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Title: Reflections on Gravettian firewood procurement near the Pavlov Hills, Czech Republic

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Abstract: This paper draws attention to firewood as a natural resource that was gathered, processed and consumed on a daily basis by Palaeolithic groups. Using Gravettian occupation of the Pavlovské Hills as a case study (dated to around 30,000 years B.P.), we investigate firewood availability using archaeological, palaeoenvironmental and ecological data, including making inferences from charcoal in Pavlovian hearths. The collated evidence suggests that while dead wood was likely readily available in woodland areas where humans had not recently foraged, longer term occupations - or repeated occupation of the same area by different groups - would have quickly exhausted naturally-occurring supplies. Once depleted, the deadwood pool may have taken several generations (~40-120 years) to recover enough to provide fuel for another base camp occupation. Such exhaustion of deadwood supplies is well attested ethnographically. Thus, we argue that Pavlovian groups likely managed firewood supplies using methods similar to those used by recent hunter-gatherers: through planned geographic mobility and by deliberately killing trees years in advance of when wood was required, so leaving time for the wood to dry out. Such management of fuel resources was, we argue, critical to human expansion into these cold, hitherto marginal, ecologies during the Late Glacial.

Highlights

- Firewood strongly influenced mobility and basecamp location in the Palaeolithic
- Unexplored wooded areas likely contained substantial firewood supplies
- Depleted deadwood pools required generations (40-120 years) to recover naturally
- Groups managed their deadwood supply by deliberately killing trees years in advance.

1 **Reflections on Gravettian firewood procurement near the**
2 **Pavlov Hills, Czech Republic**

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18 Introduction

19 The changing role of fire in different periods of the Palaeolithic remains hotly debated, with
20 some authors suggesting that Neanderthals and their forebears did not need or habitually use
21 fire to survive in northern latitudes of Europe (Sandgathe et al., 2011), while other recent
22 papers have continued to highlight the benefits of fire and its probable impact in the evolution
23 of modern human behaviour (Gowlett and Wrangham, 2013; Roebroeks and Villa, 2011;
24 Wiessner, 2014). By Upper Palaeolithic times, however, and especially in European mid-
25 upper latitudes, it is clear that fire was fundamental to a diverse range of activities and
26 capabilities relevant for life, potentially including lighting, heating, cooking, transformation
27 of raw materials such as lithics, manufacturing items of material culture, smoking of food,
28 curing of skins, hunting, scaring away dangerous scavengers attracted by hunting and
29 processing activities, repelling insects, felling trees, making smoke for technological,
30 medicinal or hallucinatory purposes, conducting various rituals or communicating (e.g. smoke
31 signals)(Beers, 2014; Binford, 1967; Olive and Taborin, 1989; Pullen, 2005; Tindale, 1974).
32 Indeed if a group had expected to have access to fire but at short notice did not (e.g. Tindale,
33 1974:71), the consequences are likely to be bad (cold, inability to cook food or dry clothes,
34 use fire-dependent technologies etc.). Key to fire success is provisioning sufficient fuel to
35 burn. Palaeolithic fuel provisioning has previously been considered from a range of
36 perspectives (Perlés, 1977; Théry-Parisot et al., 2009), including the selection and character of
37 different wood fuels (Basile et al., 2014; Solé et al., 2013; Théry-Parisot, 2002b; Villa et al.,
38 2002), green wood and dead wood mixing (Théry-Parisot and Henry, 2012) and mixing fuels
39 such as wood, bone and dung from large herbivores (Beresford-Jones et al., 2010; Heizer,
40 1963; Rhode et al., 1992; Théry-Parisot, 2002a). Rare examples of other Palaeolithic fuels
41 include coal (Klíma, 1956) and lignite (Théry-Parisot, 2002b), and a survey of ethnographic
42 literature attests to a range of other fuel possibilities including driftwood (Alix and Brewster,
43 2004; Weitzner, 1979:270), heather (Heizer, 1963:190; Stefansson, 1919:46), and shrubs
44 mixed with strips of animal fat (Boas, 1888:577).

45 For many Palaeolithic sites, however, the widespread occurrence of charcoal found in
46 association with hearths indicates that wood was a primary fuel component, almost certainly
47 due to its availability and superior raw material properties compared to other possible fuels.
48 Wood gathering will therefore have been an important part of everyday life during the
49 Palaeolithic, requiring more transportation labour per capita due to its bulk than most other
50 supplies such as lithic raw materials, or animal carcasses that provided several resources in
51 one package (MacLeod, 1925). Modelling firewood collection strategies thus offers another
52 potential window through which Palaeolithic occupation strategies and resource utilisation
53 across a landscape may be reconstructed and understood. Key to this is availability and
54 distribution of wood fuel. If firewood was widely and readily available to Palaeolithic groups,

55 firewood collection could have occurred incidentally as part of daily foraging activities near a
56 campsite, straight-forward calculations made to forward-plan fuel supplies for the duration of
57 stay, and little thought given to securing supplies when moving to a new campsite location.
58 Conversely, if firewood was a scarce resource, the location of firewood supplies would have
59 been an integral part of decision-making regarding the positioning of sites within a landscape
60 just as other resources such as water, prey or lithic raw materials, with supplies deliberately
61 managed or ‘curated’ through time (Heizer, 1963; Henry and Théry-Parisot, 2014).

62 This paper draws together varied evidence to reconsider this question of fuel
63 availability and explore its likely impact on European Upper Palaeolithic hunter-gatherers.
64 The chosen case study is the cluster of Gravettian occupations surrounding the Pavlovské
65 Hills, Czech Republic where large numbers of people appear to have gathered in residential
66 basecamps burning wood-fuelled fires. Using a combination of archaeological, ecological,
67 palaeoclimatic and ethnographic data, we argue that while dead wood was clearly available
68 near the Pavlov Hills, repeated and/or long-term occupation of basecamp sites for periods of
69 several months or more would likely have quickly exhausted naturally-occurring dead wood
70 supplies in the vicinity of these sites. A common response to this problem among modern
71 hunter-gatherer groups is the deliberate killing of healthy trees and branches (e.g. by ring-
72 barking), which are then left for a period of years for the wood to dry out before felling and
73 burning the tree as firewood (e.g. Alix and Brewster, 2004). Such a strategy is used by groups
74 that plan to return to a specific location in future years, requiring the complex logistical
75 forward-planning and organised movement over long timescales that is a hallmark of modern
76 humans (Gamble, 1998). We propose that Pavlovian groups may have practiced this strategy
77 of deliberate firewood curation as one important part of a range of adaptations enabling the
78 formation of the long-term settlement deposits that cover the northern slopes of the Pavlovské
79 Hills. We further highlight the role of firewood availability more generally in determining site
80 location in a landscape, and the relevance of firewood curation strategies for group mobility.
81 We begin with some general perspectives on fuel gathering in hunter-gatherer communities
82 before introducing our Pavlovian Hills case study.

83

84 Procuring firewood

85 Ethnographic reports indicate that firewood collection strategies generally follow a principle
86 of least effort model (Marston, 2009; Théry-Parisot, 2002b), involve planning and social
87 cooperation to a considerable extent and are inherently risk averse (Pullen, 2005). Different
88 activities requiring fire use flame, heat and smoke to varying degrees, which directly affects
89 which fuel is best suited to the job (Kephart, 1906); for example rotten wood may be used to
90 generate smoke for smoking hides, or a mix of green and dead wood may be used to slow a
91 fire down. There is thus a range of wood types that may be burned for different purposes with

92 no single characteristic for ‘good wood fuel’ (Henry and Théry-Parisot, 2014). When
93 selecting firewood that will combust easily, however, the single most important factor
94 mentioned cross-culturally in determining ‘good firewood’ is the low moisture content of the
95 wood (i.e. dead and dried out wood)(Picornell Gelabert et al., 2011). Other factors include
96 heat yield, quality of the smoke, and branch/log diameter (typically between 5-20cm;
97 Picornell Gelabert et al., 2011), while botanical species is the last thing normally considered
98 unless specific cultural factors (e.g. species avoidance) come into consideration (Kibler and
99 Mehalchick, 2010).

100 The range of purposes and activities requiring fire implies that hearths were probably
101 used on a daily basis at larger basecamp sites during the Upper Palaeolithic. Indeed a survey
102 of hunter-gatherer ethnographic literature makes clear that, once lit, fires are generally
103 maintained continuously while a site is occupied, though often banked down when not in
104 immediate use (e.g. Gayton, 1948:185; Pullen, 2005:63-74; Weitzner, 1979:270). Some
105 activities are particularly firewood-intensive. For example, cooking meat or tubers by hot-
106 rock boiling uses vastly more firewood than is required for roasting these foods over hot
107 embers, because of the need to reheat the rocks continuously for over an hour (Kibler and
108 Mehalchick, 2010 and references therein; Picornell Gelabert et al., 2011:379). Basecamp sites
109 must therefore be continuously provisioned with fuel, a time-consuming activity that is
110 mentioned frequently in ethnographic accounts and captured succinctly by Helge Ingstad in
111 his descriptions of daily life among the Nunamiut:

112

113 *“The burning question at every new encampment is how to get fuel. Sometimes we*
114 *camp by a patch of willows where the Eskimos have recently been, and then the*
115 *place is usually cleaned out; not a dry stick is to be seen... Once in a way it*
116 *happens that we stumble upon a virgin patch of willows with an abundance of dry*
117 *bushes. Then we feel that we have struck it rich. But most often we have to search*
118 *both long and hard to find enough..... This inexorable demand is continually made*
119 *on me: Wood must be found, carried, or driven. A lot of fuel is needed to warm my*
120 *draughty tent. A load is consumed in a short time, and more has to be fetched. I get*
121 *no peace.”*(Ingstad, 1954:211).

122

123 Suitable sources for gathering dead wood include still-attached and shed branches, snags
124 (standing dead trees), fallen trunks and stumps and rotting roots. These may be generated by
125 natural processes such as natural death, bad weather, browser damage, fungal and insect
126 attacks that continuously create and renew supplies. Even low-density habitats such as
127 savannahs or park woodlands in arid and semiarid regions will include some dead wood (e.g.
128 Shackleton, 1998), while climatic changes leading to the local extinction of trees in marginal

129 habitats may create large deadwood pools locally (Grayson and Millar, 2008)In riparian
130 environments driftwood collection also can be an important source of firewood where it might
131 collect naturally in certain places, including in areas where trees grow locally (Alix and
132 Brewster, 2004). In conifer woods dead twigs and small branches are typically uniformly and
133 continuously distributed and can therefore be collected continuously and systematically. The
134 availability of larger branches related to traumatic loss caused by meteorological incidents
135 (wind, thunderstorms, snow accumulation, etc.) may occur more episodically and must be
136 searched for. Deadwood production does not appear to vary much with inter-annual climatic
137 fluctuations as live biomass production does, but instead is rather stable year-to-year
138 (Shackleton, 1998). Stable deadwood productivity implies that fuel supplies and harvesting
139 patterns can be predicted, and thus managed (Picornell Gelabert et al., 2011:381-382).

140

141 The Dolní Věstonice-Pavlov case study

142 The Dolní Věstonice-Pavlov-Milovice basecamps form a chain of sites stretching along the
143 lower northern slopes of the Pavlovské Hills, a Jurassic limestone outcrop that rises to a
144 height of 550 m (Figure 1). This rocky outcrop forms a distinctive landmark in an otherwise
145 relatively flat or gently rolling steppic plain that links the Danube river corridor sites of
146 Austria, Slovakia and Hungary with the Polish North European Plains, via the Moravian Gate.
147 Three large Gravettian aggregation sites are known (Dolní Věstonice I, Pavlov I and the
148 northern/upper part of Dolní Věstonice II), with several smaller occupations found nearby
149 (Dolní Věstonice II western Slope, Dolní Věstonice III, Pavlov II-VI, and Milovice I-IV
150 amongst others). Stratigraphic analyses and radiocarbon dating suggest most of these
151 occupations occurred within a relatively short time window around the time of Greenland
152 stadial 5 (approximately 32,000-29,000 BP)(Beresford-Jones et al., 2011; Svoboda et al.,
153 2011), although differences in lithic typology (Polanská and Novák, 2014; Polanská pers.
154 comm.), artistic styles and modes of production (Farbstein, 2011) have been detected between
155 the sites.

156 Collectively, the evidence from the Pavlov Hills sites indicates either many repeated
157 visits or fewer longer-term occupations at locations across the same hillside within a
158 relatively short period of time. Indeed, some have postulated year-round settlement at Pavlov
159 I and Dolní Věstonice I based on the exceptionally large quantities of lithics and fauna
160 recovered at these sites (Wojtal and Wilczyński, in press). For example, excavations in the
161 south-eastern part of Pavlov I (years 1952-1956) revealed remains of 536 individual animal
162 skeletons including 56 reindeer, 7 mammoth, 10 horse, 192 hare and 123 red/polar fox
163 (Wojtal et al., 2012); over 11,000 retouched lithics were also discovered in the same area
164 (Svoboda, 2005b), along with personal ornaments, bone and ivory art, scattered human bones
165 and evidence for 11 apparent dwelling structures. Renewed excavations in 2014 produced

166 further remains that are now undergoing analysis (Svoboda et al., In press). Other parts of the
167 Pavlov I site contained similarly large cultural assemblages and, along with Dolní Věstonice I
168 and II (the latter the site of a triple human burial; Klíma, 1987), these sites are best seen as
169 logistical basecamps (*sensu* Binford, 1980) repeatedly occupied by large groups of hunter-
170 gatherers (Soffer, 1989). Excavations at the Pavlov Hills sites also revealed large numbers of
171 charcoal-rich features described as hearths (Figure 2), for example: 56 at Pavlov SE, 11 at
172 Pavlov NW, and 81 from the hilltop area of DVII ('agglomeration 1') (Klíma, 1995; Klíma,
173 1997; Svoboda, 2005b). These hearths typically occur as the centre-point of scattered material
174 remains defining distinct settlement units (e.g. Svoboda, 1991, 2005b), with further randomly
175 distributed hearths in the larger sites (e.g. Klíma, 1995; Svoboda, 1997, 2005b). The hearths
176 are characterised by burned areas up to 1m in diameter, and rarely up to 2m diameter,
177 generally containing 10-40 cm depth of ash and charcoal (Klíma, 1954; Klíma, 1995; Oliva,
178 2009; Svoboda, 2005a; Svoboda et al., 2009; Verpoorte, 2001). Excavation plans and
179 photographs from Pavlov I also show stones used to line some of the hearths, and some
180 hearths were clearly repeatedly reused (Svoboda, 2005a:33), also demonstrated by
181 micromorphological data from a hearth from Dolní Věstonice II-05 (Beresford-Jones et al.,
182 2011). Large charcoal assemblages discovered at the Pavlov Hills sites attest to the systematic
183 burning of conifer wood in these hearths (e.g. Beresford-Jones et al., 2010), alongside bone
184 and potentially other fuels as well.

185

186 FIGURE 1 AROUND HERE [MAP OF PAVLOV HILLS]

187

188 FIGURE 2 AROUND HERE [PICTURES OF HEARTHS]

189

190 *Evidence for trees – the palaeoecological evidence*

191 Databases of radiocarbon dated plant macrofossils demonstrate the long-term regional
192 presence of conifer species in Central Europe during marine isotope stage 3 (approximately
193 60,000-27,000 BP) together with a small number of other arboreal taxa including *Salix*, *Alnus*,
194 *Populus* and *Betula* (Binney et al., 2009; Damblon and Haesaerts, 2002; Willis and van
195 Andel, 2004). Considered together with macrocharcoal remains (including radiocarbon dated
196 pine cones) and pollen spectra from more recently published local Moravian assemblages,
197 *Picea*, *Larix* and *Pinus* stand out clearly as the regularly dominating taxa (Jankovská and
198 Pokorný, 2008 and references therein; Nádor et al., 2011; Pokorný, 2009; Rybníčková and
199 Rybníček, 2014; Vlačíky et al., 2013). Pollen records also show clear evidence for the same
200 three conifer genera on the Hungarian Plain, and at times on the Polish Plain (Feurdean et al.,
201 2014; Magyari et al., 2014; Sümegei et al., 2013), while the full glacial survival of *Pinus*
202 *sylvestris*, *Picea abies* and *Larix decidua* in Carpathian refugia is demonstrated by genetic

203 evidence and species distribution modelling (Cheddadi et al., 2006; Ravazzi, 2002; Svenning
204 et al., 2008; Wagner, 2013). Based on this evidence Jankovská and Pokorný (2008) have
205 argued for the existence of a closed hemiboreal forest biome across Slovakia and the
206 westernmost ranges of the Carpathians (E Czech Republic), situated altitudinally in between a
207 dry open lowland loess steppe and an alpine grassland belt, analogous to the mixed conifer-
208 dominated woodland of present-day Siberian continental taiga (see also photographs of the
209 types of landscape envisaged by these authors in Pokorný, 2009). How far this forest biome
210 extended west towards the Pavlov Hills, and how much it fluctuated with the Dansgaard-
211 Oeschger cycles and other longer-term climatic variations, is not currently clear (Fletcher et
212 al., 2010; Magyari et al., 2014). However the general picture of mixed forest-steppe
213 landscapes – Guthrie’s (2001) so-called mammoth steppe biome posited widely as covering
214 much of northern and central Europe during the last glacial – agrees well with both the pollen
215 spectra recovered from a sediment core taken close to the Pavlov Hills at Bulhary
216 (Rybničková and Rybniček, 2014), and with predictions from new net primary productivity
217 models for the last glacial (Huntley et al., 2013). Together then, these data suggest a mixed
218 local environment in the vicinity of the Pavlov Hills, similar to that which existed throughout
219 much of the wider Moravian region.

220

221 *Evidence for trees – the archaeological evidence*

222 In agreement with the regional palaeoenvironmental evidence and the data from nearby
223 Bulhary, the archaeological sites themselves contain abundant charcoal from pine and
224 spruce/larch species which dominate almost all analysed assemblages (Beresford-Jones et al.,
225 2011; Čulíková, 2011; Damblon, 1997; Klíma, 1995:31; Opravil, 1994; Svoboda et al., 2015).
226 *Larix decidua* and *Picea abies* charcoal cannot normally be distinguished archaeobotanically
227 on the basis of wood anatomy (Schweingruber, 1990), yet the heavy pollen of larch found at
228 Bulhary strongly suggests this species was growing locally near the sites (Damblon, 1997).

229 Landscape-scale reconstructions of the mammoth steppe biome predict that trees
230 would have grown in river valley settings near water sources and in places sheltered from the
231 wind (Allen et al., 2010; Guthrie and van Kolfschoten, 2000; Opravil, 1994; Pokorný, 2009;
232 Sümegi et al., 2013). Applying these criteria to the Pavlov Hills suggests that conifers will
233 almost certainly have grown close to the site locations, in habitats proximal to the Dyje River
234 and on the slopes of the Pavlovské Hills themselves. Indeed, given the open and treeless
235 steppe-tundra environments that seemingly prevailed more widely at this time (Guthrie and
236 van Kolfschoten, 2000), the Pavlov Hills themselves were probably unusually rich in wood
237 fuel resources in comparison with that wider environment. Regardless of such
238 reconstructions, however, it is perfectly clear from the charcoal evidence that abundant woody

239 resources were available to groups occupying the Dolní Věstonice-Pavlov sites and it is
240 therefore likely that trees were present in the vicinity.

241

242 Table 1 around here [CHARCOAL FROM PAVLOV HILLS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES]

243

244 Modelling firewood supply in the Pavlov Hills

245 The following sections draw together a range of data pertinent to firewood provisioning
246 during the Pavlovian which we argue are sufficient for drawing some general conclusions
247 about fuel wood abundance and supply near the Pavlov Hills. As per the palaeoenvironmental
248 and archaeological evidence our analysis assumes the conifers pine, spruce and larch were the
249 main source of firewood available to Gravettian groups. Additionally, while it is expected that
250 some green wood was harvested and burned, we assume that dead wood was the primary fuel
251 because of its superior combustion qualities (see earlier text), and concentrate on this. Indeed
252 the burning of decayed dead wood is indicated at Pavlov I by charcoal fragments containing
253 tunnels or holes caused by wood parasites (Damblon, 1997), and at the nearby Pavlovian site
254 of Krems Wachtberg by degradation of charcoal cell walls (Cichocki et al., 2014). The
255 presented data focus on the rate of deadwood production in modern forests; the size of the
256 deadwood pool in natural environments (i.e. areas unaffected by, or completely recovered
257 from, human foraging for dead wood supplies); and charcoal data from the firewood actually
258 burned by Pavlovian groups. An analysis is then given of the probable challenges facing
259 Pavlovian groups in their search for firewood. We begin by considering how much firewood
260 may have been required by Pavlovian groups.

261

262 *Firewood requirements at Pavlov-Dolní Věstonice II*

263 The quantities of fuel needed at Palaeolithic basecamps are unknown and difficult to estimate
264 from archaeology alone, while ethnographic data for recent hunter-gatherers are surprisingly
265 sparse, given the historic importance of fire in traditional cultures (Heizer, 1963; Picornell
266 Gelabert et al., 2011). Many ethnographic descriptions mention simply that obtaining
267 sufficient firewood was a constant daily struggle, while a lack of firewood is frequently cited
268 as a reason for moving camp to a new location (Binford, 1978b:425-427; Henry and
269 Thompson, 1897; Ingstad, 1954:211; Theler and Boszhardt, 2006). Rare quantitative data for
270 a contemporary Evenki group from east Russia records the use of chainsaws to cut 15 m³ of
271 stacked fresh larch wood (*Larix cajanderi*) each year, expecting this to fulfil the needs of one
272 family for the first two months of the following winters occupation when burnt in a metal
273 stove (Henry et al., 2009:26), equating to ~90 m³ per year assuming stable consumption rates.
274 This is broadly comparable to experimental data measured for an open hearth in a
275 reconstructed Viking longhouse during summer burning dried local birch and used for

276 cooking and warmth, suggesting a burn rate of 2.3 kg per hour and annual consumption rates
277 of around 100 m³ (Trbojević et al., 2011). Detailed data for African farmers living on Lake
278 Malawi and in Tanzania demonstrates firewood usage rates exclusively for cooking and
279 heating water of between 5-25 kg per day (260-1300 kg per person per year)(Biran et al.,
280 2004). Meanwhile experiments replicating Middle Palaeolithic hearths from El Salt in Spain
281 showed that 5-16 kg of fuel burned in ambient summertime temperatures of 28-33 °C for
282 approximately 1.7-7.0 hours in different conditions (Mallol et al., 2013). These data give
283 variable usage rates of 1.4-6.4 kg hr⁻¹ with a mean of 3.6 kg hr⁻¹, or >31 tonnes per year,
284 equivalent to 105 m³ of stacked wood per year (figures converted throughout this paper where
285 necessary using a weight-volume conversion of 450 kg m⁻³ and solid-wood to stacked-wood
286 conversion factor of 1.5 (Lindroos, 2011)). Large hearths of c.1m diameter, such as the one
287 from Beeches Pit in England, are estimated to need 50-100 kg of firewood per day (Gowlett et
288 al., 2012:705).

289 Actual rates of fuel consumption clearly depend on a large number of variables
290 including weather, hearth size, burn-hours per day, moisture content and density of the wood
291 fuel, the specific fuel mix, hearth construction, etc., and it is difficult to know how the
292 measured consumption rates might have compared with fuel use in the Palaeolithic. Better
293 data on contemporary and historic hunter-gatherer fuel consumption rates would show how
294 consumption varies between groups in different environments and seasons, and make clear
295 how typical or otherwise the existing estimates might be. For the moment, however, we draw
296 attention to the large numbers of hearth features found at the Pavlov Hills sites, together with
297 evidence for substantial basecamp occupations at which a full range of domestic activities
298 took place including: cooking; sleeping; manufacturing composite tools, personal ornaments
299 and art including fired-clay figurines; curing hides; ritual activities including human burial.
300 We also point out that multiple hearths may have been lit simultaneously for unknown periods
301 at any one time. Wood-fuelled fires were clearly essential to the energetics of the groups who
302 stayed at the Pavlov Hills, so that obtaining and sustaining a daily supply of firewood was
303 also critical, however much or little was needed.

304 *Dead wood availability in contemporary forest*

305 **Deadwood production:** Tree mortality rates in contemporary unmanaged old-growth boreal
306 forests have been calculated at between 1.6-3.8 trees per hectare per year (ha⁻¹ yr⁻¹)(Aakala et
307 al., 2011; Jonsson, 2000), or eight to nineteen trees per hectare in every 5-year period
308 (Jonsson, 2000). However these rates increase markedly during mortality episodes caused by
309 storms or disease, for example to as much as 42 trees ha⁻¹ yr⁻¹ or 21% of living trees within
310 five years (Aakala et al., 2011), compared to just 0.3% to 1.12% of living trees per annum
311 under normal conditions (Aakala et al., 2011:330). These figures are broadly consistent with a
312 maximum age of 250-350 years for European *Pinus*, *Picea* and *Larix* species (Vaganov et al.,

313 2006), and estimates for canopy turnover rate in European conifer forests of 167-330 years
314 (Aakala et al., 2011), although a vast majority of trees die before reaching this upper age
315 range. Alongside deadwood input from tree mortality, wood from dead branches also
316 contributes significantly to the dead wood pool, together equating to 15-50% of the total
317 biomass increment over a 60-year period (Krankina and Harmon, 1995). Estimates of annual
318 deadwood production never fall below $0.5 \text{ m}^3 \text{ ha}^{-1} \text{ yr}^{-1}$ of solid wood or at least 3 logs per
319 hectare (Jonsson, 2000), equivalent to 225 kg ha^{-1} and 0.75 m^3 of stacked wood.

320

321 **Deadwood pool:** Snap-shot estimates of the total extant deadwood pool in mature
322 undisturbed woodland reveal a distinct south-north gradient, reflecting slower tree growth
323 near the northern timberline (Table 2; Siitonen et al., 2000). Typical quantities of coarse
324 woody debris including all dead branches, snags (standing dead trees), stumps, etc. in old-
325 growth spruce-dominated forests range between $100\text{-}200 \text{ m}^3 \text{ ha}^{-1}$ in southern boreal zones,
326 decreasing to around $20 \text{ m}^3 \text{ ha}^{-1}$ in the northern boreal zone (Sippola et al., 1998); similar
327 values were obtained for pine-dominated forests (Siitonen et al., 2000). Disturbance factors
328 such as fire, drought, pests, disease and wind damage generally increase the quantity of dead
329 wood detritus. For example, sites affected by severe windstorms and given 10 years to recover
330 were found to have deadwood stores equivalent to 43-57% of total biomass at that time, while
331 the quantity of deadwood immediately following the windstorms was estimated to be 59-69%
332 of total biomass (Krankina and Harmon, 1995:233). Mean volume among 647 dead *Picea*
333 *abies* logs >15 cm diameter in north Sweden was found to be 0.35 m^3 , while mean snag
334 volume was 0.17 m^3 (Jonsson, 2000); whole dead conifer trees near the timberline account for
335 $11\text{-}12 \text{ m}^3 \text{ ha}^{-1}$ while snags and dead branches account for around $7 \text{ m}^3 \text{ ha}^{-1}$ (Sippola et al.,
336 1998).

337 Only a portion of this deadwood pool is readily available to humans for collection by
338 hand; for example a study considering South African savannah environments found that on a
339 per tree basis, 77% of the total deadwood standing crop was unavailable for harvesting by
340 hand without tools such as an axe or saw because it was too big, too high or too small
341 (Shackleton, 1998). However ethnographic descriptions of hunter-gatherer firewood
342 collection include a range of strategies for harvesting inaccessible wood supplies; illustrative
343 examples include the NW Coast Indians who felled large trees with stone axes and fire (Day,
344 1953:330 and references therein), the Yokuts of Central California who set fires at the base of
345 trees to fell them (Gayton, 1948:78), and the Haush of Tierra del Fuego who split firewood
346 into manageable pieces using bone wedges (Chapman and Hester, 1973:194). Further
347 examples include methods used by Blackfoot Indians of the Great Plains who threw ropes
348 attached to stones over high up branches and jerked on the rope to break them off, or burnt
349 through roots of large trees to bring the whole tree down to make the high up branches more

350 accessible (Wissler, 1910:32-33). Given the range of potential wood gathering methods, we
351 therefore assume that most if not all extant dead wood was accessible to Palaeolithic humans
352 should they have chosen to collect it.

353

354 TABLE 2 and FIGURE 3 AROUND HERE [VOLUME OF DEADWOOD BY LATITUDE]

355

356 Dead wood from trees and large branches may typically persist in boreal environments for
357 around 65-90 years (Krankina and Harmon, 1995:236; Moroni et al., 2010 and references
358 therein). However, actual decay rates vary significantly between species and are affected by
359 factors such as starting density of the wood and the primary agent of decay (bacterial, fungal,
360 weathering etc.). For example snags (standing trees) can retain the density of live trees for
361 over a decade following death (Krankina and Harmon, 1995:232-233), and may stand for
362 around 25 years before a loss of structural integrity causes them to fall over while logs on the
363 ground will decay faster (Moroni et al., 2010:456). Conversely, buried wood in boreal forest
364 conditions has been recorded as surviving for much longer periods, at least 250-500 years
365 after death (Moroni et al., 2010); the main burial agent in this latter study was bryophyte
366 groundcover growth, which forms a dense mat in many boreal forests that decreases
367 temperature, increases moisture content and reduces nutrient availability in soils, thus slowing
368 wood decay (bryophyte spores are recorded in pollen spectra from the Pavlov Hills;
369 Svobodová, 1991).

370 These data make clear that today, small trees growing slowly in marginal
371 environments produce substantially less deadwood and are associated with smaller extant
372 deadwood pools than trees growing in more favourable climates, visible in the latitudinal
373 gradient in Swedish spruce-dominated woods today (Siitonen et al., 2000: Figure 3). This is
374 despite the fact that deadwood can remain in the environment for many decades after death in
375 certain conditions.

376

377 *Driftwood*

378 Driftwood can be an important component of river systems, impeding water flow, altering
379 patterns of riverbank erosion or alluvial deposition, and stimulating overbank flooding (Wohl,
380 2013). Once located, the wood may be valuable for fuel, construction, or for other purposes
381 (Alix and Brewster, 2004). Seasoned deadwood is dry, buoyant and will float, easily being
382 collected from the river as it passes, but wood that is waterlogged, damaged or too
383 decomposed is heavy, will not travel far, and is often left behind (Alix, 2005; Alix and
384 Brewster, 2004). In cold boreal environments most driftwood enters river systems either
385 during the spring melt, or during summer floods, as a consequence of riverbank undercutting
386 and erosion, or from direct tree fall (Alix, 2005; Wohl, 2013). Winter ice plays an important

387 role in this seasonal cycle, hampering progression of deadwood downstream while helping to
388 break larger branches apart and dislodge them from riverbanks (Alix, 2005). Periods of high
389 water levels at other times of the year will have a similar effect, dislodging both fresh and
390 dead wood materials all along the riverbank. Driftwood collection in boreal riparian
391 environments is therefore strongly seasonal, defined by the timing of the spring melt and
392 summer floods (Alix, 2005:93). Larger river systems flowing through such environments may
393 carry vast quantities of wood at these times, when an annual supply of fuel wood may be
394 collected relatively quickly and stored (Alix and Brewster, 2004). Alternatively, driftwood
395 may be collected year-round from certain locations where debris has formed jams in a river,
396 as smaller branches become lodged against larger logs that have become stranded on channel
397 beds or banks. These locations will vary between flood events and must be searched for.

398 While driftwood was probably obtainable near the Pavlov Hills, the quantities
399 available were almost certainly small. The Dolní Věstonice-Pavlov sites are located on slopes
400 above the confluence of three medium-sized rivers, the Dyje, the Svratka and the Jihlava
401 (Figure 1). While today's landscape has been altered from that of the Gravettian by the deep
402 loess deposits that bury and preserve these sites, it is and was rather gentle and flat. Almost
403 the only topography in the vicinity is the Pavlov Hills themselves, which rise a mere 200 m
404 above the Dyje River floodplain. The three rivers rise c.130-160 km distant to the west and
405 north-west, in the uplands of the Bohemian Massif, before reaching the lower-lying Moravian
406 Plain between 30 km and 60 km from the Pavlov Hills. The available evidence indicates that
407 the uplands of the Bohemian Massif were cold and harsh during the Gravettian period, being
408 partially glaciated along their southern edge (Ehlers et al., 2011; ložek, 1996), so that trees
409 would not likely have grown there. Along their 30-60 km stretches across the Moravian
410 Plains, however, these rivers were part of the mammoth steppe ecosystem, and likely
411 supported some boreal woodland in sheltered parts along their banks. Clearly, the quantities
412 of any driftwood derived from these trees would have depended on the density of the riverine
413 woodland, river channel width and depth, floodplain form, and the degree of bank erosion
414 (Wohl, 2013); yet it is clear that small rivers send less driftwood downstream than larger
415 rivers, due to smaller river catchment zones and increased jamming of wood against
416 riverbanks and other obstructions. Thus, while driftwood may have been an important fuel
417 source for Gravettian occupations located along major rivers such as the Morava or Danube,
418 which potentially carried large supplies of driftwood (e.g. see Cichocki et al., 2014), here we
419 argue that small rivers flowing across a flat topography with short stretches likely to sustain
420 woodlands mean that driftwood was unlikely to have played an important role.

421

422 *Charcoal data on Pavlovian firewood*

423 Clues about tree growth around the Pavlov Hills may be gleaned from charcoal recovered at
424 the occupation sites themselves. At Dolní Věstonice II (DVII), charcoal recovered in 2005
425 showed strong tree ring curvature indicative of fragments derived from thin-stemmed
426 branches or trees (Beresford-Jones et al., 2011). However Opravil (1994) reports charcoal
427 from other areas of DVII showing a range of ring curvatures, which he used to reconstruct
428 stems/branches with diameters varying from 5 mm to 200 mm, and one *Picea/Larix* fragment
429 from a trunk possibly 30-40 cm in diameter. Notwithstanding the inherent uncertainty in
430 Opravil's calculations (García Martínez and Dufraisse, 2012), these estimates demonstrate
431 clearly that at least some trees survived to a significant size and age. Indeed research at the
432 nearby Gravettian site of Krems Wachtberg found that around one third of >2000 charcoal
433 fragments studied contained between 50-100 rings, while 10% had more than 100 rings and
434 the largest fragment had 328 rings, again indicating trees of significant age (Cichocki et al.,
435 2014).

436 And yet, despite tree ring studies providing clear evidence that some trees survived
437 for several decades or hundreds of years (Cichocki et al., 2014; Damblon, 1997), these same
438 investigations have repeatedly shown that the wood burned by Gravettian hunters was dense
439 and took a very long time to grow. For example, the charcoal fragments studied at Krems
440 Wachtberg contained long sequences of rings less than 0.1 mm wide, containing only a couple
441 of new cells per ring (Cichocki et al., 2014). Meanwhile growth rings averaging 0.58 mm in
442 *Picea* were reported at Pavlov I (Damblon, 1997), <0.1 mm to 0.7 mm in *Larix/Picea* at
443 DVII-05 including only one or two latewood cells, generally with very little cell wall
444 thickening (Beresford-Jones et al., 2011), and as low as 0.25 mm (but up to 1.2 5mm) in
445 *Larix/Picea* and *Pinus sylvestris* from the upper part of DVII near the triple burial (Opravil,
446 1994:178). Narrow growth rings were also reported in charcoals from Pavlov II, Pavlov VI
447 and Milovice IV (Čulíková, 2011), while charcoal from Pavlov I presently under study at the
448 University of Southampton shows the same narrow rings (Figure 4). Occasional wider rings
449 have also been noted, for example up to 2.4 mm in *Picea* from Pavlov I (Damblon, 1997), but
450 these growth rings are rare and distinctly atypical within a context which Beresford-Jones et
451 al. (2011:1959) describe as experiencing “delayed springs, cool summers and early onset of
452 cold autumns”, generally poor living conditions for the trees. It should be emphasised that
453 tight growth rings characterise charcoals from both large and small diameter stems, indicating
454 this is not a function of the size of the wood collected but is true generally of the wood
455 available to hunter-gatherers at the time (Beresford-Jones et al., 2011). Clearly, while the
456 trees harvested for firewood in the Gravettian could and did grow old, they were also living at
457 the edge of their survival limits and extremely slow-growing.

458 No tools suitable for wood-chopping have been reported among Pavlovian lithic
459 assemblages, which are characterised by tools made on narrow blades and microliths

460 (Svoboda, 1996). Fuel was therefore probably gathered and burnt as found, or was brittle
461 enough to break manually by hand.

462

463 FIGURE 4 AROUND HERE [PAVLOV I CHARCOAL CURRENTLY UNDER STUDY]

464

465 *Deadwood production in the Pavlovian*

466 Narrow growth rings in trees are consistent with a strong negative impact on plant
467 photosynthesis (i.e. metabolism/growth), caused by the unique climatic conditions of the last
468 glacial including lower temperatures, shortened day length and – especially significantly –
469 lower concentrations of atmospheric CO₂ in combination with increased aridity (Gerhart et
470 al., 2012; Temme et al., 2013). Slow plant growth is also reflected in Net Primary
471 Productivity (NPP) estimates for the Moravian mid-Upper Palaeolithic, which show
472 substantial reductions to conifer-dominated plant functional types relative to modern values
473 (Allen et al., 2010; Huntley and Allen, 2003; Huntley et al., 2013). NPP for boreal woodland
474 in the Czech Republic region at 32,000 has recently been modelled at 50-150 g m⁻² yr⁻¹
475 (Huntley et al., 2013), below that recorded in northern Scandinavian boreal forests in Sweden
476 and Finland today (Zheng et al., 2004), emphasising again the slow growth rates and
477 unfavourable conditions for trees at this time. It has already been noted that trees growing
478 slowly due to poor climatic conditions produce dead wood more slowly, and form forests with
479 a smaller total deadwood pool, than do fast-growing trees living in better conditions (Table 2;
480 Siitonen et al., 2000). Given the clear climatic barriers to tree growth during the Pavlovian, it
481 follows that dead wood must also have been produced relatively slowly at the time the sites
482 were occupied.

483 Uncertainties concerning the extent and density of tree cover in the mammoth steppe
484 mean it is beyond the scope of this paper to produce quantitative estimates of deadwood
485 abundance, although we suggest this is a potential avenue for future modelling research.
486 Nonetheless, it is illustrative to consider deadwood availability in contemporary north
487 Scandinavian boreal forests near the timberline which experience harsh growing conditions
488 resulting in low NPP in boreal woodland, similar to the Pavlov Hills case study (i.e.
489 environments containing 20-60 m³ of coarse woody debris per hectare, with minimal annual
490 deadwood production rates of around 0.5 m³ ha⁻¹ yr⁻¹ of woody stems >5 cm diameter
491 (Jonsson, 2000; Siitonen et al., 2000; Sippola et al., 1998)). Assuming usage rates of 3.6 kg
492 per hour (~105 m³ of stacked wood per year), naturally-produced deadwood from a 1 ha area
493 of Scandinavian boreal woodland could have sustained a single continuously-burning fire for
494 260 days; if three campfires were alight simultaneously for 16 hours per day and banked
495 down over night using no extra fuel this halves to 130 days. Fuelling the same three campfires
496 for 16 hours a day for 1 year would consume 63 tons of dead wood scavenged from between

497 2.3 and 7 hectares depending on tree stand density. Natural annual deadwood production per
498 hectare would generate fuel for less than 2 days of human occupation per year, and once the
499 deadwood pool was fully depleted it would take between 40-120 years for the deadwood pool
500 to fully replenish.

501 While we do not suggest these figures are typical for the Pavlovian case study, the
502 example illustrates two key points that are evident from the amassed data. First, the long
503 residence-time of dead trees and branches in the deadwood pool means that even lightly
504 wooded areas experiencing harsh climatic conditions may contain significant quantities of
505 naturally-produced dead wood; this implies that firewood was probably readily available in
506 wooded areas of mammoth steppe environments, but only in places where Palaeolithic groups
507 had not recently scavenged for fuel. More important, however, is the second point, which
508 highlights the fuel-supply challenge facing Upper Palaeolithic hunter-gatherers: slow-growing
509 trees take many decades to fully replenish the deadwood pool. This is important because it
510 suggests that *once groups had foraged an area for firewood, it will have taken many years*
511 *before deadwood supplies were replenished sufficiently to again meet the firewood needs of a*
512 *basecamp occupation*. Groups remaining in one place for a prolonged period of time, or
513 returning to the same campsite in several successive seasons faced dead wood fuel shortages
514 that were both predictable and inevitable in the Central European Upper Palaeolithic world.

515

516 Discussion

517 Progressive exhaustion of local firewood supplies is a predictable and frequently mentioned
518 problem in ethnographic accounts, leading to ever-increasing acquisition and transportation
519 costs until a forced site abandonment occurs (Binford, 1978b; Bishop and Plew, 2016; Butler,
520 2014; Heizer, 1963; Ingstad, 1954:211; MacLeod, 1925; Theler and Boszhardt, 2006; Tindale,
521 1974). The Nunamiut, for example, expected most willow patches to sustain a single family
522 for one or two winters, after which it would take around 45 years (i.e. 1-2 generations) to
523 restore sufficient firewood supplies for the willow patch to be habitable again (Binford,
524 1978b:425-427). Rare larger patches could support several families simultaneously and these
525 places were regarded as favoured locations, used regularly for winter camps (*ibid.*); only in
526 areas of true boreal forest was firewood genuinely abundant. Meanwhile, northwest
527 Athabaskan Dénés also consumed all the locally available dead wood near their winter
528 settlements annually, necessitating a new campsite location every year (Morice, 1895:184),
529 while Australian Aborigines were forced to either reject basecamp locations near to water
530 sources or carry firewood for long distances because recent ancestors had used up all the
531 firewood (Tindale, 1974:55 and 65).

532 We take two main points from this ethnographic literature. First, *for groups that*
533 *regularly burn wood-fuelled fires, access to firewood is equally important as access to food*

534 *when choosing locations for residential basecamp settlements* (Binford, 1978b; Ingstad, 1954;
535 Spier, 1928:369; Tindale, 1974:133). Applying this to the generally wood-poor landscapes of
536 the Gravettian mammoth steppe, we therefore predict that large patches of trees would have
537 been favoured as basecamp locations, attracting Pavlovian groups seeking to minimise the
538 effort involved in gathering heavy, expendable firewood resources. These tree-rich locales
539 provided a significantly larger starting deadwood pool, greater net annual deadwood
540 production and could sustain the firewood needs of a larger population. The Pavlov Hills are a
541 good candidate for such a location, given the coincidence of local geomorphology suitable for
542 Gravettian-era tree survival (discussed previously) and the high density of settlement attested
543 archaeologically.

544 Even in these firewood-rich locations, however, the ethnographic literature is
545 unequivocal; longer-term or repeated occupations lead inevitably to diminishing naturally-
546 occurring firewood supplies and ever-increasing acquisition and transportation costs. The
547 second point we take from the ethnographic literature is, therefore, that *continued access to*
548 *firewood at large and/or long-term settlements requires deliberate strategies for maintaining*
549 *firewood supply*. This is particularly relevant for Gravettian occupations in the Pavlov Hills
550 where the archaeological evidence indicates precisely the behaviours that would have created
551 demand for fuel over an extended period of time: large basecamp sites with numerous hearths,
552 representing repeated occupations by significant numbers of people, either in many smaller
553 individual groups or fewer but larger groups. We concentrate on this second point for the
554 remainder of the paper.

555

556 *Forward-planning a firewood-provision system*

557 Obvious potential responses to low deadwood supply include minimising consumption rates,
558 mixing dead wood fuel with alternative fuels such as green wood, bone and dung (Beresford-
559 Jones et al., 2010; Théry-Parisot, 2002a), or foraging for dead wood over a larger range.
560 Indeed, maximum fuel foraging ranges vary widely between different sources and contexts,
561 for example 250-800 m in a modern Evenki group (Henry et al., 2009), 90 m to 5 km for
562 Aborinees in the Western Desert (Tindale, 1974:65) or 1-2km for two traditional African
563 farming communities (Biran et al., 2004); meanwhile, Stefansson (1919:45) records Eskimo
564 carrying driftwood inland for 10-13 km (6-8 miles) to their camps, and Ingstad (1954:211)
565 mentions wood gathered from 48 km distant (30 miles). Other strategies include constructing
566 rafts of firewood that were floated back to basecamps over unspecified distances (the Yukon
567 River people, Heizer 1963:190). These transportation distances are clearly dependent on the
568 choice of basecamp/site location, distribution of trees in the landscape, season and mode of
569 transport, but the inherent bulkiness of firewood and high associated transport costs mean
570 hunter-gatherers tend to move camp when local firewood supplies run out rather than

571 increasing foraging distances to unmanageable levels (Heizer, 1963; Shackleton and Prins,
572 1992).

573 Guaranteeing deadwood fuel supplies in the long term within reasonable geographic
574 distances to a campsite, however, requires more active management. This could involve
575 planned geographic mobility over years and decades of the type already described allowing
576 dead-wood pools to replenish naturally (Binford, 1978b; Spier, 1928), or mobility coupled
577 with deliberate firewood curation – that is, deliberately killing trees months or years in
578 advance of when the firewood will be needed, allowing time for the wood to dry out. This
579 more invasive firewood management strategy is also widespread among hunter-gatherers
580 from a range of different environments, including both planned and incidental tree-killing
581 according to how certain groups are of returning to a given location (Alix and Brewster,
582 2004:55; Anderson et al., 2000; Day, 1953:330; Henry et al., 2009; Theler and Boszhardt,
583 2006). For example, trees killed quickly by ring-barking or ‘girdling’ may be left *in situ*
584 indefinitely as ‘insurance gear’ (Binford, 1979:257) to be utilised whenever a future need
585 arises and if this moment never comes, very little labour time is lost (Alix and Brewster,
586 2004). Alternatively if a group is more certain of returning, firewood may be collected, split
587 and cached to dry at the site itself as ‘site furniture’ (Binford, 1978a), in readiness for
588 immediate use when the group returns (Henry et al., 2009). Girdling conifer trees for
589 firewood may also occur simultaneously with the gathering of other resources such as bark for
590 manufacturing goods and clothing (Anderson et al., 2000:7; Zackrisson et al., 2000), and pitch
591 which can be used for food or as an adhesive (Koller et al., 2001).

592 Firewood curation strategies – much like food storage – involve long-term logistical
593 planning and structured mobility with an inherent expectation of returning to a given location,
594 preparing resources in advance to ensure their future supply. The deliberate killing of trees
595 alters both the physical and social character of a landscape, shaping living spaces and
596 reflexively conditioning future decisions concerning basecamp location over months, years
597 and generations. Explicit choices must be made about which trees to kill for fuel and which to
598 leave as a future resource, while girdled trees left standing to dry or cut branches piled up may
599 be considered ‘owned’ by those who left them, marking territory, and socialising the
600 landscape and this physical resource within it (Anderson et al., 2000; Heffner and Heffner,
601 2012; Ingstad, 1954:212). Forward planning is essential to maintaining the supply of various
602 raw material resources besides food and is integral to the lifeways of hunter-gatherers
603 (Lightfoot et al., 2013); other examples of such practices might include the selection of
604 specific prey animals within a herd to preserve herd structure and the collection of seasonal
605 resources such as animal hides (Speth, 2013). This view is summarised by Keen (2004)
606 speaking of the Australian Aborigines, who writes:

607

608 “According to one view, expressed by Robin Horton, foraging has a
609 number of distinctive features. It involves minimal interference in, and
610 control of, the reproduction of food species..... A contrasting view is that
611 hunters and gatherers were not simply parasitic, killing and collecting
612 opportunistically, but manipulated the environment and its resources.
613 Aborigines managed lands, waters and their resources.” (Keen, 2004:94
614 [Keen's emphasis]).

615

616 We maintain that Keen’s description is equally applicable to the hunter gatherers of Upper
617 Palaeolithic Europe and specifically here the Pavlovian, who will have engaged in a similar
618 range of resource management activities to those observed today among contemporary
619 hunter-gatherer communities – perhaps even more so given the energetics of life in a highly
620 seasonal ice age climate.

621

622 *Conclusion – Firewood supplies in the Pavlov Hills*

623 We argue that groups living c.30,000 years ago at the Dolní Věstonice-Pavlov site cluster in
624 the Pavlov Hills will have managed their fuel supply using similar methods to contemporary
625 hunter-gatherers: by economising their fuel use; mixing different fuels where necessary (e.g.
626 bone and dung); using green wood to supplement dead wood; and deliberately killing trees
627 which were then left to dry out for periods of years prior to burning. We argue in particular
628 that killing live trees and storing the wood *in situ*, or at the campsite, was likely essential for
629 guaranteeing the availability of dry dead wood to burn, because it was unlikely that the
630 charcoal-rich hearths found in the Pavlov Hills could have been sourced from naturally
631 occurring deadwood alone. This is particularly true for the old-growth, large-diameter stems
632 represented in hearth charcoal assemblages at Pavlov I (Cichocki et al., 2014; Opravil, 1994).
633 There is currently no direct archaeological evidence that Pavlovian groups engaged in
634 firewood management strategies. Indeed such evidence may not preserve archaeologically.
635 Nonetheless, we argue that this behaviour must be inferred from:

636

- 637 1. Palaeoclimatic data indicating sparse tree growth restricted to favourable places in the
638 landscape.
- 639 2. Archaeological data for intense occupation of the Pavlov Hills sites including large
640 numbers of wood-fuelled hearths.
- 641 3. Charcoal ring-width data from Pavlovian sites, indicating that the firewood they
642 burned grew very slowly but reached large-diameter branches/trunks.
- 643 4. The inference, based on deadwood production in modern forests and ethnographic
644 data, that several generations were required for deadwood supplies to regenerate

645 naturally following residential occupations by hunter-gatherers in the neighbouring
646 area.

647

648 Understanding settlement patterns and mobility in the Upper Palaeolithic requires proper
649 consideration of fuel supply management. Firewood was not merely an optional resource in
650 the Upper Palaeolithic to be collected casually when convenient. Rather, its procurement was
651 fundamental to subsistence strategies and thus dictated human movement through the
652 landscape and settlement within it. The crucial role of fuel provisioning is widely accepted for
653 later archaeological periods (Bishop et al., 2015; Dufraisse, 2006; Johnson et al., 2005;
654 Simpson et al., 2003; Theler and Boszhardt, 2006), and should, we argue, be properly
655 incorporated into our understanding of Palaeolithic campsite locations at which large
656 quantities of firewood were burnt. Without ready, reliable access to fuel, large aggregation
657 sites around wood-fuelled hearths such as those of the Pavlov Hills would simply not have
658 been possible. This argument is entirely consistent with ethnographic descriptions of firewood
659 management practices by groups living in similar environmental settings today, but it was
660 surely even more important in the freezing Pleistocene mammoth steppe environments of
661 central and eastern Europe. Finally, this case study of fuel procurement is but one example of
662 many potential landscape management practices that may have been employed by Upper
663 Palaeolithic hunter-gatherers (Lightfoot et al., 2013), and which contributed to shaping the
664 environments in which they lived.

665

666

667

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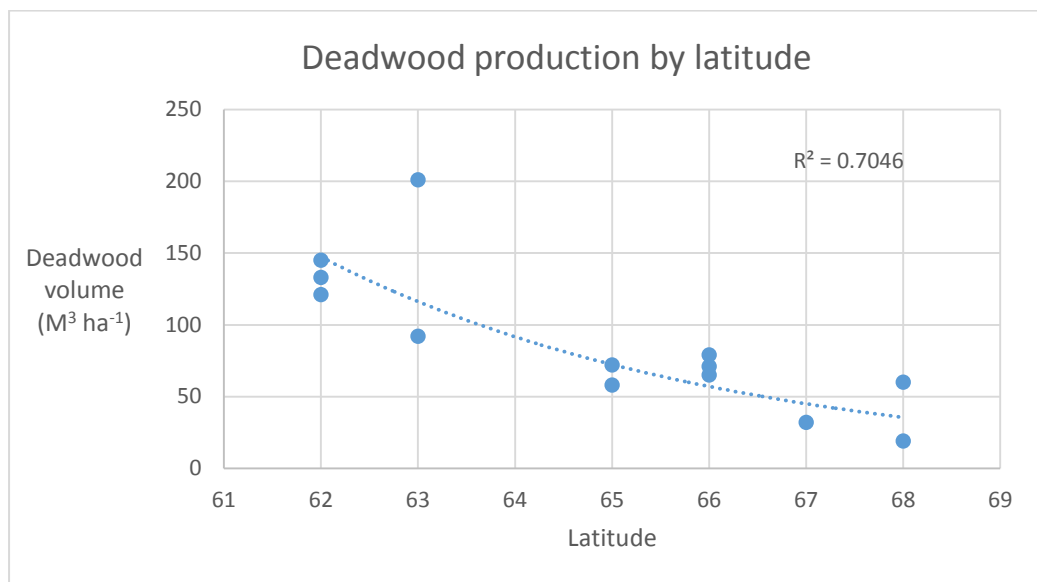
1011 Figure 1: Map showing location of the Pavlovske Hills sites (marked 'X') and the Bulhary pollen core. Topography (shading), approximate location of rivers
1012 (thick lines) and associated floodplains are indicated. Trees may have grown as riparian woodland on the floodplain, or in sheltered locations in the valleys
1013 around the Pavlov Hills. 1 - Dolní Věstonice sites; 2 - Pavlov sites; 3 - Milovice sites.

1014

1015 Figure 2 – Images of hearths excavated at the Pavlov Hills sites. A) Photograph from the excavation archives of B. Klíma showing a hearth from Pavlov I in
1016 cross-section. B) Two hearths excavated in 1987 at Dolní Věstonice II, Western Slope. Photographs taken by J. Svoboda.

1017

1018 Figure 3 – Graphical plot of data listed in Table 2. Total deadwood volume is substantially lower in northern areas where tree growth is slower.



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1022 Figure 4 – Charcoal from Klima’s 1963 and 1964 excavations at Pavlov I currently under study at the University of Southampton. A – Mostly narrow rings
1023 between 0.2 mm to 0.3 mm wide. This fragment shows 11 annual growth rings in 2.8 mm of charcoal. B – persistently narrow growth rings a few cells wide
1024 and mostly lacking late wood. This fragment shows 11 annual growth rings in 2.49 mm of charcoal.

1025

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1027

1028 Table 1

1029

1030 Arboreal taxa identified in macrocharcoal assemblages from Pavlovian sites near the Pavlov Hills. Numbers indicate quantities of fragments recorded. Where
 1031 quantitative data are not available assemblages were summarised as follows: X – small quantities; XX – moderate quantities; XXX – large quantities.

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Site (and researcher)	Pine				Larch	Spruce		Fir		<i>Juniperus communis</i>	Broad leaved taxa						Reference	
	<i>Pinus sylvestris</i>	<i>Pinus t. cembra</i>	<i>Pinus mugo Turra</i>	<i>Pinus sp.</i>	<i>Larix/Picea</i>	<i>Larix decidua</i>	<i>Picea abies</i>	<i>Picea sp.</i>	cf. <i>Abies</i>		<i>Abies alba</i>	<i>Populus</i>	<i>Salix sp.</i>	<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	<i>Quercus sp.</i>	<i>Taxus baccata</i>		cf. <i>Ulmus</i>
Pavlov I (Opravil)	15	1	19		7		100		1	242								Opravil 1994
Pavlov I (Damblon)		125			7		526				1					1		Damblon 1997
Pavlov II (Čulíková)	6	2			48	86	82		4			5						Čulíková 2011
Pavlov VI (Čulíková)	3				26	19	61						1					Čulíková 2011
DVII (Opravil)	3				10	1	XXX		2	41								Opravil 1994
Milovice IV (Čulíková)	24				11	4	18		3			2						Čulíková 2011
Pavlov II (Opravil)									XXX									Klíma 1976
DVI (researcher unknown)	XXX	XX	X	X		X	XX		X		X	X				X		Klíma 1954
DVII (other authors)	XXX			X	XXX	X			X		X			X				Mason et al. 1994; Klíma 1995; Beresford-Jones et al. 2011
Milovice I (Opravil)				X	X		XXX		XXX								X	Oliva 1988; Oliva 2009

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1035 Table 2

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1037 Volume of dead wood in old-growth undisturbed conifer forests at different latitudes,
1038 reproduced from data compiled in Siitonen et al. (2000). References for each entry in the table
1039 can be found in Siitonen et al. (2000).

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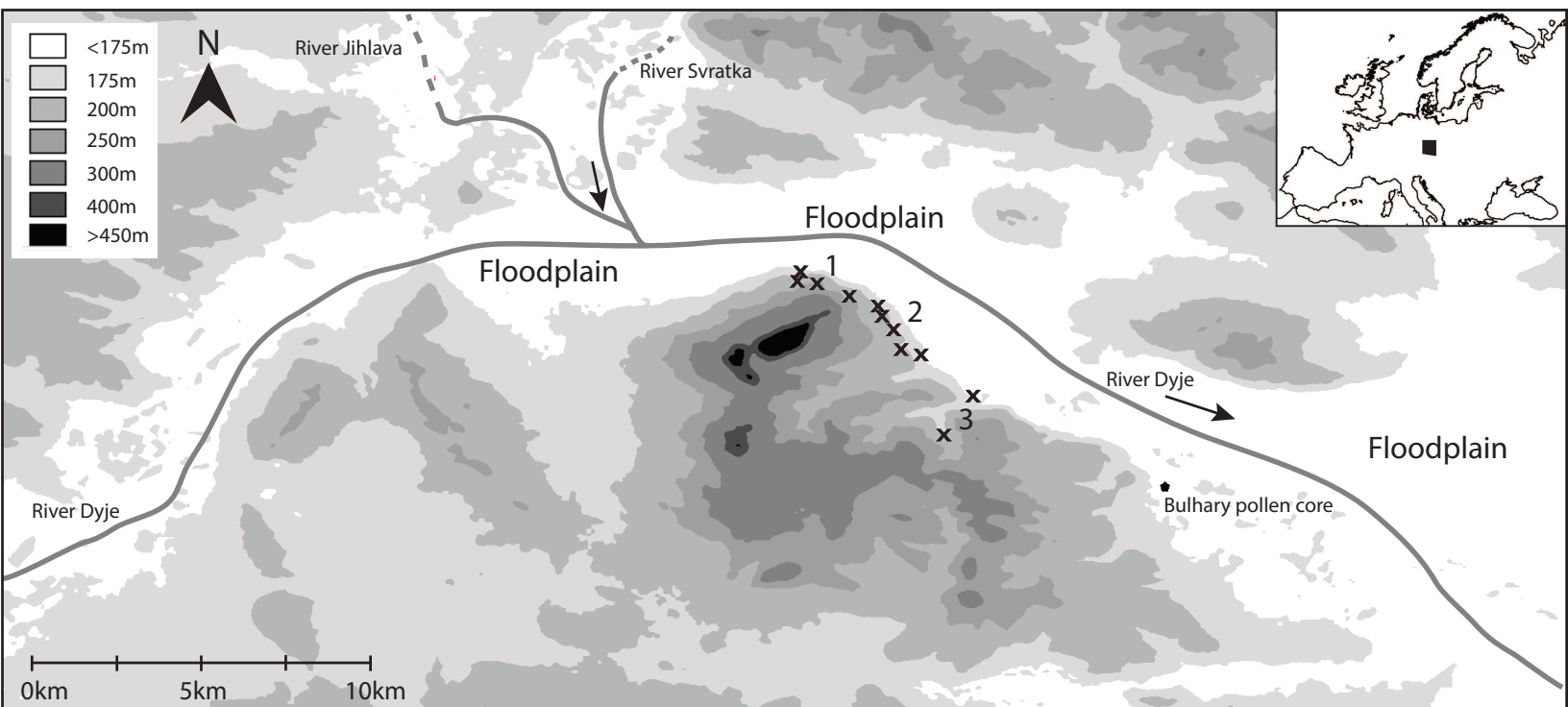
Forest type	Stand		Longitude (°E)	Latitude (°N)	Smallest measured diameter (cm)	Deadwood volume (m ³ ha ⁻¹)
	age (years)	Location				
<i>Picea abies, Pinus sylvestris</i>	196	Sweden	15	62	10	133
<i>Picea abies</i>	133	Sweden	16	62	10	121
<i>Picea abies, Abies sibirica</i>	~500	Russia, Komi	58	62	1	145
<i>Picea abies, Pinus sylvestris</i>	~200	Russia, Karelia	37	63	5	92
<i>Picea abies</i>	245	Sweden	18	63	10	201
<i>Picea abies</i>	140	Sweden	18	65	10	58
<i>Picea abies</i>	151	Sweden	19	65	10	72
<i>Picea abies</i>	~500	Sweden	16	66	5	79
<i>Picea abies</i>	176	Sweden	18	66	10	71
<i>Picea abies</i>	245	Sweden	22	66	10	65
<i>Picea abies, Betula pubescens</i>	~500	Finland	24	67	5	32
<i>Picea abies, Betula pubescens</i>	~500	Finland	25	68	1	19
<i>Picea abies, Betula pubescens</i> (moist)	~500	Finland	25	68	1	60

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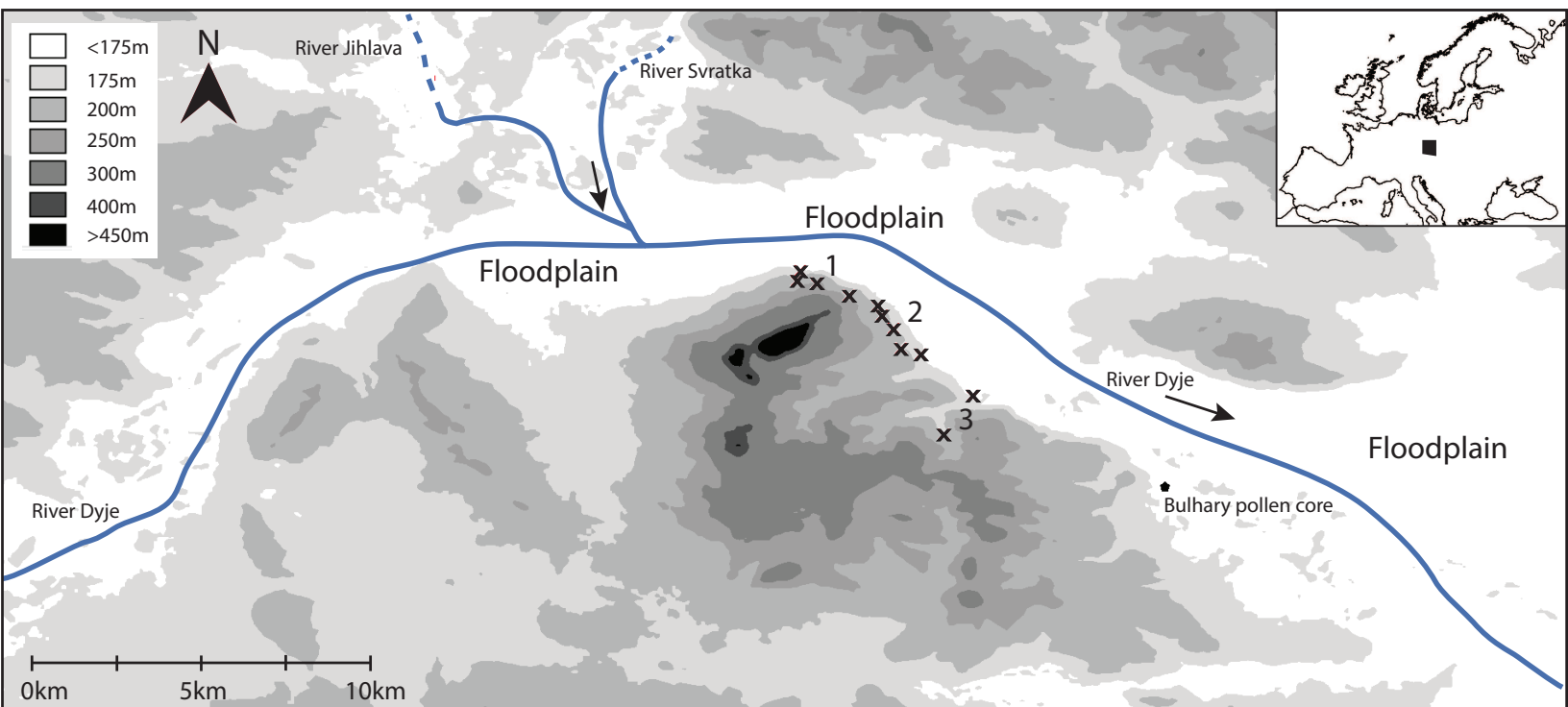
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Figure 1



Map showing location of the Pavlov Hills sites (marked 'X') and the Bulhary pollen core. Topography and approximate location of rivers (thick lines) and associated floodplains are indicated. Trees may have grown as riparian woodland on the floodplain, or in sheltered locations in the many valleys around the Pavlov Hills. 1 - Dolní Věstonice sites; 2 - Pavlov sites; 3 - Milovice sites.

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Figure 2
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Figure 4

