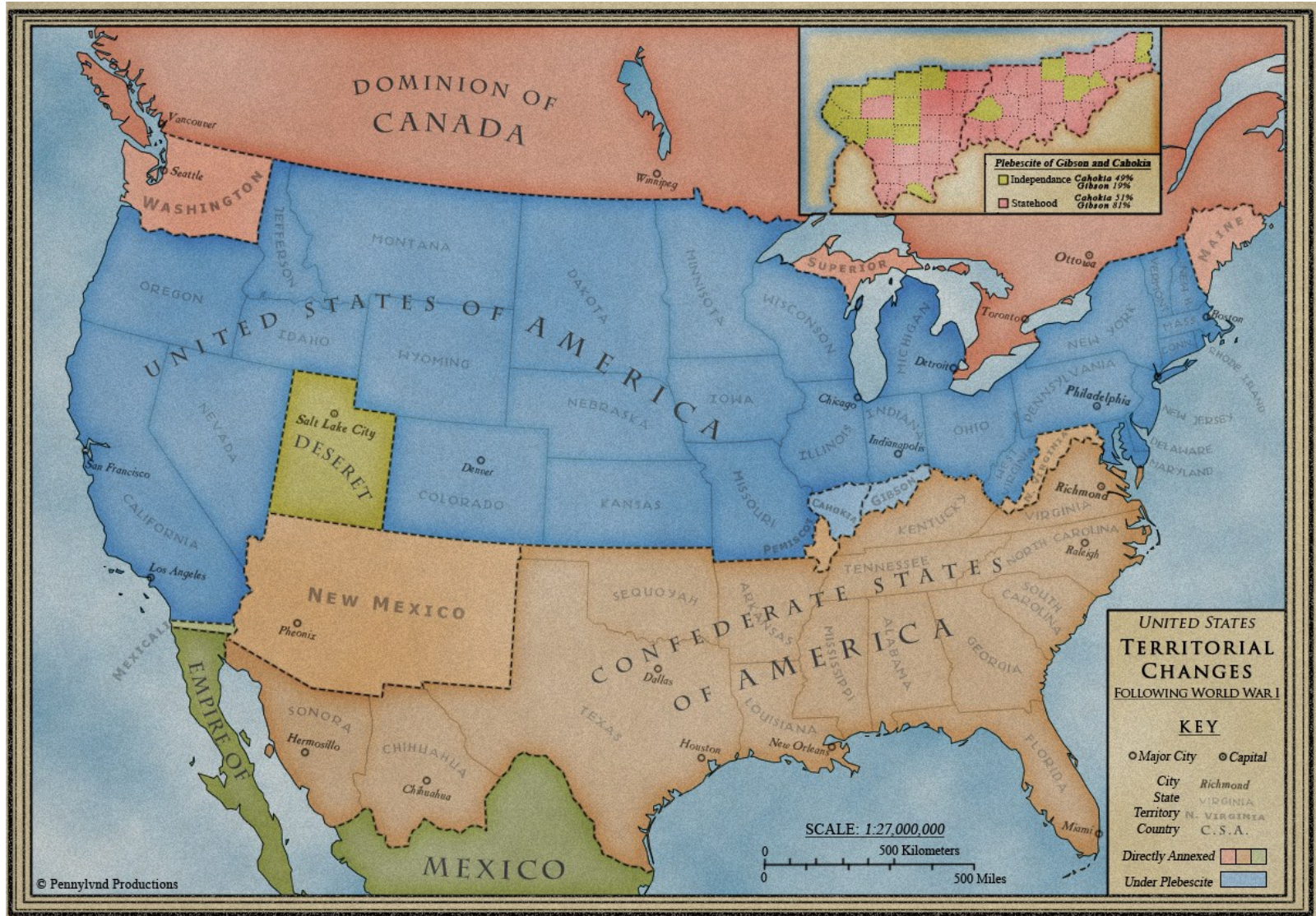


# Cultural adaptation, compounding vulnerabilities and conjunctures

Andy Dugmore



# Roads not taken...





# Contrasting case studies: Norse North Atlantic

Different sets of decisions ('roads not chosen'); different outcomes

Extinction  
after 450  
years

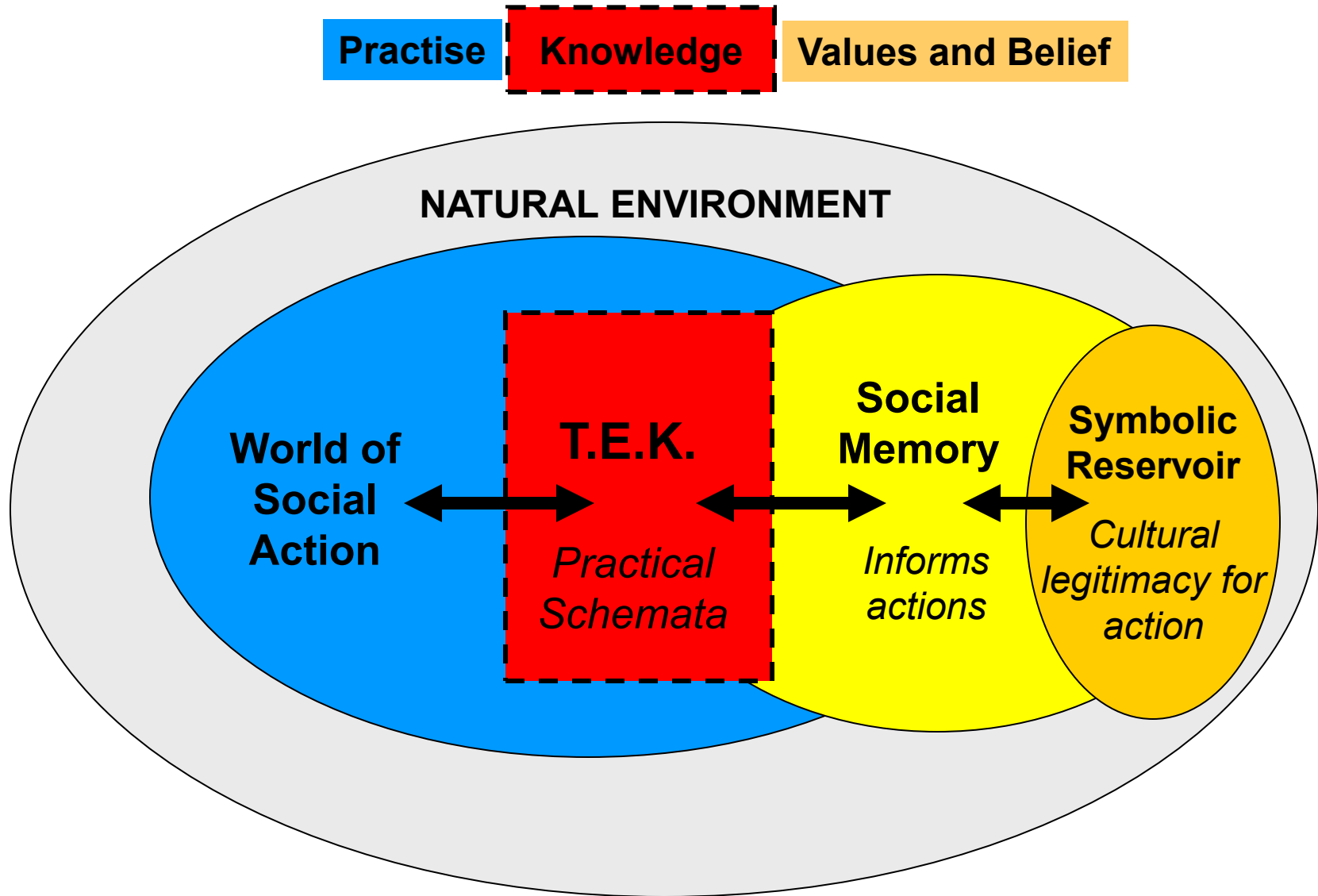
Stability and  
continuity  
over multi-  
century  
timescales  
(but at a  
cost)

Moving **westwards** across the Atlantic is to encounter **increasingly 'polar' conditions**, especially drift ice and seasonally-frozen seas

Dealing with climate change requires local TEK

- 
- Early voyages
  - Erik the Red, 985
  - Bjarni Herjolfsson, 985-6
  - Leif Eriksson, 1000
  - Thorfinn Karlsefni, c. 1005

# Cultural Schemata: Filtering Experience, Legitimizing Action: the key role of Traditional Ecological Knowledge





# Different choices & outcomes 1: Faroes



**Settlement endures  
in the face of  
climate change:  
trade and the  
communal  
exploitation of fish,  
birds and marine  
mammals key to  
long term  
resilience**

**Introduced  
domestic  
animals,  
some  
cultivation**

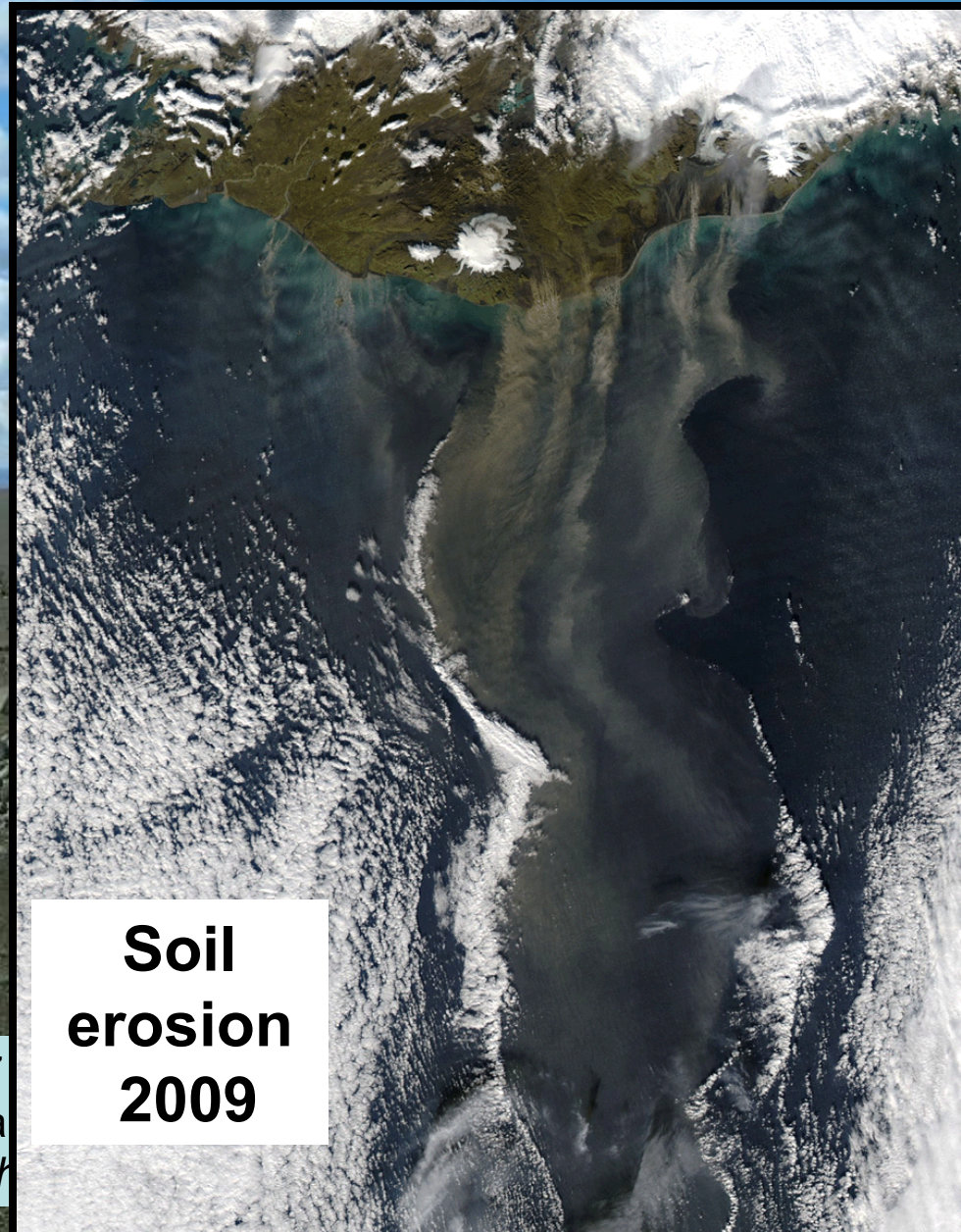




# Different choices & outcomes 2: Iceland

**Successful adaptation  
and long-term success  
linked to **extensive**  
landscape degradation.**

McGovern T, H., Vésteinsson, O. et al. 2007  
Historical ecology of human impact a  
*American Anth*



**Soil  
erosion  
2009**



# Different choices & outcomes 2: Iceland



# Early environmental management and regulation; sustainable exploitation of finite resources (e.g. birds).



Iceland

# When faced with **predictable changes** (e.g. woodland clearance) adaptations made to conserve a landscape 'fit for purpose'.



# When faced with **unpredictable change** (e.g. climate hazards) natural capitals drawn down to maintain settlement.

# Economic change- development of bulk commodity trading (of fish and wool)

Dugmore, A.J., Church, M.J., et al. 2006 'An over-optimistic pioneer fringe? Environmental perspectives on medieval settlement abandonment in Thórs mörk, south Iceland.', In Arneborg, J. & Grønnow, B. (eds.)

*The Dynamics of Northern Societies*. PNM, 10 333-344

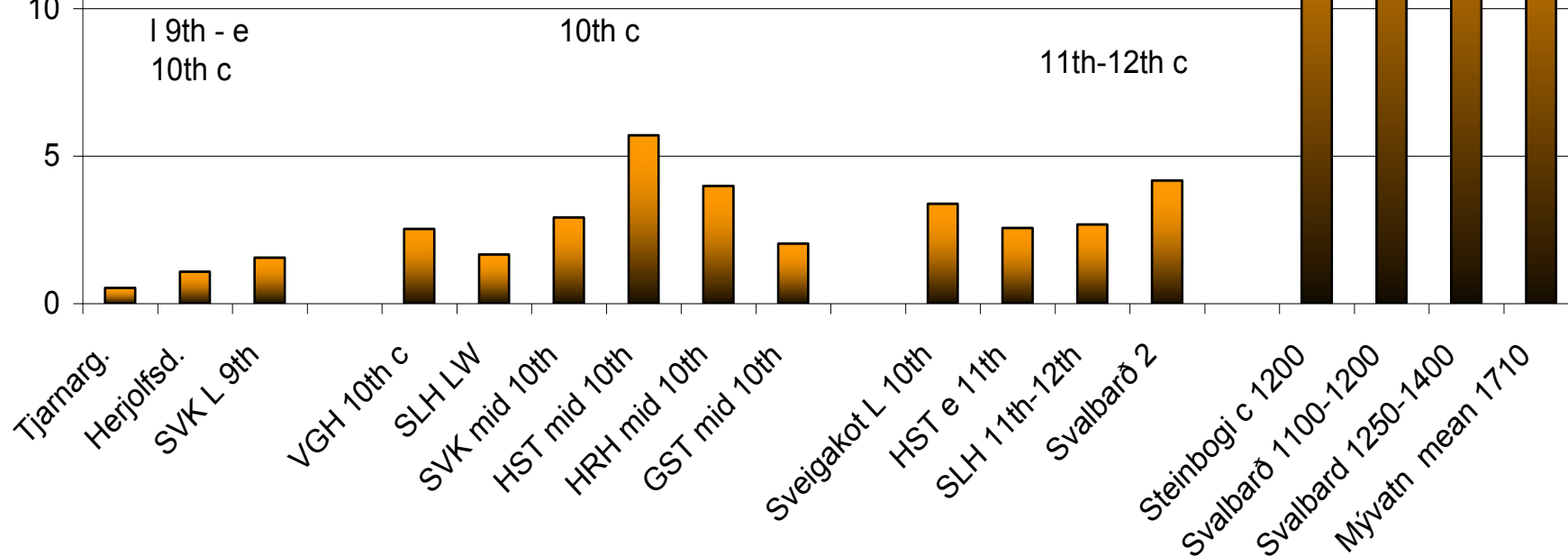
Caprine per cattle bone

## Tracking the choices made

Proportions of cows and sheep change with time from 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> c, varying from c. 2 sheep per cow to c. 6 sheep per cow.

A major transition takes place ca AD 1200: now 20-25 sheep per cow.

This pattern continues to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century land registers.





# Tephrochronology of Skaftártunga, South Iceland

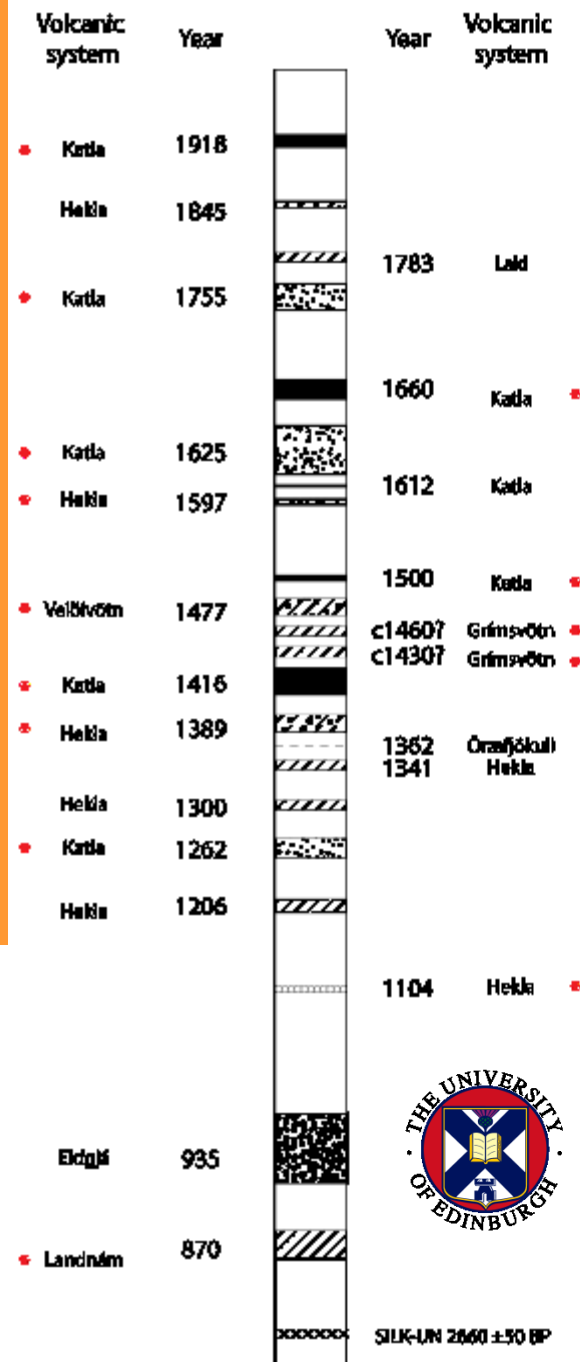
**Understanding the consequences of choices and external impacts** (eg volcanic eruptions, climate hazards, disease).

Precise data needed

# High resolution sequences (c.1mm sediment accumulation per year)

# Outstanding tephrochronology

Confirmed by geochemical analysis = \*



Katla 1625

Hekla 1597

Katla 1500

**Plague 1494-5**

Veðivötn 1477

Grímsvötn c.1460

Grímsvötn c.1430

Katla 1416

**Plague 1402-4**

Hekla 1389

Öræfajökull 1362

Hekla 1341

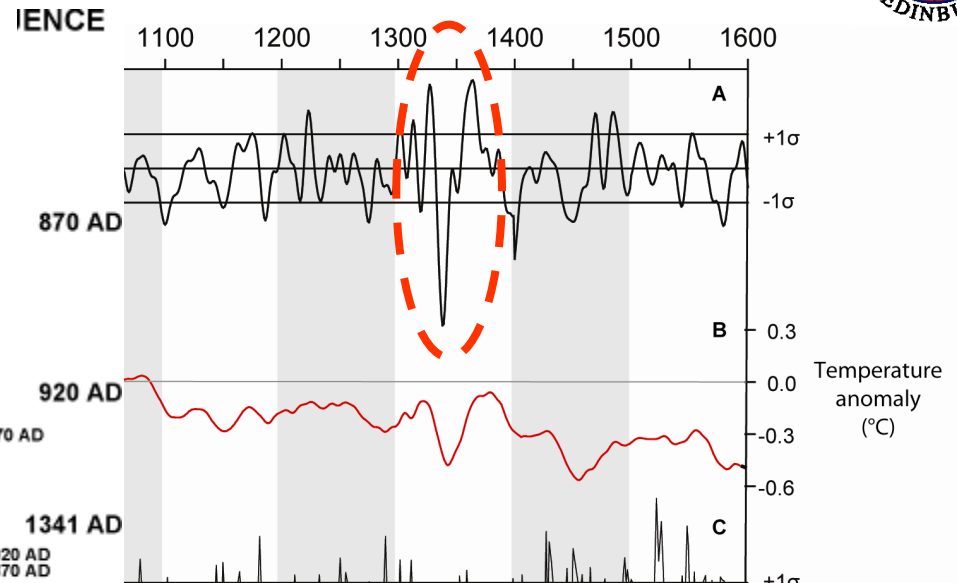
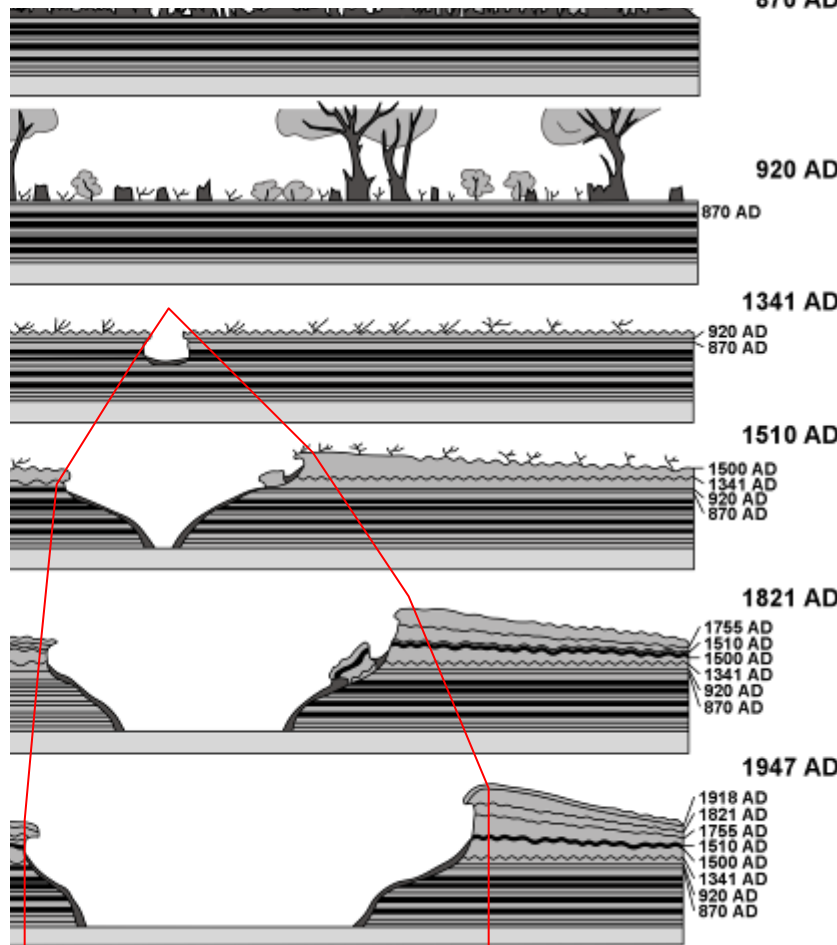
Hekla 1300

10cm

Katla 1262

# Climate, memory and management

Impacts of climate change buffered by the draw down of natural (landscape) capital and resulted in threshold crossing events

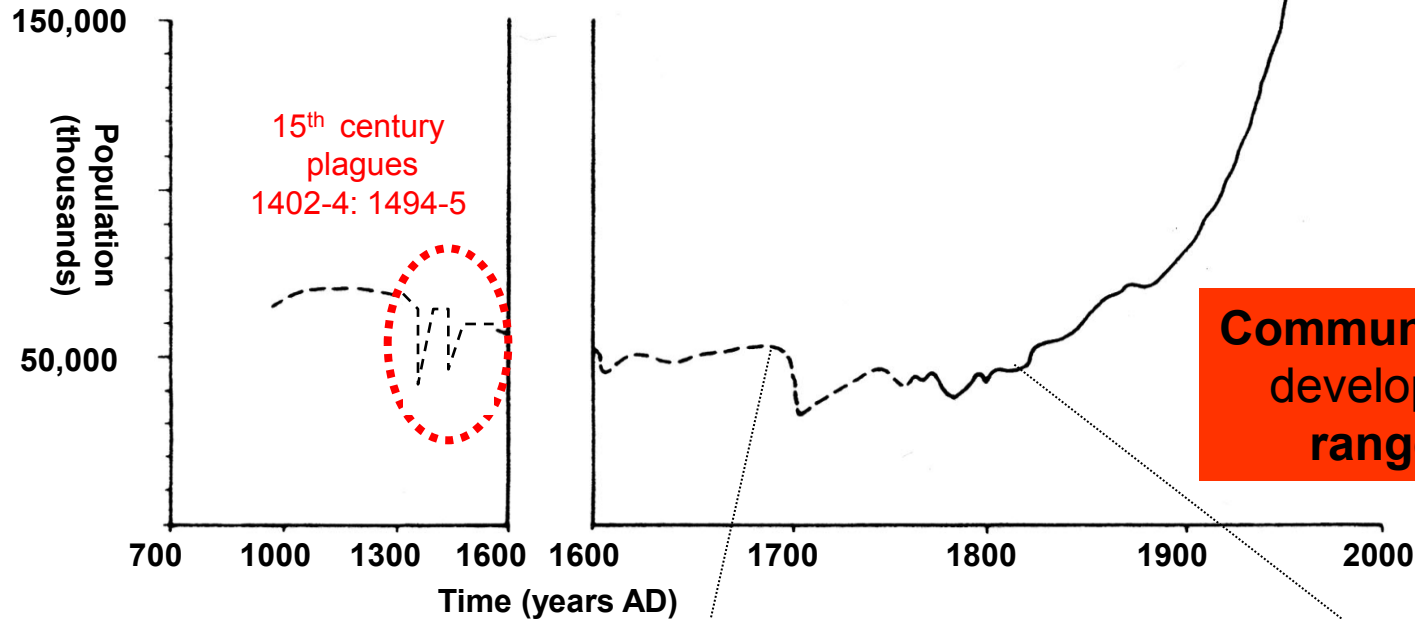


The likelihood of resource over-exploitation and degradation (either through accident or design) will be more probable if unpredictable, unfavourable environmental change occurs and **past experience is no guide to the future.**

**Icelandic settlement endures, but landscapes degrade**

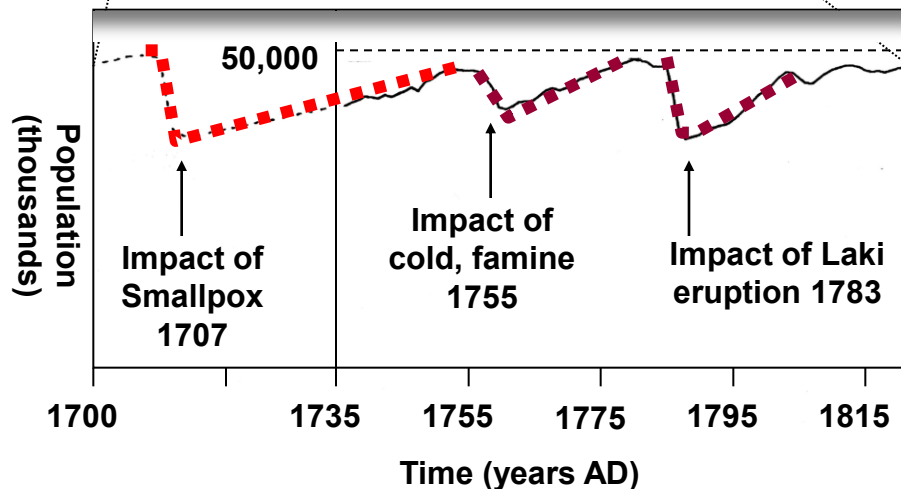


# Different choices & outcomes 2: Iceland



**Flexibility at the cost of economic development?**

Modifying or abandoning this ability to deal with setbacks in favour of economic development did not seem like an acceptable strategy until modern times....

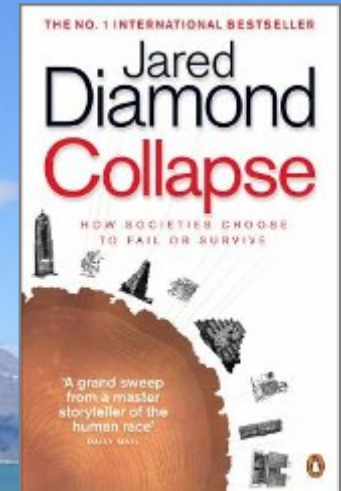


Vasey, Daniel. E. 1996. Population regulation, ecology, and political economy in preindustrial Iceland. *American Ethnologist* 23(2):366-392.

# Different choices & outcomes 3:

## Greenland

985- c1450 AD



### **Diamond's *Collapse*:**

Possible reasons for the end of Norse Greenland

- Mal-adaptation (taboo about fish eating)
  - Human impacts (soil erosion)
- Climate change (it got cold & they died...)
  - Oppressive elites (and foreign too).

***...or not? New developments cast doubt on this thesis***



# Initial colonisation effort

25 ships set out –

11 fail to arrive. What drove this settlement?

It must have been more than a good name for the land...



Drivers for colonization,  
opportunities to gain prestige  
(how to 'get rich');  
find trade goods, found a colony  
(alternatives to raiding for silver and slaves).

**Walrus made extinct in Iceland by the Vikings-  
vast numbers of walrus in Greenland  
Source of valuable ivory and hides (for cables)**





Viking trade goods:  
Furs, not available in Iceland

White fur was particularly valuable;  
all furs are best collected in winter time...



Picture credits © Henning Thing/Polar Photos



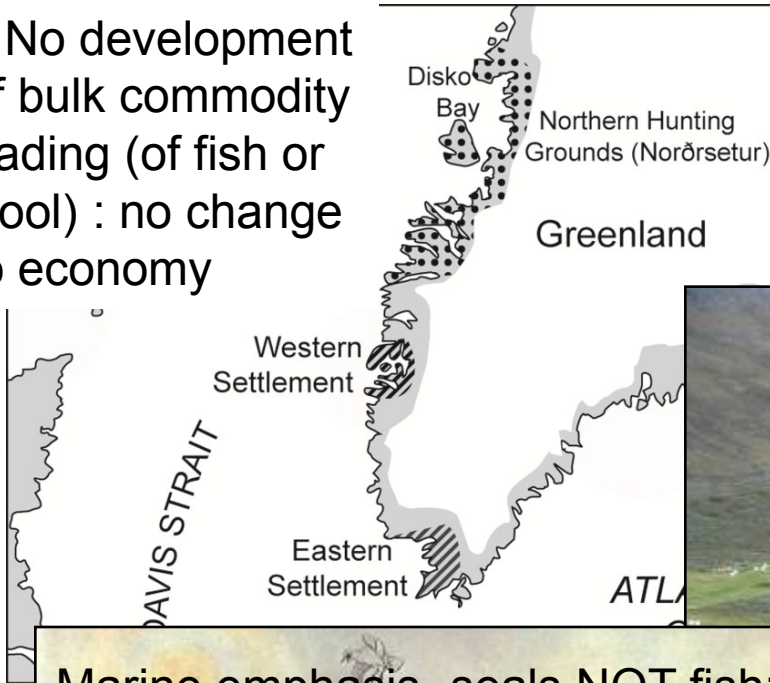
# Different choices & outcomes 3:

# Toughest environment  
for Norse settlers

## Greenland

# No development  
of bulk commodity  
trading (of fish or  
wool) : no change  
to economy

Generation of  
prestige trade  
goods in  
remote areas-  
communal  
effort



Marine emphasis- seals NOT fish:  
Communal effort



Sustainable farming  
(textiles, dairy products)

Sustainable subsistence (in common with  
other Norse areas of settlement) based  
on pastoralism and wild resources



# Greenland adaptations: Earlier.....Later



Communal hunt of migrating seals, boats, nets, dogs and clubs

## **Norse**

Massive, short-lived  
communal effort in the  
spring



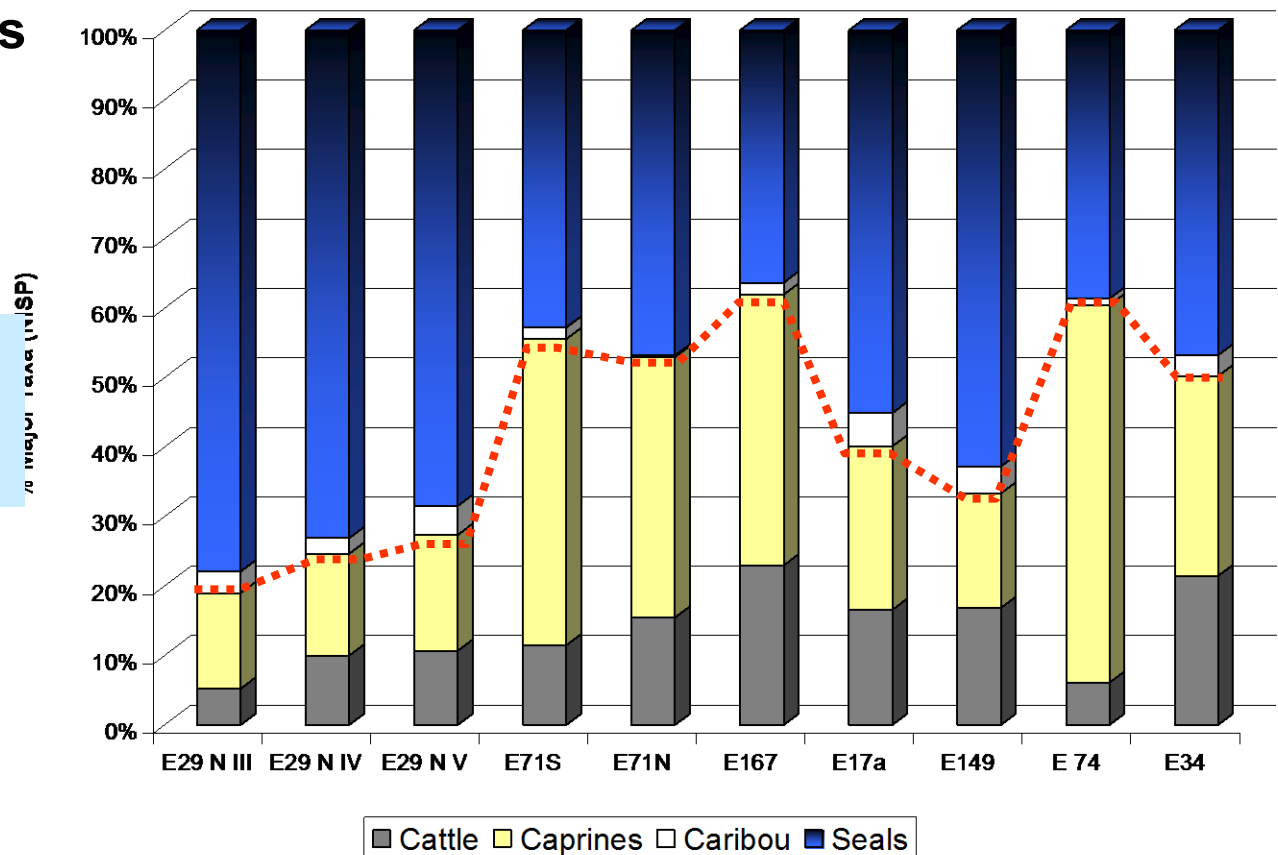
Toggle harpoon, specialised spears,  
kayak, dog sleds

## **Thule Inuit**

Individualistic hunting in  
winter conditions

## Bone data from farms in the Eastern Settlement SW Greenland

Development of new TEK: many **seals** utilized by Norse.

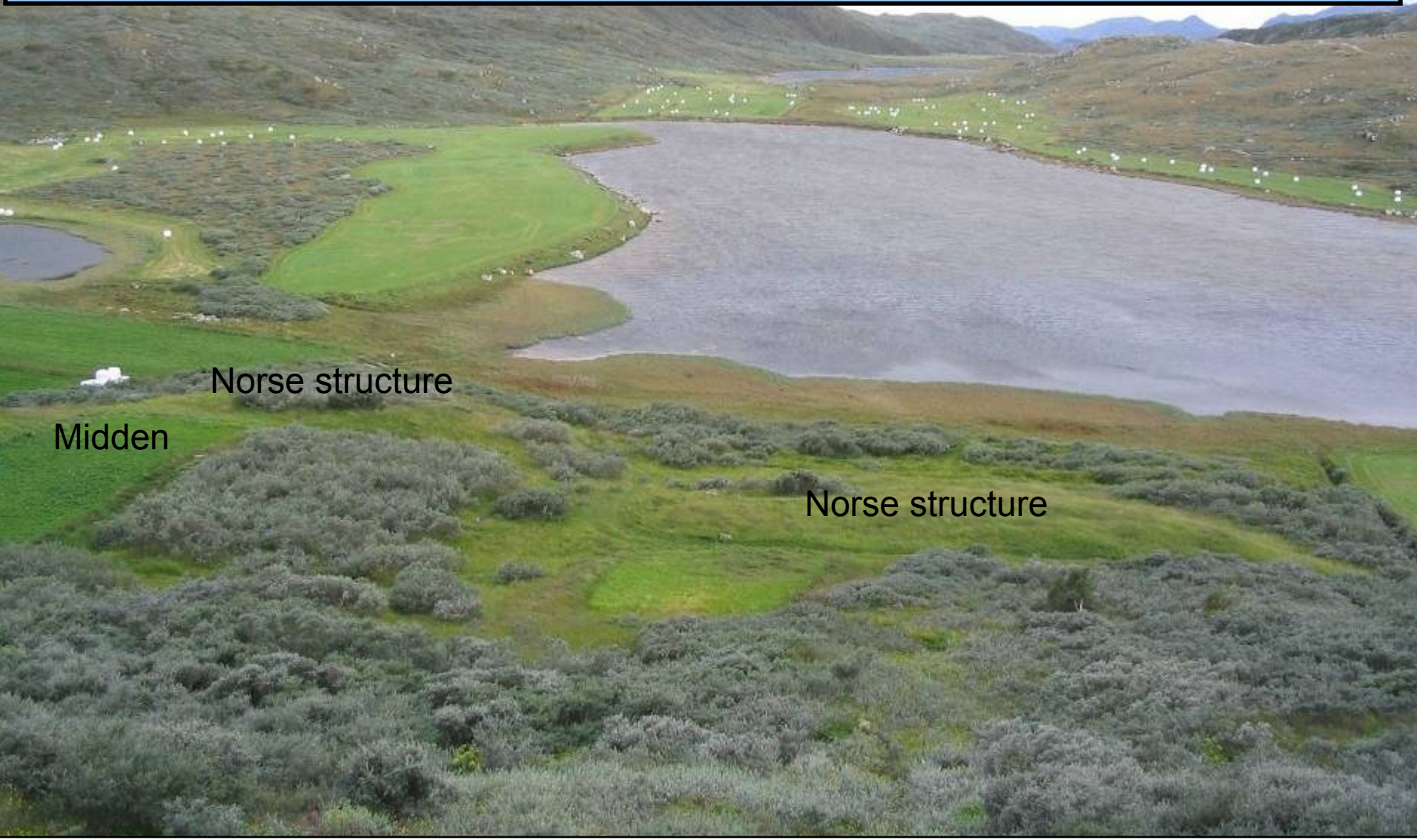


Small numbers of **caribou bones** found throughout record (early-late).

Norse had the means to exterminate the caribou (dogs, drive lines) but chose not to. Development of new TEK: **sustainable practice on century timescales.**



Well-managed landscapes of subsistence:  
near Viking farms in SW Greenland no sign of catastrophic soil  
erosion





**Sediment stores full**



**Relative stream bank stability**



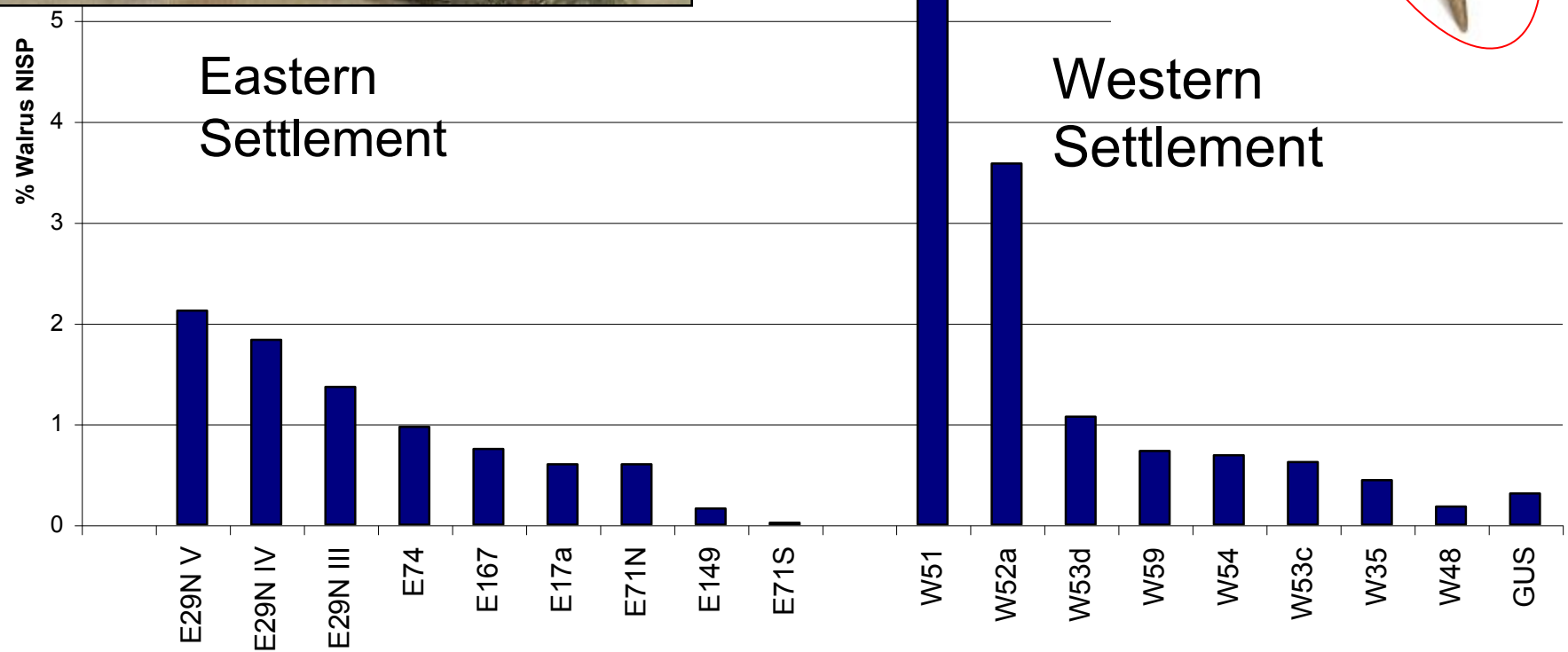
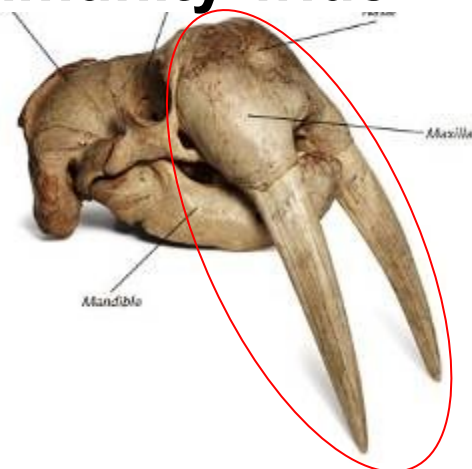
**Limited fan development**

**Limited pond  
infilling**

If catastrophic erosion had occurred during Viking settlement, sediment would have been stripped from hill-side stores, there would have been phases of fan aggregation and incision, and ponds would be infilled



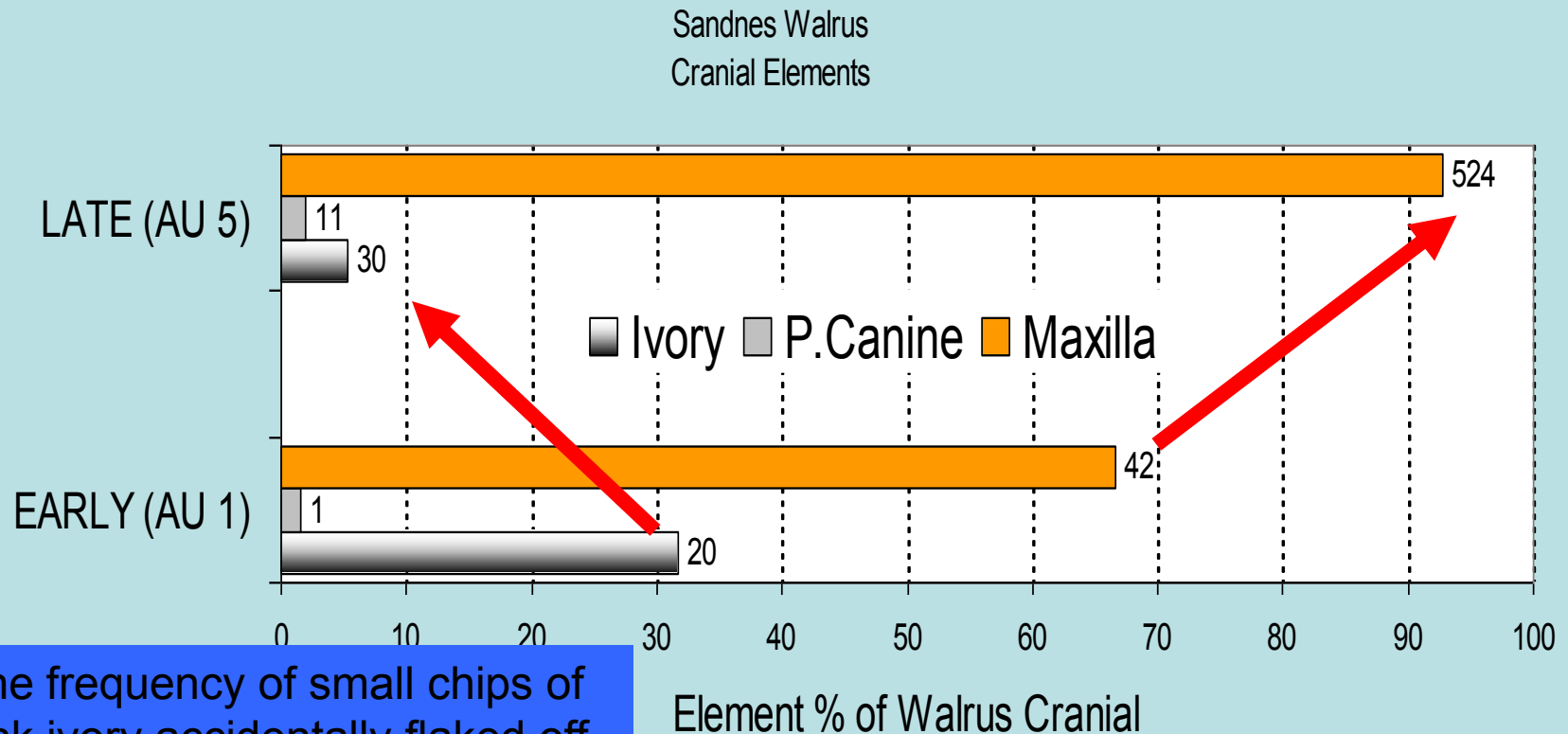
# Walrus skull bones in Greenland: evidence of community-wide involvement



Walrus bone fragments are at large and small farms, at coastal and inland sites



# Norse Greenland economy: improving quality control- intensification not innovation

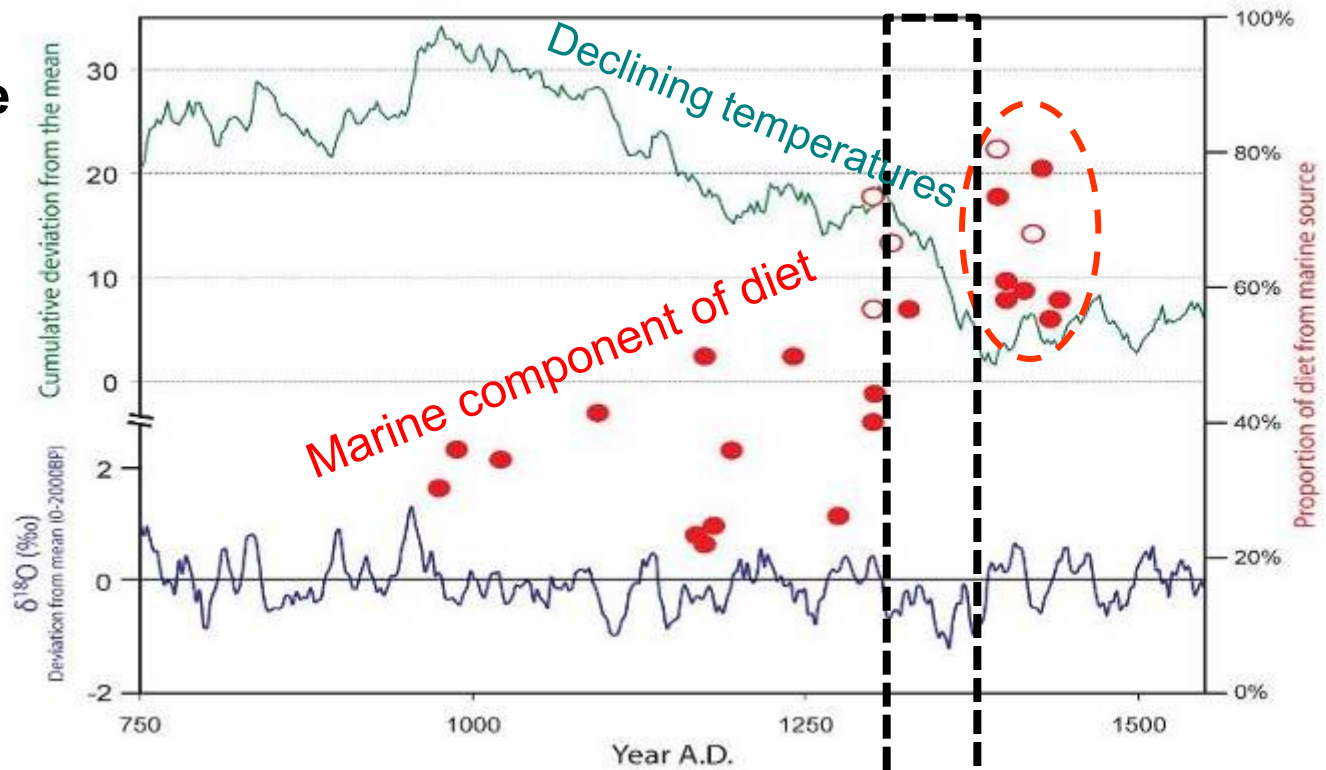


The frequency of small chips of tusk ivory accidentally flaked off during tusk extraction drops with time and experience. The Norse are improving quality control in ivory production. **Intensified use of marine resource**

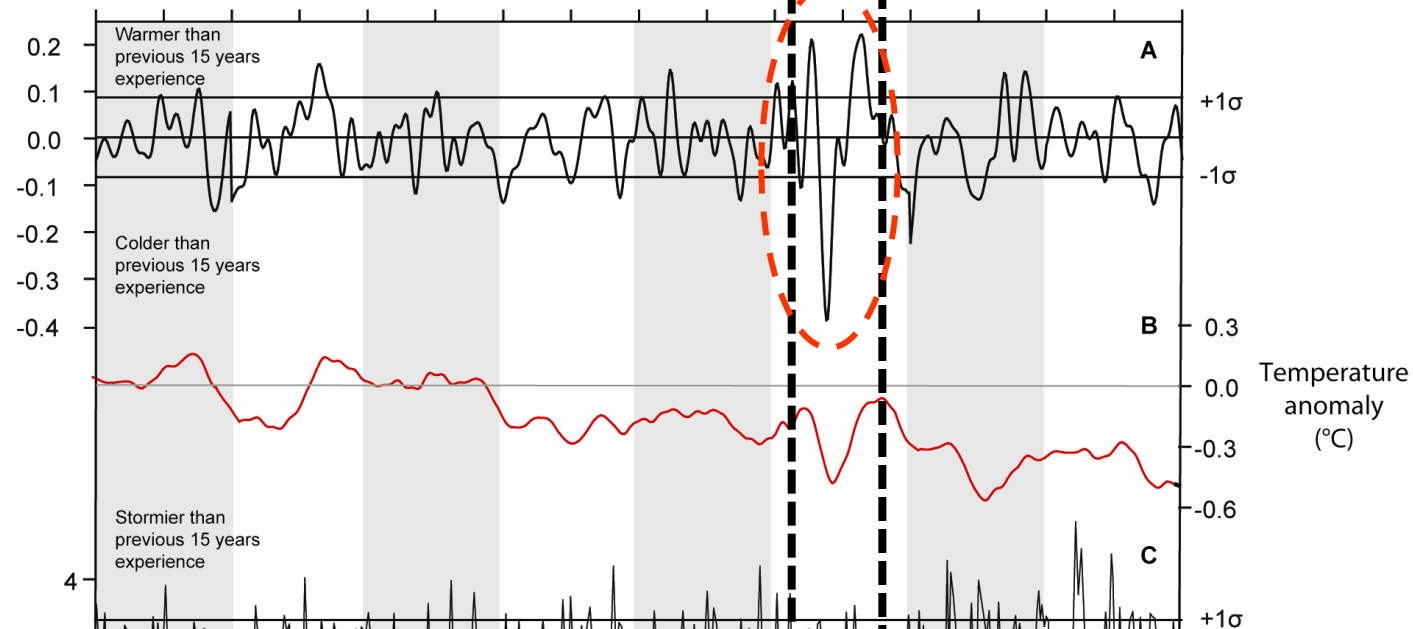
McGovern T.H., Amorosi T., Perdikaris S. and Woollett J.W. 1996 'Zooarchaeology of Sandnes V51: Economic change at a Chieftain's farm in West Greenland.' *Arctic Anthropology* 33(2):94-122.

# Behaviour in face of climate change

As cumulative temperatures decline, marine component of Norse diet increases (up to 80%)

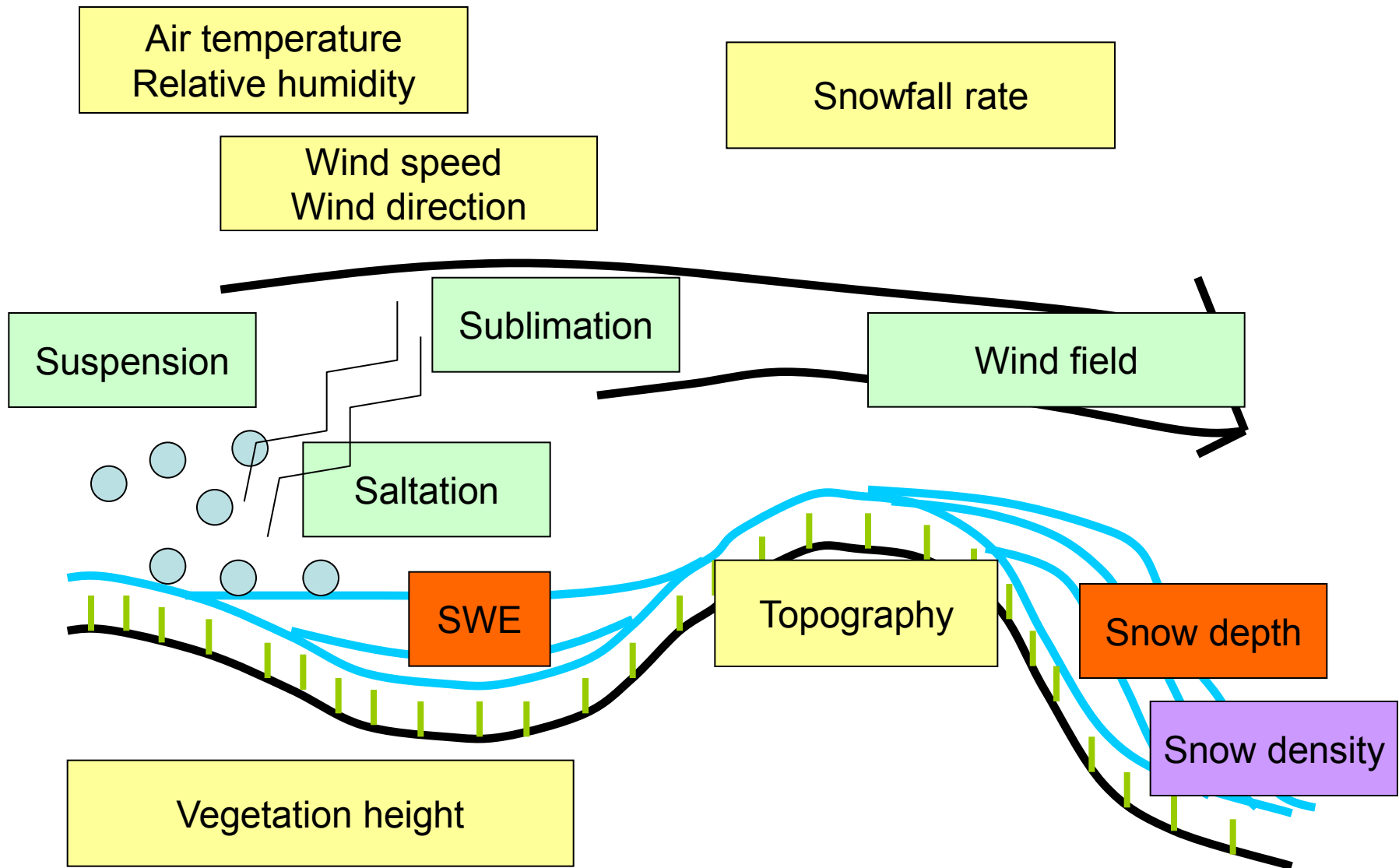


Was the challenge of unpredictable, unfavourable environmental change 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries a spur to the intensification of marine mammal exploitation in Norse Greenland?



# Modelling snow distribution: DBSM

Laura Comeau  
PhD thesis



Input data

Modelled processes/variables

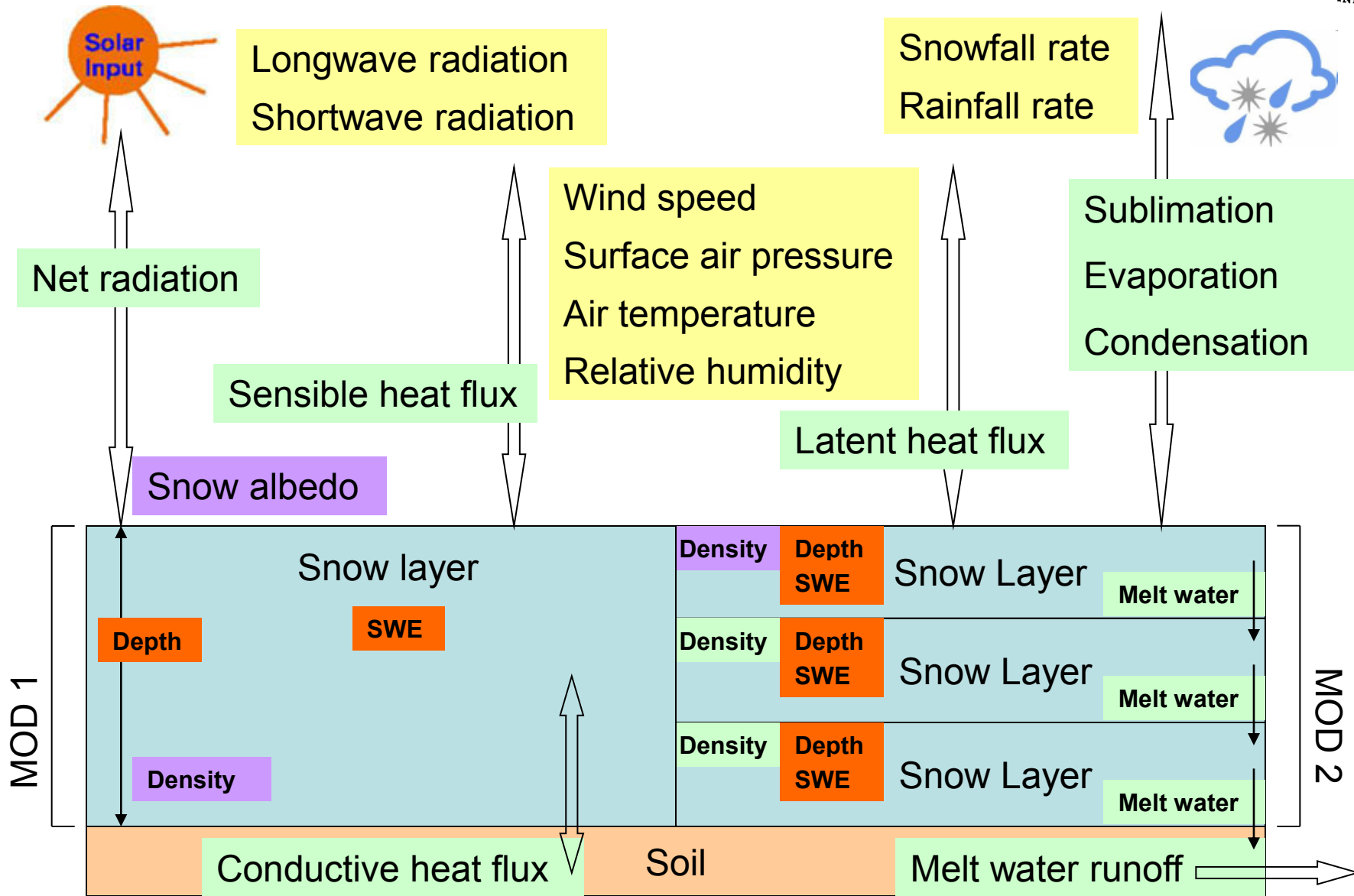
Calibrated parameter

Modelled output



# Modelling snow melt: CoSDAS

Laura Comeau  
PhD thesis



Input data

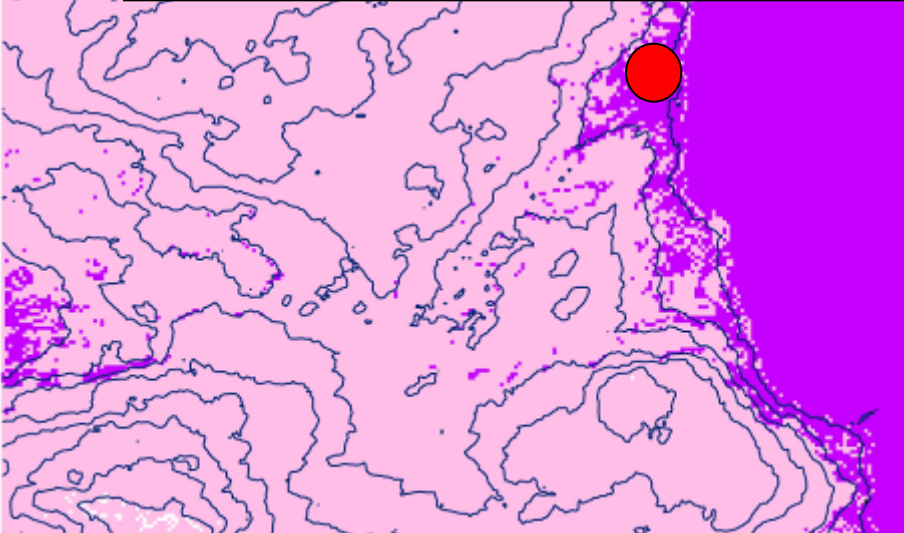
Modelled processes/variables

Calibrated parameter

Modelled output

# Brattahlíð: January

Attention focuses on the end of Norse Greenland in the 15<sup>th</sup> century- but perhaps the most remarkable feat of the colony was to survive the 14<sup>th</sup> century...

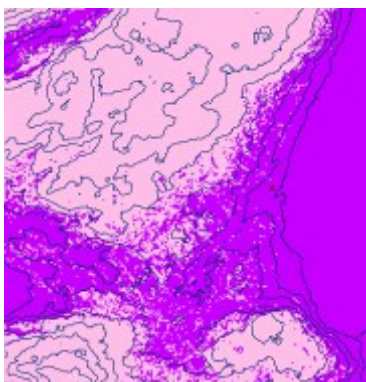


Temp min  
(1372-3 AD)



Snow depth (m)

Temp max  
(1101-2 AD)



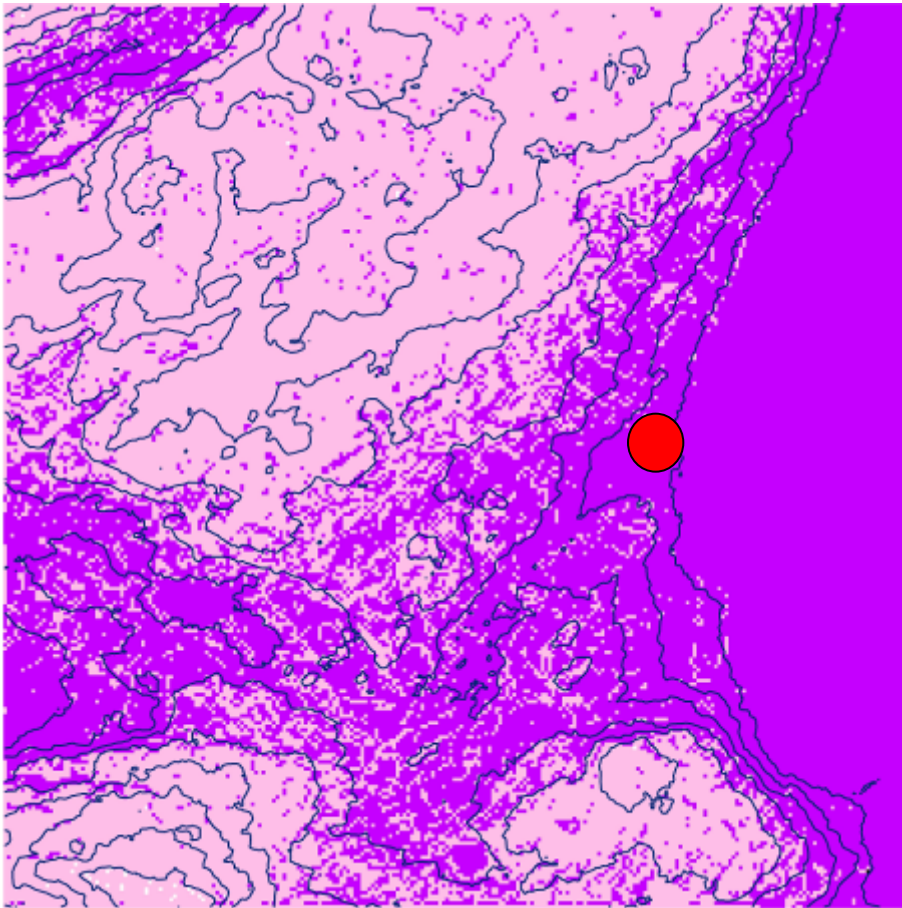
Temp 1999-2000



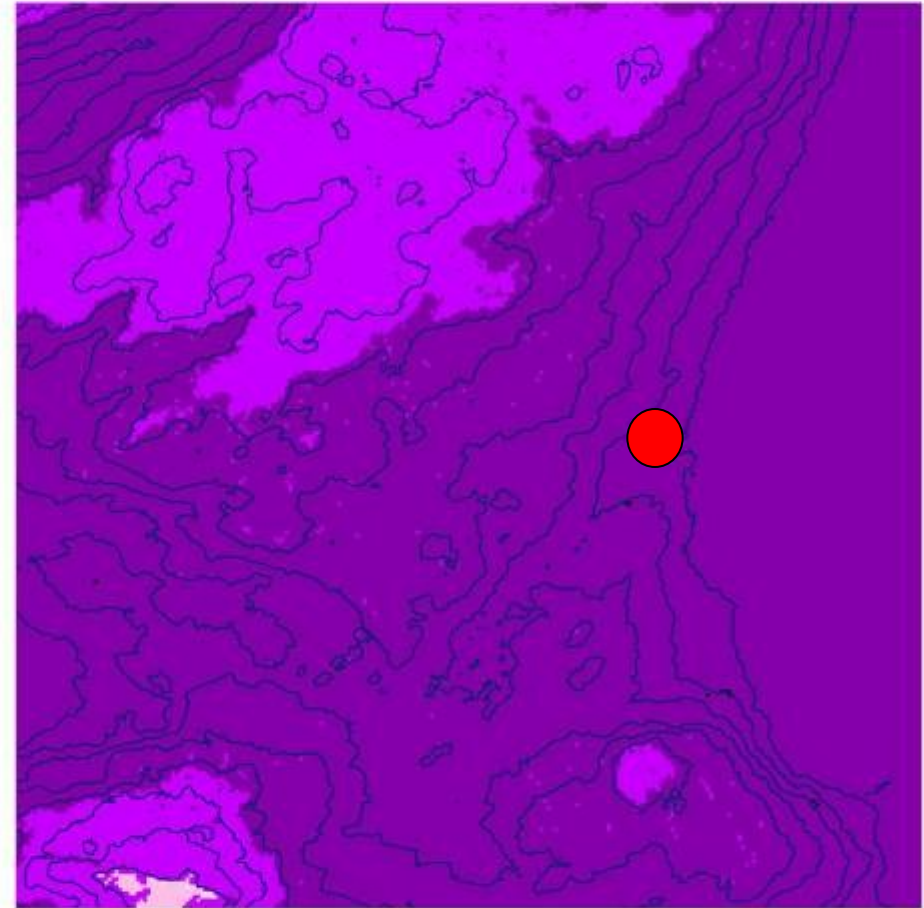
Laura Comeau  
PhD thesis



# Brattahlið: February

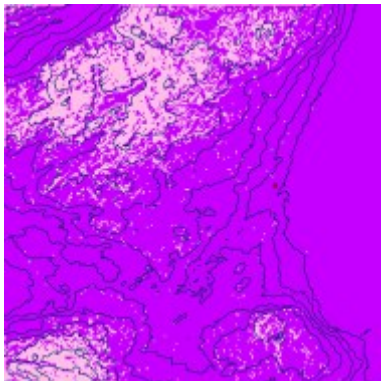
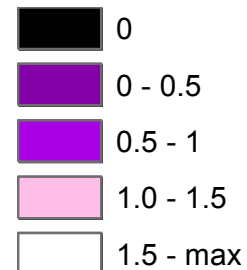


Temp min  
(1372-3 AD)



Temp max  
(1101-2 AD)

Snow depth (m)



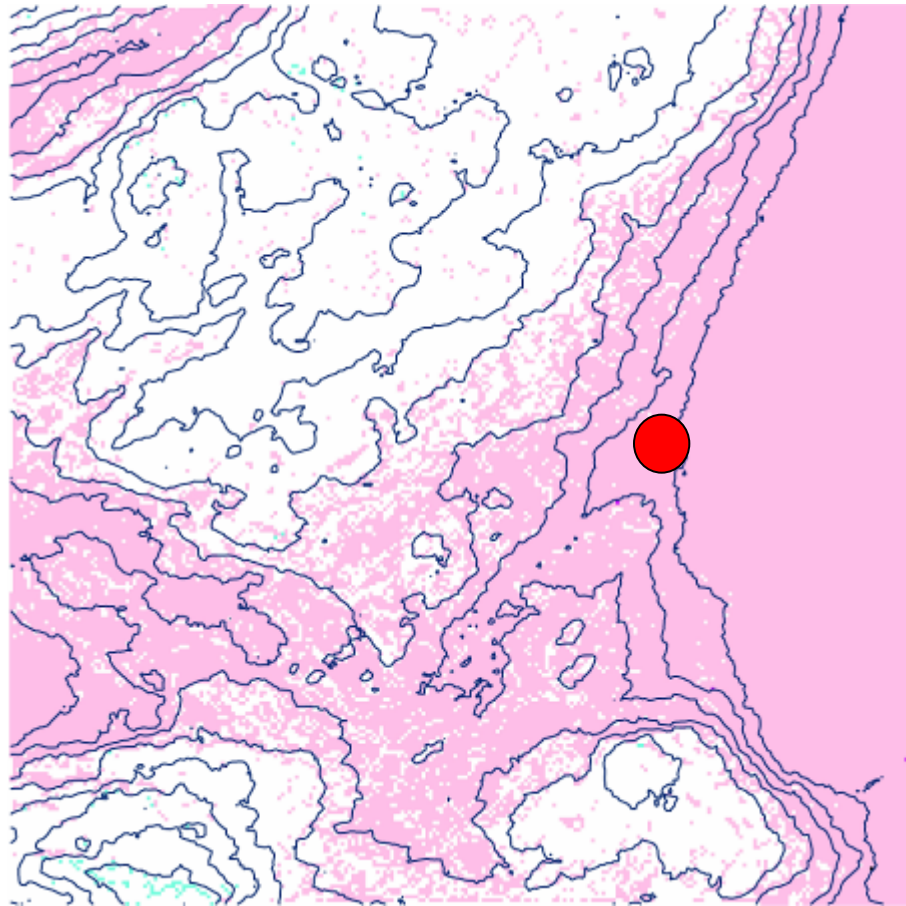
Temp 1999-2000

**Laura Comeau**  
PhD thesis

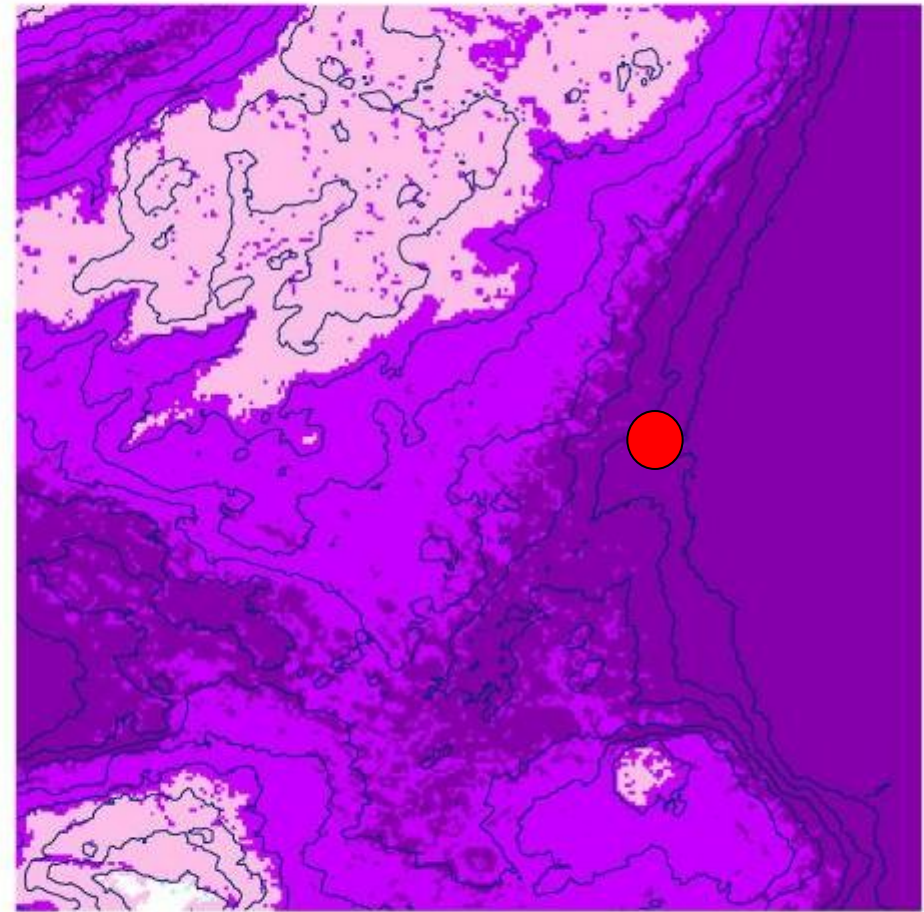




# Brattahlíð: March

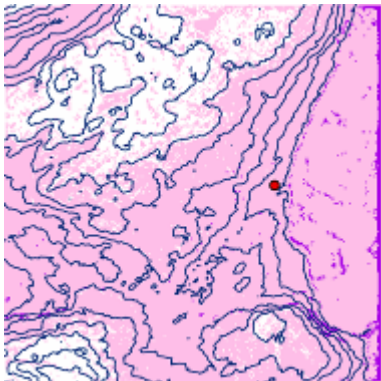
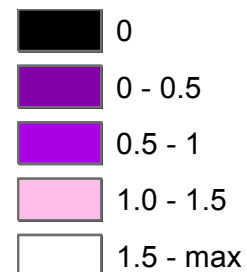


Temp min  
(1372-3 AD)



Temp max  
(1101-2 AD)

Snow depth (m)

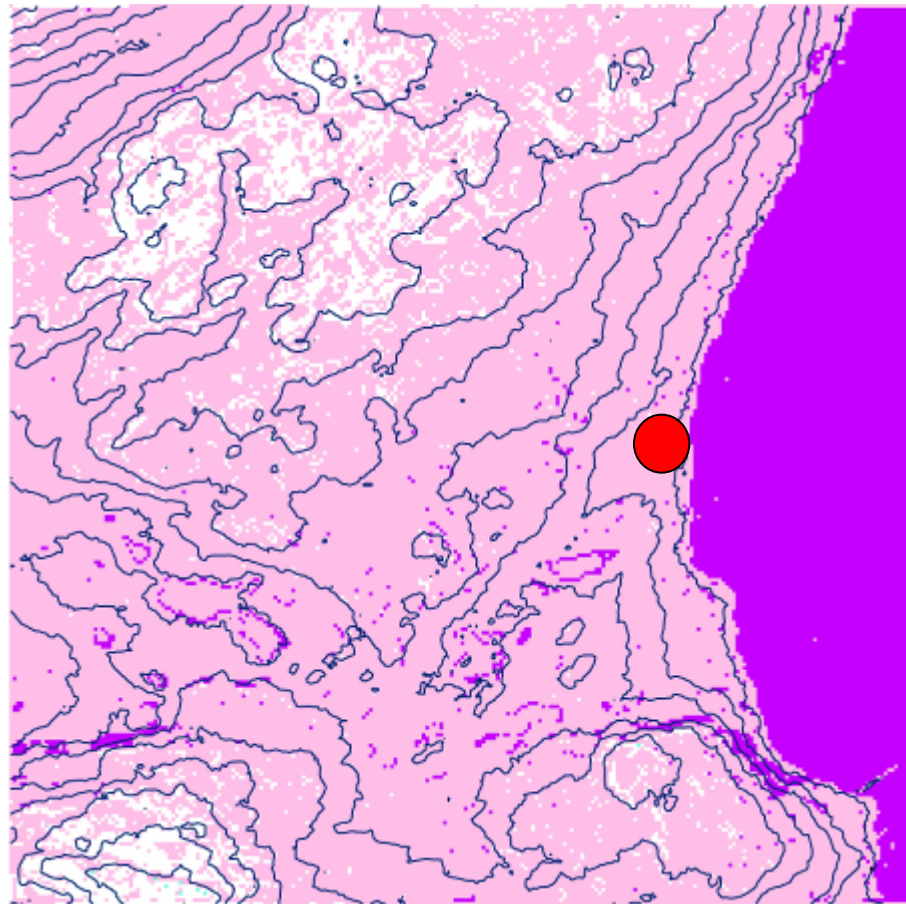


Temp 1999-2000

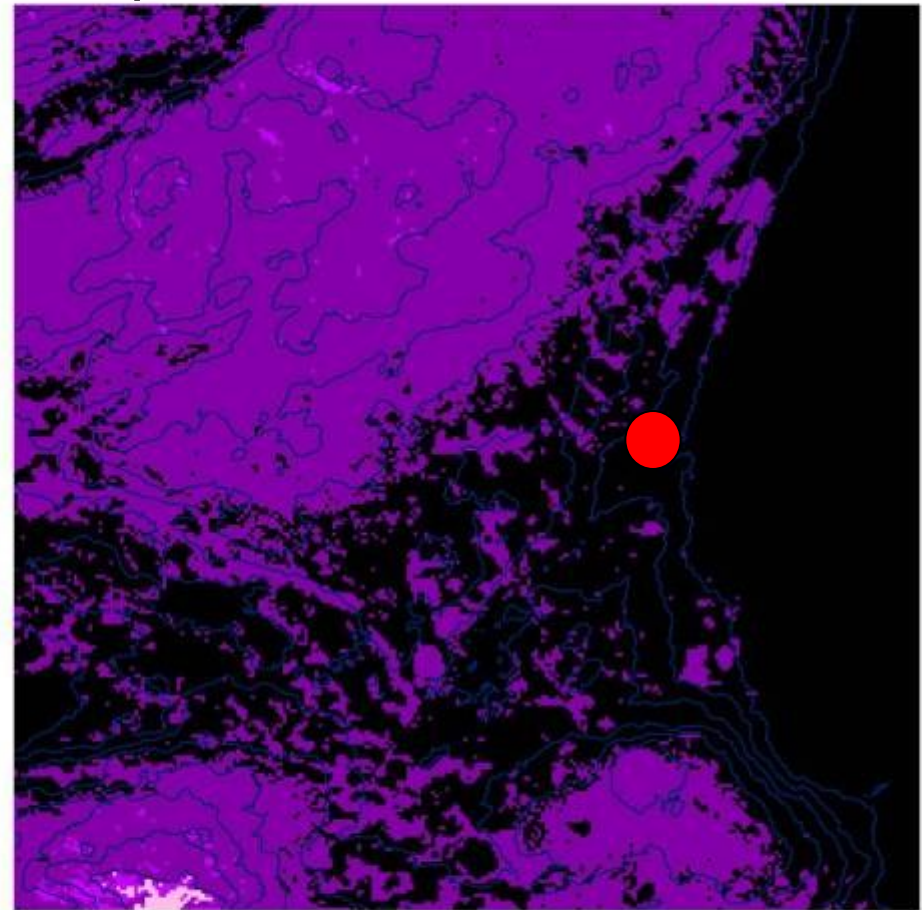
**Laura Comeau**  
PhD thesis



# Brattahlíð: April

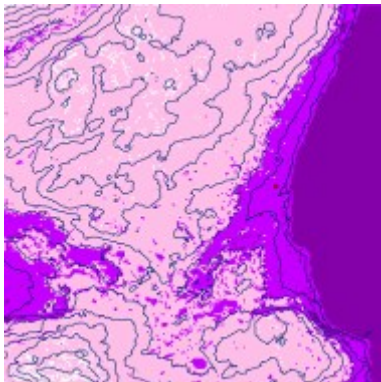
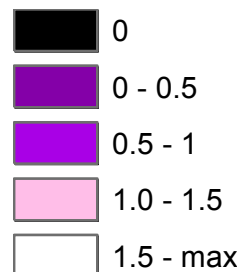


Temp min  
(1372-3 AD)



Temp max  
(1101-2 AD)

Snow depth (m)



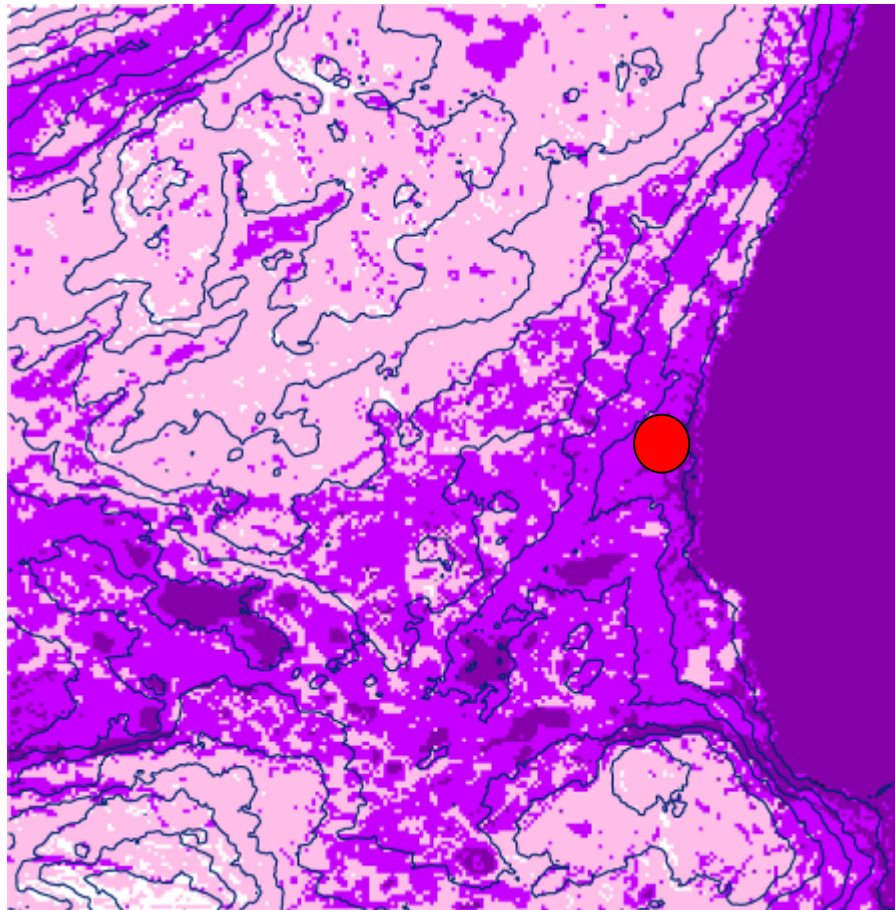
Temp 1999-2000

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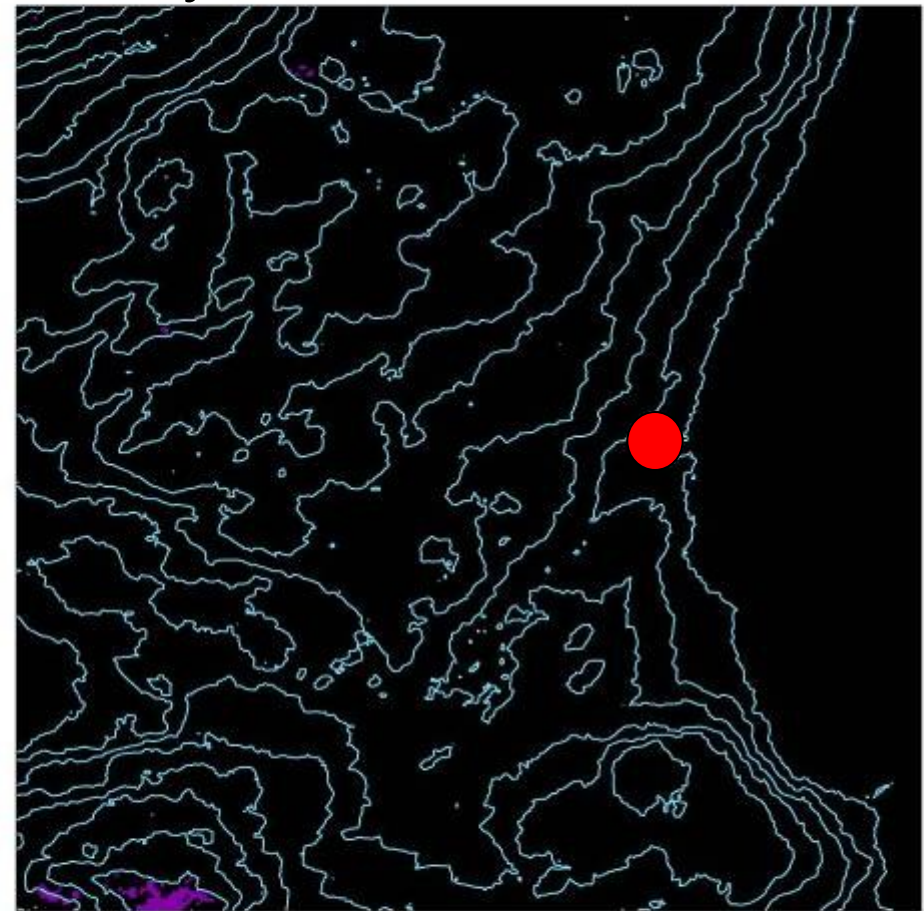




# Brattahlíð: May

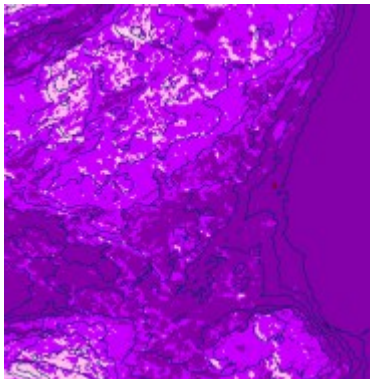
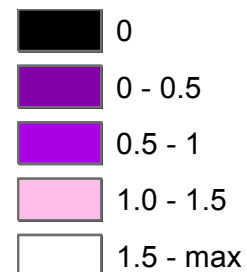


Temp min  
(1372-3 AD)



Temp max  
(1101-2 AD)

Snow depth (m)



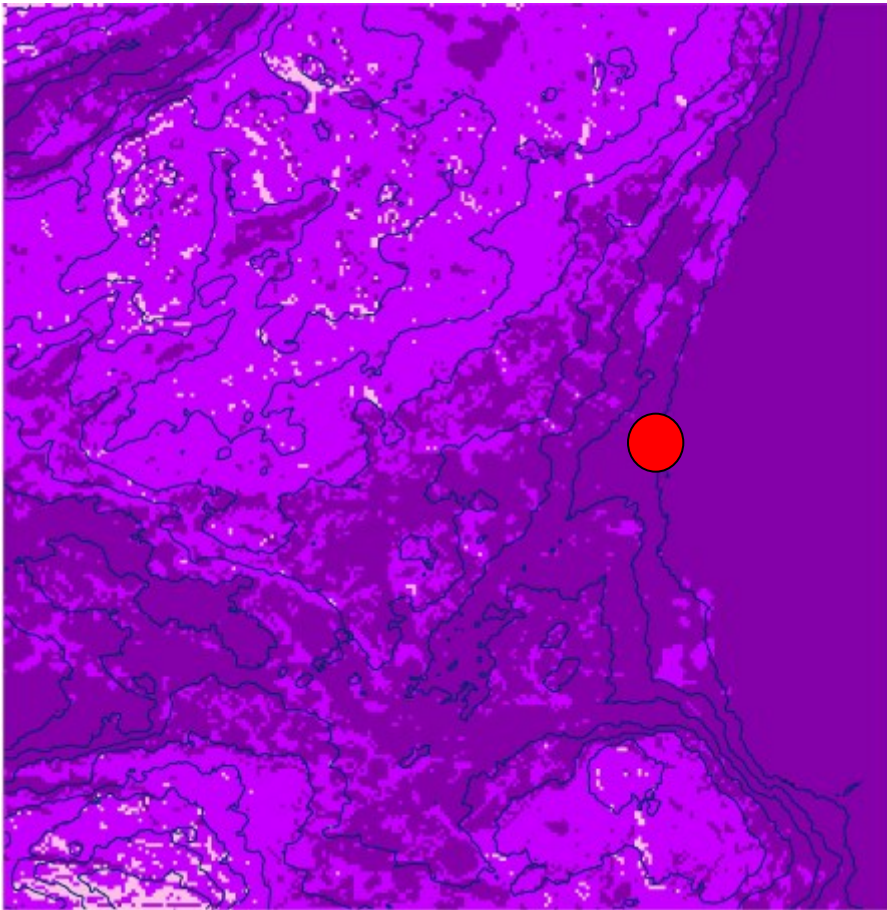
Temp 1999-2000

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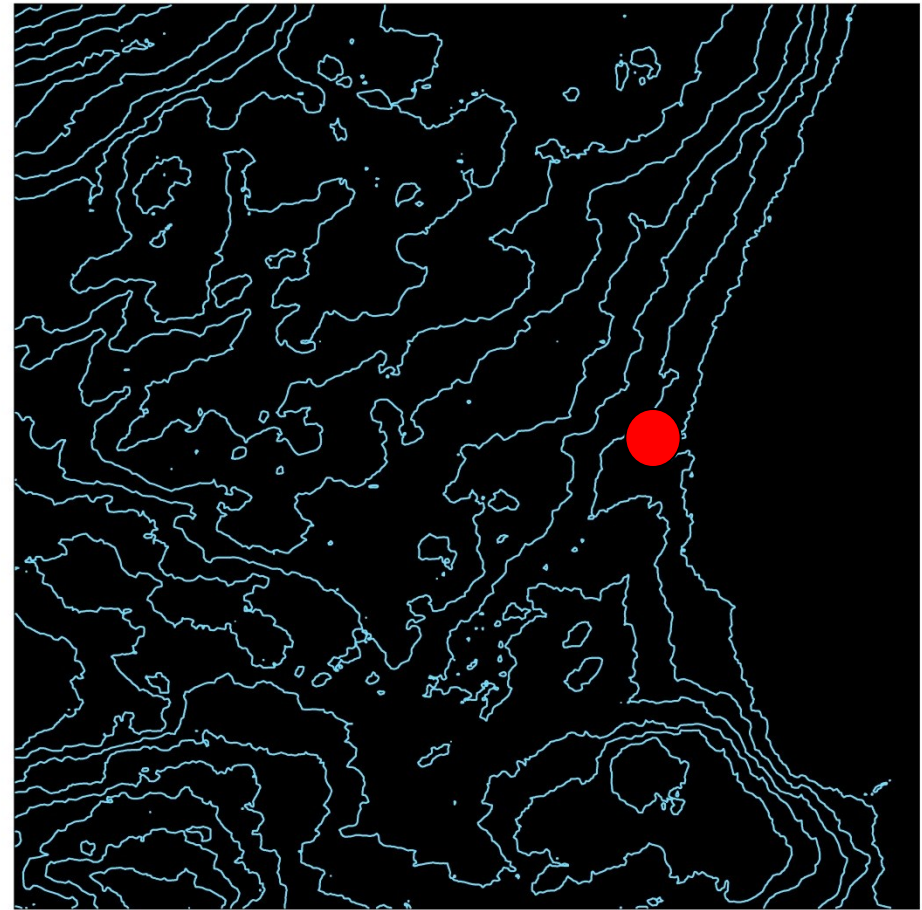




# Brattahlíð: June

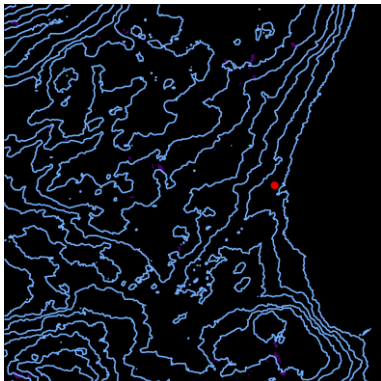
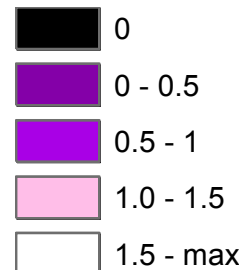


Temp min  
(1372-3 AD)



Temp max  
(1101-2 AD)

Snow depth (m)

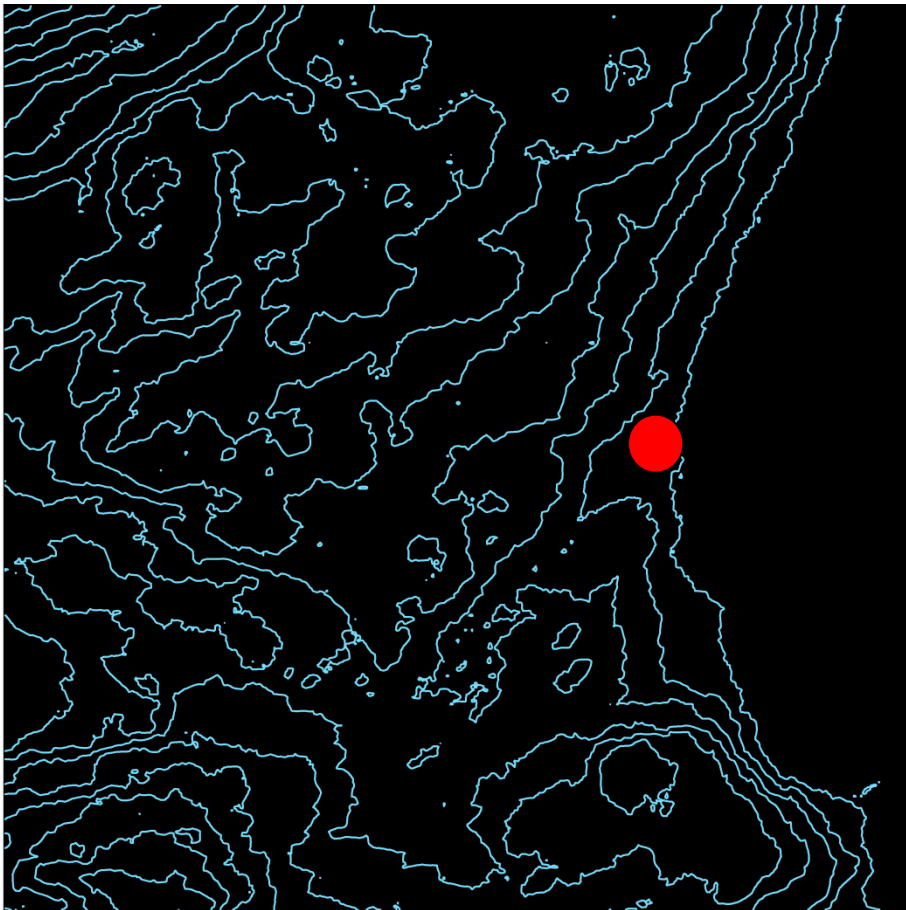


Temp 1999-2000

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**PhD thesis**



# Brattahlíð: July

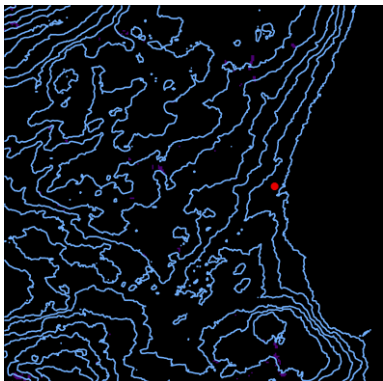
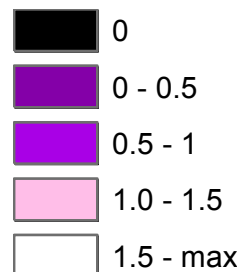


Temp min  
(1372-3 AD)



Temp max  
(1101-2 AD)

Snow depth (m)



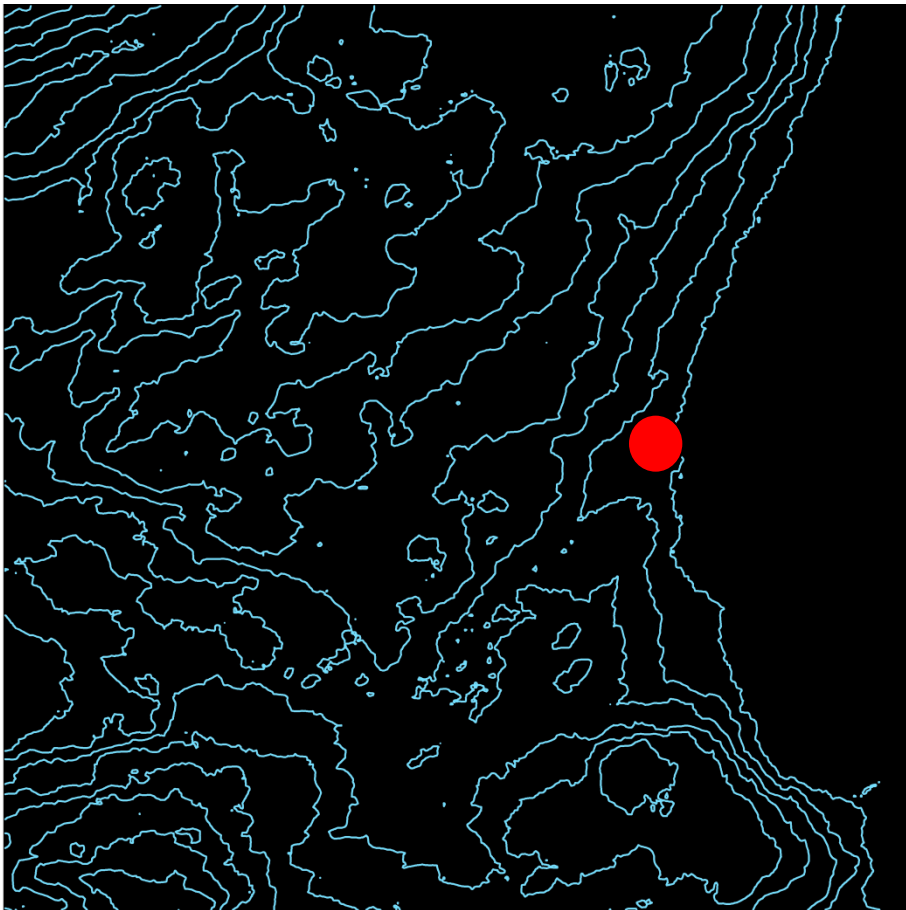
Temp 1999-2000

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# Brattahlíð: August

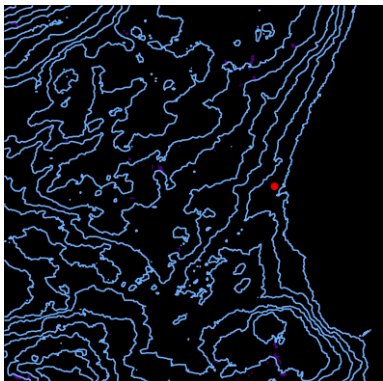


Temp min  
(1372-3 AD)



Temp max  
(1101-2 AD)

Snow depth (m)



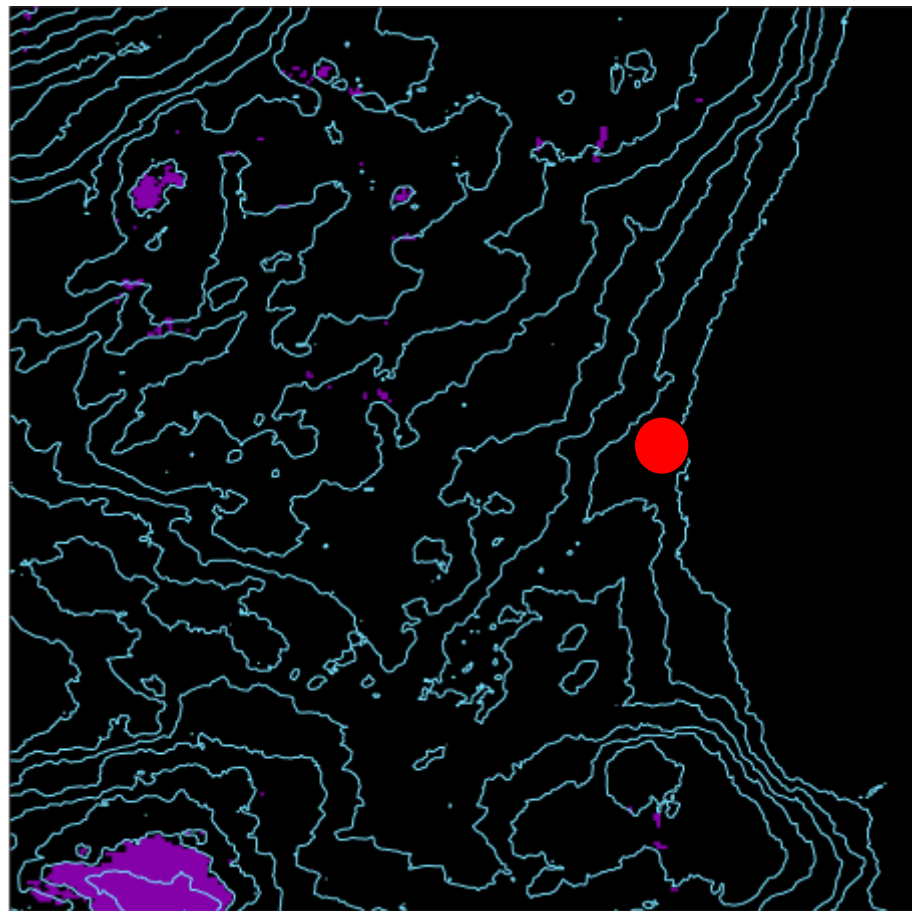
Temp 1999-2000

**Laura Comeau**  
**PhD thesis**

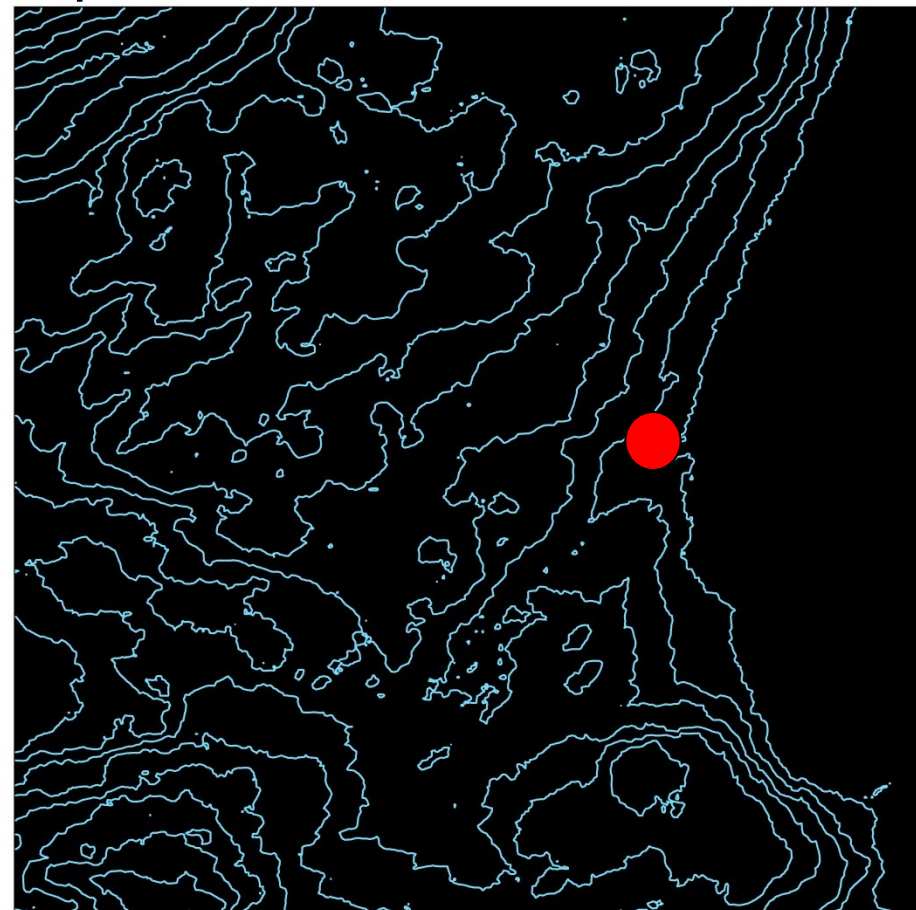




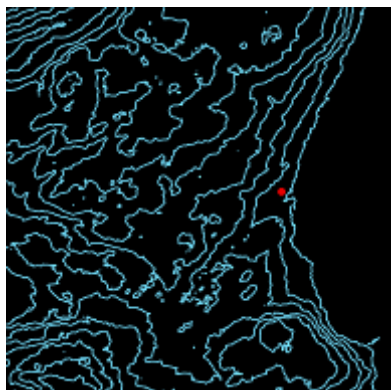
# Brattahlíð: September



Temp min  
(1372-3 AD)



Temp max  
(1101-2 AD)



Temp 1999-2000

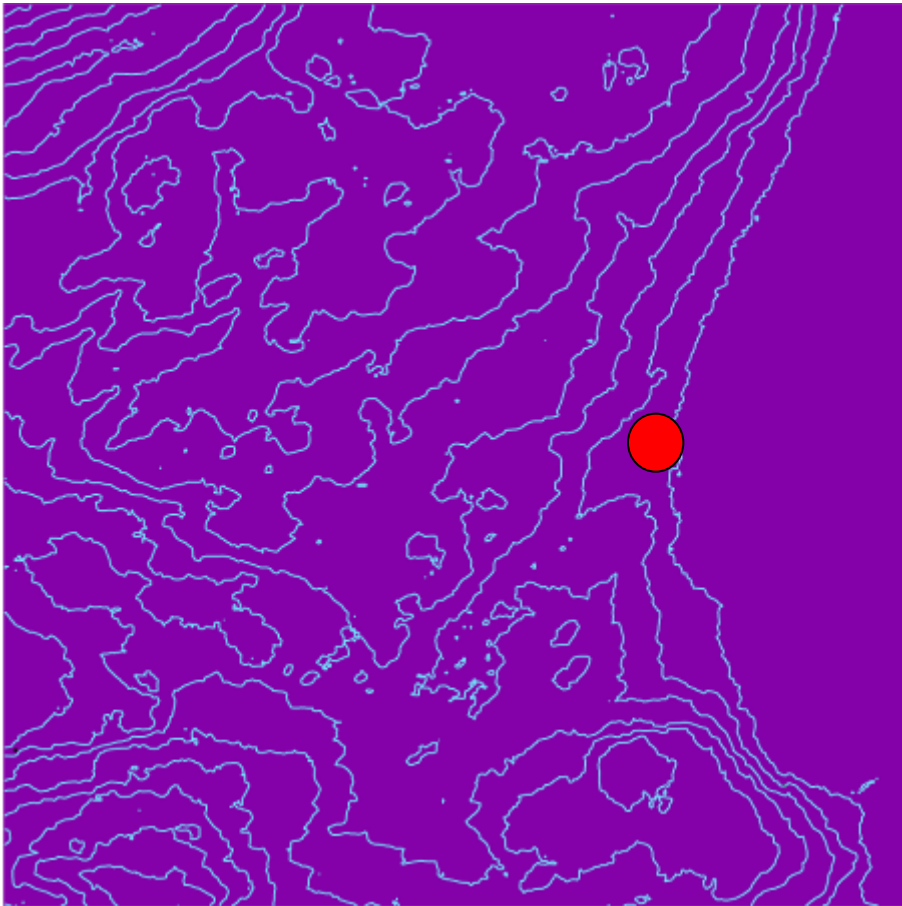
Snow depth (m)



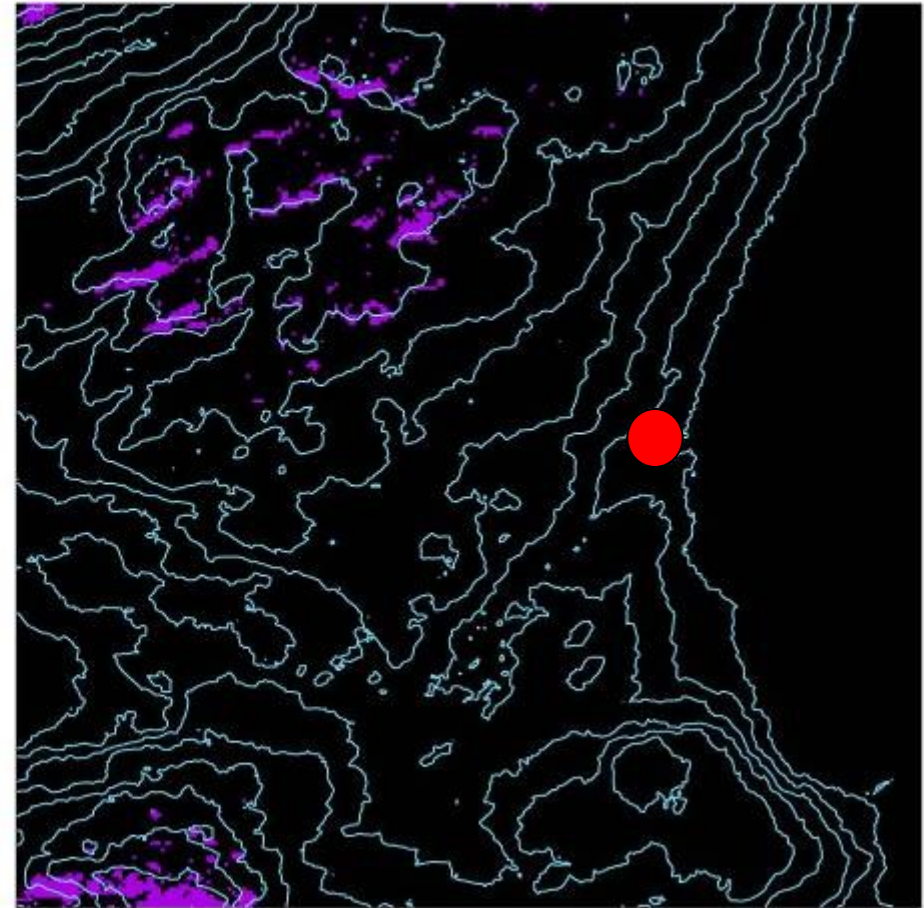
**Laura Comeau**  
**PhD thesis**



# Brattahlíð: October

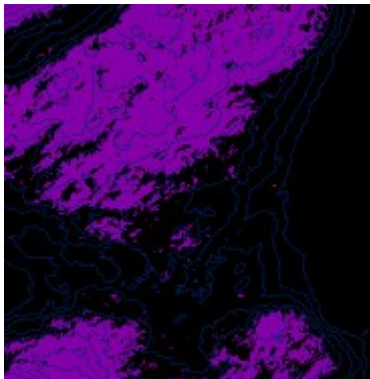


Temp min  
(1372-3 AD)



Temp max  
(1101-2 AD)

Snow depth (m)



Temp 1999-2000

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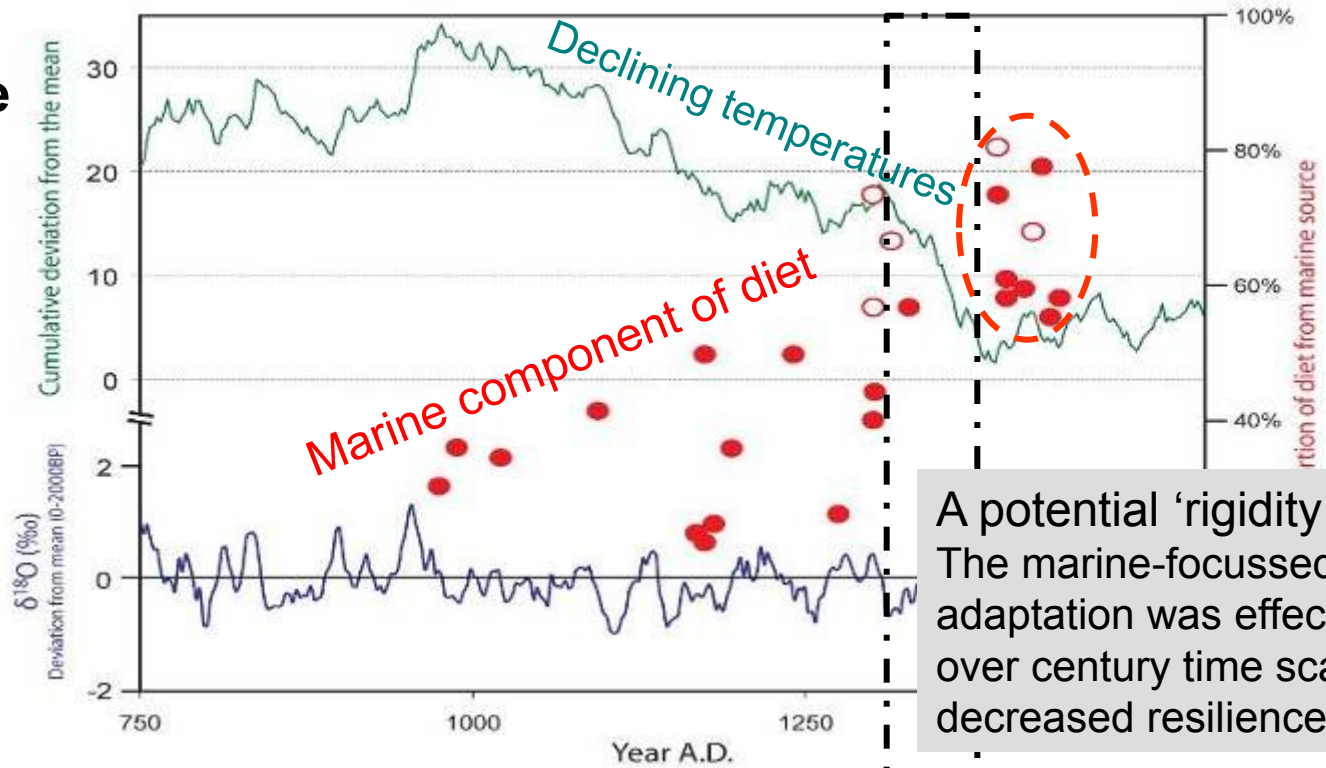


Type of Extreme Event	Extreme Period Began	Extreme Period Ended	Ranking of "ranks" (Lower score = stronger event)	
Warm	1005	1014	5	
Warm	1024	1029	11	
Warm	1040	1044	8	
Warm	1052	1059	3	
Warm	1067	1101	1	
Cool	12 <sup>th</sup> century	1118	1127	8
Warm	begins to see	1134	1150	2
Cool	increased use of	1176	1181	7
Warm	seals	1184	1190	7
Cool		1193	1199	10
Warm		1202	1217	9
Cool	13 <sup>th</sup> century hazards of	1229	1239	6
Cool	unprecedented severity	1250	1262	Rank = 1 1
Warm		1264	1274	4
Warm		1313	1325	6
Cool	14 <sup>th</sup> century continuing hazards	1334	1355	Rank 4 4
Cool	of great severity	1366	1376	Rank 5 5
Cool		1384	1390	9
Warm	15 <sup>th</sup> century end game hazards	1398	1401	12
Cool	and conjunctures	1407	1428	Rank = 1 1
Warm		1435	1442	10
Stormy	Overlap of storm and cold	1451	1481	3
Cool		1456	1469	Rank 3 3
Cool		1475	1478	12
Cool		1488	1493	10
Stormy		1491	1504	5

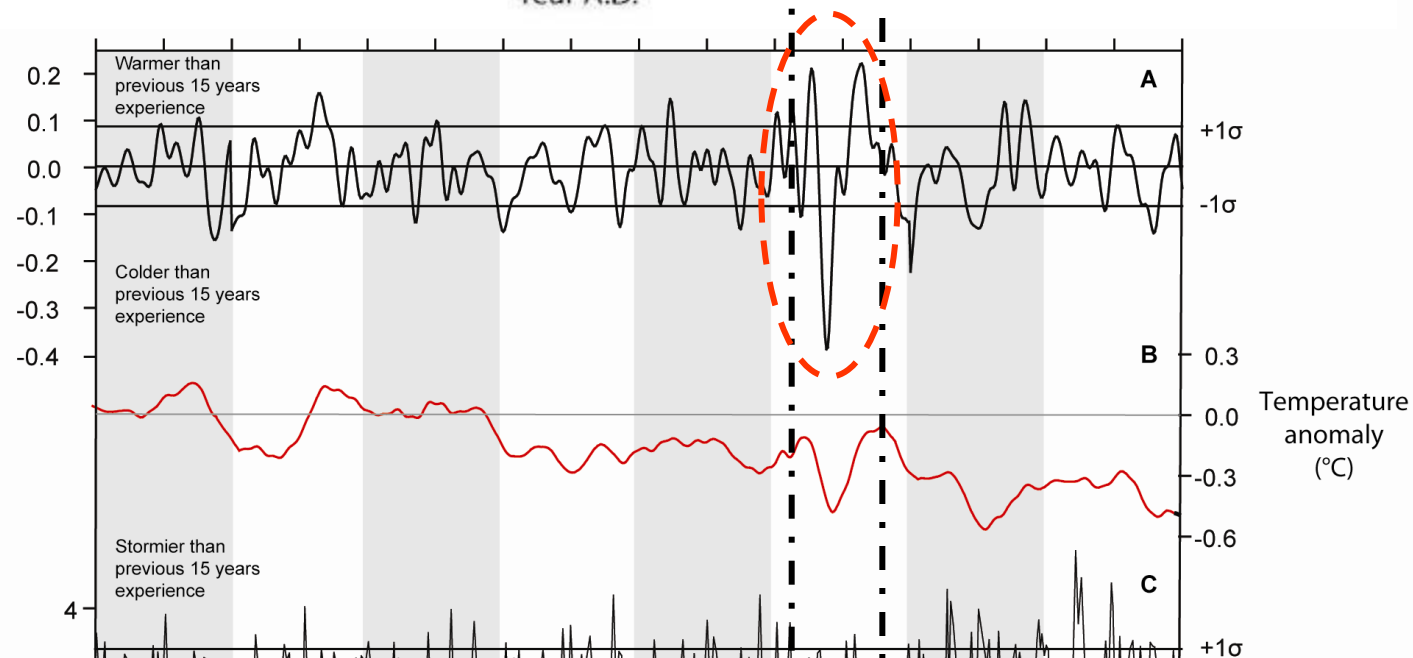


# Behaviour in face of climate change

As cumulative temperatures decline, marine component of Norse diet increases (up to 80%)

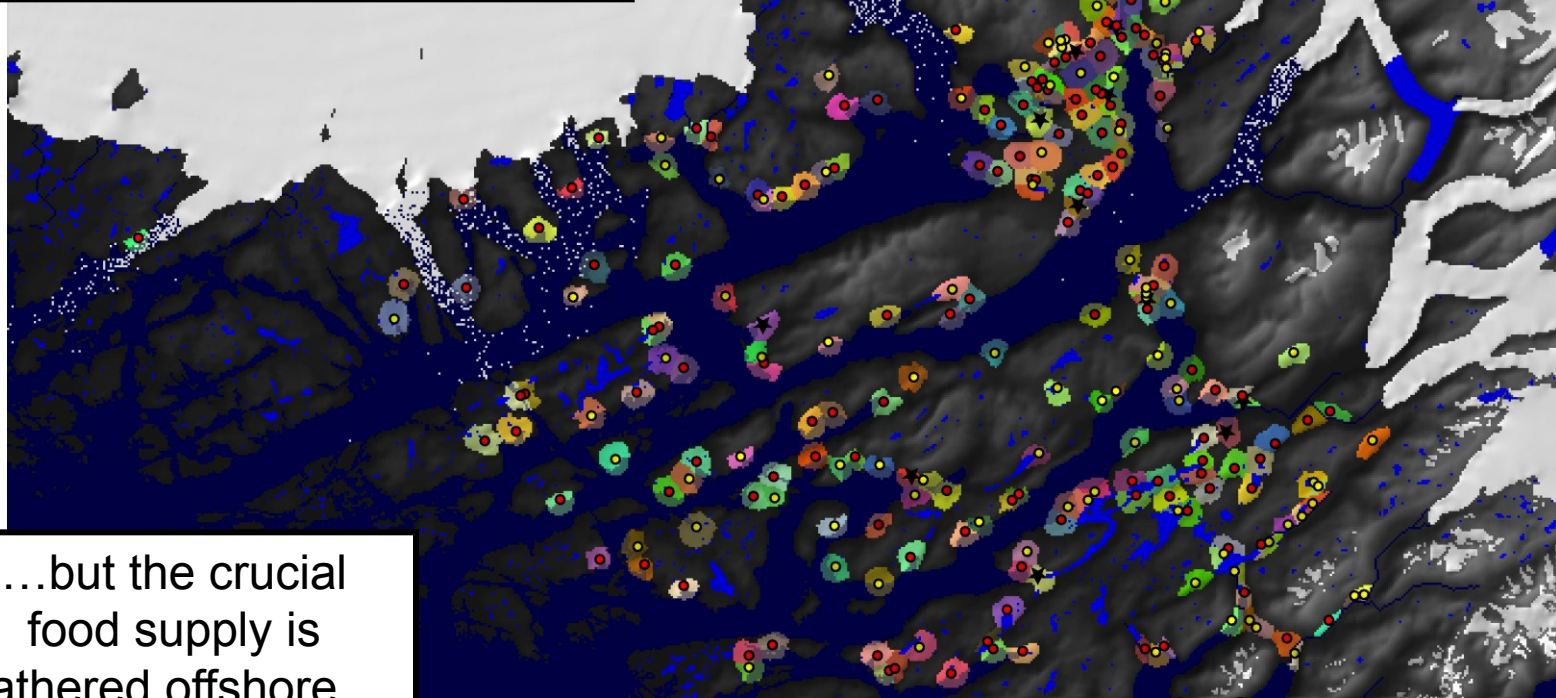


Was the challenge of unpredictable, unfavourable environmental change 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries a spur to the intensification of marine mammal exploitation in Norse Greenland?



# Travel time and connectedness

With declining population and harder travel conditions, pressure for settlement to concentrate on better land and more closely connected sites

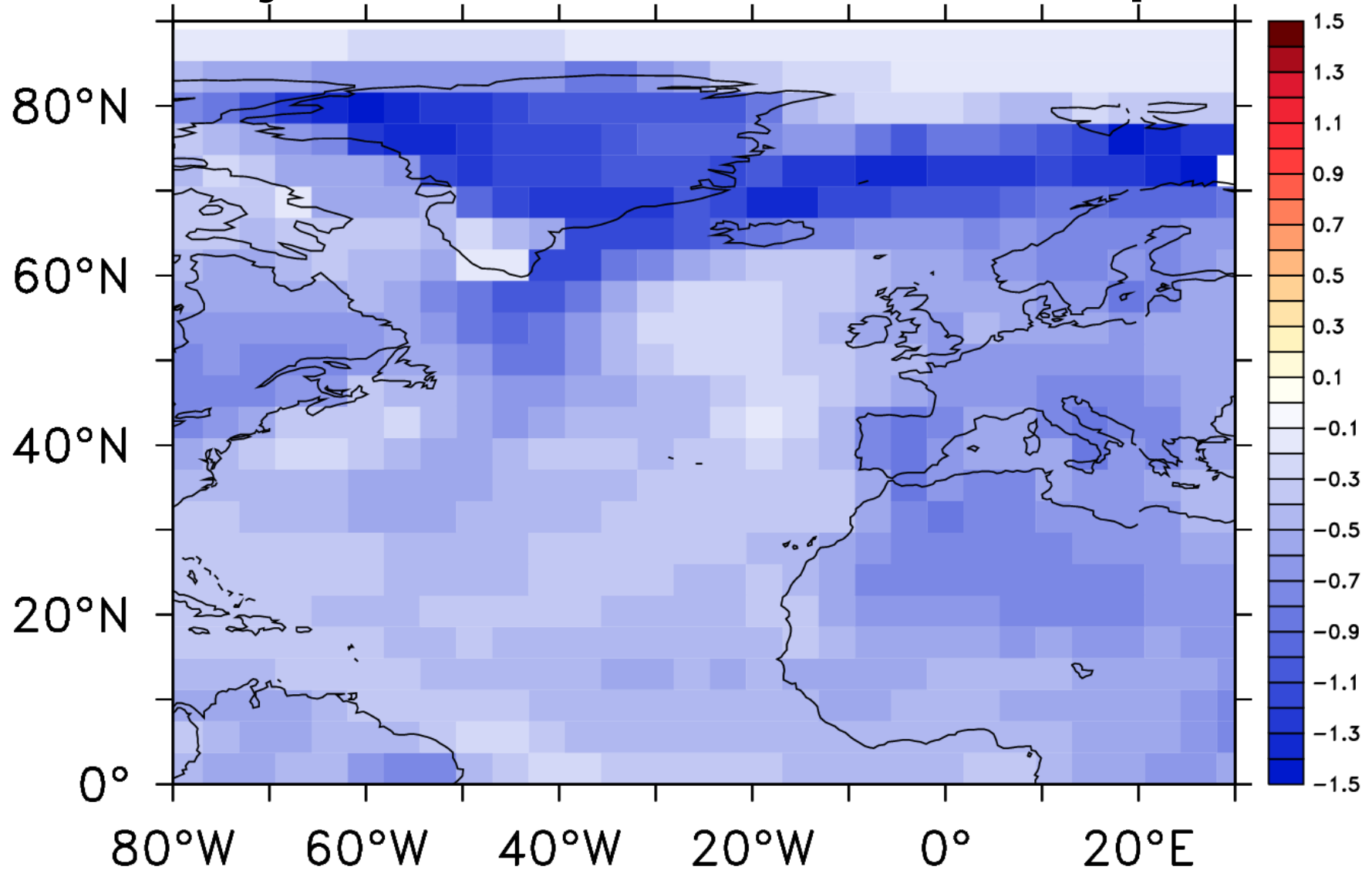


...but the crucial food supply is gathered offshore...

- Inner fjord farm sites well connected.
- settlements in the outer fjords and skerries more isolated

# 1258 AD

## A major low latitude volcanic eruption





Stimulus to intensify  
marine mammal  
utilisation

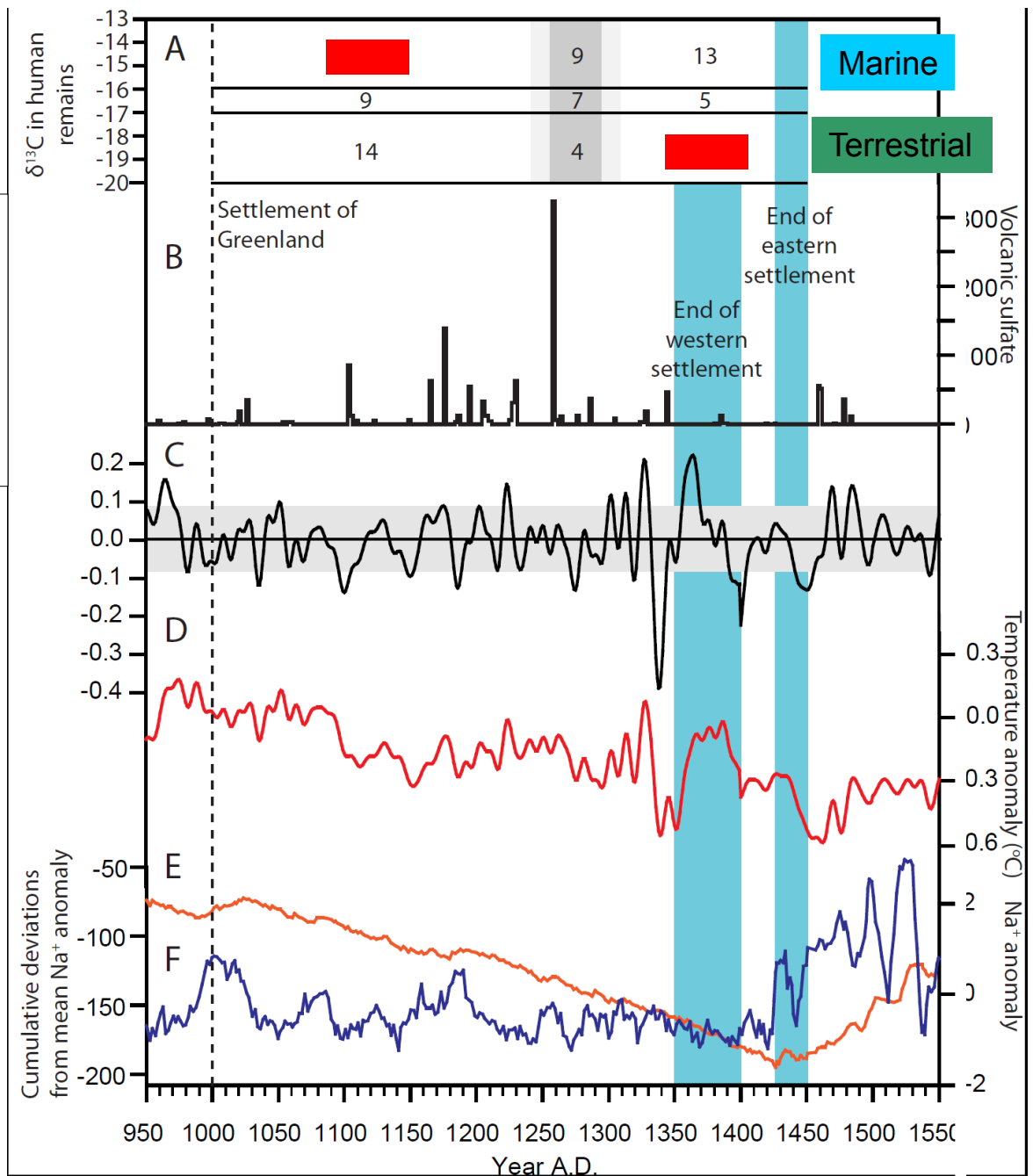
On small farms herds and flocks  
fall below minimal replacement  
levels. Key role for magnate  
farms in maintaining the long  
term viability of farming system.  
**Consolidation of power;  
greater stratification of society**

**Increased conformity-  
limited base of TEK**

No evidence of *métis*  
community

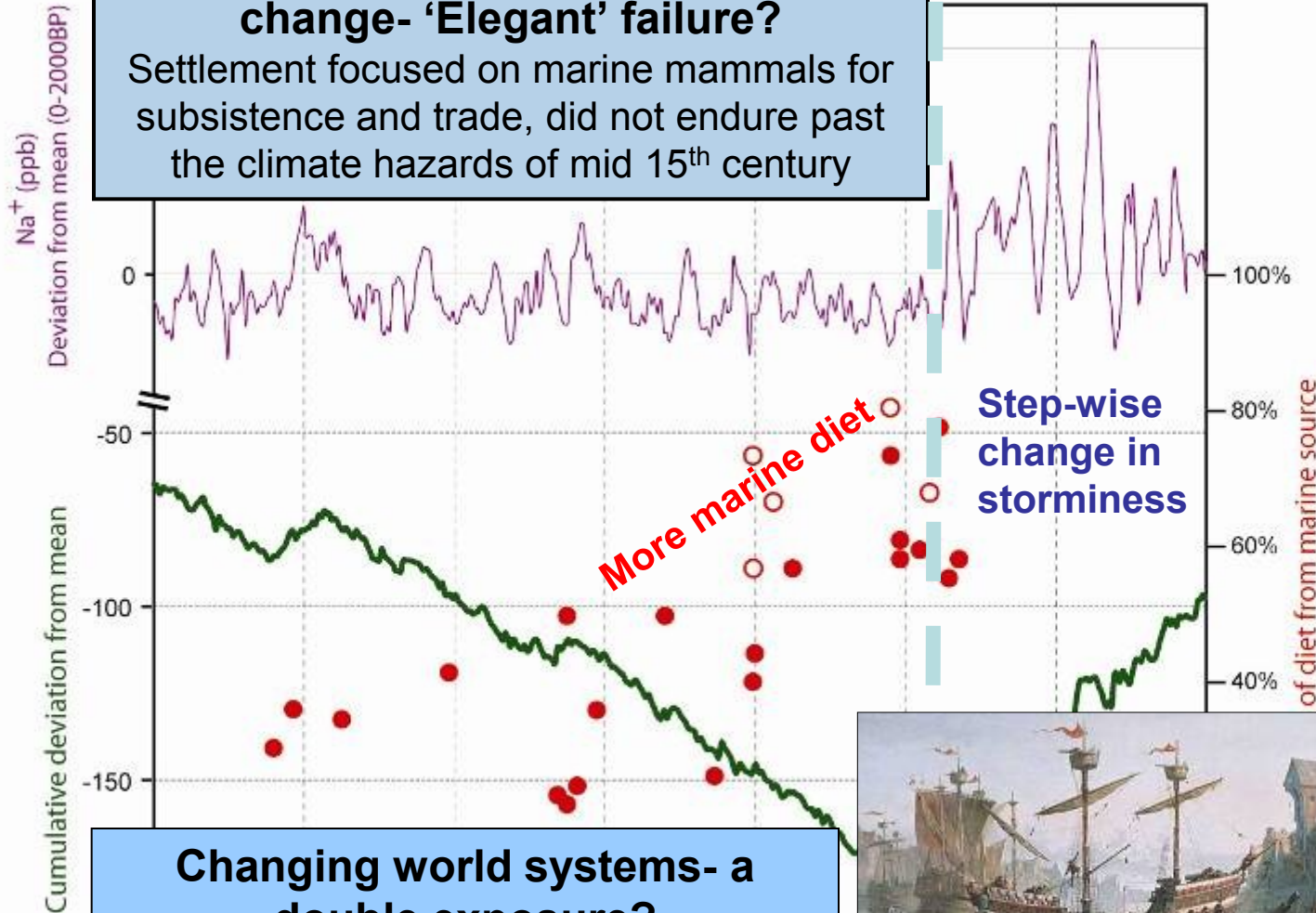
No adoption of Inuit  
winter hunting

Conjunctures of 15<sup>th</sup>  
century end Norse  
settlement



## Exposure to step-wise climate change- 'Elegant' failure?

Settlement focused on marine mammals for subsistence and trade, did not endure past the climate hazards of mid 15<sup>th</sup> century

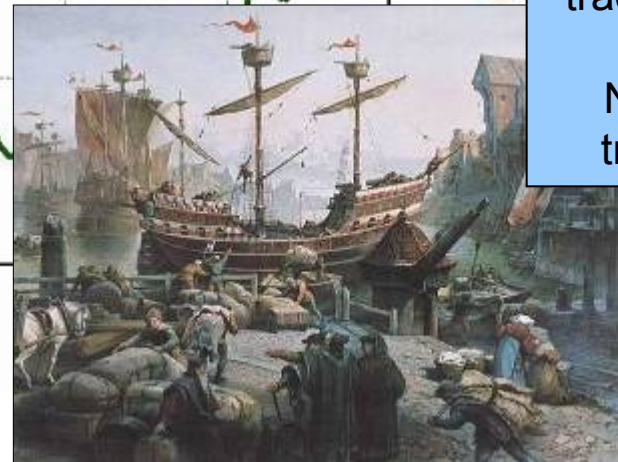


## Triple exposure-culture contact?

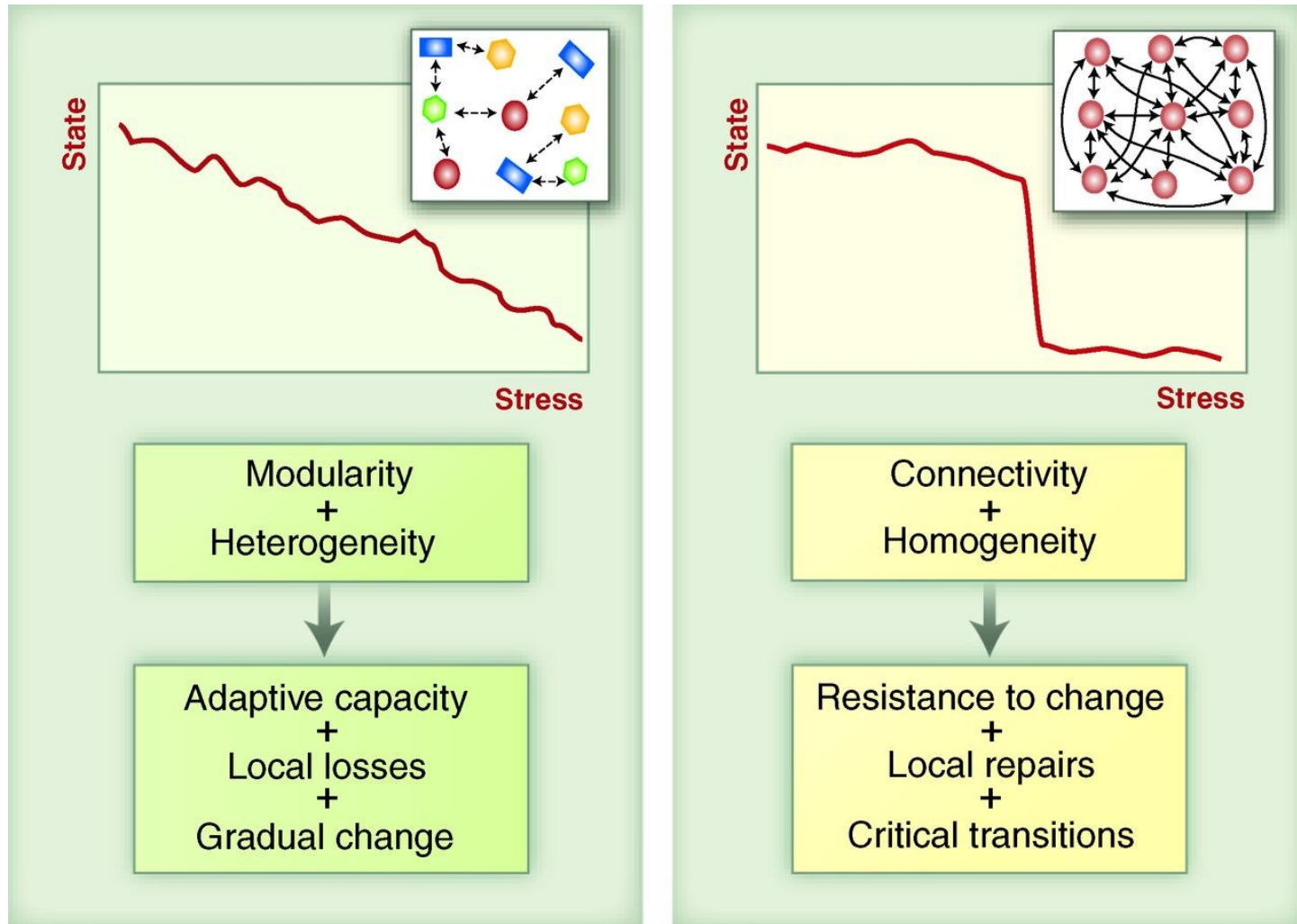
Inuit; source of conflict, or source of trade goods (furs)?  
No TEK transfer.

## Changing world systems- a double exposure?

Plague may have reached Greenland in 15<sup>th</sup> century; it certainly caused the collapse of the Norwegian economy (market for ivory)...



**The connectivity and homogeneity of the units affect the way in which distributed systems with local alternative states respond to changing conditions.**

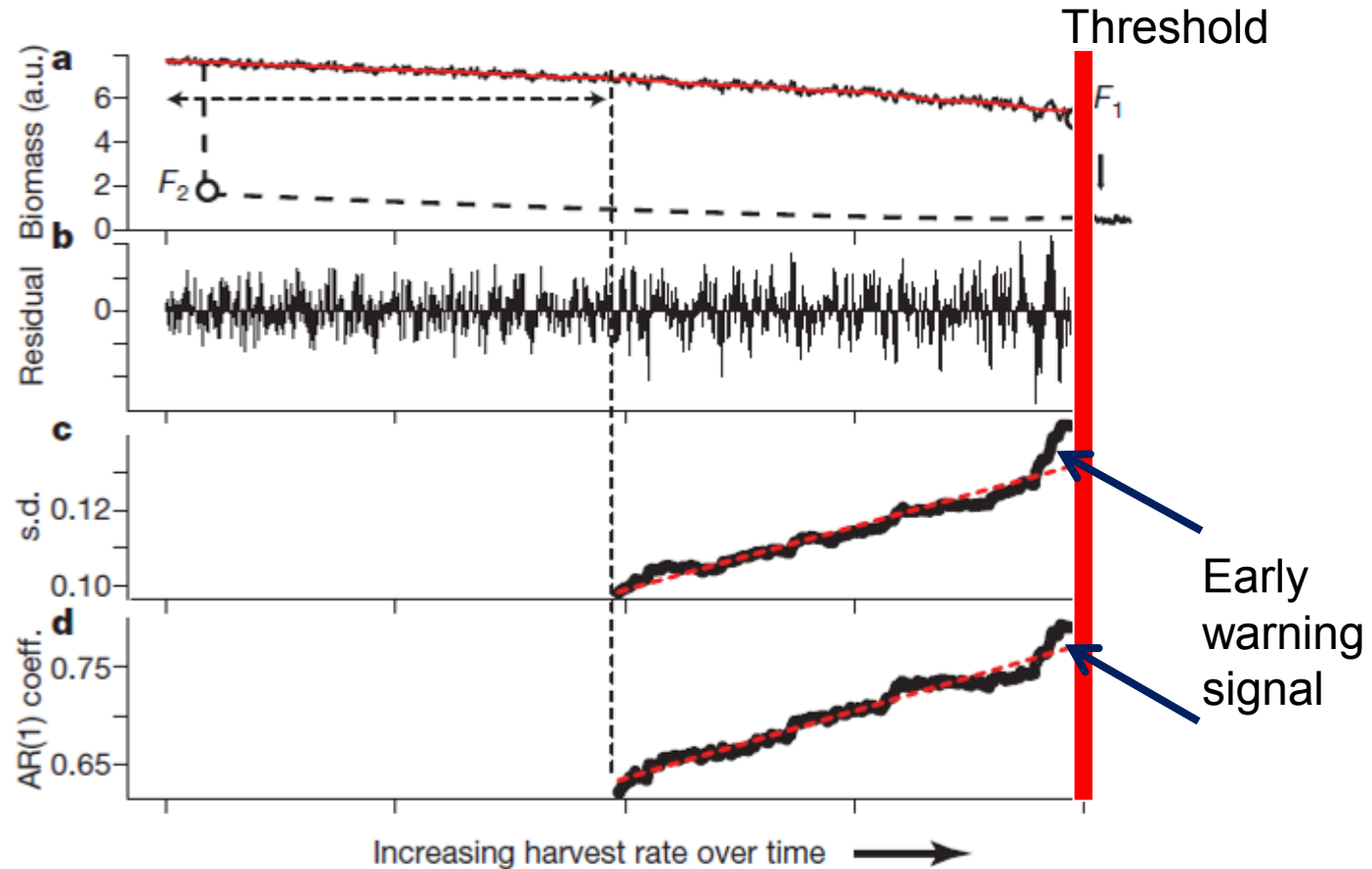


M Scheffer et al. Science 2012;338:344-348



# Early warning signals

Critical slowing down can occur before an abrupt transition- the recovery time from a perturbation becomes longer (slower) variance and auto correlation will increase

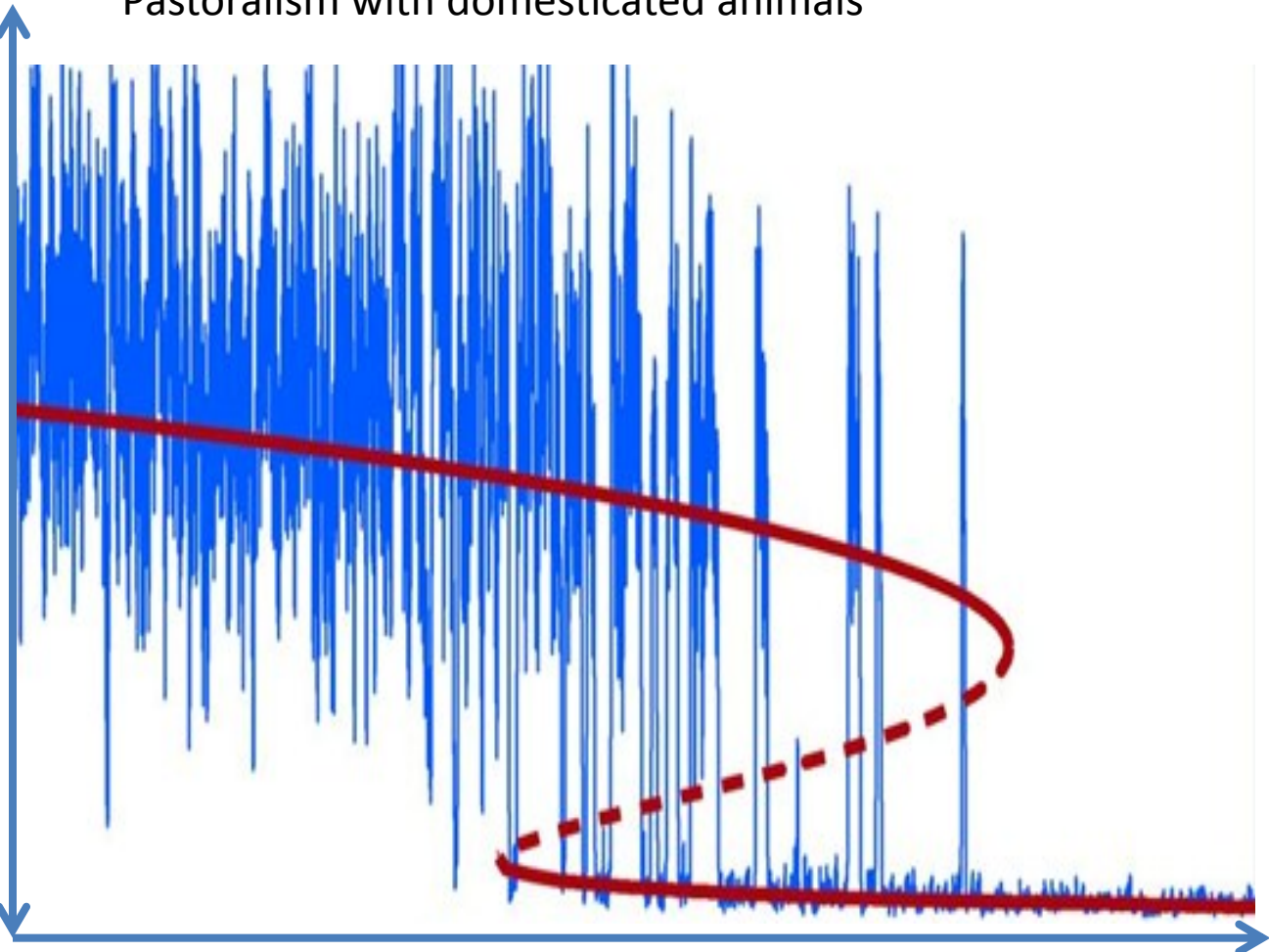


Domesticates

Pastoralism with domesticated animals

Wild- domesticates ratio

Wild



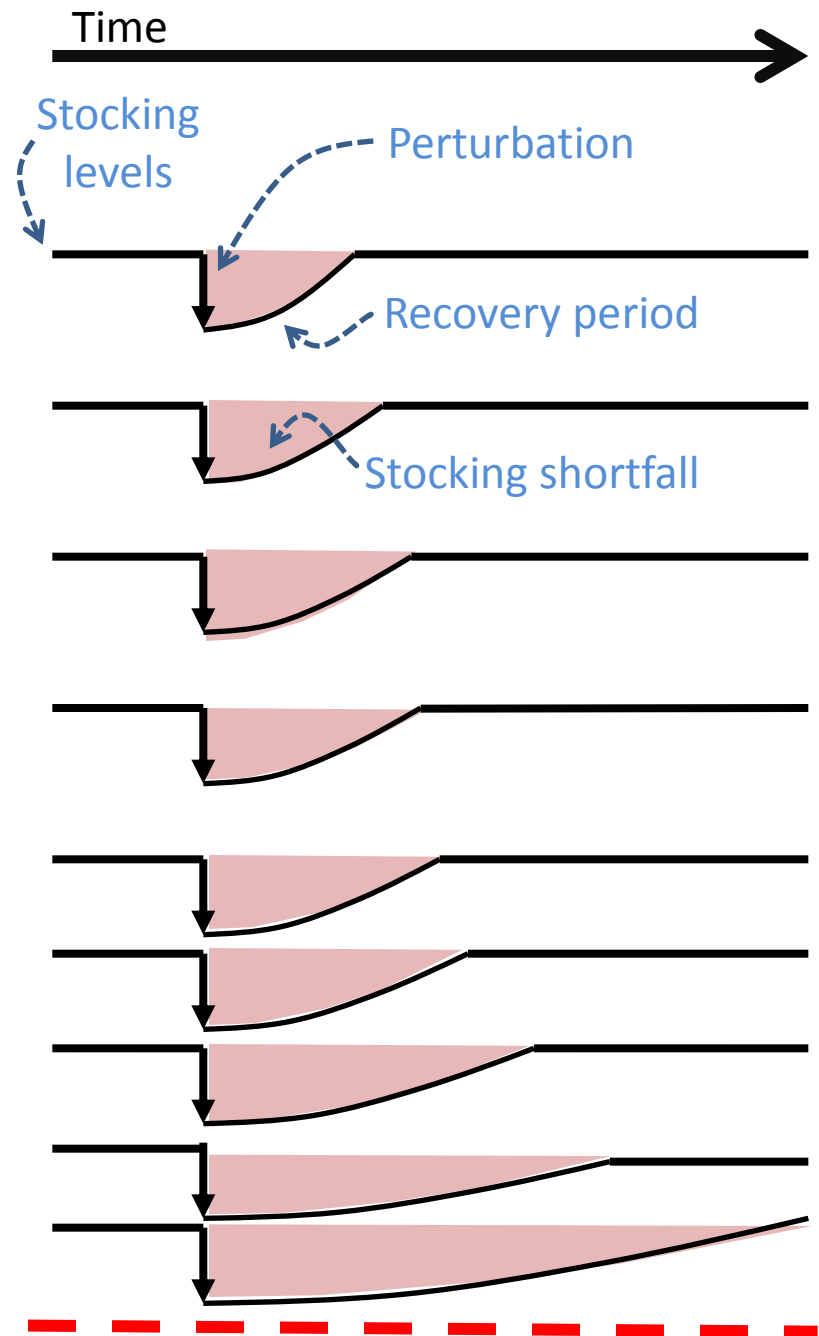
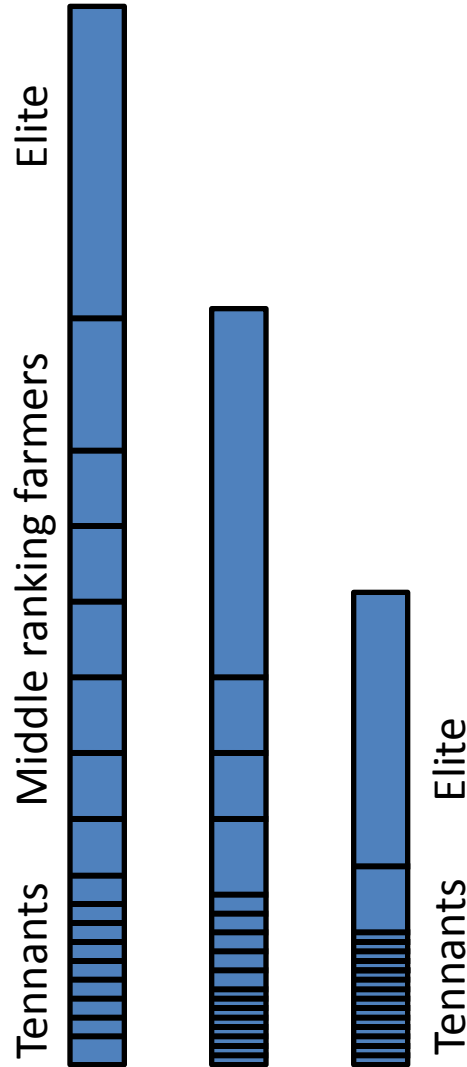
Hunter- gatherer  
Commercial fishery  
Seal hunters

Capital



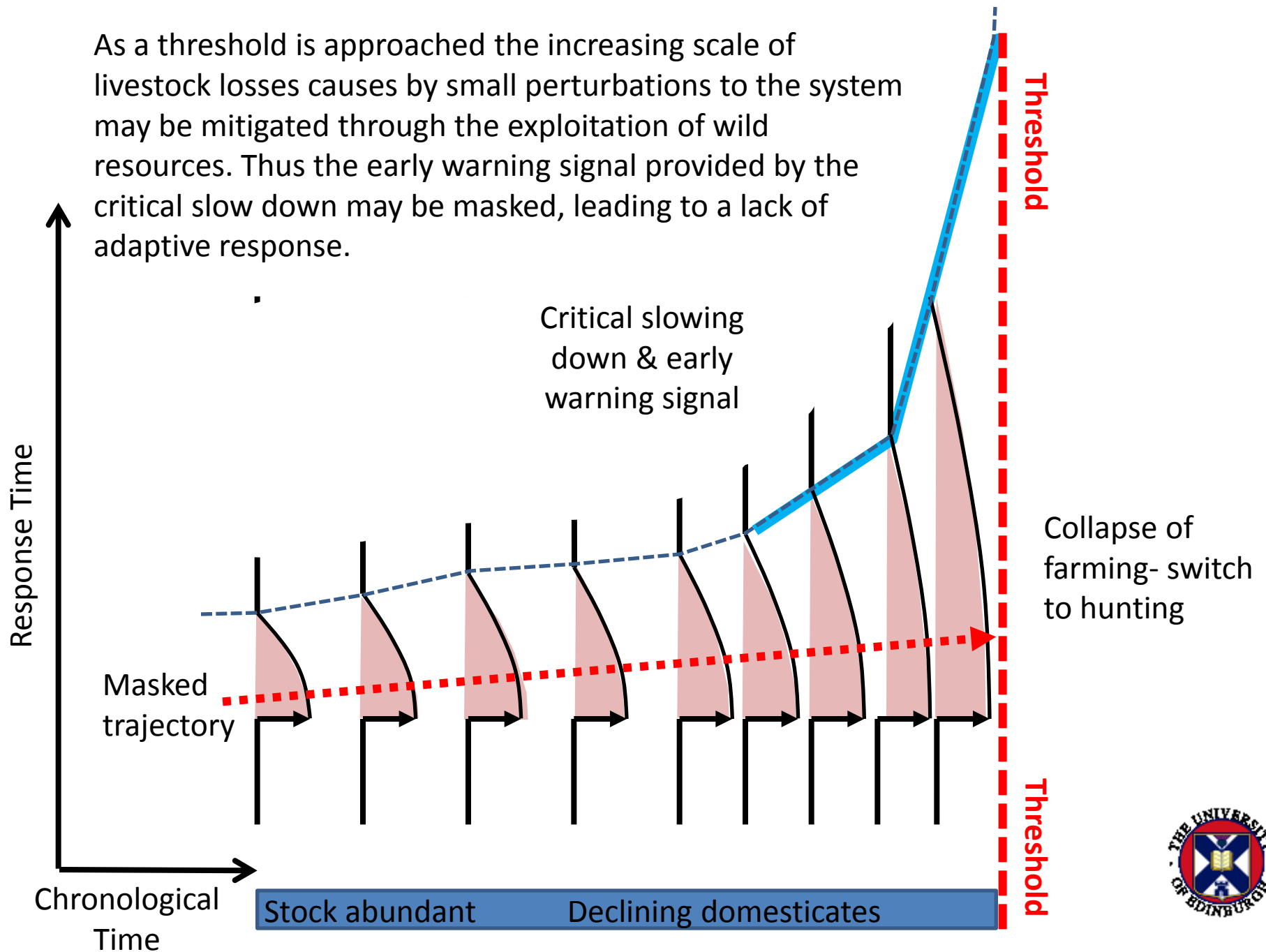


As farming system becomes more marginal, recovery times from perturbations will increase





As a threshold is approached the increasing scale of livestock losses causes by small perturbations to the system may be mitigated through the exploitation of wild resources. Thus the early warning signal provided by the critical slow down may be masked, leading to a lack of adaptive response.



# Lessons from the Viking Atlantic

## People can...

- creatively adapt to new environments
  - build up centuries of community-based managerial expertise
  - wisely conserve fragile resources for communal subsistence
  - codify the results, establish laws and sound TEK
  - maintain century-scale sustainable patterns of life and society
  - develop 'elegant solutions' to environmental problems
- 
- intensify social hierarchies and conformity
  - limit the development of TEK
  - fall into 'rigidity traps', discover the limits to adaptation
  - *and face collapse and extinction.*

# Lessons from the Viking Atlantic

## Specialization vs. resilience

- Coping strategies/adaptations may be too specialized to withstand unexpected variation
- 'Many voices' can lead to clumsy solutions: loss of voices (concentration of power) may lead to elegant failure

## Terrestrial vs Marine

- Icelandic pastoralism proved more resilient than Greenlandic seal hunting but at a cost of landscape degradation

## Prestige trade vs bulk commodities

- Distant markets for prestige goods (ivory and fur from Greenland) did not endure
- Distant markets for bulk commodities (wool and fish from Iceland) flourished





# Lessons from the Viking Atlantic

## Scales and cross-scale interactions

- Distances matter; the utilization of dispersed resources carries cost, especially when settlement is fixed. Dispersed systems are vulnerable to increased travel cost
- A system reliant on distant sources of trade goods and distant markets is vulnerable to disruption (of trade routes, of markets)

# Societal 'Collapse' in a North Atlantic context: the utility of 'completed experiments'

- The past offers 'completed experiments' of human society
- We can explore the probable effect of choices and values on outcomes
- We can create qualitative models based on rules and narratives
- Qualitative models can help us to understand complex systems and their outcomes- using the past to inform ideas of future change



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# Related papers

- Dugmore AJ, McGovern TH, Vésteinsson O, Arneborg J, Streeter R, Keller C (2012) 'Cultural Adaptation, Compounding Vulnerabilities and Conjectures in Norse Greenland'. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 109 (10) 3658-3663.
- Dugmore AJ, Vésteinsson O (2012) 'Black sun, high flame and flood; volcanic hazards in Iceland'. In: Cooper J, Sheets P (Eds) *Surviving Sudden Environmental Change: Answers from Archaeology* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado) 67 - 90.
- Streeter R, Dugmore AJ, Vésteinsson, O. (2012) Plague and landscape resilience in pre-Modern Iceland. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 109 (10): 3664-3669.
- Dugmore AJ, Streeter R, Keller C, McGovern TH, Smiarowski K, Masden, CK Perdikaris S (2012) 'Elegant failures' and 'clumsy solutions' to climate change adaptation: new lessons in human security from the settlement of the North Atlantic islands'. In O'Brien K, Wolf J. Sygna L. (eds) *The Changing Environment for Human Security: New Agendas for Research, Policy, and Action*. (Earthscan Publications: London) (in press for 2012)



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