
482 Bronze Age, and according to geochemical study of the lake sediments, since at least ~3100 cal  
483 yr BP metallurgy started to gain importance in life of ancient communities.

484 According to the palaeoclimatic data obtained, the Iron Age was apparently the epoch  
485 of the greatest climatic stability with temperatures close to modern ones and lower humidity,  
486 except for a wetter interval around 2200 - 2100 cal yr BP. Precipitation increased slightly during  
487 the Middle Ages, but remained below modern values. About 1400 cal yr BP (Migration Period)  
488 there was a slight temperature fluctuation accompanied by a sharp increase in precipitation, the  
489 cause of which should probably be attributed to a double volcanic eruption in AD 536 and 540.  
490 The smaller scale peak of precipitation reflected the beginning of the Little Ice Age, though  
491 temperature fluctuation is not expressed on the reconstructed curve. Generally, since the start  
492 of the Iron Age, intensity of anthropogenic activity in the south-eastern Baltics grew till recent,  
493 with some interruptions during the Migration period and local differences in its extent related  
494 to the Teutonic Order's conquest of the area in the 13-14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

495 The study showed that besides climate, anthropogenic activity had a significant impact  
496 on the vegetation cover of the area. The influence of the anthropogenic factor becomes visible  
497 from the Neolithic period onwards and has been increasing over the last 3000 years. Given this  
498 nuance, it is necessary to be more cautious regarding temperature reconstructions based on pollen  
499 data for this period as the human-induced vegetation changes could mitigate reflection of the  
500 actual climate fluctuations.

501

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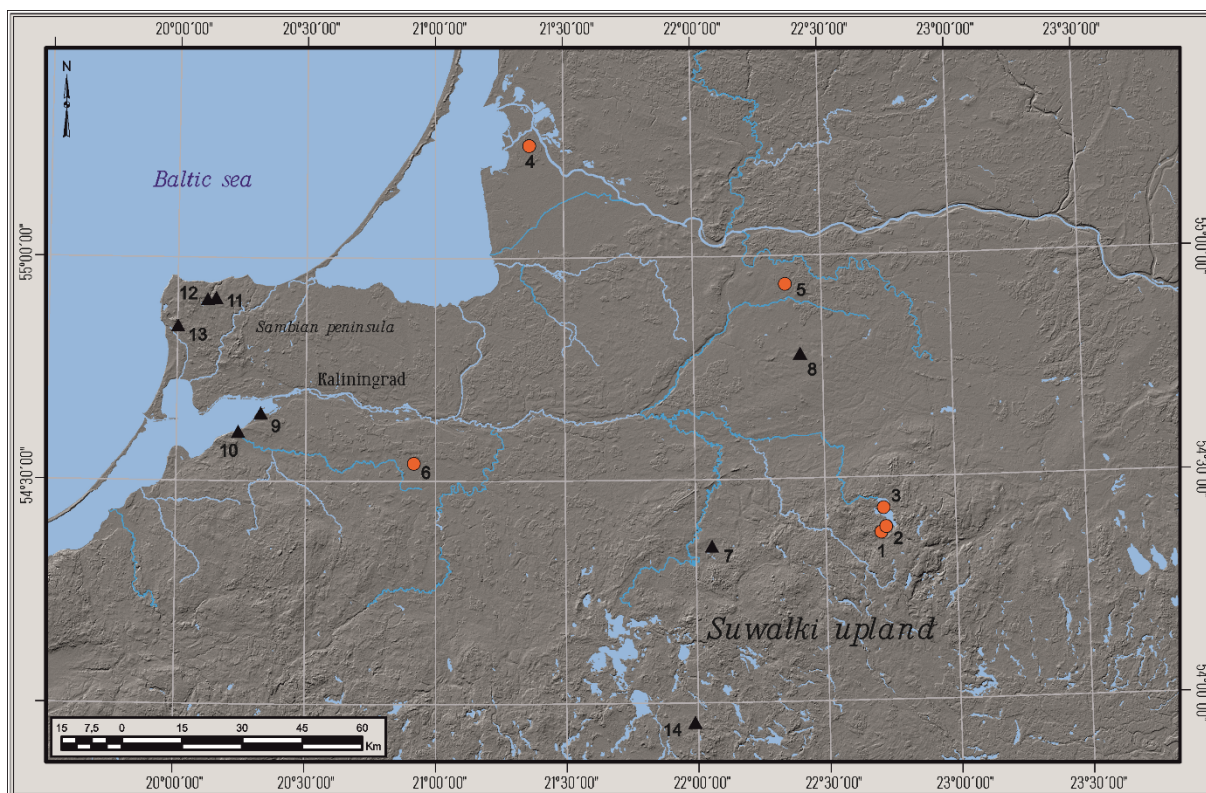
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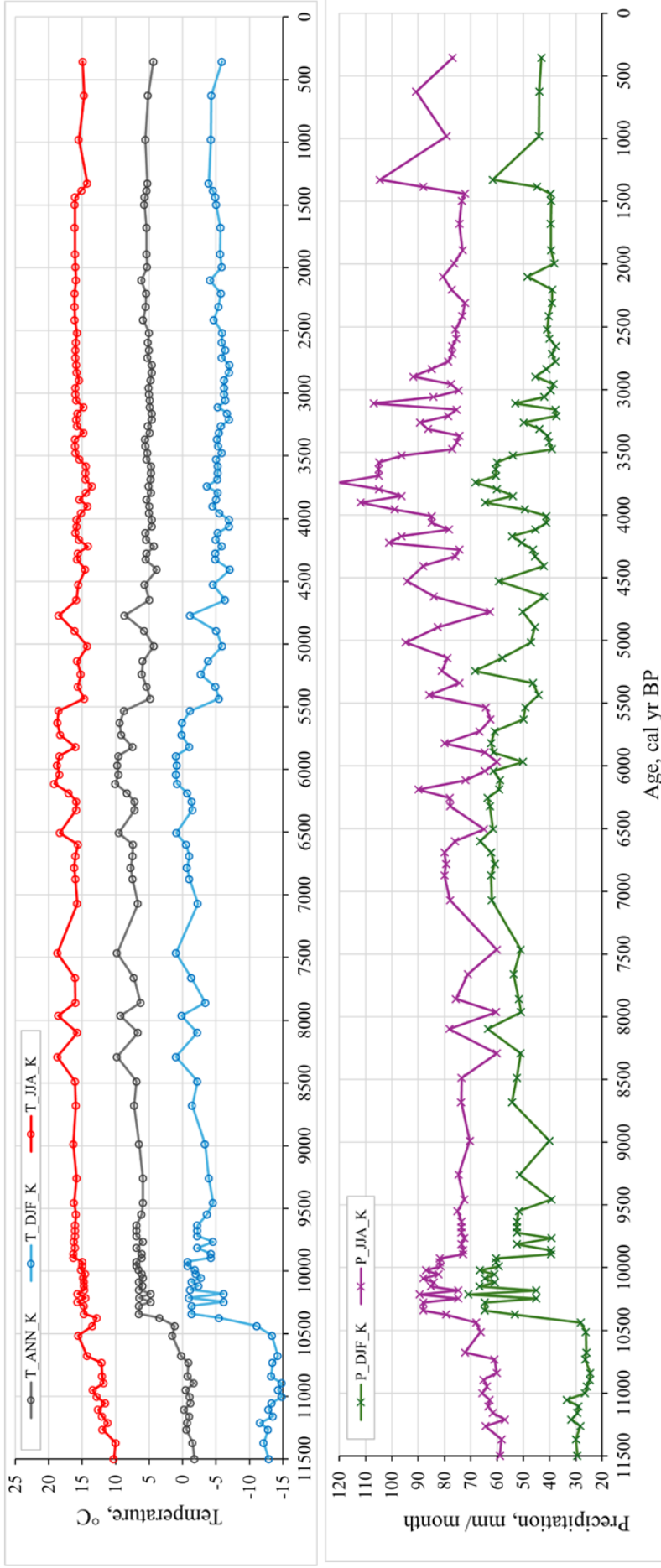
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 662 Fig. 1. Study area and locations mentioned in the text (dots – natural archives; triangles  
 663 – archaeological sites): 1 – Lake Kamyshovoe, 2 – Lake Chistoe, 3 – Lake Vyshtynetskoe, 4 –  
 664 Kozje Bog, 5 – Velikoe Bog, 6 – Zelau Bog, 7 – Zedmar archaeological complex, 8 – Utinoe  
 665 Boloto Mesolithic – early Neolithic site, 9 – Pribrezhnoe Neolithic – Bronze Age site, 10 –  
 666 Ushakovo Neolithic – Bronze Age group of sites, 11 – Salskoe Iron Age site, 12 – Grachevka  
 667 Iron Age site, 13 – Russkoe Iron Age site, 14 – Szczepanki late Palaeolithic – Neolithic site  
 668 (Poland) (Map source: GeoGuessr.com).  
 669



Historical period	Mesolithic	Neolithic	Bronze Age	Iron Age	Migration period Medieval and Modern time
	11500 - 9000	9000 - 4500	4500 - 2500	2500 - 500	500 - 0

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Fig. 2. Palaeoclimate MAT reconstruction results for the south-eastern Baltic region.

ПРИНЯТО К ПЕЧАТИ



673 **Антропогенная деятельность в эпоху камня и палеометалла по археологическим и**  
674 **палеоэкологическим данным в Юго-Восточной Прибалтике на фоне климата**  
675 **голоцена\*.**

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701 **Аннотация**

702 Представлен обзор археологических и палеоэкологических данных юго-  
703 восточной Балтики (оз. Камышовое, Чистое; бол. Козье, Великое, Целау,

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704 Калининградская область) на фоне реконструкции климата голоцена. Метод  
705 «современных аналогов» (MAT) применительно к палинологическим данным оз.  
706 Камышовое использован для реконструкции трендов и сезонных значений температуры  
707 и осадков для разных этапов голоцена. Установлено, что в течение мезолита  
708 климатические условия менялись от близких к позднеледниковою через период более  
709 теплого и влажного климата с параметрами, близкими к современным, к условиям  
710 климатического оптимума, когда температура была на несколько градусов выше  
711 современной. Согласно археологическим данным, мезолитические стратегии  
712 жизнеобеспечения основывались на рыболовстве и охоте, наряду с активным освоением  
713 лесных растительных ресурсов, однако из-за скудности имеющегося фактического  
714 материала проследить изменения в деятельности человека, соответствующие динамике  
715 климата и палеосреды, сложно. В то время как первая часть неолита соответствовала  
716 климатическому оптимуму, примерно с 5500 кал. л. н. климат изменился в сторону  
717 похолодания и смещения сезонного выпадения осадков: лето стало более влажным, а  
718 зима менее снежной. В стратегии жизнеобеспечения неолитического населения  
719 разведение скота и земледелие начало играть возрастающую роль, приобретя еще  
720 большее значение в бронзовом веке, периоде с относительной температурной  
721 стабильностью, но значительными колебаниями количества осадков. С началом  
722 железного века (2800 кал. л.н.) интенсивность антропогенной деятельности (земледелия,  
723 скотоводства и металлургии) в юго-восточной Прибалтике возрастала, с некоторыми  
724 перерывами в периоды Великого переселения народов (5-6 вв. н. э.) и завоевания данной  
725 территории Тевтонским орденом в 13-14 вв. н.э. Согласно проведенным  
726 реконструкциям, начиная с железного века, температура остается близкой к  
727 современным значениям. Выделяются несколько более «влажных» эпизодов,  
728 совпадающих с началом Римского времени, периодом Великого переселения народов и  
729 малым ледниковым периодом в эпоху Средневековья.

730 **Ключевые слова:** антропогенная деятельность, археология, эпоха камня и  
731 палеометалла, палеоклимат, юго-восточная Прибалтика, метод современных аналогов