

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

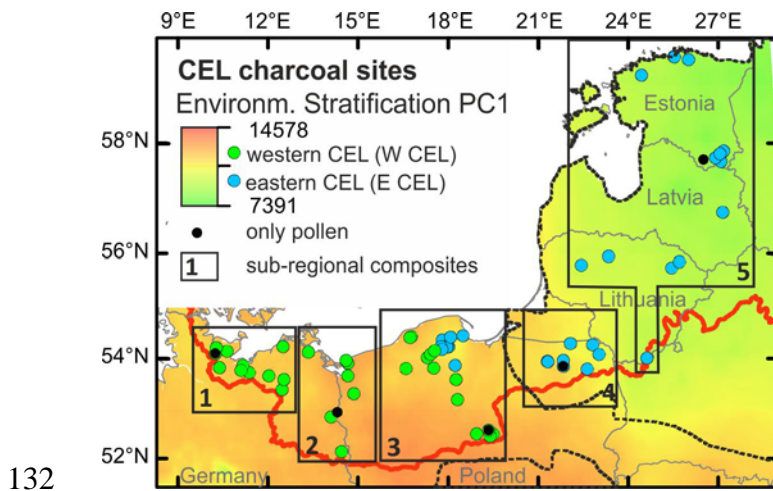
107 regimes and landscapes beyond the local scale remains poorly understood (Kaplan et al., 2016;
108 Marlon et al., 2013; Ruddiman, 2013; Vanni re et al., 2016). The impacts of future climate change,
109 such as changing fire risk, will be highly variable at the regional scale and dependent on
110 preconditions 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.

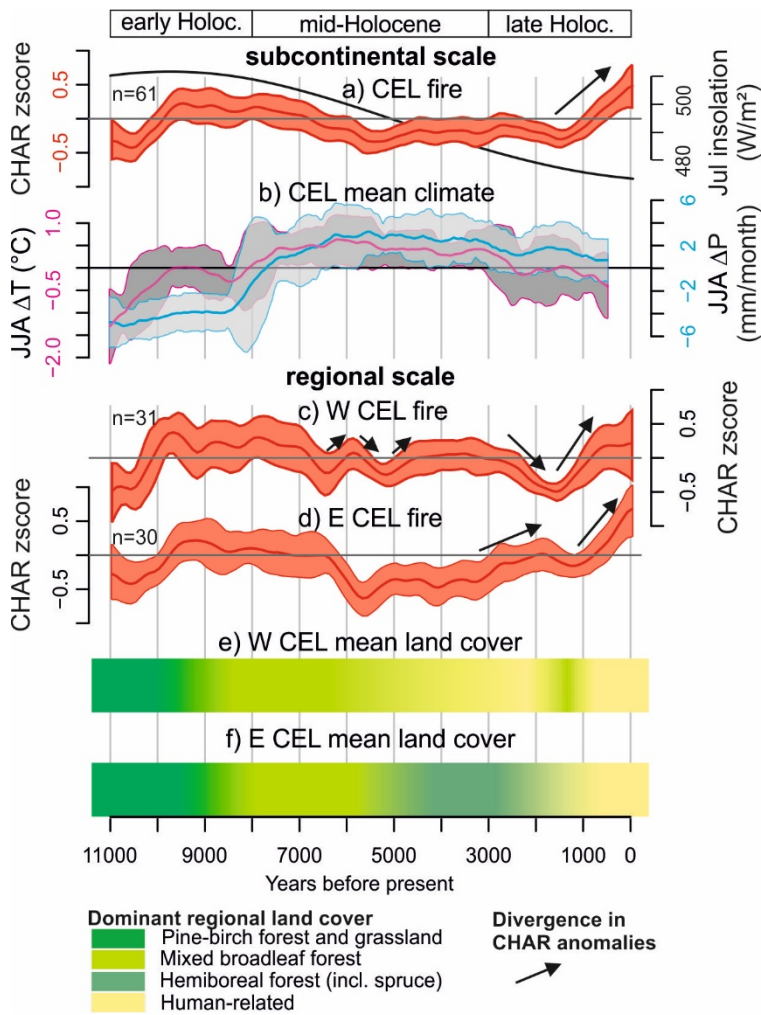
167 **3. Material and methods**

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 Δ T and JJA Δ 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).

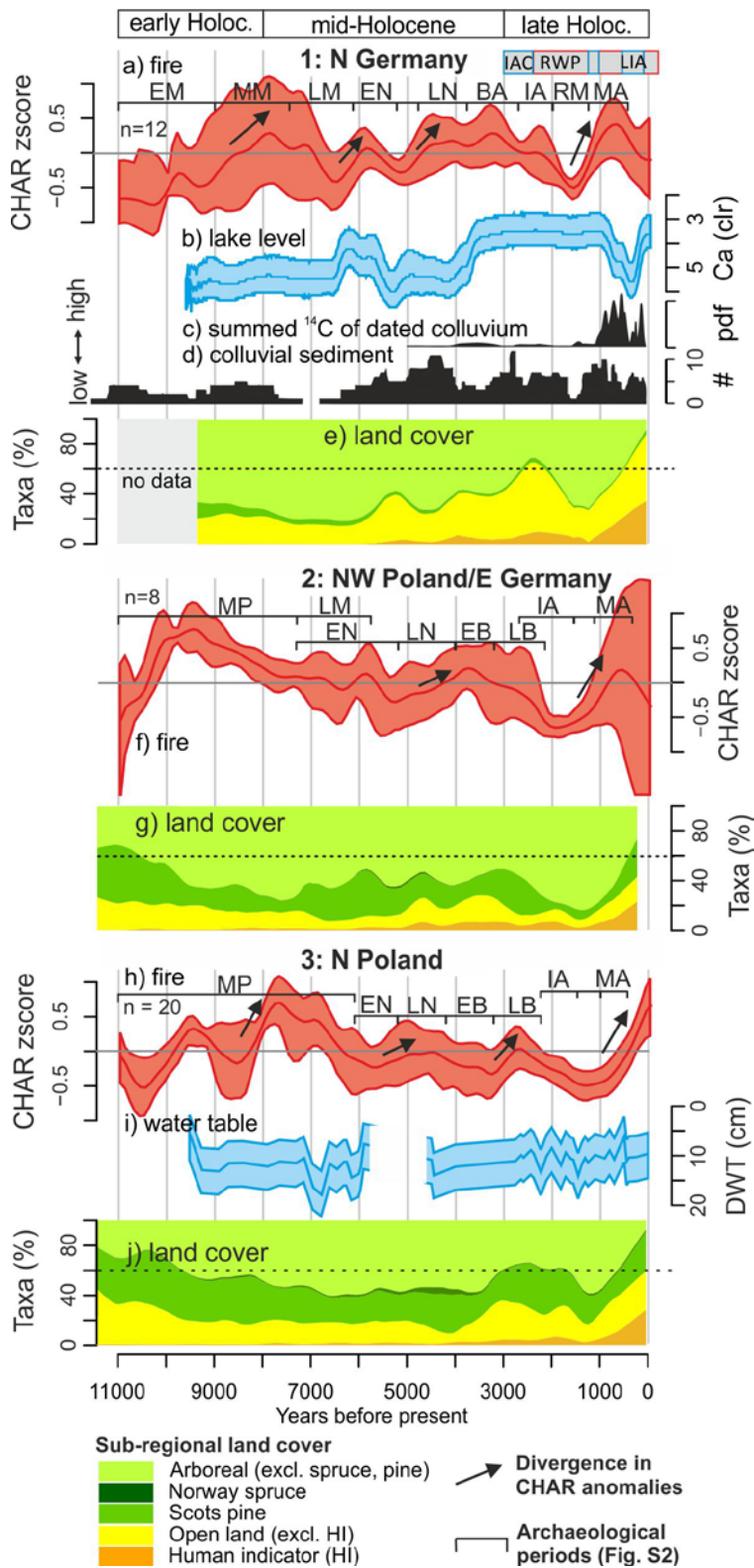
207 CHAR composite anomalies relative to the Holocene average of all CEL sites represent fire activity,
208 fire occurrence, or biomass burnt (Harrison et al., 2018; Marlon et al., 2016), with smaller confidence
209 intervals reflecting greater agreement between records, especially when only few samples 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

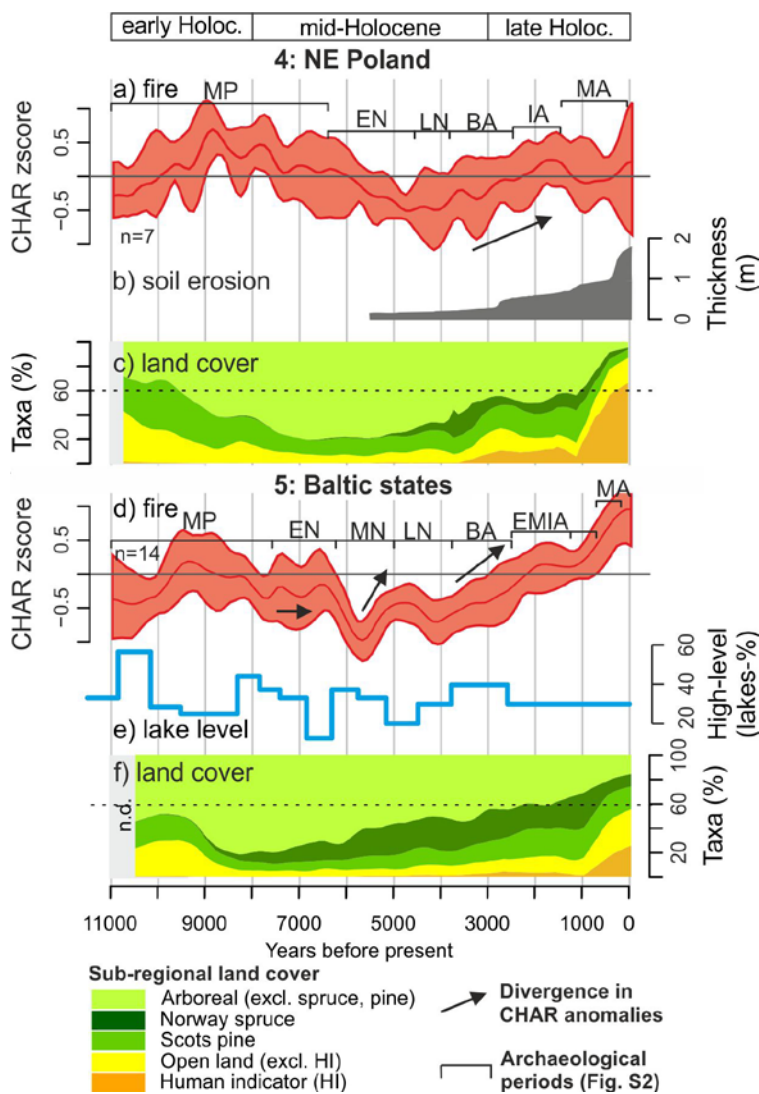
230 northeastern Poland, and the Baltic States (Figs. 1, 3, 4). This grouping is based on the west-to-east
231 climatic-ecological gradients that affect fuel flammability and considers general knowledge of
232 cultural histories (Fig. S2, Table S3). For example, the Lithuanian sites were grouped together 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 μ -XRF Calcium record, after Dietze et al. (2016); c)
 246 probability density function of ^{14}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 Gościąz (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 ¹⁴C 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 km² 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}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 2σ range of the ^{14}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; Väiliranta 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 CO₂ 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 (Feeser 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 (Feeser 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; Vannièrè 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 km²) 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).

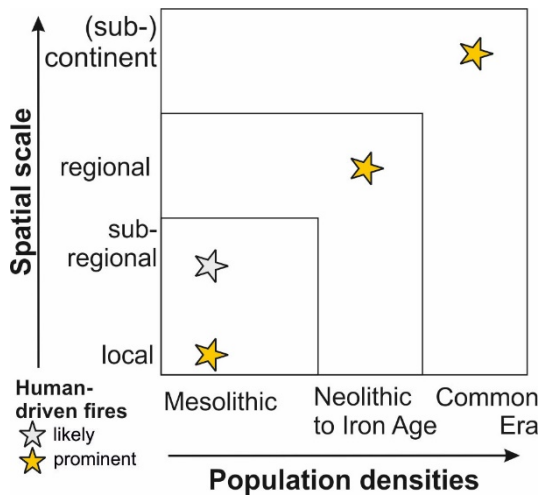
587 Hence, human land cover change could have significantly affected regional hydrological and
588 sediment budgets, especially since the Neolithic time (Dietze et al., 2016; Latałowa, 1992; Ruddiman
589 et al., 2015). Integration and compilation of land, ecosystem, and paleoclimate records over different
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-
663 depth models. KR analyzed CCSM3-TraCE21k model output. All authors participated in the data
664 interpretation. ED wrote the paper with contributions from all authors.

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