

Late Holocene Aleppo pine (Pinus halepensis Miller) woodlands in Mallorca (Balearic Islands, Western Mediterranean): investigation of their distribution and the role of human management based on anthracological, dendro-anthracological and archaeopalynological data

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Late Holocene Aleppo pine (Pinus halepensis Miller) woodlands in Mallorca (Balearic Islands, Western Mediterranean): investigation of their distribution and the role of human management based on anthracological, dendro-anthracological and archaeopalynological data. --Manuscript Draft--

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Abstract:	The pioneering nature of Mediterranean pines and their phytosociological role have been largely discussed in relation to different agents (e.g., edaphic, climatic or anthropogenic). In this context, Aleppo pine is one of the most widespread pine species in the Mediterranean basin, as it is especially adapted to climatic constraints, such as drought and high seasonality, and has a high tolerance for salinity and strong coastal winds. It is also well adapted to regeneration after anthropogenic landscape disturbances, highlighting its important after-fire regeneration rates. In this sense, phytosociological studies conducted in Mediterranean landscapes have found that this species' wide distribution is mostly due to its rapid regeneration after human landscape transformation, including fire, and the abandonment of agricultural lands. Aleppo pine is considered to broadly develop after human action in sclerophyllous formation, in which it would be scarce or absent without human intervention. Parallel, paleoenvironmental and archaeobatanical studies have attempted to trace these trends back to prehistoric times to investigate this species' role in Late Pleistocene and Holocene vegetation and evaluate the role of climate and human action in its diachronic dynamics. In this study, we present a compendium of anthracological, dendro-anthracological and archaeopalyonological data with the objective of (i) investigating the nature and distribution of Aleppo pine on the island of Mallorca and (ii) evaluating the possibility that human action could have resulted in the spread of this pine species during the first two millennia of permanent human occupation of the island (c. 2300 cal. BCE-1st-century ACE). Investigating these archaeobotanical datasets, as well as making comparisons with anthracological and paleoenvironmental studies in neighbouring Mediterranean zones (Iberia), allowed us to attest that Aleppo pine is a natural, pre-human component of the Holocene vegetation of the reduce and dharaceteristics of the human man

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Abstract: The pioneering nature of Mediterranean pines and their phytosociological role have been 35 36 largely discussed in relation to different agents (e.g., edaphic, climatic or anthropogenic). In this 37 context, Aleppo pine is one of the most widespread pine species in the Mediterranean basin, as it is 38 especially adapted to climatic constraints, such as drought and high seasonality, and has a high 39 tolerance for salinity and strong coastal winds. It is also well adapted to regeneration after 40 anthropogenic landscape disturbances, highlighting its important after-fire regeneration rates. In this 41 sense, phytosociological studies conducted in Mediterranean landscapes have found that this species' wide distribution is mostly due to its rapid regeneration after human landscape 42 43 transformation, including fire, and the abandonment of agricultural lands. Aleppo pine is considered 44 to broadly develop after human action in sclerophyllous formation, in which it would be scarce or absent without human intervention. Parallel, paleoenvironmental and archaeobotanical studies have 45 46 attempted to trace these trends back to prehistoric times to investigate this species' role in Late 47 Pleistocene and Holocene vegetation and evaluate the role of climate and human action in its 48 diachronic dynamics. In this study, we present a compendium of anthracological, dendro-49 anthracological and archaeopalyonological data with the objective of (i) investigating the nature and 50 distribution of Aleppo pine on the island of Mallorca and (ii) evaluating the possibility that human 51 action could have resulted in the spread of this pine species during the first two millennia of 52 permanent human occupation of the island (c. 2300 cal. BCE-1st-century ACE). Investigating these 53 archaeobotanical datasets, as well as making comparisons with anthracological and 54 paleoenvironmental studies in neighbouring Mediterranean zones (Iberia), allowed us to attest that 55 Aleppo pine is a natural, pre-human component of the Holocene vegetation of the island, and it is 56 especially well-adapted to coastal environments. Moreover, we describe the trends and 57 characteristics of the human management of pine woodlands through anthracology and dendro-58 anthracology, suggesting that human action did not provoke widespread growth of Aleppo pine in 59 Mallorca at the expense of other vegetation types during prehistory. Such processes, well-60 documented by current phytosociological studies, probably began at some unknown point after the Romanisation of the island. 61

62

63 **Keywords**: Aleppo pine (*Pinus halepensis* Miller), anthracology, anthraco-typology,

64 archaeopalynology, Mallorca (Balearic Islands).

65 66

67 1. Introduction

The nature and phytosociological role of Mediterranean pines have been largely discussed in the 68 69 botanical and paleobotanical literature. Mediterranean pines are especially adapted to post-fire regeneration and are important pioneering trees in forest regeneration processes after human 70 71 disturbances. In the specific case of Aleppo pine, one of the most widespread Mediterranean 72 conifers, serotony and early flowering are considered adaptive traits favouring survival after crown 73 fires, even if the pine does not survive the fire itself (Tapias et al. 2004; Daskalakou and Thanos 74 1996; Thanos and Daskalakou 2000; Ne' eman et al. 2004; Ne' eman and Izhaki, 2006; Pausas et al. 75 2004). This has been a relevant element in considering Aleppo pine a pioneer and invasive tree in 76 Mediterranean environments (Pausas et al. 2002), often relating it to stages of the succession and 77 environmental degradation of broadleaved forests formations (Bellot 1978; Peinado and Rivas-78 Martínez 1987).

In Mallorca, Aleppo pine woodlands represent the most widespread forest formations (IFN 2012) and have experienced a major increase since the mid-twentieth century, clearly favoured by changes in land use following abandoned agricultural lands and after fires (Berbiela 2015). In parallel, a negative social perception of this species has been increasing among the Balearic society, where, in many cases, it is considered an invasive tree brought by humans rather than via natural processes in the archipelago. It is also often considered fire-promoting and responsible for many plagues (Sureda-Negre et al. 2011).

86 However, recent research on Aleppo pine has noted that its adaptive and reproductive strategy, with 87 partial serotony and quick initial growth, is relevant to competing where there are frequent fires and 88 other edaphic and climatic constraints of the Mediterranean climate, especially drought (Martínez 89 del Castilo et al. 2018; Ne' eman et al. 2004). Furthermore, the paleoenvironmental literature has 90 also indicated that the post-fire regeneration and colonisation of degraded lands after human action 91 are not the only potential explanations for the presence and development of pines in Mediterranean 92 environments (Carrión et al. 2010; Carrión and Fernández 2009), at least not until more recent 93 historical times (Aranbarri et al. 2020). Pines could have constituted the climax vegetation in areas 94 where arid conditions would not have allowed the development of other types of forests (Badal, 95 2013).

Regarding such current discussions on the phytoecological role of Aleppo pine and the impact of 96 97 anthropogenic landscape management on its diachronic dynamics, in this article, we aim to (i) 98 define the use of pinewood by prehistoric societies on the island of Mallorca during the first two 99 millennia of permanent human occupation of all the biotopes of the island (c. 2300 cal. BCE-1st-100 century ACE) and (ii) investigate the nature of Aleppo pine woodlands on the island, assessing the 101 role of anthropogenic landscape management in this species' distribution during the studied period, 102 aided by the knowledge of its actual ecological and distributional characteristics. We approach these 103 objectives using a multi-proxy strategy, combining different kinds of archaeobotanical data (i.e., 104 anthracology, dendro-anthracology and archaeopalynology) and discussing them in relation to 105 paleoenvironmental sequences and the dynamics of Aleppo pine in neighbouring continental areas 106 (Iberia).

107

108 2. Archaeological and environmental setting

Mallorca is the largest island of the Balearic archipelago, with a total surface of 3.620 Km². The geology of the island is almost exclusively calcareous, with only some non-calcareous substratum (i.e., Palaeozoic and Triassic) in the northern mountain range (Rosselló et al. 2003). There are no permanent watercourses on the island; its hydrographic network is composed of streams with intermittent water flows, mainly during spring and autumn, when the most significant precipitation occurs. There exist a number of shallow brackish lagoons along the coastline of the island that allow the development of particular types of vegetation in the wetlands.

The vegetation of the island is typically termo- and meso-Mediterranean, characterised by an important development of macchia and scrublands. Woodlands are characterised by two main species: *Pinus halepensis* Miller and *Quercus ilex* L. (Llorens et al. 2007). The island is divided into three hydrographic and biogeographical regions: the Tramuntana mountain range, the largest mountains with some of the highest elevations of the archipelago (i.e., the maximum elevation at Son Torrella is 1,445 m.a.s.l.), the Pla, the central plain, and the Llevant region along the southeastern coast (Rosselló et al. 2003).

123

124 2.1. Current distribution of Pinus halepensis Miller in Mallorca.

125 Aleppo pine is a dominant species of Mallorcan tree-covered natural communities, except for oak 126 forests (*Quercus ilex* L.), riversides of freshwater streams, rocky areas, and cliffs of the highest 127 mountains. Currently, the island has 150,248.82 hectares of forested lands (IFN 2012), with Aleppo 128 pine present in more than 50% of them (Berbiela 2015). The abundance of this species is attributed 129 to its high ecological plasticity, as well as its rapid and robust regeneration in burned and unburned 130 environments, partially due to the serotinous character of its cones (Goubitz et al. 2003). Moreover, 131 human modifications of the landscape over the centuries have also been considered a key factor in 132 the current distribution of Aleppo pine woodlands in Mallorca (Bolòs 1993, Gil et al. 2003).

Aleppo pine occupies most of the areas suitable for the development of sclerophyllous vegetal formations, where it would probably be scarce or rare, assuming that human action has favoured its spread. This is why all phytosociological researchers agree on considering Aleppo pine merely an accompanying species for sclerophyllous and pioneering formations. A characteristic phytoecological role is only conferred to Aleppo pine in some permanent littoral habitats, where it broadly develops due to its high tolerance to salinity and strong coastal winds (Bolòs 1996; Rivas-Martínez et al. 1992; Llorens et al. 2007).

The formation and overall abundance of long-resting extensive masses of secondary pine forests are interpreted as a general characteristic of Mallorcan vegetation and a direct consequence of anthropic disturbance and fire regimes (Llorens et al. 2007). Aleppo pine woodlands on marginal and noncultivated areas of the island have been subject to secular exploitation. Moreover, extensive pine plantations were established in different areas of Spain after the Civil War (1936-1939) and planted in Mallorca primarily on sclerophyllous macchia (Gil et al. 2003). Land-use changes since the second half of the 20th century, characterised by a progressive abandonment of cultivated lands due 147 to the redirection of the Balearic economy towards mass tourism and abandonment of the primary 148 sector, has resulted in a notable increase in Aleppo pine forests, which have colonised abandoned 149 cultivated lands to the point that they represent more than half of the current forested area of the 150 island (Berbiela 2015).

151

152 2.2. Holocene vegetation dynamics in the Balearic archipelago

Several paleoenvironmental studies involving radiocarbon dating have been conducted on the Balearic Islands since the 1990s (e.g., Burjachs et al. 1994; Yll et al. 1997, 1999; Pérez-Obiol et al. 2000; Servera-Vives et al. 2018; Kaniewski et al., 2020). This research was performed on sedimentary records of littoral sequences focused on the Holocene, mainly from Menorca, while paleoenvironmental studies on Mallorca and Pitïuses remain scarce. At this time, there are only two published palynological studies conducted on Mallorca with reliable chronological and analytical resolution; both in the same wetland, s'Albufera d'Alcúdia (Burjachs et al. 1994, 1997, 2017).

KF14, a hemipelagic marine core, has revealed the vegetation dynamics from the upper Pleistocene 160 161 to the Holocene (Yll et al. 1999; Roure et al. 1995; Pérez-Obiol et al. 2000). Pollen analysis of 162 marine records allows researchers to trace regional climate and vegetation trends over time, while 163 terrestrial records are more prone to recording micro-regional variability related to human-climate-164 environmental interactions (Mercuri et al. 2012). In this sense, the KF14 sequence has revealed pre-165 Holocene high values of Pinus and steppe taxa, such as Artemisia, along the sequence. This 166 vegetation configuration characteristic of cold periods decreased during the 167 interglacials/interstadials, where some temperate taxa, such as Corylus, Betula and deciduous 168 Quercus, spread.

169 The Early Holocene implies a retreat of pine formations and the expansion of littoral communities 170 of Juniperus and Ephedra and some mesic taxa, such as Buxus, Corvlus and deciduous Ouercus 171 (Yll et al. 1997; Burjachs et al. 1994, 2017; Pérez-Obiol et al. 2000, 2001). This kind of vegetation takes advantage of wetter-than-today climate conditions and the absence of reported human 172 activities until approximately the 5th-millennium cal BP. Both Mallorca and Menorca, known as the 173 Gymnesic islands, show similar trends in vegetation history. From the 6th- to 4th-millennium cal BP, 174 175 a deep vegetation shift occurred, implying a transition from the aforementioned mesic and littoral 176 communities to Mediterranean macchia and garrigues dominated by Olea, Pistacia and Erica. 177 These were prevalent plant communities during the Late Holocene, alternated with scattered open 178 areas created for agropastoral activities. Such a deep landscape transformation has been related to 179 the increasingly dry conditions in the Western Mediterranean and the possibility of agropastoral 180 practices the archaeologically-documented definitive human occupation (Burjachs et al. 2017; Yll et al. 1999; Servera-Vives et al. 2018). Even though archaeological evidences before 2500-2800 cal
BCE remain still controversial, pollen analysis carried out in Mallorca and Menorca evidence the
increase of anthropogenic pollen indicators (including nitrophilous and ruderal taxa and crops),
suggesting the possibility of agropastoral activities in the Balearic Islands prior to the Chalcolithic
period (Carrión et al. 2010; Servera-Vives et al., 2018)

186

187 Despite the well-known high pollen productivity and overrepresentation of pine pollen grains in 188 fossil and modern pollen analogue studies (Heim 1970; Ejarque et al. 2011; Miras 2009), Holocene 189 paleoenvironmental littoral sequences from Mallorca and Menorca show low to moderate Pinus 190 values, generally under 40%. This fact has been interpreted as the scarce importance of pine 191 formations on the Gymnesic islands during the Holocene, compared to Ibiza and other eastern 192 Iberian Peninsula sequences. Despite the overall moderate pine representation in the Balearic 193 Holocene sequences, it is worth noting an increase in Pinus values (from ca. 15% to 40%) reported 194 in s'Albufera d'Alcúdia at ca. 3000-2000 cal BCE (Burjachs et al. 1994, 2017; Kaniewski et al., 195 2020), suggesting a change in the spread of littoral pine formations in the area. Other palynological 196 studies from Holocene sequences in western Mallorca also show noticeable increases of Pinus 197 values, such as in Santa Ponça (Parra 1994) and Palma Nova cores (Menéndez-Amor and Florschütz 1961), but no reliable chronological data are available. 198

199

200 2.3. Mallorca during prehistory and protohistory

201 The process of human occupation of the Balearic Islands occurred in a relatively late chronology in 202 comparison with other insular territories of the Mediterranean basin. Archaeological evidence for 203 the first human occupation of the archipelago remains slippery and under debate, but there is a 204 consensus in situating the definitive settlement of human populations at around the first half of the 205 3rd-millennium cal. BCE (between 2900–2500 cal. BCE [Guerrero et al. 2007; Guerrero and Calvo 206 2008] and 2350–2150 cal. BCE [Alcover 2008; Lull et al. 2004; Sintes 2015]). The Chalcolithic 207 occupation of Mallorca developed between c. 2500 and 1700 cal. BCE, representing stable human occupation of the island (Calvo and Guerrero 2002; Calvo et al. 2002). Although the 208 209 bioarchaeological information is scarce, it seems clear that from this period onwards, well-210 established agriculture and husbandry developed in the archipelago (Pérez-Jordà et al. 2018; Ramis 211 2018).

During the Bronze Age, the permanent occupation of all the biotopes of the island is wellevidenced, including the development of monumental vernacular architecture with cyclopean techniques. The so-called Naviform culture developed during the Bronze Age in 1700/1600– 1100/1000-850 cal. BCE (Lull et al. 1999; Micó 2006; Guerrero et al. 2007; Calvo et al. 2011;
Salvà 2013). During this period, settlements consisting of groups of navetiforms, monumental boatshaped houses built using the cyclopean technique, expanded across the island of Mallorca and
elsewhere in the archipelago.

After a period of transition and transformations in the Naviform culture, the Talaiotic culture (Early Iron Age [EIA], c.850–550 cal. BCE) emerged in Mallorca and Menorca. This culture is characterised by a redefinition of monumental architecture focused on public tower-shaped buildings (i.e., so-called 'talaiots' and other types of turriforms; Calvo 2009; Gelabert-Oliver et al. 2018). A new period of transformations occurred around c.550 cal. BCE, when the Postalaiotic or Balearic culture (Late Iron Age [LIA]) developed. The Postalaiotic or Balearic culture extended until the Roman conquest of the island in 123 cal. BCE.

226

227 3. Materials and methods: archaeobotanical records of *Pinus halepensis* Miller

228 Tracing the history of Aleppo pine woodlands on the island of Mallorca during the Late Holocene, 229 including its anthropogenic use and potential influence on its distribution requires different kinds of 230 archaeobotanical materials. Accordingly, this research is based on the compilation and analysis of 231 published and unpublished charcoal and wooden fragments and pollen analysis of prehistoric and 232 protohistoric archaeological sites on the island of Mallorca (Figure 1) to gather information on both 233 the landscape dynamics in the surroundings of the studied sites and on the management of 234 woodlands by human communities. To summarise all the available datasets, we standardised and 235 treated all the available data. The chronology of the available samples corresponds to the prehistory 236 and protohistory of the island of Mallorca (c. 2300 cal. BCE-1st-century ADE). Samples from 237 previous and later phases were scarce or did not meet the requirements for the data treatment 238 proposed in this study (see below).

239

Figure 1: Map of Mallorca island showing the location of the archaeological sites where charcoal
and pollen assemblages were studied and of the off-site paleoenvironmental sequence of s'Albufera
d'Alcúdia (drawn by Alejandra Galmés, Universitat de les Illes Balears).

243

244 3.1. Archaeological wood and charcoal remains

Different wood and charcoal materials were considered in this study. Regarding charcoal assemblages, 37 samples of dispersed charcoal fragments from archaeological contexts with proper stratigraphic control and dating were analysed and considered (Table 1). As selection criteria for the samples to be analysed, we discarded those with less than 90/100 charcoal fragments. All the selected samples had been previously evaluated in terms of statistical representativeness (see references in Table 1), and we took into consideration whether the samples came from demolishedbuildings after fire episodes.

252

253 Table 1: Description of the anthracological assemblages considered in this study.

254

To standardise the taxonomical identifications of all the samples by ecological types, different 255 256 categories were established: xeric and sub-xeric trees, xeric and sub-xeric shrubs, and messic taxa. 257 Pinus values were individualised in a separated category, and a sum of tree values was included. 258 The taxonomical identifications included in each of these categories are shown in Table 2. With the 259 37 samples, anthracological diagrams were created for the three main biogeographical regions of 260 the island: the Tramuntana mountain range in the north, the Pla (central plain), and the Llevant 261 coast. A separate diagram was created for the site of Na Galera, located in a small islet on the 262 western shores of Mallorca (Figure 1).

263

Table 2: Taxa grouping according to phytosociological formations and climatic conditions in the
Balearic Islands (according to Bolós 1993; Gil et al. 2003; Llorens et al. 2007).

266

Dendro-anthracological information regarding some of the Pinus halepensis fragments, which is 267 268 also available (Picornell et al. 2020), was also considered. The objective of developing dendro-269 anthracological analysis of Aleppo pine charcoal fragments is to better define the pinewood 270 exploitation practices developed by prehistoric communities in Mallorca by differentiating branches 271 and/or trunk exploitation. The results of the dendro-anthracological analysis (charcoal-pith distance 272 combined with ring width) are organised according to anthraco-typological principles (Dufraisse et 273 al. 2018; Coubrai and Dufraisse 2019). A dendrochronological referential study of Pinus halepensis 274 Miller on Mallorca facilitated the establishment of four different anthraco-groups to differentiate 275 different pinewood exploitation practices (Picornell et al. 2020):

- Anthraco-group 1: A small diameter (<7cm) and slow growth (RW <1.5 mm), represent
 branches;
- Anthraco-group 2: A small diameter (<7cm) and fast growth (RW >1.5 mm) represent the internal part of mature woods from tunks;
- Anthraco-group 3: A large diameter (>7cm) and slow growth (RW <1.5 mm) represent
 external parts of major trunks characterised by slow growth;
- Anthraco-group 4: A large diameter (>7cm) and fast growth (RW >1.5 mm) represent
 external parts of major trunks characterised by fast growth.

Dendro-anthracological analysis was performed on five of the available samples from three archaeological sites (Table 3). The results of the anthraco-typological analysis are represented in bar diagrams representing the percentage of fragments for each category in a given charcoal assemblage.

288

289 Table 3: Description of anthracological assemblages on which dendro-anthracological and 290 anthraco-typological analyses were performed (Picornell et al. 2020).

291

292 The study of archaeological objects or large fragments of wood identifiable as constructive 293 elements also included Pinus halepensis macro-remains. The use of this wood to manufacture 294 identifiable objects by prehistoric people has been documented in different funerary sites on the 295 island, where the use of pinewood to make coffins to bury individuals has been documented 296 (Picornell-Gelabert 2012; Calvo et al. 2020). Moreover, the use of pinewood to make different 297 architectural elements has also been documented in prehistoric and protohistoric sites on the island. Both direct (i.e., burned wooden beams, posts and crosspieces) and indirect (i.e., diameter 298 299 estimation of Pinus halepensis fragments in after-fire collapsed contexts where timber was burned 300 and fragmented) evidence of timber use has been analysed in previous studies (Allué et al. 2013; 301 Picornell-Gelabert 2012; Picornell-Gelabert and Servera-Vives 2017; Piqué and Noguera 2003; Ros 302 1984; summarised in Picornell-Gelabert and Dufraisse 2018).

303

304 3.2. Archaeopalinological materials and methods

305 In this research, we gathered information from several archaeopalynological studies conducted on 306 Mallorca. Forty-nine archaeopalynological samples from Mallorcan archaeological sites were 307 selected for this study, ranging from the Llevant to the Tramuntana area (Table 4). To facilitate the 308 comparison of archaeopalynological and anthracologial results, identifications were grouped 309 following ecological Balearic categories, while *Pinus* pollen values were assigned to a separate 310 category (Table 2). Samples were treated following different chemical procedures, including 311 standard treatments (Faegri et al. 1989) and heavy liquid separation (see Table 4). For heavy liquid 312 separation, two different methods were used in the palynological studies: (1) samples of about 2 gr. 313 of dry sediment were treated for pollen extraction according to standard procedures using tetra-Na-314 pyrophosphate, HCl 10%, acetolysis, heavy liquid separation with sodium metatungstate hydrate, 315 HF 48% and ethanol (Florenzano et al. 2012; van der Kaars et al. 2001), and (2) samples of about 316 15 gr. of dry sediment were treated using the standard procedures described by Girard and Renault Miskovsky (1969) and Goeury and de Beaulieu (1979), modified by Burjachs et al. (2003), 317 318 including HCl, KOH, HF and heavy liquid ZnCl2. In all cases, final residues were mounted on

slides in glycerol jelly for pollen grains identification. Samples of a mean of 225 pollen grains counted per slide were considered. Pollen relative values were calculated as percentages of the total land pollen sum, which includes pollen from vascular plants. Pollen grains were identified and counted using biological microscopes at magnifications typically ranging from 400 to 630. Pollen identification was carried out using atlases and morphological keys (e.g., Punt et al. 1976-2009; Moore et al. 1991; Reille, 1992, 1995; Beug, 2004). Diagrams were plotted using C2 software (Juggins 2007) and refined in Illustrator.

326

327 Table 4: Description of the archaeopalynological assemblages considered in this study.

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- 329
- 330
- **4. Results.**

332 4.1. Archaeological wood and charcoal analysis

Thirty-seven assemblages of dispersed charcoal fragments were considered in this study (Table 1):
25 from the Llevant coast, 10 from the central plain, 1 from the Tramuntana mountain range and 1
from the islet of Na Galera (Figure 2).

336

Figure 2: Percentage diagrams of anthracological data for the different regions of Mallorca:
eastern coast (Llevant), central plain (Pla), Tramuntana mountain range (Tramuntana) and Na
Galera islet. The results are plotted following their chronology. Horizontal lines indicate chronocultural phases: BA (Bronze Age); EIA (Early Iron Age); LIA (Late Iron Age); RT (Roman Times)

341

The Llevant region has the best chronological coverage, with samples from the Early Bronze Age to the 1st century ACE originating from five different archaeological sites. The different taxonomical categories change over time, and the values of *Pinus* are variable, ranging from 0% to 40%. In the central plain, 10 samples from 4 different sites were analysed, all of which correspond to the EIA and LIA. The values are homogenous during the first part of the diagram, but changes are detected in the last part of the sequence, when *Pinus* values increase significantly.

The only assemblage available in the Tramuntana mountain range corresponds to the LIA use of the Son Ferrer hypogeum as a collective burial place. In this assemblage, *Pinus* presents significant values, but the most represented taxonomical category corresponds to xeric and sub-xeric shrubs. Finally, in Na Galera islet, an assemblage of charcoal fragments deposited in a dump pith over a relatively long period of time during the 1st century ACE was studied. In this case, *Pinus* is the most
 recurrent taxon identified.

354 The results of the dendro-anthracological analysis of *Pinus halepensis* charcoal fragments (Picornell-Gelabert et al. 2020) allowed us to organise the results obtained (Table 5) according to 355 356 anthraco-typological principles, represented in Figure 3, which shows the percentage of analysed fragments for each of the four anthraco-groups. The two Late Bronze Age levels analysed at 357 358 Building 51 of Ses Païsses showed predominance of anthraco-group 1 (representing branches), especially in the habitat layer. In contrast, the LIA assemblages from Building 25 at Ses Païsses and 359 360 Talaiot 3 at Son Fornés were characterised by the clear predominance of anthraco-group 2 and the 361 highest values for anthraco-group 4 detected among the five assemblages. These results indicate 362 that the Pinus fragments originated from both trunks and branches. Finally, the assemblage from Na Galera also showed a predominance of anthraco-group 1, followed by anthraco-group 2. Some of 363 364 these results invite reconsideration of the nature and origin of the dispersed charcoal fragments and reevaluation of the context, as timber remains may have also been present (Picornell-Gelabert et al. 365 366 2020).

367

368 Table 5: Results of anthraco-typological analysis (Picornell-Gelabert et al. 2020).

369

Figure 3: Bar charts showing the percentage of fragments for the four different anthraco-groups ineach assemblage.

372

373 Regarding direct evidences of timber wood, a total of 133 architectural wooden elements were 374 identified in Bronze and Iron Age sites on Mallorca (Table 6). In all cases, the timber elements were 375 preserved after a fire event that caused the collapse of a building. The only direct evidence of timber 376 in Bronze Age sites corresponds to two *Olea* beam fragments from a Navetiform at the Hospitalet Vell site. In Iron Age sites, a larger amount of architectural timber remains is present at the sites of 377 378 Cas Canar, Son Ferragut and Son Fornés. Most of the timber elements correspond to Olea 379 *europaea*, but a significant amount of *Pinus halepensis* elements were also found at all of the sites, 380 especially at Cas Canar.

381

Table 6: Summary of direct evidence of timber remains identified in prehistoric and protohistoric
sites on Mallorca (after Picornell and Dufraisse 2018).

Finally, *Pinus* wood was also used as a raw material to manufacture objects (Table 7). In all cases, *Pinus* wooden objects were found in LIA funerary sites and are related to the wooden coffins
(Picornell-Gelabert 2012; Calvo et al. 2020).

388

Table 7: Summary of Pinus halepensis wooden objects identified in prehistoric sites of Mallorca
(after Picornell-Gelabert 2012).

391

392 4.2. Archaeopalynology

393 Forty-nine samples were considered in this study: 35 in Llevant, 3 in Pla, and 11 in Tramuntana 394 regions (Figure 4). Overall, the studied archaeopalynological samples showed relatively low values of Pinus pollen (i.e., under 22%). This is consistent with the general moderate-to-low AP values 395 396 (generally under 40%). The chronology of the samples differed from one region to another. The 397 Llevant region presented samples from four sites with a wide time span, from the Bronze Age to 398 Roman times. These samples contained the highest values of Pinus pollen of all the samples 399 presented in this study, with maximal values of ca. 22%. During the Bronze Age, samples from 400 S'Hospitalet Vell and Sa Ferradura recorded the highest values of pine pollen. Later, during the 401 First Iron Age, moderate values (ca. 10-20%) of xeric and sub-xeric trees are recorded, and very 402 low values of messic (e.g., Buxus, Corylus and Alnus). During LIA and Roman times, an overall 403 trend toward lower *Pinus* values is highlighted in the diagram, coinciding with a noticeable increase 404 in herbaceous taxa.

405 The three archaeopalynological samples from the Pla region show almost no pine pollen, with 406 maximal values of about 1%, while AP values were always below 6%. Samples from Son Serra-407 Muro were quite similar, even if they corresponded to different chronologies, while Cas Canar 408 samples showed relatively higher values of arboreal and shrubby taxa. Regarding the Tramuntana 409 region, the highest values of *Pinus* pollen were recorded at the site of Turó de Ses Beies (ca. 13%). 410 Additionally, during the LIA, most samples showed higher values of xeric and sub-xeric trees, 411 messic taxa, and AP but lower values of xeric and sub-xeric shrubs. TSF-56, from Tumul de Son 412 Ferrer, was the only sample with Roman chronology in the Tramuntana region and showed a 413 predominance of herbaceous taxa.

414

415 *Figure 4: Percentage diagram of archaeopalynological data for the different regions of Mallorca:*

416 eastern coast (Llevant), central plain (Pla) and Tramuntana mountain range (Tramuntana). The

417 results are plotted following their chronology. Horizontal lines indicate chrono-cultural phases: BA

418 (Bronze Age); EIA (Early Iron Age); LIA (Late Iron Age); RT (Roman Times).

419 420

421 **5. Discussion**

422 5.1 Pinewood exploitation on Mallorca during prehistory and protohistory

423 The use of pinewood by prehistoric groups on Mallorca is well attested from the end of the 424 Chalcolithic, when the first anthracological assemblages appear (CM1, Figure 2). The presence of 425 pine charcoal fragments is ubiquitous in all regions and phases, but the percentages change from 426 one period to the other. Regarding the archaeopalynological record, percentages of pine pollen 427 grains vary from region to region and period to period. However, high percentages of pine pollen are not detected in any of the assemblages, with values always under 20%, and there are samples in 428 429 all regions that barely register this species (Figure 4), even if pines are great pollinators (Räsänen et al. 2007; Fall, 2012; Heim, 1970). Although pollen is not readily preserved in archaeopalynological 430 431 samples, such studies have proven their value in reconstructing human activities and landscape 432 dynamics (Florenzano et al. 2013; Mercuri et al. 2019). Moreover, Pinus is considered a species 433 with high preservation ability (Cao et al. 2007).

434 The archaeopalynological analyses show a mainly open landscape in the surroundings of the studied sites, ranging from open to semi-open environments, with an overall predominance of herbaceous 435 436 taxa in all regions and chronologies. Poaceae pollen is well-detected in all samples, reaching 437 important percentages in many cases and confirming the existence of open areas near the sites. 438 Accordingly, archaeopalynological results suggest that the landscape surrounding the prehistoric 439 settlements on Mallorca were open landscapes in which crop fields and pasturelands were farmed 440 since the settlement of the Naviform villages (Mercuri et al. 2019), as also attested by carpological 441 results (Pérez-Jordà et al. 2018). The territories adjacent to human settlements would then be 442 characterised by a mosaic landscape composed of a patchy distribution of crop fields, pasturelands 443 and woody vegetal formations characterised by macchia-like scrublands. This anthropogenic 444 landscape structure appears to have been maintained over the last four millennia, as it has also been 445 suggested in off-site pollen sequences from both Mallorca and Menorca (Burjachs et al. 2017; 446 Servera-Vives et al. 2018). Accordingly, heterogeneous distributions and densities of pine forests 447 could have occurred across the island, which could explain the differences observed in the charcoal 448 record. The use of very local resources could also have increased these differences (Figure 2).

The area of Llevant presents the most ancient assemblages of both charcoal and pollen, as well as the longest sequence in time, from the end of the 3rd Millennium cal. BCE to the 1st century ACE (Figure 2, Figure 4). There are moderate percentages of pine pollen in the oldest sample from a navetiform domestic unit at Hospitalet Vell and in EIA samples, but they decrease significantly 453 during the LIA. Moderate pine pollen values were also recorded in LBA samples from the rocky 454 headland of Sa Ferradura. The use of pine wood shown in the anthracological record was variable during Bronze Age in this region, as some assemblages do not contain pine fragments (e.g., sample 455 456 HV_N3_1) or contain minor percentages, and some have higher representations of pine. The 457 highest values were recorded at Building 51 of the Ses Païsses site. In this case, dendroanthracological research has shown that even if the building was abandoned after a fire episode 458 459 (Table 1), what could cause the burning and subsequent fragmentation of pine timber and/or 460 material culture, thus resulting in an overrepresentation of this taxon in the studied charcoal 461 assemblage, the assemblages are mainly composed of pine branches (Figure 3). This is especially 462 clear in the habitat layer (SP6), and only in the fallen roof layer (SP7) are a few fragments of trunks 463 detected. Accordingly, it has been suggested that like the rest of the Bronze Age assemblages of the Llevant area, samples from Building 51 represent the use of pine branches as firewood, although a 464 465 possible use of some timber elements made out of pinewood cannot be discarded (Picornell-466 Gelabert et al. 2020). Archaeopalynological samples from Building 51 of Ses Païsses show a 467 decrease in woodland formations from the preparation levels (20B, 21) to the occupation ones (25, 26, 27), while pine pollen value remain low and do not show significative variation suggesting that 468 469 pine formation or not well stablished in the area and/or that pine wood exploitation do not imply 470 significant decrease in their extension.

471 Later on, during the EIA and LIA, pine charcoal percentages increase significantly, reaching values 472 of >30%, in the two studied sites presenting assemblages from this periods, Ses Païsses and Mestre 473 Ramon (Figure 2). The increase is significantly relevant in LIA assemblages. In this sense, the 474 dendro-anthracological analysis shows that in Building 25 of Ses Païsses, pine branches and trunks 475 were both used as firewood during the LIA (Figure 3), meaning that firewood procurement involved 476 cutting down pine trees (Picornell-Gelabert et al. 2020). This is relevant considering that at Building 477 25, evidence of metallurgical activity was found (Aramburu 2009; Picornell-Gelabert and Carrión 2017), suggesting that increasing firewood demand may have resulted in cutting down pine trees to 478 479 meet the fuel requirements of metallurgical production. This fact, together with the significant 480 increase of pine values in the LIA anthraological assemblages in the Llevant, suggests that 481 pinewood was a more relevant energetic resource during this period than in previous BA contexts. 482 This is consistent with archaeopalynological data, which highlights the low representativity of pine 483 communities in the Llevant area during the LIA.

484 A similar trend is shown in the central plain, where EIA and LIA charcoal assemblages at four 485 different archaeological sites were analysed (Figure 2). During the EIA, the highest pine values 486 were detected at the Cas Canar site. In this case, the studied assemblage collected from the interior 487 of a square talaiot (i.e., a tower-shaped public monument) rather than from a domestic space (Table 1). This monumental building was abandoned after a fire event, after which 101 wooden beams 488 were preserved, 22 of them corresponding to pine (Table 6). In this sense, it has been argued that 489 490 pine would be overrepresented in the anthracological assemblage after the burning and 491 fragmentation of timber (Picornell-Gelabert 2012; Allué et al. 2013). In any case, the 22 pine beams 492 clearly show that in this region, pine trees were cut down during EIA and their trunks used as 493 timber. This is especially relevant considering the absence of pine pollen from the EIA sample from 494 this same site and the very minor values in the other sites of this region (Figure 4), suggesting that 495 pine would not have been a recurrent species in the surroundings. Accordingly, it can be suggested 496 that pines were especially targeted for use as timber, which would have required relatively long 497 trips to reach pine populations, cut their trunks and transport them to the site.

498 In the same region, pine timber was also identified during the LIA. Direct evidence is found at Son 499 Ferragut (two beams and one crosspiece) and Cas Canar (a wooden beam) (Table 6). Moreover, the 500 dendro-anthracological analysis at Talaiot 3 of Son Fornés also showed the exploitation of pine 501 trunks (Figure 3). Considering that the LIA charcoal assemblage from this tower-shaped monument 502 was formed after a fire event (Table 1), it has been suggested that the recurrence of fragments 503 originating from pine trunks would be the result of the burning and fragmentation of pine timber 504 elements, probably beams from the roof of the talaiot (Picornell-Gelabert 2020). However, most of 505 the wooden constructive elements found in these sites are made of *Olea* trunks (Table 6). This can 506 also be explained by the fact that as archaeopalynological records indicate, pine would not be a 507 recurrent species in the area. However, during the LIA, there was a relevant increase in the use of 508 pine firewood in domestic spaces of Son Fornés (Figure 2), suggesting that this species was 509 especially appreciated as firewood during the LIA, as already proposed for the Llevant region. This 510 increase in the use of pine firewood in the central plain during the LIA would also involve the 511 organisation of trips from the villages to pine woodlands which, according to the 512 archaeopalynological results, would be distant from the settlements.

513 The other two regions present a smaller number of studied assemblages. In the case of the Serra de 514 Tramuntana, only one charcoal assemblage was studied, corresponding to the LIA funerary use of 515 the hypogeum of the Son Ferrer staggered turriform (Figure 2, Table 1). In this case, high pine 516 percentages were recorded, corresponding to the use of firewood during successive inhumations in 517 the cave (Picornell-Gelabert et al. 2018). This suggests that pinewood was also appreciated as firewood in ritual and funerary contexts during the LIA. Son Ferrer is located near the coast at the 518 519 western end of the Tramuntana mountain range, in the same regions of the three sites presenting 520 archaeopalynological analyses (Figure 1). In this area, pine pollen is better represented in the LBA

sample, while it is rare in EIA and Roman samples (Figure 4). Nevertheless, during the LIA, pine
higher pollen values were recorded in samples from the Turó de ses Beies, suggesting that pine
populations were better represented in the neighbouring area of the Santa Ponça coastal lagoon.

In the case of the islet of Na Galera, the charcoal assemblage from a cistern reused as a dump pit 524 525 during the 1st century ACE shows the highest pine percentages recorded among the studied samples. This assemblage corresponds to the successive deposition of charcoal debris into the dump over a 526 527 relatively long period of time. The dendro-anthracological study of this assemblage (Figure 3) shows that it was mainly composed of pine branches, which indicates that the assemblage 528 529 represents the deposition of firewood debris. However, some fragments corresponding to trunks are 530 detected, which could also represent firewood debris or the cleaning of pine timber elements from a 531 neighbouring building that burned down at the time (Picornell-Gelabert et al. 2020). Accordingly, the assemblage suggests that pine provided most of the firewood used during the 1st century ACE. 532 533 Since it is a secondary deposition of firewood debris, it is difficult to assess the original use of fire. 534 In the small islet where the archaeological site is located, both ceremonial and metallurgical 535 activities were documented. Moreover, the small size and the lack of soils in the islet suggest that 536 firewood would have been transported from Mallorca, probably after the exploitation of coastal 537 vegetation. Hence, as it is documented at Son Ferrer and other LIA sites from the other regions, 538 pine branches appear to be a relevant fuel resource.

539

540 Altogether, the charcoal and pollen results both show that Aleppo pine had been present in the 541 vegetal landscape of Mallorca island since the beginning of the permanent occupation of all the 542 biotopes by sedentary human groups practising long-lasting agricultural and pastoral activities. 543 Pinewood was exploited in all regions and periods to fulfil different social demands, such as 544 firewood and timber. However, both the distribution of pine woodlands and their exploitation 545 appear to have changed over time. During the Bronze Age, the exploitation of pinewood as fuel is well attested in the Llevant region, but its use is irregular among the studied sites and, when present, 546 547 presents minor values. In any case, it is relevant the presence of domestic contexts with no charcoal fragments from this species. Moreover, the use of pinewood as timber is not well documented, as 548 549 only a few charcoal fragments resulting from trunks (anthraco-group 4) were included in the dendro-anthracological analysis of the fallen roof layer of Building 51 at Ses Païsses. 550

This situation changes during later phases. During the EIA, pine percentages increase in the anthracological record in the two regions where assemblages were studied, the Llevant and the central plain. At this time, clear exploitation of pine trunks as constructive timber is welldocumented at the Cas Canar site. Subsequently, pine percentages increase significantly in LIA 555 anthracological assemblages in all the studied regions, showing a clear preference for using this 556 species as firewood in both domestic and ritual contexts. In Building 25 of Ses Païsses, this clear increase in the use of pine firewood is also related to the cutting down of pine trees to fulfil the 557 energetic demand of metallurgical activities, a case that is also possible at the Na Galera site. 558 559 Moreover, the use of pine trunks as constructive timber is also well-documented with both direct (burnt beams) and indirect (dendro-anthracological analyses in burnt contexts) evidence (Picornell-560 561 Gelabert and Durfaisse 2018; Picornell-Gelabert 2020). In this same period, the use of pinewood as 562 raw material is documented for wooden object manufacturing (Table 7). Pinewood was frequently 563 used to manufacture different elements of wooden coffins, including the coffin itself, as well as 564 covers and mortise-and-tenon joinery elements (Picornell-Gelabert 2012). The size of these 565 elements, especially coffins and covers, shows that only trunks would be large enough to create the cavities that hosted the body of the deceased. Hence, again, the cutting of pines to use their trunks is 566 567 also attested in these LIA contexts.

568 When comparing anthracological and archaeopalynological results, it seems clear that it was during 569 the LIA when human groups targeted the exploitation of pines. This is especially relevant in the 570 case of the central plain, where a clear increase in the use of pine firewood and pine trunks as 571 constructive timber occurs in a region where pine pollen percentages are significantly low (or even 572 absent), suggesting a cultural choice that involved transportation of pine wood from distant areas to the sites. Aleppo pine trees produce a relevant amount of deadwood, representing >70% of the 573 574 deadwood in current Balearic forests (IFN 2012). Even if Aleppo pine is not a self-pruning tree 575 (Ne'eman et al. 2004), the production of deadwood in the lower parts of the trunk would have 576 created a reservoir of easily reachable dry wood to be used as firewood. As it has been pointed out, 577 this fuel resource was exploited during all the studied periods, but it is particularly appreciated 578 during LIA in domestic, metallurgical and ritual contexts. In this period, the practise of cutting 579 down pine trees for use as fuel for metallurgical activities, timber procurement and objects 580 manufacturing is well documented.

581

582 5.2. Late Holocene Aleppo pine woodlands in Mallorca

Aleppo pine has been considered by many authors to be a species linked to the stages of early succession and degradation of other forest formations, such as *Quercus* and other broadleaved trees (Bellot 1978; Peinado and Rivas-Martínez 1987). In many palaeobotanical sequences, an expansion of this species is documented from the introduction of farming, without ruling out that it was also favoured by its adaptability to temperature and aridity increase (Martínez del Castillo et al. 2018). The ecological role of Mediterranean pines has been largely discussed, including whether its 589 expansion is a consequence of major human landscape disturbances or it is driven by its particular 590 adaptation to certain climatic and edaphic tough conditions (e.g., Barbero et al. 1998; Quézel and Barbero 1992; Ne'eman and Trabaud 2000). Serotony and early flowering of Aleppo pine are 591 592 considered favourable traits to survive crown fires (Tapias et al. 2004; Daskalakou and Thanos 593 1996; Thanos and Daskalakou 2000; Ne'eman et al. 2004; Ne'eman and Izhaki 2006; Pausas et al. 594 2004). Accordingly, it is considered to be a pioneer and an invasive tree in Mediterranean 595 environments (Pausas et al. 2002). However, even if the adaptive and reproductive strategies of this 596 tree have generally been explained after its adaptation to post-fire regeneration and colonisation, 597 recent research agrees in highlighting other relevant constraints to which pines are especially 598 adapted, such as drought and unstable edaphic conditions, which would also explain its regeneration 599 and expansion (Ne'eman et al. 2004).

600 Archaeobotanical and paleoenvironmental literature on the Western Mediterranean has often discussed this subject. In Mediterranean Iberia, Aleppo pine is one of the most extended trees in 601 602 thermo- and meso-Mediterranean formations (Rivas-Martínez 1987). As in the Balearics, 603 phytosociology has discussed the 'naturalness' of Aleppo pine populations in Iberia and their current 604 distribution, which remains a matter of debate (Aranbarri et al. 2020). The adaptation of this tree to 605 especially unstable edaphic conditions, as well as its post-fire regenerative capacity and subsequent 606 pioneering role, have been considered the explanation for the development of Aleppo pine 607 woodlands after human disturbances (Costa 1987; Braun-Blanquet and Bolós 1987; Quézel and 608 Barbero 1990). However, paleoenvironmental research has often found this specific explanation, based on current vegetation observations, to be problematic in explaining the trends and dynamics 609 610 of Holocene vegetation (Carrión et al. 2010; Carrión and Fernández 2009).

611 The Holocene dynamics of Aleppo pine woodlands in the Ebro basin were recently reviewed by Aranbarri et al. (2020), who concluded that the current distribution of this species is explained by 612 613 anthropogenic environmental degradation and as a consequence of other factors, such as long-term 614 responses to climate changes and edaphic conditions. The expansion of Aleppo pine woodlands 615 appears to have been well-documented since the Mesolithic period (Aranbarri et al. 2020; Badal 2013). Accordingly, its distribution before the onset of human landscape transformations during the 616 Neolithic period is considered the result of natural vegetation dynamics and the adaptation of this 617 species to the climatic and edaphic conditions of the region. In fact, they consider that Neolithic 618 619 Aleppo pine's decreased presence in anthracological and palynological records is the result of the 620 development of more messic environmental conditions. They also refer to climatic instability detected during the Bronze and Iron Ages, which favoured the spread of macchia and pineformations at the expense of broadleaved forests (Aranbarri et al. 2020).

In northeastern Iberia, the Holocene development of Aleppo pine woodlands is well-documented 623 along the coast, especially south of the Llobregat river and has been attributed to a north-south 624 625 gradient of increasing aridity and seasonality (Allué et al. 2017; Burjachs et al. 2000; Carrión 2003; Grau and Duque 2007). Such climatic trends would explain the spread of not only pine formations 626 627 but also macchia-like scrublands in the region during the Mid and Late Holocene periods. Accordingly, these vegetation dynamics on the Mediterranean coast of Iberia have been interpreted 628 629 as a differentiated trend in relation to central European dynamics, according to which aridity and 630 seasonality rather than a human disturbance of broadleaved formations would explain the 631 prehistoric development of both pine woodlands and macchia (Allué et al. 2017; Carrión et al. 2010; Carrión et al. 2011). In the context of discussing the prehistoric anthropogenic impacts 632 633 causing vegetation changes in the northeastern Mediterranean region, the well-documented prehistoric anthracological records of the Garraf area do not reflect a decrease in broadleaved 634 635 forests and a subsequent development of Aleppo pine woodlands after anthropogenic landscape 636 impacts. Neither Neolithic nor Bronze or Iron Age human activities in the landscape, which would 637 include bushfires and timber and firewood procurement, seem to have induced a significant 638 decrease in broadleaved forests (Quercus) and a parallel spread of pine species. The 639 increase/decrease of Aleppo pine in the anthracological record is parallel to the representation of 640 xeric and thermophilic shrubs. This is why its development is considered a climate-related dynamic, 641 due to aridity and seasonality increases, rather than human-induced processes after major landscape 642 degradation (Allué et al. 2017).

643 Further south, Aleppo pine is also a key element in the Holocene woodlands of eastern and 644 southeastern Iberia. Paleobotanical data have allowed documenting the presence of the Aleppo pine 645 during the Last Glacial Maximum and the Late Glacial period in some areas of southern and eastern Iberia (Badal 1998; Aura et al. 2005). Radiocarbon dates on Aleppo pine macro-remains show the 646 presence of this species at the end of the 7th-millennium cal. BCE in Mesolithic contexts (García 647 Puchol and Aura Tortosa 2006; Badal 2013), although there is a lack of direct dating for previous 648 649 chronologies. In general, during the early Holocene, the remains of Aleppo pine are minor in 650 relation to broadleaved species, among which Quercus plays a key role.

In Neolithic sequences from this area, an important presence of xeric and thermophilic species, among them Aleppo pine and the wild olive tree, is documented, especially at coastal sites, and has a somewhat minor presence in inland and mountain areas. From the 5th to 4th-millennium cal. 654 BCE, *Quercus* forests seem to have reduced gradually as the formations of Aleppo pine, olive trees, strawberry trees, and scrubs increased in different studied sites, as a result of the settlement of 655 Neolithic communities and the systematic use of fire (Badal and Roiron 1995; Badal 1990; Badal et 656 657 al. 1994; Vernet et al. 1987). These dynamics intensified from 3000 cal. BCE onwards, with the 658 expansion of pine forests, along with Fabaceae, Erica, Rosmarinus officinalis and Cistus understory (Badal 1990; Carrión Marco 2003; Soler et al. 1999). In contrast, in some Neolithic II open air sites, 659 660 the persistence of Quercus forests, showing a dynamic similar to that proposed above for 661 northeastern Iberia, might be the result of a different exploitation of the land

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663 Finally, the recurrent use of Aleppo pine in the construction of Bronze and Iron Age villages in eastern Iberia shows the great availability and abundance of this species in the region (Mata and 664 665 Bonet 1983; Grau Almero 1990; Bonet and Mata 2002; Carrión Marco and Grau Almero 2015). Hence, Aleppo pine must have survived in some enclaves during the Pleistocene and the early 666 667 Holocene in eastern and southeastern Iberia, as it happened in the Ebro basin, from where it would have expanded afterwards. In coastal Neolithic sequences, its presence is observed earlier, while it 668 669 expands later in sites located in meso-Mediterranean areas, suggesting a better adaptation to 670 Mediterranean coastal environments. In this sense, against the general view of Aleppo pine as a mere intrusive component of a successional community, the native character of this species is 671 672 claimed based on paleobotanical data for some southern or arid areas of Mediterranean Iberia (Badal 1998). 673

674 Based on the anthracological and paleoenvironmental data from neighbouring Iberia, it seems clear that Aleppo pine is a native tree and has been present in the regions since the Pleistocene. 675 676 Furthermore, it presented an important development during Mesolithic, prior to the occurrence of 677 potentially relevant anthropogenic landscape disturbances during the Neolithic, Bronze and Iron 678 Ages. The parallel trends of Aleppo pine and other xeric and thermophyllous shrubby taxa also 679 suggest that the spread of these species during prehistoric times would have been the result of 680 climatic instability and increasing aridity and seasonality, and, in some regions, no clear evidence of 681 broadleaved forest substitutions after anthropogenic disturbances has been found. However, in others sites (those with long-term occupations) the use of fire and human activity seem to be 682 683 responsible for the rapid expansion of pine forests and the associated understory. These specific trends in Mediterranean Iberia, therefore, appear to be differentiated dynamics in relation to other 684 685 continental regions in temperate Europe, where such kind of vegetation substitutions seem to be 686 documented in paleoenvironmental records (Carrión et al. 2010). Hence, the development of Aleppo pine seems to be parallel to a process of the increasing shrubby character of the vegetation
during the Holocene, linked to a north-south gradient of increasing climate aridity and seasonality,
especially relevant in the coastal areas (Burjachs et al. 2000; Carrión et al. 2010).

690

691 In this context, the archaeobotanical and paleoenvironmental data from the island of Mallorca allow for a discussion of the role of Aleppo pine in this insular ecosystem. The KF14 marine sequence 692 693 shows the continuous presence of pine pollen since the Upper Pleistocene and during all of the 694 Holocene (Yll et al. 1999; Roure et al. 1995; Pérez-Obiol et al. 2000). In the Holocene coastal 695 paleoenvironmental records in all the Balearic Islands, pine is also present throughout the sequence. 696 In Mallorca and Menorca, an Early Holocene decrease in pine is detected in favour of the 697 development of messic taxa (e.g., Buxus, Corylus and deciduous Quercus) and coastal formations of 698 Juniperus and Ephedra (Yll et al. 1997; Burjachs et al. 1994, 2017; Pérez-Obiol et al. 2000, 2001; 699 Serverva-Vives et al. 2018). This has been interpreted as a result of wetter-than-today conditions in a context where human action was absent or scarce until at least the 5th or 4th-millennium cal BP. 700 701 when major vegetation changes occurred. Macchia-like vegetation, such as Olea, Pistacia and 702 Erica, broadly developed in detriment to the messic taxa, forming the typical thermo- and meso-703 Mediterranean vegetation that has characterised the insular vegetation since then (Burjachs et al. 704 2017; Yll et al. 1999; Servera-Vives et al. 2018). The establishment of this new vegetal landscape 705 across the archipelago has been interpreted as the result of the development of drier and more 706 seasonal climatic conditions and a resilient human-climate-environmental relationship during the 707 first centuries of prehistoric human occupation of the archipelago (Burjachs et al. 2017; Servera-708 Vives et al. 2018).

709 Archaeopalynological data from Mallorca show how the territories surrounding Bronze and Iron 710 Age human settlements were characterised by an open landscape with a mosaic structure containing macchia-like forests, crop fields, and pasturelands (Mercuri et al. 2019; Servera-Vives and 711 712 Picornell-Gelabert 2018). Significant values of pine are not detected in any case, and this tree is 713 even absent in some of the archaeological samples (Figure 4). Pine pollen values are low or 714 moderate (<40% in almost all cases) in coastal paleoenvironmental sequences in Mallorca and 715 Menorca, with an increase in pine communities between ca. 3000-2000 cal. BC, as reported in the 716 s'Albufera d'Alcúdia sequence (Burjachs et al. 2017, Kaniewski et al., 2020), also coinciding with 717 drier climate conditions. Therefore, considering the high pollen productivity of pines (e.g., Heim 718 1970), the relatively low values in many archaeological samples, and its low to moderate values in 719 littoral sequences, it can be suggested that the regional presence of pine is well attested by both 720 palynological and archaeopalynological data, although they not seem to be as extensive as they are in the current landscape of the island. Otherwise, better development of pine woodlands seems to be
attested in the southern Pitiüses islands (Eivissa and Formentera) as it happened on the southeastern
coast of Iberia, proposing that such species would have increased development towards the southern
territories (Burjachs et al. 2017).

725 Pine pollen values present a moderate increase at c. 3000 cal BCE in s'Albufera d'Alcúdia, with values between c.15% and 40% (Burjachs et al. 1994, 2017; Kaniewski et al., 2020), coinciding 726 727 with the Chalcolithic-Bronze Age transition. This slight increase in pine pollen is parallel to the increase of other xeric and thermophilic trees, such as wild Olea and Quercus. This fact probably 728 729 reflects an increase in the tree cover on this part of the coast, related to a retreat of microregional 730 human activities, as attested by the decline of ruderal taxa. While pine pollen expansion probably 731 reflects the substitution of the former littoral juniper formations by pine communities, the evergreen Quercus' expansion probably reflects the regional expansion of these taxa in the Serra de 732 733 Tramuntana mountains. It is around this time that the first archaeopalynological data are available for the Bronze Age sites of the Llevant region (Figura 4). Pine pollen values are again significantly 734 735 minor in archaeological samples than in the coastal sequence of s'Albufera d'Alcúdia, and more 736 significant values are detected at sites closer to the coast (e.g., Mestre Ramon and Ferradura, Figure 737 1). In the central plain, pine pollen values are especially low during the Iron Age, with contexts 738 where pine pollen is absent (Cas Canar). Higher values are detected in the western coastal sites of 739 the Tramuntana region during this same period, thus reinforcing the idea that at the beginning of the 740 Late Holocene, pines were relevant only in coastal areas.

741 The increased archaeopalynological values of pine appear to be parallel to that of xeric and sub-742 xeric shrubs. This is especially relevant in the Llevant and Tramuntana regions, where pine values 743 are more significant (Figure 4). Such xeric shrubs constitute the undergrowth of pine woodlands in 744 Mallorca (Llorens et al. 2007). Accordingly, the parallel trends of pine and xeric shrubs suggests 745 that their increase would represent an increase in forests around the sites, well adapted to both 746 human and climatic agents. This parallel development of pine and xeric shrubs is also visible in the 747 anthracological assemblages, especially in the Llevant and Tramuntana regions (Figure 2). In neighbouring continental areas (Iberia), the development of pine and xeric shrub formations, to the 748 749 detriment of broadleaved forests, has also been detected at the beginning of the Late Holocene, 750 which, as commented before, has been attributed to an increase in climatic instability (i.e., aridity 751 and seasonality; Allué et al. 2017; Aranbarri et al. 2020; Carrión et al. 2010). Moreover, in the Ebro 752 basin and along the eastern and southeastern coast, it has also been highlighted that both timber and 753 firewood demands related not only domestic energy consumption but also pottery and metal 754 production would have represented an increase in wood exploitation during the Bronze and Iron

Ages. In this context, pine would have been an especially targeted wood resource, so human activity is suggested to be more of a constraint than a promoter of pine tree development (Aranbarri et al. 2020).

In this line, pinewood exploitation has been proved to be irregular during prehistory in Mallorca. As 758 759 discussed previously, pine is not generally considered to have been a relevant firewood resource during the BA. However, its use as firewood, timber and raw material increased significantly during 760 761 the IA, especially in the LIA. This is notably relevant in the central plain, where the important use 762 of pine firewood and timber is parallel to low, and even absent, pine pollen values, indicating that this tree would be a resource located far from the sites. The cutting down of pine trees is also 763 764 documented in the central plain and in the Llevant. In this second region, it is relevant to detecting the cutting of pine trees to provide firewood for metallurgical activities at Ses Païsses (Picornell-765 766 Gelabert et al. 2020). Altogether, the anthracological and dendro-anthracological data suggest that 767 Aleppo pine became a resource targeted by IA settlers of Mallorca.

768 Accordingly, the available archaeobotanical and palaeoenvironmental records in Mallorca seem to clearly reflect that Aleppo pine represents a local, natural species throughout the Holocene. The 769 770 development of pine woodlands does not appear to be relevant during the first two millennia of permanent human occupation of the island according to Late Holocene palynological and 771 772 anthracological evidence. The development of pine woodlands seems to be rather limited, probably 773 only in coastal areas. This development of pine is parallel to the development of other xeric and 774 sub-xeric taxa, indicating that these taxa were better adapted to Late Holocene climatic conditions of increasing instability, aridity and seasonality. In fact, the relevant shift on the vegetation 775 776 landscape of the archipelago appears to have occurred prior or parallel to the first human occupation of the islands, when macchia formations broadly developed at the expense of an abrupt decrease in 777 778 messic taxa (Burjachs et al. 2017; Servera-Vives et al. 2018).

Altogether, then, the development of pine woodlands between c.2300 cal. BCE and the 1st century 779 780 ACE does not appear to have been the result of the substitution of other vegetation formations after 781 anthropogenic landscape transformation. Aleppo pine is especially adapted to the main constraints 782 of Mediterranean environments, such as climatic instability and seasonality, drought, and 783 disadvantageous edaphic conditions. This seems to be the reason its development was especially 784 focused in coastal areas during this period. In this sense, anthracological studies have not shown an 785 over-exploitation of Juniperus and Ephedra coastal formations, reported to have been important in 786 previous, more humid climatic conditions according to paleoenvironmental records (Burjachs et al. 2017), resulting in the spread of pines in these areas. Hence, this substitution seems to be explainedby climatic and ecological agents rather than anthropogenic action.

789 Therefore, a relevant development of Aleppo pine woodlands on the island after human landscape 790 transformation during prehistory and protohistory does not seem to have been detected. Such 791 anthropogenic landscape transformation processes resulting in the spread of pine species would develop in later periods, sometime after the Romanisation of the islands or during historical times. 792 793 However, the lack of archaeobotanical data for historical periods makes it impossible to further 794 define the nature and chronology of such processes, while it has been possible for neighbouring 795 regions (Aranbarri et al. 2020). The well-dated palynological sequence of s'Albufera des Grau 796 (Burjachs et al. 2017) records the expansion of pine formations after the Christian conquest of Menorca in the 13th century. In the case of Mallorca, the sequence of Santa Ponca (Parra, 1994) also 797 798 shows the expansion of pinewoods in the upper part of the diagram, with no reliable chronology 799 ascribed. However, high-resolution paleoenvironmental and archaeobotanical studies are still 800 needed to precisely trace pine species in the Balearics over the past 2000 years.

801 As stated previously, pinewood formations in Mallorca increased dramatically during the latter half of the previous century due to dramatic changes in land use. Indeed, according to the 802 803 phytosociological idea of unfixed floristics of pinewood communities in Mallorca, they occupy a 804 quite broad range of ecological conditions. The prospect of future increases in aridity and 805 seasonality due to climate change would be a limitation for most of the broadleaves species to 806 spread throughout the archipelago. Considering the broad versatility of *Pinus halepensis* to 807 phytoclimatic characteristics and edaphic conditions, increased aridity would severely affect this species only in the extremes of its area of suitability (Camara 2001), but there are some indications 808 809 of severe impacts and decay due to heavy drought episodes (Esteve et al. 2007). In Balearic 810 vegetation, such climatic changes should favour the maintenance of paraclimacic communities, as 811 macchia or garrigues of xeric shrubs cover a broad area of the island, both coastal and inland, where 812 Pinus halepensis could play a dominant role.

813

814 **6.** Conclusions

Aleppo pine is a dominant species in all current tree-covered vegetation formations on the island of Mallorca, with the only exception being oak forests (*Quercus ilex* L.) and riparian forests. Pinedominated woodlands represent the most widespread forest formations in the Balearic archipelago (IFN 2012). Ecological and reproductive studies suggest that this is because of its ecological plasticity and rapid post-fire regeneration due to serotony (Goubitz et al. 2003), a characteristic that also improves its adaptation to climatic (especially drought) and edaphic constraints in Mediterranean environments (Ne'eman et al. 2004). These traits could explain the pioneering role and spread of Aleppo pine woodlands after major anthropogenic landscape transformations, especially in areas suitable for the development of sclerophyllous vegetal formations in which it would have been rare or scarce (Bolòs 1993; Gil et al. 2003). This Aleppo pine expansion has been especially relevant since the mid-20th century, when the massive abandonment of former agricultural and pastoral lands led to a crucial process of landscape transformation in the Balearics, as well as in many other parts of the Mediterranean basin (Grove and Rackham 2003).

828 The study of the role of Aleppo pine woodlands at the beginning of the Late Holocene becomes a 829 relevant subject when evaluating the nature of the presence of this tree in the Balearics and the role 830 of human action regarding its distribution during the first two millennia of permanent human 831 occupation of the island. As in many Mediterranean environments, the use of archaeobotanical data becomes a relevant proxy for paleobotanical studies, as inland lakes, peat bogs and other reliable 832 paleoenvironmental records are not available. In this sense, anthracological, dendro-anthracological 833 834 and archaeopalynological data from the Chalcolithic, Bronze and Iron Age, along with available 835 off-site paleoenvironmental sequences, allow us to evaluate the spread of Aleppo pine woodlands 836 on the island and the role of human action in relation to it.

837 It seems clear that Aleppo pine constitutes a natural species of the Holocene vegetation of Mallorca, as is the case for other islands of the archipelago. However, according to the archaeobotanical data, 838 839 it seems clear that the spread of pine woodlands would be more constrained than it is today and 840 better developed in coastal areas. There is no evidence of the spread of pine-dominated woodlands 841 on Mallorca during prehistory and protohistory as a consequence of the substitution of other forest formations due to human action. It should be taken into account that during these periods, there was 842 843 an increase or decrease in parallel with pine of other xeric, sclerophyllous and thermophilic taxa, 844 especially shrubs, which would be especially favoured by Late Holocene climatic conditions on the 845 island.

846 The use of pine as firewood and timber appears to have been minor during the Bronze Age. 847 However, its use increased during the IA, especially the LIA, when pines were especially targeted to fuel domestic, ritual and metallurgical fires, as well as used as construction timber. In these last 848 849 moments of prehistory, the increasing exploitation of pines could be explained by the fact that in a 850 context of increasing fuel demands, this would be a common and available tree of a relevant height, 851 along with wild olive trees. Although pines are not self-pruning trees (Ne'eman et al. 2004), they 852 produce an important amount of deadwood (IFN 2012), which could also be related to its increasing 853 use as firewood. Moreover, wild olive is the most used tree for construction timber, followed by pine (Picornell-Gelabert and Dufraisse 2018), thus indicating selective exploitation of the woody vegetation according to specific demands. Hence, when timber and firewood demand increased during the EIA and, especially during the LIA, cutting down pines by human groups occurred, as shown by dendro-anthracological data. However, the archaeobotanical records do not suggest that this increasing forest resource exploitation resulted in a human-induced spread of Aleppo pine on the island. Such processes, which are well attested in the current vegetation landscape of Mallorca, would have begun sometime after the Romanisation of the island.

861

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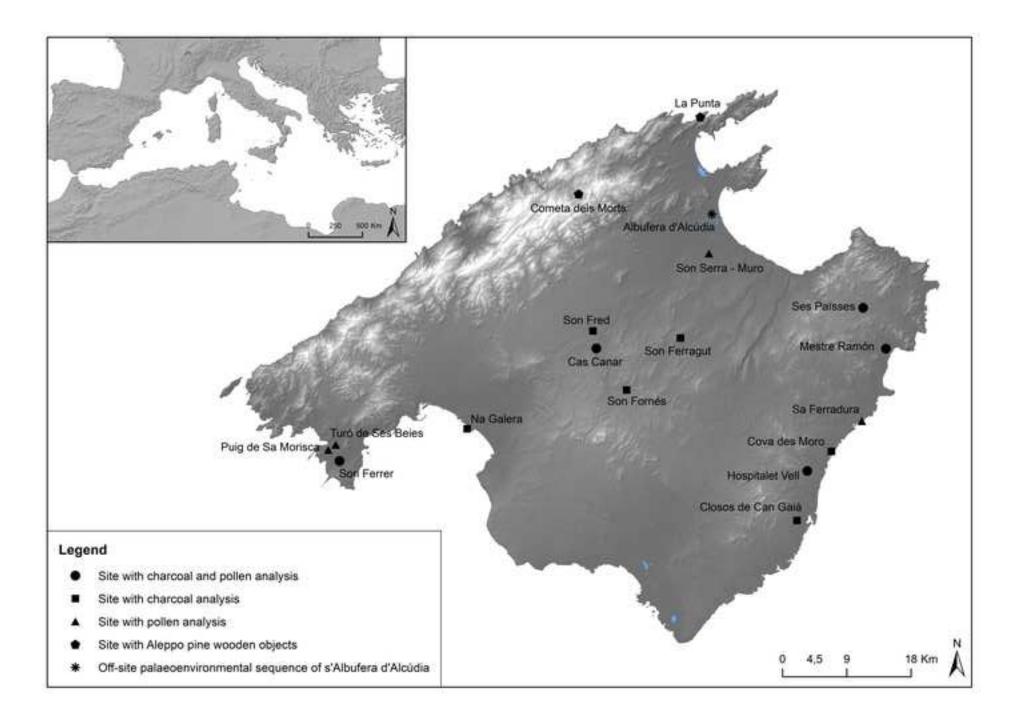
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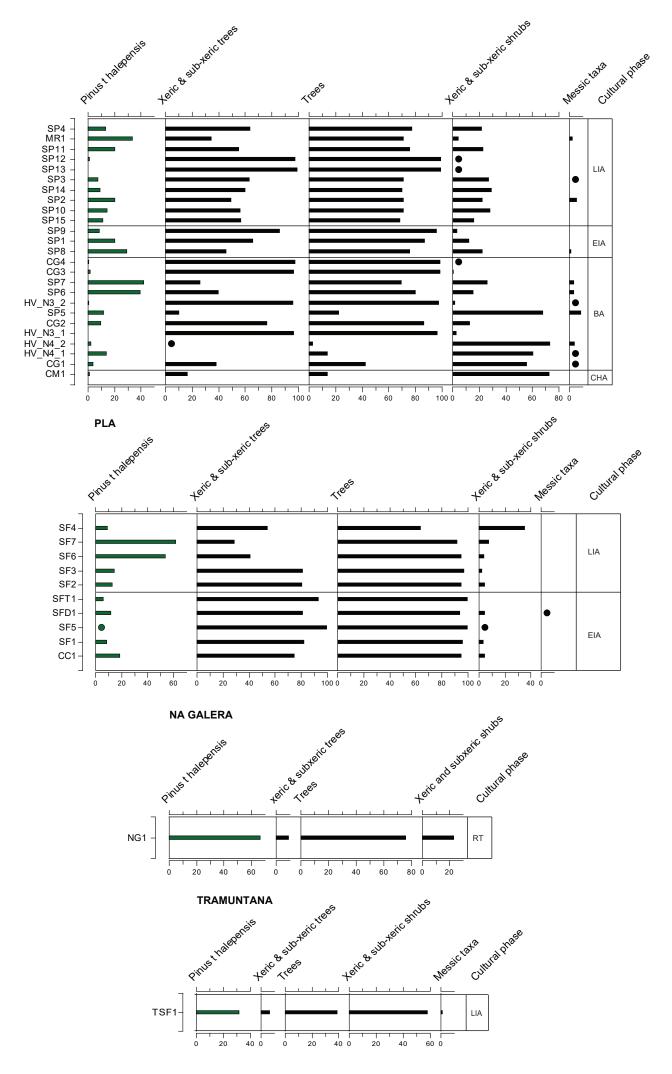
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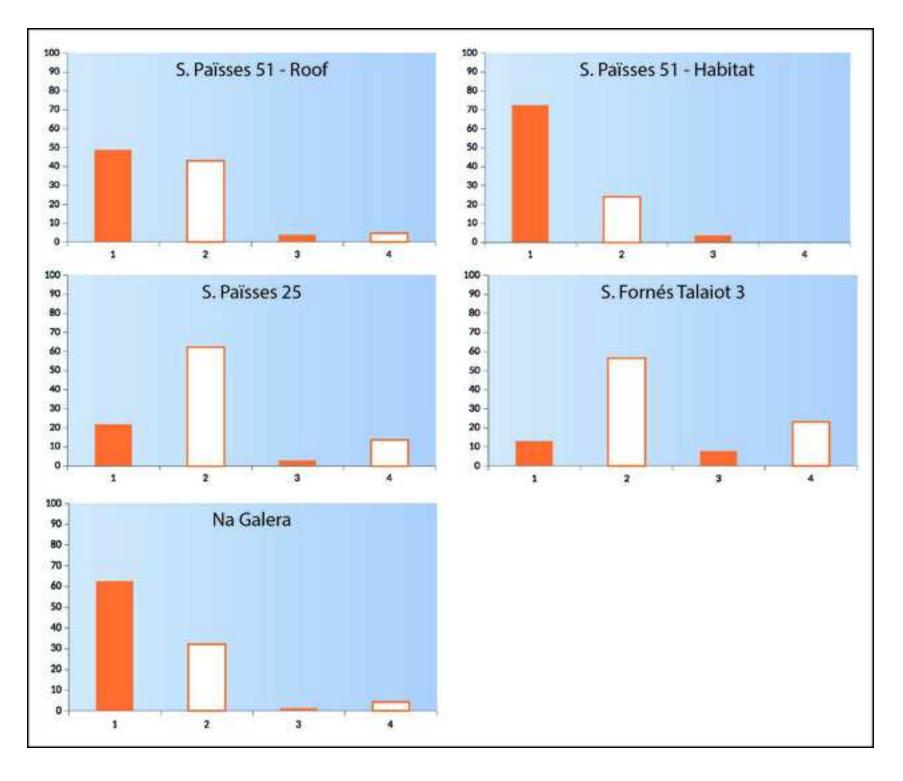
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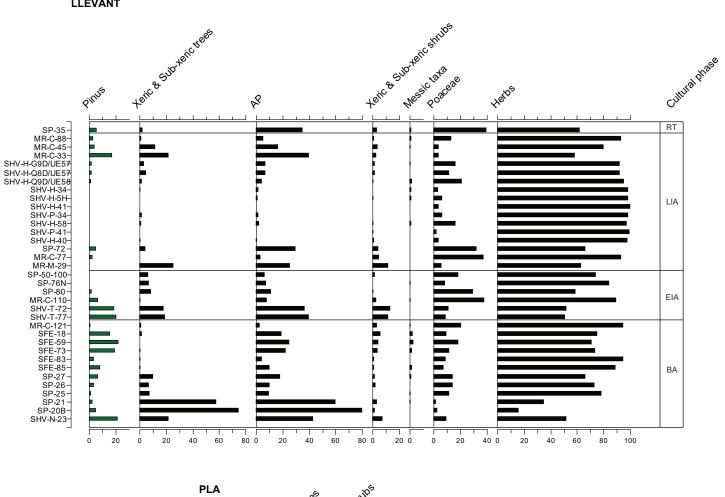
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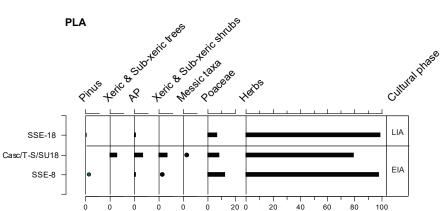




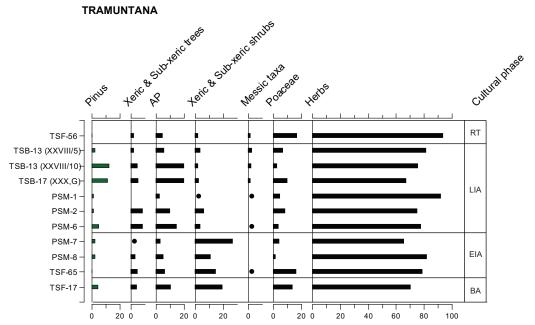


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The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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Sincerely,

On behalf of all authors

Llorenç Picornell-Gelabert (corresponding author on behalf of all the co-authors)

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