

# Late glacial palaeoclimate investigations at King Arthur's Cave and Sun Hole Cave

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## Abstract

King Arthur's Cave (Wye Valley) and Sun Hole Cave (Cheddar Gorge) currently provide the earliest dates for a human presence in the British Isles after the Last Glacial Maximum. The earliest phase of activity at these sites has been dated to c. 15.2 to 14.6 thousand years cal. BP, which spans the onset of the Late Glacial Interstadial, a major global climate transition characterised by rapidly warming temperatures. Here we present stable isotope data from horse (*Equus ferus*) teeth found in the zooarchaeological assemblages at the sites. We also report two new radiocarbon dates on specimens from King Arthur's Cave. The *Equus* tooth enamel provides a record of climatic conditions during the animals' tooth formation. Evidence of human modification of the teeth (cut marks and fractures) chronologically tie these palaeoclimatic records to the earliest post-LGM archaeology at the two sites, thus informing on the climatic and environmental context under which human activity in these areas took place. Results indicate that people were present at the two sites during a period of climatic warming, with temperatures perhaps only marginally colder than present day conditions. However, suboptimal environmental conditions are suggested and may indicate changing vegetation dynamics within the local landscape.

## Introduction

King Arthur's Cave (Wye Valley, Herefordshire, fig. 1) and Sun Hole Cave (Cheddar Gorge, Somerset, fig. 1) provide the earliest dated human presence in the British Isles following the Last Glacial Maximum (LGM). An extensive radiocarbon dating programme targeting human remains and culturally modified faunal material has placed people at the sites at around 15.2 to 14.6 thousand years cal. BP (Jacobi and Higham, 2011). This coincides with a major global climate transition (the end of Greenland Stadial 2 (GS-2.1a) and the start of the

39 Late Glacial Interstadial (GI-1e) (Rasmussen et al., 2014)), and it is not currently clear whether  
40 human reoccupation of southwest Britain occurred prior to, during, or after the period of  
41 increasing temperatures. Here we investigate the climate and environment local to King  
42 Arthur's Cave and Sun Hole Cave during this phase of human activity, through stable isotope  
43 ( $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ) analysis of horse (*Equus ferus*) tooth enamel carbonate. The proliferation of  
44 horse remains in the faunal assemblages excavated from the two sites, many bearing marks  
45 of cultural modifications (cut marks and fractures), indicates horse was a key prey species  
46 exploited in both regions. Several of the teeth analysed in this study show such human-made  
47 fractures, thus the climatic and environmental data generated are directly linked to periods of  
48 human presence at both sites.

49

## 50 **Background**

51 King Arthur's Cave is located in the Wye Valley in Herefordshire (fig. 1). First excavated  
52 in the 1870s, further excavations were conducted by UBSS between 1925-1929 and in 1952,  
53 and by Nick Barton in the 1990s (Taylor, 1928, ApSimon, 1992, Barton, 1997). The UBSS  
54 excavations recovered large faunal and lithic assemblages from stratified deposits.  
55 Palaeolithic artefacts from the site have been described as Late Upper Palaeolithic in  
56 character and include bi-truncated trapezoidal backed blades ('Cheddar points') (ApSimon,  
57 1992; Jacobi and Higham, 2011). The Late Glacial faunal assemblage includes horse and red  
58 deer remains that show evidence of cut marks and cultural fractures, indicating exploitation  
59 and processing of these species by humans. Radiocarbon dating indicates that there were  
60 multiple, most likely sporadic, phases of human activity at the site. The earliest phase of  
61 human activity, predominately associated with wild horse exploitation, has been dated to  
62 between 15.2 and 14.7 thousand years cal. BP and its duration most likely did not exceed a  
63 few hundred years in total (fig. 2) (Jacobi and Higham, 2011).

64 Sun Hole Cave is a small fissure cave located in Cheddar Gorge, Somerset (fig. 1).  
65 Several excavations took place at the site during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which yielded small faunal  
66 and lithic assemblages. Unfortunately, some of this material was destroyed during a fire at the  
67 UBSSM in 1940. Of the small number of artefacts that remain, key tool-forms that represent  
68 the earliest Late Upper Palaeolithic technology in Britain are present (Jacobi and Higham  
69 2009; 2011). Among the surviving faunal assemblage are culturally modified horse teeth and  
70 bones, and most significantly, a human ulna. Radiocarbon dating of this material places  
71 human presence at Sun Hole between 15.1 and 14.6 thousand years cal. BP, although as  
72 with King Arthur's Cave, activity at the site may have been limited in duration to only a few  
73 hundred years (fig. 2) (Jacobi and Higham, 2011).

74 The dates of human activity at King Arthur's Cave and Sun Hole Cave span the onset  
75 of the Late Glacial Interstadial (GI-1), which occurred at c. 14.7 thousand years BP, based on

76 the Greenland Ice Core Chronology (Rasmussen et al., 2014). During this time global air  
77 temperatures rose rapidly, resulting in significant biotic responses, such as changes in floral  
78 and faunal compositions and an increase in biodiversity in some regions (Binney et al., 2017;  
79 Kindler et al., 2014; Lister and Stuart, 2008). However, the timing and magnitude of these  
80 climatic changes and environmental responses have long been known to be regionally  
81 variable (e.g. Coope and Lemdahl, 1995; Walker et al., 1994; 2003). Within the British Isles  
82 there have been numerous studies into Late Glacial climate and environment (e.g. Lowe et  
83 al., 1999, Brooks and Langdon, 2014, Elias and Matthews, 2014), but there is a paucity of  
84 records that span the stadial-interstadial transition and that can be linked to the archaeological  
85 record. This is partly due to the major changes in sedimentation regimes and biological  
86 productivity that characterise the GS-2.1a to GI-1 transition.

87         Establishing the climatic and environmental context of human activity at King Arthur's  
88 Cave and Sun Hole Cave is particularly important for understanding the subsistence  
89 strategies, mobility/settlement patterns, and landscape experiences of these early colonising  
90 populations. In this study we use stable isotope ( $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ) analysis of horse tooth enamel  
91 carbonate from King Arthur's Cave and Sun Hole Cave to infer climatic and environmental  
92 conditions local to the sites. The oxygen ( $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ ) and carbon ( $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ) isotope signature of tooth  
93 enamel relates to the vegetation and water the animal consumed during the period of tooth  
94 formation, which is linked to prevailing climatic and environmental conditions in the vicinity of  
95 the animal's habitat and is influenced by animal physiology and behaviour (Pederzani and  
96 Britton, 2019). Horse physiology necessitates regular access to drinking water and their  
97 behavioural ecology favours landscapes with grass and sedge vegetation (Crane et al., 1997;  
98 King, 2002). Horse teeth form over several years, developing progressively from the occlusal  
99 surface to the root, and thus provide the opportunity to examine seasonally-resolved climate  
100 information (Bendrey et al. 2014; Hoppe et al. 2004; Sharp and Cerling, 1998). In mid-latitude  
101 environments horse enamel  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  reflects the  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  of meteoric water; variations in which are  
102 primarily driven by air temperature (Feranec et al. 2009; Rozanski et al., 1992). Under these  
103 environmental conditions, higher  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values typically reflect warmer temperatures, and lower  
104  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values indicate colder temperatures. Enamel  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  reflects the vegetation in a horse's  
105 diet. In the context of the British Isles, where horses would have a diet composed exclusively  
106 of plants following the  $\text{C}_3$  photosynthetic pathway, vegetation  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  is predominantly influenced  
107 by environmental factors such as water availability, temperature, and light and nutrient levels,  
108 with higher plant  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values indicating more water- and/or nutritionally-stressed environments  
109 (Koch 1998; Kohn 2010).

110

## 111 **Materials and Methods**

112 Four horse teeth from King Arthur's Cave and two from Sun Hole Cave were selected  
113 for analysis (table 1). Three of the King Arthur's Cave teeth (UPN-272, UPN-275, UPN-280)  
114 bear characteristic traverse fractures, produced by percussive blows and indicative of bone  
115 marrow extraction (Jacobi and Higham, 2011), while the fourth (UPN-276) was included in this  
116 study as it had previously been radiocarbon dated (OxA-6732  $12150 \pm 100$   $^{14}\text{C}$  yr BP; Stevens  
117 and Hedges, 2004). UPN-272, UPN-275, and UPN-280 are likely to date to the same phase  
118 of activity at the site, coming from the 'mammoth layer' (Taylor, 1928), which corresponds to  
119 unit 3c in later excavations (ApSimon, 1992). We selected one of these teeth (UPN-280) for  
120 radiocarbon dating. UPN-276 comes from the '1<sup>st</sup> hearth' layer and has been dated to a later  
121 period at the site. However, there have been significant methodological improvements in  
122 sample preparation for radiocarbon dating since the OxA-6732 date was produced, which for  
123 Late Glacial samples often result in more precise, older dates than previous determinations  
124 (Jacobi and Higham, 2011). We therefore decided to re-date UPN-276, to test if it were  
125 comparable in age to the other King Arthur's Cave samples. Neither of the two samples (UPN-  
126 266, UPN-267) from Sun Hole Cave show evidence of human processing, but both come from  
127 the Late Glacial Pleistocene layers (Collcutt et al. 1981) at the site, from which the human ulna  
128 and culturally-modified fauna was excavated.

129 Of the six teeth selected for analysis three are third molars (M3), one is a third or fourth  
130 premolar (P3/P4), one is a second molar (M2), and one is a first or second molar (M1/M2)  
131 (table 1). Horse tooth development and enamel mineralisation occurs sequentially; the M1  
132 mineralises from around 0 to 24 months of age; M2 and M3 mineralisation occurs between  
133 approximately 9 and 35 months, and 24 and 52 months of age, respectively; P3 and P4  
134 mineralise between approximately 15 and 34 months, and 21 and 48 months, respectively  
135 (Hoppe et al., 2004). As horses are typically fully weaned by the age of 9-12 months (Duncan,  
136 1992) it is possible that our M1/M2 and M2 samples (UPN-266 and UPN-272) may at least  
137 partly be influenced by milk consumption, which would offset  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  relative to adult  
138 values (Wright and Schwarcz, 1998).

139 For stable isotope analysis, the surface of each tooth was cleaned via mechanical  
140 abrasion prior to sampling. Sequential enamel samples were then collected along the growth  
141 axis of each tooth at intervals of c.3mm. Samples were taken through the whole depth of the  
142 enamel, stopping as close to the enamel-dentine junction as possible. The enamel  
143 mineralisation process varies in duration across the tooth (Bendrey et al. 2015). Taking a  
144 sample through the entire depth of enamel at a given point along the tooth growth axis  
145 provides a homogenised sample; in horse this may represent several weeks to months  
146 (Higgins and MacFadden, 2004). Thus, while down-tooth  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  variations represent  
147 seasonal dietary/environmental variations, the original input signal may be dampened by the  
148 mineralisation process.

149 For each tooth, enamel samples were taken from the cusp that showed the best level  
150 of preservation. Nonetheless, several of the teeth sampled were poorly preserved. Sample  
151 locations were measured relative to the enamel-root junction (ERJ), or the lowest preserved  
152 point of the tooth if the ERJ was absent, as was the case for the culturally fractured teeth. The  
153 absence of the ERJ in several samples means no common anchor point exists across the  
154 teeth and as such, the isotopic profiles cannot be used to infer the timing of any seasonal  
155 patterns (e.g. to assess season of birth). However, this does not prevent assessment of  
156 variations in the magnitude of seasonal differences. Further truncation of the isotope profiles  
157 may exist due to tooth wear of the occlusal surface.

158 Enamel samples (c. 5-7 mg) were treated with 0.1M acetic acid (0.1ml/mg) for 4 hours  
159 to remove potential diagenetic carbonates, and then thoroughly rinsed and freeze dried.  
160 Isotopic analysis was performed using a Gas Bench II coupled to a Delta<sup>Plus</sup> XP IRMS at the  
161 Bloomsbury Environmental Isotope Facility, UCL, with each sample being reacted with 100%  
162 orthophosphoric acid at 45°C for 4 hours in individual vessels. Results are reported relative to  
163 the international standard VPDB calibrated using the IAEA NBS19 standard, and long-term  
164 analytical precision is  $\pm 0.04\text{‰}$  and  $\pm 0.08\text{‰}$  for  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ , respectively. A full list of all  
165 stable isotope results is available as a supplementary file from either the UBSS or directly  
166 from the authors.

167 For radiocarbon dating, powdered dentine samples (c. 300 - 800mg) were collected  
168 from samples UPN-276 and UPN-280. The dentine was processed at UCL following the  
169 Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit (ORAU) collagen extraction protocol (Brock et al., 2010).  
170 The sample was first demineralised in 0.5M HCl for 24 hours, then treated with 0.1M NaOH  
171 for 30 minutes to remove possible contaminating humic acids, followed by a further 0.5M HCl  
172 wash for 1 hour. The sample was then heated to 75°C in pH3 water for 48 hours, passed  
173 through a 9-um EeziTM filter and then through an ultrafilter (>30kD), and finally frozen and  
174 dried. The processed collagen was then submitted to ORAU for AMS analysis. Because the  
175 pre-treatment of the radiocarbon samples was done at UCL, it was necessary to correct for  
176 any potential contamination introduced into the samples during the pre-treatment process.  
177 Corrections were calculated through a series of measurements on known age samples to  
178 determine both the age and amount of carbon added to the sample during pre-treatment,  
179 following the method of Wood, et al. (2010).

180

## 181 **Results and Interpretations**

182 UPN-280 was dated to  $12,410 \pm 50$  <sup>14</sup>C yr BP (OxA-V-2754-50) giving a corrected date  
183 of  $12,450 \pm 50$  <sup>14</sup>C yr BP, which corresponds to 15,006 – 14,205 cal. BP (table 2). This date  
184 overlaps with the previously published radiocarbon dates on culturally modified horse remains  
185 from King Arthur's Cave (Jacobi and Higham, 2011), falling at the younger end of the range

186 of dates. UPN-276 was dated to  $12,365 \pm 55$   $^{14}\text{C}$  yr BP (OxA-V-2797-24) giving a corrected  
187 date of  $12,410 \pm 50$   $^{14}\text{C}$  yr BP, which corresponds to 14,846 – 14,168 cal. BP (table 2). This  
188 date also overlaps with the radiocarbon dates on culturally-modified horse remains from the  
189 site and is around 450 years older than the previous date (OxA-6732) determination for this  
190 specimen (Stevens and Hedges, 2004). The overlap indicates the samples may come from  
191 the same phase of human activity at the site as the other dated specimens, although the  
192 possibility of more than one phase being represented within the range of dates cannot be ruled  
193 out.

194 Carbon stable isotopes results vary between different teeth, but no site-based  
195 differences are apparent (table 3, figure 3). Tooth-averaged  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values range from -12.3‰  
196 to -10.9‰, while overall variability in the samples analysed ranged from -12.6‰ to -10.6‰.  
197 Modern large herbivore tooth enamel  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  is typically enriched relative to the dietary intake by  
198 approximately  $14.1 \pm 0.5$  ‰ (Cerling and Harris, 1999). Using this enrichment factor, an  
199 estimation of  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  dietary intake of  $-26.7 \pm 0.5$  to  $-24.7 \pm 0.5$  ‰ can be made, which is similar  
200 to the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values recorded for fossil seeds dating to the Late Glacial Interstadial from the  
201 Llanilid sedimentary sequence, South Wales (Lowe et al., 1999). Accounting for the influence  
202 of changing atmospheric  $\text{CO}_2$   $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ , these estimated Late Glacial  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  vegetation values are  
203 moderately higher than  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values observed in a modern British grassland environment  
204 (Dungait et al., 2008), and higher still than  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values observed in a modern British woodland  
205 environment (Lockhead et al., 2008). Horse are primarily grazers, feeding on grasses and  
206 sedges in a range of habitats including open grasslands, meadows and woodland  
207 environments (Salter and Hudson, 1979; Crane et al., 1997; Pozdnyakova et al., 2011). A  
208 range of habitats would have been available to the horse at the time of the Late Upper  
209 Palaeolithic occupation of King Arthur's Cave and Sun Hole Cave; pollen records are  
210 dominated by open-environment taxa such as grasses, sedges and herbs, but also contain  
211 evidence of limited juniper scrub, willow and birch (Walker et al., 2003; Hill et al., 2008). The  
212 higher  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  dietary estimates, when compared to  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values measured in both modern British  
213 grassland and woodland vegetation, suggest that growing conditions may have been less  
214 favourable than today, possibly due to lower nutrient or water availability. This could be due  
215 to lower precipitation amounts, higher temperatures, and/or less developed soils. The species  
216 composition of local flora inferred from pollen assemblages has also been used to infer limited  
217 soil development at the time (Walker et al., 2003).

218 The difference in  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  between different animals, particularly between UPN-272 and  
219 the other samples, represents variations in the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  of diet between the animals. UPN-272 is  
220 one of the teeth (the other being UPN-266) we identified as potentially containing a milk  
221 signature. In humans, breastfeeding results in higher tooth enamel  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ , while  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  is lower

222 in infants prior to the introduction of solid foods (Wright and Schwarcz, 1998). While the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$   
223 results from UPN-272 are indeed lower than the other samples, we argue that this is not due  
224 to a milk influence. Horses begin grazing from birth, steadily increasing the proportion of  
225 vegetation in the diet and decreasing rates of suckling throughout the first 6-12 months of life  
226 (Crowell-Davis et al., 1985). This would produce a down-tooth  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  profile that steadily  
227 increased in value; this is not the pattern we observe for UPN-272 (fig. 3). Further, if suckling  
228 were influencing this sample, its  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values could be expected to be higher than the other  
229 samples; results show this is not the case (table 3, fig. 3). There is also no evidence of a  
230 suckling signal in UPN-266 (table 3, fig. 3). As such, we maintain that the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  results reflect  
231 an environmentally-derived dietary signature for all teeth sampled. Differences between intra-  
232 tooth  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  profiles could be produced by animals exploiting different micro-habitats within the  
233 landscape or could represent short-term variability in environmental conditions, as each tooth  
234 is very unlikely to have formed during the exact same two-year period.

235 No clear pattern of down-tooth  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  variation is apparent in the data. There are various  
236 possible interpretations; the response of vegetation to seasonal climate extremes may not  
237 have been sufficient to influence its  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  to any great degree; or horses may have consumed  
238 different vegetation in different seasons, effectively over-writing any climate induced seasonal  
239 variation in vegetation  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ ; or animal physiological and tooth mineralisation processes have  
240 dampened the enamel  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  relative to the dietary input.

241 Average oxygen stable isotope results are similar across all analysed teeth. Tooth  
242 averaged values range from -5.9‰ to -5.3‰; the overall variability in recorded values ranges  
243 from -6.7‰ to -4.3‰ (table 3). While not statistically significant, minimum  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values from  
244 King Arthur's Cave for UPN-272, -275, and -280 are lower than for the Sun Hole Cave samples  
245 (fig. 4). This may be noteworthy as it suggests that these animals at King Arthur's lived under  
246 colder climatic conditions, an interpretation that appears to support King Arthur's Cave being  
247 occupied during a slightly earlier time period than Sun Hole Cave. UPN-276 from King Arthur's  
248 Cave displays higher  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ , comparable to the Sun Hole Cave data (fig. 4). While its date (OxA-  
249 V-2797-24) overlaps with the other King Arthur's Cave horse dates, it falls at the younger end  
250 of the date range. Again, this could be indicative of a slightly later, warmer climate period,  
251 although no firm conclusions can be drawn from the available data.

252 The magnitude of down-tooth  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  variation, which indicates seasonal climate  
253 variations, ranges from 1.4‰ to 1.9‰, with the exception of UPN-272, which displays a  
254 considerably lower magnitude of within tooth variation (0.8‰). Notably, this is the tooth that is  
255 also the outlier in the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  data. While the overall variation recorded in the enamel  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  is  
256 much lower than the variability observed in present day precipitation  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  in the British Isles,  
257 intra-tooth variation does approximate the modern day long-term average difference between

258 summer and winter precipitation  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  (c. 1.5‰, Darling et al, 2003). The relatively consistent  
259 magnitude of down-tooth variation thus likely indicates seasonal variations in drinking water  
260  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ , dampened by tooth mineralisation processes, which are most likely linked to the  
261 seasonal temperature cycle.

262 Estimates of drinking water  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and palaeotemperatures can be made through a  
263 series of known quantitative relationships between enamel  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and meteoric  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ , and  
264 meteoric  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and air temperature, with corrections applied for glacial-interglacial changes in  
265 ocean  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and geographical gradients in meteoric  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  (Arppe and Karhu, 2010; Bryant et  
266 al., 1996; Coplen et al., 2002; Darling et al., 1997; Degaldo Heurtas et al., 1995; Pryor et al.,  
267 2014; Rozanski et al., 1992). However, it should be recognised that with each data conversion,  
268 associated uncertainties increase (Pryor et al., 2014). Further, there is no single standardised  
269 method to relate meteoric  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  to air temperature (see Pryor et al., 2014 for discussion), and  
270 no consensus on the most appropriate way to account for potential differences between  
271 modern and past meteoric  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ –temperature relationships. As such, while geographical  
272 gradients in meteoric  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ –temperatures appear to have remained remarkably similar since  
273 the Late Pleistocene for the British Isles (Darling et al., 2003), all estimates should be treated  
274 with a degree of caution.

275 Our data estimates drinking water  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  for the horses from King Arthur’s Cave and  
276 Sun Hole Cave to have averaged  $-8.4 \pm 0.7\text{‰}$ , which may have ranged on a seasonal basis  
277 from around  $-10.2 \pm 2.5 \text{‰}$  to  $-6.7 \pm 2.5 \text{‰}$  (see supplementary data file for full details; a copy  
278 can be requested from UBSS or directly from the authors). A high degree of uncertainty is  
279 associated with the seasonal estimations, and it is likely the true variation in seasonal values  
280 has been altered by the enamel mineralisation process (Hoppe et al., 2004). Groundwater  
281  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  in southwest England at the end of the Late Pleistocene has been estimated to be  
282 around  $-8\text{‰}$ , in contrast to present day measurements of around  $-7\text{‰}$  (Darling et al., 2003;  
283 1997). Within the British Isles, where evaporative enrichment of surface water is low, long term  
284 precipitation and groundwater  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  have been shown to be reasonable approximations of one  
285 another (Darling et al., 2003). We therefore suggest that our data represents surface water  
286  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  during the period of human activity at Kings Arthur’s Cave and Sun Hole Cave. Based  
287 on this, average air temperatures can be estimated. Depending on the method used (see  
288 supplementary file for details) temperature estimates range from  $7.6 \pm 2.2 \text{ °C}$  to  $10.1 \pm 1.4 \text{ °C}$   
289 (Arppe and Karhu, 2010; Pryor et al., 2014; Rozanski et al., 1992). While there is a high degree  
290 of uncertainty around these estimates, all are lower than the current (1961-1990) average  
291 annual temperature of  $12.8\text{ °C}$  for southwest England and Wales (Met Office, 2017).

292 Overall, our results suggest that local to King Arthur’s Cave and Sun Hole Cave, at the  
293 time of the post-LGM recolonisation of the British Isles, temperatures had increased



294 significantly from their low during the LGM at least at an annual average scale. Temperatures  
295 were approaching, but were still lower than, modern annual averages. We cannot reliably  
296 assess seasonal temperature variability based on our results, due to the dampening  
297 introduced by the enamel mineralisation process and the large uncertainties associated with  
298 enamel-based palaeotemperature estimates (Arppe and Karhu 2010; Hoppe et al., 2004;  
299 Pryor et al., 2014). The elevated carbon isotope values in the vegetation signal, relative to the  
300 present day, likely indicate a nutrient and/or water limited growing environment within the  
301 habitats the horse were feeding. The oxygen isotope results indicate that this was unlikely to  
302 have been caused by temperature extremes, and therefore may indicate more arid  
303 environmental conditions, or less developed/more minerogenic soils. The variability observed  
304 between different teeth suggests that year to year conditions were variable, with fluctuations  
305 in temperatures and moisture levels apparent.

306

### 307 **Environmental and Archaeological Conclusions**

308 The occupation of the British Isles after the LGM is largely considered as a north-  
309 westward expansion of Magdalenian people from potential areas such as the Paris Basin, the  
310 Belgium Ardennes, and the German Rhineland. These were mobile groups who utilised  
311 seasonal hunting camps, and whose settlement and subsistence strategies appear to have  
312 been determined by resource availability, particularly of large prey such as horse and reindeer  
313 (Enloe & Audouze 2010; Leesch et al. 2012; Miller, 2012). As King Arthur's Cave and Sun  
314 Hole Cave are situated in valleys, it is conceivable that their function may have been as  
315 temporary bases for targeting nearby wild horse populations. The environmental conditions  
316 would have been of great importance to the behavioural ecology of horse in these landscapes  
317 and therefore a factor in human resource exploitation decisions.

318 Overall, the climate and environment local to King Arthur's Cave and Sun Hole Cave  
319 at 15.2 – 14.6 ka was relatively mild, although most probably still cooler than present day. The  
320 vegetation appears to have been experiencing some degree of environmental stress, which  
321 we believe most likely relates to nutrient- and water- limiting conditions. Based on our results,  
322 it appears temperatures rose earlier in southwest Britain than in Greenland (c. 14.7ka), which  
323 corroborates findings from other palaeoenvironmental studies (e.g. Walker et al., 2003).  
324 However, this is the first study to directly link such palaeoenvironmental inferences with the  
325 human reoccupation of the British Isles after the LGM. Our data indicates King Arthur's Cave  
326 was occupied under colder climate conditions than Sun Hole Cave, which could support the  
327 interpretation that King Arthur's Cave was occupied at a slightly earlier time than at Sun Hole  
328 Cave.

329 Regardless of the possible chronological differences between the two sites, the  
330 presence of horse in both areas indicates that vegetation was sufficiently developed to support

331 large herbivore populations. The climatic warming associated with the Late Glacial Interstadial  
332 has been linked to the gradual replacement of pioneer steppic plants by more shrub and  
333 woodland species (Pettit and White, 2012; Walker et al., 1994). However, the dominance of  
334 horse in the faunal assemblages, who have a dietary preference for vegetation types typically  
335 found in open landscapes, combined with the environmental stress we interpret from our data,  
336 suggests a still relatively marginal landscape, lacking in ecological maturity.

337

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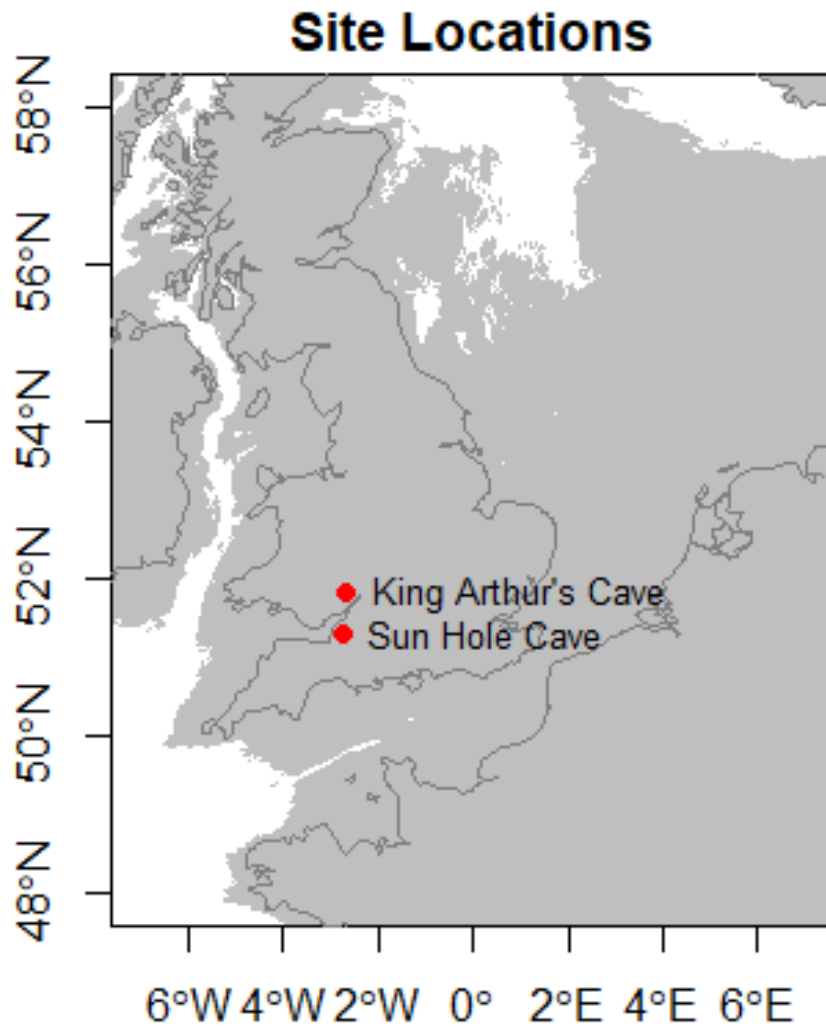


Figure 1. Map of Britain and adjacent areas of northwest Europe, showing location of King Arthur's Cave and Sun Hole Cave. Approximate position of the palaeocoastlines for GS-2.1a/GI-1 (-80m below modern sea-level) is derived from Zickel et al. (2016).

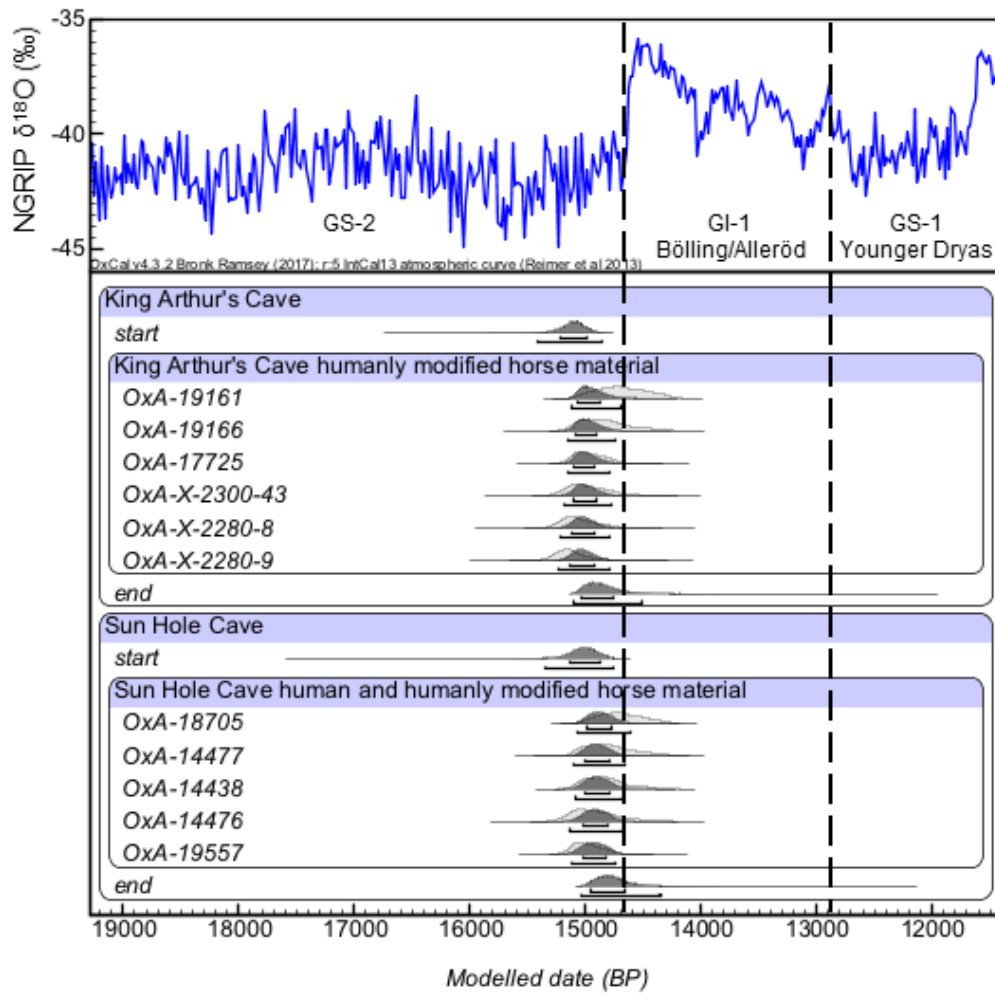


Figure 2. Modelled probability distribution of dated human and humanly modified *Equus ferus* remains from King Arthur's Cave and Sun Hole Cave. Dates originally published in Jacobi and Higham (2011). The Greenland ice core (NGRIP)  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  record is displayed for comparison. Human presence in the British Isles appears to occur prior to the warming signal in the NGRIP record.

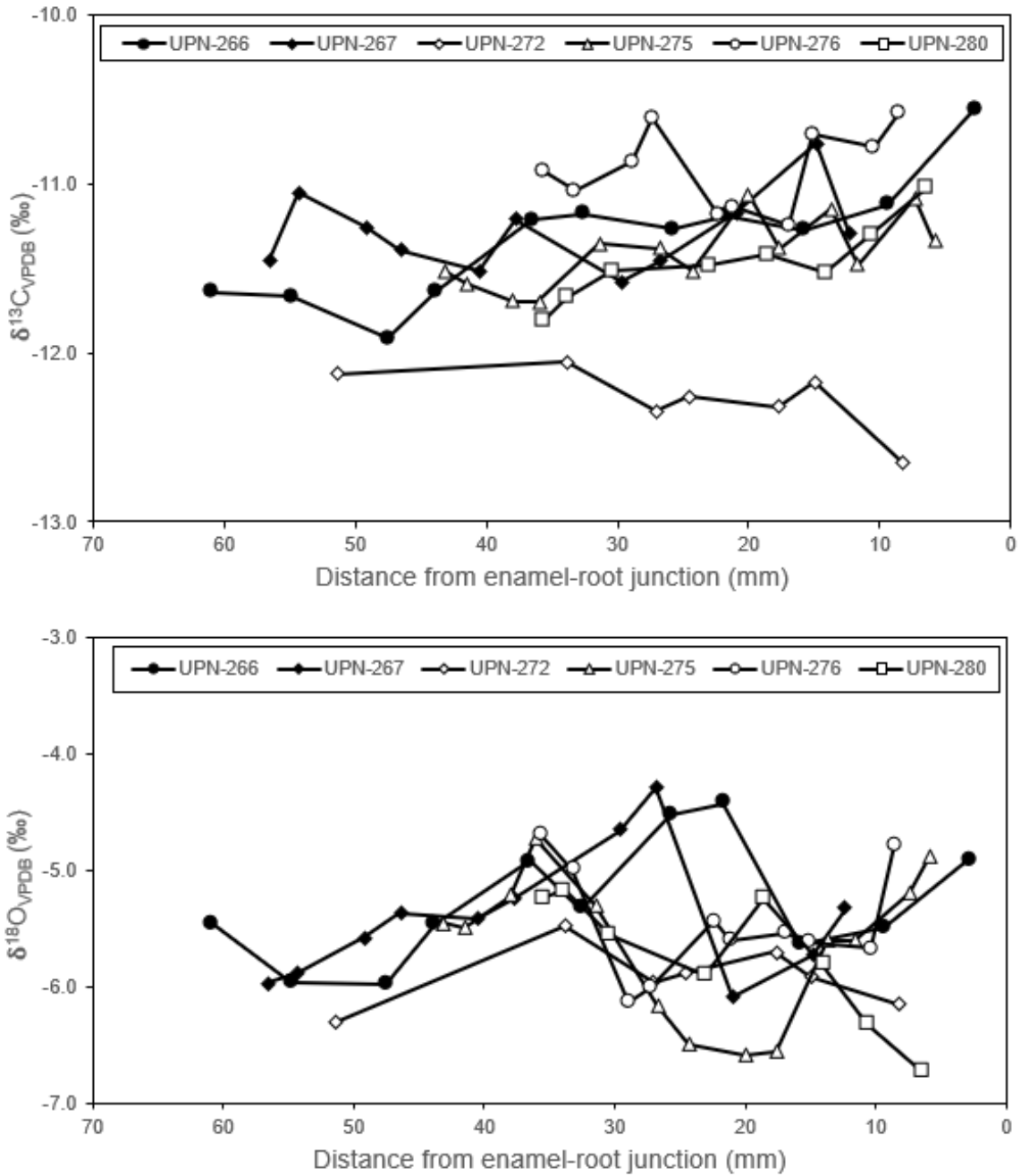


Figure 3.  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  intra-tooth profiles for each *Equus ferus* tooth sampled. Open symbols indicate samples from King Arthur's Cave, filled symbols indicate samples from Sun Hole Cave



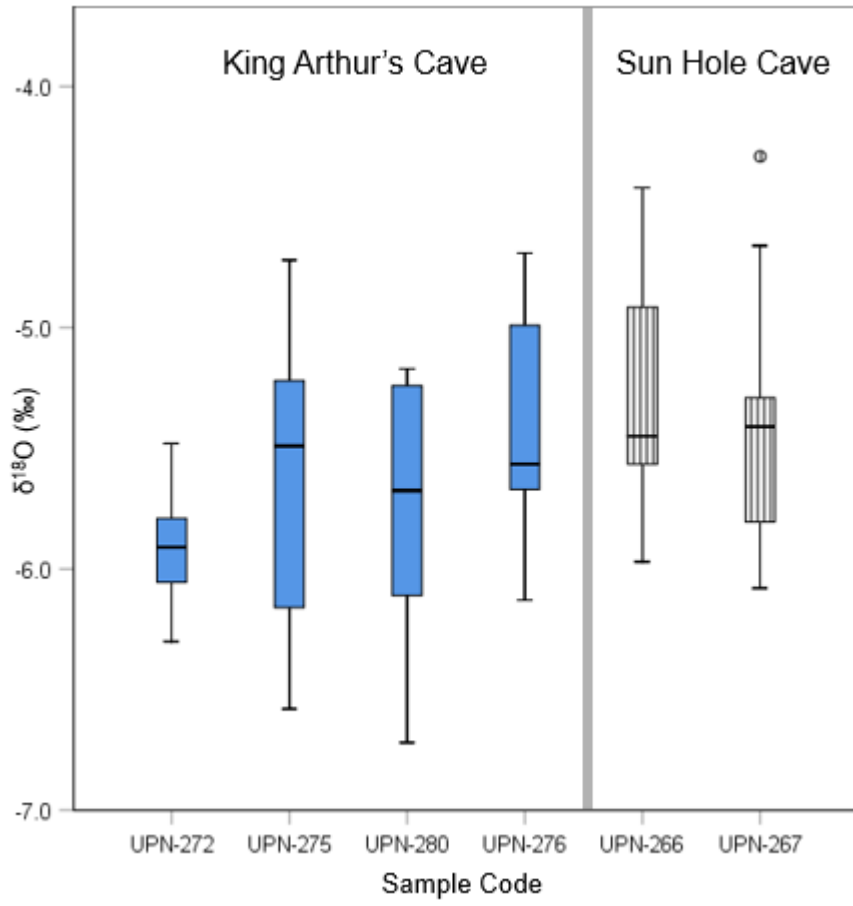


Figure 4. Boxplot of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values for each tooth.

Table 1. *Equus ferus* teeth from Sun Hole Cave and King Arthur's Cave, analysed in this study. Date references:<sup>1</sup>Stevens and Hedges, 2004;  
<sup>2</sup>this study.

Site	Sample code	Museum code	Species and element	Excavation context	<sup>14</sup> C AMS lab code	<sup>14</sup> C AMS date
Sun Hole Cave	UPN-266	M5.2/14.1	<i>Equus ferus</i> left M <sup>2</sup>	5th/6 <sup>th</sup> ft Pleistocene. C/6 under W wall		
Sun Hole Cave	UPN-267	M5.2/30	<i>Equus ferus</i> right M <sup>3</sup>	7th ft Pleistocene		
King Arthur's Cave	UPN-272	W.2.21/723	<i>Equus ferus</i> left M <sub>1</sub> /M <sub>2</sub>	?Mammoth layer. 7.9.27		
King Arthur's Cave	UPN-275	W2.21/1123	<i>Equus ferus</i> left M <sub>3</sub>	?Mammoth layer. 23.6.29		
King Arthur's Cave	UPN-276	W2.21/285	<i>Equus ferus</i> ?left M <sup>3</sup>	1st hearth	OxA-6732 <sup>1</sup> OxA-V-2797-24 <sup>2</sup>	12,150 ± 100 12,365 ± 55
King Arthur's Cave	UPN-280	W2.21/726	<i>Equus ferus</i> left P <sub>3</sub> /P <sub>4</sub>	?Mammoth layer. 7.9.27	OxA-V-2754-50 <sup>2</sup>	12,410 ± 50

Table 2. AMS radiocarbon data from UPN-276 and UPN-280.

Sample code	Collagen yield (%)	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)	$\delta^{15}\text{N}$ (‰)	Atomic C/N	14C AMS lab code	$^{14}\text{C}$ AMS date	Corrected age BP	Age calBP 68.2% probability	Age calBP 95.4% probability	Reference
UPN-276	not given	-20.4	1.3	3.3	OxA-6732	$12,150 \pm 100$	n/a	14,142-13,846	14,388-13,747	Stevens and Hedges, 2004
	3.0	-20.4	1.6	3.3	OxA-V-2797-24	$12,365 \pm 55$	$12,410 \pm 50$	14,664-14,292	14,846-14,168	This study
UPN-280	4.9	-21.3	0.3	3.2	OxA-V-2754-50	$12,410 \pm 50$	$12,450 \pm 50$	14,784-14,320	15,006-14,205	This study

Table 3. Summary of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  *Equus ferus* tooth enamel results.

Sample code	Sampled enamel length (mm)	n	Tooth $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰) average	Tooth $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰) maximum	Tooth $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰) minimum	Tooth $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰) range	Tooth $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰) average	Tooth $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰) maximum	Tooth $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰) minimum	Tooth $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰) range
UPN-266	61.0	11	-5.3	-4.4	-6.0	1.5	-11.3	-10.6	-11.9	1.4
UPN-267	56.6	11	-5.4	-4.3	-6.1	1.8	-11.3	-10.8	-11.6	0.8
UPN-272	51.5	7	-5.9	-5.5	-6.3	0.8	-12.3	-12.1	-12.6	0.6
UPN-275	43.2	13	-5.6	-4.7	-6.6	1.9	-11.4	-11.1	-11.7	0.6
UPN-276	35.7	10	-5.4	-4.7	-6.1	1.4	-10.9	-10.6	-11.2	0.7
UPN-280	35.6	8	-5.7	-5.2	-6.7	1.6	-11.5	-11.0	-11.8	0.8