



Originally published as:

Oberhänsli, H., Boroffka, N., Sorrel, P., Krivonogov, S. (2007): Climate variability during the past 2,000 years and past economic and irrigation activities in the Aral Sea basin. - *Irrigation and Drainage Systems*, 21, 3-4, 167-183

DOI: [10.1007/s10795-007-9031-5](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10795-007-9031-5).

1 **Climate variability during the past 2000 years and past economic and irrigation**
2 **activities in the Aral Sea basin**

3
4 Hedi Oberhänsli¹, Nikolaus Boroffka², Philippe Sorrel³, Sergey Krivonogov,⁴

5
6 1) *GeoForschungsZentrum, Telegraphenberg, D-14473 Potsdam, Germany.*

7 2) *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Im Dol 2-6, D-14195 Berlin, Germany.*

8 3) *Laboratoire "Morphodynamique Continentale et Côtière" (UMR 6143 CNRS),*
9 *Université de Caen Basse-Normandie, 24 rue des Tilleuls, F-14000 CAEN, France.*

10 4) *United Institute of Geology, Geophysics and Mineralogy of the Russian Academy of*
11 *Sciences, Siberian Division, Novosibirsk regional Center of Geoinformational*
12 *Technologies, Academic Koptjug prospekt 3, 630090 Novosibirsk, Russia.*

13
14 **Abstract**

15 The lake level history, here based on the relative abundance of Ca (gypsum), is used for
16 tracing past hydrological conditions in Central Asia. Lake level was close to a minimum
17 before approximately AD 300, at about AD 600, AD 1220 and AD 1400. Since 1960 the
18 lake level is lowering again. Lake water level was lowest during the 14th or early 15th
19 centuries as indicated by a coeval settlement, which today is still under water near the
20 well-dated mausoleum of Kerderi. Pollen data from riparian vegetation indicate relatively
21 moist conditions between AD 400 and AD 900, intermitted by short intervals with drier
22 conditions (AD 550- 600; AD 650-700). Riverbanks were again dry from AD 900 - 1150,
23 AD 1450-1550, and from AD 1970 onward moisture decreased steadily. Irrigation
24 activities were at a maximum between 300 BC and AD 300 (Classical Antiquity) and
25 between AD 800 and AD 1300 (Medieval Age) and after AD 1960.

26
27 **Key words:** Lake levels, hydrology, riparian vegetation, settlement history, Medieval
28 Warm Period, Little Ice Age

29
30 **INTRODUCTION**

31 The modern regression in the Aral Sea region, which started in 1960, has received great
32 attention (e.g., Aral'skij krizis, 1991; Létolle and Mainguet, 1996; Micklin and Williams,

33 1996; Nihoul et al, 2004, Ferguson, 2003). Due to extensive irrigation in this area, the
34 exploitation of water resources has not only reduced the lake level but the system
35 reached a critical stage in the water and soil pollution. As a result, a broad scope of
36 studies is required to improve our knowledge on ecosystem functioning, which will help
37 to attenuate environmental and socio-economic risks in future decades. In the context of
38 a policy of appeasement, sustainability rather than searching for new ways to exploit the
39 system should be in the focus of upcoming studies.

40
41 However, which have been the links between climate variability and ecology in the Aral
42 Sea basin in the past? Due to the climatically exposed continental conditions (semi-arid
43 or even arid over large areas), western Central Asia with extensive deserts is potentially
44 vulnerable to minimal environmental change. Deserts spread north of the Kopet Dagh -
45 the Karakum Desert – through the foothills of Pamirs and Tien Shan, - the Kyzylkum
46 Desert. For present and past settlements active fresh water resources are restricted to
47 the flood plains and riverbanks along the Syr Darya and Amu Darya, both of them
48 discharging into the endorheic Aral Sea. However, water resources feeding the rivers
49 seem almost unlimited as, in the headwaters of the rivers, extended glacier systems of
50 the Tien Shan and Pamir Mountains are steadily delivering fresh water. Similar climate
51 conditions not only apply for today, but also have been dominating the landscape
52 throughout most of the Holocene though the Amu Darya has transiently bypassed the
53 Aral Sea and directly discharged into the Caspian Sea (e.g., Tolstov, 1962).

54 The Aral Sea basin hosting one of the Silk Road branches is, therefore, an excellent
55 study area for tracing human agricultural activities but also for highlighting human
56 measures and reactions to past climate changes. To shed light on the past climatic and
57 especially hydrological conditions we launched the INTAS-Project “CLIMAN” (Holocene
58 climatic variability and evolution of human settlement in the Aral Sea Basin;
59 <http://climan.gfz-potsdam.de/>). The interdisciplinary study was designed to analyse
60 natural climatic variations and anthropogenically controlled environmental changes in
61 the past (Boroffka et al., 2003–2004, 2005, 2006; Sorrel et al., 2006, 2007a,b; Austin et
62 al., 2007 in press). In a geomorphologic survey, we focused on previous lake-level
63 changes as recorded in shoreline marks during the last 5000 years (Figure 1)
64 (Krivonogov et al., 2003; Reinhardt and Wuennemann, 2005) and related these

65 observations to archaeological findings (Boroffka et al., 2006).

66 However to date, relatively little attention has been given to connections between local
67 and regional climate changes over the Eurasian region. At a regional scale, past climate
68 variability in the arid Aral Sea basin represents an important key for understanding
69 future climate change, which may affect even more drastically such arid and semi-arid
70 regions. Besides, understanding past climate change it is of great importance to
71 evaluate the anthropogenic impact on present-day and future climates in this highly
72 sensitive semi-arid region.

73 In this paper we focus on past climatic variations as expressed in humidity and
74 temperature changes and evaluate irrigation activities as inferred from archaeological
75 data. Natural climatic changes evidenced by temperature and precipitation variations
76 during the last 2000 years are inferred from vegetation remains (pollen grains) studied in
77 a core retrieved from Chernyshov Bay, in the northwestern Large Aral Sea (Figure 2).
78 We then use the relative Ca and Sr abundances (mostly contained in gypsum and
79 authigenic carbonates), for tracing salinity changes (Ca) and for discriminating between
80 Syr Darya and Amu Darya river water input (Sr). During the last 2000 years salinity is
81 controlled by river discharge, but indirectly salinity is also reflecting lake level changes
82 (Figure 2). By looking at the displacement of human settlements we try to rate and
83 estimate the controlling factors, e.g., human versus natural climate forcing. Both, though
84 to different extent, might influence the water balance too.

85

86

87 **Main features of the hydrology in the Aral Sea Basin**

88 Lake level changes in the endorheic Aral Sea are preferentially controlled by river
89 discharge of Amu Darya and Syr Darya, which are affected by two main factors (i)
90 climatic change in the headwater system of the rivers and/or by (ii) men-controlled
91 irrigation activities. Both play at times a dominating role. Today Global Climate Change
92 affects melting rates in the headwater region but also the precipitation rates; both are
93 increasing due to globally raising average annual temperatures but evapo-transpiration
94 at high altitudes might increase too (Aizen, pers. communication 2006). Besides the
95 riverine drainage, the annual hydrology budget of the endorheic Aral Sea is further
96 controlled by evaporation, which from open water is more than seven times higher than

97 precipitation.

98 Today the average annual rainfall ranges from 100 to 140 mm/year (Bortnik and
99 Chistyayeva, 1990). The net river discharge, a major fresh water source of the endorheic
100 Aral Sea has changed a lot during the last 100 years. Both rivers Amu Darya and Syr
101 Darya discharged in the range of 56 to 58 km³/year ± 14 km³ between 1911 and 1960
102 (Bortnik and Chistyayeva, 1990). After 1960 the hydrological cycle of western Central
103 Asia has been disturbed fundamentally by (i) the use of river water for irrigation and, (ii)
104 the building of numerous reservoirs and wide channels along the two tributaries and into
105 the Karakum Desert. Since 2002 the discharge had been reduced to less than 10
106 km³/year (Zavialov, 2005) and actually the Amu Darya contributes less than 1 km³/year
107 (Zavialov, pers comm. 2006). The rivers feeding into the lake emerge in the Tien Shan
108 and Pamir Mountains to the east with meltwater.

109

110 **Geomorphologic settings**

111 Geomorphologic surveys and analyses of satellite images reveal distinct shoreline
112 fluctuations in the past (Figure 1) by tracing positions of ancient littoral terraces, beach
113 ridges and wave-cut escarpments, and by mapping features such as channel alignments
114 to paleoshorelines and abandoned delta areas. For characterisation of the past local
115 drainage network and lake level reconstruction we combined field observations, and
116 used LANDSAT satellite images together with a digital elevation model (DEM) (e.g.,
117 Krivonogov, et al., 2003; Reinhardt and Wuennemann, 2005). The highest shoreline
118 along the northern Small Aral Sea (Tastubek Bay, Figure 1) was observed at 53–54 m
119 a.s.l (Boroffka et al. 2006). The perimeter at different lake stages shown in Figures 1a,b
120 shows large surfaces due to the flat topography around the lake and in the delta. For
121 settlement activities even the slightest lake level changes might open new perspectives
122 as will be shown in the discussion below.

123

124

125 **Methods**

126 Sediment coring was performed at Chernyshov Bay, a 22-m deep basin located at the
127 northwestern shore of the Aral Sea and today still attached to the Large Aral Sea (Figure
128 1). With a Usinger piston corer (<http://www.uwitec.at>), we retrieved sediment cores of 6

129 and 12 m in length. The description of the core lithology is based on macroscopic and
130 smear slide observations (Sorrel, 2006). The relative calcium and strontium abundance
131 in sediment cores was measured by scanning cores with the XRF Core Scanner
132 (@AVAATECH) (Jansen et al, 1998) at a 1-cm resolution, representing less than a
133 decadal time resolution. The chronology for the sediment core is based on AMS ¹⁴C
134 dates on the green alga *Vaucheria* sp., which are reported as calibrated ages
135 (Nourgaliev et al., 2003; Sorrel et al., 2006).

136 For tracing moisture and temperature variations in the past (Figure 3) we studied the
137 vegetation changes. Pollen slide preparation followed the Cour's method (Cour, 1974).
138 A transmitting light microscope using ×400 and ×1000 magnifications was used for
139 pollen identification. This was performed using the pollen photograph bank and several
140 atlases of the 'Laboratoire PaléoEnvironnements et PaléobioSphère (PEPS)' (UMR
141 CNRS 5125, Lyon, France) as well as its pollen database "Photopal" ([http://medias.obs-](http://medias.obs-mip.fr/photopal)
142 [mip.fr/photopal](http://medias.obs-mip.fr/photopal)). Concentration in palynomorphs varies from <500 to >45,000 grains/g.
143 Minimums of 100 pollen grains, excluding *Amaranthaceae-Chenopodiaceae* and
144 *Artemisia*, which are usually over-represented in arid environments, were counted in
145 each sample. Generally more than 25 different taxa were found in each sample, but a
146 total of 79 different taxa have been identified (Sorrel et al., 2007a).

147 Pollen grains transported either by air or by rivers reflect the local to regional vegetation.
148 Here we present the results inferred from the quantification of pollen data. For the
149 quantification of palaeoclimate signals recorded in plant assemblages, the "probability
150 mutual climatic spheres" (PCS) method described in detail by Klotz and Pross (1999)
151 and Klotz et al. (2003, 2004) was used. The main restriction in applying modern
152 analogue methods in this study is the general poorness of the available database of
153 surface pollen spectra from the Aral Sea region (only 91 in Kazakhstan, Tarasov et al.,
154 1998), which may serve as modern analogues for reliable climate reconstructions.
155 Hence the use of the PCS method is more suitable than modern analogues for the
156 reconstruction of climate change in the Aral Sea basin during the last 2000 years. For
157 more compelling information on the application of the PCS method to our case study, we
158 refer to Sorrel et al. (2007a).

159 Besides, we investigated the northern and southern shores of the Aral Sea for
160 archaeological remains during two expeditions in 2002 and 2003. During these studies,

161 archaeological traces were positioned by geographic positioning system (GPS) and
162 dated by (i) conventional archaeological methods and, (ii) by comparing archaeological
163 assemblages to radiocarbon-dated material from analogous sites (Boroffka et al., 2006).
164 The complete repertoire of archaeological finds (the toolkit) was studied to reconstruct
165 the economic basis through time. Previously collected archaeological data is re-
166 evaluated in light of new informations, and placed within the context of results from both
167 palaeontological and geological investigations.

168
169

170 **Lithology: Gypsum and Sr content as hydrological indicators**

171 From sediments retrieved at Chernyshov Bay, in the northwestern Aral Sea, we used
172 dinoflagellate cysts and diatoms, both sensitively reacting on salinity changes, for
173 tracing variations in lake levels (Sorrel et al, 2006; Austin et al., 2007). Furthermore, the
174 sediments, mostly consisting of dark clayey and silty muds with changing organic
175 contents (Sorrel, 2006), contain four levels of gypsum-rich mud, forming distinct light-
176 coloured beds or dark clayey muds with abundant idiomorphic gypsum crystals (Fig. 2,
177 in Sorrel et al., 2006). The observed lithologic changes measured at a time resolution of
178 less than a decade are coeval with the increase of the relative contents in calcium
179 (Boroffka et al., 2006). Gypsum ($\text{CaSO}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$) precipitates when salinity reaches
180 concentrations beyond a certain level; it is, therefore, a typical indicator of progressive
181 salinization, and we use the element scans of calcium to keep track of the lake's
182 desiccation state. In the Aral Sea, the stage of over saturation for gypsum was reached
183 in the early 1960s when salinity exceeded 26–28 ppt (Bortnik and Chistyayeva, 1990).
184 Thus, we can use the relative abundance of Ca to estimate beginning of changes in the
185 river inflow, which control, together with the annual evaporation (approximately 100
186 cm/y), the water balance and at a longer time range the lake level of the Aral Sea. In
187 Figure 2, the relative calcium abundance indicates distinct changes through the last ca.
188 2000 years. High relative calcium content reflects rising salinities and lowering of lake
189 levels. Minimum lake levels, with precipitation of chloride salts are following the Ca-
190 sulphate maximum but are not reported in Figure 2a. According to the age model, these
191 events culminate around AD 600, AD 1220, AD 1500 and slightly elevated values occur
192 at about AD 750, AD 1000, and AD 1800. Between AD 0 and AD 300 (?) we observe an

193 increased variability with average values similar to the event at AD 600. Most of these
194 events match with salinity changes as reflected by dinoflagellate cyst assemblages. With
195 dinoflagellate cysts we also have 2 phases of higher salinity at ca. AD 1500 and ca. AD
196 1600/1650, which is matching well with results obtained on ostracods by Boomer et al.,
197 (2000) despite a coarser time resolution. Lake-level low stands from the eastern basin
198 dated to approximately AD 350–450 and AD 1550–1650 are also concurrent with our
199 observations (Rubanov et al. 1987; Maev & Karpychev, 1999). Comparing the salinity
200 record (Figure 2a) with the precipitation as reconstructed from pollen (Figs. 2e, 3), lower
201 precipitation rates generally fall into intervals when salinity levels are elevated
202 Another element, strontium, may further be applied for reconstructing the river discharge
203 in the Aral Sea basin. Indeed recent studies on river water (Le Callonnec et al., 2005)
204 have shown that only the Syr Darya, due to the specific rock composition in the
205 watershed, discharges dissolved Sr into the Aral Sea. Therefore we use the relative Sr
206 content in the sediment core to discriminate between the water discharge of the Amu
207 Darya and Syr Darya. In Figure 2 the relative abundance of Ca and Sr show
208 enrichments of 6 to 8 times above average levels at about AD 1220. During the 2nd half
209 of the past century Sr is also drastically increasing. In between Sr shows only some
210 minor fluctuations, like at around AD 600 and AD 1400. We may therefore conclude, that
211 during short intervals between ca. AD 1200 and AD 1250 and since AD1970 onwards,
212 the Syr Darya discharge into the Aral Sea has increased disproportionately.

213
214 **Vegetation changes as climate indicator**
215
216 The pollen-based temperature and precipitation reconstructions document shifts in
217 vegetation development that reflect climate changes in western Central Asia linked to
218 the atmospheric circulation in the eastern Mediterranean region (Figure 3). In the Aral
219 Sea basin, the climate during the first few centuries AD according to our chronology was
220 featured by cold winter temperatures, relatively cool summers and arid conditions (mean
221 annual rainfall <300 mm). Similar conditions were reported from Syria with reduced
222 winter / spring rains (Bryson, 1996), while a pronounced decrease in humidity and lake
223 levels occurred in Lake Van, Turkey, between ca. 1500 BC and AD 0 (Landmann et al.,
224 1996, Lemcke and Sturm, 1996). In Soreq Cave (Israel), the time span AD 0–400 is
225 characterized by decreasing precipitation (Schilman et al., 2002) implying a diminishing

226 activity of cyclones in the eastern Mediterranean region. This arid phase was followed
227 by a general increase in temperature and moisture conditions between ca. AD 400 and
228 AD 900, although some fluctuations in the precipitation (MAP) and temperature (MTW)
229 records are evident especially around AD 550–600 and AD 650–700. This milder period
230 (cool winters, warm summers), however, was probably favourable for the development
231 of some arboreal vegetation in the less dry edaphic areas and the replacement of
232 subdesertic herbs by steppe vegetation (Sorrel et al., 2007a). This is coevally a period of
233 elevated temperatures and favourable conditions for the growth of trees in Israel
234 (Lipschitz et al., 1981), linked to increased rainfall over the eastern Mediterranean (Bar-
235 Matthews et al., 1998; Schilman et al., 2002). By ca. AD 900–1150 climate switched
236 back to drier and somewhat cooler conditions in the Aral Sea basin, with cold winter
237 temperatures (-7° to -10°C), cool summers (15° – 21°C) and reduced precipitation rates
238 (< 250 mm/yr). We attribute this increase in aridity to reduced humidity transported from
239 the eastern Mediterranean to western Central Asia during a period of lowered rainfall in
240 winter and early spring in Israel (Issar et al., 1991), as inferred by higher $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values in
241 Soreq Cave carbonate deposits (Schilman et al., 2002).

242 After ca. AD 1150, reconstructed climatic parameters suggest the onset of less arid
243 conditions in western Central Asia with increased precipitation (370 – 500 mm.yr $^{-1}$) and
244 warmth (mean annual temperature: 7° – 11°C), which were maintained until the beginning
245 of the 15th century AD (“Medieval Warm Period”). These conditions probably favoured
246 the establishment of a riparian forest vegetation and the regression of both steppe herbs
247 and shrubs in the Aral Sea region, coevally with the development of some trees along
248 river valleys. At the onset of more humid conditions in the Aral Sea basin, the climate
249 signal from the Eastern Mediterranean indicates a conspicuous decline in terrestrial
250 $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values from the Soreq Cave. This is interpreted as strong positive rainfall
251 anomalies in Israel (Schilman et al., 2002), reflecting enhanced cyclonic activity in the
252 eastern Mediterranean during winter and early spring. It also coincides with high-stand
253 levels of the Dead Sea (Issar et al., 1991) and the Sea of Galilee (Frumkin et al., 1991)
254 implying thus elevated moisture conditions. From ca. AD 1450 to AD 1550, the Aral Sea
255 region probably experienced a brief aridification with colder and drier conditions. This
256 short interval has been identified in other regions within Eurasia (Mackay et al., 2005),
257 and corresponds to the Little Ice Age. In the eastern Mediterranean Region this period is

258 characterized by higher $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values from the foraminifera *G. ruber* (Schilman et al.,
259 2002) within marine deposits off Israel (Bar-Matthews et al., 1998; Schilman et al.,
260 2002), indicating lower sea surface temperatures and thus lower moisture transported to
261 western Central Asia. From AD 1550 onwards (to ca. AD 1970), the pollen
262 reconstruction indicates a progressive warming of the climate and evidences enhanced
263 aridity and higher temperatures during recent decades. For the last ca. 50 years, our
264 reconstructed values are in accordance with present-day measured data from Central
265 Asia (Sorrel et al., 2007a).

266 The climate reconstruction provides evidence that centennial-scale events are recorded
267 for the last 2000 years, implying that the precipitation pattern in the Aral Sea basin is
268 strongly linked to atmospheric changes in the eastern Mediterranean region, which
269 modulates the moisture distribution towards the Middle East and western Central Asia.
270 The climatic reconstruction is in agreement with former paleo-environmental, historical
271 and archaeological studies from Russian scientists who attributed the decline of the
272 classical and medieval civilization of Turkestan to an enhanced aridity (Shnitnikov, 1969;
273 Doluhanov, 1985; Varuschenko et al., 1987). For the last 2000 years, however, no
274 human activity exerting control on vegetation change has been detected from the pollen
275 record of Chernyshov Bay. Hence a pervasive and strong impact of human-induced
276 processes on climatic and environmental changes in western Central Asia during the
277 last millennia, as suggested by Kharin et al. (1998), is unlikely.

278

279 **Archaeological features and water availability**

280 As to the settlement history there is a tight link between climate and hydrology. Levina
281 (1998) and Boroffka et al. (2003–2004; 2005; 2006) have recently demonstrated that
282 ancient settlement development is quite well understood for the region south of the Aral
283 Sea. Along the northern shore, however, the knowledge of human life is still patchy,
284 although the CLIMAN expeditions have filled many chronological gaps in the human
285 settlement history, Human settlement around the Aral Sea begins in the middle
286 Palaeolithic (50.000–35.000 BC). After a long period without information, a gap not yet
287 well understood, Neolithic (5.000–3.000 BC) sites of the Kel'teminar culture are well
288 known north and south of the lake. During Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age (3000–2000
289 BC) the Kel'teminar culture remains restricted to the south. Along the northern shore

290 settlers change their cultural and economic orientation. They used large projectile points
291 for hunting big game which shows analogies to finds from the forest and forest-steppe
292 zones of the Tobol-Ishim-Irtysh River system and the eastern Ural Mountains, indicating
293 that forest and forest-steppe zones had extended further to the south. This vegetation
294 change heralds more humid conditions, as humans did not apply irrigation systems in
295 this region at that time (Boroffka et al., 2003–2004; 2005; 2006). From the classical
296 Bronze Age (beginning around 2000 BC), the earliest canals for irrigation agriculture are
297 known from the southern foreland of the Aral Sea (Figure 4). It is therefore from this
298 period onwards, that the human factor needs to be taken into account when studying
299 hydrological changes in the Aral Sea basin.

300
301
302

303 **Settlement economy and irrigation**

304 There is general agreement that, before the expansion of irrigation since 1960, fluvial
305 discharge by Syr Darya and Amu Darya was sufficient to maintain the endorheic Aral
306 Sea during several thousand years (Andrianov 1969; Létolle and Mainguet 1996).
307 However, from historical descriptions we understand that already in the past some
308 cultures populating Turkestan used the river water in a more abusive than in a
309 sustainable way (Tolstov, 1962). Hence depending on the population density and the
310 economic power, the irrigation on the riverbanks and flood plains of Amu Darya and Syr
311 Darya may, besides the climate, have put additional pressure on the regional hydrology
312 already in the past.

313 For the Neolithic Kel'teminar culture (5000–3000 BC) the toolkit (with harpoon insets
314 and small projectile points) and the site distribution along ancient river courses and
315 around former lakes, indicate an economy in which hunting and fishing played a major
316 role (Boroffka et al., 2003–2004; 2006). For the following period, especially in the north,
317 we observed large projectile points, which indicate a reorientation towards hunting of
318 larger animals (e.g., horses). This proves that economic strategy has been reverted and
319 adapted to a forest steppe environment. The expansion of the forest steppe zone
320 towards the south reflects a more humid climate between 3000 and 2000 BC. By this
321 time men did not influence the environment to any significant point, but rather reacted to
322 natural environmental changes adapting settling and economic strategies (Boroffka et

323 al., 2003–2004; 2005; 2006).

324

325 During the Bronze Age (2000–1000 BC) man became more independent of the
326 environment, and the first irrigation channels have been documented near the southern
327 Aral Sea (Itina 1977) (Figure 4). However these systems were of local scale and did not,
328 therefore, have any major effect on the hydrology of the Aral Sea. Besides, water level
329 at this time was low, as could be observed in a coeval settlement located at the
330 southeastern part of the Aral Sea, which was later buried under lake sediments.

331 Moreover, a high density of Neolithic settlements may be observed along the Uzboj
332 channel (Tolstov, 1962). We conclude that, due to a change in the river course before
333 the Neolithic, the Amu Darya had been diverted from the Aral Sea and drained to a great
334 extent the Caspian Sea. A lack of coeval sites along the Akcha Darya channel to the
335 north of the Khorezm basin indicate that this channel was not active at that time, hence
336 confirming this interpretation. Conditions changed during the Bronze Age, when intense
337 settling occurred along the Akcha Darya (now clearly carrying water to the Aral Sea),
338 while river flow almost ceased along the Uzboj (Tolstov 1962; Itina 1977; Boroffka et al.,
339 2005; 2006). These shifts in water-courses may have been due to tectonic uplift in the
340 lower Amy Darya river valley, as observed in other regions of Central Asia (Gentelle,
341 1989). However there are no early historical sources referring to earthquakes, which
342 could help to unravel the chronology of geodynamic events. Further research is needed
343 before this aspect can be evaluated at large.

344

345 Irrigation intensified during the 1st Millennium BC and reached a first maximum
346 extension during Classical Antiquity (4th Century BC – AD 4th Century) (Figures 2d, 5).
347 Traces of ancient canals, some more than 20 m wide and stretching over many
348 kilometres, have been observed. According to Tolstov (1962), Andrianov (1969, 1991),
349 Gerasimov (1978), Baipakov & Groshev (1991) and Levina & Ptichnikov (1991) the
350 network of canals would allow to irrigate 5 to 10 million hectares, an area equivalent to
351 the northern and southern banks of the Amu Darya, the Khorezm Basin, the
352 Sarykamysh Basin and the entire area between Syr Darya and Zhana Darya (Figure 6).
353 A regression of the Aral Sea has been reconstructed for this period (Aladin & Plotnikov,
354 1995; Boomer et al., 2000; Sorrel et al., 2006). The increased irrigation activity possibly

355 helped to accelerate the desiccation of the Aral Sea during Classical Antiquity, as
356 increased aridity at this time has been observed in several regions of the Old World
357 (Bryson, 1996; Landmann et al., 1996; Lemcke & Sturm 1996; Schilman et al., 2002;
358 Schmidt & Gruhle, 2003). The irrigated surface in this region surprisingly was of similar
359 extent, 6.5 million hectares, when the Soviet Union collapsed (Boomer et al., 2000).
360 Today we know that irrigation is indeed one of the factors controlling the extent of lake
361 regression.

362 During the medieval period (9th-14th centuries) irrigation (Figures 2d, 7) again reached
363 roughly the extent it had during Antiquity (Tolstov 1962; Andrianov 1969; 1991;
364 Gerasimov 1978; Baipakov & Groshev 1991; Levina & Ptichnikov 1991) and could have
365 also influenced the water balance of the lake. These irrigation systems, controlling the
366 river discharge to the Aral Sea in the north and the Sarykamysch basin in the west, were
367 destroyed repeatedly. After the destructions assigned to the Mongol invasion in the year
368 1221, the Amu Darya appears to have changed its course towards the Uzboj and the
369 Caspian Sea (Barthold 1910). Support comes from the Sr record when we observe
370 increased Sr input indicating that possibly at this time mainly Syr Darya water was
371 discharging into the lake. During the 1370's and 1380's, coeval to Timurs campaigns
372 against Khorezmia, dams and weirs were again destroyed and the Amu Darya filled lake
373 Sarykamysch (Yagodin, 2005). However this event did not have a deep impact on the
374 lake's chemistry like at the beginning of the 13th century. Salinity levels, as inferred from
375 dinoflagellate cysts, diatoms and Ca values, were maintained at low levels and
376 enrichment of Sr was moderate to minor, indicating that the Amu Darya was probably
377 only partly deviated towards Lake Sarakamysch and still discharged a major amount of
378 water into the Aral Sea (Figure 2 b). Based on archaeological data it was only during the
379 AD 14th or early 15th centuries when the lake level was well below the present day lake
380 level (Figure 2c). This regression is, however, witnessed by the mausoleum at Kerderi
381 situated at 31 m a.s.l. (Figure 2c, d), and it also corresponds to the period when settling
382 activities at Pulzhaj ceased.

383
384 Both Kerderi and Pulzhaj are important medieval sites, only have only been observed
385 during the CLIMAN expeditions. The mausoleum of Kerderi is located in the
386 northeastern part of the Large Aral Basin while Pulzhaj is situated at the southern end of

387 the former Aibugir Bay on the southwestern edge of the Aral Sea (Figures 1, 6). At
388 Pulzhaj the dated archaeological materials together with dated sediments from an
389 adjacent outcrop allow to identify transgressions around the AD 4th Century and after AD
390 1400. Between these transgressions, people lived on the lowlands indicating that the
391 water level (53 m a.s.l.) must have been lowered by at least a few meters. Lowering of
392 lake levels, however, should be minimal because dinocyst assemblages, according to
393 Sorrel et al. (2006), still indicate lower salinity levels between ca. AD 400 and AD 900. A
394 short lasting prominent lowering, however, might have occurred at about 600 AD and
395 this is also corroborated by increased Ca contents (Figure 2a).

396 The Medieval regression seems at least partly related to human activity (Boroffka et al.,
397 2006; Austin et al., 2007). Dinoflagellate cyst assemblages like the negative sheet-wash
398 index are rather in favour of a climatically driven Medieval regression starting at around
399 AD 900 and lasting until about AD 1220 (Sorrel et al., 2006). A climatically driven
400 decreased river discharge is confirmed by the tree ring record of Esper et al. (2002) from
401 the Tien Shan and northwestern Karakorum Mountains the high catchment areas of the
402 Syr Darya and Amu Darya rivers. During this interval when lower river discharge are
403 reported, tree-ring growth was minimal, still an indication that late spring and summer
404 temperatures were at a minimum. At about 1220 AD this regressive event terminates,
405 which matches quite well with pollen data indicating that climate became transiently
406 more humid. However, it is at about the time when a drastic event changed the lake's
407 chemistry. It may be a combination of several events, which fall into this time window. At
408 AD 1208 a major earthquake with magnitude above 6 occurred in this area. This might
409 have caused major damages including destroying the river channel thus changing the
410 flow direction of Amu Darya towards the Caspian Sea. Furthermore, historical sources
411 document another event, which might have affected the discharge of the Amu Darya. In
412 AD 1221 the Mongols destroyed great parts of the irrigation system in the delta plain. As
413 a result both events might have deviated the Amu Darya for some decades during which
414 only the Syr Darya was feeding the lake as shown by the dramatic increase of Sr in the
415 Aral Sea sediments (Figure 2b).

416 After AD 1550 the pollen reconstruction documents a steady warming, with only minor
417 oscillations. Since the 19th century reliable reports exist on irrigation in the Aral Sea
418 region (Sarybaev, 2002). At about AD 1815–1816 construction of dams is well

419 documented. The first dam was built on the Syr Darya, causing the Tanghi-Daria (=
420 Zhana Darya?) to fall dry (Murchison & Khanikoff, 1844; Wood 1875; Meiendorf, 1975).
421 A following dam cut off the Kuvan Darya (south of the Syr Darya) from the Aral Sea
422 (Butakoff 1853; Michell 1868; Wood 1875). Along the Taldyk several dams were
423 constructed (Wood, 1875) and remains of dams were observed on the Kuldun (Wood,
424 1875). In AD 1857 the Laudan canal, branching west from the Amu Darya, was closed;
425 before AD 1863 a dam was built near Khodzeili to close the Kok Uzak (Wood, 1875).
426 Some of the actions were politically intended. The Khan of Khiva shut down the Laudan
427 and the Kok Uzak to impose a penalty for nomads or Turkmen raiders. This resulted in
428 the drying up of Aigubir Bay (Butakoff & Michell, 1867; Wood, 1875 and map). However,
429 this basin was already flooded again by AD 1891 (Blanc 1891) and at least the northern
430 part remained under water until AD 1931 (Arkhangelskii, 1931), which Kropotkin (1904)
431 ascribed to a climatic change. Indeed there is no indication, that the Laudan canal was
432 re-opened at that time. These well-documented records showing abundant
433 manipulations on the irrigation system during the 19th century, match with minor to
434 moderate water level (Sorrel et al., 2006; Austin et al, 2007) and vegetation (Sorrel et
435 al., 2007a) changes recorded in the sediment cores retrieved from the Aral Sea.

436

437 **Conclusions:**

438 Reconstruction of past climate from proxy data is important for improving constraints
439 on the role and the scope of natural climate variability onto environments that have been
440 persistently influenced by anthropogenic activities. Most observations show that the
441 changes in climate were a prominent factor controlling the environment and human
442 irrigation activities (most probably during the Antiquity and the Middle Ages) exerted
443 some controlling function. But only for the last decades we have compelling evidences
444 that mankind is unequivocally controlling the environmental changes in the Aral Sea
445 basin. Given the different time resolution it is not always unequivocal to match single
446 anthropogenic influences with climatically driven events. Highest time resolution is
447 provided from chemical data (X-Ray Fluorescence scanning data), which allow a
448 resolution better than a few years, while from archaeological toolkits, unless written
449 documents are available, the spatial and temporal resolution is rather sketchy. Therefore

450 the presented interpretations on mutual influences between climate and man are a first
451 attempt to highlight past interaction between men and climate in this region.

452

453

454 **Acknowledgements**

455 The project is funded by the INTAS organization of the European Union (Project No.
456 Aral 00-1030) and the German Science Foundation (DFG Project 436 RUS 113/663 and
457 OB 86/4). We are grateful for their financial support. We thank A. Kenesov for help in
458 logistics and to all local collaborators from Aral'sk, Nukus, and Tastubek who
459 contributed to the success of the expeditions. We would like to thank Danis Nourgaliev,
460 Kazan University, and his group for an excellent scientific and logistic cooperation during
461 and beyond the project phase.

462

463

463 **REFERENCES**

- 464 Aladin, N.V., & Plotnikov, I.S. (1995). Izmenenie urovnia Aral'skogo morja:
465 Paleolimnologicheskie i arkheologicheskie dokazatel'stva. In Biologicheskie i
466 prirodovedcheskie problemy Aral'skogo moria i Priaral'ia, Part 1 (pp. 17–46). Trudy
467 Zoologicheskogo instituta RAN 262. Saint Petersburg: Nauka.
- 468 Andrianov, B.V. (1969). Drevnie orositel'nye sistemy Priaral'ja (v svyazi s istoriej
469 vosniknovenija i razvitija orošaemogo zemledelija). Moskva: Nauka.
- 470 Andrianov, B.V. (1991). Iz istorii orosheniia v basseine Aral'skogo moria. In: Aral'skij
471 krizis (Istoriko-geograficheskaja retrospektiva) (pp. 101-123). Moscow: Nauka.
- 472 Aral'skij krizis, 1991. Aral'skij krizis (Istoriko-geograficheskaja retrospektiva). Moscow,
473 Nauka (in Russian).
- 474 Arkhangel'skii, A.D. (1931). Geologicheskie issledovanija v Nizov'jakh Amu-Dar'i. Trudy
475 Glavnogo Geologo-Razvednogo Upravlenija V.S.N.Kh. S.S.S.R. (Transactions of
476 the Geological and Prospecting Service of U.S.S.R.) 12. Moscow, Leningrad:
477 Glavnogo Geologo-Razvednogo Upravlenija.
- 478 Austin, P., Mackay, A., Palagushkina, O. Leng, M., 2007. A high-resolution diatom-
479 inferred palaeoconductivity and sea-level record of the Aral Sea for the last ca. 1600
480 years. Quaternary Research, 67/3, 383-393.
- 481 Baipakov, K. & Groshev, V. (1991). Istoricheskaja dinamika irrigacii na Srednei
482 Syrdar'e. In: Aral'skij krizis. Aral'skij krizis (Istoriko-geograficheskaja retrospektiva)
483 (pp. 173–186). Moscow: Nauka.
- 484 Bar-Matthews, M., Ayalon, A., Kaufmann, A., 1998. Middle to late Holocene (6500 years
485 period) palaeoclimate in the eastern Mediterranean region from stable isotopic
486 composition of speleothems from Soreq Cave, Israel. In: Issar, A.S., Brown, N.
487 (Eds.), Water, Environment and Society in Time of Climate Change. Dordrecht,
488 Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 203–214.
- 489 Barthold, W. (1910). Nachrichten über den Aral-See und den unteren Lauf des Amu-
490 darja von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum XVII. Jahrhundert. Quellen und Forschungen
491 zur Erd- und Kulturkunde 2. Leipzig: Otto Wigand.
- 492 Blanc, E. (1891). Discovery of a fresh-water lake near the Sea of Aral. Science 17 (434),
493 300.
- 494 Boomer, I., Aladin, N., Plotnikov, I., & Whatley, R. (2000). The palaeolimnology of the
495 Aral Sea: A review. Quaternary Science Reviews, 19, 1259–1278.
- 496 Boroffka, N.G.O., Bajpakov, K.M., Achatov, G.A., Erzhanova, A., Lobas, D.A., &
497 Savel'eva, T.V. (2003–2004). Prospektionen am nördlichen Aral-See, Kazachstan.
498 Archäologische Mitteilung aus Iran und Turan, 35–36 [2005], 1–81.
- 499 Boroffka, N.G.O., H. Oberhänsli, Achatov, G.A., N.V. Aladin, Bajpakov, K.M.,
500 Erzhanova, A., A. Hörnig, S. Krivonogov, D.A. Lobas, & T.V. Savel'eva, B
501 Wuennemann, (2005). Human settlements on the northern shores of Lake Aral and
502 water level changes. Mitigation Adapt. Strateg. Glob. Change, 10, 71–85.
- 503 Boroffka, N.G.O., Oberhänsli, H., Sorrel, P., Demory, F., Reinhardt, C., Wünnemann, B.,
504 Alimov, K., Baratov, S., Rakhimov, K., Saparov, N., Shirinov, T., Krivonogov, S.K.
505 (2006). Archaeology and climate: Settlement and lake level changes at the Aral Sea.
506 Geoarchaeology 21 (7), 721–734.
- 507 Bortnik, V.N., & Chistyeva, S.P. (Eds.). (1990). Gidrometeorologiya i Gidrokhemija
508 Morei SSSR. Vol. VII: Aral'skoye more. Leningrad: Gidrometeoizdat.
- 509 Bryson, R.A., 1996. Proxy indications of Holocene winter rains in southwest Asia
510 compared with simulated rainfall. In: Dalfes, H.N., Kukla, G., Weiss, H. (Eds.), Third

- 511 Millenium BC; Climate Change and Old World Collapse. NATO ASI Series I, vol. 49.
512 Springer Verlag, pp. 465–473.
- 513 Butakoff, A. (1853). Survey of the Aral Sea. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
514 of London 23, 93-101. (map available at:
515 www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/aral_1853.jpg).
- 516 Butakoff, A. & Michell, J. (1867). The delta and mouths of the Amu-Daria, or Oxus.
517 Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London 37, 152–160.
- 518 Cour, P., 1974. Nouvelles techniques de détection des flux et de retombées polliniques:
519 étude de la sédimentation des pollens et des spores à la surface du sol. Pollen et
520 Spores 23 (2), 247–258.
- 521 Doluhanov, P.M., 1985. Aridnaja zona Straogo Sveta v pozdnem Pleistocene I Holocene
522 (Arid zone of the Old World in the Late Pleistocene and Holocene). Bulletin of the All-
523 Russian Geographic Society 117 (1), 16–23 (in Russian).
- 524 Esper, J., Schweingruber, F.H., Winiger, M., 2002. 1300 years of climate history for
525 Western Central Asia inferred from tree-rings. The Holocene 12, 267–277.
- 526 Ferguson, Robert W., 2003. The devil and the disappearing Sea. Ramcoast Books,
527 Vancouver. See comment Page 1
- 528 Frumkin, A., Magaritz, M., Carmi, I., Zak, I., 1991. The Holocene climatic record of the
529 salt caves of Mount Sedom, Israel. Holocene 1, 191–200.
- 530 Gentelle, P. (1989). Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane Orientale (1974-1978) 1.
531 Données paléogéographiques et fondements de l'irrigation. Mémoires de la Mission
532 Archéologique Française en Asie Centrale 3. Paris: De Boccard.
- 533 Gerasimov, I.P. (1978). Ancient rivers in the deserts of Soviet Central Asia. In: W. C.
534 Brice (Ed.), The environmental history of the Near and Middle East since the Last
535 Ice Age (pp. 319-334). London, New York, San Francisco: Academic Press.
- 536 Glantz, M., 1999. Creeping Environmental Problems and Sustainable Development in
537 the Aral Sea Basin. Cambridge University Press, 304 pp.
- 538 Glazovsky, N.F., 1995. The Aral Sea Basin. In: Kasperson, J.X., Kasperson, R.E.,
539 Turner, II, B.L. (Eds.), Regions at risk: Comparisons of Threatened Environments, on-
540 line ed. United Nations University Press, Tokyo, New-York, Paris.
- 541 Issar, A.S., Govrin, Y., Geyh, A. M., Wakshal, E., Wolf, M., 1991. Climate changes
542 during the Upper Holocene in Israel. Israelian Journal Earth Sciences 40, 219–223.
- 543 Itina, M.A. (1977). Istoriiia stepnykh plemen luzhnogo Priaral'ia (II – nachalo I
544 tysiacheletiiia do n. e.). Trudy Khorezmskoi arkheologo-etnograficheskoi ekspedicii
545 10. Moscow: Nauka.
- 546 Jansen, J.H.F. S.J. Van der Gaast, B. Koster, A.J. Vaars. 1998. CORTEX, a shipboard
547 XRF-scanner for element analyses in split sediment cores. Marine Geology 151,
548 143–153.
- 549 Kharin, N.G., Tateishi, R., Gringof, I.G., 1998. Use of NOAA AVHRR data for
550 assessment of precipitation and land degradation in Central Asia. Arid Ecosystems 4
551 (8), 25–34.
- 552 Klotz, S., Pross, J., 1999. Pollen-based reconstructions in the European Pleistocene:
553 The modified indicator species approach as a tool for quantitative analysis. Acta
554 Palaeobotanica, Supplementum, 2, 481–486.
- 555 Klotz, S., Guiot, J., Mosbrugger, V., 2003. Continental European Eemian and early
556 Würmian climate evolution: comparing signals using different quantitative

- 557 reconstruction approaches based on pollen. *Global and Planetary Change*, 36, 277–
558 294.
- 559 Klotz, S., Müller, U., Mosbrugger, V., Beaulieu, J.L. de, Reille, M., 2004. Eemian to early
560 Würmian climate dynamics: history and pattern of changes in Central Europe.
561 *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology*, 211, 107–126.
- 562 Krivonogov, S. O. Lebedeva, W. Dementiev, E. Vishnevskaya, A. Devjatova. 2003;
563 Geoinformationnaya podderschka projekta INTAS: Aralskoe Morie. *ARCREVIEW*,
564 3/26, 19–20.
- 565 Kropotkin Prince (1904). The desiccation of Eur-Asia. *The Geographical Journal* 23.6,
566 722–734.
- 567 Landmann, G., Reimer, A., Lemcke, G., Kempe, S., 1996. Dating Late Glacial abrupt
568 climate changes in the 14,570-yr long continuous varve record of Lake Van, Turkey.
569 *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* 122, 107–118.
- 570 Le Callonec, L., Person, A., Renard, R., Létolle, R., Nebout, N., Ben Khelifa, L.,
571 Rubanov, I., 2005. Preliminary data on chemical changes in the Aral Sea during low-
572 levels periods from the last 9000 years. *Compte Rendus Geosciences* 337, 1035–
573 1044.
- 574 Lemcke, G., Sturm, M., 1996. ¹⁸O and trace element measurements as proxy for the
575 reconstruction of climate changes at Lake Van (Turkey). In: Dalfes, H.N., Kukla, G.,
576 Weiss, H. (Eds.), *Third Millennium BC; Climate Change and Old World Collapse*.
577 NATO ASI Series I, vol. 49. Springer Verlag, pp. 653–678.
- 578 Létolle, R., Mainguet, M., 1996. *Der Aralsee: Eine ökologische Katastrophe*. Springer
579 Verlag, Berlin.
- 580 Levina, L.M. (1998). K istorii i issledovaniu Khorezmskoj arkheologo-etnograficheskoj
581 ekspeditsii v Vostochnom Priaral'e. In: E. E. Nerazik (Ed.), *Priaral'e v drevnosti i*
582 *srednevekov'e. K 60-letiu Khorezmskoj arkheologo-etnograficheskoj ekspeditsii*
583 (pp. 42-59). Moscow: Vostochnaja Literatura.
- 584 Levina, L.M. & Ptichnikov, A.V. (1991). Dinamika irrigacii i drevnikh rusel Kuvandar'i v
585 Dzhetyasar (Vostochnoe Priaral'e). In: *Aralskij krizis (Istoriko-geograficheskaia*
586 *retrospektiva)* (pp. 142–161). Moscow: Nauka.
- 587 Lipschitz, N., Lev-Yadun, S., Waisel, Y., 1981. Dendroarchaeological investigations sin
588 Israel (Asada). *Israel Exploration Journal* 31, 230–234.
- 589 Mackay, A.W., Ryves, D.B., Battarbee, R.W., Flower, R.J., Jewson, D., Rioual, P.M.J.,
590 Sturm, M. 2005. 1000 years of climate variability in central Asia: assessing the
591 evidence using Lake Baikal diatom assemblages and the application of a diatom-
592 inferred model of snow thickness. *Global & Planetary Change* 46, 281-297.
- 593 Maev, E.G., & Karpichev, Y.A. (1999). Radiocarbon dating of bottom sediments in the
594 Aral Sea: Age deposits and sea level fluctuations. *Water Resources*, 26, 187–194.
- 595 Meiendorf, E. K. (1975). *Puteshestvie iz Orenburga v Bukharu. Central'naiia Aziia v*
596 *istochnikakh i materialakh XIX- nachaa XX veka*, M 46. Moscow: Nauka.
597 (Translation by E. K. Vetger of the french edition: *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Boukhara,*
598 *fait en 1820, à travers les steppes qui s'étendent à l'est de la mer d'Aral et au-delà*
599 *de l'ancien Jaxartes. Rédigé par M. le baron G. de Meyendorff et revu par M. le*
600 *chevalier Amédée Jaubert, Paris 1826).*
- 601 Michell, R. (1868). The Jaxartes or Syr-Daria, from Russian sources. *Journal of the*
602 *Royal Geographical Society of London* 38, 429–459.

- 603 Micklin, P.P., Williams, W.D., (Eds), 1996. The Aral Sea Basin. NATO Advanced
604 Science Institute Series, Partnership Sub-Series 2, Environment 12. Springer-Verlag,
605 Berlin.
- 606 Murchison, R.I. & de Khanikoff, M.N. (1844). On the desiccation of the Tanghi-Daria, a
607 branch of the Jaxartes. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 14,
608 333–335.
- 609 Nihoul, J.C.J., Zavialov P.O., Micklin Ph.P., (Eds.), 2004. Dying and Dead Seas:
610 Climatic versus Anthropic Causes. Proceedings of the NATO Advanced Research
611 Workshop, Liège, Belgium (7–10 May, 2003). NATO Science Series: IV: Earth and
612 Environmental Sciences 36. Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- 613 Nourgaliev, D.K., Heller, F., Borisov, A.S., Hajdas, I., Bonani, G., Iassonov, P.G., et al.
614 (2003). Very high resolution paleosecular variation record for the last ~1200 years
615 from the Aral Sea. *Geophysical Research Letters* 30, 17, 1914,
616 doi:10.1029/2003GLO18145.
- 617 Nurtaev, B. (2004). Aral Sea Basin evolution: Geodynamic aspect. In J.C.J. Nihoul, P.O.
618 Zavialov, & P.P. Micklin (Eds.), Dying and Dead Seas climatic versus anthropic
619 causes. Proceedings of the NATO Advanced Research Workshop. NATO Science
620 Series: IV: Earth and Environmental Sciences 36 (pp. 91–97). Berlin: Springer-
621 Verlag.
- 622 Reinhardt, Ch. (2005). Untersuchungen zur holozänen Seespiegelentwicklung des
623 Aralsees. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany.
- 624 Reinhardt, C., & Wuennemann, B. (2005). Investigating the Holocene lake history of the
625 Aral Sea—A GIS supported geomorphological approach. In From source to delta,
626 Abstract Volume Biannual Meeting Deutsche Quartärvereinigung (pp. 69–70).
627 Deutsche Quartärvereinigung: Nijmegen.
- 628 Rubanov, I.V., Ishnijazov, D.P., Baskakova, M.A., & Chistiakov, P.A. (1987). *Geologija*
629 *Aral'skogo Morya*. Tashkent: Fan.
- 630 Sarybaev, K. (2002). L'agriculture irriguée dans le delta de l'Amou Darya à la fin du
631 XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle. In: Karakalpaks et autres gens de L'Aral: entre
632 rivages et déserts. *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 10 (pp. 167–175). Tachkent, Aix-en-
633 Provence: IFÉAC.
- 634 Schilman, B., Ayalon, A., Bar-Matthews, M., Kagan, E.J., Almogi-Labin, A., 2002. Sea-
635 land palaeoclimate correlation in the Eastern Mediterranean region during the Late
636 Holocene. *Israel Journal of Earth Sciences* 51, 181–190.
- 637 Schmidt, B. & Gruhle, W. (2003). Klimaextreme in römischer Zeit. Eine Strukturanalyse
638 dendrochronologischer Daten. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 33.3, 421–426.
- 639 Shnitnikov, A.V., 1969. Vnutrивekovaja izmenchivost komponentov obchei uvlaznennosti
640 (Intercennial variability of general humidity components). *Nauka, Leningrad*, 244
641 pp. (in Russian).
- 642 Sorrel, P. (2006). The Aral Sea: a palaeoclimate archive. PhD Thesis University
643 Potsdam (Germany) and University Claude Bernard–Lyon (France), 109 pp.
- 644 Sorrel, P., Popescu, S.-M., Head, M.J., Suc, J.P., Klotz, S., Oberhänsli, H., 2006.
645 Hydrographic development of the Aral Sea during the last 2000 years based on a
646 quantitative analysis of dinoflagellate cysts. *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology,*
647 *Palaeoecology* 234 (2–4), 304–327.
- 648 Sorrel, P., Popescu, S.-M., Klotz, S., Suc, J.P., Oberhänsli, H., 2007a. Climate variability
649 in the Aral Sea basin (Central Asia) during the late Holocene based on vegetation
650 changes. *Quaternary Research* 67/3, 357– 370.

- 651 Sorrel, P., Oberhänsli, H., Boroffka, N.G.O., Nourgaliev, D., Dulski, P., Röhl U., 2007b.
652 Control of wind strength and frequency in the Aral Sea basin during the late
653 Holocene. *Quaternary Research* 67/3, 371– 382.
- 654 Tarasov, P.E., Webb III, T., Andreev, A.A., Afanas'eva, N.B., Berezina, N.A., Bezusko,
655 L.G., Blyakharchuk, T.A., Bolikhovskaya, N.S., Cheddadi, R., Chernavskaya, M.M.,
656 Chernova, G.M., Dorofeyuk, N.I., Dirksen, V.G., Elina, G.A., Filimonova, L.V.,
657 Glebov, F.Z., Guiot, J., Gunova, V.S., Harrison, S.P., Jolly, D., Khomutova, V.I.,
658 Kvavadze, E.V., Osipova, I.M., Panova, N.K., Prentice, I.C., Searse, L.,
659 Sevastyanov, D.V., Volkova, V.S., Zernitskaya, V.P., 1998. Present-day and mid-
660 Holocene biomes reconstructed from pollen and plant macrofossil data from the
661 former Soviet Union and Mongolia. *Journal of Biogeography* 25, 1029–1053.
- 662 Tolstov, S.P. (1962). *Po drevnim del'tam Oksa i Jaksarta*. Moscow: Vostochnaja
663 Literatura.
- 664 Varuschenko, S.I., Varuschenko, A.N., Klige, R.K., 1987. *Izmeneniya rezima*
665 *Kaspijskogo morja i besstoknih vodoemov v paleovremeni (Variations of the*
666 *Caspian regime and of closed lakes in palaeotimes)*. Nauka, Moscow, 239 pp. (in
667 Russian).
- 668 Wood, H. (1875). Notes on the Lower Amu-darya, Syr-darya and Lake Aral, in 1874.
669 *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 45, 367-413.
- 670 Yagodin, V. N., 2005. The medieval Aral Sea crisis. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus*
671 *Iran und Turan* 37, 307-322.
- 672 Zavialov, P.O., 2005. *Physical Oceanography of the Dying Aral Sea*. Springer Verlag,
673 Chichester, UK, 146 pp.
- 674
675

675 Figure captions:

676
677 Fig. 1 Ancient lake level reconstruction for the Aral Sea (a) and a close-up of the Pulzhaj
678 area SW of the Aral Sea (b) (after Krivonogov et al., 2003)

679 Coloured lines outline different lake levels: blue 54 m asl.; rose 53 m asl.; red 46 m asl.;
680 dashed green and red lines are hypothetical sea levels above 54 m asl. earlier reported
681 by Boomer et al. (2000).

682
683 Fig. 2 Sediment core from Chernyshov Bay: a) Lithology with relative Ca and b) Sr
684 concentrations through the core reflecting salinity change within the lake water body, c)
685 lake level changes related to d) human and/or e) climate causes.

686
687 Fig.3 Climatic variations in the Middle East and western Central Asia based on
688 reconstruction from pollen data (Sorrel et al., 2007a). MTC: mean temperature of the
689 coldest month (°C); MAT: mean annual temperature (°C); MTW: mean temperature of
690 the warmest month (°C), and MAP: mean annual precipitation (mm/yr) in the Aral Sea
691 basin during the last 2000 years. These climatic parameters are compared to the $\delta^{18}\text{O}$
692 record from carbonate deposits in the Soreq Cave, Israel (Schilman et al., 2002).

693
694 Fig. 4 Settlement and irrigation systems of the Bronze Age (4000–3000 BP) at Kokcha,
695 site 15: 1 pit-dwellings, 2 surface dwellings, 3 irrigation canals (adapted from Itina,
696 1977).

697
698 Fig. 5 Settlements and irrigation systems near Bazar-kala. A: general plan, 1 Bronze
699 Age canals, 2 canals of the 7th–5th Century BC, 3 canals of Antiquity (4th Century BC –
700 AD 4th Century), 4 Earthworks connected to irrigation, 5 rivers, 6 Bronze Age
701 settlements, 7 settlements of the 7th–5th Century BC, 8 settlements of earlier Antiquity
702 (4th Century BC – AD 1st Century), 9 settlements of later Antiquity (AD 2nd – 4th Century);
703 B: Aerial photograph of Bazar-kala with one of the major canals; C: cross section of a
704 major canal at Bazar-kala (point 423). A-C adapted from Andrianov 1969.

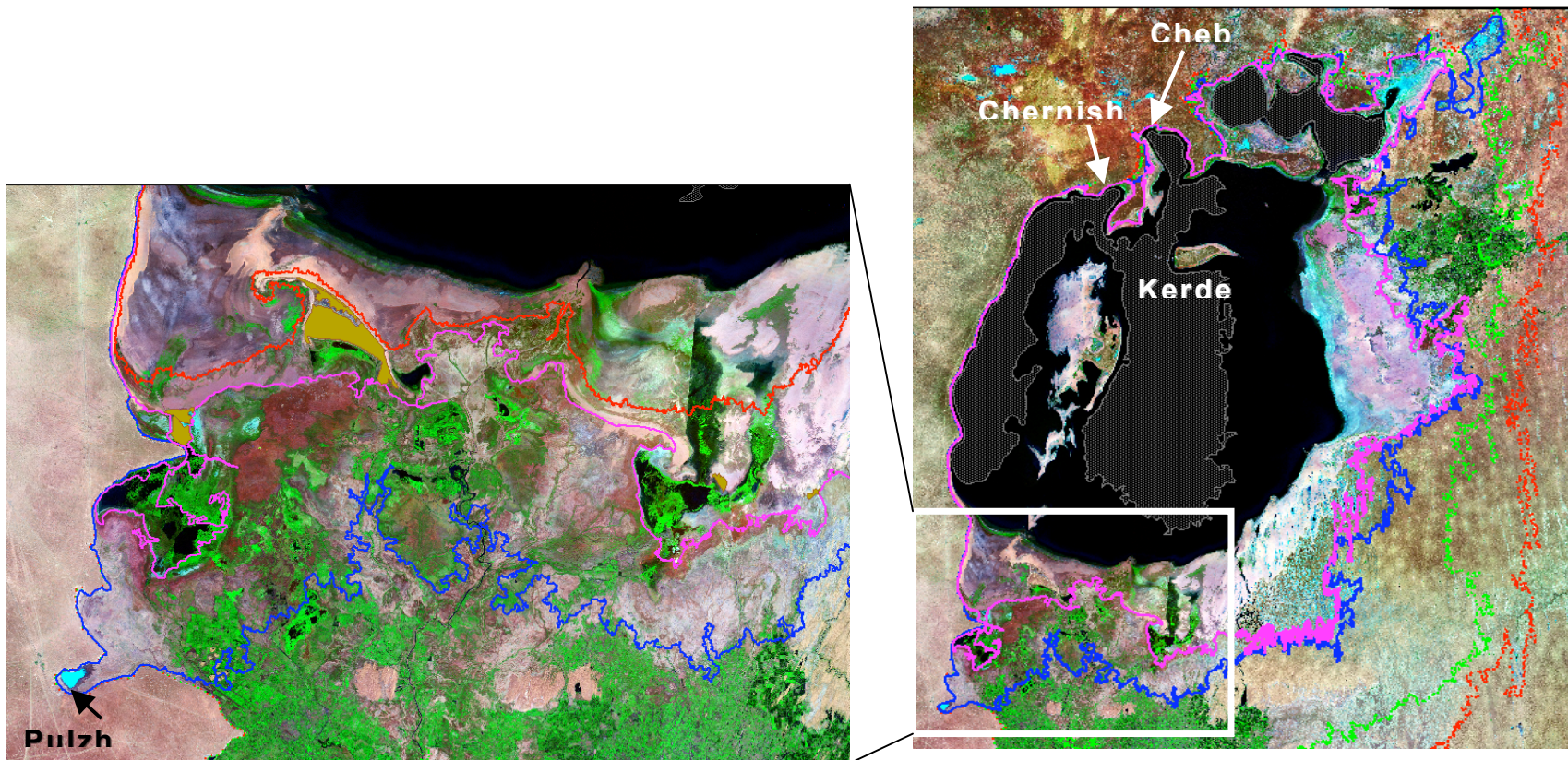
705
706 Fig 6 Areas with archaeological traces of ancient irrigation systems (shaded) around the
707 Aral Sea, with location of some important sites.

708
709 Fig. 7 1 Aerial view of irrigated field systems near Koi Krylgan Kala (4th Century BC – AD
710 4th Century) (adapted from Andrianov, 1969), 2 irrigated field system of the AD 11th –
711 13th Century north of Kokcha (CLIMAN Expedition, 2003).

712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723

724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759

Fig. 1



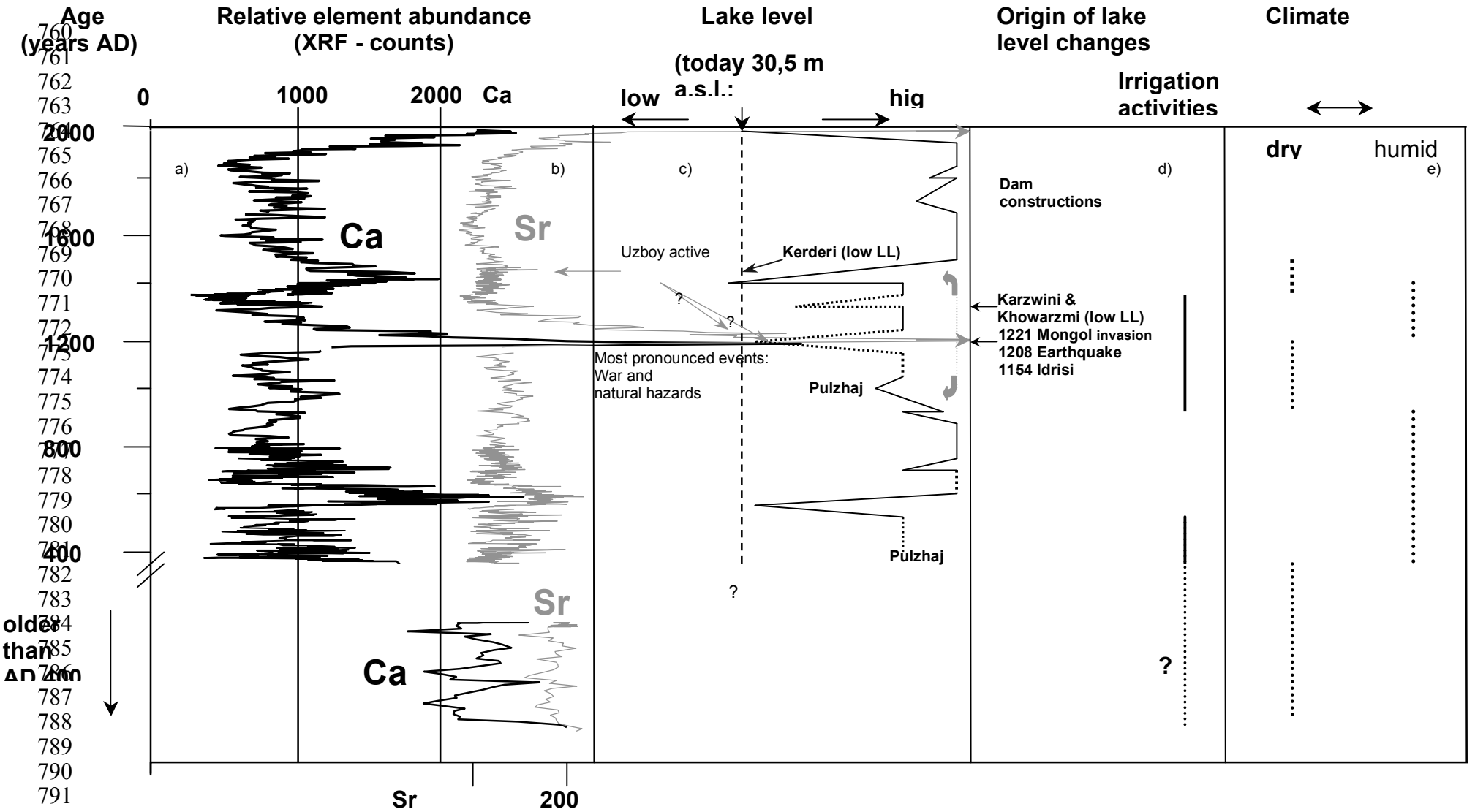
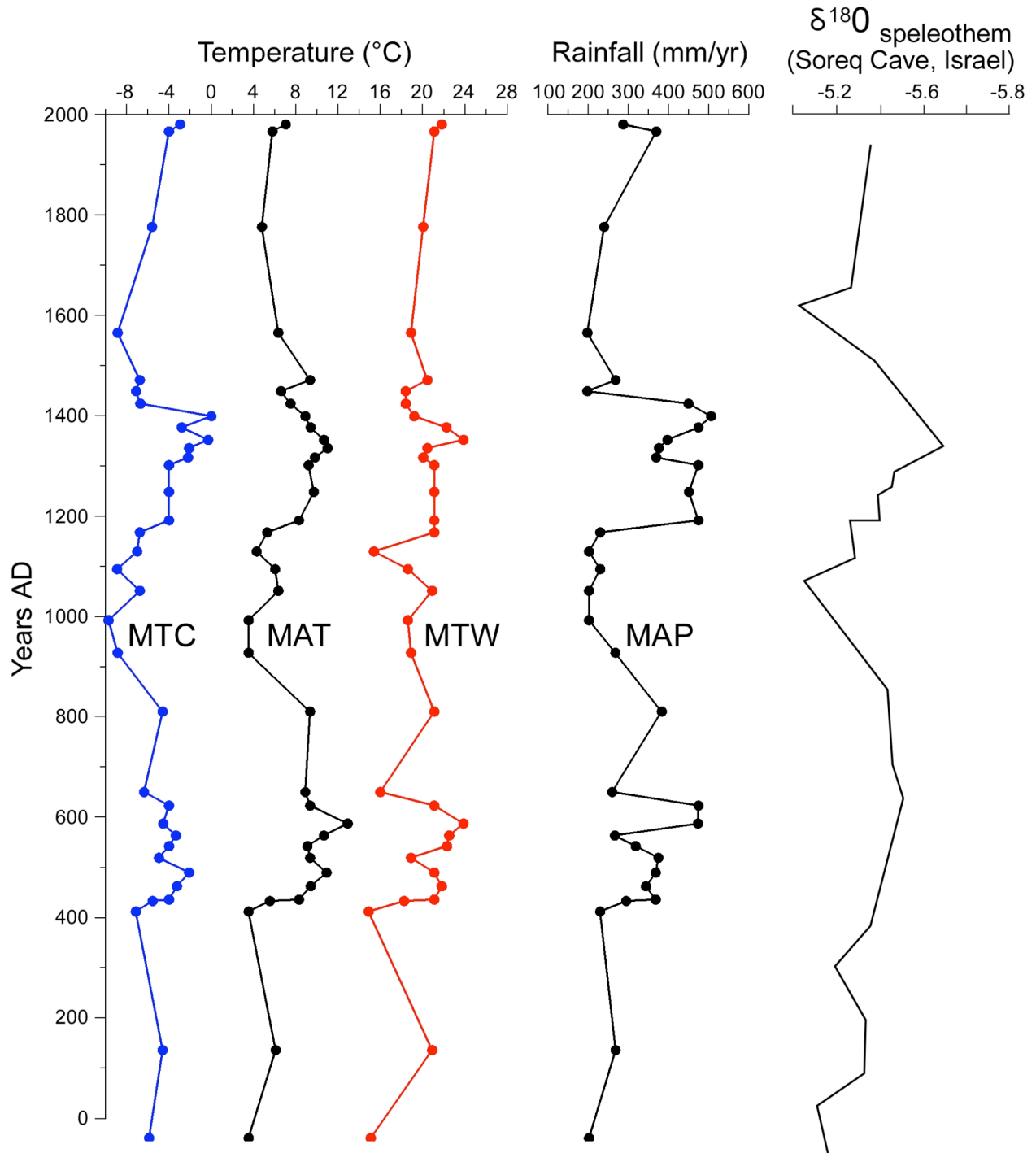
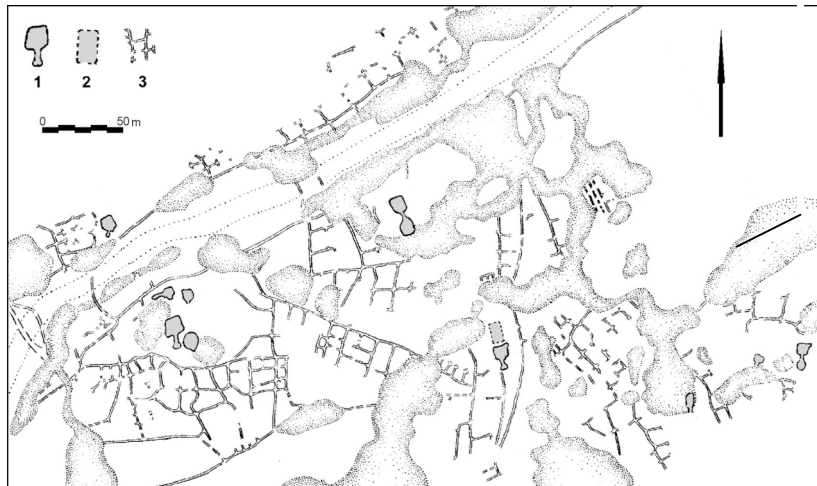


Fig. 2

795 **Figure 3**

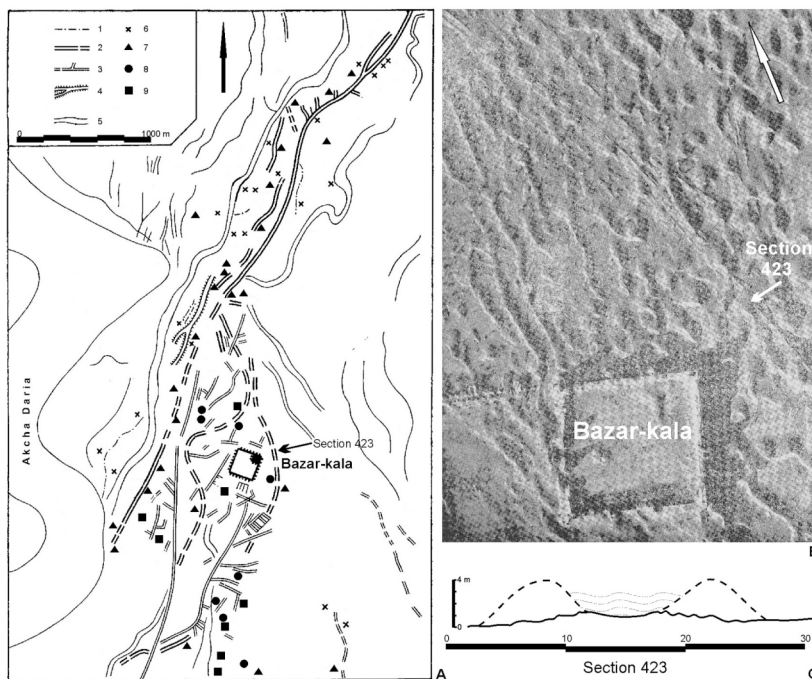


796
797
798
799
800
801



802
803
804
805
806

Figure 4

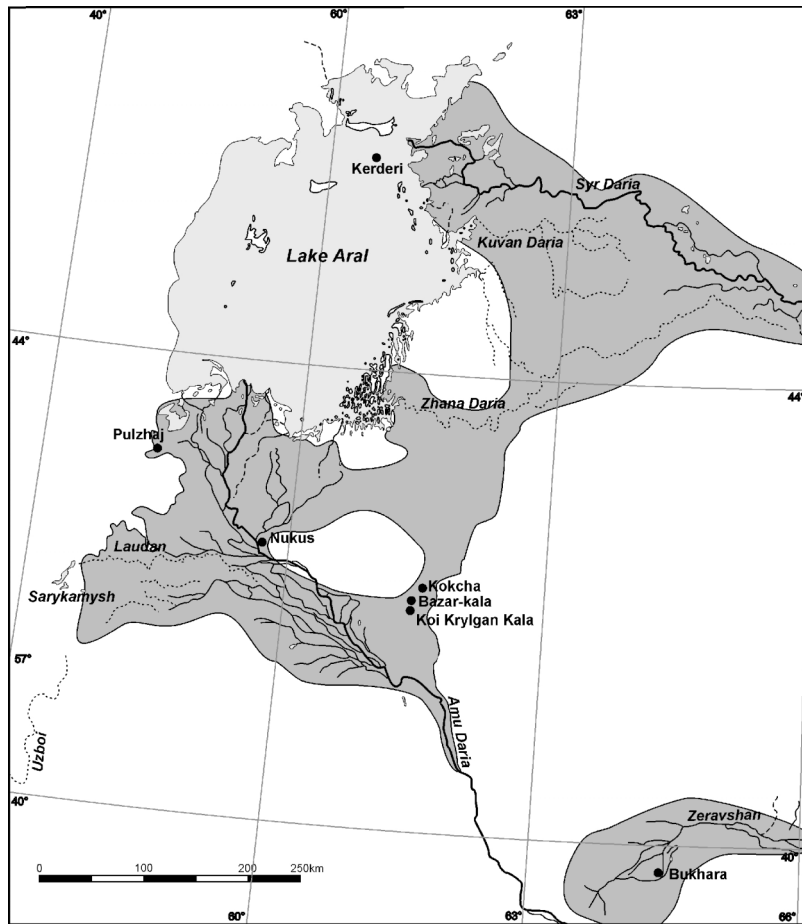


807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817

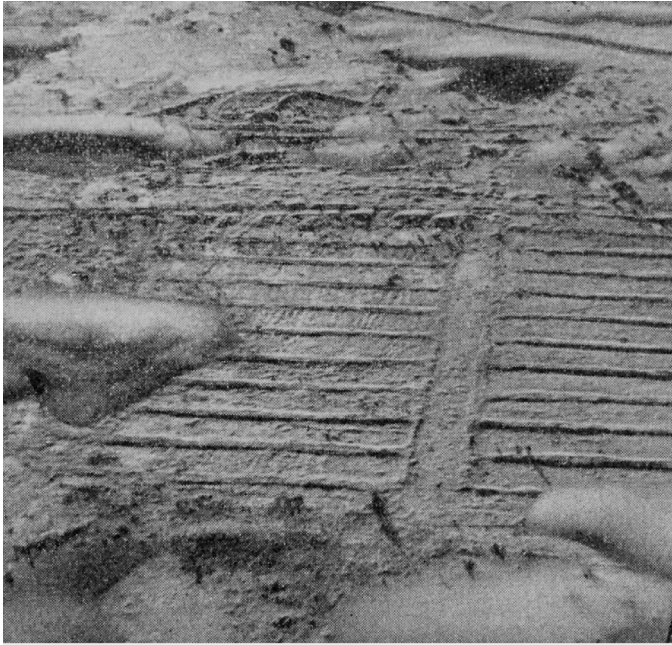
Figure 5

818
819
820
821
822
823
824

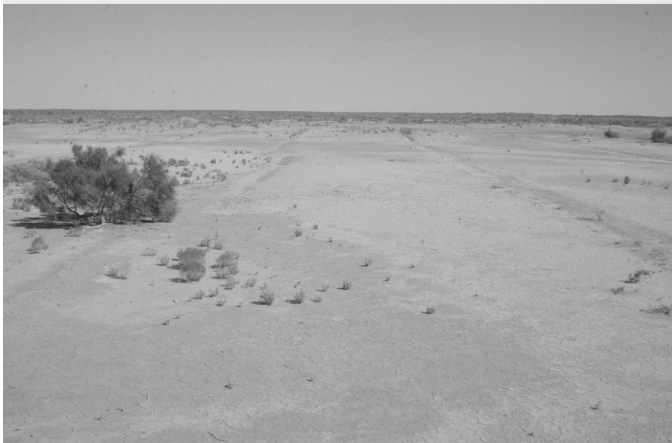
Figure 6



825



1



2

826
827
828

Figure 7