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# Widespread exploitation of the honeybee by early Neolithic farmers

Mélanie Roffet-Salque<sup>1</sup>, Martine Regert<sup>2</sup>, Richard P. Evershed<sup>1</sup>, Alan K. Outram<sup>3</sup>, Lucy J. E. Cramp<sup>1,4</sup>, Orestes Decavallas<sup>5,6</sup>, Julie Dunne<sup>1</sup>, Pascale Gerbault<sup>7,8</sup>, Simona Mileto<sup>1,9</sup>, Sigrid Mirabaud<sup>6†</sup>, Mirva Pääkkönen<sup>1,10</sup>, Jessica Smyth<sup>1,4</sup>, Lucija Šoberl<sup>1,11†</sup>, Helen L. Whelton<sup>1</sup>, Alfonso Alday-Ruiz<sup>12</sup>, Henrik Asplund<sup>10</sup>, Marta Bartkowiak<sup>13</sup>, Eva Bayer-Niemeier<sup>14</sup>, Lotfi Belhouchet<sup>15</sup>, Federico Bernardini<sup>16,17</sup>, Mihael Budja<sup>11</sup>, Gabriel Cooney<sup>18</sup>, Miriam Cubas<sup>19†</sup>, Ed M. Danaher<sup>20</sup>, Mariana Diniz<sup>21</sup>, László Domboróczki<sup>22</sup>, Cristina Fabbri<sup>23</sup>, Jesus E. González-Urquijo<sup>19</sup>, Jean Guilaine<sup>24</sup>, Slimane Hachi<sup>25</sup>, Barrie N. Hartwell<sup>26</sup>, Daniela Hofmann<sup>27</sup>, Isabel Hohle<sup>28</sup>, Juan J. Ibáñez<sup>29</sup>, Necmi Karul<sup>30</sup>, Farid Kherbouche<sup>25</sup>, Jacinta Kiely<sup>31</sup>, Kostas Kotsakis<sup>32</sup>, Friedrich Lueth<sup>33</sup>, James P. Mallory<sup>26</sup>, Claire Manen<sup>24</sup>, Arkadiusz Marciniak<sup>13</sup>, Brigitte Maurice-Chabard<sup>34</sup>, Martin A. Mc Gonigle<sup>35</sup>, Simone Mulazzani<sup>36,37</sup>, Mehmet Özdoğan<sup>30</sup>, Olga S. Perić<sup>38</sup>, Slaviša R. Perić<sup>38</sup>, Jörg Petrasch<sup>39</sup>, Anne-Marie Pétrequin<sup>40</sup>, Pierre Pétrequin<sup>40</sup>, Ulrike Poensgen<sup>41</sup>, C. Joshua Pollard<sup>42</sup>, Francois Poplin<sup>43</sup>, Giovanna Radi<sup>23</sup>, Peter Stadler<sup>44</sup>, Harald Stäuble<sup>45</sup>, Nenad Tasić<sup>46</sup>, Dushka Urem-Kotsou<sup>47</sup>, Jasna B. Vuković<sup>46</sup>, Fintan Walsh<sup>48</sup>, Alasdair Whittle<sup>49</sup>, Sabine Wolfram<sup>50</sup>, Lydia Zapata-Peña<sup>12‡</sup> & Jamel Zoughlami<sup>51</sup>

**The pressures on honeybee (*Apis mellifera*) populations, resulting from threats by modern pesticides, parasites, predators and diseases, have raised awareness of the economic importance and critical role this insect plays in agricultural societies across the globe. However, the association of humans with *A. mellifera* predates post-industrial revolution agriculture, as evidenced by the widespread presence of ancient Egyptian bee iconography dating to the Old Kingdom (approximately 2400 BC)<sup>1</sup>. There are also indications of Stone Age people harvesting bee products; for example, honey hunting is interpreted from rock art<sup>2</sup> in a prehistoric Holocene context and a beeswax find in a pre-agriculturalist site<sup>3</sup>. However, when and where the regular association of *A. mellifera* with agriculturalists emerged is unknown<sup>4</sup>. One of the major products of *A. mellifera* is beeswax, which is composed of a complex suite of lipids including *n*-alkanes, *n*-alkanoic acids and fatty acyl wax esters. The composition is highly constant as it is determined genetically through the insect's biochemistry. Thus, the chemical 'fingerprint' of beeswax provides a reliable basis for detecting this commodity in organic residues preserved at archaeological sites, which we now use to trace the exploitation by humans of *A. mellifera* temporally and spatially. Here we present secure identifications of beeswax in lipid residues preserved in pottery vessels of Neolithic Old World farmers. The geographical range of bee product exploitation is traced in Neolithic Europe, the Near East and North Africa, providing the palaeoecological range of honeybees during prehistory. Temporally, we demonstrate that bee products were exploited continuously, and probably extensively in some regions, at least from the seventh millennium cal BC, likely fulfilling a variety of technological and cultural functions. The close association of *A. mellifera* with Neolithic farming communities dates to the early onset of agriculture and may provide evidence for the beginnings of a domestication process.**

1 Organic Geochemistry Unit, School of Chemistry, University of Bristol, Cantock's Close, Bristol BS8 1TS, UK.

2 CEPAM – Cultures et Environnements. Préhistoire, Antiquité, Moyen Âge, UMR 7264, Université Nice Sophia Antipolis – CNRS, 06300 Nice, France.

3 Department of Archaeology, University of Exeter, Laver Building, North Park Road, Exeter, Devon EX4 4QE, UK.

4 Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Bristol, 43 Woodland Road, Bristol BS8 1UU, UK.

5 Université Bordeaux Montaigne, 33607 Pessac, France.

6 Laboratoire du Centre de Recherche et de Restauration des Musées de France (C2RMF), UMR 171, Palais du Louvre, Porte des Lions, 14 Quai François Mitterrand, 75001 Paris, France.

7 Research Department of Genetics, Evolution and Environment, University College London, London WC1E 6BT, UK.

8 Department of Anthropology, University College London, London WC1H 0BW, UK.

9 Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Altensteinstr. 15, Berlin 14195, Germany.

10 Department of Archaeology, University of Turku, 20014 Turun Yliopisto, Finland.

11 University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Archaeology, Aškerčeva 2, box 580, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia.

12 Department of Geography, Prehistory and Archaeology. University of Basque Country (EHU-UPV), Francisco Tomás y Valiente s/n, 01006 Vitoria-Gasteiz, Spain.

13 Institute of Prehistory, Adam Mickiewicz University, Umultowska 89d, 61-614 Poznań, Poland.

14 Museum Quintana – Archäologie in Künzing, Partnermuseum der Archäologischen Staatssammlung München, Osterhofener Str. 2, 94550 Künzing, Germany.

15 Musée Archéologique de Sousse, Rue Marshall Tito, 4000 Sousse, Tunisia.

16 Centro Fermi, Museo Storico della Fisica e Centro di Studi e Ricerche Enrico Fermi, 00184 Rome, Italy.

17 Multidisciplinary Laboratory, The Abdus Salam International Centre for Theoretical Physics, 34151 Trieste, Italy.

18 UCD School of Archaeology, University College Dublin, Dublin 4, Ireland.

19 International Institute for Prehistoric Research of Cantabria, University of Cantabria, Avd de los Castros s/n, 39005 Santander, Spain.

20 Department of Archaeology, University College Galway, Galway, Ireland.

21 UNIARQ-Departamento de História, Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa, Universidade de Lisboa, 1600-214 Lisboa, Portugal.

22 István Dobó Castle Museum, Vár út 1, 3300 Eger, Hungary.

23 Dipartimento Civiltà e Forme del Sapere, Università di Pisa, Via Galvani 1, 56126 Pisa, Italy.

24 CNRS – UMR 5608 – TRACES, Maison de la recherche, Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès, 5 Allée Antonio Machado, 31058 Toulouse cedex 9, France.

25 CNRPAH, Centre National de Recherche Préhistorique, Anthropologique et Historique, Algiers, Algeria.

- 67 26 School of Geography, Archaeology and Palaeoecology, Queen's University Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN, UK.  
68 27 Universität Hamburg, Archäologisches Institut, Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Flügel West, 20146 Hamburg, Germany.  
69 28 a.r.t.e.s. Graduate School for the Humanities Cologne, Graduiertenschule der Philosophischen Fakultät, Aachener Str. 217, 50931 Cologne, Germany.  
70 29 IMF-CSIC, Egipcíacas 15, 08001 Barcelona, Spain.  
71 30 Istanbul University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Prehistory, 34434 Laleli Istanbul, Turkey.  
72 31 Eachtra Archaeological Projects, Lickybeg, Clashmore, County Waterford, Ireland.  
73 32 School of History and Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki 54124, Greece.  
74 33 German Archaeological Institute, Podbielskiallee 69-71, 14 195 Berlin, Germany.  
75 34 Musée Rolin, 3 rue des Bancs, 71400 Autun, France.  
76 35 John Cronin & Associates, 28 Upper Main Street, Buncrana, County Donegal, Ireland.  
77 36 Aix-Marseille Université, CNRS, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, UMR 7269 LAMPEA, LabexMed, 13284 Marseille, France.  
78 37 Dipartimento di Biologia Ambientale, Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza, Rome 00185, Italy.  
79 38 Institute of Archaeology Belgrade, Kneza Mihaila 35/4 11000 Belgrade, Serbia.  
80 39 Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Archäologie des Mittelalters - Abt. Jüngere Urgeschichte und Frühgeschichte -  
81 Schloß Hohentübingen, 72070 Tübingen, Germany.  
82 40 Maison des Sciences de l'Homme et de l'Environnement C.N. Ledoux, CNRS & Université de Franche-Comté, 32 rue Mégevand, 25030 Besançon Cedex,  
83 France.  
84 41 Kämpfenstr. 20, 78315 Radolfzell, Germany.  
85 42 Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Southampton, Avenue Campus, Highfield, Southampton SO17 1BF, UK.  
86 43 Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, 55 rue de Buffon, 75005 Paris, France.  
87 44 Department of Pre- and Protohistory, University of Vienna, 1190 Vienna, Austria.  
88 45 Landesamt für Archäologie, Zur Wetterwarte 7, 01109 Dresden, Germany.  
89 46 Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade University, 18-20 Čika Ljubina Street, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia.  
90 47 Department of History and Ethnology, Democritus University of Thrace, Komotini, Greece.  
91 48 Irish Archaeological Consultancy, Unit G1, Network Enterprise Park, Kilcoole, County Wicklow, Ireland.  
92 49 Department of Archaeology and Conservation, Cardiff University, John Percival Building, Colum Drive, Cardiff CF10 3EU, UK.  
93 50 State Museum of Archaeology Chemnitz, Stefan-Heym-Platz 1, 09111 Chemnitz, Germany.  
94 51 Institut National du Patrimoine de Tunis - Musée archéologique de Carthage, Carthage, Tunisia.

95 †Present addresses: Département des restaurateurs, Institut National du Patrimoine, 124 rue Henri Barbusse, 93300 Aubervilliers, France (S.M.); Laboratório  
96 HERCULES, Universidade de Évora, Palácio do Vimioso, Largo Marquês de Marialva 8, 7000-809 Évora, Portugal (L.S.); BioArCh-University of York, York  
97 YO10 5DD, UK (M.C).

98 ‡Deceased.  
99  
100

101 The honeybee holds a unique place in human culture. Notwithstanding its present-day economic  
102 importance, it has been revered over the millennia for the sheer beauty and complexity of the social  
103 organization within its colonies. For these reasons the honeybee is the most researched of the social  
104 insects, with its origin being regularly considered<sup>5</sup>. The last Ice Age would have had a major effect on  
105 the honeybee with the ice sheets restricting European populations to the northern Mediterranean  
106 hinterlands<sup>6</sup>. With the glacial retreat, the population would have subsequently expanded northwards.  
107 However, due to the lack of a Holocene fossil record<sup>7</sup>, the honeybee is ecologically invisible for most  
108 of the past 10,000 years.

109 Intriguingly, this is the period during which Neolithic agriculture emerged and spread out of  
110 southeastern Anatolia and the Levant, with some human population movement into ecological zones  
111 also conducive to the honeybee. Indeed, progressive woodland clearances by pioneer prehistoric  
112 farmers may have opened up forests, favouring light-demanding shrubs, herbs and fruit trees (for  
113 example, *Rosaceae*)<sup>8</sup>. Whether this would have exerted negative or positive effects on honeybee  
114 populations is unknown<sup>8,9</sup>. Given the latter, an opportunity exists to investigate the presence and early  
115 exploitation of the honeybee by prehistoric farming communities through the cultural materials  
116 recovered from Neolithic sites, namely their recently invented pottery vessels, and in doing so, to assess  
117 the palaeoecological range of the honeybee in the Holocene.

118 Although the most obvious reason for exploiting the honeybee would be for honey, a rare source of  
119 sweetener for prehistoric people, beeswax would likely have been an equally important material for  
120 various technological, ritual, cosmetic and medicinal applications<sup>10</sup>. Indeed, beeswax has been regularly  
121 detected in later archaeological and historic periods in lipid extracts from the fabric of unglazed pottery  
122 vessels<sup>11</sup> where it is assumed to be a residue of honey use in cooking, or from the use of vessels for  
123 processing wax combs<sup>12-14</sup>, with beeswax being absorbed through repeated contacts. Beeswax has also  
124 been detected as a fuel in lamps and in larger vessels used as proto-beehives, for example Roman Greece  
125 (second century BC to fourth century AD)<sup>15,16</sup> and applied as a post-firing treatment to waterproof  
126 vessels<sup>17</sup>.

127 The detection of beeswax in archaeological and historic contexts rests on its complex chemistry  
128 providing a unique and relatively recalcitrant chemical signature. Fresh beeswax comprises a complex  
129 mixture of aliphatic compounds consisting of series of homologues differing in chain-length by two  
130 methylene groups<sup>18</sup>. Medium-chain *n*-alkanes range from C<sub>23</sub> to C<sub>31</sub> (with C<sub>27</sub> dominating in *A.*  
131 *mellifera*), and *n*-alkanoic acids from C<sub>20</sub> to C<sub>36</sub>. Monoesters comprise predominantly alkyl palmitates  
132 (C<sub>38</sub> to C<sub>52</sub>), with characteristic hydroxyl monoesters comprising long-chain alcohols (C<sub>24</sub> to C<sub>38</sub>)  
133 esterified mainly to hydroxypalmitic acid, ranging between C<sub>40</sub> and C<sub>54</sub> (ref. 18). The hydrophobic  
134 nature of beeswax makes it relatively resistant to degradation. Hence, if protected from extensive  
135 microbial attack and/or exposure to high temperatures during anthropogenic manipulation, the  
136 aforementioned chemical characteristics can be used in assessing its presence<sup>10,19</sup> (Figs 1 and 2).

137 Adopting this lipid biomarker approach, we now explore the association of the honeybee with the spread  
138 of early Old World farmers based on lipid residue analyses of more than 6,400 pottery vessels  
139 (Supplementary Information sections 1 and 2). Combining our new findings with published occurrences  
140 of beeswax in prehistoric pottery allows the association between honeybees and early farmers to be  
141 mapped spatially and temporally through prehistory (Figs 3 and 4).

142 The oldest evidence for beeswax comes from Neolithic sites in Anatolia dating from the seventh  
143 millennium cal BC, as these sites are the locations of the oldest pottery vessels in Europe and Eurasia.  
144 Most of the assemblages investigated comprised globular or bowl shape ‘cooking’ vessels, an  
145 interpretation supported by the finding of ruminant and porcine animal fats in significant numbers of  
146 vessels. No beeswax residues were detected during the intensive investigations of > 380 vessels from  
147 the Levant, although only 34 residues were detected<sup>20</sup>. Moving into eastern Anatolia, the site of Çayönü  
148 Tepesi revealed two beeswax residues from 83 vessels from the seventh millennium including an  
149 exceptionally well-preserved residue containing all the biomarkers of beeswax (Fig. 1b–f). The free *n*-  
150 alkanols, dominated by C<sub>30</sub> and C<sub>32</sub> homologues, do not occur in fresh beeswax but are a feature of aged  
151 wax, due to hydrolysis of the wax esters. The high abundance of C<sub>18:0</sub> fatty acid suggests mixing with  
152 mammalian animal fat, the latter being common in other sherds in the assemblage<sup>20</sup>. The second sherd  
153 from this site contained a lower concentration of beeswax but all the biomarkers were clearly evident.  
154 These two residues establish the easterly limit of the beeswax detected in this investigation and provide  
155 the oldest unequivocal evidence, to our knowledge, of honeybee exploitation by early Neolithic farmers.  
156 In central Anatolia, extensive investigations of organic residues in 650 vessels, mainly from the site of  
157 Çatalhöyük, revealed abundant animal fat residues. Only one residue showed tentative evidence for  
158 beeswax based on wax esters, dominated by C<sub>46</sub> and C<sub>48</sub> homologues; however, the *n*-alkanols do not  
159 exhibit the familiar distribution. *n*-Alkanes were detectable but the distribution is skewed towards the  
160 higher homologues compared to that expected in fresh beeswax, although such distributional changes  
161 are frequently seen in historical and archaeological beeswax, assumed to arise by sublimation during  
162 ageing or heat treatment<sup>10</sup>. The tentative identification of this very early beeswax residue at Çatalhöyük  
163 is supported by the discovery of a striking depiction of a honeycomb-like pattern painted on a wall at  
164 the site<sup>21</sup>.

165 Analyses of approximately 570 cooking vessels from northwestern Anatolia revealed 72 lipid residues  
166 of which 4 were identified as containing beeswax, from Aşağı Pinar and Toptepe, dating to 5500–5000  
167 cal BC. Although the overall purity of the beeswax (two were mixed with ruminant fat) and lipid  
168 concentrations (20 to 220 µg per gram of sherd) were quite variable, the distributions were  
169 unmistakable. One of the beeswax finds from Toptepe is well preserved, albeit with ageing evident from  
170 the hydrolytically released free *n*-alkanols and slight distortions of the various homologous series,  
171 through loss of lower homologues.

172 The most abundant evidence for honeybee exploitation by early farmers was seen in the rest of the  
173 Balkan Peninsula. The full range of beeswax biomarkers was identified in sherds from bowls, pans and

174 sieves from the Late Neolithic sites of Paliambela, Greece (4900–4500 cal BC), Măgura, Romania (Fig.  
175 2a; 5500–5200 cal BC) and Drenovac Turska Česma, Serbia (5300–4700/4600 cal BC). A large number  
176 of beeswax residues were found in Neolithic potsherds (11 residues out of 81 sherds analysed) from  
177 Attica, the Peloponnese and the Cyclades (Aegean Islands), dating between 5800 and 3000 cal BC,  
178 firmly establishing the long tradition of bee exploitation in this region. Overall, the incidence of  
179 beeswax residues is highest in the Balkan Peninsula, where of the 1,915 Neolithic sherds analysed, 473  
180 yielded lipid residues, of which 5.5% contained beeswax.

181 In Central Europe, pure beeswax was recovered from potsherds from *Linearbandkeramik* (LBK) sites  
182 occupied by the earliest farmers of Austria and Germany (oldest LBK) including the sites of Brunn am  
183 Gebirge (5500–5400 cal BC) and Niederhummel (5360–5220 cal BC), pushing back the date for bee  
184 exploitation in this region by approximately 1,500 years<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 2b). Beeswax was also detected in late  
185 sixth millennium LBK sites of Ludwinowo 7 and Wolica Nowa, Poland<sup>17</sup>. In France, the exploitation  
186 of bee products is evident during the second half of the fifth millennium at *Chasséen* sites (Font-Juvénal,  
187 Chassey-le-Camp and Bercy<sup>10</sup>) and fourth millennium at the Lake Village sites of Clairvaux-les-Lacs  
188 (3900 to 3700 BC) and Chalain 3 (ref. 22) and 4 (3200 to 3100 BC and 3040 to 2990 BC). High  
189 incidence of beeswax (approximately 15% of the detectable residues) was identified in fifth millennium  
190 sherds from two Slovenian sites (Ajdovska jama and Moverna vas)<sup>23</sup>.

191 Around 130 sherds have so far been analysed from the Iberian Peninsula. However, no beeswax residues  
192 have yet been detected, although the overall preservation of organic residues was poor. Further  
193 investigations will likely reveal examples of beeswax in Neolithic pottery from this region.

194 The northerly limit of bee exploitation in northern Europe appears to be Denmark with two beeswax  
195 finds in late Mesolithic and Neolithic contexts<sup>24</sup>. Around 5° to the south in southern Britain, beeswax  
196 is evident in 7 vessels amongst the approximately 670 Neolithic vessels analysed. These findings clearly  
197 counter any arguments for a late introduction of the honeybee into the British Isles<sup>8,25</sup>. Interestingly,  
198 however, investigations of nearly 1,200 Mesolithic and Neolithic vessels from Ireland, Scotland and  
199 Fennoscandia<sup>26,27</sup> have failed to reveal any conclusive evidence of beeswax (Supplementary  
200 Information section 3). Given that organic residue preservation in these regions is excellent, the lack of  
201 beeswax would seem to establish the ecological limit of *A. mellifera* at that time. Similar arguments are  
202 likely to account for the absence of beeswax residues from >350 prehistoric pottery vessels from the  
203 Eurasian Steppe<sup>28</sup>.

204 Finally, we report the first evidence for bee exploitation by Neolithic pastoralists in North Africa. The  
205 analysis of 71 sherds from the Algerian site of Gueldaman revealed a single well-preserved beeswax  
206 residue (fifth millennium BC). The preservation is again exceptional with *n*-alkanes, *n*-fatty acids and  
207 fatty acyl wax ester distributions providing an unequivocal identification of beeswax. The presence of  
208 free long chain *n*-alkanols and lack of hydroxy fatty acid wax esters are indicative of diagenesis and/or  
209 use-related alteration. However, the overall distribution indicates the wax residue derives from *A.*  
210 *mellifera* (Fig. 2c).

211 In conclusion, the approximately 50 new finds of beeswax residues considered above provide evidence  
212 for the widespread exploitation of the honeybee by the early agriculturalists and pastoralists of the Near  
213 East, Europe and North Africa dating back nearly 9,000 years (Fig. 3). In all these regions the new data  
214 have either provided the first evidence of honeybee exploitation in a region, as in North Africa, or  
215 pushed the chronology of human–honeybee association to substantially earlier dates, as in Anatolia and  
216 Central Europe (Fig. 3b). The lack of evidence for beeswax use at Neolithic sites north of the 57<sup>th</sup>  
217 parallel North may suggest an ecological limit to the natural occurrence of honeybees. Indeed, harsh  
218 high-latitude conditions, even with temperatures warmer than today<sup>29</sup>, would affect the foraging  
219 capabilities of honeybees<sup>30</sup>. Critically, in the absence of a Holocene fossil record for *A. mellifera*<sup>7</sup> these  
220 findings provide the first ancient biomolecule-based palaeoecological map of the distribution of an  
221 economically and culturally important animal (Fig. 4).

222

223 **Online Content** Methods, along with any additional Extended Data display items and Source Data, are available  
224 in the online version of the paper; references unique to these sections appear only in the online paper.

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285 **Methods**

286

287 **Lipid residue analyses.** All solvents used were HPLC grade (Rathburn) and the reagents were  
288 analytical grade (typically > 98% of purity).

289 A sub-sample (1 to 3 g) from archaeological potsherds was cleaned with a modelling drill to remove  
290 any exogenous lipids (from the soil and handling) and crushed with a solvent-washed mortar and pestle.  
291 An internal standard (*n*-tetratriacontane, typically 20 µg) was added to the powdered sherd to enable  
292 the quantification of lipid extract. Ground samples of sherds were extracted with CHCl<sub>3</sub>/MeOH (2:1  
293 (vol/vol), 2 × 10 ml) using ultrasonication. Both supernatants were combined and the solvent was  
294 removed under a gentle stream of nitrogen at 40 °C. Aliquots of the total lipid extract (TLE) were treated  
295 with 40 µl of *N,O*-bis(trimethylsilyl)trifluoroacetamide (BSTFA) containing 1% trimethylchlorosilane  
296 (Sigma Aldrich) for 1 h at 70 °C and the BSTFA in excess evaporated under a gentle stream of nitrogen.  
297 The trimethylsilylated TLE was diluted in hexane (typically 50 to 150 µl) and submitted to analysis by  
298 high-temperature gas chromatography (HTGC) and high temperature gas chromatography-mass  
299 spectrometry (HTGC/MS) to identify the major compounds present.

300 All TLEs were initially screened in a Hewlett-Packard 5890 Series II gas chromatograph equipped with  
301 a fused-silica capillary column (15 m × 0.32 mm) coated with dimethyl polysiloxane stationary phase  
302 (DB-1HT; film thickness, 0.1 µm; Agilent Technologies). Derivatized extracts (1.0 µl) were injected  
303 on-column using a cool on-column inlet in track oven mode. The temperature was held isothermally for  
304 2 min at 5 °C and then increased at a rate of 10 °C min<sup>-1</sup> and held at 350 °C for 10 min. The flame  
305 ionization detector (FID) was set at a temperature of 350 °C. Helium was used as a carrier gas and  
306 maintained at a constant flow of 4.6 ml min<sup>-1</sup>. Data acquisition and processing were carried out using  
307 the HP Chemstation software (Rev. B.03.02 (341), Agilent Technologies).

308 HTGC/MS analyses of trimethylsilylated aliquots were performed using a Thermo Scientific Trace  
309 1300 gas chromatograph coupled with an ISQ single quadrupole mass spectrometer. Diluted samples  
310 were introduced using a PTV injector in split mode (split flow of 30 ml min<sup>-1</sup>, split ratio of 6.0) onto a  
311 0.53 mm fused silica pre-column connected to a 15 m × 0.32 mm i.d. fused-silica capillary column  
312 coated with dimethyl polysiloxane stationary phase (Rxi-1HT; film thickness, 0.1 µm; Restek). The  
313 initial injection port temperature was 50 °C with an evaporation phase of 0.05 min, followed by a  
314 transfer phase from 50 °C to 380 °C at 0.2 °C min<sup>-1</sup>. The oven temperature was held isothermally for  
315 2 min at 50 °C, increased at a rate of 10 °C min<sup>-1</sup> to 280 °C, then at a rate of 25 °C min<sup>-1</sup> to 380 °C and  
316 finally held at 380 °C for 5 min. Helium was used as a carrier gas and maintained at a constant flow 5  
317 ml min<sup>-1</sup>. The mass spectrometer was operated in the electron ionization (EI) mode (70 eV) with a GC  
318 interface temperature of 380 °C and a source temperature of 340 °C. The emission current was 50 µA  
319 and the mass spectrometry set to acquire in the range of *m/z* 50–950 Daltons at two scans per second.  
320 Data acquisition and processing were carried out using the Thermo XCalibur software (version 3.0.63).  
321 Peaks were identified on the basis of their mass spectra, gas chromatography (GC) retention times, by

322 comparison with the NIST mass spectral library (version 2.0) and by comparison with modern beeswax  
323 (from the Loire department, France).

324

325 **Construction of Fig. 4.** The total number of archaeological sites investigated is 166, but only 154 of  
326 these fell within the geographical area of interest (longitude – 10° to 42° and from latitude 25° to 62°,  
327 see Supplementary Information section 1). To estimate the distribution of beeswax residues in  
328 continuous space from irregularly spaced data, linear interpolation was performed in the triangles  
329 bounded by data points<sup>32,33</sup>. The output grid was made of 530 × 380 points evenly spaced over the range  
330 of latitude and longitude. No extrapolation was being used. Kriging was used to narrow the interpolation  
331 values to locations around data points (and not show interpolation values where there is no data).  
332 Kriging allows to obtain weights of the prediction locations based on the distance between data points,  
333 with lower variance where data points are and higher variance where there is no data. Interpolation,  
334 kriging and plotting were all performed in R version 2.15.1 (ref. 34). Interpolation was performed using  
335 the function ‘interp’ from the package ‘akima’ (CRAN repository, [http://cran.r-](http://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/akima/akima.pdf)  
336 [project.org/web/packages/akima/akima.pdf](http://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/akima/akima.pdf)). Kriging was performed using the function 'krige.conv'  
337 from the package ‘geoR’ (CRAN repository, <http://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/geoR/geoR.pdf>,  
338 further information on the package ‘geoR’ can be found at <http://www.leg.ufpr.br/geoR>). R code  
339 available upon request to P.G.

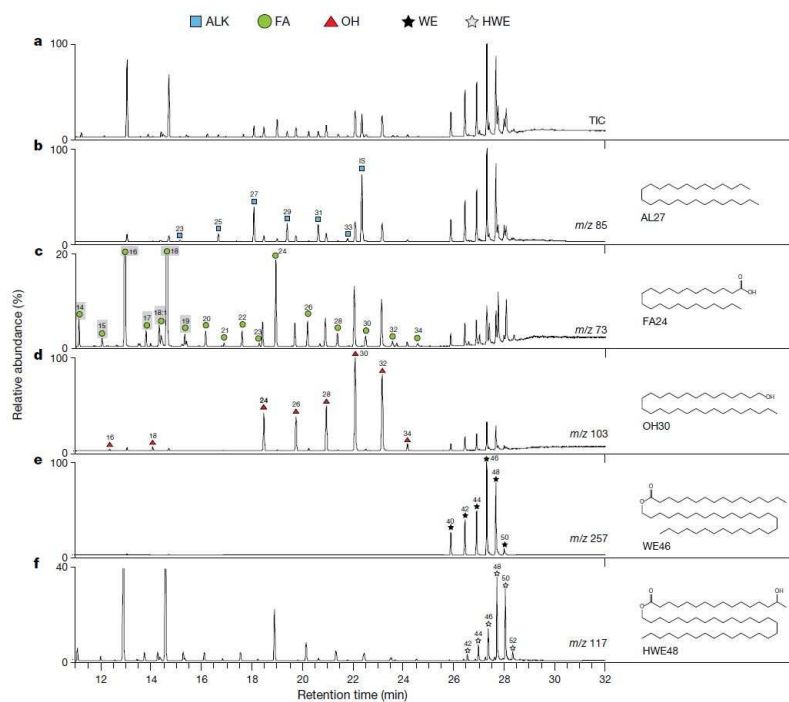
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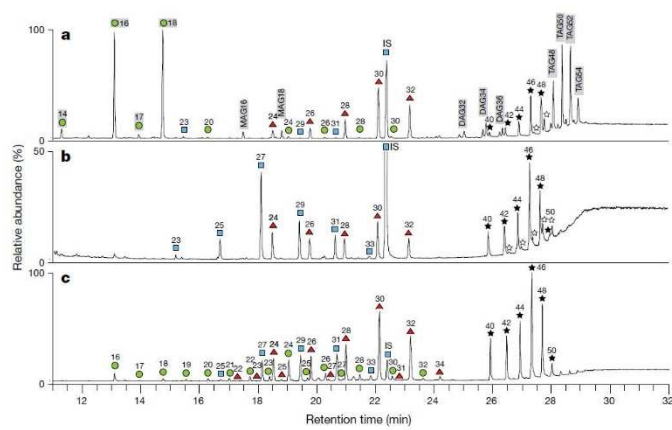
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347 **Figure 1**



348

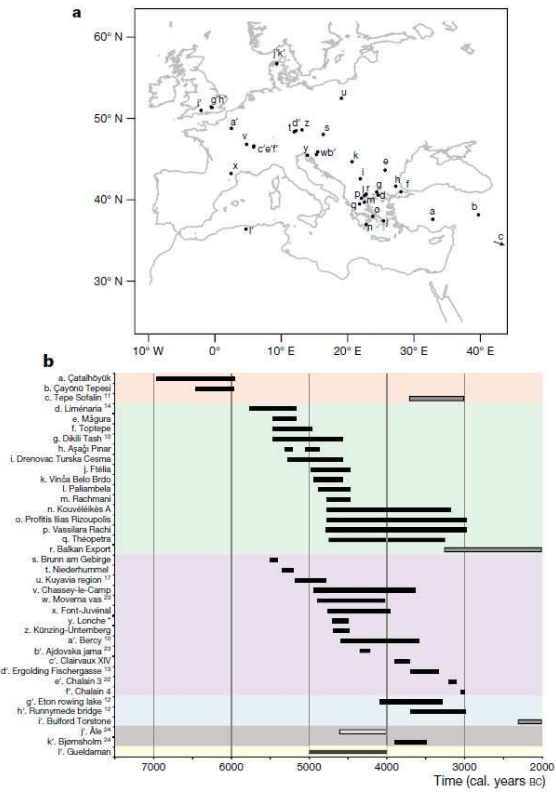
349 **Figure 2**



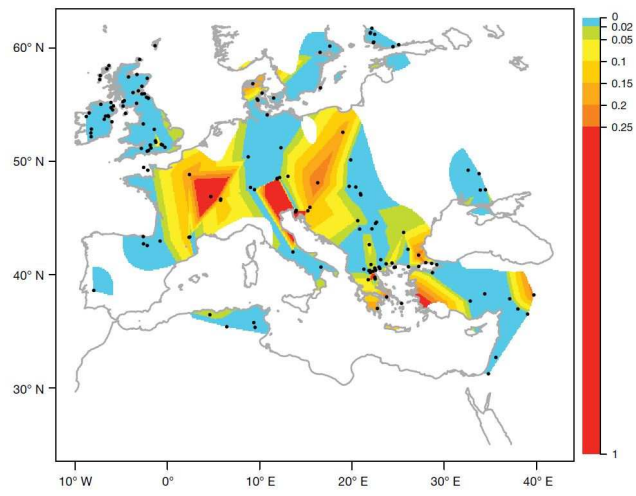
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351

352 **Figure 3**



353  
354 **Figure 4**



355  
356

357 **Figure captions**

358

359 **Figure 1 | High-temperature gas chromatography/mass spectrometry chromatograms of total lipid extract**  
360 **of a sherd from Çayönü Tepesi (6500–6000 cal BC) containing beeswax. a–f**, Partial total ion current  
361 chromatogram (**a**) and mass chromatograms (**b–f**) displaying ion masses of characteristic fragments from the main  
362 compound classes comprising the extract ( $m/z$  85, 73, 103, 257 and 117, respectively) with the molecular structure  
363 of the most abundant component for each compound class. Squares, *n*-alkanes (ALK); circles, *n*-alkanoic acids  
364 (fatty acids, FA); triangles, *n*-alkanols (OH); black asterisks, fatty acyl monoesters (WE); grey asterisks, hydroxyl  
365 fatty acyl monoesters (HWE); IS, internal standard (*n*-tetratriacontane); number *n* and *n:i*, acyl carbon number  
366 with zero or *i* degrees of unsaturations. Compounds shown with a grey background are interpreted as originating  
367 from mammalian animal fats.

368 **Figure 2 | Partial gas chromatograms of total lipid extracts from Neolithic sherds from each geographical**  
369 **region. a**, Mağura (5500–5200 cal BC). **b**, Niederhummel (5360–5220 cal BC). **c**, Gueldaman (fifth millennium  
370 BC). **a** is interpreted as mixture of animal fats and beeswax; **b** and **c** as pure beeswax. MAG, monoacylglycerols;  
371 DAG, diacylglycerols, TAG, triacylglycerols. Other peak attributions as in Fig. 1.

372 **Figure 3 | Geographical distribution of prehistoric sites in the date range 7500 and 2000 cal BC yielding**  
373 **beeswax residues. a**, Locations of archaeological sites. **b**, Chronology of beeswax use in the Near East, the Balkan  
374 Peninsula, mainland Europe, Scandinavia, the UK and northern Africa. Neolithic finds in black, pre-Neolithic  
375 (hunter-gatherer contexts) in light grey and Bronze Age in dark grey. \* Dental filling re-examined after ref. 31.

376 **Figure 4 | Regional distribution of beeswax residues in potsherd lipid extracts.** Interpolated map of Old World  
377 beeswax occurrences (proportion of beeswax residues per number of residues in pottery sherds, in percentages)  
378 during the Neolithic (including the Mesolithic sites available). Colours and colour key show the proportions of  
379 beeswax residues estimated by surface interpolation, where collection locations are represented by dots ( $n = 154$ ).

380

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386

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389 J.S., L.S., H.L.W., M.Bart. and D.U.-K. undertook planning of regional lipid residue analyses projects, sampling,  
390 analytical work and data analysis. P.G. created Figure 4 and Supplementary Information section 3. All other  
391 authors either directed excavations or provided expertise in relation to pottery collections and essential insights  
392 into the study region and sites.

393

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397 be addressed to M.R.-S. ([melanie.salque@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:melanie.salque@bristol.ac.uk)), M.R. ([martine.regert@cepam.cnrs.fr](mailto:martine.regert@cepam.cnrs.fr)) or R.P.E.  
398 ([r.p.evershed@bristol.ac.uk](mailto:r.p.evershed@bristol.ac.uk)).