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1 After the Last Glacial Maximum in the refugium of northern Iberia: environmental shifts, demographic

- 2 pressure and changing economic strategies at Las Caldas Cave (Asturias, Spain).
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- 20 Highlights
- Bone collagen δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values used to reconstruct environments and faunal niches between 26-14kyr cal BP in N. Spain
 - Harsh Solutrean conditions affected ibex habitats, and they moved to lower altitudes
 - Improved Magdalenian conditions coincided with exploitation of wider ecological zones
 - Increased Magdalenian human populations pressured resources, affecting subsistence strategies

26 Abstract

27 The Late Upper Palaeolithic of Europe, particularly the Last Glacial Maximum (LGM: 26-19kyr cal BP), was a 28 time of dramatic climatic changes. Fauna, and the humans that preved on them, were forced to adapt their 29 behaviours in response to climate changes to survive. The Cantabrian Region of northern Spain was 30 continuously inhabited during this period when many other areas of Europe were inhospitable. The site of Las Caldas (Asturias) was repeatedly occupied by hunter-gatherers during the Solutrean (26.1-20.3kyr cal BP) 31 and Magdalenian (18.5-14.3kyr cal BP). This paper uses δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N stable isotope analysis of red deer 32 33 (Cervus elaphus) and Spanish ibex (Capra pyrenaica) remains to reconstruct past environments, ungulate 34 niches and habitats, and to understand how this impacted on their availability as a prey source. Results show 35 that during the Solutrean, cold and potentially wet LGM conditions were experienced and ibex lived in lower 36 altitudes, likely due to reduced vegetation on the higher mountain slopes, and even small glaciers on the 37 higher mountain slopes. Improved environmental conditions in the Magdalenian allowed ibex to live in their 38 preferred habitat of higher altitudes. Ameliorated Late Glacial conditions correspond with changing 39 economic hunting strategies at the site. Humans exploited wider ecological zones, over larger distances, 40 which coincides with population growth, and greater connectivity across the Cantabrian region. This research 41 highlights the importance of characterising the complex interactions between humans, animals and 42 environments during Late Pleistocene and how they responded to rapidly changing environmental 43 conditions.

44 Key words

45 **Cantabrian Spain**, Las Caldas Cave, Last Glacial Maximum, Upper Palaeolithic, Archaeozoology, Stable 46 **Isotopes, Climate Change, Environmental change**

48 **1. Introduction**

49 Understanding the adaptive strategies used by animals and humans during climatic and environmental 50 changes in the past is fundamental for unravelling the complex interactions between different species and 51 their environments. Such studies can provide clues to how current human population can adapt to the 52 threats they face from climate change (Van De Noort, 2011; Sandweiss and Kelley, 2012).

53 During the Late Glacial Maximum (LGM) large ice sheets covered vast areas of northern Europe, impacting 54 on the distribution of humans, plants and animals within the continent (Sommer and Nadachowski, 2006; 55 Hofreiter and Stewart, 2009). The Cantabrian Region in the northern Atlantic strip of the Iberian Peninsula, 56 along with other largely unglaciated southern European regions (southern France, Italy and the Balkans), and 57 provided sufficient habitats for humans to successfully survive during the peak of the last Ice Age (Bocquet-58 Appel et al., 2005; Banks et al., 2006; Burke et al., 2014; Burke, Riel-Salvatore and Barton, 2018). Specifically, 59 the Cantabrian region was instrumental in facilitating the survival of salmon (Consuegera et al. 2002), red deer (Meiri et al., 2013; Queirós et al., 2019) and humans (Achilli et al. 2004; Fu et al. 2016) as determined 60 61 genetically. After the LGM, these species were able to re-colonise northerly latititudes of as climate warned 62 in Late and post-glacial Europe. In the southern refugia, hunter-gatherer populations survived and even 63 thrived during the extreme periods of the LGM. Yet, detailed reconstruction of the specificenvironments 64 surrounding persistently occupied sites is required.

65 Ice core records have shown global scale dramatic climatic fluctuations throughout MIS2 (Dahl-Jensen et al., 2008; Rasmussen et al., 2014; Seierstad et al., 2014). Global ice sheet growth meant that eustatic sea level 66 67 regression was around -134m between 29-21kyr BP, before rising by about 10-15m between 21-18kyr BP 68 with the onset of deglaciation (Lambeck et al., 2014). Specifically, in the North Atlantic between 24-19kyr cal 69 BP, sea level was -120m relative to the current level (Siddall et al., 2008; Clark et al., 2009). Continental 70 European-scale modelling of palynological evidence and sea temperatures have indicated that during the 71 LGM, in general, there were large differences in seasonal temperatures in comparison to the present with 72 summer temperatures thought to have been 5-10°C colder, and winter months 15-25°C colder, resulting in 73 generally drier, steppic conditions (Jost et al., 2005; Kageyama et al., 2006).

74 Regarding the Iberian Peninsula, continental-scale studies of charcoal, reflecting past vegetation, have 75 demonstrated that during the Solutrean, the Atlantic fringe of the Cantabrian region was relatively humid 76 compared to relatively arid conditions in SE Spain and Portugal (Badal et al., 2014; Ochando et al. in press). 77 Studies of continental pollen, marine core pollen and ostracod δ^{18} O analysis have suggested that during the 78 LGM, the Iberian Peninsula was a refugium for deciduous trees (Naughton et al., 2007), with Quercus, and 79 mesothemophilious deciduous woods and evergreens consistently prevalent along the Iberian Atlantic fringe 80 between 20-12kyr cal BP (Carrión et al., 2010). Combined studies of Iberian microfaunal assemblages have 81 suggested higher humidity levels during the LGM than was the case in many other areas of Europe, with the 82 presence of species such as Talpa europaea and Erinaceus europeaus (Bañuls-Cardona et al., 2014). The 83 Iberian Peninsula was also a refuge for such Euro-Siberian microfaunal species as Microtus oceconomus, 84 which even co-existed with thermo-Mediterranean taxa, indicative of milder conditions in the Iberian 85 Peninsula during the LGM and beyond (Bañuls-Cardona *et al.*, 2014). Recent mammalian tooth δ^{13} C and δ^{18} O values from a range of LGM (26-20kyr cal BP) sites within the Iberian Peninsula have estimated precipitation 86 87 and temperatures, and suggests differences in temperature of ~5°C and rainfall of 250mm per year beween 88 Atlantic and Meditterean areas of SW Europe (Lécuyer et al., 2021), although some of these results from 89 Northern Iberia should be viewed with care, as they pertain to materials from old excavations, where recent 90 revisions of the chronologies suggest the need for caution (see- Marín-Arroyo et al. 2018). In Northern Iberia, 91 where the Cantabrian Region is located, is thought, because of its oceanic climate, to have been less sensitive to environmental changes, and significantlevels of environmental variability due to high relief are considered 92 93 to have played a role in the Late Pleistocene settlements (Schmidt *et al.*, 2012).

94 Within the Cantabrian region, several records have explored conditions in the Late Upper Palaeolithic. Marine 95 offshore cores on the Basque continental shelf ostracod δ^{18} O values of *G. bulloides* and *L. lobatula*, and the

% of N. Pachyderma (sin.) and "Northern Guest" ostracods have informed on changing seawater 96 97 temperatures, and the influx of melted glacial watermarked the end of the LGM at ~20.1kyr cal BP (Martínez-98 García et al., 2014, 2015; Rofes et al., 2014). These are valuable records on the impact of Late Glacial climate 99 change, but are somewhat removed from the conditions experienced by terrestrial populations. In the 100 montane zone of the Cantabrian region records temperature estimates from Calcium precipitation in Lake 101 Enol sediments in the Province of Asturias have given temperatures of 1°C between 27-17kyr cal BP, with a 102 small increase of around 1-2°C after this point until 13.5kyr, when temperatures rose again (Moreno, Valero-103 Garcés, et al., 2010). Speleothem isotope records from El Pindal cave, also in Asturias (but in the coastal 104 zone), have suggested that from 25-18kyr cal BP, the region was sensitive to high-frequency climatic changes. 105 However inconsistencies between the δ^{18} O record and the Mg/Ca data indicate a high level of complexity in 106 the records, with a need to understand these local conditions further (Moreno, Stoll, et al., 2010). Whilst 107 records such as these have provided valuable information on changing conditions in this refugium region, it 108 is important to consider what environmental conditions were like in the vicinities of sites occupied by humans 109 throughout this time. Reconstructing the local conditions experienced at key sites in Last Glacial refugia is 110 fundamental to understand how different species were able to survive, using the network of ecological niches 111 available to them in the region (Jones et al., 2020), and how these influenced human economic strategies.

112 This paper explores how changes in the environment affected both faunal behaviour and human hunting 113 strategies in the locality of Las Caldas cave in the western part of the Cantabrian region. Bone collagen δ^{13} C 114 and δ^{15} N isotopic analyses are used and results are compared to changing economic strategies observable 115 using the rich archaeozoological record from the site (Mateos Cachorro, 1999, 2002, 2003; Mateos, 2005,

116 2017; Altuna and Mariezkurrena, 2017a, 2017b).

117 1.1. Las Caldas Cave

Las Caldas Cave (Asturias), is an archaeological site with rich evidence of occupation levels spanning between 26kyr cal BP and 11Kyr cal BP. It has been described as "one of the most important sites to be researched continuously over the past several decades" (Straus, 2015: 164). Las Caldas was part of a network of sites within the Cantabrian region (Figure 1).

122 The site is a cave in the town of San Juan de Priorio, in a small cul de sac side-valley of the major Nalón River 123 valley (5º 54' 48.20" W/43º 20' 4.68" N, 160m a.s.l.) 8 km to the east of Oviedo (Figure 1). The peri-glacial 124 processes active in the area surrounding the site helped create undulating valley and mountain systems, 125 with summits in the Picos de Europe above the upper Nalón basin reaching 2,100m (Corchón Rodriguez, 126 2017a, Figure 1). The site was initially excavated in 1971 and 1973 by F. Jordá, before further excavations by 127 M.S. Corcoón throughout the 1980s, 90s and 00s focusing on three main areas; "Sala I", "Sala II", and the "Pasillo" (Corchón Rodriguez, 2017a). Of particular importance are the archaeologically rich, well-preserved 128 129 and radiocarbon-dated levels that span from the Middle Solutrean to the Middle Magdalenian (26.1-14.3kyr BP)(Corchón Rodriguez, 1999; Corchón, 2004; Corchón Rodríguez and Cardoso, 2005; summarised in Corchón 130 131 Rodríguez, 2017a), making it one of the most important Upper Paleolithic sites in the region (Straus, 2015b). 132 Indeed, the extensive deposits relating to the Middle Magdalenian are unique and unrivalled in Asturias 133 (Straus, 2018). Las Caldas's walls bearmodest cave art engravings and excavations at the base of the 134 engraved panel have helped, attribute at least some of these engravings to the Middle Solutrean, with 135 stylistic elements at the top of the panel being more consistent with Magdalenian origins (Corchón 136 Rodriguez, 2017b).



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 138 Figure 1: Map showing the location of Las Caldas (marked with a yellow spot) within Spain (A), the wider Cantabrian Region of northern Spain (B), and the Nalón valley (C).

140 Archaeozoological and taphonomic analyses of the large quantities of faunal remains have provided

141 extensive information on subsistence strategies and resource procurement (Mateos Cachorro, 1999, 2002,

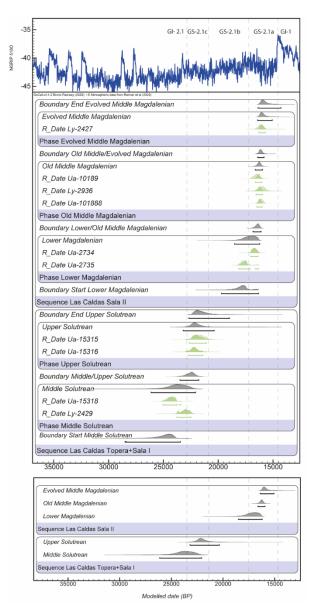
142 2003; Altuna and Mariezkurrena, 2017b, 2017a; Mateos, 2017). In additon, spatial analysis has allowed for

143 reconstruction of aspects of the human activities carried out throughout time, within the cave (Mateos

144 Cachorro, 2003; Corchón, Ortega and Vicente, 2013; Corchón, Ortega and Rivero, 2016).

145 The archaeozoological evidence of Solutrean and Magdalenian human diet shows that red deer were the 146 predominant food source, and there is evidence of large-scale red deer hunting. In addition, horse and ibex 147 (Altuna and Mariezkurrena, 2017a; Mateos, 2017) were also consumed. Complete red deer carcasses were brought to the site for processing (Corchón et al., 2013), and articulating red deer parts were found, 148 indicating in-situ butchering during Solutrean Levels 18 and 9 (Corchón Rodríguez, 2017d). The Las Caldas 149 150 economy followed the regional trend of red deer being a dominant Upper Palaeolithic prey across the 151 Cantabrian Region, with supplementary species varying depending on site location (Altuna, 1986, 1995; 152 Marín Arroyo, 2008; Marín-Arroyo, 2009a). Las Caldas is unusual in that, whereas most of the main regional 153 Solutrean sites are located closer to the coast, it is located quite far inland (Straus and González Morales, 154 2012), between 40-50km from the LGM coast (Corchón Rodríguez, 2017b).

155 Regarding the wider environmental indicators from Las Caldas, in the Solutrean levels, pollen preservation is 156 poor, with only two (out of 56) samples yielding well-preserved pollen (Corchón Rodriguez, 2017a). For the 157 Magdalenian levels, and although preliminary interpretations of the pollen analysis were developed by Dupré, and presented at the Foix conference in 1987 (Fortea et al., 1990), results are still pending. Initial 158 159 interpretations, based on archaeological sediments, were noted during excavations and summarised in 160 Hoyos (1995), but detailed studies are not available (Corchón Rodríguez, 2017c). Additional evidence, such 161 as bird bones (Eastham, 2017), land snails (Aparicio and Esteban, 2017) and microfauna (Laplana et al., 2017) 162 are recorded, but their presence within deposits is patchy, and many species present are not diagnostic of 163 specific habitats, and further environmental indicators are required. Macro faunal remains are wellpreserved, both within the Solutrean (Altuna and Mariezkurrena, 2017) and Magdalenian levels (Mateos 164 165 Cachorro, 2002, 2003; Altuna and Mariezkurrena, 2017a; Mateos, 2017), meaning that bone collagen δ^{13} C 166 and δ^{15} N values of stable isotope analysis within different archaeological levels at Las Caldas can be used to 167 explore changing environmental conditions, faunal species habitats, and their impact on human economic 168 strategies.



170

171 Figure 2: Modelled AMS radiocarbon dates from Las Caldas relevant to this study, including the: corte estratigráfico, Sala I and Sala

172 II, modelled in OxCal v.4.4 (Bronk Ramsey, 2009) with the atmospheric data from IntCal20 (Reimer et al., 2020). and showing NGRIP
 173 isotopic record and key climatic events (Rasmussen et al., 2014).

174 1.2 Stable isotope analysis and palaeoenvironments

175 Biomolecular methodologies, specifically stable isotope analyses of macromammals, are invaluable for understanding past ecosystems and paleoenvironmental conditions in the areas surrounding archaeological 176 sites (Jones and Britton, 2019), especially when traditional environmental indicators are not well-preserved, 177 or are ambiguous or inconsistently recorded. Bone collagen δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values of macrofauna reflect long-178 term consumed diet, and thus average environmental conditions experienced by animals during their 179 lifetimes (Hedges, Stevens and Richards, 2004). There is a complex relationship between δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values, 180 and the factors that influence the isotopic values observed within soils, plants, and their subsequent 181 consumers. The drivers that influence the δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values in fauna can be a result of changing 182 environmental conditions (e.g. temperature, precipitation, vegetation, CO_2 levels), or changing animal 183 behaviour linked to localised environments, as summarised in Table 1. The dynamic interplay between 184 isotope systems, faunal behaviour and habitat preferences means that trends in δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values may 185 186 affect species differently, and may not always be consistently reflected between geographical regions (Drucker et al., 2008, 2011). Bone collagen δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N analysis have been applied to a wide range of 187 188 Palaeolithic studies, informing on environmental conditions on continental (Richards and Hedges, 2003) or

189 regional scales (Bocherens, Drucker and Madelaine, 2014), as well as identifying micro-environments, and

190 the existence mosaic landscapes surrounding archaeological sites (Stevens et al., 2014; Bocherens et al.,

191 2015; Jones et al., 2018, 2019; Wong et al., 2020; Reade et al., 2021). Additionally, they have successfully

been used to determine faunal ecosystems, food webs and habitats (Drucker *et al.*, 2011, 2017; Kuitems *et*

193 *al.*, 2013; Bocherens *et al.*, 2015), and niche partitioning of species (Britton *et al.*, 2012; Schwartz-Narbonne

- 194 *et al.*, 2019; Jones *et al.*, 2020). By viewing changes in the isotopic record with archaeozoological evidence, it
- 195 is possible to explore how subsistence strategies changed with shifting environments is possible.

		Potential impact on δ^{13} C values	Potential impact on δ^{15} N values
	Precipitation	Moisture availability and levels of precipitation have been observed as a major driving factor influencing plant δ^{13} C values, with a direct correlation between increasing annual precipitation and decreased δ^{13} C values (Farquhar <i>et al.</i> , 1989; Stewart <i>et al.</i> , 1995).	Mean annual precipitation can impact on plant δ^{15} N values. Areas with lower annual precipitation have been observed to result in higher δ^{15} N values than areas with mean annual rainfall (Austin and Vitousek, 1998; Handley, Austin, Robinson, et al., 1999; Amundson et al., 2003; Aranibar et al., 2004). This may be related to shifting diets, rather than physiological stress resulting from lack of water (Murphy and Bowman, 2006; Hartman, 2011). Recent global studies have shown a correlation between elevated δ^{15} N values and hot/dry ecosystems, and lower δ^{15} N values in cold/wet ecosystems based on studies of soil and plants (Craine, Elmore, <i>et al.</i> , 2015).
Drivers linked to environmental change	Temperature	Temperature has been observed to be a factor influencing plant δ^{13} C values with lower temperatures producing lower δ^{13} C values at a range of altitudes and latitudes (Körner, Farquhar and Wong, 1991). Plants growing in temperatures lower than their optimal conditions is thought to reduce enzymatic reactions during photosynthesis, causing depleted δ^{13} C values (Tieszen, 1991). Although, It has been noted that isolating the impact of temperature from other factors is challenging (O'Leary, 1995), and both positive and negative correlations between δ^{13} C and temperature have been observed (Heaton, 1999).	In cold/or wet ecosystems (e.g. permafrost and glacial contexts), activity of microorganisms within soil is reduced, and can produce lower δ^{15} N values (Heaton <i>et al.</i> , 1986; Handley, Austin, Stewart, <i>et al.</i> , 1999). Soil and plant δ^{15} N values have been observed to decrease in association with lower mean annual temperatures on a global scale (Amundson <i>et al.</i> , 2003). Positive correlations between warmer temperatures and higher foliar δ^{15} N values have also been observed (Martinelli <i>et al.</i> , 1999; Amundson <i>et al.</i> , 2003; Pardo <i>et al.</i> , 2006), due to greater levels of nitrogen recycling being associated with colder and wetter ecosystems (Handley, Austin, Robinson, <i>et al.</i> , 2015; Craine, Elmore, <i>et al.</i> , 2015).
	Tree cover	Areas of dense tree cover can result in decreased δ^{13} C values relative to those in open environments, due to reduced sunlight exposure and CO ₂ recycling on the forest floor (Vogel, 1978; van der Merwe and Medina, 1989, 1991). This is termed the <i>canopy effect</i> .	
Drivers linked	Altitude	Changing CO ₂ partial pressure, alongside changes in water use efficiency, and lower temperatures at higher altitudes results in plants growing at higher altitudes having been observed to produce elevated plant δ^{13} C values (Farquhar <i>et al.</i> , 1989; Körner, Farquhar and Wong, 1991; Hultine and Marshall, 2000; Zhu <i>et al.</i> , 2010).	Lower δ^{15} N values are typically associated with higher altitudes, due to lower levels of soil activity at elevated heights (Mariotti <i>et al.</i> , 1980).
to faunal habitats and dietary preferences	Lithology and soil type		Plant δ^{15} N values are directly affected by the type of nitrogen fixing mycorrhizae present (Brundrett, 2009). Differences in the mycorrhizae found within the soil, and associated play root systems of plants (Hobbie, Jumpponen and Trappe, 2005; Craine <i>t al.</i> , 2009; Craine, Brookshire, <i>et al.</i> , 2015) can impact on the δ^{15} N values of plants, and thus their consumers (see summary in Szpak, 2014). Soil acidity can impact on δ^{15} N values, with more acidic soils exhibiting lower δ^{15} N values (Mariotti <i>et al.</i> , 1980). Soil nitrogen content can vary depending on water table height, with water tables below 30cm typically producing higher δ^{15} N values, and water tables between 10-30cm resulting in lower nitrogen availability (Hefting <i>et al.</i> , 2004).
Drivers linked to changing faunal	Change in type or part of plant consumption	Notably, a shift from consuming C4 to C3 plants can impact on plant 13-C values (Vogel, 1993). The contribution of C4 plants to the landscape of Europe is negligible (Andres, 1992), and is unlikely to impact on observed δ^{13} C values within fauna from Palaeolithic Northern Spain. Different parts of plants exhibit variation in δ^{13} C values (and δ^{15} N) (Ehleringer, Comstock and Cooper, 1987; Lightfoot <i>et al.</i> , 2016) and a shift in the part of plant consumed may affect herbivore δ^{13} C values.	A change in the parts of plants or types of plants being consumed by an animal can result in different (positive or negative) δ^{15} N values being observed (Michelsen et al., 1996; Högberg, 1997). Even plants growing in controlled conditions can show consider (Kolb and Evans, 2002; Szpak et al., 2014; Mannino, Lightfoot and Stevens, 2016)
behaviour	Change in feeding location	Changes in the feeding locations of different species may be observable identifiable by comparing faunal isotopic results between different archaeological levels to identify. Factors such as changing altitudes, or feeding in more saline locations (Guy, Reid and Krouse, 1986; Van Groenigen and Van Kessel, 2002) can impact on the δ^{13} C values of plants, with elevated values being observed.	Long term, habitual changes in the feeding locations of animals may be reflected in bone $\delta^{15}N$ values, as a result of other factors mentioned above such as soil richness and lithology, or environmental differences between regions in rain shadows versus regions. This would be observable over a longer time scale. Potential different feeding locations identified within faunal $\delta^{15}N$ values was observed archaeologically within the Cantabrian Region during the Middle and Early Upper Palaeolithic (Jones <i>et al.</i> , 2018, 2019).

196 197 Table 1: A summary of the key factors that can affect the δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N isotopic values of plants, and the animals that consume them, related to changes in the environment, faunal habitats, and ungulate dietary behaviour relevant to this study.

199 2. Methodology

200 Red deer (Cervus elaphus)-- the most commonly consumed species at Las Caldas-- and Spanish ibex (Capra 201 pyrenaica)—the other staple food source--, were sampled for isotope analysis (Altuna and Mariezkurrena, 202 2017a; Mateos, 2017). In total 105 samples (41 ibex and 64 red deer) were analysed from 10 different levels, 203 ranging from the Middle Solutrean to the Evolved Middle Magdalenian at different points in the 204 archaeological sequence from the 'corte estratigráfico', 'Sala I' and 'Sala II' (Table 2, Figure 2). Levels selected 205 for analysis were deposits that contained large numbers of faunal remains and had reliable and consistent, 206 radiocarbon datesed, in correlation with lithic and bone tool typologies. All levels sampled are referred to 207 the numbering system, and cultural attributions as published in the site monographs (Corchón Rodríguez, 208 2017a, 2017d). Levels sampled from within "Sala I", including the "corte estratigráfico" are referred to in 209 Arabic numerals and levels within "Sala II" are referred to using Roman numerals. Specimens from "Sala II" 210 evels IV, V, VII, VIII and IX were sampled from the collections held at the Department of Prehistory, Ancient 211 History and Archaeology at the University of Salamanca. Bone specimens from levels 9, 11, 15, 18 and XII 212 were sampled from the archive collections held at the Museo Arqueológico de Asturias. Adult animals, 213 assessed using bone fusion evidence, were selected for analysis to prevent residual nursing signatures from 214 causing inflated δ¹⁵N values (Schurr, 1997, 1998; Fuller et al., 2006), that may obscure environmental 215 signatures. When possible, bone specimens selected displayed evidence of anthropogenic alteration, 216 including cut marks and anthropogenic fractures for marrow extraction, to ensure that interpretations are 217 related directly to periods of human activity were selected. Information about the bones sampled, and the 218 stable isotope results achieved are available in SI1.

219 Archaeozoological data of Las Caldas are taken from recent publications (Altuna and Mariezkurrena, 2017a, 220 2017b; Mateos, 2017) to explore the changing importance of different species, use of animals and exploitation of habitat zones throughout the sequence to trends in the δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N data. The NISP and MNI 221 222 data were used to calculate the Inverse Simpson's index to explore changing diversity in prey exploited at Las 223 Caldas. The percentage of high-ranking prey (bovids, horse, red deer, ibex) in relation to low-ranking prey 224 (fish, birds, chamois, roe deer, and hares/rabbits) was also calculated to explore exploitation strategies. The 225 ratio of juveniles to adults was generated as an indicator of resource pressure. Skeletal profile representation 226 using probabilistic Bayesian methods was undertaken following Marín-Arroyo and Ocio (2017) based on the 227 % Minimum Animal Units (%MAU) to explore carcass transportation and attrition of the archaeozoological 228 assemblage. The archaeozoological data used in this study are available in SI2-4.

229

				Calibrate	ed dates		
Level/location	Cultural attribution	Lab code	Date (uncal) BP	(95.4% p	robability)	Red Jeer n=	ibex n=
				From	to		
IV (Sala II)	Evolved Middle Magdalenian	Ly-2427	13,400 ± 150	14643	13747	6	5
V (Sala II)	Evolved Middle Magdalenian	-	-	-	-	6	6
VII (Sala II)	Old Middle Magdalenian	Ly-3318	12,869 ± 160	13950	12962	5	5
VIII (Sala II)	Old Middle Magdalenian	Ua-10189	13,640 ± 150 (AMS)	15036	14115	6	6
VIII (Sala II)	Old Middle Magdalenian	Ly-2936	13,310 ± 200	14633	13402		
IX (Sala II)	Old Middle Magdalenian	Ua-10188	13,370 ± 110 (AMS)	14671	13446	6	4
XI (Sala II)	Lower Magdalenian	Ua-2734	13,755 ± 120 (AMS)	15076	14372	7	
XII (Sala II)	Lower Magdalenian	Ua-2735	14,495 ± 140 (AMS)	16206	15391	7	2
9 (Sala I)	Upper Solutrean	Ua-15315	17,945 ± 370 (AMS)	20669	18865	7	2
11 (Sala I)	Upper Solutrean	Ua-15316	18,305 ± 295 (AMS)	20960	19500	7	0
15 (Sala I)	Middle Solutrean	Ua-15318	20,250 ± 235 (AMS)	23033	21877	7	7
18 (Sala I, Corte estratigráfico)	Middle Solutrean	Ly-2429	19,000 ± 280	21788	20444	7	3
					Total	71	40

Table 2: Stratigraphic levels and radiocarbon dates and the number of red deer and ibex samples taken from each level sampled for

this study from Las Caldas. Radiocarbon dates are from (Corchón Rodríguez, 2017a, 2017d). Calibrations were achieved using OxCal

232 4.4 (Bronk Ramsey 2009) and IntCal 2020 curve (Reimer et al., 2020).

234 2.1. Analytical Methodology

235 Collagen extraction followed Richards and Hedges (1999) with an ultra-filtration step (Brown et al., 1988). 236 Bone specimens were drilled and cleaned using abrasion. Samples were demineralised in 0.5M HCL at 6-8 °C 237 for between 3-10 days, and then washed three times using de-ionised water before being gelatinised in a 238 weak acidic solution (pH3 HCL) at 70 °C for 48 hours. Samples were filtered using 5–8 µm Ezee® mesh filters 239 (Elkay Laboratory Products) and were ultra-filtered to retrieve the >30ka collagen chains. The >30ka fraction 240 was then frozen and lyophilized for 48 hours. Between 0.2- 0.45mg of collagen was weighed into tin capsules 241 for analysis of stable carbon (δ^{13} C) and nitrogen (δ^{15} N) isotope ratios. Specimens were analysed in duplicate, 242 using a Delta XP mass spectrometer coupled to a Flash EA 2112 elemental analyser.

243

244 The dataset for each level was tested for normality using the Shapiro-Wilk test, and the δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N data 245 was not normally distributed. Despite this the parametric ANOVA test, combined with Tukey post-hoc 246 pairwise comparisons were used, which has shown to be a valid method to use for data with non-normal 247 distribution, when group size and sample sizes are unbalanced (Blanca et al., 2017), and can be considered 248 more robust when comparing unequal group sizes (Keppel and Wickens, 2004), such as those at Las Caldas. 249 The paleontological software PAST was used to undertake the statistical analysis within this study (Hammer 250 et al., 2001). Values of p = < 0.05 are deemed to be statistically significant. Statistical analysis of ibex remains 251 from levels 18, 9 and XII were not undertaken due to small sample sizes, and no ibex specimens were available 252 from level 11.

253

254 **3. Results**

255 *3.1 Overview of the stable isotope results*

256 Collagen preservation was exceptional, with results achieved from 104 of the 105 specimens. All samples 257 were analysed in duplicate and results presented here are an average of these two values. For two specimens, 258 only one aliquot was possible to analyse due to low collagen yields (SUBC11153 and SUBC11157). Replication 259 was typically 0.1‰ or better for δ^{13} C values and 0.2‰ or better for δ^{15} N values. All of the samples had a C:N 260 ratio between 2.9-3.6, indicative of in vivo collagen (DeNiro, 1985), with 98 of these complying with the more 261 rigid criteria of 2.9-3.4 (Van Klinken, 1999). All specimens had a collagen yield >1%, despite being calculated 262 from the >30ka fraction, rather than total collagen fraction, and specimens typically had >35%C and %N between 10-16%, all of which are indicative of well preserved, *in vivo* collagen (Van Klinken, 1999). Raw δ^{13} C 263 264 and $\delta^{15}N$ data and quality indicators are provided in SI1.

- 265 3.2. Trends in $\delta^{13}C$ values
- 266 *3.2.1. Red deer*

The red deer δ^{13} C values range between -21.3‰ and -20.1‰ (Table 3, Figure 3). Red deer δ^{13} C values are 267 typically lower in the Solutrean levels (18,15,11,9), and the δ^{13} C values seen in Levels 15 and 11 are 268 269 statistically significantly different from all subsequent levels, except VIII and IV (Table 4). The lowest deer 270 δ^{13} C values are seen in level 11 (mean value -21.1‰, Table 3, Figure 3). Standard deviation is typically lower 271 in the lower part of the sequence (0.1-0.2‰ throughout the Solutrean and into the Lower Magdalenian), and 272 the maximum standard deviation of 0.4‰ is observed in Old Middle Magdalenian level IX (Table 3, Figure 3). 273 The red deer range is lowest in Middle Solutrean levels 18 and 15 (0.2‰ and 0.3‰ respectively) and in the 274 Lower Magdalenian level IX (0.3‰, Table 4).

275 3.2.2 Ibex

The ibex δ^{13} C values range between -21.4‰ and -19.4‰ (Table 3; Figure 3). The ibex δ^{13} C standard deviation is typically between 0.1‰ and 0.3‰ red deer (Table 3). The largest standard deviation 0.5‰ in δ^{13} C ibex values is seen within level 18, despite only three individuals being analysed (Table 3; Figure 3). The lowest δ^{13} C for the ibex are also observed within level 18, with all three specimens having values that range between 280 -21.5‰ and -20.5‰ (Table 3; Figure 3). Within level 15, the values recorded are some of the lowest seen in

281 the sequence (Table 3, Figure 3) and they were statistically significantly different from the ibex populations

282 analysed in the latter part of the sequence of levels IX, VIII, VII and V (Table 5).

283 3.3.3 Comparison between the species

When comparing the two species, the ibex typically have elevated δ^{13} C values relative to the red deer within 284

285 all levels where sufficient sample sizes were available (Table 3; Figure 3). Statistically significant differences

between the δ^{13} C values of the two species were seen in all levels where sufficient sample sizes were available 286

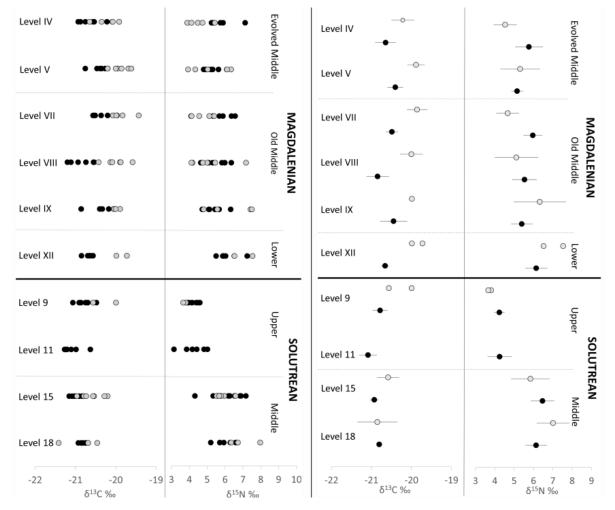
(Table 6). In Level 15, the ibex have δ^{13} C values 0.3‰ higher than the red deer from the same level (Table 3), 287

288 and within levels IX to IV pertaining the Old and Evolved Middle Magdalenian, the mean values of the ibex

289 are elevated by 0.5‰ (Table 3).

						δ ¹³ C					δ¹⁵N		
								Red dee	er				
	Cultural attribution	Level	Ν	Mean	σ1	Min	Max	Range	Mean	σ1	Min	Max	Range
~	Middle	15	7	-20.9	0.1	-21.1	-20.8	0.3	6.5	0.6	5.3	7.2	1.9
Ë	Wildule	18	7	-20.8	0.1	-20.9	-20.7	0.2	6.1	0.5	5.2	6.6	1.4
SOLUTR EAN	Upper	11	7	-21.1	0.2	-21.3	-20.6	0.7	4.2	0.6	3.1	5.0	1.9
SШ	opper	9	7	-20.8	0.2	-21.1	-20.5	0.6	4.2	0.3	3.9	4.6	0.7
-	Lower	XII	7	-20.7	0.1	-20.9	-20.6	0.3	6.1	0.6	5.5	7.2	1.7
MAGDALENIA N		IX	6	-20.5	0.4	-20.9	-20.1	0.8	5.4	0.6	4.7	6.3	1.6
N	Old Middle	VIII	6	-20.8	0.3	-21.2	-20.5	0.7	5.5	0.7	4.6	6.4	1.8
gʻ		VII	5	-20.4	0.2	-20.6	-20.2	0.4	6.0	0.5	5.3	6.6	1.3
AN	Evolved Middle	V	6	-20.4	0.2	-20.8	-20.2	0.6	5.1	0.3	4.8	5.6	0.8
	Evolved Wilddle	IV	6	-20.7	0.3	-20.9	-20.2	0.7	5.8	0.7	5.2	7.1	1.9
								Ibex					
	Cultural attribution	Level	Ν	Mean	σ1	Min	Max	Range	Mean	σ1	Min	Max	Range
~	Middle	15	7	-20.6	0.3	-21.0	-20.2	0.8	5.8	0.4	5.5	6.6	1.1
SOLUTR EAN	wildule	18	3	-20.9	0.5	-21.4	-20.5	0.9	7.0	0.9	6.3	8.0	1.7
SOLL	Upper	9	2	-20.0	-	-	-	-	3.8	-	-	-	-
S	орреі	9	2	-20.6	-	-	-	-	3.7	-	-	-	-
	Lower	XII	2	-19.7	-	-	-	-	6.5	-	-	-	-
AN	LOWEI	AII	2	-20.0	-	-	-	-	7.5	-	-	-	-
MAGDALENIAN		IX	4	-20.0	0.1	-20.0	-19.9	0.1	6.3	1.3	4.8	7.5	2.7
JAL	Old Middle	VIII	6	-20.0	0.3	-20.4	-19.6	0.8	5.1	1.1	4.1	7.2	3.1
19L		VII	5	-19.9	0.3	-20.1	-19.4	0.7	4.7	0.6	4.1	5.4	1.3
MA	Evolved Middle	V	6	-19.9	0.2	-20.2	-19.6	0.6	5.3	1.0	3.9	6.3	2.4
		IV	5	-20.2	0.3	-20.6	-19.9	0.7	4.5	0.6	3.9	5.4	1.5

290 Table 3: Summary statistics results of bone collagen δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values of red deer and Spanish ibex from each level at Las Caldas. 291 Where only two results are available both values are displayed in the mean column.



292

Figure 3: The bone collagen $\delta^{13}C$ and $\delta^{15}N$ of red deer (black circles) and ibex (grey circles) for each archaeological level sampled at Las Caldas. The left-hand side of the figure shows each individual plotted. The right-hand side of the graph shows the mean values, with error bars depicting 1 σ from the mean.

296

				SOLUTREA	N			M	AGDALEN	IAN		
	Cultural attribution	Middle			Up	per	Lower	C	old Middle	Evolved Middle		
	attribution	Level	18	15	11	9	XII	IX	VIII	VII	v	IV
~	Middle	18		0.996	0.917	0.999	0.805	0.046	1	0.042	0.023	0.650
EAI	windule	15	0.995		0.398	1	0.999	0.323	1	0.280	0.202	0.989
SOLUTREAN		11	0.000	0.000		0.479	0.087	0.001	0.564	0.001	0.000	0.046
OLI	Upper											
S		9	0.000	0.000	1		0.996	0.258	1	0.223	0.155	0.975
~	Lower	ХІІ	0.963	1	0.000	0.000		0.805	0.989	0.737	0.650	1
IIAI		IX	0.093	0.506	0.021	0.013	0.718		0.202	1	1	0.917
LEIP	Old Middle	VIII	0.257	0.810	0.005	0.003	0.939	1		0.175	0.117	0.952
AGDALEINIAN		VII	0.984	1	0.000	0.000	1	0.713	0.930		1	0.867
	Evolved Middle	v	0.011	0.119	0.151	0.106	0.233	0.998	0.952	0.246		0.805
2	Evolved Wilddle	IV	0.684	0.993	0.001	0.000	1	0.972	0.999	0.999	0.614	

Table 4: The p-values from the statistical analysis comparing red deer between each level at Las Caldas. The upper part of the table displayed in white shows the results from comparisons of the $\delta^{13}C$ values achieved. The values in the lower half of the table shaded in grey shows the results for the comparisons of the $\delta^{15}N$ values. Statistically significant values (p=<0.05) are displayed in bold.

301

303 3.4 Trends in δ^{13} N values

304 3.4.1 Red deer

 $305 \qquad \text{Red deer } \delta^{15}\text{N values range between } 3.1\% \text{ and } 7.2\%. \text{ The standard deviation for red deer } \delta^{15}\text{N values}$

for each level was between 0.3‰ and 0.7‰ (Table 3; Figure 3). Within the Middle Solutrean (levels 18

and 15, 26.1-22.1kyr BP), the δ^{15} N values of the red deer are 2‰ higher than those seen within the Upper Solutrean (levels 11 and 9, 23.2-20.3kyr cal BP) (Table 3; Figure 3). The δ^{15} N values drop in the

- 309 Upper Solutrean to be the lowest seen within the sequence (Figure 3). There is no overlap in the $\delta^{15}N$
- values for the Middle Solutrean and the Upper Solutrean (Table 3; Figure 3), and statistically significant
- differences between these two periods were also observed (p=0.000 for each test, Table 4). In the
- following part of the sequence, from the Lower Magdalenian (Level XII, 18.5-16.2kyr BP) onwards, the
- mean δ^{15} N values increase again by around 2‰ (Table 3; Figure 3). The δ^{15} N values remain at this
- higher level throughout the Early Middle Magdalenian and into the Evolved Middle Magdalenian
- 315 (Table 3; Figure 3). The only exception to this is level V. The red deer mean δ^{15} N values were 0.9‰
- lower than in level VII, and 0.7‰ lower than in level IV (Table 3; Figure 3), although no statistically
 significant differences between the populations were observed (Table 4).

318 *3.4.2 Ibex*

319 Ibex δ¹⁵N values range between 3.7‰ and 8.0‰ (Table 3), and the δ¹⁵N standard deviations are 320 generally higher than for the red deer, between 0.4‰ and 1.3‰ (Table 4; Figure 3). The two Upper 321 Solutrean ibex from level 9 also have lower values than those earlier in the sequence (3.8‰, 3.7‰) 322 (Figure 3), mirroring the trends seen within the red deer. Higher δ¹⁵N values are then observed in the 323 ibex again in the Old- and Evolved- Middle Magdalenian (level IX, 16.6ky cal BP onwards), which is 324 consistent with the red deer trends.

325 *3.4.3 Comparison between the species*

When comparing the δ^{15} N values of the red deer and ibex for each level, where sufficient samples were available, the two species have similar mean values within levels 15, IX, and VIII within the earlier part of the sequence (Table 3; Figure 3). Statistically significant differences between the red deer and the ibex were identified within levels VII, and IV, where the ibex had δ^{15} N values 1.3‰ lower than the red deer (Table 6) with little overlap in values of the two species (Table 3; Figure 3).

				SOLUTREA	N			MAGE	DALENIA	N		
	Cultural	اميرما	Mic	ldle	Upper		Lower	Old		Evolved Middle		
	attribution	level	18	15	11	9	XII	IX	VIII	VII	۷	IV
1	Midalla	18		х	х	х	x	х	х	х	х	х
EAN	Middle	15	х		х	х	x	0.018	0.008	0.001	0.001	0.219
SOLUTREAN		11	x	х		х	x	х	х	х	х	х
SOL	Upper	9	x	x	x		x	x	х	x	x	х
_	Lower	XII	x	х	х	х		х	х	х	x	х
IIAN		IX	х	0.973	х	х	x		1.000	1.000	1.000	0.872
TEN	Old Middle	VIII	х	0.769	х	х	х	0.377		0.976	0.995	0.879
BDA		VII	х	0.277	х	х	х	0.104	0.971		1.000	0.442
MAGDALENIAN	Evolved	v	х	0.908	х	х	x	0.534	1.000	0.899		0.537
~	Middle	IV	х	0.171	х	х	х	0.062	0.905	1.000	0.778	

Table 5: The p-values, from the statistical analysis, comparing ibex between each level at Las Caldas. The upper part of the

table displayed in white shows the results from comparisons of the δ^{13} C values. The values in the lower half of the table,

333 shaded in grey, show the results for the comparisons of the $\delta^{15}N$ values. An X is used to denote levels where insufficient data

334 were available for statistical analysis to be undertaken. Statistically significant values are displayed in bold.

				Archaeolo	gical level		
	Isotope	15	IX	VIII	VII	V	IV
336	δ ¹³ C	0.028	0.026	0.001	0.004	0.001	0.022
550	δ ¹⁵ N	0.090	0.156	0.473	0.006	0.739	0.013

337 Table 6: The p-values from the statistical analysis comparing red deer and ibex δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values, within each archaeological

338 level at Las Caldas, where sufficient sample sizes were available. Values in bold denote statistically significant results.

				SOLU	FREAN									MAGDA	LENIAN					
		Mio	dle			Up	per		Lov	Lower			d Middle Evo					volved Middle		
Level	1	8	1	5	1	1	9)	х	11	D	ĸ	v		v	11	\	/	IN	
Taxon	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI	NISP	MNI
Mammuthus	1	1	0	0	1	1	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
primigenius																				
Equus sp.	60	3	151	5	851	12	38	1	559	10	980	14	389	5	115	3	32	2	70	2
Bovinae	0		2	1	49	5	2	1	12	1	7	2	9	1	7	1	2	1	2	1
Cervus elaphus	764	11	781	8	4028	28	393	7	502	8	3729	169	1112	10	2980	17	1118	5	1671	10
Rangifer tarandus	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Capreolus capreolus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	20	9	27	5	8	1	6	1	1	1
Capra pyrenaica	33	2	72	4	266	6	18	2	32	3	1479	14	382	8	1600	10	689	5	1010	6
Rupicapra																				
rupicapra	0	0	0	0	44	4	2	1	9	1	303	9	215	5	304	7	165	5	292	5
Totals	858	17	1008	19	5241	57	461	13	1117	25	6519	218	2135	35	5014	39	2012	19	3046	25

339



Table 7:NISP and MNI of major herbivore species exploited at Las Caldas from the levels sampled in this study (data from

Altuna and Mariezkurrena, 2017a, 2017b; Mateos, 2017, see SI2 for full faunal septrum of NISP and MNI values)



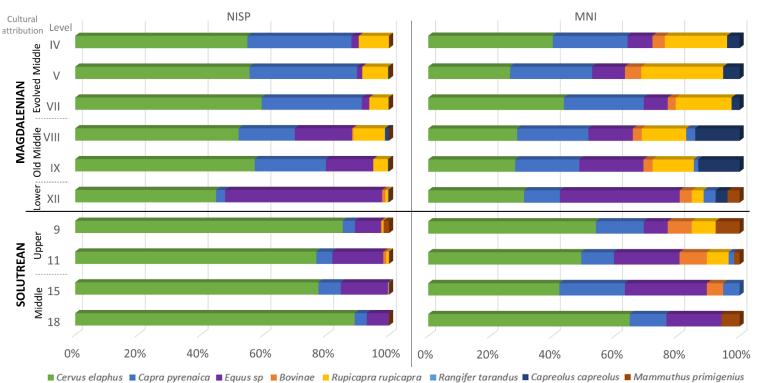
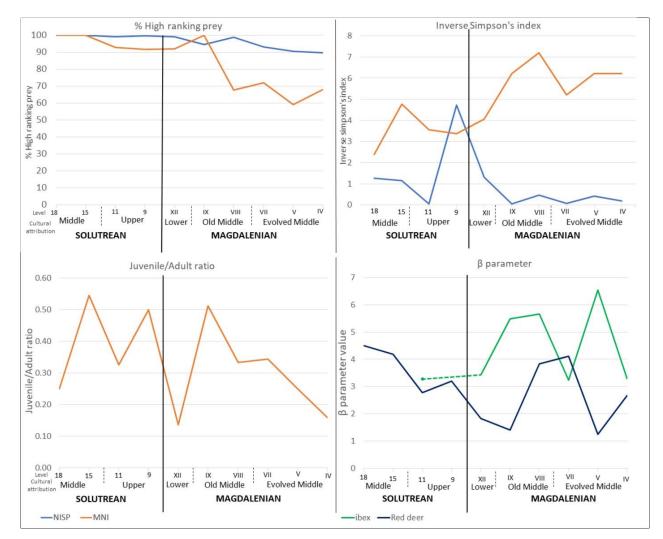


Figure 4: NISP (left) and MNI (right) percentage proportions of herbivore species hunted at Las Caldas for each of the

archaeological levels sampled in this study

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344



347 Figure 5: The % high-ranking prey (Upper left), Inverse Simpson's index (Upper right) both NISP and MNI, the combined

juvenile/adult ratio of all species (lower left) and the β parameter (Lower right) showing faunal skeletal attrition for red deer

349 and ibex, with higher values indicating higher levels of attrition, and lower values indicating lower levels of attrition. Original

data from Altuna and Mariezkurrena, 2017a, 2017b; Mateos, 2017, see SI 2-4 for values used to create these indices.

Middle	Level								rchaeozoologial da			
Idle		Species	Median	95% credibility interval	Median	95% credibility interval	MNE	MNI	Total Adults	Total Juv.		
	18	Red deer	0.06	-1.1	4.51	0.46-9.34	117	11	9			
Mic	15	Red deer	0.05	-1.01	4.19	0.64-8.99	116	8	5			
	11	Red deer	0.04	-1	2.77	0.35-7.62	618	28	20			
Upper	11	Ibex	-0.04	-1.02	3.28	0.33-8.43	65	6	5			
IdN	11	Horse	-0.08	-1.08	4.81	0.71-9.33	129	12	9			
	9	Red deer	0.07	-1.01	3.19	0.31-8.05	84	7	4			
ver	XII	Red deer	0.05	-1.09	1.82	0.11-6.32	92	8	6			
Lov	XII	Ibex	0.11	-1.3	3.42	0.2-8.31	111	3	3			
	IX	Red deer	-0.12	-1.04	1.41	0.06-6.35	491	19	21	1		
lle	IX	Ibex	0.02	-1.05	5.49	0.68-9.55	243	14	15			
lido	IX	Horse	-0.04	-1.11	3.06	0.22-8.0	110	14	7			
≥ ⊽	VIII	Red deer	-0.04	-1.21	3.83	0.33-8.31	143	10	22	1		
ð	VIII	Ibex	0.09	-1.25	5.66	0.67-9.69	62	8	13			
	VIII	Horse	-0.13	-76.58	4.04	0.27-8.39	55	5	4			
<u>ں</u>	VII	Red deer	0.09	-1.15	4.12	0.28-8.97	489	17	31	1		
lpp	VII	Ibex	0.11	-1.11	3.23	0.23-8.33	293	10	23			
Ξ	V	Red deer	-0.17	-1.17	1.25	0.05-6.14	100	5	3			
ved	V	Ibex	0.27	-1.08	6.55	0.82-9.83	107	5	7			
lo Vo	IV	Red deer	-0.07	-1.13	2.67	0.16-7.56	154	10	17			
ú	IV	lbex	-0.10	-1.06	3.29	0.31-8.0	145	6	15			
		Interpretat	ion of differ	ent transport	strategies c	orresponding	to α valu	les				
		-1	-0.75	-0.5	-0.25	0	0.25	0.5	0.75			
)											
.imb												
of tra				Avial		Complete		Anno	ndicular			
	ιομοίτ	Inter			shin corres		alues	Appe				
						• •						
		-				-						
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-1 -0.75 -0.5 -1 -1 -0.75 -0.5 -1 -1 -0.75 -0.5 -1 -1 -1 -1 </td <td>IX Red deer -0.12 -1.04 1.41 IX Ibex 0.02 -1.05 5.49 IX Horse -0.04 -1.11 3.06 VIII Red deer -0.04 -1.21 3.83 VIII Ibex 0.09 -1.25 5.66 VIII Horse -0.13 -76.58 4.04 VIII Horse -0.13 -76.58 4.04 VIII Red deer 0.09 -1.15 4.12 VII Red deer -0.07 -1.17 1.25 V Red deer -0.07 -1.13 2.67 IV Red deer -0.07 -1.13 2.67 IV Red deer -0.07 -1.13 2.67 IV Ibex -0.10 -1.06 3.29 Interpretation of different transport strategies c -1 -0.75 -0.25 Imb Interpretation of bone survivorship corresp Interpretation of bone survivorship corresp Survival(</td> <td>IX Red deer -0.12 -1.04 1.41 0.06-6.35 IX Ibex 0.02 -1.05 5.49 0.68-9.55 IX Horse -0.04 -1.11 3.06 0.22-8.0 VIII Red deer -0.04 -1.21 3.83 0.33-8.31 VIII Bex 0.09 -1.25 5.66 0.67-9.69 VIII Horse -0.13 -76.58 4.04 0.27-8.39 VIII Horse -0.13 -76.58 4.04 0.27-8.39 VIII Red deer 0.09 -1.15 4.12 0.28-8.97 VIII Ibex 0.11 -1.11 3.23 0.23-8.33 V Red deer -0.17 -1.17 1.25 0.05-6.14 V Ibex 0.27 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Table 8: Results of the Bayesian analysis of skeletal representation for each level at Las Caldas, α parameter and β parameter
 values, alongside MNI, MNE and quantities of known adults and juveniles. The α parameter used to explore human transport
 strategies and the β value shows the attrition of the faunal assemblages for each level. Interpretations for both the Bayesian α
 parameter and β parameter values are shown in the lower part of table, following Marín-Arroyo and Ocio (2017).

4. Discussion

369 4.1. Vegetation cover in the Las Caldas environs

All red deer and ibex δ^{13} C values from Las Caldas are within the expected range for herbivores eating C₃ 370 371 plants, in open environments, outside of the canopy effect (van der Merwe and Medina, 1989, 1991). 372 This is consistent with the findings from other stable isotope studies from the wider Cantabrian region 373 during the Late Upper Palaeolithic (Stevens et al., 2014; Domingo et al., 2015; Rofes et al., 2015; Jones 374 et al. 2020). At Las Caldas, the microfaunal assemblage derived from species that dwell in open 375 environments were identified and no woodland species were represented, supporting this 376 interpretation of generally lower tree cover (Laplana et al., 2017). Vegetation reconstructions based on 377 pollen evidence have also indicated that the Iberian Peninsula was by no means heavily wooded throughout the LGM, although pockets of trees survived, predominantly in the southern regions (Naughton *et al.*, 2007; González-Sampériz *et al.*, 2010; Badal *et al.*, 2014). These results belie the frequently held notion that red deer in the Cantabrian Paleolithic context necessarily signified wooded conditions (see Straus 1981).

382 4.2. Shifting conditions in the Solutrean and Magdalenian

The changing δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values of the red deer throughout the sequence indicates changes in 383 384 environmental conditions. The lower δ^{15} N values observed in the deer, and supported by the values of 385 the two ibex in the Middle Solutrean (26.1-22.1kyr BP, levels 15 and 18), compared to the Upper 386 Solutrean (23.2-20.3kyr cal BP, levels 11 and 9) suggests that the environment changed between the 387 Middle and Upper Solutrean times. Multiple biogeochemical factors can affect δ^{15} N values of soils, 388 plants, and their consumers (Table 1), and the soil, and plant δ^{15} N values are a complex reflection of the environmental conditions, mycorrhizal communities and wider processes of nitrogen fixation (Szpak, 389 390 2014; Craine, Brookshire, et al., 2015).

Moisture availability and rainfall, can impact on $\delta^{15}N$ values (Cormie and Schwarcz, 1996; Austin and 391 392 Vitousek, 1998; Amundson et al., 2003; Aranibar et al., 2004; Murphy and Bowman, 2006), and an 393 inverse correlation between precipitation and plant δ^{15} N values has been observed (Hartman and Danin, 394 2010). Additionally, temperature can create a positive correlation between foliar $\delta^{15}N$ values and temperature (Martinelli *et al.*, 1999; Amundson *et al.*, 2003; Pardo *et al.*, 2006). Lower δ^{15} N values can 395 be an indication of bioactivity within the soil, being decreased within colder and/or wetter 396 397 environments, affecting the processes of microorganisms in the soil (Handley, Austin, Stewart, et al., 398 1999), and decreased δ^{15} N values have been shown to correlate with low mean annual temperatures 399 (Martinelli et al., 1999; Amundson et al., 2003; Pardo et al., 2006). More recent global studies of soil 400 $\delta^{15}N$ values have been shown to correlate with mean annual temperatures and mean annual 401 precipitation, with results showing a depletion in ¹⁵N within cold or wet ecosystems, and enrichment in 402 ¹⁵N associated with hot or dry ecosystems (Craine, Elmore, *et al.*, 2015). The lower δ^{15} N values could be 403 indicative of cold and potentially wet conditions during the Upper Solutrean at Las Caldas, within levels 404 11 and 9 (23.2-20.3kyr cal BP), in comparison to the preceding Middle Solutrean levels. Bone collagen 405 δ^{15} N values from the site of El Mirón (Ramales de la Victoria, Cantabria c. 250km from Las Caldas) between 27-20kyr cal BP, were noted as being lower and were attributed to colder conditions (Stevens 406 407 et al. 2014), which is consistent with the findings from Las Caldas.

408 The increased δ^{15} N values from the Lower Magdalenian (level XII, 18.5-16.2kyr cal BP) and subsequent 409 levels in the sequence, suggests an improvement in conditions, with potentially warmer temperatures 410 observed from that point onwards in the sequence. The appearance of roe deer from level XII onwards 411 is indicative of tempering conditions, and increased areas of woodland (Figure 4, Table 7). Similar 412 patterns have been seen in other regions, for example at the site of El Mirón in Cantabria, higher $\delta^{15}N$ 413 values were seen after the LGM (20-14.5 kyr cal. BP) interpreted as relating to increased temperatures 414 in the region (Stevens *et al.*, 2014). Studies of reindeer and horse from SW France demonstated $\delta^{15}N$ 415 values were seen after 26kyr cal BP, with values increasing again after 17kyr cal BP (Drucker et al., 2003), 416 demonstrating a similar response of plant (and thus animal) δ^{15} N values to these globally cold conditions 417 of the LGM.

The lower δ^{13} C values of red deer throughout the Solutrean levels (26.1-20.3kyr cal BP), in comparison to the Magdalenian (18.5-14.3kyr cal BP) sequence, also suggests shifting conditions. A negative correlation between plant δ^{13} C values and temperatures have been observed in some studies (Körner, Farquhar and Wong, 1991; Tieszen, 1991), although both positive and negative associations between δ^{13} C values and temperature have been noted, and isolating temperature from other factors is a

challenge concerning the understanding plant δ^{13} C values (O'Leary, 1995; Heaton, 1999). Water 423 424 availability is also thought to impact on plant δ^{13} C values (Heaton, 1999; Dawson et al., 2002), with lower 425 δ^{13} C values being produced in wetter conditions (O'Leary, 1995; Diefendorf *et al.*, 2010; Kohn, 2010). Thus, the lower δ^{13} C values of the Solutrean at Las Caldas could also be reflecting these colder/wetter 426 427 conditions, as suggested by the δ^{15} N values, before conditions improved in the Magdalenian (as seen in 428 level XII onwards), when temperatures increased. Other records from the site are limited, but 429 microfaunal evidence is interpreted as showing colder and wetter conditions generally in the Solutrean 430 compared to the later parts of the sequence, with a decrease in humidity from the Solutrean to the Magdalenian levels (Laplana et al., 2017). The decrease in δ^{13} C values seen at El Mirón between 20-431 432 18.5kyr cal BP is interpreted as being link to wetter conditions (Stevens et al., 2014). These results are consistent with the findings of the δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N analysis from the studies at Las Caldas. 433

434 Considering the δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values, in light of wider regional proxies, can help with interpretation and 435 contextualisation of the results achieved. Regarding vegetation cover, offshore core MD95-2039 from 436 the NW of the Iberian Peninsula between ~25-18.5kyr cal BP, corresponding to the Solutrean levels at 437 Las Caldas, contained increased quantities of aboreal pollen, heath, and quercus that suggest moister 438 conditions, although not as cold as seen during parts of MIS3 (Roucoux et al., 2005). It has been proposed 439 that during the LGM precipitation in Iberia may have been higher than seen today, due to West wind 440 drift (Beghin et al., 2016; Ludwig et al., 2016), although this is not consistently observed in all proxy 441 records (González-Sampériz et al., 2010; Moreno et al., 2012), and local variability due to distinctive 442 geographical and topographical conditions is important to evaluate. When considering regional proxies, 443 between ~25.2 to 20.5kyr cal BP, which broadly correspond to the Middle and Upper Solutrean levels at 444 Las Caldas, the El Pindal speleothem isotope record suggests relatively cold and/or dry conditions, 445 although it is noted that this period was not as dry as observed during the Heinrich events (Moreno, 446 Stoll, et al., 2010). Following on from this there is a hiatus in the speleothem record between~20.5-447 16.8kyr cal BP, at El Pindal cave thought to be due to a period of intense cold/or dry conditions, 448 suggesting lower temperatures than the peak of the LGM (Moreno, Stoll, et al., 2010). However, part 449 of this phase relates to a break in the sequence sampled at Las Caldas. Rainfall and temperature reconstructions based on δ^{13} C and δ^{18} O analysis of large mammal teeth between 25-16kyr cal. BP has 450 451 suggested higher rainfall levels of ≈550 mm yr⁻¹ in Atlantic LGM Northern Spain, in contrast to ≈250 mm 452 yr⁻¹ in the Mediterranean façade, with mean air temperatures of between 6-10°C and 14-15°C 453 respectively in the two regions (Lécuyer et al. 2021), supporting the hypotheis for possible cold and 454 or/wet conditions being expressed in the Cantabrian Region during the LGM. However the northern 455 Iberian results should be viewed with caution, as most of them stem from materials obtained in very old 456 or substandard excavations with stratigraphic mixture and insufficient dating evidence. Recent revisions 457 of regional chronologies with critical evaluation of stratigraphic sequences and high-quality AMS dating, 458 suggest the need for great prudence in such generalizations (see Marín-Arroyo et al. 2018). From 20.1kyr 459 cal BP increased numbers of N. pachyderma (sin.) present in cores taken from the Basque continental 460 shelf appears to correlate with the melting of ice sheets in Europe (Rofes et al., 2014, 2015; Martínez-461 García et al., 2015). Pollen evidence available from multiple offshore records suggest that, from 20kyr 462 cal BP, mesothermophilic tree species appear (Carrión et al., 2010), supporting the possibility of improved, warmer conditions following the conclusion of the LGM. This is observed by the increase in 463 464 δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values from the Magdalenian onwards in the vicinity of Las Caldas from 18.5 kyr BP 465 onwards. The El Pindal speleothem sequence, from 16.8 to 11.6 kyr cal BP, relating to the Magdalenian 466 activity at Las Caldas, reflects an increase in both temperature and humidity (Moreno, Stoll, et al., 2010), 467 which is consistent with the findings of the stable isotope results.

468 In summary, when considering the stable isotope results from Las Caldas in light of the wider 469 environmental proxies available, pertaining to the Northern Iberian Peninsula, the lower δ^{13} C values 470 appear to reflect generally cold, and potentially moist conditions throughout the Solutrean. The 471 decrease in δ^{15} N values in levels 11 and 9 (23.2-20.3kyr cal BP) suggests a possible shift in conditions to 472 become even colder/wetter at that time in the locality surrounding Las Caldas. A climatic improvement 473 is seen from the Lower Magdalenian levels analysed (18.5kyr cal BP) onwards, with warmer conditions 474 experienced in the elevated δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values, reflecting trends observed in the broader 475 environmental proxies.

476 4.3. Reconstructing the ecological niches of ibex and red deer hunted at Las Caldas

477 The difference in the δ^{13} C values of the red deer and ibex within Middle Solutrean level 15 and 18 (26.2-478 22.1kyr cal BP), and in the Magdalenian part of the sequence (levels IX, VIII, VI, V and IV, 18.5-14.3kyr 479 cal BP), suggests niche partitioning of the two species. In levels 15 and 18, the δ^{13} C values of the ibex are 480 not as high as seen later in the sequence. Indeed, the lowest δ^{13} C values are observed within level 18, 481 suggesting that the ibex niche shifted from the Solutrean to the Magdalenian. Altitude is likely to be the 482 factor affecting these values, given the preference of ibex to inhabit higher altitudes when conditions 483 allow this (Freeman, 1973; Schroder and Kofler, 1984; Wiersema, 1984; Martínez and Martínez, 1987; García-González and Cuartas, 1992; Martínez, 2002). Elevated δ^{13} C values are seen in plants growing at 484 485 these higher altitudes (Tieszen et al., 1979; Körner, Farquhar and Roksandic, 1988; Körner, Farquhar and 486 Wong, 1991). Archaeologically for instance, increased tooth carbonate δ^{13} C values of Middle Palaeolithic 487 ibex from Valdegoba (Burgos, on the high plateau of Old Castile, northern Spain) were interpreted as 488 resulting from animals grazing at higher altitudes (Feranec *et al.*, 2010). The lower ibex δ^{13} C in the 489 Solutrean, relative to the Magdalenain levels, suggests that the ibex were habitually occupying lower 490 altitudes than seen later in the sequence, and could be indicative of more impoverished conditions. 491 Higher altitudes typically have lower diversity and density of plant species (Montalvo et al., 1993), which 492 would be further reduced during periods of cold climate. This fact may explain why ibex were living at 493 lower altitudes during the Solutrean. However, from the Lower Magdalenian onwards, the shift in the 494 ibex δ^{13} C increase, relative to the individuals analysed from the Solutrean, suggests that there may have 495 been an improvement in environmental conditions at altitude, with sufficient vegetation to support ibex 496 in their preferred niche of higher and rocky escarpments.

497 At Las Caldas, the consistently lower δ^{13} C values of red deer, relative to ibex, suggest that red deer were routinely inhabiting lower altitudes, reflecting the two species' different ecological niches, and 498 499 were likely hunted in different parts of the landscape. This contrasts with results of studies of other 500 contemporaneous regional sites. For instance, the late Last Glacial site of La Riera in the coastal zone of 501 Asturias, located 100km away to the NE of Las Caldas, where deer and ibex were feeding at similar altitudes, as no difference in δ^{13} C values was seen between the two species in either the Solutrean or 502 503 Magdalenian (Jones et al. 2020), and suggest that a mosaic environments (the site is on the coastal plain 504 but is near the base of a steep, rocky mountain range) may have facilitated survival in the Cantabrian 505 Region. Distinctive micro-environmental biomes, surrounding archaeological sites, may have helped 506 fauna survive by adapting in different ways, making them suitable prey for Late Glacial hunter-gatherers. 507 The presence of Late Pleistocene mosaic environments have also been observed isotopically in the 508 Upper Paleolithic cave sites of the Swabian Jura (southwestern Germany) with its deep, cliff-lined valleys 509 (Wong et al., 2020) and during the Magdalenian at Kulna Cave in the gorge-rich Moravian karst of the 510 Czech Republic (Reade et al., 2021). Diversity in habitatsmay have played an important role in enabling 511 humans and animals' continued presence in the late Upper Palaeolithic throughout Europe.

The red deer is the dominant prey species at Las Caldas (Figure 4, Table 8), despite climatic and
environmental fluctuations, which is a testament to its resilience. Red deer are flexible in their diet and
habitats. As intermediate feeders, they can both graze and browse (Gebert and Verheyden-Tixier, 2001).
Studies of Mediterranean red deer show how well they can alter their diet between drier and wetter

516 years, according to the availability of different resources (Bugalho and Milne, 2003). Their ability to 517 adapt to environmental conditions may explain their reliability as a prey species in the region, 518 particularly during the more difficult conditions of the Middle and Upper Solutrean levels 18, 15, 11 and 519 9, in which red deer accounted for at least 75% of the NISP at Las Caldas (Figure 4). A combination of 520 both red deer's flexibility and favourable conditions for survival in the Cantabrian region, may help 521 explain the species' constancy throughout the Upper Palaeolithic. Additionally, the exploitation of 522 supplementary species during the later Upper Palaeolithic in the region, e.g., horse and later ibex at Las 523 Caldas (Figure 4), and ibex at La Riera (Altuna, 1986), and El Mirón (Marín-Arroyo, 2009b), appears to 524 have been fundamental to human survival, ensuring economic stability, even during climatically 525 challenging times. Diverse mosaic environments in the region, produced by the high relief topography, 526 of mountains and deep valleys adjacent to a narrow coastal zone may have played an important role in 527 the survival of different species during climatic and environmental changes.

528 4.4. Shifting economic strategies and mobility to environmental change

529 The shift towards improved conditions during the end of the Solutrean and the onset of the Magdalenian 530 coincides not only with a technology change but also in the proportions and types of prey species 531 exploited (Figure 4). An increase in ibex NISP occurs from level IX onwards, as ibex once again began to 532 inhabit their preferred habitat of rocky excarpments and suggests an amplification of hunting zones into 533 mountainous rocky regions, that had been previously under-exploited. Maximum travelling time to 534 procure ibex, based on from sites in Northern Spain, is estimated to be around 1-2 hours (Marín-Arroyo, 535 2009). Las Caldas lies in a small side- valley, with steep cliffs lining a narrow stretch of the Nalon 536 upstream (south) of the site, which would have been ideal habitat for ibex around 6km distant be well 537 within the human hunting range (Figure 1).

538 The exploitation of a wider variety of environmental zones during the Magdalenian is further evidenced 539 by chamois being more strongly represented, accounting for between 5-10% of , a species which 540 typically have a preference for forests (Acevedo et al., 2005), and today in central Spain preferentially 541 inhabit mesic mountain forests (Virgós and Tellería, 1998), the ungulate NISP between levels IX to IV 542 (Figure 4). Modern-day chamois within the neighbouring province of Cantabria have been shown to have 543 as diet comprised of predominantly grass-forb and shrub, with animals inhabiting subalpine meadows 544 and shrublands (Pérez-Barberia et al., 2014), with very low frequencies in forested areas (Perez-Barberia 545 and Nores, 1994). This is indicative of more meadow and steppic environments being exploited in the 546 Late Glacial. Roe deer is a species which typically has a preference for forests (Acevedo et al., 2005), and 547 today in central Spain preferentially inhabits mesic mountain forests (Virgós and Tellería, 1998). 548 Procurement of roe deer in the Magdalenian points to the exploitation of this new and expanding Late 549 Glacial habitat. The representation of species from a range of environmental biomes indicates that not 550 only was a rich mosaic of habitats available during the Magdalenian, but humans were routinely 551 exploiting a variety of different habitats (incluing the littoral at sites near the coast, such as La Riera 552 Straus and Clark 1986). The Magdalenian faunal assemblage at Las Caldas suggests that these hunters 553 exhibited greater flexibility in the strategies they employed, procuring species from a range of habitats 554 as they expanded their hunting ranges towards the mountainous and forest zones, facilitated by more 555 sophisticated hunting technologies observable within the material culture recorded in these levels 556 (Mateos, 2017). The appearance of specialised tools, such as spearthrowers, appearing at the site from 557 the Upper Solutrean onwards (Corchón Rodríguez and Martínez, 2017), would have enabled more 558 intensive hunting over larger distances. Targeting of resources from different environmental zones may 559 have helped to increase encounter rates and maximise hunting returns.

560 The Bayesian models of skeletal representation can help to inform on carcass transportation, hunting 561 ranges and attrition (Table 8). Analysis of the horses suggests that they were being brought to the site as complete carcasses, based on their α parameter values of around 0, in the three levels where data are available (Upper Solutrean level 11, and Old Middle Magdalenian levels IX and VIII) (Table 9), suggesting that they were hunting at closer distances on the broad fluvial plain of the Nalón valley downstream of Las Caldas. Horses decline in importance, notably in the Evolved Middle Magdalenian (Table 7, Figure 4), which could suggest that they were not being encountered in such large numbers in the site's immediate locality. The lower frequencies of horses, a previous staple at the site, might have contributed to the need for hunters to exploit wider ecological zones to find sufficient nutrition.

569 The skeletal profile analysis of the red deer and ibex suggests that throughout the Solutrean red deer 570 and ibex were predominantly being brought to the site complete, implying that they were being 571 transported over relatively short distances (Figure 5; Table 8). This is also true for Magdalenian levels XII, IX, VIII, VII, IV (Table 8). Complete carcass representation of major prey species were noted within 572 573 the Magdalenian deposits at Coímbre cave in Asturias (Álvarez-Alonso et al., 2016), indicative of 574 similarities in landscape use and travelling distances across a wider area. A notable exception to 575 significant carcass transport was seen in level V, where there is a tendency towards transporting more 576 axial elements of red deer, and more appendicular parts of ibex (Table 8), indicative of either more 577 selective transport of body parts, or more intensive processing at the kill sites. The more intensive 578 processing of carcasses is indicative of greater transport distances, with hunters having to travel longer 579 to find the resources that they needed and suggests that there was more pressure on the environment 580 during this time. In the Cantabrian Region, it has been proposed that populations moved between base 581 camps, and specialised logistical sites in the Cantabrian Region during the Magdalenian (Straus 1986; 582 Marín-Arroyo, 2009b, 2009a) (Straus and Clark, 1986) to make full use of available resources and ensure 583 survival, which may have occurred when encounter rates became too low within the maximum hunting 584 ranges.

585 Despite somewhat improving environmental conditionsduring the Magdalenian and with ibex shifting 586 back to their preferred montane habitat, the archaeozoological evidence suggests greater pressure on 587 resources. A high level of bone fragmentation, even of small bones including phalanges for marrow 588 extraction was noted within levels VIII (Middle Magdalenian), XII (Lower Magdalenian) (Mateos 589 Cachorro, 2002, 2003). The Bayesian analysis of the skeletal profiles provides further detail on this. The 590 β parameter values of ibex show an opposite trend to the red deer in the Magdalenian (Figure 5, Table 591 8), indicative of higher levels of attrition of red deer bones relative to ibex. This could suggest more 592 intensive processing of the larger red deer bones for grease and marrow extraction. Intensive bone 593 processing is a trend seen within other Middle Magdalenian occupations in the Cantabrian Region 594 (Nakazawa et al., 2009), indicative of more intense pressure on resources. Other indicators of resource 595 stress are observed at Las Caldas, such as an increase in the exploitation of low-ranking prey beginning 596 in the Old Middle Magdalenian as seen in the MNI and to a lesser extent the NISP (Figure 5). Greater 597 diversity in species exploitation is suggested by the increasing inverse Simpson's index values for MNI 598 (Figure 5). During the Magdalenian, marine shells and crustaceans were also present (Corchón et al., 599 2008), and during the Middle Magdalenian, there is evidence of fishing for salmon and trout at the site 600 (Corchón 2005; Corchón 2006), pointing to the exploitation of wider resource bases. The ratio of 601 juveniles to adults shows a sharp decline in lower Magdalenian level XII (Figure 5). The ratio increases 602 again in the old Middle Magdalenian (level IX) (Figure 5) suggesting additional pressure on hervibore 603 populations, likely linked to increased numbers of human groups in the region during this period of 604 ameliorated conditions. The ratio of juveniles to adults then drops again, between levels VII-IV, as the 605 Middle Magdalenian progressed (Figure 5). It is possible that increased hunting ranges, wider resource 606 exploitation and intensive extraction of nutrition from animals captured, might have inadvertently 607 provided have helped to mitigate some of the pressures on faunal populations, when these levels were 608 occupied at Las Caldas.

The δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N results show that despite improved conditions in the Magdalenian, with animals 609 inhabiting their preferred niches, there was a need for more intensive exploitation of the primary 610 611 regional game species and exploitation of a wider range of habitat biomes. This fact suggests that human 612 population increase may be responsible for the shifting economic strategies observed, rather than 613 environmental change, corroborating findings at other contemporary regional sites such as La Riera and 614 El Mirón (Straus 1977; Marín-Arroyo, 2009a; Jones et al., 2020). An increase of ~15 sites per millennia in 615 the Cantabrian Region during the Magdalenian is indicative of rapid population growth (Straus, Bicho 616 and Winegardner, 2000a, 2000b), undoubtedly putting additional pressure on resources, despite 617 ameliorated conditions allowing animals, such as ibex, to thrive in their preferred niches. Greater population mobility is also seen during the Magdalenian, potentially linked to these improved 618 619 environmental conditions, and the necessity to travel larger distances to obtain sufficient food supplies 620 to feed an ever-growing population. Engraved and perforated marine mammal teeth (Corchón 621 Rodriguez and Alvarez Fernández, 2008) and whale-bone ornaments (Lefebvre et al., 2021) suggesting movements to the coast and/orPyreneo-Cantabrian down-the-linetrade/exchange networks. Longer 622 623 distance transportation of lithics attests to more significant movement of populations with some lithic artifacts found at Las Caldas deriving from the Western (French) Pyrenees (Corchón, Tarriño and 624 625 Martínez, 2007; Corchón Rodríguez, 2017a), a characteristic observed across the wider Cantabrian 626 region during the Magdalenian (Tarriño, Elorrieta and García-Rojas, 2015; Fontes, Straus and González 627 Morales, 2016). Shifting environmental conditions have been proposed as a possible model to explain 628 the extensive distances covered to exploit raw material in the Lower Magdalenian (Fontes, Straus and 629 González Morales, 2016). This hypothesis is supported by the isotopic evidence from Las Caldas. Opening 630 up of new environments and amplified ecological biomes may have drawn hunter-gatherers to the 631 region and allowed successful breeding of existing populations in the region. Ultimately this would have 632 resulted in producing larger human populations, in addition to facilitating greater levels of connectivity 633 across the Franco-Cantabrian region.

634 **5.** Conclusions

635 The stable isotope analysis of red deer and Spanish ibex at Las Caldas has demonstrated that 636 environmental shifts occurred from the Solutrean (26.1-20.3kyr cal BP) to the Magdalenian (18.5-14.3yr cal BP), as reflected by changing bone collagen δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values, impacting on both animal and 637 human behaviour. During the Solutrean, the environment was hostile, with lower δ^{13} C values in all levels, 638 639 and by the lower $\delta^{15}N$ values in the Upper Solutrean reflecting cold and potentially wet conditions. Additionally, the lower δ^{13} C values of the ibex during the Solutrean suggests that they were living at 640 lower altitudes, which is outside of their preferred habitats. In the Magdalenian, climatic amelioration 641 is expressed by increased δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N values. The higher δ^{13} C values of the ibex show that their niche 642 643 shifted and they started living at higher altitudes again, likely due to lessened snow cover and increased vegetation on higher slopes. Improved conditions may have been a draw for human populations to the 644 645 area, as well as possible increased birth rates due to greater security in nutrition. Ameliorated conditions 646 and larger human populations in the Magdalenian coincide with changing economic strategies, as 647 habitats and biomes for various fauna improve, and a greater diversity in species is exploited. Some 648 evidence of resource pressures is also seen at this time, with an intensification of carcass processing, 649 and exploitation of more low-ranking prey species, despite improved environmental conditions. This fact 650 is hypothesized to be due to the need to feed larger populations. The presence of the resilient and stable 651 prey of red deer, alongside a supplementary species (horse or ibex), may explain why this region was 652 able to serve as a refugium during the LGM for a host of different flora, fauna and humans.

This research provides valuable insights into the changing environmental conditions experienced during the Last Glacial Maximum in the Cantabrian Region, and how this impacted on the faunal populations, and the humans who were hunting them. Characterising the shifting niche and habitat preferences, resulting from environmental change during the Palaeolithic, can help us understand the pressures facing faunal species in the world today, and the complex interactions occurring between humans, animals and the environments they inhabitated.

659

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- 675

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