THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Archaeological sites as Distributed Long-term Observing Networks of the Past (DONOP)

Citation for published version:
Hambrecht, G, Anderung, C, Brewington, S, Dugmore, A, Edvardsson, R, Feeley, F, Gibbons, K, Harrison, R, Hicks, M, Jackson, R, Ólafsdóttir, GÁ, Rockman, M, Smiarowski, K, Streeter, R, Szabo, V & McGovern, T 2018, 'Archaeological sites as Distributed Long-term Observing Networks of the Past (DONOP)', *Quaternary International*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.quaint.2018.04.016

Digital Object Identifier (DOI):
10.1016/j.quaint.2018.04.016

Link:
Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer

Document Version:
Peer reviewed version

Published In:
Quaternary International

General rights
Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy
The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Download date: 14. Oct. 2024

Archaeological Sites as Distributed Long-term Observing Networks of the Past (DONOP)

George Hambrecht [a], Cecilia Anderung [b], Seth Brewington [c], Andrew Dugmore [d], Ragnar Edvardsson [e], Francis Feeley [c], Kevin Gibbons [a], Ramona Harrison [f], Megan Hicks [c], Rowan Jackson [d], Guðbjörg Ásta Ólafsdóttir [e], Marcy Rockman [g], Konrad Smiarowski [c], Richard Streeter [h], Vicki Szabo [i], Thomas McGovern [c]

[a] Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742, USA
[b] Department of Ecology and Genetics, Uppsala University, 751 05 Uppsala, Sweden
[c] Department of Anthropology, Hunter College, City University of New York, New York, NY 10065, USA
[d] Institute of Geography and the Lived Environment, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh EH8 9XP, Scotland, UK
[e] Research Centre of the Westfjords, University of Iceland, 400 Ísafjörður, Iceland
[f] Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies, and Religion, University of Bergen, 5020 Bergen, Norway
[g] US National Park Service, Washington, DC 20372, USA
[h] Department of Geography and Sustainable Development, University of St. Andrews, St. Andrews KY16 9AL, Scotland, UK
[i] Department of History, Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, NC 28723, USA

Corresponding author:

George Hambrecht
University of Maryland
Department of Anthropology
0111 Woods Hall
4302 Chapel Lane
College Park, Maryland 20742
USA

ghambrec@umd.edu

Keywords: DONOP; Archaeology; Zooarchaeology; aDNA; Historical Ecology; North Atlantic

37 Abstract

38 Archaeological records provide a unique source of direct data on long-term human-
39 environment interactions and samples of ecosystems affected by differing degrees of human
40 impact. Distributed long-term datasets from archaeological sites provide a significant contribution
41 to establish local, regional, and continental-scale environmental baselines and can be used to
42 understand the implications of human decision-making and its impacts on the environment and the
43 resources it provides for human use. Deeper temporal environmental baselines are essential for
44 resource and environmental managers to restore biodiversity and build resilience in depleted
45 ecosystems. Human actions are likely to have impacts that reorganize ecosystem structures by
46 reducing diversity through processes such as niche construction. This makes data from
47 archaeological sites key assets for the management of contemporary and future climate change
48 scenarios because they combine information about human behavior, environmental baselines, and
49 biological systems. Sites of this kind collectively form Distributed Long-term Observing Networks
50 of the Past (DONOP), allowing human behavior and environmental impacts to be assessed over
51 space and time. Behavioral perspectives are gained from direct evidence of human actions in
52 response to environmental opportunities and change. Baseline perspectives are gained from data
53 on species, landforms, and ecology over timescales that long predate our typically recent datasets
54 that only record systems already disturbed by people. And biological perspectives can provide
55 essential data for modern managers wanting to understand and utilize past diversity (i.e., trophic
56 and/or genetic) as a way of revealing, and potentially correcting, weaknesses in our contemporary
57 wild and domestic animal populations.

58

59 1. Introduction

60 Archaeological data is a vital but underutilized resource for environmental managers and
61 policy makers. Archaeological sites are currently valued for preserving cultural heritage, tourism,
62 and place-based education for sustainability, but they can also generate very large, well-
63 documented collections of animal and human bone, shells, insects, and carbonized and
64 waterlogged botanical materials that span thousands of years. Advances in stable isotope, ancient
65 DNA (aDNA), and macrofossil analyses have improved the resolution of diverse organic samples,
66 improving key archives for understanding long-term biogeographical change (Hofman et al.,
67 2015), food web structure (Dunne et al., 2016), marine and terrestrial resource fluctuations
68 (McKetchnie et al., 2014, Moss et al., 2016), and the long-term impacts of climate and human
69 settlement on both individual species and whole ecosystems (Erlandson et al., 2008). Improved
70 archaeological and palaeoecological datasets have significant relevance to contemporary
71 researchers and resource managers who face the challenge of *shifting baselines syndrome* in which
72 each successive generation of natural resource managers falsely identify their contemporary (and
73 already heavily depleted) ecosystems as a pristine natural baseline (e.g., Jackson et al., 2001;
74 Bolster et al., 2012). Identification of accurate environmental baselines has an essential relevance
75 to major challenges of our time, including food security through overexploitation of marine and
76 terrestrial ecosystems (Yletyinen et al., 2016), restoring biodiversity in heavily degraded
77 environments, and the preservation of sustainable resource-use practices (Klein et al., 2007;
78 Barthel et al., 2013). The relevance of long-term (century- to millennial-scale) perspectives offered
79 by archaeologists and the natural sciences are recognized increasingly as key data sources for
80 future sustainable resource use (Engelhard et al., 2015; Laparidou et al,. 2015). The authors of this
81 article are generally operating in a time scale that encompasses the last millennium. Archaeology
82 in the most general sense operates on two temporal scales. The last ten thousand years, meaning

83 the period beginning with the Neolithic and the appearance of plant and animal domestication, and
84 then the last two million years, meaning the period beginning with the emergence of our genus and
85 the appearance of material culture. The authors belong to the first group. In each case the matching
86 of millennial and century-scale to the lived experience of humans at the generational-scale is a
87 central priority of archaeology.

88 While many archaeologists have been aware of the potential of the growing global
89 assemblage of well-dated, well-excavated sites with comprehensive archives of ecological material
90 since the birth of our discipline, it can be challenging to communicate this potential to scientists
91 from other disciplines engaged in global change research or to a wider public whose perceptions
92 of archaeology are conditioned by images of Indiana Jones and Laura Croft. A challenge for
93 archaeologists has been to shrug-off the perception of archaeology as an antiquarian pursuit
94 focused on collecting high-value artifacts, rather than a science-based discipline that, among other
95 pursuits, provides unique datasets for understanding long-term human interactions with changing
96 environments. As highlighted in Kintigh and colleagues' (2014, pp. 6) *Grand Challenges for*
97 *Archaeology*, "archaeological data and interpretations have entered political and public, as well as
98 scholarly, debates on such topics as human response to climate change, the eradication of poverty,
99 and the effects of urbanization and globalization on humanity." Communicating the relevance of
100 archaeological data to practitioners, such as resource managers, using deep time perspectives
101 illustrate not only the value of establishing environmental baselines and understanding ecosystem
102 structures, but also supply narratives spanning multiple centuries to millennia of human resource-
103 use and adaptation (Nelson et al., 2016; Spielmann et al., 2016).

104 At a 2013 meeting in Paris between the interim Future Earth management team
105 (http://www.futureearth.org) and representatives of the Integrated History and Future of People on

Earth (IHOPE) group (http://www.ihopenet.org), the IHOPE presenters (Carole Crumley, Tom McGovern, Jago Cooper, Steven Hartman, Andy Dugmore) coined the phrase ‘distributed observing network of the past’ (DONOP) to communicate the value of archaeological sites for global change research (GCR), and adopt a vernacular more familiar to the wider scientific community and help argue the case for better inclusion of archaeologically-derived data sets into the Future Earth agenda. The DONOP concept resonates with the description of existing instrumental observation networks that monitor the current impacts of human activities on environmental change (Hari et al., 2016; Proença et al., 2016; Theobald, 2016; Marzeion et al., 2017). For examples, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) occupies an authoritative position monitoring the impacts of climate change on biophysical systems and human societies. The International Oceanographic Commission (IOC) of UNESCO operates a Global Ocean Observation System (GOOS) to monitor global changes to ocean temperature, its ecosystems, and human communities reliant on the resources it provides. But long-term human processes have been largely absent from many major monitoring efforts reports despite being in a position to disseminate data relevant to GCR. This paper explores the relevance of DONOP with a specific focus on work carried out in the North Atlantic region.

Archaeological sites are a core aspect of DONOP as they have the ability to both show change through time as well as reveal local and regional dynamics. Ideally, the best DONOP sites would be those that have deep temporal range and are parts of networks of sites that can cover spatial scales from the local through the regional. Given the variety of sites and projects in the Archaeological community such data can be relevant from the scale of the household (i.e. how a particular individual settlement interacted with its local environment) to regional scales of varying

128 size. The examples offered by this article show some of the spatial and temporal range of the
129 application of DONOP.

130 2. Archaeological Sites as Distributed Long-term Observing Networks of the Past

131 Through the analysis of archaeological datasets, we have the potential to access long-term
132 records of human interactions with natural systems at a wide variety of temporal and spatial scales
133 and thus both reconstruct past environmental conditions and reveal the human dimensions of these
134 processes. There is a rich record of research into the shifting relationship between culture, climate,
135 and landscape change using archaeological data (Brown et al., 2012; Golding et al., 2015a;
136 McGovern et al., 2007; Simpson et al., 2001a; Streeter et al., 2012; Thomson and Simpson, 2006).
137 This effort has intensified as the key role of people within ecological systems and the wide
138 spectrum of natural and anthropogenic environmental change have been recognized (Crumley,
139 2016). Alongside this, there have been major developments in the quantity and quality of
140 paleoclimate reconstructions at multiple temporal and spatial scales that make possible effective
141 connections to human systems. The increasing availability of sophisticated climate data sets whose
142 scales match those of human societies and the human experience has made a profound difference
143 to the ways in which we can understand interactions of people and environment (Hoggarth et al.,
144 2016). The growing recognition in the scientific, global policy, and political arenas of
145 anthropogenic climate change and the levels of extreme disruption that this will bring to
146 contemporary societies have served as a final, and possibly most potent, influence on current
147 research agendas and raising new questions that can only be answered with long-term perspectives
148 of our interactions with the natural world (Anderson et al., 2013).

149 The development of refined, high-precision chronologies has played a key role in the
150 translation of DONOP into a practical and very worthwhile reality. With tight chronological

151 controls, such as those provided by AMS radiocarbon dating using a Bayesian framework, data
152 from multiple sites can be combined with greater confidence. Thus, the extensive spatial
153 distribution of archaeological sites, each with variable temporal continuity, can be transformed
154 from a perceived weakness of DONOP to a real strength. Highly detailed but temporally-
155 inconsistent records can be combined to chart the waxing and waning interactions of people and
156 environment. An example of this is provided by the coastal middens that record long-term human
157 exploitation of marine ecosystems. This data illustrates the reality of 'shifting baselines' and the
158 chronic limitations of short observational timescales in fisheries management, as discussed in
159 Bolster's (2014) *The Mortal Sea* (see also Jackson et al., 2001). There is a clear need for the
160 effective integration of the *longue durée* with urgent issues of fisheries and marine resource
161 management (Moss et al., 1990; Holm, 1995; Ogilvie and Jónsdóttir, 2000; Jackson et al., 2001;
162 Perdikaris and McGovern, 2009). A major EU-funded initiative, the *Oceans Past* program
163 (http://www.tcd.ie/history/opp), has begun to correct the effects of shifting baselines that can result
164 in fundamentally flawed decision making with historical and archaeological data sets (Pinnegar
165 and Engelhard, 2008).

166 Archaeological DONOP are our best (and for many regions and periods of time our only
167 realistic) source of information on the resilience of past cultures to natural hazards. Past cultures
168 provide a vast range of human interactions with different climatic and ecological conditions
169 (Cooper and Sheets, 2012). Contrasting outcomes illustrate the consequences of different social
170 organizations, alternative adaptive strategies, and contrasting approaches to resource use,
171 sustainability, and building resilience. Though the past cannot be used as a direct analogue to
172 explain how present and future populations will deal with external environmental threats, it does
173 offer us significant opportunities to better understand processes of social interactions with

174 environmental change and to generate both data and new theory that can contribute to a wide
175 spectrum of managerial issues raised by contemporary anthropogenic climate change.

176 Distributed long-term observing networks have been (and can be) used to emphasize the
177 anthropogenic dimensions of data sourced from archaeological sites because the record is created
178 by people and extracted from the lived environment (Crumley, 2015). By aggregating *in situ*
179 evidence of human impacts on their local environments – through extirpation of local resources
180 and engineering of cultural landscapes (Smith, 2007) – to the regional and continental scale,
181 DONOP assimilate comparative interactions between humans and their environments with
182 chronological controls.

183 Firstly, the physical assemblages have been deposited as a direct result of human actions.
184 They will have specific biases created by diverse ways in which the environment has been sampled
185 and contrasts that reflect the beliefs, values, and knowledge of different social groups. As such,
186 DONOP provide comparative data reflecting different human behaviors. Secondly, DONOP data
187 is sourced from an environmental context that has been directly impacted and in many cases
188 directly formed through human actions. Whether the sample is from a wild species that is subject
189 to human predation or from an ecosystem that is shaped by the interaction of human actions,
190 ecosystem dynamics, Earth surface processes, and climate, this type of data holds information
191 about both natural *and* human processes.

192 Humans selectively sample the surrounding ecology and they collect specimens
193 (consciously and unconsciously) from across trophic webs, landscapes, and seascapes. Then, given
194 favorable post-depositional conditions, these samples are preserved in one place – the
195 archaeological site. Wherever (and whenever) humans and our ancestors have lived, and when
196 conditions allow for survival and preservation, it is possible to find these sites. Some DONOP

197 records are scattered and of limited duration but can be linked together to create a coherent regional
198 picture of change through the rigorous application of both relative and absolute dating. If these
199 sites accumulate long-term records they can produce very deep cultural layers and thus large
200 accumulations of material for analysis. Very high temporal resolutions can be achieved within
201 such contexts due to the wide range of dating methods that can be applied to both organic (e.g.,
202 dendrochronology or radiocarbon dating within a Bayesian framework) and inorganic artifacts
203 (e.g., ceramic seriation). In turn, these datasets contain the signatures of environmental, climatic,
204 and cultural dynamics (Figure 1). Additionally, archaeological survey and environmental analysis
205 of landscapes dotted with small, ephemeral sites can reveal patterns in the timing and nature of
206 past landscape occupations, ecosystem impacts and resource usage that are important for
207 understanding complex processes such as colonization, adaptation and abandonment (e.g.,
208 Altschul and Rankin 2008) and engaging with other *grand challenge* agendas for research that

209 have relevance for contemporary debates (Kintigh et al., 2014; Jackson et al., in review). All of

210 these optimal conditions are dependent on a wide set of variables that span from the effectiveness

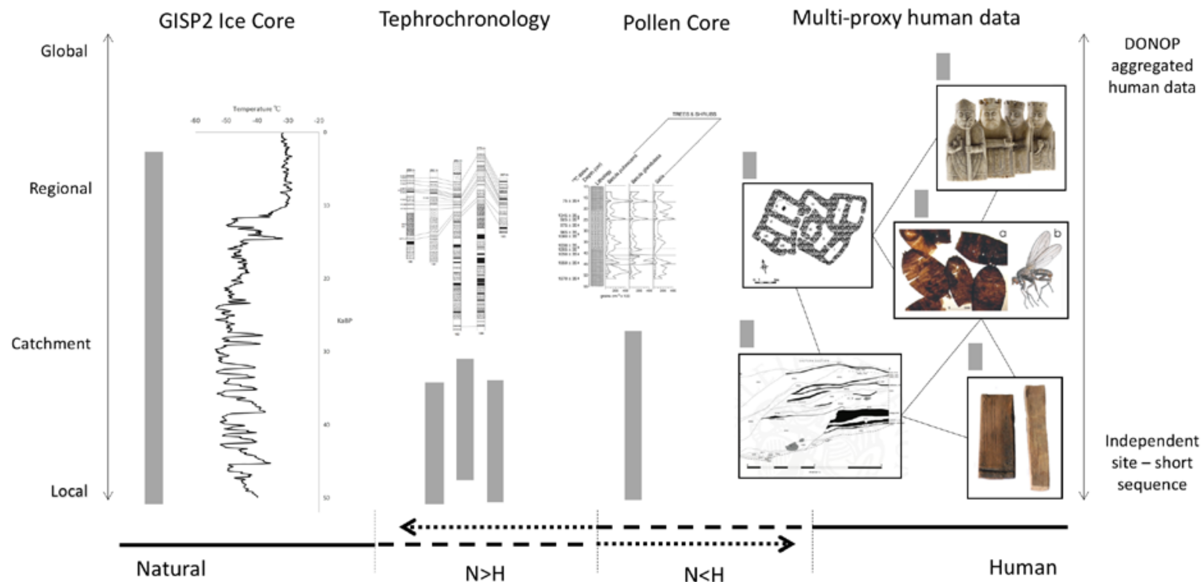


Figure 1- Observation records of natural and human processes in the past. DONOP is the aggregation of short sequences within the archaeological and environmental record to build a multidimensional record of human-environmental interaction and modification. Greenland Ice Sheet Project 2 (GISP2) data provides a local-to-regional scale proxy record of climate, storm and sea ice conditions, but provides no direct evidence of influence on human processes in the past (Dugmore et al., 2007). In regions with significant volcanic activity, such as Iceland, human impact on the environment and vegetation change can be measured using the tephra profile as a chronological control (Streeter and Dugmore, 2013). At the individual settlement scale, excavation data (for example: diet, artifacts, and architecture) can be aggregated to form regional and even continental-scale networks of subsistence, trade, and environmental modification.

211 of the excavation strategy and methods, the local environmental conditions and the potential for

212 organic remains to survive in situ until excavation, and the availability of continuous and deep

213 chronological control. Yet such assemblages do exist and their number and spatial and temporal

214 resolution are increasing.

215 There is a growing body of work focusing on archaeological data as a proxy for the

216 complex relationships between cause, response, and outcome in human ecodynamics (Hegmon et

217 al., 2008; Dugmore et al., 2013; Vésteinsson et al., 2014; Boivin et al., 2016; d'Alpoim Guedes et

218 al., 2016). DONOP provide detailed records of these completed long-term human ecodynamics

219 experiments of the past and the range of outcomes stemming from different pathways taken by

220 past cultures in the face of environmental change (Diamond and Robinson, 2010; Hegmon et al.,
221 2014). They can serve as examples of alternative choices and the pathways they create, and these
222 case studies can be used to assess contemporary ideas of how to build resilience and reduce
223 vulnerability in the face of both environmental and social stresses. They can provide both
224 inspiration and warnings.

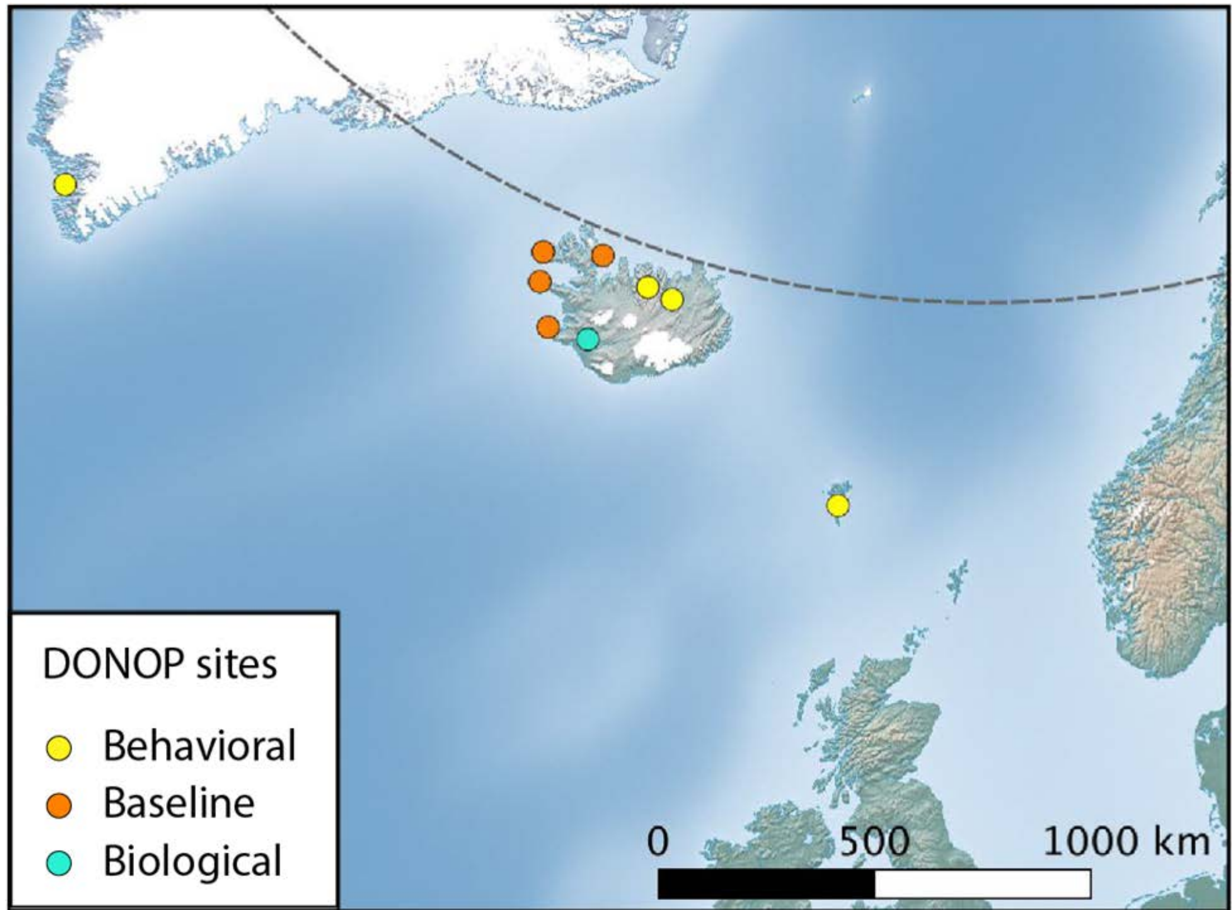
225 The ideal of deep temporal and broad spatial data that is at the core of DONOP aligns it,
226 and reveals a debt to, attempts to conceptually break down the borders between the ideas of nature
227 and culture (Chakrabarty, 2009). For example the concepts of coupled natural and human systems
228 (CNH) and socio-environmental systems (SES) both inspire much of the following scholarship
229 (Zeder et al., 2014). When examined over the longue durée, the myriad interconnections between
230 human and natural systems becomes clearer and the idea of static and pristine ecosystems that host
231 humans but that see no anthropogenic impact becomes much harder to support. The history of the
232 impact of humans, and other organisms, on landscapes continues to be pushed deeper in time
233 through archaeological work. The dynamics behind these impacts is being revealed as more
234 nuanced and increasingly complex. Niche Construction Theory is perhaps the best expression of
235 these relationships and is relevant to all the projects presented in this article (Boivin et al., 2016;
236 Sullivan et al., 2017; Zeder, 2016).

237 The utility of DONOP sites and the data they contain for contemporary global change
238 research can be explored from three perspectives: those that are 1) concerned with human
239 behaviors, 2) related to shifting baselines, and 3) addressing biology. The *behavioral perspective*
240 examines human action within intertwined social and natural systems. The *shifting baselines*
241 *perspective* emphasizes the contrasting implications of baseline data for species, landforms, and
242 ecology set before industrial expansion, commercial-scale resource exploitation, the 'great

243 acceleration' and other trends representing significant human impacts on their environments – all
244 in stark contrast to the typical temporally shallow modern data currently in use (Pinnegar and
245 Engelhard, 2008; Steffen et al., 2015a, 2015b). Finally, the *biology perspective* seeks to understand
246 and utilize past diversity (i.e., trophic and/or genetic) as recovered through archaeological remains
247 in order to develop tools and datasets that can be used to better manage contemporary wild and
248 domestic animal populations (Hofman et al., 2015; Boivin et al., 2016; Zeder, 2015, 2016).

249 In the following section, we evaluate archaeological sites as DONOP within the conceptual
250 frameworks of human behavior, shifting baselines, and biological systems. We argue that
251 archaeological sites contain valuable, and at times unique, data that have the potential to provide
252 solutions to problems in the present and future. For this reason, there is a need to view and value
253 archaeological sites as 'observable networks' that capture the resourcefulness of the past for
254 understanding the impacts of human populations on their environments, establish accurate
255 environmental baselines, and learn from human adaptation to climate change over century-to-
256 millennial timescales. Furthermore, given the current and increasing threats to archaeological sites
257 from anthropogenic climate change, there is a pressing need to act quickly and decisively to collect
258 critical archives before they are lost forever (Dawson, 2015; Hambrecht and Rockman, 2017).

259



260

261 *Figure 2. A map of the eastern North Atlantic region showing the locations of sites in the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and*
262 *Greenland that are discussed in this article.*

263

264 2.1 Human Behavior and DONOP

265 Over the last thirty years, research in the North Atlantic by the North Atlantic Biocultural
266 Organization (NABO, http://www.nabohome.org) has, in part, been focused on comparing
267 datasets from separate geographical areas towards understanding the contrasting fates of Norse
268 medieval communities in the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Norse Greenland (Figure 2; see Nelson
269 et al., 2016). These settlements were established by Scandinavians over several centuries, starting
270 with: the Faroes (ca. 860 CE), Iceland (ca. 870 CE), and Greenland (ca. 985 CE). These three areas

271 were settled by people of a shared cultural and biological heritage (Jesch, 2015). Yet the paths
272 chosen by these communities and their long-term fates contrast starkly. The Faroes survived
273 centuries of relative economic isolation, limited natural resources, and numerous socio-political
274 challenges, enduring to this day as a small but resilient nation (Brewington, 2015). Despite
275 environmental, economic, and epidemiological challenges, Iceland was able to transform its
276 economy, and has since become a highly-developed society with among the highest living
277 standards and health care in the world (Karlsson, 2000). The Norse settlement in Greenland, by
278 contrast, came to an end in the late fifteenth century. The contrasting fates of Iceland and
279 Greenland have come to be discussed in popular discourses around ideas of 'collapse' (Diamond,
280 2005) and remain active subjects for international interdisciplinary research (Dugmore et al., 2012,
281 2013; Streeter et al., 2012; Nelson et al., 2016).

282 Viewing these cases through the lens of DONOP distills the research down to a series of
283 narratives that have important implications for current debates. First, the simple 'collapse'
284 narrative of why societies choose to fail through maladaptation is too simplistic and actively
285 misleading for these cases (Dugmore et al., 2009, 2012). DONOP-based long-term perspectives of
286 the Scandinavian communities of the Atlantic islands in general, and Iceland and Greenland in
287 particular, provide specific examples of human behavior that was environmentally-nuanced,
288 adaptive, and sustainable over multi-century time scales. This creates a picture that is far more
289 disturbing than the simple collapse thesis because it shows that societies may undertake entirely
290 rational, adaptive strategies in the face of unprecedented challenges and yet still undergo painful
291 transformational changes (Butzer, 2012; Dugmore et al., 2012).

292 The example of Norse Greenland, which has often been used as a parable of human inaction
293 in the face of increasingly hazardous climates to the point of self-extinction, offers a complex and

294 bleak message (Diamond, 2005). A combination of new data acquisitions, reinterpretation of
295 established knowledge, and a somewhat different philosophical approach to the question of
296 collapse has revealed a society that was, in fact, flexible and adaptive in the face of changing
297 climates (Dugmore et al., 2012). Within the first generation of settlement in the late tenth and early
298 eleventh centuries CE, the Norse Greenlanders adjusted their diet to fit the seasonal availability of
299 local resources: fishing ceased and the large-scale exploitation of migrating seals began (Ogilvie
300 et al., 2009; Arneborg et al., 2012). The Norse went on to create an effective economic network
301 for communal provisioning and international trade (i.e., walrus ivory). Provisioning networks
302 consisted of imported domesticated species (sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and pigs) supplemented
303 with a broad set of wild resources (seals, caribou, seabirds, small mammals, and some berries and
304 herbs). Zooarchaeological and stable isotope data from DONOP show that native caribou and non-
305 migratory seal populations were managed sustainably over multiple centuries (Arneborg et al.,
306 2012; Dugmore et al., 2012; Ascough et al., 2014) . Organization of economic networks emerged
307 from the twelfth century, integrating domestic subsistence systems with wild resource cycles, such
308 as the spring harp seal migration, late-summer bird collections, and walrus hunting (Ogilvie et al.,
309 2009; Frei et al., 2015). In the mid-to-late thirteenth century, further adjustment of lifeways and
310 diet towards a deeper exploitation of marine mammals in response to unprecedented climate
311 change can be seen in the zooarchaeological record as well as in stable isotope analysis of human
312 burials (Arneborg et al., 2012). The poignant and rather grim conclusion to this is that even with
313 adaptive flexibility and, in some cases, sustainable management systems, the Scandinavian
314 settlement of Greenland still failed. This was not a collapse due to simple maladaptation but change
315 driven by a variety of factors: spatial, climatic, demographic, social, political, and economic
316 (Dugmore et al., 2012). While a full explanation of the current understanding of the nature of the

317 Greenland Norse collapse is outside of the remit of this article, a recent assessment of the North
318 Atlantic by Nelson and colleagues (2016) offers a good summary of current research.

319 On a more successful note, DONOP records of archaeofauna from the Mývatn region in
320 the north of Iceland documents a millennial-scale case of successful, community-level
321 management of migratory waterfowl beginning at first settlement (*Landnám*) and continuing to
322 the present day (McGovern et al., 2006; Hicks et al., 2016). Today, there is an annual collection
323 of eggs from nesting migratory waterfowl that does not adversely impact these species
324 (Guðmundsson, 1979). Nesting waterfowl are monitored and protected; only a few eggs per nest
325 are taken and adults are rarely hunted (Beck, 2013). Looking further back in time, the restricted
326 collection of waterfowl eggs is documented in mid-nineteenth century written records, such as
327 diaries, journals, and visitors accounts. Using DONOP we can create even longer time
328 perspectives; some terrestrial (non-waterfowl) bird hunting has happened alongside waterfowl
329 conservation and egg utilization since the Viking age; archaeofaunal assemblages are rich in
330 waterfowl eggshells while bones were mostly from ptarmigan (grouse), a non-aquatic terrestrial
331 species (McGovern et al., 2006, 2007). This suggests that a community-level avian management
332 system produced a valuable crop of eggs while maintaining adult waterfowl populations. This
333 management strategy was not only useful in conserving waterfowl populations over the long term:
334 there is also historical and archaeological evidence that careful use of wild resources helped
335 Mývatn inhabitants buffer themselves against starvation during hard times caused by climate
336 change (McGovern et al., 2013).

337 Successful long-term resource management is also evident from DONOP records in the
338 Faroe Islands, where zooarchaeological (Brewington and McGovern, 2008; Brewington, 2011,
339 2014) and documentary (Baldwin 1994, 2005) evidence suggests that local seabird colonies have

340 been sustainably exploited for over a millennium. As in Mývatn, fowling in the Faroes has long
341 been carefully controlled by local communities (Nørrevang, 1986; Baldwin, 2005). This
342 community-level management regime employs a sophisticated body of local ecological knowledge
343 to gauge the relative vulnerability of individual bird species and nesting areas on a year-by-year
344 basis. Faroese resource managers (traditionally, landowners) are thus able to determine sustainable
345 harvest limits for birds and eggs each season (Williamson, 1970, pp. 153–156; Nørrevang, 1986).
346 Also of critical importance for the success of the system has been the ability to effectively monitor
347 and manage nesting sites, protecting this sensitive resource both from overexploitation by people
348 and from destructive domesticates such as pigs (Brewington et al., 2015).

349 In terms of behavior, DONOP from the North Atlantic can be used to draw two key lessons
350 relevant to the present and future: sustainable millennial-scale management of natural resources is
351 an attainable goal and adaptability in the short- or even medium-term is no guarantee of long-term
352 survival.

353

354 2.2 Shifting Baselines and DONOP

355 Shifting baseline syndrome is a concept that describes situations in which communities
356 formulate natural resource management decisions on ideas about primal or pristine natural
357 resource populations that are inaccurate (Pauly, 1995; Pinnegar and Engelhard, 2008). Given that
358 decisions about the management of natural resources can often be based on a 'baseline' standard
359 that is constructed around an idea of a minimally exploited population, then the assumptions
360 behind this baseline are very important. This can be a problem in conservation and resource
361 management if the baselines used to define sustainable exploitation of populations are based on
362 inaccurate, misleading data such as that from flawed human memory or temporally shallow data

363 sets (Papworth et al., 2009). Recent discussions of fishery management in the North Atlantic have
364 a distinct relevance to DONOP. The problem centers on what datasets people are using to define
365 a sustainable fish population. Pauly (1995) and others have described a phenomenon where
366 fishermen and fisheries managers use a combination of their own memory of the early days of their
367 fishing careers and catch data with a shallow time depth as baselines for what a sustainable fish
368 population should be. This concern runs deeper into environmental movements, the media, and
369 scientific works about rewilding (Monbiot, 2013). A specific example of this is described by
370 Bolster and colleagues (2012) in which they argue that the North Atlantic fisheries, especially cod
371 fisheries, have seen significant human impacts on fish populations from at least the early
372 nineteenth century. Yet consistent catch data on North Atlantic Cod (*Gadus morhua*) in the North
373 Atlantic has only been consistently collected since the beginning of the twentieth century (Bolster
374 et al., 2012). Thus, many of the assumptions about what baseline cod populations and catch levels
375 should be are based on populations that were already significantly impacted by human
376 exploitation. This situation can lead to a misperception of the level of human impacts on a natural
377 resource that can lead to much higher levels of stress on these populations than anticipated.
378 Zooarchaeology (the analysis of animal remains sourced from archaeological sites) can help clarify
379 if this is in fact a problem, especially when it utilizes recent advances in the analysis of aDNA and
380 stable isotopes of animal remains. Though there has been significant and innovative research on
381 shifting baselines in the North Atlantic that focuses on past ecological conditions and past
382 landforms, this article, in the interest of brevity, will discuss examples that are addressing the
383 species level of analysis (i.e., Dugmore et al., 2000; Simpson et al., 2001; Dugmore and Newton,
384 2012; Streeter and Dugmore, 2013, 2014; Golding et al., 2015).

385 In 2012, Atlantic cod (*Gadus morhua*) was ranked by the Food and Agriculture
386 Organization of the Union Nations (2014) as the 11th-most fished species in the world. In addition
387 to being an important contemporary marine resource, this species was also crucial in both the
388 medieval and early modern European colonial expansions. It was, and continues to be, a key
389 species for both subsistence and the economic well-being of communities across the Atlantic from
390 Maine to Norway.

391 The DONOP data represented by fish bones found in middens (refuse deposits from which
392 archaeologists often excavate organic remains) across the North Atlantic region have long been of
393 interest to zooarchaeologists focusing on the origins of the trade in dried cod and the onset of
394 intensified non-subsistence fishing in North West Europe (Barrett et al., 2004). Zooarchaeological
395 analysis charting the changing patterns of fish utilization has produced data crucial to
396 understanding Atlantic cod's transformation from a subsistence good to an internationally traded
397 commodity (Perdikaris, 1999; Perdikaris et al., 2007). Stable isotope analysis of fish bones is now
398 revealing what regional populations of Atlantic cod are represented in the archaeological record
399 (Orton et al., 2014).

400 *CodStory* is a current project that examines demographic and ecological data of Atlantic
401 cod derived from archaeological excavations of DONOP fishing sites (Ólafsdóttir et al., 2014). In
402 2011, a pilot project began to investigate the feasibility of using Atlantic cod vertebrae to examine
403 the historical genetic structure of Atlantic cod populations, and showed that this work is both
404 feasible and rewarding. DNA was successfully extracted from fish bones and the cytochrome B
405 gene sequenced from a time series of zooarchaeological samples in western Iceland dated from
406 1500-1910 CE. Further analysis of the genetic variation indicates a sharp decline in effective
407 population size of Atlantic cod in the fifteenth century, and further population size fluctuations

408 coinciding with recorded temperature changes (Ólafsdóttir et al., 2014). Although the concomitant
409 loss of genetic variation in the sixteenth century does suggest a severe bottleneck, estimates of the
410 genetic structure of Atlantic cod may be complicated by shifts in population structure distribution
411 and changes in feeding migrations that occur as the cod seek favorable temperatures and feeding
412 grounds because the Icelandic cod stock comprises both migratory and coastal elements (Hovgård
413 and Buch, 1990; Rose, 1993; Vilhjálmsson, 1997; Pampoulie et al., 2006). To test these ideas, the
414 *CodStory* project has continued by producing higher resolution genetic data, stable isotopes assays,
415 and shape analysis and growth reconstruction based on otolith increments. The otolith analysis
416 indicates a shift in the abundance of migratory and coastal Atlantic cod populations in the historical
417 catch and suggests that growth conditions for the two Atlantic cod ecotypes changed in the early
418 modern period (Ólafsdóttir et al. 2017). Together, these results signal a disruption in the North
419 Atlantic marine ecosystem coinciding with a temperature minimum in the North Atlantic. Using
420 archaeological samples, the *CodStory* project is generating paleodemographic data on one of the
421 most important maritime resources of the North Atlantic while also investigating the effects of
422 changing climate on these fish populations at a high temporal resolution.

423 It is also possible to use DONOP archaeological data coupled with aDNA analysis to
424 understand the distribution of marine mammal populations before the commercial and industrial
425 exploitation of the Arctic oceans with potentially major implications for historical biogeography,
426 modern conservation biology, and marine management. A pilot project, completed in 2014,
427 included 35 presumed marine mammal specimens from archaeological sites in Iceland, Greenland,
428 and the Faroes; six samples gave positive results for aDNA. Four specimens were identified to the
429 species level, including one blue whale (*Balaenoptera musculus*, AK-CESP-001), two fin whales
430 (*Balaenoptera physalis*, UJF-CESP-003 and HRH-CESP-002) and one harbour porpoise

431 (*Phocoena phocoena*, SGN.103-CESP-507). Two additional specimens (UJF-CESP-001 and UJF-
432 CESP-008) were identified as being species of right whales, but were not isolated to unique species
433 beyond *Eubalena* spp. In order to further test how universal the primers were, DNA extracted from
434 a 13,000 year old bowhead whale bone was included, and two samples from the Swedish Museum
435 of Natural History, one bone sample previously identified as being a humpback whale and a sample
436 from a sperm whale tooth. The primers managed to amplify DNA confirming the species
437 (Anderung et al., 2014). The successful results of this pilot project mean that marine mammal bone
438 from DONOP sites, which can be difficult for zooarchaeologists to identify morphologically, can
439 now be identified, providing a window into species distributions in past seascapes. Future work
440 will also use methods such as protein analysis, ZooMS, which is proving to be cheaper and often
441 more useful under a variety of different taphonomic circumstances than aDNA analysis (Buckley,
442 2018).

443 Due in part to the success of this pilot project, a three year NSF-funded project (*Assessing*
444 *the Distribution and Variability of Marine Mammals through Archaeology, Ancient DNA, and*
445 *History in the North Atlantic* – NSF award #1503714 – PI Dr. Vicki Szabo) commenced in 2016.
446 This has explanded analysis to approximately 300 archaeological samples of whale, seal, and
447 walrus bones across the Norse North Atlantic. Species-level identification of DONOP
448 archaeological material will allow deeper historical access into the premodern Arctic, Subarctic,
449 and North Atlantic societies' impacts on marine mammals, adding to recent groundbreaking
450 studies of pre-modern North Atlantic walrus exploitation and biogeographies (McLeod et al.,
451 2014; Frei et al., 2015). Norse economies, hunting or scavenging strategies, commercial uses of
452 marine mammals, and subsistence will be reassessed. aDNA analysis will allow insights into
453 genetic diversity and drift, possibly paleodemographic data, identification of now-lost or

454 endangered species in certain regions, and provide historical depth to the management of species
455 under threat today.

456 These projects are pushing baseline data of key natural species back into the last
457 millennium. In both cases they are focusing on species that have seen predation by humans, at
458 varying levels of intensity since the Neolithic period. Each one is focusing on the medieval to early
459 modern transition and attempting to build demographic data that could radically alter current ideas
460 of what a 'normal' or sustainable population is and of the historical spatial ranges of these species.

461

462 2.3 Biological Records and DONOP

463 Analysis of aDNA has revolutionized our understanding of the history of our species as
464 well as that of our commensals and domesticates (Magee et al., 2014; Orlando, 2015; Scheu et al.,
465 2015; Zeder, 2015). aDNA analysis from DONOP sites can also directly contribute to
466 understanding the results of modern day breeding programs; revealing vulnerabilities and
467 suggesting improvements (Fahrenkrug et al., 2010). Finally, aDNA, with the advent of gene
468 editing technology, has the potential to become a source for past genetic variation that could be
469 reintroduced into modern domestic animal populations, allowing us to restore some of the
470 variability lost to modern industrial breeding programs.

471 A collaboration between the University of Maryland Zooarchaeology Laboratory,
472 Recombinetics LLC, and the aDNA Laboratory of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in
473 Piacenza, Italy is aligning the interests of the historical sciences with those of present-day animal
474 sciences. This project is beginning with an initial investigation focusing on aDNA analysis of cattle
475 bones from archaeological sites in Iceland. This will produce DNA sequence-based data that sheds

476 light on the interactions between humans, domestic animals, and a variety of exogenous forces
477 such as climate change, epidemics, trade, and ideology. In addition, the sequence data provides an
478 orthogonal element to the genetic record of livestock that shed insight into decoding the genomes
479 of contemporary domestic animals. The discovery of unique genetic variation from the past could,
480 for example, represent lost genetic variants effecting a wide spectrum of phenotypes.
481 Bioinformatic analyses will attempt to isolate unique genetic variants underlying specific traits in
482 pre-modern domestic animals that could be introduced back into current domestic animal
483 populations using genome editing technology. This project will attempt to mine the genetic
484 heritage of domestic animals that can be found within the faunal component of archaeological sites
485 to create resources that increase the resilience or reproductive capacity of current populations of
486 domestic animals. Given the stresses and hazards that anthropogenic climate change will generate,
487 this project is also attempting to utilize historical data as a tangible resource for mitigation and
488 adaptation to climate change threats and the improvement of animal well-being. The sequence data
489 and results from subsequent analyses that includes information from the archaeological long-term
490 observational networks will form the basis for direct and tangible resources for mitigating against
491 climate change threats to food animal production while also producing key data for understanding
492 the dynamics between social and ecological systems.

493 This is, of course, a 'brave new world' for the potential uses of historical genetic material.
494 The most dramatic and potentially visible impacts that aDNA could have in the near future are
495 best demonstrated in the projects that are investigating the possibility of reviving extinct species
496 (Charo and Greely, 2015; Diehm, 2015; Edwards, 2015; Shapiro, 2015; Weaver, 2015). Such
497 projects could not be possible without access to genetic material from either museum or
498 archaeological specimens. A vigorous debate is developing around the ethical and practical

499 ramifications of such approaches (Kristensen et al., 2015; Martinelli et al., 2014; Oksanen, 2008;
500 Oksanen and Siipi, 2014; Siipi, 2016). Yet what can be said without debate at this point is that
501 developing biotechnologies focusing on editing genomes will have a profound impact on the way
502 historical genetic material is perceived and utilized.
503
504 3. Discussion
505 The article presents just a few of the projects that illustrate how data from archaeological
506 sites can be mobilized for application to contemporary problems. This idea is at the core of the
507 concept of DONOP. Indeed, an important difference in perspective between traditional
508 archaeological research focused on the interpretation of specific sites and the DONOP concept is
509 the selective use of records from archaeological contexts to tackle specific 'grand challenge'
510 research agendas of demonstrable importance beyond narrow disciplinary confines (Kintigh et al.,
511 2014; Armstrong et al., 2017; Jackson et al., in review). They represent research projects that could
512 form key contributors from the historical sciences towards navigating the future challenges of
513 global change. Cooperative scholarly organizations such as IHOPE are driving efforts to increase
514 engagement with GCR, while governmental and non-governmental organizations have recognized
515 the potential of archaeological data, and threats to cultural heritage arising from anthropogenic
516 climate change.
517 The archive of DONOP sites and the behavioral, baseline, and biological data they contain
518 is unique. Yet this archive is threatened with destruction by the very global changes it records; this
519 is a modern equivalent to the burning Library of Alexandria. The rate of damage to archaeological
520 remains is continuing to accelerate as ground temperatures, moisture regimes, and erosion patterns
521 change (Rockman, 2015; Hollesen et al., 2016; Hambrecht and Rockman, 2017; Hollesen et al.,

522 2017). Without the mobilization of substantial international resources to recognize, manage, and
523 when needed, rescue these endangered archaeological archives, irreplaceable records will be lost.
524 DONOP sites are important not just because of the inherent value of our shared human historical
525 inheritance but also as a direct cultural archive of social-ecological interaction over the *longue*
526 *durée*.

527 Recognition of the importance and utility of DONOP has grown beyond direct
528 practitioners. The US National Park Service has taken the lead within the US government, setting
529 out federal policy and strategic guidance on the importance of addressing impacts of climate
530 change on cultural heritage (including archaeology) and using cultural heritage to inform both
531 research and the management of climate science, adaptation, mitigation, and communication
532 policies (National Park Service, 2014; Rockman, 2015; Rockman et al., 2017). In this approach, it
533 is recognized that cultural heritage is both affected by climate change and is a source of data on
534 how to address climate change (Harvey and Perry, 2015).

535 There are many other international, national, and local efforts addressing the interaction of
536 climate change with cultural heritage but there is a danger that a piecemeal approach will not be
537 the most effective. A global response to threatened archaeological sites focused on their utility as
538 DONOP is likely to produce the most effective global outcomes. International funding
539 organizations such as the US National Science Foundation, the Belmont Forum, the EU Science
540 Commission, and Future Earth have the potential to create funding streams that are focused on
541 utilizing the past to better understand the present and navigate the future (Costanza et al., 2007,
542 2012). Many archaeological sites, especially in coastal, montane, and polar regions, are now at
543 critical risk of loss to climate change. Saving all threatened sites will not be possible. Many will
544 be irrevocably lost over the next century due to the impacts of climate change. Guided by a series

545 of focused research questions, it is essential that archaeologists identify, excavate, or at least
546 sample ‘at risk’ sites and, where possible, protect key archives under threat (Van de Noort, 2013).
547 The issue is no longer one of just preserving archaeological sites so that they survive for future
548 generations, though that is important on its own terms. It is now an issue of protecting and/or
549 rescuing key data sources that will help us better face the future. On a local and regional scale,
550 past societies have experienced global changes that have dramatically altered the structure of their
551 spatially-limited worlds; the scale of future change is such that it is likely to have unknown impacts
552 on contemporary societies and their cultural, social, environmental, and economic capital.
553 Archaeological sites and heritage in general should be redefined to include their utility towards
554 addressing and recording anthropogenic global change. Funding organizations and governments
555 are recognizing the importance of archaeological data, but more needs to be done to encourage
556 engagement between archaeologists, GCR, and practitioners.

557 Acknowledgements: The authors would like to thank all the myriad collaborators who are
558 involved with the research discussed, especially all the members of FSI (Fornleifastofnun
559 Íslands, The Institute of Archaeology, Iceland). We would also like to express our
560 gratitude to the local communities who have hosted and supported much of the research
561 presented in this article. The authors would also like to acknowledge the support of the
562 National Science Foundation, specifically the Arctic Social Sciences Program, and
563 RANNIS (The Icelandic Center for Research).

564 1 Altschul, J.H., Rankin, A.G. (Eds.), 2008. Fragile Patterns: The Archaeology of the
565 Western Papaguería. SRI Press, Tucson.
566 2 Anderson, D.G., Maasch, K.A., Sandweiss, D.H., 2013. Climate Change and Cultural
567 Dynamics: Lessons from the Past for the Future, in: Davies, M.I.J., Nkirote, F.M. (Eds.),
568 Humans and the Environment: New Archaeological Approaches for the Twenty-First
569 Century. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 243–256.
570 3 Anderung, C., Danise, S., Glover, A.G., Higgs, N.D., Jonsson, L., Sabin, R., Dahlgren, T.G.,
571 2014. A Swedish subfossil find of a bowhead whale from the late Pleistocene: Shore
572 displacement, paleoecology in south-west Sweden and the identity of the Swedenborg
573 whale (Balaena swedenborgii Liljeborg, 1867). Historical Biology: An International
574 Journal of Paleobiology 26, 58–68.
575 4 Armstrong, C.G., Shoemaker, A.C., McKechnie, I., Ekblom, A., Szabó, P., Lane, P.J.,
576 McAlvay, A.C., Boles, O.J., Walshaw, S., Petek, N., Gibbons, K.S., Morales, E.Q.,
577 Anderson, E.N., Ibraginow, A., Podruczny, G., Vamosi, J.C., Marks-Block, T.,
578 LeCompte, J.K., Awāsis, S., Nabess, C., Sinclair, P., Crumley, C.L., 2017.
579 Anthropological contributions to historical ecology: 50 questions, infinite prospects.
580 PLOS ONE 12, e0171883. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0171883
581 5 Arneborg, J., Lynnerup, N., Heinemeier, J., 2012. Human diet and subsistence patterns in
582 Norse Greenland AD c. 980-AD c. 1450: Archaeological interpretations. Journal of the
583 North Atlantic 3, 119–133.
584 6 Ascough, P.L., Church, M.J., Cook, G.T., Einarsson, Á., McGovern, T.H., Dugmore, A.J.,
585 Edwards, K.J., 2014b. Stable isotopic (δ13C and δ15N) characterization of key faunal
586 resources from Norse period settlements in North Iceland. Journal of the North Atlantic
587 7, 25–42.
588 7 Baldwin, J.R., 2005. A Sustainable Harvest: Working the Bird Cliffs of Scotland and the
589 Western Faroes, in: Traditions of Sea-Bird Fowling in the North Atlantic Region, The
590 Islands Book Trust Conference. The Islands Book Trust, Isle of Lewis, Scotland, pp.
591 114–161.
592 8 Baldwin, J.R., 1994. Sea bird fowling in Scotland and Faroe. Folk Life 12, 60–103.
593 9 Barrett, J.H., Locker, A.M., Roberts, C.M., 2004. The origins of intensive marine fishing in
594 medieval Europe: The English evidence. Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B:
595 Biological Sciences 271, 2417–2421.
596 10 Barthel, S., Crumley, C., Svedin, U., 2013. Bio-cultural refugia - safeguarding diversity of
597 practices for food security and biodiversity. Global Environmental Change 23, 1142–
598 1152.
599 11 Beck, M.L., 2013. Nest-box acquisition is related to plumage coloration in male and female
600 Prothonotary warblers (Protonotaria citrea). The Auk 130, 364–371.
601 12 Boivin, N.L., Zeder, M.A., Fuller, D.Q., Crowther, A., Larson, G., Erlandson, J.M., Denham,
602 T., Petraglia, M.D., 2016. Ecological consequences of human niche construction:
603 Examining long-term anthropogenic shaping of global species distributions. Proceedings
604 of the National Academy of Sciences 113, 6388–6396.
605 13 Bolster, W.J., 2014. The Mortal Sea: Fishing the Atlantic in the Age of Sail. Belknap Press of
606 Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
607 14 Bolster, W.J., Alexander, K.E., Leavenworth, W.B., 2012. The Historical Abundance of Cod
608 on the Nova Scotian Shelf, in: Jackson, J.B.C., Alexander, K.E., Sala, E. (Eds.), Shifting

609 Baselines: The Past and Future of Ocean Fisheries. Island Press, Washington, pp. 79–
610 114.
611 15 Brewington, S., 2015. Social-Ecological Resilience in the Viking-Age to Early-Medieval
612 Faroe Islands.
613 16 Brewington, S., Hicks, M., Edwald, Á., Einarsson, Á., Anamthawat-Jónsson, K., Cook, G.,
614 Ascough, P., Sayle, K.L., Arge, S.V., Church, M., Bond, J., Dockrill, S., Friðriksson, A.,
615 Hambrecht, G., Juliusson, A.D., Hreinsson, V., Hartman, S., Smiarowski, K., Harrison,
616 R., McGovern, T.H., 2015. Islands of change vs. islands of disaster: Managing pigs and
617 birds in the Anthropocene of the North Atlantic. The Holocene 1–9.
618 doi:10.1177/0959683615591714
619 17 Brewington, S.D., 2014. The Key Role of Wild Resources in the Viking-Age to Late-Norse
620 Palaeoeconomy of the Faroe Islands: The Zooarchaeological Evidence from Undir
621 Junkarinsfløtti, Sandoy, in: Kulyk, S., Tremain, C., Sawyer, M. (Eds.), Climates of
622 Change: The Shifting Environments of Archaeology. Proceedings of the 44th Annual
623 Chacmool Conference. Presented at the 44th Annual Chacmool Conference, University
624 of Calgary, Calgary, pp. 297–306.
625 18 Brewington, S.D., 2011. Fourth Interim Report on Analysis of Archaeofauna from Undir
626 Junkarinsfløtti, Sandoy, Faroe Islands, NORSEC Zooarchaeology Laboratories Report
627 No. 56. CUNY Northern Science and Education Center, NORSEC and Human
628 Ecodynamics Research Center, HERC, New York.
629 19 Brewington, S.D., McGovern, T.H., 2008. Plentiful Puffins: Zooarchaeological Evidence for
630 Early Seabird Exploitation in the Faroe Islands, in: Michelsen, H., Paulsen, C. (Eds.),
631 Símunarbók: Heiðursrit Til Símun V. Arge Á 60 Ára Degnum, Fróðskapur. Faroe
632 University Press, Torshavn, Faroe Islands.
633 20 Brown, J.L., Simpson, I.A., Morrison, S.J., Adderley, W.P., Tisdall, E., Vésteinsson, O.,
634 2012. Shieling areas: historical grazing pressures and landscape responses in northern
635 Iceland. Human ecology 40, 81–99.
636 21 Buckley, M., 2018. Zooarchaeology by Mass Spectrometry (ZooMS) Collagen Fingerprinting
637 for the Species Identification of Archaeological Bone Fragments, in: Giovas, C.,
638 LeFebvre, J. (Eds.), Zooarchaeology in Practice. Springer, 227-247.
639 22 Butzer, K.W., 2012. Collapse, environment, and society. Proceedings of the National
640 Academy of Sciences 109, 3632–3639.
641 23 Chakrabarty, D., 2009. The Climate of History: Four Theses. Critical Inquiry 9:2.
642 24 Charo, R.A., Greely, H.T., 2015. CRISPR critters and CRISPR cracks. The American Journal
643 of Bioethics 15, 11–17.
644 25 Cooper, J., Sheets, P., 2012. Surviving Sudden Environmental Change: Answers from
645 Archaeology, Original. ed. University Press of Colorado.
646 26 Costanza, R., Graumlich, L.J., Steffen, W. (Eds.), 2007. Sustainability or Collapse? An
647 Integrated History and Future of People on Earth. Massachusetts Institute of Technology
648 Press, Cambridge.
649 27 Costanza, R., van der Leeuw, S., Hibbard, K., Aulenbach, S., Brewer, S., Burek, M., Cornell,
650 S., Crumley, C., Dearing, J., Folke, C., Graumlich, L., Hegmon, M., Heckbert, S.,
651 Jackson, S.T., Kubiszewski, I., Scarborough, V., Sinclair, P., Sörlin, S., Steffen, W.,
652 2012. Developing an Integrated History and Future of People on Earth (IHOPE). Current
653 Opinion in Environmental Sustainability 4, 106–114.

654 28 Crumley, C., 2016. New Paths into the Anthropocene: Applying Historical Ecologies to the
655 Human Future, in: Isendahl, Christian, Stump, Daryl (Eds.), The Oxford Handbook of
656 Historical Ecology and Applied Archaeology. Oxford University Press, New York.
657 29 Crumley, C.L., 2015. Heterarchy, in: Scott, R.A., Buchmann, M.C. (Eds.), Emerging Trends
658 in the Social and Behavioral Sciences: An Interdiscplinary, Searchable, and Linkable
659 Resource. Wiley Online, pp. 1–14.
660 30 d'Alpoim Guedes, J.A., Crabtree, S.A., Bocinsky, R.K., Kohler, T.A., 2016. Twenty-first
661 century approaches to ancient probloems: Climate and society. Proceedings of the
662 National Academy of Sciences 113, 14483–14491.
663 31 Dawson, T., 2015. Eroding archaeology at the coast: How a global problem is being managed
664 in Scotland, with examples from the Western Isles. Journal of the North Atlantic 9, 83–
665 98.
666 32 Diamond, J., 2005. Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed. Viking Press, New
667 York.
668 33 Diamond, J.M., Robinson, J.A. (Eds.), 2010. Natural Experiments of History. Belknap Press
669 of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
670 34 Diehm, C., 2015. Should extinction be forever? Restitution, restoration, and reviving extinct
671 species. Environmental Ethics 37, 131–143.
672 35 Dugmore, A.J., Keller, C., McGovern, T.H., Casely, A.F., Smiarowski, K., 2009. Norse
673 Greenland Settlement and Limits to Adaptation, in: Adger, W.N., Lorenzoni, I., O'Brien,
674 K.L. (Eds.), Adapting to Climate Change: Thresholds, Values, Governance. Cambridge
675 University Press, Cambridge, p. 9.
676 36 Dugmore, A.J., McGovern, T.H., Streeter, R., Madsen, C.K., Smiarowski, K., Keller, C.,
677 2013. "Clumsy solutions" and "elegant failures:" Lessons on climate change adaptation
678 from the settlement of the North Atlantic islands, in: Sygna, L., O'Brien, K., Wolf, J.
679 (Eds.), A Changing Environment for Human Security: Transformative Approaches to
680 Research, Policy and Action. Routledge, New York, pp. 435–451.
681 37 Dugmore, A.J., McGovern, T.H., Vésteinsson, O., Arneborg, J., Streeter, R., Keller, C., 2012.
682 Cultural adaptation, compounding vulnerabilities and conjunctures in Norse Greenland.
683 Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 109, 3658–3663.
684 38 Dugmore, A.J., Newton, A.J., 2012. Isochrons and beyond: Maximising the use of
685 tephrochronology in geomorphology. Jökull 62, 39–52.
686 39 Dugmore, A.J., Newton, A.J., Larsen, G., Cook, G.T., 2000. Tephrochronology,
687 environmental change and the Norse settlement of Iceland. Environmental Archaeology
688 5, 21–34.
689 40 Dunne, J.A., Maschner, H., Betts, M.W., Huntly, N., Russell, R., WIlliams, R.J., Wood, S.A.,
690 2016. The roles and impacts of human hunter-gatheres in North Pacific marine food
691 webs. Scientific Reports 21179.
692 41 Edwards, C., 2015. Recipe for de-extinction. Engineering & Technology 10, 30–33.
693 42 Engelhard, G.H., Thurstan, R.H., MacKenzie, B.R., Alleway, H.K., Bannister, R.C.A.,
694 Cardinale, M., Clarke, M.W., Currie, J.C., Fortibuoni, T., Holm, P., Holt, S.J., Mazzoldi,
695 C., Pinnegar, J.K., Raicevich, S., Volckaert, F.A.M., Klein, E.S., Lescrauwaet, A.-K.,
696 2015. ICES meets marine historical ecology: Placing the history of fish and fisheries in
697 current policy context. ICES Journal of Marine Science 73, 1386–1403.

698 43 Erlandson, J.M., Rick, T.C., Braje, T.J., Steinberg, A., Vellanoweth, R.L., 2008. Human
699 impacts on ancient shellfish: A 10,000 year record from San Miguel Island, California.
700 Journal of Archaeological Science 35, 2144–2152.
701 44 Fahrenkrug, S.C., Blake, A., Carlson, D.F., Doran, T., Van Eenennaam, A., Faber, D., Galli,
702 C., Gao, Q., Hackett, P.B., Li, N., Maga, E.A., Muir, W.M., Murray, J.D., Shi, D.,
703 Stotish, R., Sullivan, E., Taylor, J.F., Walton, M., Wheeler, M., Whitelaw, B., Glenn,
704 B.P., 2010. Precision genetics for complex objectives in animal agriculture. Journal of
705 Animal Science 88, 2530–2539.
706 45 Ferretti, F., Crowder, L., Micheli, F., 2015. Using Disparate Datasets to Reconstruct
707 Historical Baselines of Animal Populations, in: Kittinger, J., McClenachan, L., Gedan,
708 K., Blight, L. (Eds.), Marine Historical Ecology in Conservation. University of California
709 Press, 63-86.
710 46 Food and Agriculture Organization of the Union Nations, 2014. The State of World Fisheries
711 and Aquaculture: Opportunities and Challenges. Food and Agriculture Organization of
712 the United Nations, Rome.
713 47 Frei, K.M., Coutu, A.N., Smiarowski, K., Harrison, R., Madsen, C.K., Arneborg, J., Frei, R.,
714 Guðmundsson, G., Sindbæk, S.M., Woollett, J., Hartman, S., Hicks, M., McGovern,
715 T.H., 2015. Was it for walrus? Viking Age settlement and medieval walrus ivory trade in
716 Iceland and Greenland. World Archaeology 47, 439–466.
717 48 Golding, K.A., Simpson, I.A., Wilson, C.A., Lowe, E.C., Schofield, J.E., Edwards, K.J.,
718 2015a. Europeanization of sub-Arctic environments: perspectives from Norse
719 Greenland's outer fjords. Human Ecology 43, 61–77.
720 49 Guðmundsson, F., 1979. The past status and exploitation of the Mývatn waterfowl
721 populations. Oikos 32, 232–249.
722 50 Hambrecht, G., Rockman, M., 2017. International Approaches to Climate Change and
723 Cultural Heritage. American Antiquity in press.
724 51 Hari, P., Petäjä, T., Bäck, J., Kerminen, V.-M., Lappalainen, H.K., Vihma, T., Laurila, T.,
725 Viisanen, Y., Vesala, T., Kulmala, M., 2016. Conceptual design of a measurement
726 network of the global change. Atmospheric Chemistry and Physics 16, 1017–1028.
727 52 Harvey, D.C., Perry, J. (Eds.), 2015. The Future of Heritage as Climates Change: Loss,
728 Adaptation, and Creativity, Key Issues in Cultural Heritage. Routledge, New York.
729 53 Hegmon, M., Arneborg, J., Comeau, L., Dugmore, A.J., Hambrecht, G., Ingram, S., Kintigh,
730 K., McGovern, T.H., Nelson, M.C., Peeples, M.A., Simpson, I.A., Spielmann, K.,
731 Streeter, R., Vésteinsson, O., 2014. The Human Experience of Social Change and
732 Continuity: The Southwest and North Atlantic in "Interesting Times" ca. 1300, in: Kulyk,
733 S., Tremain, C., Sawyer, M. (Eds.), Climates of Change: The Shifting Environments of
734 Archaeology. Proceedings of the 44th Annual Chacmool Conference. Presented at the
735 44th Annual Chacmool Conference, University of Calgary, Calgary, pp. 53–68.
736 54 Hegmon, M., Peeples, M.A., Kinzig, A.P., Kulow, S., Meegan, C.M., Nelson, M.C., 2008.
737 Social transformation and its human costs in the prehispanic U.S. Southwest. American
738 Anthropologist 110, 313–324.
739 55 Hicks, M., Einarsson, Á., Anamthawat-Jónsson, K., Edwald, Á., Þórsson, Æ.Þ., McGovern,
740 T.H., 2016. Community and Conservation: Documenting Millennial Scale Sustainable
741 Resource Use at Lake Mývatn, Iceland, in: Isendahl, C., Stump, D. (Eds.), Oxford
742 Handbook of Historical Ecology and Applied Archaeology. Oxford University Press,
743 Oxford.

744 56 Hofman, C.A., Rick, T.C., Fleischer, R.C., Maldonado, J.E., 2015. Conservation
745 archaeogenomics: ancient DNA and biodiversity in the Anthropocene. Trends in ecology
746 & evolution 30, 540–549.
747 57 Hoggarth, J.A., Breitenbach, S.F.M., Culleton, B.J., Ebert, C.E., Masson, M.A., Kennett, D.J.,
748 2016. The political collapse of Chichén Itzá in climatic and cultural context. Global and
749 Planetary Change, Climate Change and Archaeology in Mesoamerica: A Mirror for the
750 Anthropocene 138, 25–42. doi:10.1016/j.gloplacha.2015.12.007
751 58 Hollesen, Jørgen, Matthiesen, H., Elberling, B., 2017. The impact of climate change on an
752 archaeological site in the Arctic. Achaeometry.
753 59 Hollesen, J., Matthiesen, H., Møller, A.B., Westergaard-Nielsen, A., Elberling, B., 2016.
754 Climate change and the loss of organic archaeological deposits in the Arctic. Scientific
755 Reports 6, 28690.
756 60 Holm, P., 1995. The dynamics of institutionalization: Transformation processes in Norwegian
757 fisheries. Administrative Science Quarterly 40, 398–422.
758 61 Hovgård, H., Buch, E., 1990. Fluctuation in the Cod Biomass of the West Greenland Sea
759 Ecosystem in Relation to Climate, in: Sherman, K., Alexander, L.M., Gold, B.D. (Eds.),
760 Large Marine Ecosystems: Patterns, Processes, and Yields. American Association for the
761 Advancement of Science, Washington, D.C.
762 62 Jackson, J., Alexander, K., 2011. Introduction: The Importance of Shifting Baselines, in:
763 Jackson, J., Alexander, K., Sala, E. (Eds.), Shifting Baselines. Island Press, London, 1-8.
764 63 Jackson, D., Cotter, D., ÓMaoiléidigh, N., O'Donohoe, P., White, J., Kane, F., Kelly, S.,
765 McDermott, T., McEvoy, S., Drumm, A., Cullen, A., Rogan, G., 2011. An evaluation of
766 the impact of early infestation with the salmon louse Lepeophtheirus salmonis on the
767 subsequent survival of outwardly migrating Atlantic salmon, Salmo salar L., smolts.
768 Aquaculture 320, 159–163.
769 64 Jackson, J.B.C., Kirby, M.X., Berger, W.H., Bjorndal, K.A., Botsford, L.W., Bourque, B.J.,
770 Bradbury, R.H., Cooke, R., Erlandson, J., Estes, J.A., Hughes, T.P., Kidwell, S., Lange,
771 C.B., Lenihan, H.S., Pandolfi, J.M., Peterson, C.H., Steneck, R.S., Tegner, M.J., Warner,
772 R.R., 2001. Historical overfishing and the recent collapse of coastal ecosystems. Science
773 293, 629–637.
774 65 Jesch, J., 2015. The Viking Diaspora. Routledge, New York.
775 66 Karlsson, G., 2000. Iceland's 1100 Years: The History of a Marginal Society. C. Hurst &
776 Company, London.
777 67 Kintigh, K.W., Altschul, J.H., Beaudry, M.C., Drennan, R.D., Kinzig, A.P., Kohler, T.A.,
778 Limp, W.F., Maschner, H.D.G., Michener, W.K., Pauketat, T.R., Peregrine, P., Sabloff,
779 J.A., Wilkinson, T.J., Wright, H.T., Zeder, M.A., 2014. Grand challenges for
780 archaeology. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 111, 879–880.
781 doi:10.1073/pnas.1324000111
782 68 Klein, J.R., Réau, B., Kalland, I., Edwards, M., 2007. Conservation, development, and a
783 heterogeneous community: The case of Ambohitantely Special Reserve, Madagascar.
784 Society and Natural Resources 20, 451–467.
785 69 Kristensen, T.N., Hoffmann, A.A., Pertoldi, C., Stronen, A.V., 2015. What can livestock
786 breeders learn from conservation genetics and vice versa? Frontiers in genetics 6, 38.
787 70 Laparidou, S., Ramsey, M.N., Rosen, A.M., 2015. Introduction to the special issue "The
788 Anthropocene in the Longue Durée." The Holocene 25, 1537–1538.

789 71 Magee, D.A., MacHugh, D.E., Edwards, C.J., 2014. Interrogation of modern and ancient
790 genomes reveals the complex domestic history of cattle. Animal Frontiers 4, 7–22.
791 72 Martinelli, L., Oksanen, M., Siipi, H., 2014b. De-extinction: A novel and remarkable case of
792 bio-objectification. Croatian Medical Journal 55, 423.
793 73 Marzeion, B., Champollion, N., Haeberli, W., Langley, K., Leclercq, P., Paul, F., 2017.
794 Observation-based estimates of global glacier mass change and its contribution to sea-
795 level change. Surveys in Geophysics 38, 105–130.
796 74 McGovern, T.H., Perdikaris, S., Einarsson, Á., Sidell, J., 2006. Coastal connections, local
797 fishing, and sustainable egg harvesting: Patterns of Viking age inland wild resource use
798 in Mývatn District, northern Iceland. Environmental Archaeology 11, 187–205.
799 75 McGovern, T.H., Smiarowski, K., Harrison, R., 2013. Hard Times at Hofstaðir? An
800 Archaeofauna circa 1300 AD from Hofstaðir? in Mývatnssveit, N Iceland (No. 60),
801 NORSEC Zooarchaeology Laboratories Report No. 60. CUNY Northern Science and
802 Education Center, NORSEC and Human Ecodynamics Research Center, HERC, New
803 York.
804 76 McGovern, Thomas H., Vésteinsson, O., Friðriksson, A., Church, M., Lawson, I., Simpson,
805 I.A., Einarsson, Á., Dugmore, A., Cook, G., Perdikaris, S., Edwards, K., Thomson, A.M.,
806 Adderley, W.P., Newton, A., Lucas, G., Aldred, O., Dunbar, E., 2007. Landscapes of
807 settlement in northern Iceland: Historical ecology of human impacts and climate
808 fluctuations on the millennial scale. American Anthropologist 109, 27–51.
809 77 McKetchnie, I., Lepofsky, D., Moss, M.L., Butler, V.L., Orchard, T.J., Coupland, G., Foster,
810 F., Caldwell, M., Lertzman, K., 2014. Archaeological data provide alternative hypotheses
811 on Pacific herring (Culpea pallasii) distribution, abundance, and variability. Proceedings
812 of the National Academy of Sciences 111, E807–E816.
813 78 McLeod, B.A., Frasier, T.R., Lucas, Z., 2014. Assessment of the extirpated Maritimes walrus
814 using morphological and ancient DNA analysis. PLOS ONE 9, e99569.
815 79 Monbiot, G., 2013. A manifesto for rewilding the world. The Guardian.
816 80 Moss, M.L., Erlandson, J.M., Stuckenrath, R., 1990. Wood stake weirs and salmon fisheries
817 on the Northwest Coast: Evidence from Southeast Alaska. Canadian Journal of
818 Archaeology 14, 143–158.
819 81 Moss, M.L., Rodrigues, A.T., Speller, C.F., Yang, D.Y., 2016. The historical ecology of
820 Pacific herring: Tracing Alaska Native use of a forage fish. Journal of Archaeological
821 Science: Reports 8, 504–512.
822 82 National Park Service, 2014. Climate Change and the Stewardship of Cultural Resources,
823 Director's Policy Memorandum 14-02. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
824 83 Nelson, M.C., Ingram, S.E., Dugmore, A.J., Streeter, R., Peeples, M.A., McGovern, T.H.,
825 Hegmon, M., Arneborg, J., Kintigh, K.W., Brewington, S., Spielmann, K.A., Simpson,
826 I.A., Strawhacker, C., Comeau, L.E.L., Torvinen, A., Madsen, C.K., Hambrecht, G.,
827 Smiarowski, K., 2016. Climate challenges, vulnerabilities, and food security. Proceedings
828 of the National Academy of Sciences 113, 298–303.
829 84 Nørrevang, A., 1986. Traditions of sea bird fowling in the Faroes: An ecological basis for
830 sustained fowling. Ornis Scandinavica 17, 275–281.
831 85 Ogilvie, A.E.J., Jónsdóttir, I., 2000. Sea ice, climate, and Icelandic fisheries in the eighteenth
832 and nineteenth centuries. Arctic 53, 383–394.

833 86 Ogilvie, A.E.J., Woollett, J.M., Smiarowski, K., Arneborg, J., Troelstra, S., Kuijpers, A.,
834 Pálsdóttir, A., McGovern, T.H., 2009. Seals and Sea Ice in Medieval Greenland. Journal
835 of the North Atlantic 2, 60–80.
836 87 Oksanen, M., 2008. Ecological Restoration as Moral Reparation, in: Proceedings of the XXII
837 World Congress of Philosophy. pp. 99–105.
838 88 Oksanen, M., Siipi, H. (Eds.), 2014. The Ethics of Animal Re-creation and Modfication:
839 Reviving, Rewilding, Restoring. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
840 89 Ólafsdóttir, G.Á., Pétursdóttir, G., Bárðarson, H., Edvardsson, R., in press. Atlantic cod
841 otoliths from a historical fishing site signal a concomitant shift in Atlantic cod growth
842 and fisheries between the medieval and the early modern periods. PLOS ONE.
843 90 Ólafsdóttir, Guðbjörg Ásta, Westfall, K.M., Edvardsson, R., Pálsson, S., 2014. Historical
844 DNA reveals the demographic history of Atlantic cod (Gadus morhua) in medieval and
845 early modern Iceland. Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B: Biological
846 Sciences 281, 20132976.
847 91 Orlando, L., 2015b. The first aurochs genome reveals the breeding history of British and
848 European cattle. Genome Biology 16, 225.
849 92 Orton, D.C., Morris, J., Locker, A., Barrett, J.H., 2014. Fish for the city: Meta-analysis of
850 archaeological cod remains and the growth of London's northern trade. Antiquity 88,
851 516–530.
852 93 Pampoulie, C., Ruzzante, D.E., Chosson, V., Jörundsdóttir, T.D., Taylor, L., Thorsteinsson,
853 V., Daníelsdóttir, A.K., Marteinsdóttir, G., 2006. The genetic structure of Atlantic cod
854 (Gadus morhua) around Iceland: Insight from microsatellites, the Pan I locus, and tagging
855 experiments. Canadian Journal of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences 63, 2660–2674.
856 94 Papworth, S.K., Rist, J., Coad, L., Milner-Gulland, E.J., 2009. Evidence for shifting baseline
857 syndrome in conservation. Conservation Letters 2, 93–100.
858 95 Pauly, D., 1995b. Anecdotes and the shifting baseline syndrome of fisheries. Trends in
859 Ecology & Evolution 10, 430.
860 96 Perdikaris, Sophia, 1999. From chiefly provisioning to commercial fishery: Long-term
861 economic change in Arctic Norway. World Archaeology 30, 388–402.
862 97 Perdikaris, S., Hambrecht, G., Brewington, S., McGovern, T.H., 2007. Across the Fish Event
863 Horizon: A Comparative Approach, in: Hüster-Plogmann, H. (Ed.), The Role of Fish in
864 Ancient Time: Proceedings of the 13th Meeting of the ICAZ Fish Remains Working
865 Group. Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden, Westphalia, pp. 51–62.
866 98 Perdikaris, S., McGovern, T.H., 2009. Viking Age Economics and the Origins of Commercial
867 Cod Fisheries in the North Atlantic, in: Sicking, L., Abreu-Ferreira, D. (Eds.), Beyond
868 the Catch: Fisheries of the North Atlantic, the North Sea, and the Baltic, 900-1850, The
869 Northern World. Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, pp. 61–89.
870 99 Pinnegar, J.K., Engelhard, G.H., 2008. The "shifting baseline"phenomenon: a global
871 perspective. Reviews in Fish Biology and Fisheries 18, 1–16.
872 100 Proença, V., Martin, L.J., Pereira, H.M., Fernandez, M., McRae, L., Belnap, J., Böhm, M.,
873 Brummitt, N., Garcia-Moreno, J., Gregory, R.D., Honrado, J.P., Jürgens, N., Opige, M.,
874 Schmeller, D.S., Tiago, P., van Swaay, C.A.M., 2017. Global biodiversity monitoring:
875 From data sources to Essential Biodiversity Variables. Biological Conservation 213, 256–
876 263.
877 101 Rockman, M., 2015. An NPS framework for addressing climate change with cultural
878 resources. George Wright Forum 32, 37–50.

879 102 Rockman, M., Morgan, M., Ziaja, S., Hambrecht, G., Meadow, A., 2017. Cultural Resources
880 Climate Change Strategy. Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science and Climate
881 Change Response Program, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
882 103 Rose, G.A., 1993. Cod spawning on a migration highway in the north-west Atlantic. Nature
883 366, 458–461.
884 104 Scheu, A., Powell, A., Bollongino, R., Vigne, J.-D., Tresset, A., Çakırlar, C., Benecke, N.,
885 Burger, J., 2015b. The genetic prehistory of domesticated cattle from their origin to the
886 spread across Europe. BMC Genetics 16.
887 105 Shapiro, B., 2015. Mammoth 2.0: Will genome engineering resurrect extinct species?
888 Genome Biology 16, 228.
889 106 Siipi, H., 2016. Biodiversity and Human-Modified Entities, in: Garson, J., Plutynski, A.,
890 Sarkar, S. (Eds.), The Routledge Handbook of Philosophy of Biodiversity. Routledge,
891 London.
892 107 Simpson, I.A., Dugmore, A.J., Thomson, A., Vesteinsson, O., 2001. Crossing the thresholds:
893 human ecology and historical patterns of landscape degradation. Catena 42, 175–192.
894 108 Smith, L., 2007. Empty gestures? Heritage and the politics of recognition, in: Silverman, H.,
895 Ruggles, D.F. (Eds.), Cultural Heritage and Human Rights. Springer, New York, pp.
896 159–171.
897 109 Spielmann, K., Peeples, M.A., Glowacki, D.M., Dugmore, A., 2016. Early warning signals
898 of social transformation: A case study from the US Southwest. PLOS ONE 11, e0163685.
899 110 Steffen, W., Broadgate, W., Deutsch, L., Gaffney, O., Ludwig, C., 2015a. The trajectory of
900 the Anthopocene: The Great Acceleration. The Anthropocene Review 2, 81–98.
901 111 Steffen, W., Richardson, K., Rockström, J., Cornell, S.E., Fetzer, I., Bennet, E.M., Biggs, R.,
902 Carpenter, S.R., de Vries, W., de Wit, C.A., Folke, C., Gerten, D., Heinke, J., Mace,
903 G.M., Persson, L.M., Ramanathan, V., Reyers, B., Sörlin, S., 2015b. Planetary
904 boundaries: Guiding human development on a changing planet. Science 347, 1259855.
905 112 Streeter, R., Dugmore, A., 2014. Late-Holocene land surface change in a coupled social–
906 ecological system, southern Iceland: a cross-scale tephrochronology approach.
907 Quaternary Science Reviews 86, 99–114.
908 113 Streeter, R., Dugmore, A.J., 2013. Anticipating land surface change. Proceedings of the
909 National Academy of Sciences 110, 5779–5784.
910 114 Streeter, R., Dugmore, A.J., Vésteinsson, O., 2012. Plague and landscape resilience in
911 premodern Iceland. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 109, 3664–3669.
912 115 Theobald, D.M., 2016. A general-purpose spatial survey design for collaborative science and
913 monitoring of global environmental change: The global grid. Remote Sensing 8, 813.
914 116 Thomson, Amanda M., Simpson, I.A., 2006. A grazing model for simulating the impact of
915 historical land management decisions in sensitive landscapes: Model design and
916 validation. Environmental Modelling & Software 21, 1096–1113.
917 117 van de Noort, R., 2013. Climate Change Archaeology: Building Resilience from Research in
918 the World's Coastal Wetlands. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
919 118 Vésteinsson, O., Church, M.J., Dugmore, A.J., McGovern, T.H., Newton, A.J., 2014.
920 Expensive errors or rational choices: The pioneer fringe in Late Viking Age Iceland.
921 European Journal of Post-Classical Archaeologies 4, 39–68.
922 119 Vilhjálmsson, H., 1997. Climatic variations and some examples of their effects on the
923 marine ecology of Icelandic and Greenlandic waters, in particular during the present
924 century. Rit Fiskideildar/Journal of the Marine Research Institute, Reykjavík 15, 1–31.

925 120 Weaver, L., 2015. De-Extinction: The End of Forever (doctoral dissertation). The George
926 Washington University, Washington, D.C.
927 121 Williamson, K., 1970. The Atlantic Islands: A Study of the Faeroe Life and Scene.
928 Routledge & Kegan Paul Books, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire.
929 122 Yletyinen, J., Bodin, Ö., Weigel, B., Nordström, M.C., Bonsdorff, E., Blenckner, T., 2016.
930 Regime shifts in marine communities: A Complex systems perspective on food web
931 dynamics. Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B 283, 20152569.
932 123 Zeder, M.A., 2016. Domestication as a model system for niche construction theory.
933 Evolutionary Ecology 30, 325–348.
934 124 Zeder, M.A., 2015. Core questions in domestication research. Proceedings of the National
935 Academy of Sciences 112, 3191–3198.
936
937