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Water dwelling: a European context: Later prehistoric water dwelling in the circum-Alpine region

Item Type	Book chapter
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Citation	Jennings BR (2024) Water dwelling: Later prehistoric water dwelling in the circum-Alpine region. In: Knight M, Ballantyne R, Brudenell M et al (Eds) Must Farm pile-dwelling settlement. Vol 1. Landscape, architecture and occupation. Cambridge : McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. Pp 254-261.
DOI	https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.106697
Publisher	McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
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Download date	2026-03-15 01:42:56
Link to Item	http://hdl.handle.net/10454/20141

use of these loci indicate that the communities that built them made a deliberate choice to occupy these specific environmental locales, be it a small island in a loch, a palaeochannel or a lakeshore. These choices will have been guided either by pragmatism or by less tangible ideas embedded in the socio-cultural context of the sites (Cavers & Crone 2018, 235–37), but whatever the motivation for building settlements in wetlands, the intermittent timescales, the variety in location and construction all suggest that over the millennia there was no common motivation, and that all that links these sites to each other is their special preservation status.

Later prehistoric water dwelling in the circum-Alpine region

Benjamin Jennings

It is often argued that wetland archaeology is not, in or of itself, special (Van de Noort & O’Sullivan 2006; Menotti 2012). While it is certainly true that wetland archaeology is not ‘special’, it cannot be questioned that the sites encountered in wetland environments offer exceptional windows on past societies. Chapters 2–7 (this volume) have highlighted just how unique the Must Farm settlement is in providing well-preserved evidence of Late Bronze Age social activities and actions similar to those found in terrestrial settlements around the region, country and continent. One area where the level of prehistoric settlement in wetland environments can be considered the standard, due to a variety of physical geological and cultural reasons, is the circum-Alpine region.

Prehistoric occupation of wetlands in the circum-Alpine region extends from the Neolithic to the Early Iron Age (Figure 8.12), with over 1000 settlement sites recorded across the Alpine zones of Austria, Slovenia, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland (Suter & Schlichtherle 2009). Although there are

several gaps in the chronology of wetland occupation, typically seen as being climatically influenced with some cultural response (Menotti 2001; Magny 2004), the occupation of the wetland environments in the region could be considered as a normative form of settlement in the region. The reasons for such occupation may be diverse, ranging from defensive aspects to the maximization of resources and arable land space (Coles & Coles 1992; Pétrequin & Bailly 2004); in reality, the situation is likely to be a complex mixture of influences, including cultural tradition. It is also possible that settlements were built in lacustrine and/or riverine locations as a means to access exchange networks (Jennings 2014b; Knight et al. 2019).

Many of these settlements were occupied over multiple phases of occupation, for instance Zürich-Mozartstrasse (Gross et al. 1987), Arbon-Bleiche (Hochuli 1994), and Zürich-Parkhaus Opéra (Bleicher & Harb 2015). This long established tradition of settling in wetland environments does not appear, in our present archaeological knowledge, to exist in the majority of Britain and Ireland. There are, however, a variety of aspects which can be compared and contrasted between the Must Farm settlement and broadly contemporary settlements from the circum-Alpine region.

This contribution compares the architecture, material makeup and temporality of circum-Alpine wetland settlements (with an emphasis on Late Bronze Age examples, spanning the period 1200–800 BC) with evidence from the Must Farm pile-dwelling settlement. A detailed consideration of Neolithic circum-Alpine lake-dwellings is given by Steiner et al. below.

Construction

One of the most obvious areas of comparison is in the style of construction used in the creation of the settlement. With a long tradition of wetland occupation

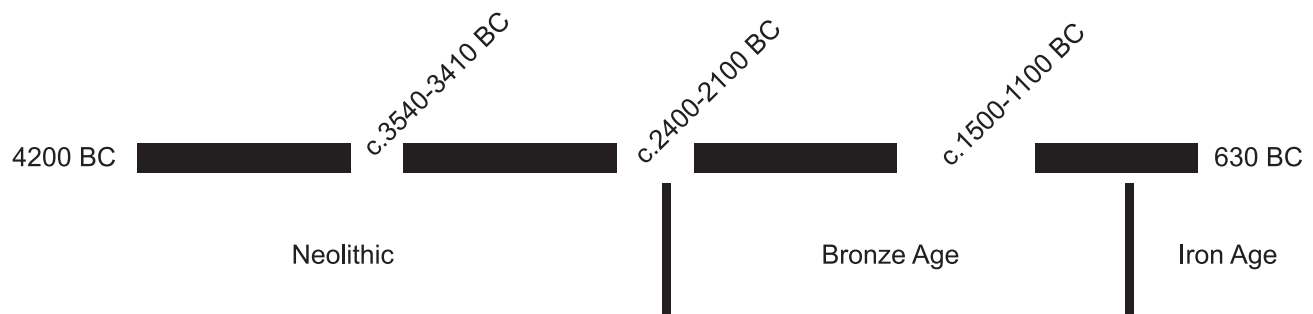


Figure 8.12. Periods of lake-dwelling construction and occupation in the circum-Alpine region, with hiatuses identified and cultural chronological classification for the northern circum-Alpine region (Switzerland) (Image: B. Jennings, after Menotti 2015b fig. 1.5).

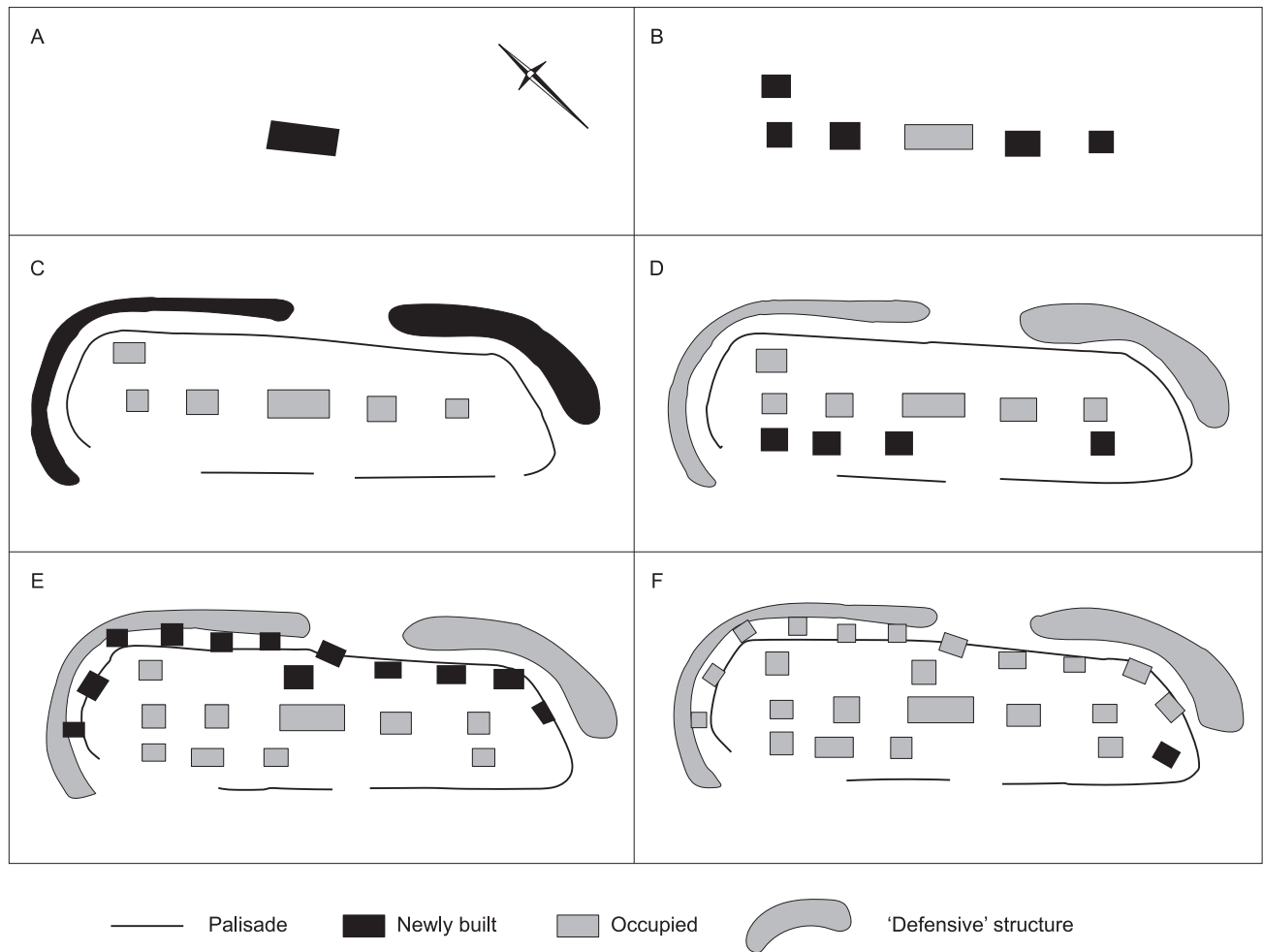


Figure 8.13. Development of Greifensee-Böschen between 1051 and 1042 BC. A pioneer double structure marked the foundation of the site (A, 1051 BC), with rapid expansion to the left and right (B 1048 BC). Definition of the settlement area occurred with the construction of a perimeter fence and defensive structure (C, 1047 BC), before new structures were built on the either side of the settlement (D, 1047–1046 BC), which also exceeded the area defined by the perimeter fence (E, 1045–1043 BC). A final structure was constructed on the lake side of the settlement (F, 1042 BC), before abandonment and apparent destruction of the settlement in a conflagration. The size of structures varies, with smaller buildings around the perimeter of the settlement and larger ones nearer the centre (Image: B. Jennings, after Eberschweiler et al. 2007, fig. 9 and Jennings 2012, fig. 4).

in the circum-Alpine region, a great deal of cultural knowledge was acquired in the use of constructional adaptations to help in the creation of stable structures. A variety of methods were used, depending on the exact nature of the environment being occupied, be it above standing water, intermittently submerged, or boggy ground (Benkert et al. 1998). There is even indication for the direct transfer of construction techniques from northern Italy to regions north of the Alps (Köninger & Schlichtherle 2001).

The most obvious difference between the Must Farm settlement and those from the circum-Alpine region is the shape of the structures; those at Must

Farm follow the typical style of roundhouse structures from Britain, while those in the circum-Alpine region are of the continental rectangular form. In terms of size of structures, the settlements of the Alpine area have a variety of sizes over the duration of the lake-dwelling tradition, though rarely do different sized structures occur within the same settlement (some notable exceptions being Greifensee-Böschen (Eberschweiler et al. 2007) (Figure 8.13) and Ürschhausen-Horn (Gollnisch-Moos 1999) (Figure 8.14).

Must Farm adapts the typical terrestrial type architecture into a wetland setting, building individual and substantial structures on separate elevated

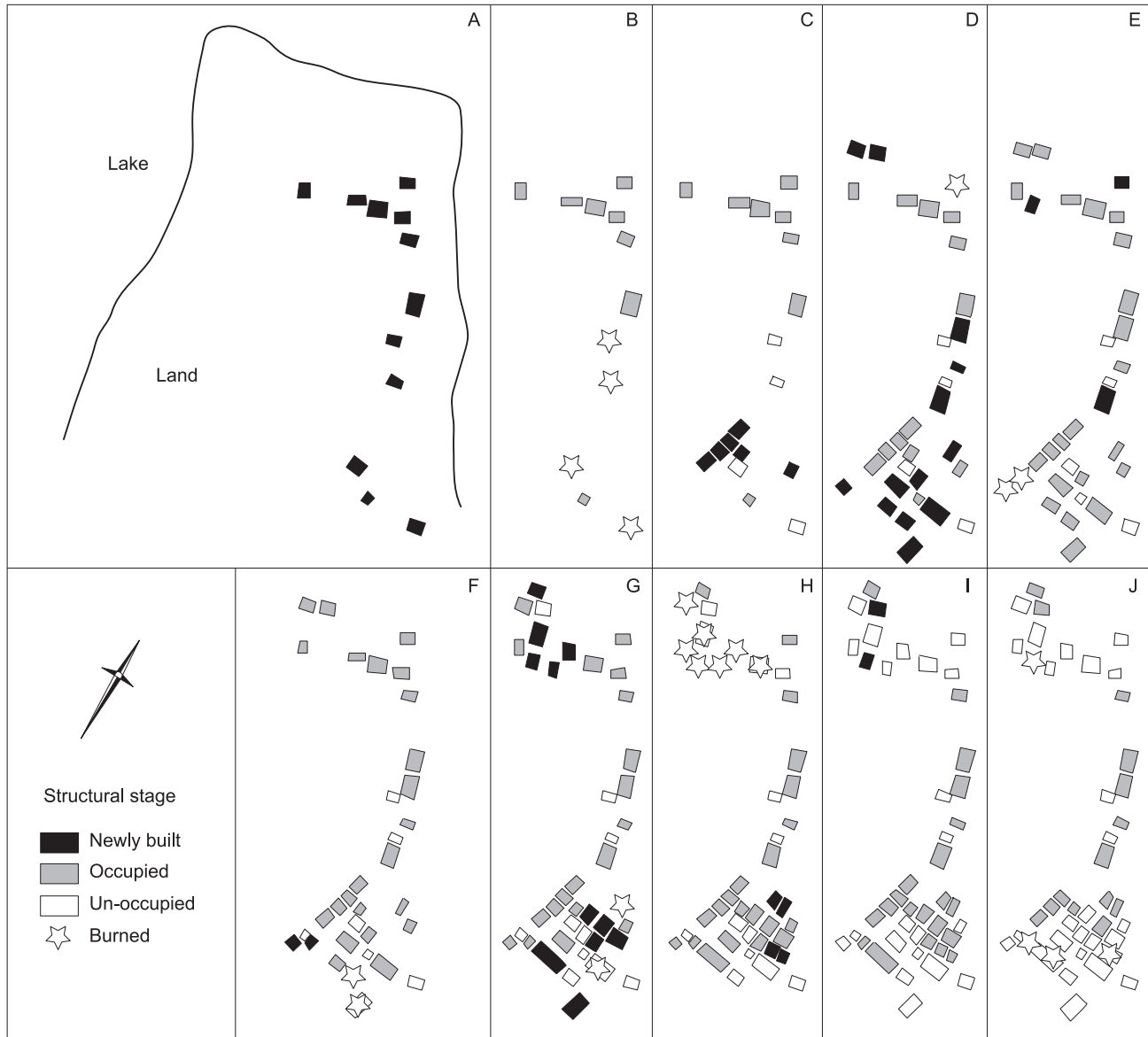


Figure 8.14. Ürschhausen-Horn development over ten phases proposed by Gollnisch-Moos (1999). Construction initially began dispersed across the settlement (A), and some buildings were abandoned shortly after (B). The southern half of the settlement was more densely built than the northern half (C–E), with some buildings destroyed or cleared by fire. The northern half of the settlement appears to have remained relatively stable until the latter stages of the settlement, when most of the buildings were abandoned before being burned (F–J), though some minor rebuilding may have occurred (G, I). A similar pattern, though considerably more dynamic, is visible in the southern half of the settlement, with buildings being abandoned, renovated and reoccupied, or destroyed by fire. The size of structures varies, with different size structure being occupied concurrently (Image: B. Jennings, after Gollnisch-Moos 1999, figs 222–24 and Jennings 2012, fig. 2).

platforms, i.e. roundhouses built on stilts (Ch3, this volume). The characteristics of the settlement's decline and abandonment allow a greater understanding of the superstructure of the buildings, elements that are typically absent from the remains encountered in the

circum-Alpine region. That the builders of Must Farm utilized the traditional techniques of the region, with some adaptation to the environment, is not surprising, and future discoveries may enable the understanding of the development of the construction techniques.

Architecture

In addition to the method of physical construction of the structures, the broader architecture of the settlements can be considered. Rather than the constructional methods and techniques used for structures, this refers to the organization, layout and style of the settlements themselves. This begins to approach considerations of cultural and social aspects in the creation of settlements.

Similarities are clearly evident between Must Farm and Alpine region wetland settlements. The most obvious of these is the use of a perimeter palisade around the settlement. The use of a palisade is encountered on many of the Alpine region wetland settlements, from across all periods of the construction tradition. Some palisades are relatively simple pole palisades, e.g. Siedlung-Forschner (*Siedlungsarchäologie im Alpenvorland XI* 2009) and Wasserburg-Buchau (Kimmig 1992) (but 'simple' does not imply basic, both of these examples are multi-phase and multi-section palisades), while other examples combine a palisade with other forms of 'defensive' structure, such as Greifensee-Böschen (Eberschweiler et al. 2007) (Figure 8.13). The use and function of palisades can be debated. An obvious attraction is their role as defensive elements, intended to keep the occupants secure, but their effectiveness in such roles must be questioned based upon the potential wide spacing between poles, the limited height of the palisade, and the non-universal encompassment of the settlement – often only the landward side was enclosed. The palisade at Greifensee-Böschen does seem an obvious defensive feature, with a series of banked stakes positioned in front of the perimeter palisade adding to the physical defensive characteristics of the feature (Eberschweiler et al. 2007). A further consideration detracting from the defensive nature of palisades is that at some sites structures encroached onto – and over – the palisade itself. This occurred at Greifensee-Böschen (Figure 8.13E–F) and the effectiveness of the palisade as a functional defensive feature would have been compromised by the addition of these structures. The presence of Structure 4 at Must Farm in close proximity to the palisade would again raise potential questions as to the feature's effectiveness as a purely defensive structure.

Palisades could also be used to prevent livestock from leaving the village, in situations where the structures were built on semi-dry ground, for instance Siedlung Forschner, taking on a passive protection role. It is this physically passive role which may appear to be more significant in the case of Must Farm, and also – with further consideration – Greifensee-Böschen. At Must Farm a specific combination of timber was used for the palisade, ash regularly placed between single oak posts. The exposed pale ash-wood of the timber's

points would have created a striking visual difference compared to the dwelling structures. The role of the palisade in this sense takes on a more social dividing role, establishing boundaries between inside/outside of the settlement space, and by extension, villagers and non-villagers, with potential differing rights of access.

The role of palisades can also be interpreted as influencing the form of settlements, between what Margarita Primas (2008) has termed as 'open' and 'closed' sites. This relates not only to the physical enclosure of the settlement by the palisade, but also to the nature of the settlement layout. Closed forms may be those of a more regular nature, such as Hautervive-Champréveyres (Benkert 1993) Cortaillod-Est (Arnold 1990) (both Bronze Age) and Arbon-Bleiche 3 (Leuzinger 2000) (Neolithic) in the northern Alpine region, which display regular parallel rows of buildings, to the more organic and separated nature of structures at sites such as Zürich-Alpenquai or Ürschhausen-Horn (Gollnisch-Moos 1999) (Bronze Age). It must be remembered however that not all structures in the 'closed' settlements were necessarily constructed or occupied contemporaneously, and so the potential population density and physical feel or perception of the settlement may not have been as 'closed' as appears from settlement plans, even when informed by accurate dendrochronological dating (e.g. Arbon Bleiche 3 development) (Leuzinger 2000; Schibler et al. 2004).

Must Farm is hard to place directly in relation to the 'closed' or 'open' category, because the roundhouse construction style necessitates a more dispersed and irregular style of construction than can be achieved with the use of oblong structures. However, this does not mean that the settlement was of an 'open' form; the positioning of the structures, with little open and/or accessible public space suggests a high density and 'closed' type settlement. In this aspect, Must Farm is again similar to the Greifensee-Böschen site, with multiple structures separated over short distances (Figure 8.13), and also to sections of the Ürschhausen-Hörn site, with a reduced amount of clearly open public space (Figure 8.14). This does not negate the possibility that certain structures were used as public spaces, but there is little clear space for outdoor activities or actions within the settlement area; any activities requiring extensive outdoor space, e.g. threshing, would need to be conducted outside of the settlement area.

Despite the closeness of the Must Farm structures, they were built individually on their own pile stilts, and not on a communal platform holding many structures. This is not unusual, and within the Alpine region the vast majority of lake-settlement structures were built on their own pile foundations rather than a communal platform. A notable exception to this is

a large conjoined structure at Greifensee-Böschen, where two structures were built on a single platform (Figure 8.13A) (Eberschweiler et al. 2007). There may be considerable benefits to using the one structure/one foundation approach. In terms of labour input, it is not necessary to establish a village sized platform before building structures, meaning that the village builders can have a dwelling in which to reside while construction of the village continues. In terms of physical preservation, damage to one large foundation on a communal platform could compromise multiple sections of the village, and make repairs more difficult. In terms of settlement size, establishing a single platform foundation limits potential growth of the site, or requires a significant investment of resources to allow for potential expansion room; individual foundations allow for the natural growth and expansion of the settlement without consuming resources. While logic does not always override social attitudes, in this situation the construction of Must Farm, and other lake-settlements, does appear logical in some sense. In this they were no different to contemporary terrestrial sites which were constructed and expanded as required or desired.

Chronology and dating

Chronologically the circum-Alpine region pile- and lakeside settlements are complex. The broad tradition of constructing settlements in wetland environments begins in the Alpine area c. 4200 BC, and runs until the end of the Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (Figure 8.12) (Pétrequin 2013; Menotti 2015a). As mentioned previously, this long duration of wetland settlement was not a continuous tradition; in fact there were multiple phases of abandonment and re-occupation both within individual settlement locations and in the broader tradition of occupying the lakeshores. Influences for the movement of settlements away from the lakeshore may have been both cultural and climatic/environmental. In broad terms, there are lakeshore occupation hiatuses during the Middle Neolithic, the Neolithic to Early Bronze Age transition phase, and the Middle Bronze Age, with the final settlements abandoned by 630 BC. The settlements discussed as sharing some similarities to Must Farm are primarily Late Bronze Age sites, placing them between 1200 and 800 BC. The division between the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age in the northern Alpine region is somewhat arbitrarily dated, partially based upon the general abandonment of the lakeshore as a dwelling environment, and the general absence of these settlement forms in the archaeological record. From a chronological perspective, Must Farm is directly comparable to many of the wetland and lakeshore settlements from the northern Alpine region, dating to the

British Late Bronze Age, but this chronological similarity masks significant differences in the cultural groupings and social identities between the two regions.

Duration

Must Farm appears to have been constructed, occupied, and destroyed within a very short period of time, giving a very precise, brief period of functional settlement. This duration of occupation is shorter than lake-dwelling sites from the circum-Alpine region. However, the settlements from the Alpine region do not show a significant level of permanence. While some sites, such as Hauterive-Champréveyres (Late Bronze Age) demonstrate a lengthy occupation, this likely involved a significant degree of rebuilding of structures in the same location (Benkert 1993). Sites such as Auvernier-Nord (Rychner 1979) Suisse and Cortaillod-Est (Arnold 1990) (both Late Bronze Age) show a more limited extent of duration, while the most briefly occupied sites, such as Greifensee-Böschen (Eberschweiler et al. 2007) (Late Bronze Age) and Arbon Bleiche 3 (Leuzinger 2000; Bleicher 2009a) (Neolithic), have evidence of phases of occupation lasting for between 10 and 15 years. Clearly these are sites that have a rapid turnover.

One of the influences for the rapidity of site creation and redevelopment or abandonment could be the nature of construction in wetland environments: soft sediment, intermittent exposure of wood to oxygen, wave action, biological attack and the pressure of superstructures would all combine to reduce the integrity of the wooden structures. Dendrochronological evidence from the Alpine region settlements (e.g. Arbon Bleiche 3) suggests that structures were undergoing repair within a short period of construction (Leuzinger 2000; Bleicher 2009b), which continued throughout the occupation of sites. Eventually a point would be reached in which the occupants decided it was no longer viable to repair structures, when the economic cost of repair outweighed the social desire to reside in the same location. It may be that the Must Farm inhabitants were not particularly wedded to their location, and the rapid occupation and demise of the site is testament to this, similar to the inhabitants at Greifensee-Böschen. Those at Arbon Bleiche 3 were not so willing to abandon their site, and undertook multiple phases of repair, while prolonged settlements, such as at Hauterive-Champréveyres, were significantly invested in their location. Alternatively, the robust architecture evident at Must Farm, and the significant evidence of everyday activities and character of the site could suggest an intended longer occupation which was unexpectedly curtailed; differentiating such scenarios from the archaeological record is extremely difficult.

Fire

The demise of the Must Farm settlement in conflagration is a situation directly comparable to many of the settlements in the circum-Alpine region. The occurrence of supposedly occupation-ending fires at sites such as Greifensee-Böschen, Auvernier Nord and Zürich-Alpenquai (Künzler Wagner 2005) are indicated in the archaeological record through the occurrence of burned horizons within the stratigraphic record. However, none of these sites demonstrate the same level of preservation of the burned remains as seen at Must Farm. That these sites, constructed from wood and other flammable materials, should be destroyed in fire events is not a significant surprise. The causes of fire could be accidental, though this would be a rather simplistic and negative interpretation of the prehistoric inhabitants' skill and care in their various fire crafts. It is possible that the fire events were intentionally started, as a ritualistic or functional (in event of pest or disease infestation) closing of a period of settlement occupation, preventing re-occupation.

Setting and networks

Must Farm's setting on a river raises the possibility that it was established as an access and/or control point on a riverine network of exchange and communication, linking the fens to a wider system of exploitation and utilization. This is one of the areas that is most directly comparable to many of the northern Alpine region pile-dwelling site. Located along the edge of substantial lakes in the Alpine forelands, the pile-dwellings would have been along likely arteries of exchange in the region (Jennings 2014b). Inlet/outlet locations on lakes are occasionally repeatedly settled, such as around the confluence of the Limmat on Lake Zürich, though the closed nature of lakes means that they were not the exclusive locations for settlements. However, there are sites on smaller, non-networked lakes in the northern Alpine region which would not necessarily fulfil the role of network access or control points. The sites Greifensee-Böschen and Ürschhausen-Horn, on Lake Greifen and Lake Nussbaum respectively, are located on smaller lakes which do not have significant riverine access. The intent behind constructing these sites may have been more related to resource extraction, efficient exploitation of space, or traditional cultural practice, though identifying a definite motivation is problematic.

The role of pile- and lake-dwelling sites of the northern Alpine region in longer distance exchange networks can be seen in the distribution of metalwork and other items during the Late Bronze Age (Jennings 2014b), particularly at larger sites such as Hauterive-Champréveyres. These large and long-term occupation

sites may have performed a role as manufacturing and distribution centres. The small scale and short duration of Must Farm means it unlikely that it could have performed such a role, though it may have acted as a waypoint or control station, directing traffic further through the exchange network.

Considering the variety of materials found in the circum-Alpine lake-dwellings and the Must Farm settlement site, they evidence a wide range of domestic and economic activities, providing an indication of the forms of activity conducted in and near the settlements. The composition of assemblages from circum-Alpine region settlements, include an array of domestic and utilitarian metalwork items, such as jewellery, needles, sickles, razors, knives, axes, rings, spears, hanging ornaments, chisels, gouges and swords, along with casting moulds for the manufacture of such items. Similarities in items between sites attest to the broader network of circulation, distribution and cultural practices in the circum-Alpine region. Comparing these metalwork items to those found from Must Farm, there is no evidence for direct interaction between the two regions. This is not surprising given the ease with which metalwork can be recycled and transformed into new objects once the original form reaches the extent of its zone of cultural relevance. The socketed axe MW23 is one exception with composition comparable to others from the lake-settlement Zug-Sumpf, Switzerland (Northover et al., Vol2 Ch16). While there are relatively few items of Alpine typologies found in Britain related to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age period (O'Connor 1980; Needham et al. 2013), there are occasional outliers to the distribution of artefacts – for example the Feltwell type razors found in France (Northover et al., Vol2 Ch16). This does not necessarily evidence direct connections between continental sites and Must Farm – it should be noted that socketed axe MW23 is of a type not common to the circum-Alpine region, and should not be taken as an indicator of direct connection between Must Farm and circum-Alpine region lake-settlements.

There are however, other items found at Must Farm which may provide greater indication for possible interaction between the circum-Alpine area and the Must Farm settlement. The tin bead recovered from Must Farm has parallels to sites from lake-dwellings in the circum-Alpine region, and may be indicative of connections between communities in this region and those in the Must Farm area (Henderson et al., Vol2 Ch17). The circum-Alpine region lake-settlements are well known for the occurrence of a variety of glass beads, including the so-called 'Pfahlbauperlen' (pile-dwelling beads) (Jennings 2014b). While a number of the glass beads found at Must Farm share the typical blue colouration common amongst the lake-dwelling beads,

they are not typical of the circum-Alpine lake-dwellings in typology or glass composition (Henderson et al., Vol2 Ch17). In this light it may be possible to interpret the tin bead as an item in a broader circulation and exchange network of diverse nature and items working across wide areas, without necessity for direct connection between Must Farm and the circum-Alpine region.

On-site material culture distribution

Distribution of material culture at Must Farm demonstrates a high prevalence for storage of items (pottery) within the building structure. This would appear relatively fundamental, as persons would keep possessions inside the structures in which they were dwelling. However, examples from the Alpine region suggest that this may not always have been the case. Excavations at Ürschhausn-Horn suggest that a variety of pottery forms were often stored around the exterior perimeter of the structures (Nagy 1999). The reasoning behind this usage is not clear, but the excavated remains indicate this was not simply the placement of broken vessels around the outside of structures, but the actual storage of items as a recurrent practice. The usage practice that these different strategies hint at may be closely related to the nature and size of the structures themselves. The rectangular structures of the northern Alpine region often had a significant overhang from the roof, creating a relatively protected and accessible space around the edge of the structure walls. This space may not have been so readily accessible on the Must Farm, with the close spacing between structures limiting access to the area.

The different storage practices may also hint at different cultural practices regarding utilization of space and interior of structures, and the potential height of structures. Higher internal spaces would have permitted the use of hanging storage, which is also considered for dwellings of the northern Alpine region (Gollnisch-Moos 1999; Nagy 1999; Eberschweiler et al. 2007). Storing vessels outside structures would free up more space inside the dwellings and may be more appropriate if the structures are of reduced height. Comparing the size of the Must Farm structures to those at Ürschhausen-Horn and Greifensee-Böschen indicates that the Must Farm structures were significantly larger, at c. 57 m² compared to an average of 10–25 m² at Ürschhausen Horn (Gollnisch-Moos 1999) and 12–25 m² at Greifensee-Böschen (Eberschweiler et al. 2007).

Conclusion

The impetus for the development of wetland settlements in Britain and across Europe can never fully be discerned, however, it is clear that prehistoric societies

found reasons to occupy wetland, lacustrine and riverine environments. In many respects the reason *why* communities decided to inhabit such locations is not important, nor should it be surprising; we know that human populations adapt to environments as required and the wetland areas would have offered both opportunities and disadvantages. Despite the disadvantages, those environments should not be seen as hostile or inhospitable places – the inhabitants will have formulated a range of adaptive strategies to occupy the environment. Within the circum-Alpine region this can be seen in the prolonged and recurrent occupation of wetland environments between the Neolithic and Early Iron Age, creating a tradition and cultural memory of occupation in those areas, with specific constructional techniques suited to the needs of building in wet locations (Menotti 2004; Köninger 2015). Such a tradition of wetland occupation does, at present, not appear to have existed in the majority of Britain and Ireland. Beyond the crannog settlements of Scotland and Ireland, there are few other similar settlements; which makes it unsurprising that the builders of Must Farm used techniques primarily adapted from terrestrial construction. Yet we know from various sources that a tradition of deposition in wetland environments was in place, and that wetlands must have held a significance for prehistoric societies (e.g. Bradley 1990; Pryor 2005).

In many ways, drawing a comparison between the Must Farm settlement and wetland settlements elsewhere does a disservice to both sides; the sites are incomparable in their own ways, and provide a snapshot onto a brief period of occupation. If comparisons are to be drawn, we should aim to use the wetland settlements to integrate and expand understanding of prehistoric lifeways across the multifarious settings which they occurred. However, comparing Must Farm to other European sites can also highlight some interesting aspects to explore; the potential siting of settlements in locations to access exchange and communication routes is one such avenue, and requires further research into the full physical and human geographical setting of the settlements. With time, many more wetland settlements may be found in the East Anglian Fens, expanding our knowledge of the prehistoric occupation in the region. Future findings will also contribute to the expansion of knowledge around the communication and interaction networks which may have linked Must Farm and the circum-Alpine region lake-dwellings.

Perhaps the greatest comparison that can be drawn between the Must Farm settlement and wetland sites from the circum-Alpine region is that they are all exceptional, though not unique, sites which provide

an incredible opportunity to understand the daily life of prehistoric populations through the preservation of remains which are rarely encountered in terrestrial archaeological contexts. All of the sites serve as timely reminders of the ingenuity and skill possessed by the populations inhabiting these sites, while also emphasizing that those populations held a varying relationship with wetland environments, utilizing and manipulating them as they required.

Neolithic pile-dwellings of the circum-Alpine region

Bigna Steiner, Ferran Antolín & Stefanie Jacomet

Complementing the previous section, this section gives a synthetic overview of the state of the art in circum-Alpine (mainly Neolithic) lakeshore settlements focusing on recently excavated sites and compares these settlements to the Must Farm site. As noted above, Neolithic lake-dwellings existed north of the

Alps between c. 4200 and 2400 BC (Figure 8.12; Menotti 2015a). Due to their well-preserved (waterlogged), extensive occupation layers with all kinds of subfossil organic materials, lakeshore settlements allow a detailed reconstruction of the interaction between humans and their environment, intra-site patterns as well as the processes that led to the formation of layers (e.g. Bleicher et al. 2018). In addition, they offer insights into the pace and rhythm of social processes in prehistoric times due to precise dating by dendrochronology (e.g. Bogaard et al. 2017). The Neolithic lakeshore settlements were agricultural-pastoral sites, with a strong emphasis also on hunting and gathering (overviews in Jacomet & Schibler 2010; Jacomet et al. 2016).

Research into later prehistoric circum-Alpine lake-dwelling settlements began in the 19th century. However, only a small number of sites have been investigated in a representative and interdisciplinary manner (Fig. 8.15). We focus here on evidence from

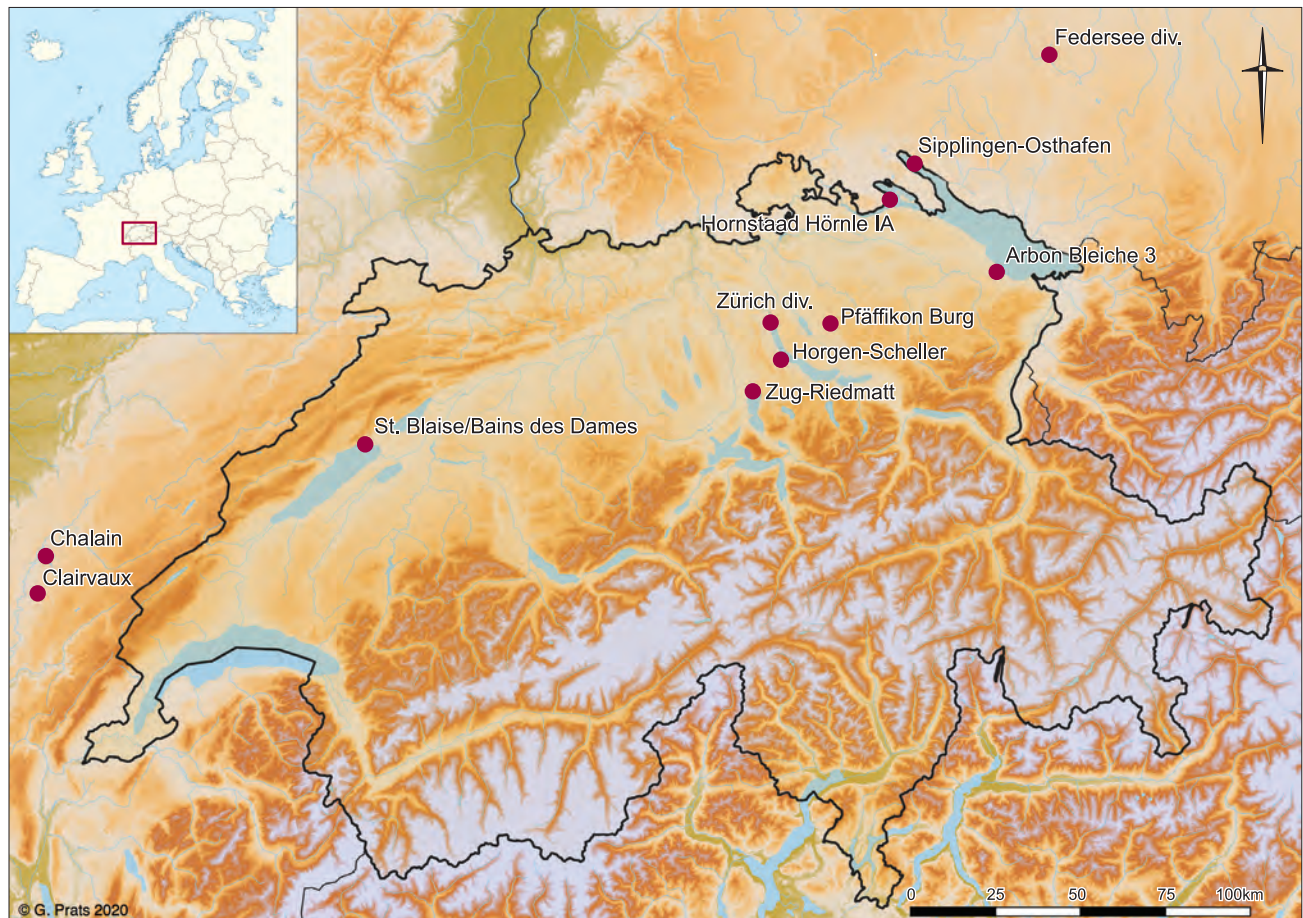


Figure 8.15. Neolithic lakeshore settlements of eastern France, northern Switzerland and southern Germany mentioned in this section (Image: G. Prats).