Can natural or anthropogenic explanations of late-Holocene CO$_2$ and CH$_4$ increases be falsified?

W.F. Ruddiman, J.E. Kutzbach and S.J. Vavrus

Abstract

Concentrations of CO$_2$ and CH$_4$ in the atmosphere rose slowly during the millennia prior to the industrial era. Opposing explanations for these increases have invoked natural and anthropogenic sources. Here we revisit this argument using new evidence to see whether either explanation can be falsified (disproven, in the sense proposed by German philosopher Karl Popper). Two lines of evidence suggest that natural explanations for the CH$_4$ increase are falsified: (1) the absence of any sustained methane increase early in seven interglaciations prior to the Holocene; and (2) weakening emissions during the last 5000 years from the two largest global sources of CH$_4$ – north tropical and boreal wetlands. Consistent with this interpretation, a new synthesis of archeological data from southern Asia reported in this issue indicates an exponential increase in CH$_4$ emissions from expanding rice irrigation during the last 5000 years. Neither the anthropogenic nor the natural explanations for the CO$_2$ increase can at this point be falsified. Previous studies that rejected the early anthropogenic hypothesis based on the small size of early farming populations ignored a rich array of archeological and historical evidence showing that early farmers used much more land per capita than those in the centuries just before the industrial era. Previous interpretations of very small terrestrial (anthropogenic and other) carbon emissions during the last 7000 years based on the $\delta^{13}$CO$_2$ record failed to incorporate credible estimates of very large carbon burial in boreal peat lands during the late Holocene. Allowance for larger burial in peat deposits requires much greater emissions of anthropogenic carbon to balance the $\delta^{13}$CO$_2$ budget. The prevalence of downward CO$_2$ trends during equivalent intervals early in previous interglaciations poses a major problem for natural explanations of the late-Holocene CO$_2$ increase.

Keywords

agriculture, anthropogenic, carbon isotopes, land use, late Holocene, models

Introduction

Atmospheric concentrations of CO$_2$ and CH$_4$ increased during the last several thousand years. Ongoing arguments over whether these increases were natural or anthropogenic have focused mainly on two lines of evidence summarized in this paper. Part 1 examines gas trends from early in previous interglaciations. Rising concentrations like those in the Holocene would argue that the Holocene increases were natural, but falling trends in previous interglaciations would mark the Holocene increases as anomalous and thus anthropogenic. Part 2 explores changes in specific sources of CH$_4$ and CO$_2$ invoked in the natural and anthropogenic hypotheses. Part 3 assesses whether or not the evidence currently available is sufficient to falsify either the natural or anthropogenic explanations for the pre-industrial greenhouse-gas increases.

Part 1. Holocene CO$_2$ and CH$_4$ trends versus prior interglaciations

Roughly every 100 000 years, Earth’s climate emerges from a full glaciation into a full interglaciation with changes easily detected in climatic proxies from marine sediments and ice cores. Ice core records in Antarctica now extend to more than 800 000 years ago and penetrate previous interglaciations back to marine isotopic stage 19. In this section, we compare Holocene greenhouse-gas trends against those in seven previous interglaciations: isotopic stages 5, 7, 9, 11, 15, 17, and 19. Isotopic stage 3, incorrectly identified as interglacial by Emiliani (1966), is omitted. Stage 13 is omitted because the deglaciation preceding it does not show a typically abrupt shift.

We use two methods to align Holocene gas concentrations against those in previous interglaciations. We call one method the ‘insolation alignment’ because it is based on orbital insolation. This method aligns the recent Northern Hemisphere summer insolation minimum at the precession period against the first comparable insolation minimum in each previous interglaciation. The timescales are shown as years before the precession insolation minima.

We call the other method the ‘deglaciation alignment’. It aligns the beginning of the deglaciation that preceded the Holocene
roughly 10,000 years from now. The insolation alignments in year precession signal that was reached a few hundred years ago, two influences: a minimum in the contribution from the 22,000 (Figure 1) is approaching a future minimum whose timing reflects calculated precession (calculations, which primarily reflect changes in eccentricity-modulated precession than do monthly mean calculations for those 182 days of the year with higher values than the caloric summer insolation season devised by Milankovitch (1941) and compiled for 65°N latitude by Berger (1978). The EDC3 timescale is based primarily on an ice-flow model, with a few tie-points linked to results from orbital tuning.

**Insolation alignment**

Because both tilt (obliquity) and eccentricity-modulated precession (esino) play important roles in forcing various aspects of global climate, several insolation indices are available. The metric chosen here is the caloric summer insolation season devised by Milankovitch (1941) and compiled for 65°N latitude by Berger (1978). This metric calculates mean 65°N northern summer insolation for those 182 days of the year with higher values than the other 182 days. It expresses these variations as excesses or deficits relative to the modern value. This index gives greater emphasis to contributions from changes in tilt than do monthly mean calculations, which primarily reflect changes in eccentricity-modulated precession (esino).

The current 65°N caloric summer-season insolation trend (Figure 1) is approaching a future minimum whose timing reflects two influences: a minimum in the contribution from the 22,000 year precession signal that was reached a few hundred years ago, and a minimum in the 41,000 year tilt signal that will occur roughly 10,000 years from now. The insolation alignments in figure 1 for the 7 previous interglaciations are based on the Dome C timescale of Parrenin et al. (2007).

The corresponding alignments of the CH$_4$ and CO$_2$ trends for all eight interglaciations are shown in Figure 2. If we had chosen to align these signals on the precession insolation maximum near the end of each preceding deglaciation rather than on the first precession minimum within each interglaciation, the relative positions of the gas trends shown in Figure 2 would not have changed by more than 1000 years. In all cases, concentrations of both gases were lower during the late-deglacial intervals and then rose to peak concentrations early in each subsequent interglaciation, approximately 10,000 years before the present (or the earlier equivalents to the present).

In all eight interglaciations, the methane concentrations then fell toward lower values for several thousand years after the peak (Figure 2A). In the seven interglaciations prior to the Holocene, the CH$_4$ trends continued downward until the time equivalent to the present day, but the Holocene trend reversed direction 5000 years ago and gradually climbed back to the previous peak level. CH$_4$ concentrations in stage 19 show a brief upward excursion defined by two data points separated by ~1000 years, but then returned to lower values. Loulergue et al. (2008) interpreted this peak as a millennial-scale oscillation, and its brief duration differs from the longer-lasting methane rise of the last 5000 years. (The large negative CH$_4$ oscillation during the Younger Dryas near 12,000–11,000 years ago is another millennial-scale oscillation and will not be discussed further here.)

Most CO$_2$ trends followed a similar pattern (Figure 2B), with lower values during the late-deglacial intervals, increases to peak CO$_2$ concentrations early in the following interglaciation, and then decreases toward the present. Once again, the CO$_2$ trend in the late Holocene differs from the others: it rose by ~22 ppm, while six of the seven other trends fell, some by small amounts (stages 5 and 11), and others by larger amounts (stages 7, 9, and 19). One previous interglaciation (isotopic stage 15, discussed later) shows a slow CO$_2$ increase of ~8 ppm (Figure 2B).

In summary, not one of the seven previous interglaciations shows an upward CH$_4$ trend like that in the late Holocene, and only one shows an upward CO$_2$ trend (Table 1). Given the impossibility of significant anthropogenic influences in earlier interglaciations, these downward gas trends must have been natural in origin.

**Deglaciation alignment.** EPICA (2004) and Broecker and Stocker (2006) used a different method to align Holocene gas trends against those in interglacial stage 11. They aligned the beginning of the two preceding deglaciations and counted forward in “time elapsed” since the start of the deglaciations. Here we apply their method to all seven previous interglaciations. Because marine benthic foraminiferal δ$^{18}$O records are the most common measure of global ice volume (and thus deglacial ice melting), we use the multicore global δ$^{18}$O stack of Lisiecki and Raymo (2005) for this alignment.

The initial δ$^{18}$O decreases that define the start of the deglaciations (Figure 3) began abruptly and can be defined with little uncertainty. The estimated ages of these first decreases in the marine δ$^{18}$O stack agree to within about 1000 years with the estimated ages of the first shifts in the δD index of air temperature over Antarctica to more positive (warmer) values based on the...
EDC3 timescale (Jouzel et al., 2007). Using Dome C δD trends to define the deglacial onsets instead of δ18O would have given almost exactly the same alignments as those shown in Figure 3.

Picking the ends of the deglaciations is more difficult. The δ18O trends end in ‘tails’ that gradually approach full-interglacial values, with sample-to-sample δ18O variations often falling within the analytical error of the δ18O method. To minimize uncertainty in choosing the end of the deglaciations, we truncated each deglacial ‘tail’ at the level where the decreasing δ18O values first attained 90% of the net δ18O change across that deglaciation.

Two groups of deglaciations are evident in Figure 3. The five deglaciations that preceded stages 1, 5, 7, 9, and 19 were short, lasting ~10,000 ± 1000 years. The other three were longer: ~14,000 years for the deglaciation preceding stage 15, ~18,000 years for the deglaciation preceding stage 19.
Table 1. $CO_2$ and $CH_4$ trends during previous interglaciations based on insolation alignment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interglacial</th>
<th>$CH_4$ trend</th>
<th>$CO_2$ trend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage 5</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 7</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 9</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 11</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>[decrease]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 15</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>increase*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 17</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 19</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Small trend.

Several observations justify the claim that methane changes are predictably aligned to insolation. The orbital monsoon theory of Kutzbach (1981) predicts that low-latitude insolation (primarily at the 22 000 year precession cycle) drives changes in monsoon intensity across a broad span of the northern continents from North Africa through Arabia and India and eastward to China. COHMAP (1988) found that this relationship explains the gradual drying of northern wetlands, which were a major source of methane during the early Holocene. Speleothem $\delta^{18}O$ data summarized by Burns (2011, this issue) confirm this pervasive drying trend.

Over longer timescales, the remarkably coherent relationship between cave-calcite $\delta^{18}O$ values in China and low-latitude insolation provides unequivocal confirmation of this monsoonal forcing-and-response relationship (Wang et al., 2007). Based on a wide range of evidence, methane releases from north-tropical wetlands have long been regarded as the largest factor in ice-core $CH_4$ variations (Brook et al., 2000; Chappellaz et al., 1997).

For the Holocene, this link is further supported by the close alignment of the $CH_4$ maximum in GRIP ice dated by annual layering (Blunier et al., 1995) with the most recent 65°N caloric summer-season insolation maximum 11 000–10 500 years ago (Figures 1, 2). In addition, a timescale for Vostok ice based on tuning methane variations to the 22 000 year northern insolation cycle spanning the last 300 000 years (Ruddiman and Raymo, 2003) resembles two other Vostok timescales based on entirely different methods (Ruddiman, 2007). This wide range of evidence justifies using the ‘insolation alignment’ method to evaluate the methane variations.

The relationship of $CO_2$ changes to insolation is more complex. $CO_2$ is highly correlated to the $\delta^{18}O$ index of ice volume (and deep-ocean temperature) during the last 800 000 years because carbon moves from the atmosphere into the deep ocean during glacializations and comes back out during interglacializations. But the mechanisms controlling this transfer and the link or links to insolation remain unclear. Nevertheless, the strong connection between methane variations and 65°N caloric summer-season insolation is by itself sufficient to show that insolation is a valid basis for aligning the entire gas phase in Dome C ice (both $CH_4$ and $CO_2$).

The one exception to the downward $CO_2$ trends during previous interglaciations is the slow $CO_2$ rise during stage 15 (Figure 2). But stage 15 is also unique in another respect: the $\delta^{18}O$ signal continued to decrease throughout that entire early-interglacial interval rather than leveling out at peak-interglacial values. This ongoing $\delta^{18}O$ decrease through the first 10 000 years of the stage 15 ‘interglaciation’ suggests that residual ice sheets were still slowly melting (for reasons that remain unclear), rather than stabilizing or beginning to regrow as in the other interglaciations. Given the close correlation between $CO_2$ and $\delta^{18}O$ during the last 800 000 years, it seems likely that this anomalous $CO_2$ increase in stage 15 is tied to the anomalous $\delta^{18}O$/ice trend. The continuing ice melting early in stage 15 makes it a poor analog for the last 7000 years of the Holocene, when ice volume had reached a stable minimum.

In summary, both theory and wide-ranging observations demonstrate a strong link between methane changes and 65°N caloric summer-season insolation. This link validates the insolation alignment of gas trends shown in Figure 2.

Aligning on deglaciations. Aligning previous interglaciations on the onset of the prior deglaciations and counting forward in
time carries the implicit assumption that all deglaciations developed in similar ways. Yet Figure 3 shows that deglaciations defined by $\delta^{18}O$ trends varied in length from ~10,000 years to almost 20,000 years. This wide range raises the question of whether the varying durations of these deglaciations affected the relative alignments of the subsequent interglaciations.

Stage 11 has often been used as a possible analog to stage 1 because eccentricity-modulated precession ($e \sin \omega$) values were low in amplitude at both times. EPICA (2004) and Broecker and Stocker (2006) aligned the two interglaciations based on the time elapsed since the onset of the previous deglaciations, but the $\delta^{18}O$ decreases in Figure 3 show that the

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**Figure 4.** Dome C concentrations of (A) CH$_4$ and (B) CO$_2$ for the Holocene and seven previous interglaciations using the deglacial $\delta^{18}O$ alignments in Figure 3 and Dome C age estimates from the EDC gas timescale (Parrenin et al., 2007). Gas concentrations from Lüthi et al. (2009); Loulergue et al. (2008); and references therein.
Table 2. CO₂ and CH₄ trends during previous interglaciations based on deglacial-alignment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interglaciation</th>
<th>CH₄ trend</th>
<th>CO₂ trend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage 5</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 7</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 9</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 11</td>
<td>decr/incr</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 15</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>increase*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 17</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage 19</td>
<td>decrease</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* No-analog δ¹⁸O (ice-volume) trend.
Dashed lines indicate no clear trend.

stage 12/11 deglaciation lasted almost twice as long as the stage 2/1 transition.

Rohling et al. (2010) found that the deglacial alignment method produced a complete misalignment of the full stage 11 and stage 1 interglaciations because of the differing lengths of the two preceding deglaciations. Based on sea-level evidence from the Red Sea, they confirmed a conclusion previously suggested by the marine global δ²⁰⁰O stack of Lisiecki and Raymo (2005) and evident in Figure 5A. If the deglacial alignment method is used, the full interglaciations in stages 11 and stage 1 do not overlap in time at all. The entire stage 1 interglaciation correlates with the latter part of the stage 12/11 deglaciation, and the stage 11 interglaciation doesn’t begin until a time equivalent to several thousand years from now. Thus the deglacial-onset method fails to align the Holocene with stage 11. Crucifix and Berger (2006) and Ruddiman (2006) have also criticized the alignments proposed by Broecker and Stocker (2006) for similar reasons.

The evidence from Rohling et al. also overturns another misconception about stage 11. The long interval of near-interglacial warmth registered by indicators such as Antarctic ice-core δD values has been interpreted as indicating a ‘long interglaciation’ that would imply a much longer future duration for the current interglaciation. However, much of the interval of positive δD values shown in Figure 5B falls on the latter part of the stage 12/11 deglaciation. At this time, the δD values had not yet reached full-interglacial levels. The warmest full-interglacial temperatures (highest δD values) were constrained to the full stage 11 interglaciation and lasted for less than 10 000 years. These results invalidate the argument of EPICA (2004) and Broecker and Stocker (2006) that the current interglacial still has some 16 000 years left to run. They also disagree with the conclusion of Berger and Loutre (2003) that the current interglaciation has another 50 000 years left to run. Instead, the falling δD values just after the full stage 11 interglaciation in Figure 5B indicate that the current Antarctic warmth defined by δD values should have ended by now.

Of the seven previous interglaciations aligned on deglacial onsets in Figure 3, four were preceded by deglaciations that lasted for roughly the same 10 000 years as the deglaciation prior to the Holocene. In all of these cases, the alignments of the subsequent interglaciations with the late Holocene are very similar to those produced by the insolation-alignment method – all four show downward CO₂ and CH₄ trends (Figure 4).

In summary, on close inspection, the one past interglaciation for which the deglacial-alignment method has been proposed fails its own test because of the differing lengths of the preceding deglaciations. Moreover, a majority of the comparisons based on the deglacial-alignment method shows downward gas trends like those from the insolation alignments.

Based on the strong justification for the insolation-alignment method, the Holocene CH₄ and CO₂ trends at Dome C are compared with a stacked average of the trends from six previous interglaciations in Figure 6. The stage 15 interglaciation was omitted because of the no-analog ice-volume boundary condition. Gas measurements from each previous interglaciation were binned into 1000-year intervals and averaged. For a few intervals in previous interglaciations with no measurements, values were calculated by averaging those in the prior and subsequent bins. The CH₄ and CO₂ trends in the early part of the Holocene fall close to the stacked average from the previous interglaciations and well within the standard deviations (Figure 6). After 7000 years ago, the Holocene CO₂ trend began to trend upward while
the average from the six previous interglaciations continued to fall. By 2000 years ago, the CO₂ concentration had moved outside the one standard deviation envelope. Starting 5000 years ago, the Holocene CH₄ trend also began to rise while the prior-interglacial average continued to fall, and by 1000 years ago it had emerged above the one standard deviation envelope. This comparison further suggests that the Holocene CO₂ and CH₄ increases in recent millennia were not natural.

**Part 2. Late-Holocene greenhouse-gas sources**

A second way to evaluate natural and anthropogenic causes of the late-Holocene greenhouse-gas increases is to examine the proposed sources. Changes in the anthropogenic sources need to explain not just the late-Holocene gas increases but the additional departures from the downward trends early in previous interglaciations (Figure 6).

**Sources of methane**

**Natural CH₄ sources.** Wetlands are the major natural source of methane. Three wetland regions are large enough to be potential explanations for the late-Holocene CH₄ increase (Table 3A).

Wetlands in boreal regions of Eurasia and North America can be ruled out as the source because the difference in CH₄ concentration between Greenland and Antarctic ice has been decreasing for almost 5000 years. This decreasing trend indicates reduced CH₄ fluxes to Greenland ice from nearby boreal sources, and greater fluxes from low-latitude (tropical or near-tropical) sources lying more nearly equidistant between the two ice sheets. Although Schmidt et al. (2004) inferred increasing late-Holocene boreal fluxes based on the methane gradient, Chappellaz et al. (1997) had actually found a large decrease between an interval centered on ~3750 years ago and one centered on ~650 years ago. A subsequent high-resolution comparison by Brook and Mitchell (2007) further confirmed that the interhemispheric CH₄ gradient has been decreasing since 4700 years ago. The extent of boreal peat lands increased during the last 5000 years (Gorham, 1991; Yu, 2011, this issue; Yu et al., 2009), but summers were cooling (Foley et al., 1994). The cooler boreal summers apparently suppressed late-Holocene methane releases.

Natural wetlands in the northern tropics and subtropics can also be ruled out as the CH₄ source because northern monsoon rains were weakening (Kutzbach, 1981). COHMAP (1988) compiled evidence of lower lake levels and increases in pollen from dry-adapted vegetation across a broad swath from North Africa to India and southern China. Cave calcite sequences in China and Oman (summarized by Burns, 2011, this issue) show large δ¹⁸O increases that can only be explained by progressive monsoon weakening. Both lines of evidence indicate reduced methane emissions across a vast area of the northern tropics and extratropics during the Holocene.

The only extensive wetland region left is the Amazon Basin, much of which lies south of the equator. Summer insolation drives monsoon circulations in the Southern Hemisphere with a timing exactly opposite that in the north. During Southern Hemisphere summer (December–February), insolation increased during the late Holocene and drove a strengthening monsoon with greater precipitation in the Southern Amazon Basin. Evidence of increased monsoonal moisture in this region includes increased monsoonal moisture in this region includes:

**Table 3. Natural and anthropogenic sources of late-Holocene CH₄**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change during late Holocene</th>
<th>Evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Natural sources</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boreal wetlands (~−58%)</td>
<td>Decreasing Greenland/Antarctic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Tropical/subtropical</td>
<td>Decreasing Lake levels, pollen,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetlands (~−58%)</td>
<td>cave calcite δ¹⁸O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Tropical/subtropical</td>
<td>Increasing Lake levels, pollen,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wetlands (~−58%)</td>
<td>cave calcite δ¹⁸O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global natural burning</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(~−25%)</td>
<td>Charcoal, pollen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Anthropogenic sources</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domesticated livestock</td>
<td>Increasing Archeology, history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(~−60%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice irrigation (~−63%)</td>
<td>Increasing Archeology, history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biomass burning (~−25%)</td>
<td>Increasing Archeology, history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human waste (~−60%)</td>
<td>Increasing Archeology, history</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only extensive wetland region left is the Amazon Basin, much of which lies south of the equator. Summer insolation drives monsoon circulations in the Southern Hemisphere with a timing exactly opposite that in the north. During Southern Hemisphere summer (December–February), insolation increased during the late Holocene and drove a strengthening monsoon with greater precipitation in the Southern Amazon Basin. Evidence of increased monsoonal moisture in this region includes δ¹⁸O trends in cave calcite from southeastern Brazil (Cruz et al., 2005; Burns, 2011, this issue) and rising lake levels in the Andes on the western edge of the South American summer monsoon region (Selzer et al., 2000).
Despite this increase in regional methane release, several lines of evidence indicate that southern Amazonian sources are unlikely to have taken control of global fluxes 5000 years ago and caused the CH$_4$ increase. Previous interglaciations (Figure 2A) all show downward CH$_4$ trends during times equivalent to the late Holocene, and these decreases fit the pattern expected from control of methane concentrations by north-tropical and boreal monsoonal sources (as inferred by Brook, et al., 2000 and Chappellaz et al., 1997). Although southern methane sources almost certainly were increasing early in previous interglaciations, northern sources overwhelmed the Amazon sources in the global-average trend.

In addition, simulations of longer orbital timescales with models indicate a dominant Northern Hemisphere methane source. In the FOAM model, monsoon variations in South America were only about half the amplitude of those in southeast Asia and North Africa (Kutzbach et al., 2007). Also, Brovkin et al. (2002) simulated a major Holocene weakening of monsoon precipitation across a large geographic area in the north, compared with a much weaker monsoonal increase in a smaller region of South America. This difference in monsoon responses is expected because of the larger land masses in the Northern Hemisphere and the elevated Tibetan Plateau.

These lines of evidence argue against the possibility that South American sources could have taken control of the global methane trend 5000 years ago. Other considerations also point to a dominant Northern Hemisphere source. The part of the Amazon Basin lying north of the equator follows the Northern Hemisphere pattern, rather than the Southern. And neither southern Africa nor Australia has extensive wetland sources of methane.

Methane is also released when grasslands burn through natural causes (Table 3A). Charcoal accumulation rates are a potential index of changes in natural rates of burning, but the patterns have been regionally heterogeneous during the late Holocene. In several regions where slow increases in charcoal burial have occurred, deforestation by humans is considered a likely complicating factor (Carcailliet al., 2002).

**Anthropogenic CH$_4$ sources.** Several anthropogenic activities have been sources of increasing pre-industrial methane emissions: rice irrigation, livestock tending, biomass burning, and a small input from human waste (Table 3B). As agriculture spread across every continent except Australia and Antarctica during the last 5000 years, emissions from all of these sources grew (Ruddiman, 2003; Ruddiman et al., 2008).

Although both global population and methane concentrations rose rapidly during the late Holocene, much of the CH$_4$ rise occurred prior to 1000 years ago, whereas most of the exponential population increase occurred after that time (Figure 7A). If human activities are to be invoked as the cause of the methane increase, there must have been some decoupling between the two signals such that earlier populations produced larger per-capita emissions than later ones (Ruddiman and Thomson, 2001).

In the case of rice irrigation, long historical records compiled by Ellis and Wang (1997) from a rice-growing region (Wuxi County) in the lower Yangzte River area show evidence of such a decoupling (Figure 7B). Although the regional population increased by a factor of almost 40 between AD 300 and 1750, the total area under...
cultivation leveled out by 1600 because every available piece of arable land (90% of the countryside) was under cultivation by that time. The small increase in cropland between 1500 and 1550 reflects conversion of low-lying brackish areas and other similarly marginal acreage to rice agriculture (Ellis and Wang, 1997).

With population rising but with little increase in total area cultivated, per-capita land use for farming fell from ~0.7 ha in 1100 to ~0.15–0.2 ha in the 1700s and early 1800s (Figure 7B). This trend toward ‘intensification’ (obtaining more food per area farmed) resulted from several factors: increased use of organic fertilizer (vegetable debris, livestock manure, ash, and ‘night soil’), more intense labor (eliminating pests and weeds by hand), and planting multiple crops per year (one or two rice crops in the warm season and a dry land crop in the cold season). If extrapolated to other regions across Southeast Asia, this decreasing per-capita trend could reconcile the seeming mismatch in Figure 7A between the rises in methane emissions and in population.

Additional evidence reconciling this timing mismatch comes from a new archeological summary by Fuller et al. (2011, this issue), who inferred that the area of Asia devoted to rice farming increased exponentially between 5000 and 1000 years ago, reaching ~35% of modern values, even though the population had only reached ~6% of the modern level by 1000 years ago. By their estimate, methane emissions from rice irrigation were sufficient to account for most of the CH₄ increase in ice cores between 5000 and 1000 years ago.

Fuller et al. (2011, this issue) also mapped the spread of livestock across Asia and Africa in the middle and late Holocene. They inferred that methane emissions from livestock would also have had a large effect on CH₄ emissions between 5000 and 1000 years ago but did not attempt a quantitative estimate. The numerical ratio of humans and livestock would also have changed over time. Ellis and Wang (1997) noted that farmers were gradually forced to reduce their per-capita livestock holdings during the later historical era because the rapidly increasing population density drove a need for more nutrition and because pasture and livestock produced less nutrition per hectare than intensive crop farming. As a result, methane emissions from livestock on a per-capita (human) basis also fell in the late historical era.

Finally, Ferretti et al. (2005) found isotopic evidence that early Americans had been doing an unexpectedly large amount of biomass burning prior to being decimated by European diseases in the 1500s (see also Mischler et al., 2009). Elimination of most of the early American population reduced the global per-capita amount of biomass burning after 1500.

In summary, archeological data show that early agriculture is a promising explanation for the late-Holocene methane anomaly. Higher per-capita CH₄ emissions by early farmers can reconcile the somewhat earlier rise in methane concentrations compared to the population trend.

The carbon isotopic composition of atmospheric methane (δ¹³CH₄) also has the potential to help distinguish among possible sources of methane (Table 3). As the atmospheric CH₄ concentration rose in the late Holocene, the δ¹³CH₄ value varied between ~47 and ~49‰ (Ferretti et al., 2005; Mischler et al., 2009).

Natural explanations would require a near-balance between increases of more positive carbon from anthropogenic sources and decreases of more negative carbon (−25‰) from grasslands. −47 and −49‰ (Ferretti et al., 2005; Mischler et al., 2009). The anthropogenic explanation for the nearly constant δ¹³CH₄ value requires a similarly proportioned balancing between increases in negative carbon from rice paddies (−63‰) and livestock (−60‰) against increases of more positive carbon from anthropogenic burning of grass (−25‰). Because all of these anthropogenic CH₄ sources were increasing, this explanation remains viable, but further work is needed to quantify the relative emissions.

Sources of CO₂

Natural CO₂ sources. Several natural explanations have been proposed to explain the CO₂ rise during the last 7000 years (Table 4).

Broecker et al. (1999) proposed an ocean carbonate compensation mechanism triggered by late-deglacial advance of forests into regions from which the melting ice sheets had retreated. As northern forests grew, they extracted hundreds of billions of tons of carbon from the ocean. This transfer threw ocean chemistry out of balance by reducing CO₂-related acidity and permitting deposition of extra CaCO₃ on the seafloor. When high-latitude forests stopped advancing and sequestering oceanic carbon near 7000 years ago, ocean carbonate chemistry adjusted toward a new equilibrium. Increased acidity dissolved CaCO₃ on the seafloor, which added carbonate ions (CO₂⁻) to seawater and emitted hundreds of billions of tons of CO₂ to the atmosphere.

Table 4. Natural and anthropogenic sources of late-Holocene CO₂

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Change during late Holocene</th>
<th>Evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Natural sources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean CaCO₃ chemistry</td>
<td>Increasing?</td>
<td>Marine sediments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coral reefs</td>
<td>Increasing?</td>
<td>Marine geology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean temperature/solubility</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>Benthic marine δ¹⁸O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural terrestrial C releases</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>Lake-sediment pollen and biome modeling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural boreal C storage</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>Peat cores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(storage)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Anthropogenic sources</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deforestation</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>Archeology, history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal and peat burning</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean temp/solubility feedback</td>
<td>Increasing</td>
<td>Benthic marine δ¹⁸O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Ocean feedback</td>
<td>Increasing?</td>
<td>Ice-core δD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(−6‰)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.

- **A. Natural sources**
  - Ocean CaCO₃ chemistry
  - Coral reefs
  - Ocean temperature/solubility
  - Natural terrestrial C releases
  - Natural boreal C storage

- **B. Anthropogenic sources**
  - Deforestation
  - Coal and peat burning
  - Ocean temp/solubility feedback
  - Southern Ocean feedback

boreal regions were reducing (rather than enhancing) emissions of ~58‰ methane, and the increasing CH₄ input from southern Amazonia seems very unlikely to have compensated for this large decrease in the north. Charcoal data show somewhat heterogeneous regional burning trends, with likely human overprints.

The anthropogenic explanation for the nearly constant δ¹³CH₄ value requires a similarly proportioned balancing between increases in negative carbon from rice paddies (−63‰) and livestock (−60‰) against increases of more positive carbon from anthropogenic burning of grass (−25‰). Because all of these anthropogenic CH₄ sources were increasing, this explanation remains viable, but further work is needed to quantify the relative emissions.
The carbonate compensation hypothesis continues to remain vulnerable to a criticism originally raised by Ruddiman (2003). Because forests advanced northward into regions where ice sheets were melting during all of the previous deglaciations, the hypothesis predicts past CO\textsubscript{2} rises like the one that occurred in the Holocene. As shown in Figure 2, however, none of the previous interglaciations shows rising CO\textsubscript{2} values during times equivalent to the late Holocene, except for the slow increase during the no-analog stage 15.

The coral-reef hypothesis (Ridgwell et al., 2003) proposes that reef construction accelerated after the ocean stabilized at or near peak-interglacial sea levels near 7000 years ago. Building reefs made of CaCO\textsubscript{3} and MgCO\textsubscript{3} extracted carbonate ions from the ocean, which was left richer in CO\textsubscript{2} and thus transferred more CO\textsubscript{2} to the atmosphere. Ridgwell et al. (2003) estimated that reef formation could have driven atmospheric CO\textsubscript{2} concentrations higher by 40 ppm, compared with the ~22 ppm increase actually observed.

Field data are not sufficient to provide accurate constraints on Holocene rates of reef construction on a globally integrated basis, although Vecsei and Berger (2004) estimated that this mechanism could have released ~110 GtC after 6000 years ago, enough to drive CO\textsubscript{2} concentrations higher by ~8 ppm. Again, however, the coral-reef hypothesis faces the problem of explaining the contradictory downward CO\textsubscript{2} trends during previous interglaciations (Figure 2B). The problem is most acute during interglacial stage 11, when sea level remained at peak-interglacial values from ~410 000 to ~402 000 years ago (Figure 5A), yet CO\textsubscript{2} concentrations did not increase.

An early study by Indermühle et al. (1999) suggested that natural releases of terrestrial carbon could have played a major role in the CO\textsubscript{2} rise, but later work by the Bern group concluded that those releases accounted for no more than a few ppm of the observed increase (Joos et al., 2004). Another potential factor, global sea-surface temperature changes during the Holocene, has generally been regarded as secondary because the change is uncertain in sign and small in amplitude. In the view of the Bern group (Elsig et al., 2009), most of the observed CO\textsubscript{2} rise since 7000 years ago is explained by carbonate compensation and coral reef construction.

**Anthropogenic CO\textsubscript{2} sources.** In the early anthropogenic hypothesis, Ruddiman (2003) proposed that deforestation could explain the 22 ppm Holocene CO\textsubscript{2} rise and might also account for a total Holocene CO\textsubscript{2} anomaly of ~40 ppm. Joos et al. (2004), however, estimated an anthropogenic effect of just a few ppm based on two arguments: simulations from land-use models showing minimal pre-industrial forest clearance, and constraints from δ\textsuperscript{13}CO\textsubscript{2} measurements.

Criticisms based on land-use simulations implicitly or explicitly take note of the mismatch between the substantial CO\textsubscript{2} increase several millennia ago compared with the still-small global population at that time (Figure 8A). Most modeling studies have assumed that per-capita land use has remained constant or very nearly so for thousands of years, with clearance thus linked to population in a nearly linear way. As a result, most land-use models have simulated very little pre-industrial clearance.

Recent work by Kaplan et al. (2009) showed that the assumption of constant land use is flawed. Historical land-use data paired with census counts show that much of Europe was deforested well before population began its steepest rise. This evidence requires that earlier farmers cleared far more land per-capita than predicted by the constant land-use assumption.

Ruddiman and Ellis (2009) noted seminal work by Boserup (1965, 1981) who proposed that a large and ongoing decrease in per-capita land use occurred during the Holocene. Farmers changed from shifting cultivation, which uses large amounts of land, to far more intensive agriculture based on annual or multiple crops per year. By some estimates, per-capita land use decreased by an order of magnitude through the last 7000 years.

The trend of decreasing land use in one region in southern China shown by Ellis and Wang (1997) in Figure 7B is further confirmed by the summary of Chao (1986) based on compilations by Buck (1937). This synthesis spans both the rice-growing areas in the south of China and the dry land crops in the north. Per-capita land use fell almost linearly by a factor of about four between AD 5 and the early–middle 1800s as farmers gradually learned to produce more food per hectare of land (Figure 8B). This factor of four decrease in per-capita land use has a linear trend similar to that estimated by Ruddiman and Ellis (2009) for the same interval, but average values were lower because Chao (1986) omitted other land uses and non-arable land in China.

Kaplan et al. (2011, this issue) applied the land-use pattern defined from European historical evidence to other regions, with an adjustment for higher productivity and lower per-capita land use in tropical regions with longer growing seasons. They found that China and India were largely deforested by 2000–1000 years ago and that early clearance was substantial in Peru, Mexico, and Sahelian Africa. They estimated a net pre-industrial release of 340 GtC, equivalent to a 24-ppm effect on atmospheric CO\textsubscript{2}. This study suggests that small early farming populations released surprisingly large amounts of CO\textsubscript{2} to the atmosphere long before the industrial era.

The second major criticism of the early anthropogenic hypothesis is based on constraints imposed by the carbon isotopic composition of carbon dioxide (δ\textsuperscript{13}CO\textsubscript{2}). During the middle and late Holocene, atmospheric δ\textsuperscript{13}CO\textsubscript{2} values varied within a narrow range around −6.35‰. This value reflects a balance between two carbon sources and sinks (Table 4). Terrestrial vegetation (mostly forests and peat) releases or stores organic carbon with an average δ\textsuperscript{13}C value near −25‰, whereas exchanges of inorganic carbon between the atmosphere and the ocean at −6‰ have no significant isotopic impact on atmospheric δ\textsuperscript{13}CO\textsubscript{2}.

Elsig et al. (2009) found a small average decrease of ~0.05‰, with an even smaller decrease for the cracking method and a larger decrease for the sublimation method. Scaled to previous results from the Bern model (e.g. Joos et al., 2004), the ~0.05% δ\textsuperscript{13}CO\textsubscript{2} trend limits net emissions of ~25% terrestrial carbon to ~50 GtC (Table 5).

Because of the small size of this total terrestrial contribution, Elsig et al. (2009) concluded that most of the observed 22-ppm Holocene CO\textsubscript{2} increase resulted from emissions of inorganic carbon from the ocean: ~10 ppm from carbonate compensation and ~5 ppm from coral-reef buildup. They relied on a model-based estimate of anthropogenic emissions from Strassman et al. (2008) of 50 GtC, equivalent to a CO\textsubscript{2} increase of ~3.5 ppm (Table 5). They also noted that ‘some peat accumulation’ (an estimated 40 GtC) occurred in boreal regions during the late Holocene, but they assumed that carbon storage in peat deposits was almost entirely offset by carbon released from regions like Africa where monsoons were weakening.
This analysis by the Bern group substantially underestimates the amount of carbon buried in boreal peat during the Holocene. Their 40 GtC value for the last 7000 years falls below the range of estimates from existing studies, and well below well-respected estimates. Gorham (1991) compiled evidence from 14C-dated cores that indicated ~450 Gt of carbon burial since 13,000 years ago, of which ~300 GtC was buried in the last 6000 years (Gajewski et al., 2001).

Yu et al. (2009; Yu, 2011, this issue) have now assembled data from cores that span most of the boreal peat land regions and have multiple 14C dates and bulk density data. Their analysis indicates that more than 270 GtC has been buried in boreal peat lands in the last 7000 years. They also estimated additional burial of a few GtC in tropical and Patagonian peat deposits during the last 7000 years, for a total combined carbon burial of 275–280 Gt (Table 5).

Because peat carbon has a d13C value of −27‰, while other terrestrial carbon averages −25‰, we convert the 275–280 Gt of −27‰ peat carbon to ~300 Gt of −25‰ peat carbon for the purpose of the following mass-balance comparison in units of −25‰ terrestrial carbon.

The other major source/sink of terrestrial carbon is non-peat biomass: trees, shrubs, grass, litter, and upper soil layers (humus). Coupled climate/vegetation models have simulated changes

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**Table 5. Pre-industrial terrestrial carbon exchanges since ~7000 years ago**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terrestrial carbon stored or released</th>
<th>Elsig et al. (2009)</th>
<th>This paper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peat</td>
<td>40 Gt storedb</td>
<td>275–280 Gt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(−300 Gt @ −25‰)</td>
<td>stored @ −27‰b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other natural terrestrial biomass</td>
<td>30 Gt releasedc</td>
<td>20 Gt releasedd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropogenic</td>
<td>50 Gt releasedd</td>
<td>50 Gt net releasef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d13CO2 trend</td>
<td>−f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>330 Gt releasede</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Described in Elsig et al. as ‘implied’ (apparently an inferred residual value).
* From Yu (2011, this issue); see also Gorham (1991) and Gajewski et al. (2001).
* Average of eight climate-model simulations: Foley (1994), Indermuehl et al. (1999), Francois et al. (1999), Brovkin et al. (2002), Kaplan et al. (2002), Joos et al. (2004), Wang et al. (2005), and Kleinen et al. (2010).
* Taken from Strassman et al. (2008); equivalent to a CO2 increase of 3.5 ppm.
* Solved for as a residual (see below).
* Anthropogenic contribution; equivalent to a CO2 increase of 3 ppm.
* Derived as the residual of the peat storage, other terrestrial exchanges, and d13CO2 constraint, as shown above.

This analysis by the Bern group substantially underestimates the amount of carbon buried in boreal peat during the Holocene. Their 40 GtC value for the last 7000 years falls below the range of estimates from existing studies, and well below well-respected estimates. Gorham (1991) compiled evidence from 14C-dated cores that indicated ~450 Gt of carbon burial since 13,000 years ago, of which ~300 GtC was buried in the last 6000 years (Gajewski et al., 2001).

Yu et al. (2009; Yu, 2011, this issue) have now assembled data from cores that span most of the boreal peat land regions and have multiple 14C dates and bulk density data. Their analysis indicates that more than 270 GtC has been buried in boreal peat lands in the last 7000 years. They also estimated additional burial of a few GtC in tropical and Patagonian peat deposits during the last 7000 years, for a total combined carbon burial of 275–280 Gt (Table 5).

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The other major source/sink of terrestrial carbon is non-peat biomass: trees, shrubs, grass, litter, and upper soil layers (humus). Coupled climate/vegetation models have simulated changes...

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**Figure 8.** (A) Comparison of late Holocene CO2 trend at Dome C (Luthi et al., 2009) with estimated global population (from Ruddiman and Ellis, 2009; based on Denevan, 1992 and McEvedy and Jones, 1978). (B) Per-capita land cultivation from Chinese historical records (Chao, 1986; based on Buck, 1937) compared with proposed late-Holocene trend of global per-capita land clearance from Ruddiman and Ellis (2009)
during the last 7000–6000 years that vary from a net release of ~100 GtC to a net storage of ~90 GtC (Table 5). This range of estimates reflects differing simulations of the major carbon sources (shrinking boreal and northern monsoon vegetation) and sinks (expanding monsoon vegetation in southern Amazonia, as well as increasing CO₂ fertilization as CO₂ values rose). Averaging these eight estimates gives a net release of ~20 GtC from the combined effects of natural processes, which reduces the net storage of ~25% terrestrial carbon from 300 GtC to 280 GtC (Table 5).

The other constraint on the terrestrial carbon budget is the ~50 GtC release of terrestrial carbon indicated by the ~0.05‰ δ¹³CO₂ trend during the last 7000 years (Elsig et al., 2009). The difference between this 50 GtC net release and the net storage of 280 GtC calculated above is 330 GtC – the net amount of terrestrial carbon not accounted for by all natural exchanges.

Anthropogenic deforestation appears to be the only viable explanation for this imbalance. This 330 GtC value is much larger than model simulations of pre-industrial emissions based on constant per-capita land use, but very close to the ~340 GtC of deforestation simulated by Kaplan et al. (2011, this issue). If fully equilibrated with the deep ocean, the 330 GtC of estimated deforestation emissions would be equivalent to a CO₂ effect of 23 ppm (Table 5).

The difference between the interpretation of Elsig et al (2009) and the one proposed here is somewhat analogous to an iceberg. Like the visible emergent tip of the ice (~10% of its total volume), the small size of the negative δ¹³CO₂ trend during the last 7000 years would seem to limit the amount of total (and anthropogenic) deforestation to a very small amount (Broecker and Stocker, 2006; Elsig et al., 2009; Joos et al., 2004). But hidden below the waterline is a very large mass of ‘ice’ – the much larger amount of anthropogenic deforestation required to balance the huge carbon storage in peat.

This estimated pre-industrial deforestation of ~330 GtC is larger than some previous estimates of total global Holocene CO₂ emissions from forest removal (for example, DeFries et al., 1999, based on Mathews, 1983 and on Leeman and Cramer, 1991). However, Olsen et al. (1983) noted that modern vegetation is a degraded (carbon-poor) version of true natural vegetation because humans have disturbed most remaining forested areas. In addition, modern climatologies underestimate natural carbon levels because of anthropogenic complications like reduced evapotranspiration in deforested monsoon regions. After adjusting for these effects, Olsen et al. (1983) suggested that total carbon emissions could have been as large as 360 GtC.

Two related questions remain about the anthropogenic explanation of the late Holocene CO₂ trend (Table 6). (1) What is the total contribution from anthropogenic sources? (2) Can anthropogenic sources explain the δ¹³C composition of the 22-ppm CO₂ increase?

Total pre-industrial emissions of terrestrial carbon from deforestation are estimated at 23–24 ppm based on the land-use simulation of Kaplan et al. (2011, this issue) and the revised δ¹³CO₂ mass-balance calculation (Tables 5, 6). In addition, as pointed out by Ruddiman (2007), direct anthropogenic CO₂ emissions are likely to have been supplemented by feedbacks from an ocean gradually warmed by rising CO₂ and CH₄ concentrations in the atmosphere. One feedback results from the temperature/solubility relationship. The ~0.2‰ trend toward lighter values during the last 7000 years in the marine δ¹⁸O stack of Lisiecki and Raymo (2005) and the ocean–atmosphere modeling results from

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CO₂ source</th>
<th>Total effect on CO₂</th>
<th>Net effect on δ¹³CO₂(\text{trend})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deforestation</td>
<td>23–24 ppm(^{a})</td>
<td>5 ppm(^{a})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean CO₂ solubility feedback</td>
<td>9 ppm(^{c})</td>
<td>9 ppm(^{c})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Ocean CO₂ feedback</td>
<td>? ppm(^{d})</td>
<td>? ppm(^{d})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{a}\) Based on Kaplan et al. (2011, this issue) and mass-balance calculation in Table 5.

\(^{b}\) Based on constraint imposed by ~1.5‰ change in δ¹³CO₂ since 7000 years ago (Elsig et al., 2009), converted to equivalent CO₂ change based on scaling from Joos et al. (2004).

\(^{c}\) Based on benthic foraminiferal δ¹⁸O trend in Lisiecki and Raymo (2004) and dynamic ocean model simulation in Kutzbach et al. (2011, this issue).

\(^{d}\) Future simulation with an A/OGCM with ocean biogeochemistry will be required to estimate this CO₂ feedback of 8 ppm from the Southern Ocean would explain the full 22-ppm CO₂ increase with the mean δ¹³C composition measured by Elsig et al. (2009) and would also meet the full 40-ppm CO₂ anomaly proposed by Ruddiman (2003).

Kutzbach et al. (2011, this issue) both suggest a deep-ocean warming of ~0.8 to 0.9°C from this mechanism. Scaled to a 10-ppm change in atmospheric CO₂ per 1°C change in ocean temperature (Martin et al., 2005), this warming would have released enough CO₂ to support an atmospheric CO₂ increase of just under 9 ppm, bringing the anthropogenic total to ~32 ppm (Table 6).

Although this estimate falls short of the 40-ppm CO₂ anomaly proposed by Ruddiman (2003), processes in the Southern Ocean are a second potential source of CO₂ feedback: changes in sea ice (Stephens and Keeling, 2000), in intensity and position of the westerlies (Toggweiler et al., 2006); and in upper-ocean stratification (Francois et al., 1997). If the Southern Ocean was warmer in the late Holocene than it would have been under a natural regime with greenhouse-gas decreases, CO₂ exchanges between the ocean and overlying atmosphere would have been higher, as would atmospheric CO₂ concentrations. In partial support of this idea, deuterium (δD) values at Dome C (Jouzel et al., 2007) fell early in all previous interglaciations, but remained nearly constant in the last 7000 years. Because δD values are tied to air temperature over Antarctica, these trends again indicate anomalous Holocene warmth.

In addition, model experiments reported by Kutzbach et al. (2009, 2011, this issue) simulated anomalous warmth over Antarctica that closely matched the amplitude of the late-Holocene δD anomaly at Dome C. The fact that the Antarctic region failed to cool as it had in previous interglaciations suggests that CO₂ anomalies may not have been the source of the δD anomaly. In the Southern Ocean (or from other responses in an anonymously warm ocean) can fill the remaining gap and meet the 40-ppm CO₂ anomaly originally hypothesized. Further A/OGCM experiments that include interactive ocean biochemistry will address this issue.

The second issue is the δ¹³C composition of the 22-ppm CO₂ increase. The ~0.05‰ δ¹³CO₂ trend from Elsig et al. (2009) limits the net terrestrial contribution during the last 7000 years to ~5 ppm (Table 6). As discussed earlier, this contribution primarily reflects a balance between a very large burial of carbon in peat deposits and an even larger anthropogenic release (Table 5). The remaining 17 ppm of the 22-ppm CO₂ increase must have come
from ocean sources. With 9 ppm explained by the temperature/solubility relationship, the remaining ~8 ppm would (again) have to come from the Southern Ocean (Table 6). In summary, deforestation emissions and ocean solubility feedback can satisfy ~80% (~32 out of 40 ppm) of the 40-ppm CO₂ anomaly originally proposed and can also account for >60% of the isotopic contributions to the δ¹³CO₂ trend. The role of the Southern Ocean remains a major unknown in these assessments.

**Part 3. Conclusions**

Science moves forward in part by falsification of competing hypotheses (Popper, 2002, based on work originally published in the 1930s and 1950s). Convincing falsification requires a very high standard of ‘disproof’ that can survive subsequent challenges.

A wide range of evidence on methane emissions meets this high standard and falsifies natural explanations for the late Holocene CH₄ increase. Downward methane trends during all seven previous interglaciations (Figure 2, Table 2) show that the upward trends in the late Holocene were anomalous and therefore highly unlikely to have been natural in origin. In addition, late-Holocene CH₄ emissions were falling in the two largest natural sources of methane on the planet (north tropical and boreal wetlands) and thus acting in opposition to the observed CH₄ increase. Although methane emissions from a third wetland source – the southern Amazon Basin – were rising, modeling studies show that these emissions are likely to have been considerably weaker and thus unlikely to have countered the larger decreases occurring in the north. An anthropogenic origin for the CH₄ increase is supported by Fuller et al. (2011, this issue), who synthesized archeological data that indicate large and exponentially rising methane emissions from rice irrigation in Asia between 5000 and 1000 years ago and additional (as-yet unquantified) emissions from the spread of livestock across Asia and Africa after 5000 years ago.

The debate over the origin of the late-Holocene CO₂ increase is not yet resolved, even though several papers from the Bern group previously claimed that the anthropogenic hypothesis can be rejected. Joos et al. (2004) concluded ‘The hypothesis by Ruddiman (2003) … is dismissed based on the ice core δ¹³CO₂ record and other well-founded land-use emissions estimates …’. Elsig et al. (2009) stated ‘Our δ¹³CO₂ records render untenable suggestions that CO₂ emissions from anthropogenic land use changes caused the later Holocene CO₂ rise …’. Most recently, Stocker et al. (2010) noted ‘Our results falsify the hypothesis that humans are responsible for the late Holocene CO₂ increase ….

Several papers in this issue show that these claims of falsification were based on invalid evidence. One of two main arguments against the anthropogenic hypothesis was that early farming populations were too small to have emitted large amounts of CO₂, but this view has now been countered by evidence that early farmers used far more land per-capita than those in the centuries just before the industrial revolution (Figures 7, 8). Kaplan et al. (2011, this issue) reconstructed early clearance based on historical evidence of changing per-capita land use and found much greater early clearance and carbon emissions than land-use models based on constant per-capita land use over the last 7000 years. In addition, a new estimate of (anthropogenic) CO₂ feedback from the temperature–solubility relationship indicates a substantial pre-industrial contribution to the pre-industrial atmospheric CO₂ anomaly (Kutzbach et al., 2011, this issue).

A second argument for rejecting the early anthropogenic hypothesis has been the small amplitude of the negative δ¹³CO₂ trend during the last 7000 years. This constraint was thought to limit total emissions of terrestrial carbon to the atmosphere (including those from anthropogenic sources) to at most 5 ppm. In compiling their carbon-isotopic mass budget, however, Elsig et al. (2009) chose a value for late-Holocene carbon burial in boreal peat deposits of 40 Gt, which falls below most published estimates. A new estimate of just under 300 Gt C from Yu (2011, this issue) is close to earlier estimates by Gorham (1991) and Gajewski et al. (2001). This much greater carbon burial in boreal peat over the last 7000 years, combined with model-based constraints on carbon exchanges from other natural processes, requires much larger anthropogenic emissions to balance the δ¹³CO₂ budget (Table 5).

A third argument for rejecting the early anthropogenic hypothesis has invoked a comparison of interglacial stages 11 and 1 that suggested that the current natural interglaciation still has 16 000 years left to run (Broecker and Stocker, 2006; EPICA, 2004). New evidence from stage 11 sea levels in the Red Sea (Rohling et al., 2010), along with closer inspection of the benthic δ¹⁸O stack of Lisiecki and Raymo (2005), refutes this interpretation. The best-justified alignment of stages 11 and 1 indicates that the current interglaciation should have ended ~2000 years ago (or could end in the near future). In summary, the land-use, δ¹³CO₂ and stage 11 arguments that supposedly falsified the early anthropogenic hypothesis have all now been countered by new evidence that supports a strong early role by humans.

Two natural explanations for the CO₂ increase – delayed ocean carbonate compensation and coral reef construction – also remain viable, but both hypotheses face the problem that six of seven previous interglaciations fail to show any CO₂ increase. These prevalent mismatches suggest that the late-Holocene CO₂ increase is anomalous. The one interglaciation (stage 15) that shows a (small) CO₂ increase also has an anomalous benthic δ¹⁸O trend that continued to decrease throughout the entire early-interglacial interval, instead of leveling out or beginning to increase as it did in the other interglaciations. This anomalous δ¹⁸O trend suggests a no-analogy situation early in stage 15 in which ongoing ice melting played a role in driving the CO₂ increase. All six other interglaciations fail to support natural explanations for the CO₂ increase.

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