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# 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

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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, improving key archives for understanding long-term biogeographical change (Hofman et al., 66 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 to major challenges of our time, including food security through overexploitation of marine and 75 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

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

104At a 2013 meeting in Paris between the interim Future Earth management team105(http://www.futureearth.org) and representatives of the Integrated History and Future of People on

106 Earth (IHOPE) group (http://www.ihopenet.org), the IHOPE presenters (Carole Crumley, Tom 107 McGovern, Jago Cooper, Steven Hartman, Andy Dugmore) coined the phrase 'distributed 108 observing network of the past' (DONOP) to communicate the value of archaeological sites for 109 global change research (GCR), and adopt a vernacular more familiar to the wider scientific 110 community and help argue the case for better inclusion of archaeologically-derived data sets into 111 the Future Earth agenda. The DONOP concept resonates with the description of existing 112 instrumental observation networks that monitor the current impacts of human activities on 113 environmental change (Hari et al., 2016; Proença et al., 2016; Theobald, 2016; Marzeion et al., 114 2017). For examples, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) occupies an 115 authoritative position monitoring the impacts of climate change on biophysical systems and human 116 societies. The International Oceanographic Commission (IOC) of UNESCO operates a Global 117 Ocean Observation System (GOOS) to monitor global changes to ocean temperature, its 118 ecosystems, and human communities reliant on the resources it provides. But long-term human 119 processes have been largely absent from many major monitoring efforts reports despite being in a 120 position to disseminate data relevant to GCR. This paper explores the relevance of DONOP with 121 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 size. The examples offered by this article show some of the spatial and temporal range of theapplication 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).

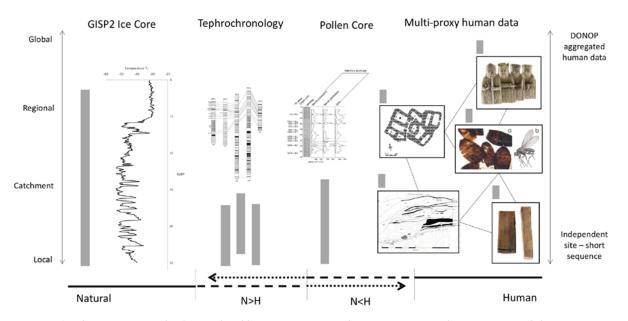
166 Archaeological DONOP are our best (and for many regions and periods of time our only 167 realistic) source of information on the resilience of past cultures to natural hazards. Past cultures 168 provide a vast range of human interactions with different climatic and ecological conditions 169 (Cooper 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 environmental change and to generate both data and new theory that can contribute to a widespectrum of managerial issues raised by contemporary anthropogenic climate change.

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

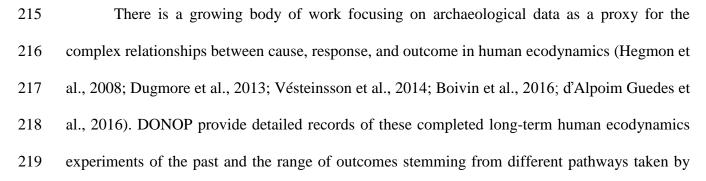
Humans selectively sample the surrounding ecology and they collect specimens (consciously and unconsciously) from across trophic webs, landscapes, and seascapes. Then, given favorable post-depositional conditions, these samples are preserved in one place – the archaeological site. Wherever (and whenever) humans and our ancestors have lived, and when 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 have relevance for contemporary debates (Kintigh et al., 2014; Jackson et al., in review). All ofthese 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.

of the excavation strategy and methods, the local environmental conditions and the potential for organic remains to survive in situ until excavation, and the availability of continuous and deep chronological control. Yet such assemblages do exist and their number and spatial and temporal resolution are increasing.

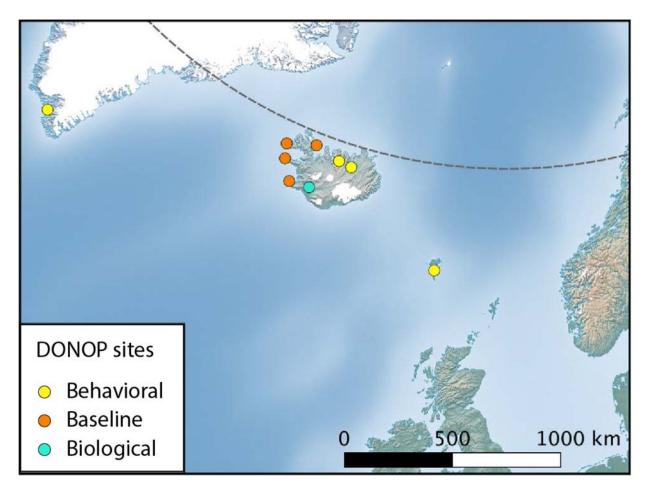


past cultures in the face of environmental change (Diamond and Robinson, 2010; Hegmon et al., 2014). They can serve as examples of alternative choices and the pathways they create, and these case studies can be used to assess contemporary ideas of how to build resilience and reduce vulnerability in the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

The utility of DONOP sites and the data they contain for contemporary global change research can be explored from three perspectives: those that are 1) concerned with human behaviors, 2) related to shifting baselines, and 3) addressing biology. The *behavioral perspective* examines human action within intertwined social and natural systems. The *shifting baselines perspective* emphasizes the contrasting implications of baseline data for species, landforms, and ecology set before industrial expansion, commercial-scale resource exploitation, the 'great acceleration' and other trends representing significant human impacts on their environments – all
in stark contrast to the typical temporally shallow modern data currently in use (Pinnegar and
Engelhard, 2008; Steffen et al., 2015a, 2015b). Finally, the *biology perspective* seeks to understand
and utilize past diversity (i.e., trophic and/or genetic) as recovered through archaeological remains
in order to develop tools and datasets that can be used to better manage contemporary wild and
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).



260

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

263

#### 264 2.1 Human Behavior and DONOP

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

The example of Norse Greenland, which has often been used as a parable of human inaction 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

Greenland Norse collapse is outside of the remit of this article, a recent assessment of the NorthAtlantic 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).

Successful long-term resource management is also evident from DONOP records in the
 Faroe Islands, where zooarchaeological (Brewington and McGovern, 2008; Brewington, 2011,
 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).

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

In 2012, Atlantic cod (*Gadus morhua*) was ranked by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the Union Nations (2014) as the 11<sup>th</sup>-most fished species in the world. In addition to being an important contemporary marine resource, this species was also crucial in both the medieval and early modern European colonial expansions. It was, and continues to be, a key species for both subsistence and the economic well-being of communities across the Atlantic from 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 population size of Atlantic cod in the fifteenth century, and further population size fluctuations 407

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

These projects are pushing baseline data of key natural species back into the last millennium. In both cases they are focusing on species that have seen predation by humans, at varying levels of intensity since the Neolithic period. Each one is focusing on the medieval to early modern transition and attempting to build demographic data that could radically alter current ideas 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.

A collaboration between the University of Maryland Zooarchaeology Laboratory, Recombinetics LLC, and the aDNA Laboratory of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Piacenza, Italy is aligning the interests of the historical sciences with those of present-day animal sciences. This project is beginning with an initial investigation focusing on aDNA analysis of cattle 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.

This is, of course, a 'brave new world' for the potential uses of historical genetic material. The most dramatic and potentially visible impacts that aDNA could have in the near future are best demonstrated in the projects that are investigating the possibility of reviving extinct species (Charo and Greely, 2015; Diehm, 2015; Edwards, 2015; Shapiro, 2015; Weaver, 2015). Such projects could not be possible without access to genetic material from either museum or archaeological specimens. A vigorous debate is developing around the ethical and practical ramifications of such approaches (Kristensen et al., 2015; Martinelli et al., 2014; Oksanen, 2008;
Oksanen and Siipi, 2014; Siipi, 2016). Yet what can be said without debate at this point is that
developing biotechnologies focusing on editing genomes will have a profound impact on the way
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*.

Recognition of the importance and utility of DONOP has grown beyond direct 527 528 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.

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

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