

1 **Holocene fire activity during low-natural flammability periods reveals**  
2 **scale-dependent cultural human-fire relationships in Europe**

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52 *archaeology*

### 53 **Highlights**

- 54 • We report sedimentary charcoal composites for the Central European lowlands (CEL).
- 55 • Holocene fire activity shows convergence and divergence across three spatial scales.
- 56 • Divergence in low-flammability periods reflects cultural fire use in land management.
- 57 • Since 8,500 cal. BP, humans affected CEL-biogeochemical cycles beyond the local scale.

58

59

## 60 **Abstract**

61 Fire is a natural component of global biogeochemical cycles and closely related to changes in human  
62 land use. Whereas climate-fuel relationships seem to drive both global and subcontinental fire  
63 regimes, human-induced fires are prominent mainly on a local scale. Furthermore, the basic  
64 assumption that relates humans and fire regimes in terms of population densities, suggesting that few  
65 human-induced fires should occur in periods and areas of low population density, is currently  
66 debated. Here, we analyze human-fire relationships throughout the Holocene and discuss how and to  
67 what extent human-driven fires affected the landscape transformation in the Central European  
68 Lowlands (CEL). We present sedimentary charcoal composites on three spatial scales and compare  
69 them with climate model output and land cover reconstructions from pollen records. Our findings  
70 indicate that widespread natural fires only occurred during the early Holocene. Natural conditions  
71 (climate and vegetation) limited the extent of wildfires beginning 8,500 cal. BP, and diverging  
72 subregional charcoal composites suggest that Mesolithic hunter-gatherers maintained a culturally  
73 diverse use of fire. Divergence in regional charcoal composites marks the spread of sedentary  
74 cultures in the western and eastern CEL. The intensification of human land use during the last  
75 millennium drove an increase in fire activity to early-Holocene levels across the CEL. Hence,  
76 humans have significantly affected natural fire regimes beyond the local scale – even in periods of  
77 low population densities – depending on diverse cultural land-use strategies. We find that humans  
78 have strongly affected land-cover- and biogeochemical cycles since Mesolithic times.

## 79 **1. Introduction**

80 Major questions in the global debate on climate and environmental change are when, how and to  
81 what extent humans have affected land cover and global carbon cycles beyond their natural  
82 variability (Ruddiman et al., 2015; Strandberg et al., 2014; Waters et al., 2016). Fire is a key

83 component of many natural ecosystems and biogeochemical cycles worldwide (Jaffé et al., 2013;  
84 Randerson et al., 2006) and closely linked to climate (Daniau et al., 2012). However, fire usage has  
85 also been key in human evolution (Bowman et al., 2009; Roebroeks and Villa, 2011) and an  
86 important tool in anthropogenic land cover change across the globe (Bowman et al., 2011), at least  
87 until the time of active fire suppression and the notion of fire being a threat to society (Marlon et al.,  
88 2008; Pyne, 2016). As fire risk and socioecological damage are currently increasing in many parts of  
89 the world, human-fire relationships are highly debated (Balch et al., 2017; Syphard et al., 2017; Ward  
90 et al., 2018). One of the assumptions accounting for humans as drivers of fire regimes is a close  
91 relationship between human population densities and fire, where humans act first as ignition triggers.  
92 Then, after reaching a certain threshold, humans act as fire suppressors by increasing landscape  
93 fragmentation or by taking active suppressive measures (Guyette et al., 2002; Lasslop and Kloster,  
94 2017; Ward et al., 2018). Given the low population densities throughout the early and mid-Holocene  
95 (Kaplan et al., 2011; Klein Goldewijk et al., 2011), fire histories derived from sedimentary charcoal  
96 (CHAR) compilations have been primarily associated with climatic factors (Daniau et al., 2012;  
97 Marlon et al., 2013) and natural vegetation compositions (Blarquez et al., 2015). Only in the most  
98 recent centuries, humans seem to have influenced natural fire regimes on global to regional scales  
99 (Marlon et al., 2008; Pechony and Shindell, 2010).

100 However, local CHAR records and some regional CHAR compilations show divergent Holocene fire  
101 regimes in adjacent European regions that cannot be explained solely by natural factors (climate,  
102 vegetation) (Rius et al., 2011; Vannièrè et al., 2011). Instead, diverse local to regional fire regimes  
103 (characterized by fire frequency, seasonality, intensity, and amount of biomass burned) could indicate  
104 human fire use in diverse cultural subsistence traditions and land use practices at least since the last  
105 7,000 to 3,000 years (Molinari et al., 2013; Rius et al., 2011; Vannièrè et al., 2016; Vannièrè et al.,  
106 2011). However, to what extent early hunter-gatherer and farming societies altered natural fire

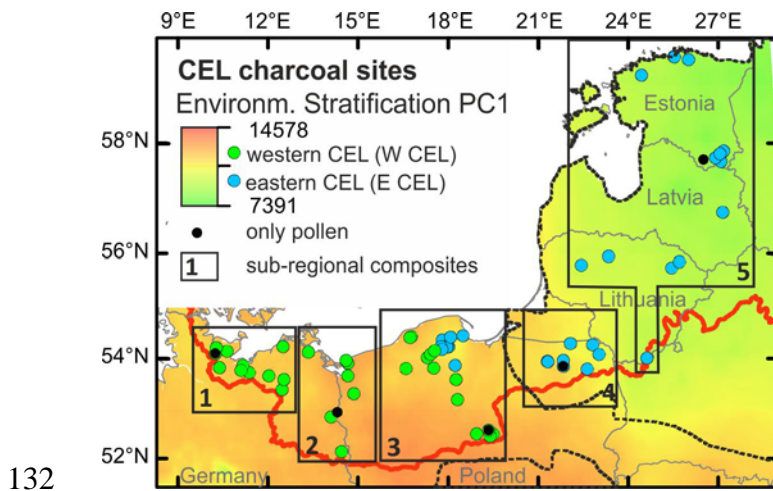
107 regimes and landscapes beyond the local scale remains poorly understood (Kaplan et al., 2016;  
108 Marlon et al., 2013; Ruddiman, 2013; Vanni re et al., 2016). The impacts of future climate change,  
109 such as changing fire risk, will be highly variable at the regional scale and dependent on  
110 preconditions that have shaped a landscape. Considering cultural dependencies in human-fire  
111 relationships over multiple spatial scales relevant to political decision processes is important to (i)  
112 unravel the long-term interactions between natural and human drivers on fire regimes and the  
113 associated human impact on biogeochemical cycles (Arneth et al., 2017; van der Werf et al., 2013)  
114 and (ii) enable informed discussions on future land management and nature conservation efforts  
115 (Whitlock et al., 2018).

116 Here, we aim to provide (i) a long-term perspective of fire activity in the central European lowlands  
117 that allows assessment of the preconditions of current and future fire risk, and (ii) an analysis of the  
118 dependence of fire activity on natural and anthropogenic drivers. By comparing millennial-scale fire  
119 trends at nested spatial scales to known Holocene climate, land cover, and archaeological histories,  
120 we aim to determine and discuss when and how sociocultural characteristics such as foraging and  
121 agricultural land management have altered the natural occurrence of fire and affected regional  
122 biogeochemical cycles.

## 123 **2. Study area and assumption**

124 We analyze new sedimentary charcoal composites of the Central European Lowlands and the Baltic  
125 States (CEL, Fig. 1), a temperate region with a well-studied Holocene land-cover and settlement  
126 history (Marquer et al., 2017; Roberts et al., 2018; Trondman et al., 2015). Compared to other  
127 regions of the world, the CEL are a low-flammability landscape; currently, spring and summer fire  
128 events are rare and burned areas are small, usually < 5 ha (Archibald et al., 2013; FAO, 2007), except  
129 for Poland, where slightly larger and more frequent fires have occurred during the last three decades

130 (San-Miguel-Ayanz et al., 2012). The low flammability of the CEL is due to active fire suppression  
131 (Pyne, 2016), and several natural factors.



133 Fig. 1. Available sedimentary microcharcoal records in the Central European Lowlands (CEL). Sites are regionally  
134 grouped (eastern vs. western CEL) following the modern environmental stratification of Europe after Metzger et al.  
135 (2005) with green-to-brown temperature-related PC1 scores representing the modern climatic-ecological gradient. Black  
136 symbols represent pollen records used in land cover reconstructions. Black boxes frame subregional groups 1 – 5. The red  
137 bold line marks the extent of the Fennoscandian ice sheet during the last glacial maximum (LGM), after Stroeven et al.  
138 (2016). Black dashed lines enclose the current distribution of Norway spruce (*Picea abies*), after EUFORGEN (2018).

139 First, the generally humid climate of the CEL limits fires by reducing fire spread in wet fuel (Daniau  
140 et al., 2012; Flannigan et al., 2009; Pausas and Ribeiro, 2013) and droughts are rare compared to  
141 semi-arid, more fire-prone regions (Marlon et al., 2013). Lightning strikes (natural ignition triggers)  
142 occur at comparably low frequencies, i.e.,  $<5 \text{ flashes km}^{-2} \text{ yr}^{-1}$  (Christian et al., 2003) and 44 % of  
143 the recorded fires in Poland between 1990 and 2006 were related to arson (FAO, 2007). Second,  
144 natural fires require sufficient and connected flammable biomass (fuel), even during prolonged shifts  
145 to dry conditions. Following a climatic gradient from more warm to more cool climate from the  
146 western to the eastern CEL, respectively (Fig. 1), the natural dominance of temperate mixed  
147 broadleaf trees decreases towards the eastern CEL and Norway spruce (*Picea abies*) becomes more

148 abundant in the temperate hemiboreal zone (Caudullo et al., 2016; Giesecke and Bennett, 2004).  
149 Temperate mixed broadleaf forests of the western CEL rarely burn naturally, because of their high  
150 leaf moisture and less-flammable tree compounds (Bowman et al., 2011; Rogers et al., 2015). In the  
151 eastern CEL, the prevailing hemiboreal forests are mainly mixtures of broadleaf trees and Norway  
152 spruce. The long-term fire ecology of Norway spruce is still under discussion: similar to other  
153 conifers, the tree is easily flammable because of its resin-rich needles and canopy structure (Brown  
154 and Giesecke, 2014; Caudullo et al., 2016; Feurdean et al., 2017), but it is generally regarded as a fire  
155 avoider or even suppressor because it suffers in periods of frequent droughts and fires and its moist  
156 understory limits fire (Caudullo et al., 2016; Ohlson et al., 2011; Rogers et al., 2015). In contrast,  
157 Scots pine (*Pinus sylvestris*) is better adapted to dry soils and regenerates after a fires; its lighter  
158 canopy results in rapid drying of its understory and, hence, increased flammability (Houston Durrant  
159 et al., 2016; Rogers et al., 2015).

160 Given these natural background conditions in the CEL, we expect higher-than-average fire activity in  
161 times of dry climate and widespread pine-dominated forests. In times of fully established temperate  
162 broadleaf or spruce-dominated hemiboreal forests and wet climate, we expect lower-than-average fire  
163 activity. Human alteration of natural fire regimes should result in diverging fire activity trends over  
164 various spatial scales (Bowman et al., 2011; McWethy et al., 2013), as exemplified by (i) opposing  
165 fire activity trends in adjacent regions, and/or (ii) fire activity trends that contrast the expected natural  
166 flammability based on climate and vegetation trends.

### 167 **3. Material and methods**

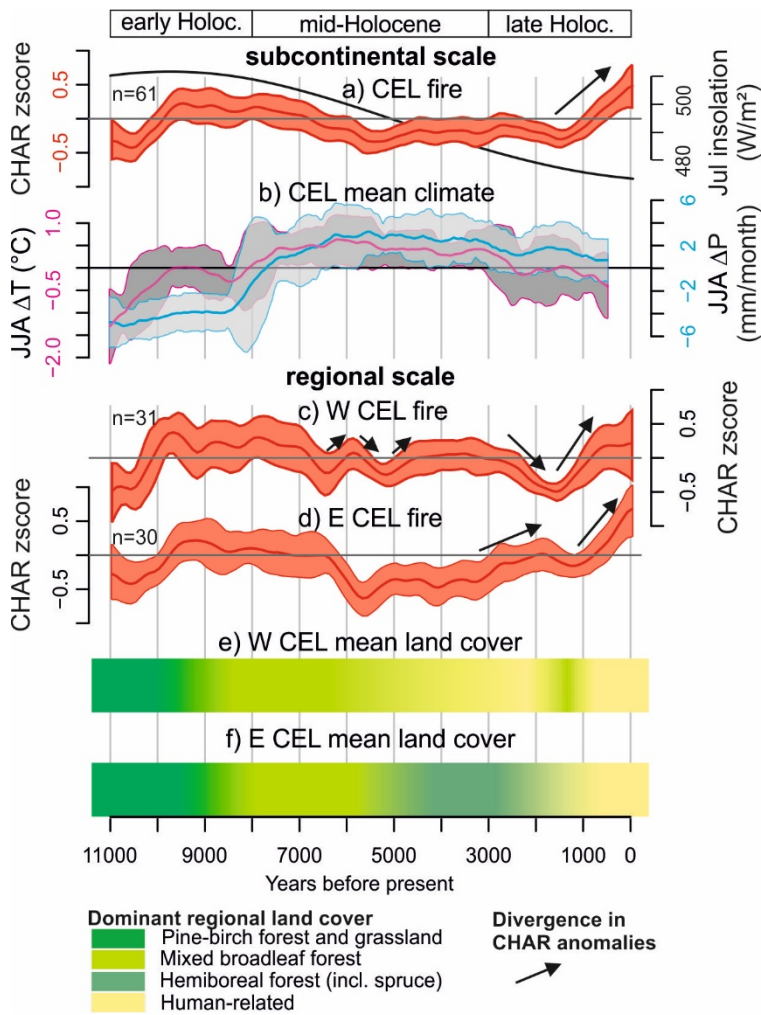
#### 168 **3.1 Sedimentary charcoal composites**

169 We compiled 61 (39 published and 22 unpublished) microscopic charcoal influx records (CHAR,  
170 number of particles  $\text{cm}^{-2} \text{yr}^{-1}$ ) from lake sediment and peatland cores (Table S1). As 80% of the



171 records derive from basins smaller than 90 ha, individual CHAR records represent fires with  
172 potential source areas within 100 kilometers of the sampling site (Adolf et al., 2018; Marlon et al.,  
173 2016) and thus integrate fire events of an extra-local area. We used only microscopic charcoal  
174 records from pollen slides, as few continuous macroscopic charcoal records have been published  
175 from this region (Feurdean et al., 2017; Marcisz et al., 2015; Pędziszewska and Latałowa, 2016).  
176 Evaluation of individual age-depth models considering amount and quality of age control points and  
177 type of calculation of age-depth models (see references in Table S2) showed a high diversity of age-  
178 depth models. To improve consistency, we recalculated age-depth models for 33 sites using CLAM  
179 in R (Blaauw, 2010) following the approach of Giesecke et al. (2014) and IntCal13 (Reimer et al.,  
180 2013). For 9 Baltic sites, we recalculated age-depth models using OxCal 4.2.4 and IntCal13 (Reimer  
181 et al., 2013) and for the remaining 19 sites, we used the original, high-quality age-depth models (i.e.,  
182 based on more than 100 age control points, Table S2).

183 As the resolution and quantity of CHAR vary between sites, established statistical methods of data  
184 transformation and compositing allow the detection of common fire trends (Marlon et al., 2016;  
185 Power et al., 2008). All available charcoal flux records were transformed with the R paleofire  
186 package (Blarquez et al., 2014) using the boxcox, minmax and z-score transformations and a  
187 Holocene base period from – 50 to 11,500 years before 1950 AD (cal. BP) with the zero line  
188 representing the Holocene mean of all transformed records. Prior to resampling sites, transformed  
189 charcoal records were pre-binned in non-overlapping 100-year bins (i.e., at the approximate median  
190 resolution across all records). CHAR composite anomalies were calculated for groups over different  
191 spatial scales by fitting a robust locally-weighted scatterplot smoother (LOESS) to 1000-year  
192 windows using the transformed charcoal records (Blarquez et al., 2014; Daniau et al., 2012).  
193 Composite anomaly records are presented as medians and 95 % confidence intervals from 1000  
194 bootstrap realizations (Figs. 2 – 4). Fig. S1 shows data availability for the 100-year bins.



195

196 Fig. 2. Subcontinental and regional fire activity, climate, and vegetation trends during the Holocene in the Central  
 197 European Lowlands and Baltic States (CEL). a) Subcontinental charcoal influx (CHAR) composite anomalies with the  
 198 insolation curve for 55° N (Laskar et al., 2004); b) average CCSM3-TraCE21k (Liu et al., 2009) 1000-year LOESS-  
 199 smoothed summer temperatures and precipitation relative to the Holocene average (JJA  $\Delta T$  and JJA  $\Delta P$ , respectively),  
 200 averaged over all model grid cells that contain CHAR records; c) and d) regional CHAR anomalies of the western and  
 201 eastern CEL (W and E CEL, respectively) CHAR composites, grouped after temperature-related PC1 of Metzger et al.  
 202 (2005), with arrows indicating divergence from the expected natural and between the two trends; e) and f) generalized  
 203 development of W and E CEL land-cover communities, respectively, according to pollen records (Figs. 3, 4) and  
 204 literature review (see text). CHAR composites show the median and 95% confidence interval of LOESS smoothed,  
 205 bootstrapped, and standardized microcharcoal influxes using  $n$  available sites (see Fig. S1 for sample availability per  
 206 time).

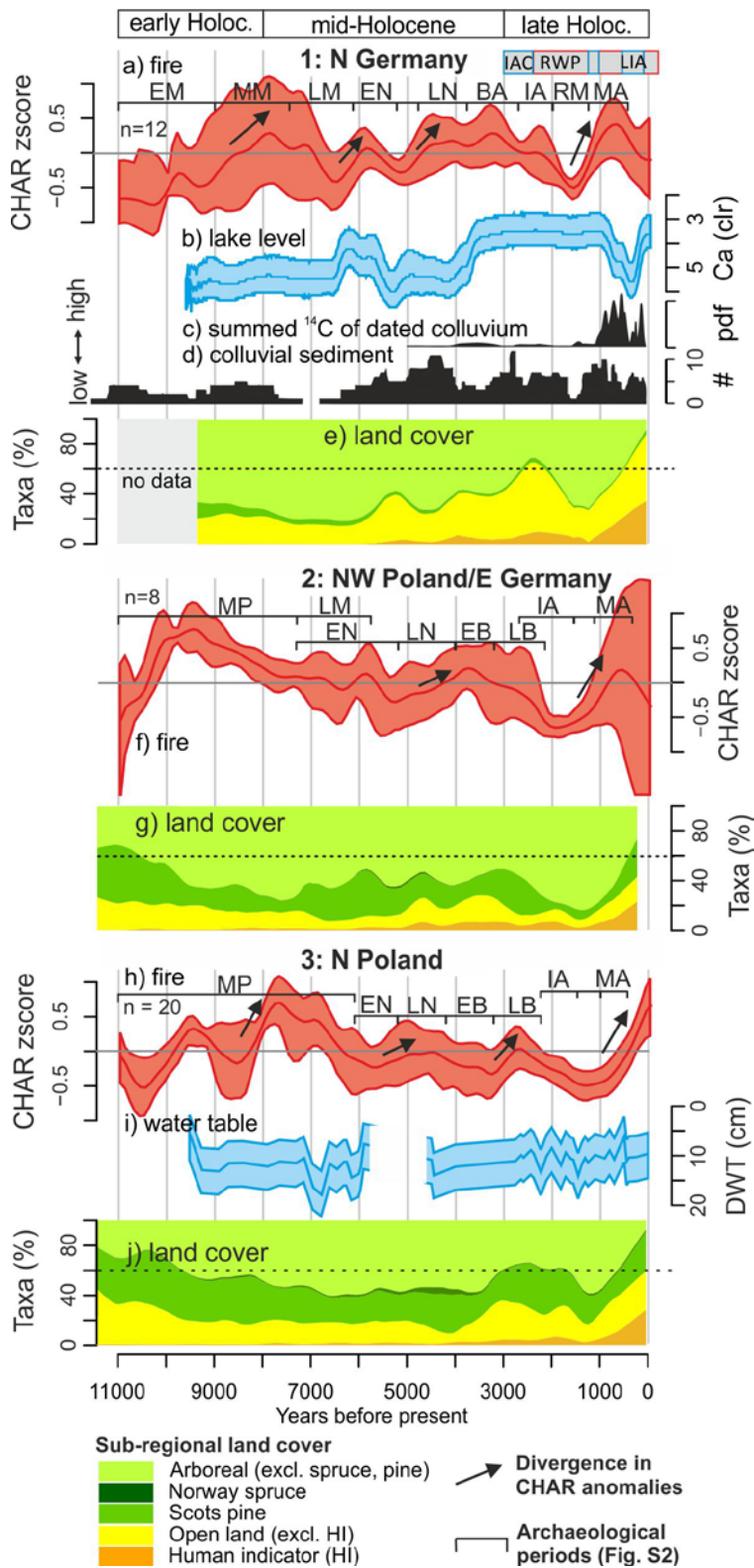
207 CHAR composite anomalies relative to the Holocene average of all CEL sites represent fire activity,  
208 fire occurrence, or biomass burnt (Harrison et al., 2018; Marlon et al., 2016), with smaller confidence  
209 intervals reflecting greater agreement between records, especially when only few samples were  
210 available in a certain time window (Fig. S1). We interpret CHAR composite anomalies as being  
211 primarily derived from forest fires, with secondary sources being understory, grass, and crop residue  
212 burning (Whitlock and Larsen, 2001).

### 213 **3.2 Spatial scale representation**

214 We aim to identify the spatial extent of human fire usage in the CEL during the Holocene at nested  
215 subcontinental, regional, and subregional scales (Fig. 1), which have received little attention to date.  
216 The subcontinental CHAR composite (covering ~1,300 x 500 km) integrates all records. The two  
217 regional scale CHAR composites (~500 x 500 km) each represent half of the charcoal records as  
218 separated according to modern climate and vegetation gradients. The latter is represented by the  
219 natural spread of Norway spruce, whereas the climatic gradient is represented by the first principal  
220 component (PC1) of the modern environmental stratification (EnS) of Europe (Fig. 1), which  
221 represents temperature-related parameters of ecological relevance, such as altitude, slope, sunshine  
222 duration, and monthly temperatures (Metzger et al., 2005). We calculated the average EnS PC1  
223 values of 14 spatial buffers (1 – 50 km around each site) in QGIS and grouped sites into the eastern  
224 and western CEL groups (E CEL and W CEL, respectively) according to the median of the data  
225 distribution (Figs. 1, S1a). Some northern central Poland sites were included within the E CEL group  
226 to account for the uneven spatial representation of records. Subcontinental and regional CHAR  
227 composites are shown in Fig. 2.

228 Five subregional CHAR composites (~200 x 400 km) represent spatial clusters of charcoal records  
229 from northern Germany, northwestern Poland/eastern Germany, north-central Poland and

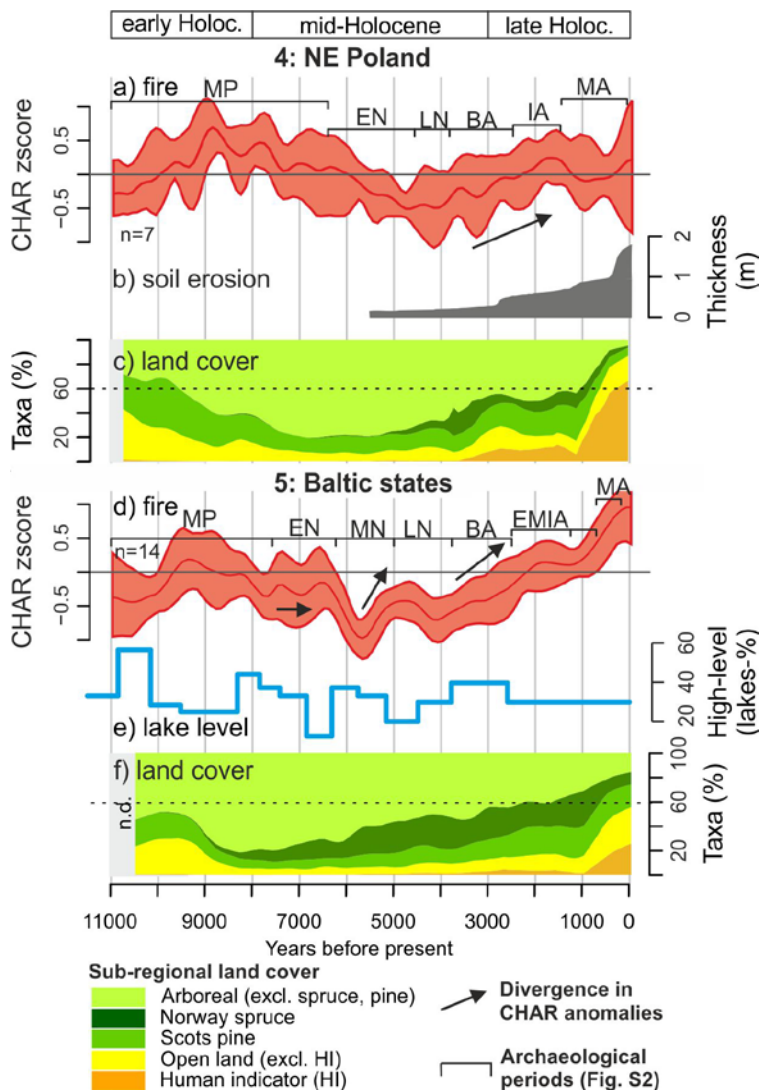
230 northeastern Poland, and the Baltic States (Figs. 1, 3, 4). This grouping is based on the west-to-east  
231 climatic-ecological gradients that affect fuel flammability and considers general knowledge of  
232 cultural histories (Fig. S2, Table S3). For example, the Lithuanian sites were grouped together with  
233 the Latvian and Estonian sites, because of the steep environmental gradient towards northeastern  
234 Poland (Fig. 1) and the closer cultural similarities of present-day Lithuania and the other Baltic  
235 States. Sample and site availabilities per 100-year bin are shown in Fig. S1 for all CHAR composite  
236 anomaly records at the subcontinental scale (n = 61; Fig. S1b), regional scale (W CEL, n = 31; E  
237 CEL, n = 30; Fig. S1b) and subregional scales (N Germany, n = 12; NW Poland/E Germany, n=8; N  
238 Poland, n = 20; NE Poland, n = 7; Baltics, n = 14; Fig. S1c), suggesting that further records are  
239 needed to approve or disprove the trends discussed below, especially those during the early Holocene  
240 in northeastern Poland.



241

242 Fig. 3. Subregional Holocene fire activity, lake levels, soil erosion, and land cover reconstructions of the western CEL. a),  
 243 f) and h) N Germany, NW Poland/E Germany and N Poland CHAR composites, respectively, (median and 95%  
 244 confidence interval, this study) based on *n* available sites (see Fig. S1 for sample availability per time); b) relative lake

245 levels of lake Fürstenseer See based on the log-ratio transformed  $\mu$ -XRF Calcium record, after Dietze et al. (2016); c)  
 246 probability density function of  $^{14}\text{C}$  ages of colluvial deposits, Mecklenburg Lake District, Germany (Küster, 2014); d)  
 247 absolute number of dated colluvial deposits across northern Germany (Dreibrodt et al., 2010); e, g), and j) REVEALS-  
 248 transformed (Theuerkauf et al., 2016), 1000-year LOESS-smoothed pollen taxa (sums) of lakes Belauer See (Dörfler et  
 249 al., 2012), Krebssee (Jahns, 1999, 2000) and Gościąg (Ralska-Jasiewiczowa et al., 1998), respectively; i) depth-to-water  
 250 table (DWT) of Tuchola mire, north-central Poland (Lamentowicz et al., 2008). Archaeological periods (from Table S3  
 251 and Fig. S2) are: MP, Mesolithic Period (EM/MM/LM, early/mid/late Mesolithic); EN/LN: early/late Neolithic Period;  
 252 BA and IA, Bronze and Iron Ages (EB/LB, early/late Bronze Age); RM: Roman and Migration Period; and MA,  
 253 Medieval Age. Red and blue framed boxes at top-right mark warm and cool periods during the last 3,000 years (IAC, Iron  
 254 Age Cold Period, RWP, Roman Warm Period, and LIA, Little Ice Age) after Moffa-Sánchez and Hall (2017). Arrows  
 255 mark divergence in CHAR composites from expected natural trend.



256

257 Fig. 4. Subregional Holocene fire activity, land cover, lake levels, and soil erosion reconstructions of the eastern CEL. a)  
258 and d) NE Poland and Baltic states CHAR composites, respectively (median and 95% confidence interval, this study),  
259 based on *n* available sites (see Fig. S1 for sample availability per time); b) cumulative thickness of colluvial deposits,  
260 Masurian Lake District, Poland (Smolska, 2011); c and f) REVEALS-transformed (Theuerkauf et al., 2016), 1000-year  
261 LOESS-smoothed pollen taxa (sums) of lakes Miłkowskie (Wacnik, 2009; Wacnik et al., 2012) and Ähijärv (Poska et al.,  
262 2017), respectively; and e) percentage of Estonian lakes with high water levels (Harrison and Saarse, 1992) with <sup>14</sup>C dates  
263 recalibrated using IntCal13 (Reimer et al., 2013). Archaeological periods (from Table S3 and Fig. S2) are: MP, Mesolithic  
264 Period; EN/LN, Early/Late Neolithic Period; BA and IA, Bronze and Iron Ages; and MA, Medieval Age). Arrows mark  
265 divergence in CHAR composites from expected natural trend.

### 266 **3.3 Data for comparison**

267 We compared CHAR composite anomalies with climate and land cover data as well as archeological  
268 knowledge from the literature to discuss natural and human drivers of fire activity in the CEL. The  
269 impact of past anthropogenic fire activity on regional biogeochemical cycles is discussed via  
270 comparison with soil erosion and water level changes.

#### 271 **3.3.1 Climate model output**

272 During the Holocene, climatic conditions have responded to seasonal insolation (Laskar et al., 2004)  
273 and the loss of the last remnants of the large glacial ice sheets, inducing sea level rise. We used  
274 seasonal temperature and precipitation variations derived from a transient climate simulation of a  
275 global coupled atmosphere-ocean-model (CCSM3-Trace21k; Liu et al. (2009)) to assess millennial-  
276 scale climate variability. The modeled temperature evolution closely correlates with climate  
277 reconstructions from terrestrial pollen on millennial and centennial time scales (Marsicek et al.,  
278 2018). Summer (June to August) temperatures and precipitation represent the climate of the major  
279 fire season and were averaged over all grid cells that contain charcoal records of the subcontinental  
280 and regional groups (grid cell resolution: 3.75 x 3.75°). We extracted individual grid cells covering

281 the areas of the subregional CHAR composites (N Germany to NE Poland, Fig. S1) and calculated  
282 the 99-year running mean of the three grid cells covering the Baltic States (centered at 22.5° E,  
283 57.52° N; 26.25° E, 57.52° N, and 26.25° E, 53.81° N). Then, we calculated a 1000-year running  
284 mean  $\pm 2\sigma$  relative to the Holocene averages (0 – 11,500 cal. BP), as with the CHAR composites.  
285 Fig. S3 shows that the climate model output (both averages and individual grid cell values) is not  
286 significantly different between adjacent subregions over millennial timescales. The mean  
287 subcontinental climate model output of the CEL is shown in Fig. 2.

### 288 3.3.2 Land cover reconstructions

289 We assessed natural vegetation and human deforestation using quantitative land cover  
290 reconstructions from Holocene pollen records (Fig. 1, Tables S1-S2). We used the longest, most  
291 representative, and best-resolved pollen records available for each subregion; these were chosen from  
292 lakes with basin areas >50 ha to allow application of the REVEALS model (Sugita, 2007). Hence,  
293 pollens from a source area of 100 km<sup>2</sup> and larger appropriately represent land cover at our  
294 subregional scale appropriately. We used the REVEALSinR function with pollen productivity  
295 estimates from the PPE.MV2015 data set and the default (LSM) dispersal model (Theuerkauf et al.,  
296 2016) to convert pollen% into land cover. We calculated the sums of arboreal taxa including *Corylus*  
297 *avellana*, but excluding the coniferous, flammable taxa *Picea abies* and *Pinus sylvestris* (discussed  
298 and shown separately in the text and Figs. 3, 4). The sum of open land includes all non-arboreal taxa,  
299 but excludes the sum of direct human indicators (HI: *Artemisia*, *Plantago major/media*, *Plantago*  
300 *lanceolata*, *Rumex acetosa/acetosella*, and cereals according to Reitalu et al. (2013); Figs. 3, 4). We  
301 interpolated noncontinuous pollen records and *Picea abies* and *Pinus sylvestris* coverages by  
302 calculating the mean coverage in the same 100-year bins used for transformation of the CHAR  
303 records. Then, we fitted a LOESS to 1000-year windows for each taxon (sum) using the stats package



304 in R and rescaled to one to fulfill the constant-sum constraint of the compositional pollen data (Figs.  
305 3, 4).

### 306 3.3.3 Archeological periods

307 Cultural histories on millennial to centennial time scales are discussed using a compilation of  
308 representative archeological classifications per subregion based on archeological literature or, where  
309 archeological information was limited, land cover reconstructions from pollen. We provide here only  
310 a rough overview of the timing and duration of certain archeological periods (Table S3, Fig. S2).  
311 While a comprehensive review and data compilation that considers dating uncertainties and the  
312 spatial spread and interaction of past cultures would be helpful and relevant, it is beyond the scope of  
313 this work.

### 314 3.3.4 Records of soil erosion and water level changes

315 To discuss the impact of increased human fire usage and human land cover change on landscape  
316 transformation and regional biogeochemical cycles, we compare CHAR composite anomalies with  
317 records of land surface processes and hydrological processes in subregions with available  
318 reconstructions covering most of the Holocene. We derived soil erosion composites from  
319 compilations of colluvial deposits for N Germany and NE Poland, comprising a probability density  
320 function of  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates from the sandur plains of northeastern Germany (Küster, 2014), a record of  
321 dated deposits across northern Germany, including the northeast (Dreibrodt et al., 2010), and a record  
322 of cumulative colluvial deposit thickness in northeastern Poland (Smolska, 2011).

323 Water level changes in northeastern Germany are based on the only available, continuous Holocene  
324 lake level reconstruction inferred from carbonate deposition in lake Fürstenseer See (Dietze et al.,  
325 2016), from which we reassembled the  $\mu\text{XRF-Ca}$  record considering 1000 age-depth models within

326 the  $2\sigma$  range of the  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates (Fig. 3b shows the median and 95 % confidence interval). We derived  
327 water level changes in northern Poland from a testate amoebae-inferred depth-to-water table record  
328 of Tuchola mire (Lamentowicz et al., 2008). The changes in Baltic lake levels are based on a  
329 compilation of Estonian lake level records that were classified into high, intermediate, and low lake  
330 status by Harrison and Saarse (1992). We recalibrated their age-depth model using IntCal13 (Reimer  
331 et al., 2013) and present the percentage of high-level lakes in approximate 500-year bins (Fig. 4e).

#### 332 **4. Results**

333 The CHAR composite anomalies show common trends and divergences at different spatial scales  
334 relative to the Holocene average of all records (Figs. 2 – 4). The subcontinental CHAR composite  
335 anomalies indicate three phases of CEL fire activity: (i) an early Holocene increase to above-average  
336 fire activity, (ii) a mid- to late Holocene decrease to and stabilization at below-average fire activity,  
337 and (iii) a late Holocene increase to above-average fire activity.

338 During the early Holocene (11,500 – 8,500 cal. BP), fire activity increased strongly to above-average  
339 levels in all CHAR composites, independent of spatial aggregation (Figs. 2 – 4). At the  
340 subcontinental and regional scales, this increase parallels increasing summer temperatures during  
341 maximum summer insolation and seasonality as shown by the analyzed climate model output (Fig.  
342 2a-d). Summer precipitation was rather low throughout the CEL (Fig. 2b), and flammable vegetation,  
343 i.e., the sum of pine and open land (mainly grasses), reached their maximum coverage during the  
344 Holocene in both regions (Figs. 2e, f). Although the absolute timing of positive CHAR anomalies  
345 varies among subregions, increased fire activity was most pronounced in NW Poland/E Germany  
346 (Fig. 3f).

347 After c. 8,500 cal. BP, subcontinental and regional CHAR composites declined to below-average  
348 values by 7,000 cal. BP, following summer insolation and seasonality (Fig. 2a-d). The TraCE21k-

349 climate model data suggest a strong increase in summer precipitation after 8,500 cal. BP across the  
350 CEL (Figs. 2b, S3). At 8,500 cal. BP, pine and open land coverages reduced to their Holocene  
351 minima, while broadleaf forests expanded (Figs. 2e, f; 3e, g, j; 4c, f), reducing the area of flammable  
352 vegetation. However, at the subregional scale, fire trends started to diverge significantly. NW  
353 Poland/E Germany (Fig. 3f) and NE Poland CHAR composites (Fig. 4a) show continuously  
354 declining trends since 9,000 cal. BP and until 6,500 and 4,500 cal. BP, respectively. The adjacent N  
355 Germany and N Poland composites indicate fire maxima between 8,500 and 6,500 cal. BP (Fig. 3a,  
356 h) and the Baltic CHAR composite values stabilize around the Holocene average between 7,500 and  
357 6,500 cal. BP (Fig. 4d).

358 Although climate and forest composition did not change strongly, we note marked divergences  
359 between the regional CEL fire trends after 6,500 cal. BP that are not evident at the subcontinental  
360 scale (Fig. 2a). CHAR composites in the western CEL, especially N Germany, increased from c.  
361 6,500 cal. BP, peaked at 5,800 cal. BP and declined afterwards (Figs. 2c; 3a, f, h). Human land use  
362 indicators, including cereals, appeared in pollen records and soil erosion increased (Fig. 3e, g, j). In  
363 contrast, CHAR composites in the eastern CEL, especially the Baltic States, show a minimum around  
364 5,800 cal. BP and a slight increase in fire activity around 5,500 cal. BP (Figs. 2d; 4a, d). Furthermore,  
365 Norway spruce expanded across the Baltic region during that time (Fig. 4f), gradually replacing parts  
366 of the broadleaf forest.

367 During the late Holocene (after 4,000 cal. BP), fire activity increased continuously until present day  
368 throughout the eastern CEL, especially in the Baltic subregion (Figs. 2d, 4d). Regional and  
369 subregional composites in the western CEL showed several periods of positive and negative CHAR  
370 anomalies. The climate model output suggests that cooler and wetter conditions were established  
371 across the entire CEL (Fig. 2b). Flammable, but fire-avoiding and suppressing spruce spread and  
372 reached its maximum coverage between 3,500 and 2,000 cal. BP in the eastern CEL, and human

373 indicator pollen records increased during that time (Figs. 2f; 4c, f). Between 2,500 and 1,000 cal. BP,  
374 regional and subregional composites (especially in the western CEL) show pronounced negative  
375 CHAR anomalies of various timings and durations (Figs. 2c, d; 3a, f, h) that follow a trend towards  
376 cooler and wetter summers (Fig. 2b). During that time, human indicator taxa in pollen records  
377 decreased (Fig. 3e, g, j).

378 During the last millennium, fire activity increased markedly until present day, reaching burning  
379 levels similar to those during the early Holocene, although recent natural conditions were less  
380 favorable for fire (Fig. 2). Human-indicator pollen records show that farming intensified in all  
381 subregions (Figs. 3e, g, j; 4c, f) and soil erosion increased (Fig. 3c, 4b). However, we observe a  
382 significant divergence in subregional CHAR composites. Whereas fire activity in N Poland and the  
383 Baltic States increased until present day (Figs. 4a, d), N Germany CHAR anomalies peak around 800  
384 cal. BP and decline afterwards (Fig. 3a).

## 385 **5. Discussion**

### 386 **5.1 Natural burning conditions**

387 Fire has been an important component of the CEL landscape in the past (Figs. 2 – 4). Absolute values  
388 of N Germany CHAR composite anomalies (Fig. 3a) were lower than those of the Baltic CHAR  
389 composite anomalies (Fig. 4d), especially during the last millennium. Thus, the natural climatic and  
390 vegetation gradient across the CEL influences biomass flammability: northern Germany is more  
391 oceanic and has less pine coverage (Figs. 3, 4) than the more continental areas towards the east,  
392 which have more coniferous forest cover, are more affected by summer droughts (Lindner et al.,  
393 2010) and, hence, are more fire-prone (Marcisz et al., 2017). However, we focus on the interpretation  
394 of trends in CHAR composite anomalies, because absolute anomalies can only be linked to relative  
395 and not quantitative differences in fire regime properties.

396 Subcontinental fire activity trends followed major changes in climate/vegetation across the CEL  
397 since the last glacial period, similar to southern Scandinavia (Olsson et al., 2010) and northeastern  
398 Europe (Marlon et al., 2013). Previous (sub)continental CHAR composite anomalies of Europe and  
399 central Europe have shown increasing fire activity throughout the Holocene (Marlon et al., 2013;  
400 Molinari et al., 2013; Power et al., 2008). However, we find alternating periods of high and low fire  
401 activity, similar to southern European CHAR compilations (Vannière et al., 2011). The CEL fire  
402 activity trends are sometimes divergent between adjacent areas at various spatial scales (Figs. 2 – 4)  
403 and could be related to both, natural (i.e., climatic and fuel-related) and human drivers.

404 During the early Holocene, fire activity paralleled increasing summer temperatures (Figs. 2 – 4, S3)  
405 similar to fire trends at the global scale (Daniau et al., 2012; Marlon et al., 2013; Power et al., 2008).  
406 Frequent droughts related to dominating continental air masses have been reported from regional  
407 hydrological reconstructions mainly based on geochemical and paleoecological proxies (Dietze et al.,  
408 2016; Harrison et al., 1993; Lauterbach et al., 2011; Välranta et al., 2015). Hence, the climate and  
409 natural land cover (dominated by extensive pine forests and grasslands) favored natural fires.

410 The natural flammability of the CEL landscape reduced after a shift towards wetter summers around  
411 8,500 cal. BP (Fig. 2b), probably related to the increasing influence of north Atlantic air masses  
412 across the CEL, similar to the present-day air mass dominance (Lauterbach et al., 2011; Rust et al.,  
413 2018). However, proxy data does not consistently show increased summer wetness after 8,500 cal.  
414 BP (Dietze et al., 2016; Gałka et al., 2014; Latałowa et al., 2013) (Figs. 3b, i; 4e), which we attribute  
415 at different sensitivity and temporal resolution of the proxies. Furthermore, with the establishment of  
416 mixed broadleaf forests across the CEL, less-flammable fuel was available, with pine forests  
417 dominating only in very wet or very dry sites. The slight increase in Baltic CHAR anomalies after  
418 5,500 cal. BP is synchronous with lake level reductions that suggest drier conditions (Harrison and  
419 Saarse, 1992). Climatic conditions became even less favorable for fire during the last 4,000 years,

420 when climate model output and proxy reconstructions suggest that cooler and wetter conditions  
421 established across the entire CEL (Figs. 2 – 4) (Dietze et al., 2016; Wanner et al., 2008). However,  
422 fire activity did not decrease accordingly: CHAR composites diverged from the expected natural  
423 trend at the subregional scale since 8,500 cal BP (Figs. 3, 4), at the regional scale since 6,500 cal BP,  
424 and at the subcontinental scale since 1,000 cal BP (Fig. 2).

425 We propose that the divergence of CHAR composite anomalies from the expected natural trends and  
426 between adjacent subregions indicates human alteration of natural fire regimes. We assume spatially  
427 homogeneous climatic trends across the CEL because modern short-term climatic events show strong  
428 spatial coherence (Merz et al., 2018; Rust et al., 2018) and long-term (i.e., millennial-scale) climate  
429 models and available land-cover data do not suggest a spatial heterogeneity of natural trends between  
430 adjacent regions. This assumption is limited by some constraints: first, available climate proxy data is  
431 heterogeneous concerning archive type, temporal coverage, and the type and spatiotemporal extent of  
432 the proxy-climate relationship (Mauri et al., 2015; Salonen et al., 2012; Väiliranta et al., 2015);  
433 second, we lack comparable and independent syntheses of climate-proxy and land cover data on  
434 similar spatiotemporal scales (Marquer et al., 2017; Trondman et al., 2015); and third, the analyzed  
435 climate model output only provides larger-scale trends based on the first-order effects of CO<sub>2</sub> and  
436 orbital forcing (Rehfeld and Laepple, 2016; Zhang et al., 2017) and does not consider regional  
437 climate-land cover feedbacks (Qian et al., 2015).

438 During periods of low natural flammability but increased fire activity after 8,500 cal. BP, we assume  
439 that humans set fires for multiple purposes by taking advantage of dry fuel during short-term  
440 droughts that occur in both wetter and drier climates. As proof of concept, we discuss two examples  
441 of human-fire relationships that affected fire activity even in periods and areas of low population  
442 densities.

## 443 **5.2 Fire use by hunter-gatherers**

444 Superimposed on the naturally occurring fire trends, we suggest that maxima in the subregional  
445 CHAR composites between 8,500 and 6,000 cal. BP indicate forest fires started by Mesolithic and  
446 early Neolithic Baltic hunter-gatherers. So far, there is little direct evidence that Mesolithic groups  
447 drove fire activity on larger spatial scales, as archaeological sites document only localized fire use  
448 (Bishop et al., 2015) and the open-land signal in vegetation reconstructions is barely distinguishable  
449 from natural disturbances (Bishop et al., 2015) such as wind throw and forest grazing by large  
450 herbivorous mammals (e.g., Birks (2005). However, the presence of local Mesolithic groups and  
451 social interactions between them are well known across the CEL (Latałowa, 1992; Wacnik et al.,  
452 2011; Zvelebil, 2006, 2008). Increasing knowledge of Mesolithic (and early Neolithic) cultures  
453 around the Baltic Sea indicates that their subsistence mainly relied on marine or freshwater fishing,  
454 but always included forest-based resources (Meadows et al., 2016; Rimantienė, 1992; Zvelebil, 2008)  
455 that required maintaining open space in forests (Bishop et al., 2015). Fire is regarded as an important  
456 tool, for example, to selectively support food production, especially hazel (*Corylus avellana*) (Holst,  
457 2010; Wacnik et al., 2011; Zvelebil, 2008), or to keep clearings open to attract game (Bishop et al.,  
458 2015).

459 The degree of intentional forest disturbance and use of forest resources probably varied in space and  
460 time (Meadows et al., 2016; Poska and Saarse, 2002; Wacnik et al., 2011; Zvelebil, 2008) and in  
461 relation to access to other resources from, e.g., rivers, the sea, or early contacts with sedentary  
462 cultures (Krause-Kyora et al., 2013; Silva and Vander Linden, 2017). For example, new analytical  
463 approaches in archaeology suggest that Mesolithic forest-based diets were reduced in favor of water-  
464 based diets in the Baltic hinterland (Meadows et al., 2016). Accordingly, Baltic CHAR anomalies  
465 (Fig. 4d) suggest that fire usage of the mid-Neolithic Narva hunter-gatherers (Table S3, Fig. S2)

466 might have reduced their fire usage around 5,800 cal. BP, when the Baltic CHAR composite declines  
467 to a minimum.

468 We argue that diverse extents of woodland alteration by hunter-gatherers can explain the offset from  
469 the expected natural fire trends on the subregional scale, which represents roughly the territories that  
470 Mesolithic hunter-gatherers occupied (Zvelebil, 2006). Hence, we support earlier interpretations that  
471 Mesolithic communities could have significantly affected landscapes by burning forest to construct  
472 their niche (Bishop et al., 2015; Latałowa, 1992; Poska and Saarse, 2002; Wacnik et al., 2011). We  
473 propose that fire activity was linked not only to human population densities, but also to cultural  
474 subsistence strategies that were based on diverse usage of terrestrial resources.

### 475 **5.3 Fire as an agrarian land management tool**

476 Divergent regional CHAR composite anomalies after 6,500 cal. BP mirror divergent rates in  
477 Neolithisation and agricultural land use, as previously suggested by discrete charcoal data (Robin and  
478 Nelle, 2014). CHAR composites allow determination of the spatial spread of human fire usage in  
479 prehistoric and historic agrarian land management, which was previously described using  
480 archaeological compilations (Feaser and Dörfler, 2015; Poska et al., 2004; Silva and Vander Linden,  
481 2017) and quantitative land cover reconstructions (Marquer et al., 2017; Trondman et al., 2015).

482 During the transition from foraging to sedentary cultures that adopted pastoralism and agriculture,  
483 western CEL CHAR composites, especially N Germany and NW Poland/E Germany, show  
484 increasing and declining anomalies that coincide with a known societal cycle of increasing and  
485 declining population development between 6,500 and 5,000 cal BP (Feaser and Dörfler, 2015;  
486 Latałowa, 1992) (Figs. 2 – 4), as inferred from archeological remains (Warden et al., 2017). During  
487 that time, the temperature in the Baltic Sea area increased towards the mid-Holocene thermal  
488 optimum and subsequently decreased after 5,500 cal BP, suggesting a response of cultural



489 development to climate change on millennial time scales (Warden et al., 2017). However, despite  
490 continued decreases in overall population densities and Baltic Sea temperatures between 5,000 and  
491 3,000 cal. BP (Warden et al., 2017), fire use increased on regional and subregional scales after the  
492 transition from the Funnel Beaker towards the Corded Ware culture around 4,800 cal. BP.

493 Yet, the role of fire in Neolithic land management is strongly debated in the western CEL (Feeser et  
494 al., 2012), because of lacking evidence for slash-and-burn practices that were common in other  
495 regions (Bowman et al., 2011; Vanni re et al., 2016). Although fire probably helped to alter  
496 woodland structures during the initial period of adoption of animal husbandry (Feeser and D rfler,  
497 2014; Feeser and D rfler, 2015), further regional land management strategies without fire usage  
498 evolved for deforestation and agricultural maintenance (Feeser et al., 2012; Lata owa, 1992). Hence,  
499 fire usage seems to depend more on the variable cultural practices than on population densities (see  
500 archeological phases in Figs. 3, S2).

501 In the eastern CEL, fire activity increased after 5,500 cal. BP but only reached or exceeded the  
502 Holocene average after 3,000 cal. BP (Figs. 2, 4). Lake levels in the Baltic States decreased between  
503 5,200 and 4,000 cal. BP, suggesting a drier climate possibly related to increasing Baltic Sea  
504 temperatures (Warden et al., 2017). Eastern CEL fire activity might therefore be influenced by a  
505 climatic shift. Although the first traces of cereals and pastoralism appear in the region during that  
506 time (Madeja et al., 2010; Poska et al., 2004; Trondman et al., 2015) as a result of the appearance of,  
507 e.g., the Funnel Beaker and Corded Ware cultures (Table S3), archeological and land cover data  
508 suggest that Baltic cultures still relied primarily on forest- and water-based resources (Meadows et  
509 al., 2016; Poska et al., 2004; Rimantien , 1992; Wacnik, 2009). Only after the onset of the Bronze  
510 Age (4,000 cal. BP) do human indicator pollen and soil erosion records show increasing agricultural  
511 land use (Ga ka et al., 2013; Poska et al., 2004; Reitalu et al., 2013; Smolska, 2011) (Fig. 4). Hence,

512 increasing CHAR composite anomalies parallel the major onset and spread of farming in the eastern  
513 CEL more than 2,000 years later than in the western CEL (Figs. 2 – 4).

514 Whereas eastern CEL CHAR composites continuously increased towards present day, western CEL  
515 CHAR composites follow known archaeological phases of altered land management and  
516 technological transitions, such as those occurring during the Bronze and Iron Ages (Fig. 3). Most  
517 prominently, negative fire anomalies of varying timings and durations in adjacent regions between  
518 2,500 and 1,000 cal. BP follow a millennial-scale climatic cooling (Helama et al., 2017; Wanner et  
519 al., 2008) (Fig. 2). Additionally, the expansion of beech (*Fagus sylvatica*) and hornbeam (*Carpinus*  
520 *betulus*) in Germany and northern Poland further reduced fire-prone pine forest cover (Marquer et al.,  
521 2017; Pędziszewska and Latałowa, 2016). Although societal responses to climatic changes are  
522 complex and difficult to decipher at millennial time scales (Haldon, 2016), the reduction in fire  
523 activities during that time suggests an altered use of fire in land management. In many areas, reduced  
524 human land use *per se* during the Migration Period can explain the minimum CHAR composite  
525 anomalies (Figs. 3, S2). Although debated, large-scale human reorganization during this period was  
526 probably related to less-favorable climatic conditions of the Dark Age cold period (Helama et al.,  
527 2017; Kaplan et al., 2009; Zhang et al., 2011) and led to the reforestation of large areas, mainly with  
528 broadleaf taxa (Marquer et al., 2017) (Figs. 2 – 4).

529 The strong increase of fire activity in all CHAR composites during the last millennium (Figs. 2 – 4)  
530 parallels population growth after the Migration Period (Helama et al., 2017). This increase clearly  
531 overrides the millennial-scale cool and wet climatic trends (Fig. 2), similar as suggested for recent  
532 times over shorter time scales (Syphard et al., 2017). Farming extended into previously unsuitable  
533 sites and intensified in all subregions, as reflected in pollen and soil erosion records (Dreibrodt et al.,  
534 2010; Kaplan et al., 2009; Marquer et al., 2017) (Fig. 3). Fire activity driven by human land cover  
535 change reached early Holocene levels, even at the subcontinental scale (Fig. 2).

536 The pattern in N German CHAR composites, which diverges from other subregional composites,  
537 follows the generally assumed relationship between fire and population densities: increasing  
538 population first lead to increased fire activity, and eventually to landscape fragmentation that  
539 indirectly limited the spread of fires (Marlon et al., 2008; Pechony and Shindell, 2010). The  
540 landscape in northern Germany seems to have become fragmented by around 1200 AD: land cover  
541 reconstructions from pollen data and models suggest that more than 60 % of the land was deforested  
542 in northern Germany by that time, compared to less than 40 % in the Baltic states (intermediate  
543 estimates based on Kaplan et al. (2009), Kaplan et al. (2017), Marquer et al. (2017) and Figs. 3, 4).  
544 All other analyzed subregions did not reach this extent of open land (Figs. 3, 4) and, within  
545 uncertainty, most still show an upward trend in fire activity (Figs. 3, 4). This trend might not only  
546 relate to land openness and associated landscape fragmentation, but also to forest composition and  
547 biomass flammability, as coniferous taxa cover a greater extent in the continental eastern CEL than in  
548 the western CEL (Figs. 1, 3, 4; Marcisz et al. (2017)). We note that the Lake Miłkowskie pollen  
549 record (Fig. 4c) shows representative land openness trends in NE Poland, but locally reconstructed  
550 openness was exceptionally high already since ca. 800 cal. BP, whereas other areas remained  
551 strongly forested (Wacnik et al., 2016).

552 Our relative CHAR composite anomalies do not allow us to infer absolute changes in past fire regime  
553 properties in terms of fire frequency, area, or the amount and type of biomass burned (Marlon et al.,  
554 2016). Uncertainties in our reconstructions are still large due to limited data availabilities during  
555 certain periods, especially at the subregional scale (Fig. S1), indicating the need for more and highly  
556 resolved Holocene fire records that allow better characterization of past fire regimes (Feurdean et al.,  
557 2017; Vanni re et al., 2016). Hence, the impact of human-driven fires and associated human land  
558 management on biogeochemical cycles can only be discussed in general terms.

559 **5.4 The roles of fire and human land cover change in Holocene landscape transformation and**  
560 **biogeochemical cycles**

561 Our results suggest that humans have increased fire activity beyond the local scale in the CEL  
562 throughout the Holocene. Accordingly, humans could have significantly affected biogeochemical  
563 cycles in this landscape of low natural flammability. Since the divergence of CHAR composites from  
564 the expected natural trends at the transition from the early to mid-Holocene, the increased occurrence  
565 of fire in a landscape of low natural flammability probably increased carbon release and altered  
566 albedo and vegetation composition and, hence, regional climate-carbon cycle feedbacks (Harrison et  
567 al., 2018; Schimel and Baker, 2002).

568 In addition to the indirect feedback with regional climate (Strandberg et al., 2014), human fire usage  
569 in land management probably affected biogeochemical cycles also via other landscape components in  
570 the CEL such as soil erosion and water budgets (Latałowa, 1992). Indeed, observations have shown  
571 increased erosion on the catchment scale (<100 km<sup>2</sup>) following fires (Allen, 2007; Bodí et al., 2014;  
572 Leys et al., 2016), with charcoal remains being a classical diagnostic property of central European  
573 hillslope, i.e., colluvial, sediments (Robin and Nelle, 2014). Hoffmann et al. (2013) quantified  
574 significant carbon burial and storage in floodplain and hillslope sediments due to Holocene human-  
575 induced soil erosion. Our lake- and peatland-derived CHAR composite anomalies mirror soil erosion  
576 trends in N Germany and NE Poland (Dreibrodt et al., 2010; Dreibrodt and Wiethold, 2015; Smolska,  
577 2011) after Neolithisation (6,500 and 4,000 cal. BP, Fig. 3) and, hence, provide an independent  
578 record of human-induced and biogeochemically-relevant soil erosion and land cover change.

579 Water level changes are generally interpreted in terms of precipitation-evaporation ratios (Harrison et  
580 al., 1993; Shuman et al., 2010). In northern Germany, we observe that significant lake level changes  
581 (considering age uncertainties from Dietze et al. (2016) parallel the CHAR composite anomalies

582 during the Neolithic period (Fig. 3a, b). Thus, human fire usage in land management may have  
583 resulted in regionally increased groundwater recharge and higher water levels, as shown by  
584 Woodward et al. (2014) on the global scale. Further intense lake level fluctuations related to human  
585 water management (Dietze et al., 2016) occurred at the time of maximum land openness and fire  
586 activity during the last millennium (Fig. 3).

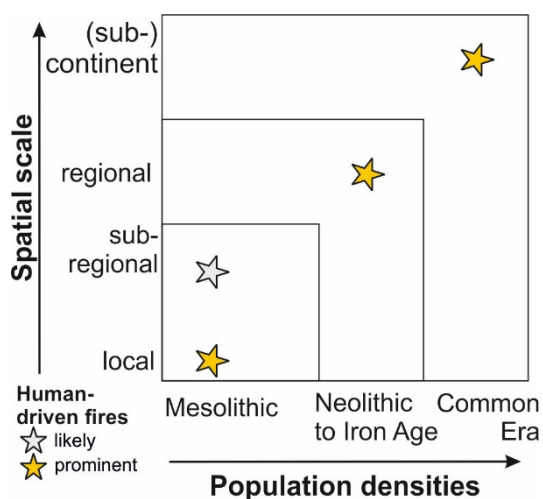
587 Hence, human land cover change could have significantly affected regional hydrological and  
588 sediment budgets, especially since the Neolithic time (Dietze et al., 2016; Latałowa, 1992; Ruddiman  
589 et al., 2015). Integration and compilation of land, ecosystem, and paleoclimate records over different  
590 spatial and temporal scales are needed to better understand and quantify the interactions between  
591 climate and human drivers of past landscape transformation (Marquer et al., 2017) and the role of  
592 cultural fire use.

## 593 **6. Conclusions and implications**

594 We provide a new reconstruction of Holocene fire activity in the low-flammability landscape of the  
595 Central European Lowlands. When natural conditions (climate and land cover) limited widespread  
596 fire occurrence, millennial-scale fire activity seems well explained by the cultural use of fire  
597 suggesting that humans have affected natural terrestrial systems at varying intensities over several  
598 millennia, and providing new insights into past human-environment interactions.

599 We have identified convergences and divergences (i) among nested subregional to subcontinental  
600 CHAR composites and (ii) from the expected natural flammability across spatial scales. This  
601 approach provides a step forward in determining early human-fire-land use relationships (Fig. 5)  
602 when high-resolution macrocharcoal records are lacking, i.e., beyond the assumption of direct fire-  
603 population density relationships and independent of classical pollen-derived human impact

604 indicators. This approach adds to previous studies in other areas of the globe where natural  
605 conditions did not support the frequent occurrence of fire (McWethy et al., 2013).



606

607 Fig. 5. Scale dependency of millennial fire trends in low-flammability landscapes, based on CEL CHAR composites.

608 Early human fire usage can be detected with composites aggregating sedimentary charcoal records at small spatial scales.

609 Whereas the impact of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers is archaeologically well known at the local scale, CHAR composites  
610 allow detection of Mesolithic impacts at the subregional scale under less suitable natural burning conditions, despite low  
611 population densities (Kaplan et al., 2009; Klein Goldewijk et al., 2011).

612 Our reconstructions have two major implications. First, past human-fire relationships were

613 multifaceted. Hunter-gatherer subsistence strategies in the CEL seem to have altered natural fire

614 regimes beyond the local scale despite low population densities, supporting previous hypotheses

615 (Kaplan et al., 2016; White, 2013). In agrarian societies, millennial CHAR composite anomalies

616 seem closely associated with cultural land use strategies, which is difficult, but possible to

617 parameterize in fire models (Lasslop and Kloster, 2017; Pfeiffer et al., 2013).

618 Second, our millennial scale paleofire perspective provides long-term background information on the

619 interplay of natural and human drivers of land-cover change, a prerequisite to inform future land

620 management and nature conservation efforts (Whitlock et al., 2018). At the spatial scales relevant to

621 political decisions in the CEL, the last millennium seems key to understanding the preconditions that

622 determine future fire risks. Although during the last century only minor fire events have occurred in  
623 the CEL compared to other areas of the world, forest cover is expected to increase in the future and  
624 fuel will accumulate in widespread human-planted pine and spruce monocultures (Caudullo et al.,  
625 2016; Houston Durrant et al., 2016). Future climate change scenarios predict drier and warmer  
626 summers, and the frequency of natural ignition by lightning might increase (Douville and Plazzotta,  
627 2017; Lhotka et al., 2018; Romps et al., 2014). These factors increase fire hazard and fire risk  
628 (Hardy, 2005), leading to a much more flammable landscape—a situation comparable to the early  
629 Holocene. Our study supports previous suggestions that natural and/or human-driven substitution of  
630 flammable coniferous for broadleaf forests could outpace the increasing fire danger in the continental  
631 and hemiboreal CEL (Feurdean et al., 2017).

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#### 655 **Data Availability**

656 Charcoal data of this study will be available via the Global Charcoal Database, hosted by the  
657 Laboratoire Chrono-environnement (UMR 6249 du CNRS) at the University of Bourgogne /  
658 Franche-Comté (Besançon, France): <https://paleofire.org/index.php>.

#### 659 **Author Contributions**

660 ED, MT, MS and BV designed the study. MT, ML, IF, SJ, PK, ML, LG, KM, MKK, TG, MO, AP,  
661 MS, NS, JS, MS, SV, AW, DW, and MW provided charcoal data, AW, AP, and JW provided pollen  
662 data. ED and MT performed the data analyses of charcoal and pollen data. JV analyzed Baltic age-  
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664 interpretation. ED wrote the paper with contributions from all authors.

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