



Alternating cold and warm periods during the European late-Holocene

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Abstract. The decadal to centennial scale climate variability of the past 4000 years consists of colder and warmer periods, potentially initiated by fast varying external forcing, or the lack thereof. These alternating cold and warm periods are most clearly visualized by the waxing and waning of glaciers in the Northern Hemisphere. However, these cold and warm periods are neither spatially nor temporally consistent, and using these defined periods to interpret local variations in climate and society could prove difficult. Here, we use two global earth system models, as well as available proxy reconstructions to examine to which extent the defined warm and cold periods of the last 4000 years before the industrial period are reflected in the climate for Northern, Southern, and Central Europe. We find that on regional scales, the relative role of internal variability appears more pronounced compared to the externally forced signal, thereby decreasing the forcing signal in local climate records. In addition, one model suggests that the climate variability for Northern Europe follows the external forcing more closely than the climate of Central and especially Southern Europe, while the other model shows rather ambiguous results. This study illustrates that periods defined by glacier advances and archaeology have to be carefully used in the interpretation of past events at a local scale, as it is likely that internal variability dominates on such scales.

1 Introduction

The present inter-glacial, called Holocene, covers approximately the last 11,700 years. The early, the mid, and the late-Holocene, with the latter usually defined at the 4.2 ka event (Walker et al., 2012). Under the term "Holocene temperature conundrum" the question is asked whether the global temperature trend after the Holocene Thermal Maximum between about 8000 and 5000 years before present (BP) (Renssen et al., 2012) was negative or positive (Wanner, 2021).

Climate modelling studies typically show a positive trend of global temperatures over the Holocene and do not depict a mid-Holocene temperature maximum (Liu et al., 2014; Tian et al., 2022; Hopcroft et al., 2023; van Dijk et al., 2024). Bader et al. (2020) showed that warming mainly affects the tropics. A long term cooling trend predominates in the high-latitudes summer, which is primarily due to orbital forcing. This negative temperature trend in the Northern Hemisphere extra-tropics during the last 4000 years was superimposed by multi-decadal to century-long fluctuations between warmer and colder phases (Mayewski et al., 2004; Essell et al., 2023; van Dijk et al., 2024). Studies based on proxy networks show decreasing global temperatures following a vaguely defined Holocene Thermal Maximum (Cartapanis et al., 2022), though there is an ongoing debate to which



25 extent long-term trends are influenced by existing biases in spatial and seasonal representation of the underlying proxies (Kauf-
man et al., 2004; Charpentier Ljungqvist, 2011; Marcott et al., 2013; Baker et al., 2017; Marsicek et al., 2018; Kaufman et al.,
2020; Bova et al., 2021; Kaufman and Broadman, 2023). The reference to a cooler Late Holocene, which is linked to the term
Neoglacial, originally comes from Porter and Denton (1967), who reconstructed multi-century glacier advances and retreats
30 in the North American Cordillera. Increasing glacier growth is evident over the last 5000 years (Oerlemans, 2005; Holzhauser
et al., 2005; Solomina et al., 2015; Palacios et al., 2023). The archaeological and historical literature took note of them early
on and studied the effects of these climatic swings on early human societies (Weiss and Bradley, 2001; Haldon, 2016; Bernard
et al., 2023). The warm and cold phases studied for the European climate for the Late Holocene are shown in Table 1 with
reference to selected key publications. Note that we provide previously defined climatic events by their given name using the
ka BP notation (relative to 1950 CE) but otherwise report the dates using the BCE/CE notation. All radiocarbon dates are
35 calibrated against the calibration curve recommended at the time of publication.

The 4.2 ka event, which marks the transition to the Late Holocene, is characterised by the strong decline of the summer
monsoons, especially in the Afro-Asian region. The associated extreme dry periods led in part to the collapse of advanced
civilizations in the Sahara (Manning and Timpson, 2014), Egypt (Weldeab et al., 2014), Mesopotamia, India and China (Staub-
40 wasser and Weiss, 2006). Bradley and Bakke (2019) and McKay et al. (2024) confirmed that there was no compelling evidence
for a significant and widespread climate anomaly around 2200 BCE in the European area. This is also confirmed by Roland
et al. (2014) for the British Isles and Ireland. Jalali and Sicre (2019) pointed out that a mega drought occurred in the eastern
Mediterranean basin.

45 The series of late Holocene cold and warm periods in Europe was initiated around 1700 BCE by a cooling, the so-called
"Loebben Oscillation" (Patzelt and Bortenschlager, 1973), which manifested itself in the central Tyrolean Alps (Stubai valley)
in a two-phase moraine system around 1700 (\pm 330) BCE and 1190 (\pm 280) BCE (Moran et al., 2017). Jørgensen and Riede
(2019) described the so-called and concurrent termination of the Gressbakken Phase in Arctic Norway, which coincided with
a population decline at the end of the Stone Age. The temperature decline peaked around 1600 BCE, and was associated with
50 an increase in precipitation and a strong forest decline. Volcanic activity and climate forcing were strongly elevated between
1660 and 1560 BCE with this period including some of the largest caldera-forming eruptions such as Aniakchak and Thera
(Sigl et al., 2022; Pearson et al., 2022).

The Bronze Age Warm Period following the Loebben Oscillation was less pronounced but is reflected in several climate
55 reconstructions. The temperature reconstruction from the southern boreal zone of Finland by Heikkilä and Seppä (2003), based
on pollen stratigraphy, results in significantly elevated temperatures for the time shortly before 1050 BCE. Holzhauser et al.
(2005) showed that the largest glacier in the Alps, the Aletsch Glacier, had melted back relatively far before 950 BCE. Le Roy
et al. (2015) also referred to the phase between 1450 and 1200 BCE as the Bronze Age Warm Period based on the glacier



retreat at the Mer de Glace in the Mont Blanc massif.

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The subsequent cooling was relatively strong. It exists in the literature under the title "2.8 ka event". Martin-Puertas et al. (2012) pointed out that a Grand Solar Minimum, often called Homeric Minimum, and the associated reduction in ultraviolet radiation likely played an important role. They concluded that the cooling is massive mainly because the atmospheric circulation amplified the solar signal. In addition large volcanic eruptions may compounded the cooling occurring e.g. in 723, 648, 572 and 426 BCE. This cold phase is also documented by glacier advances. Zoller (1966) analysed it in the Göschenertal valley of the central Swiss Alps and referred to it as Göschenen I. Their study is questioned by Boxleitner et al. (2019), but there is clear evidence of glacier advances at the Aletsch Glacier (Holzhauser et al., 2005, Fig 2) and at the Mer de Glace (Le Roy et al., 2015).

70 The cold 2.8 ka event was followed by the Iron – Roman Age Warm Period. McCormick et al. (2012) described the period between 100 BCE and 200 CE in particular as warm and stable with hardly any extreme events. They attributed this calm climate phase to a low level of volcanic activity and stable solar irradiance. In the context of the past 2,500 years volcanic activity between 40 BCE and 200 CE was exceptionally quiescent and has been referred to as the "Roman Quiet Period" (Manning et al., 2017; Sigl et al., 2022). Temperature reconstructions from Europe based on tree-rings show general warm conditions and a lower frequency of cold years (Büntgen et al., 2011; Luterbacher et al., 2016). Margaritelli et al. (2020) clearly demonstrated in their reconstruction of sea surface temperatures in the Sicily Channel that temperatures between 1 CE and 500 CE were up to 2°C higher than the long-term mean. Not surprisingly the analyses of the glaciers by Holzhauser et al. (2005) in the central and western Alps generally show significant melting during the Iron - Roman Age warm period.

80 The subsequent massive cooling period has been given several names. In the classical literature it is called the Dark Ages Cold Period (DACP). Helama et al. (2017) have analysed 114 paleoclimate papers and describe the period from 400 to 765 CE as typical for the DACP. It was not only cold, but also wet, with the exception of the Mediterranean region. Büntgen et al. (2016) named the period from 536 to 660 CE the Late Antique Little Ice Age (LALIA). Based on their dendrochronological analysis, they described the summer temperatures during the LALIA as unprecedented, long-lasting, spatially synchronized and more severe than all summer cold phases of the Little Ice Age. Consistent with other authors (Sigl et al., 2015; Toohey et al., 2016; Van Dijk et al., 2022) they attributed large volcanic eruptions especially in 536 and 540 CE and subsequent large eruptions in the 6th and 7th century as the trigger for this cold phase and postulated a duration of up to 660 CE promoting glacier advances in the Northern Hemisphere. Very occasionally, the cold phase is called the Vandal Minimum. It is also very prominently represented in the glaciological literature and is often referred to as Göschenen II. Le Roy et al. (2015) demonstrated two advances at Mer de Glace in the Mont Blanc massif around 337 CE and 606 CE. Boxleitner et al. (2019) named the period 1.8 to 1.1 ka for Göschenen II, and Holzhauser et al. (2005) identified a larger advance around 600 CE after a very small advance of the Aletsch glacier around 300 CE (Fig. 2).



Lamb (1965) first mentioned the following warmer period from about 1000 to 1200 CE, which he called the "medieval
95 warm epoch", mainly on the basis of documentary data. Later the terms Medieval Climate Anomaly (MCA) or Medieval Warm
Period (MWP) were used. Hughes and Diaz (1994) showed that, depending on the method of analysis, temporally different
periods appear to be warmer, and Bradley et al. (2003) demonstrated that warming of several tenths of a degree also occurred
in a regionally differentiated manner. Based on numerous new studies, Diaz et al. (2011) proposed the period 950 to 1400
CE for the duration of the MWP. Bradley et al. (2016) suggested that, during a 'Medieval Quiet Period' (725-1025 CE), the
100 climate system was relatively unperturbed by natural forcing factors (i.e. the absence of large tropical volcanic eruptions, solar
irradiance minima), resulting in a unique period of climate stability. However, it was recently shown by Gabriel et al. (2024)
that volcanic activity in Iceland surged during an 'Icelandic Active Period' (750-940 CE), promoting frequent climate extremes
and famines across medieval Europe (McCormick et al., 2007; Haldon et al., 2018)

105 The term "Little Ice Age" (LIA) was first used by (Matthes, 1939). He used it to refer to the resurgence of glaciers in the
Sierra Nevada region of California in connection with the onset of cooling after the Holocene Thermal Maximum (Renssen
et al., 2012; Marcott et al., 2013). On the century timescale, it is possible that the LIA was the coldest period of the last
8000 years. In her monograph on the LIA, Grove (1988) referred primarily to the European glacial advances and placed the
beginning in the 13th century. Wanner et al. (2022) proposed a period from 1350 to 1860 CE for Europe. Using proxy data
110 and available instrument measurements, they estimated seasonal temperatures and showed that the LIA was primarily based
on very low winter temperatures. Matthews and Briffa (2005) pointed out the fact, also discussed in glaciological studies, that
individual periods had higher humidity. After the middle of the 19th century, there is the gradual transition from the Little Ice
Age to the Modern Warm Period.

The so-defined cold and warm periods originate from the field of archaeology, or from glacial advances in the Alps and/or
115 Scandinavia. However, climate is a complex system and cold and warm periods such as those that occurred during the late
Holocene rarely cover the entire globe or an entire hemisphere. For the LIA, studies suggested that the spatial extent and
duration, as well as the timing, was heterogeneous across the NH (Mann, 2002; Wanner et al., 2022; Matthews and Briffa,
2005). We therefore expect, that these defined warm and cold periods have more nuance to them, and will not necessarily
be homogeneous events across the NH, or even an entire continent. For this study, we focus on Europe, as there is proficient
120 coverage of paleoproxy reconstructions and glacier advances. In addition, we will use transient model simulations with the
Max Planck Institute Earth system model (MPI-ESM) and the Community Earth system model (CESM).

2 Data and Methods

2.1 Glacier curves

The glacier curves used in this study are from Jostedalsbreen (Nesje et al., 2001; Nesje, 2009; Vasskog et al., 2012) in Norway,
125 and the Aletsch glacier and Mer de Glace (Holzhauser et al., 2005; Le Roy et al., 2015) in the Alps. These glaciers are some
of the largest glaciers in Europe and have been studied extensively.



Period ID	Period name	Temporal allocation	Climatic character	Key literature
4.2 ka event	4.2 ka event	~2200 BCE	No remarkable anomaly	Roland et al. (2014) Bradley and Bakke (2019) Jalali and Sicre (2019)
3.6 ka event	Loebben Oscillation / Gressbakken Phase	1700-1200 BCE	Small to medium-sized glacier advances in the Alps	Patzelt and Bortenschlager (1973) Moran et al. (2005) Jorgensen and Riede (2019)
BWP	Bronze Age Warm Period	Shortly before 1000 BCE	Warm and partly dry	Heikkila and Seppa (2003) Holzhauser et al. (2005) Le Roy et al. (2015)
2.8 ka event	2.8 ka event / Homeric Minimum / Göschenen I	~1000-300 BCE	Cool and humid	Martin-Puertas et al. (2012) Boxleitner et al. (2019)
RWP	Iron-Roman Age Warm Period	250 BCE - 400 CE	Stable warm and dry	McCormick et al. (2012) Margaritelli et al. (2020)
DACP	Dark Age Cooling LALIA Göschenen II Vandal Minimum	400 - 750 CE	Cold and partly humid	Lamb (1965) Hughes and Diaz (1994) Bradley et al. (2016) Diaz et al. (2011)
MWP	Medieval Warm Period	~950 - 1400 CE	Warm period	Diaz et al. (2011)
LIA	Little Ice Age	1250-1860 CE	Cold	Matthews and Briffa (2005) Wanner et al. (2022)

Table 1. The warm and cold phases studied for the European climate for the Late Holocene.

The glacier curves are determined from individual data distributed irregularly over time. For the Great Aletsch Glacier written and pictorial historical records such as drawings, paintings, engravings and photographs have been interpreted. In addition, the radiocarbon dating of fossil soils and wood from glacier fore-fields also indicate glacier advance and retreat periods. The dendrochronological analysis of trees raised by the advancing glacier allowed the authors to determine absolute dates if they fit within known absolute dated tree-ring chronologies (Holzhauser et al., 2005). For the reconstruction of the Mer de Glace curve, tree-rings of wood fragments from precisely identified moraines were very carefully analysed and their age determined (radiocarbon dated, especially using smaller wood fragments) (Le Roy et al., 2015). For Jostedalsbreen, the Equilibrium Line Altitude (ELA) were determined by magnetic susceptibility in sediment cores from a proglacial lake. The magnetic susceptibility was correlated with the sediment transport, the glacier size and, thus, the net balance of the ice mass (Nesje et al., 2000).

The Aletsch Glacier in the Valais Alps in Switzerland is the largest Alpine glacier with a length of 20 km and an area of 80 km² (Jouvet and Huss, 2019). The Mer de Glace in the Chamonix valley has a length of 11.5 km and an area of 30.4 km²



(Le Roy et al., 2015). The Jostedalbreen had an area of 458 km² in 2019 (Nesje, 2009)(Nesje and Matthews, in prep.). The
140 location of the glaciers can be found in Fig.1.

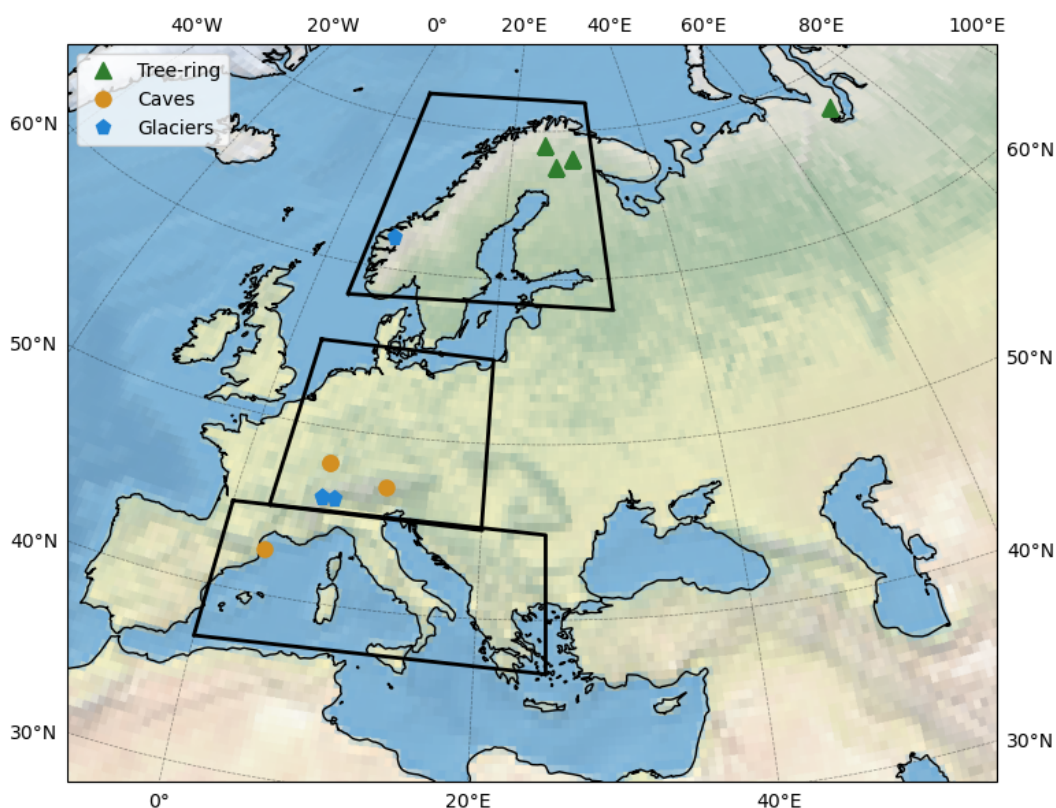


Figure 1. Map with the location of the tree-ring proxies (green triangles), the speleothems (orange dots), and the glaciers (blue hexagons), as well as the spatial domain for Northern Europe, Central Europe, and Southern Europe as used in this study.

2.2 Proxy reconstructions

We also use available proxy reconstructions with high temporal resolution (annual to decadal scale; Table 2). Anomalies are calculated for each proxy reconstruction by subtracting the mean of the 1500 BCE to 1850 CE period from the time series, after which the 100-year mean is calculated. We take the 100-year mean to allow a comparison with the glacier curves.

145 For the temperature limited areas in the high-latitudes, we use tree-ring records to study the temperature variations in the late-Holocene. For Central- and Southern Europe, speleothem records are used. Most of the available data sets are given as anomalies with respect to 1-1850 CE, except for the speleothem records from Austria, which are given as $\delta^{18}O$. A list with information about the records can be found in Table 2, and the locations can be found in Fig. 1.



Site	Archive	Proxy	Location	lat/lon	Season	Source
		TRW / pollen	Lapland	69°N, 25°E	Summer	Helama et al. (2010)
		TRW	Torneträsk	68°N, 20°E	Summer	Grudd et al. (2002)
		TRW	Siberia	67-68°N, 70-71°E	Summer	Hantemirov et al. (2023)
		TRW	Finland	67-70°N, 24-29°E	Summer	Helama et al. (2022)
Milandre	Fluid inclusions	$\delta^{18}O$	Switzerland	48°N, 7°E	Annual	Affolter et al. (2019)
Spannagle	Calcite	$\delta^{18}O$	Austria	47°N, 12°E	Annual	Fohlmeister et al. (2012)
	Calcite	Speleothems $\delta^{18}O$	Spain	42-43°N, 3-4°E	Annual	Martin-Chivelet et al. (2011)
		TRW	Northern Hemisphere	30-90°N, -180-180°E	Summer	Büntgen et al. (2021)

Table 2. Information for the different proxy data sets used for Fig. 3. TRW corresponds to Tree Ring Width.

150 2.3 Model simulations

The cold and warm periods defined by archaeological and proxy evidence are compared to model simulations. We use simulations from two fully coupled earth system models spanning 1500 BCE to 1850 CE.

The first model is the Max Planck Institute Earth System Model (MPI-ESM) version 1.2 (Mauritsen et al., 2019). This model features a T63 horizontal resolution ($1.9^\circ \times 1.9^\circ$) for the atmospheric component (ECHAM6) and a vertical resolution of 47 levels between the surface and top of the atmosphere at 80 km (0.01 hPa) (Stevens et al., 2013). The ocean component (MPIOM) has a nominal horizontal resolution of 1.5° and 40 vertical levels (Jungclaus et al., 2013). Two transient simulations were carried out for the Holocene, spanning the mid to late-Holocene (6000 BCE to 1850 CE). The difference between the two simulations is in the forcing. One simulation includes prescribed variations in orbital forcing (Berger, 1978) and greenhouse gas concentrations (Brovkin et al., 2019; Köhler, 2019) (the `orbital + GHG` simulation), and the other simulation includes land use changes (Hurtt et al., 2020), stratospheric ozone (varies with solar irradiance, (Bader et al., 2020)), solar irradiance (Krivova et al., 2011) and stratospheric volcanic aerosol (Sigl et al., 2022) in addition (the `all forcing` simulation). The spin-up simulation was simulation with constant conditions at 6000 BCE. More information on the model setup and the Holocene simulation can be found in (Dallmeyer et al., 2021).

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The second model is the Community Earth System Model (CESM) version 1.2.2 (Hurrell et al., 2013). The model consists of the atmospheric component CAM5 (Community Atmosphere Model version 5; (Neale et al., 2010)), the land module CLM4 (Community Land Model version 4 (Lawrence et al., 2011)), the ocean component POP2 (Parallel Ocean Program version 2 (Smith et al., 2010)) and the sea ice component CICE4 (Community Ice Code version 4 (Hunke et al., 2010)). The atmosphere and land components share the horizontal resolution of $1.9^\circ \times 2.5^\circ$ with 30 layers in the atmosphere and 15 in the land. The horizontal resolution of the ocean and sea ice is nominal $1^\circ \times 1^\circ$, with 60 layers in the ocean. For this model we use two transient simulations spanning the period 1501 BCE to 1850 CE branched off a equilibrium simulations for perpetual 1501 BCE

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conditions. The first simulation is the "orbital-only" simulation using time varying orbital parameters (Berger, 1978) and the rest of external forcing parameter set to constant 1501 BCE conditions. The second simulation is performed with all external forcings time varying, including additional greenhouse gases, total solar irradiance, land use changes and volcanic eruptions, which is the same in both models. Details on these simulations are presented in Kim et al. (2021); McConnell et al. (2020).

For all model simulations, the anomalies are calculated by subtracting the 1500 BCE to 1850 CE mean from each of the time series. Just as for the proxy reconstructions, a 100-year running mean is calculated to be able to better compare the model simulated temperatures to the glacier curves. In addition, the glacier and proxy reconstructions are compared mainly with the 'all forcing' simulations, only in the assessment for the role of internal variability vs external variability are the 'slow forcing' simulations used. The 2σ range is calculated from the standard deviation for the annual mean 100-year running mean temperatures. Anomalies for the maps are calculated by subtracting the 1500 BCE to 1850 CE mean from each time step for each grid cell. Temperatures are marked significant when the temperature value exceeds 2σ . The cold and warm periods are selected based on if they exceeded the 2σ threshold and occurred in both simulations. In addition, the minimum and maximum of the largest temperature transition are selected to visualise the maximum transitions between cold and warm periods for either model.

The volcanic radiative forcing ($W m^2$) is calculated by multiplying the volcanic stratospheric aerosol optical depth (SAOD) from the model output by -21 (Schmidt et al., 2018; Marshall et al., 2020). The radiative forcing for the solar irradiance was calculated by dividing the TSI by four.

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 Glacier fluctuations

Glaciers reveal the course of the climate on decadal to centurial time scales. Their mass balance reacts on the one hand to fluctuations in the radiation balance and temperature and on the other hand to the frequency of solid precipitation (Reichert et al., 2001; Steiner et al., 2008). In particular, lower summer temperatures with snowfall, which change the albedo of the glacier surface, as well as massive winter snowfalls with subsequent cold periods are of great importance. Glaciers integrate the influence of climate parameters over a longer time period. The reaction time of the individual glaciers depends heavily on their size.

The upper part of Figure 2 shows three curves with the movements of the glacier tongues of two large glaciers in the European Alps and of the largest glacier on the European mainland in Norway. The curves of the Aletsch Glacier and the Mer de Glace in the Alps show the respective position of the glacier tongue (glacial extension). As the Jostedalbreen has the shape of an ice cap with various extensions, the fluctuations are recorded using the equilibrium line altitude (ELA).

The upper curve (burgundy) represents the sum of the combined radiative forcing (RF) from NH extra-tropical (30-90°N) volcanoes and the sun (solar irradiance). All three glacier curves show strong coherence with RF with glaciers frequently advancing during periods of strong negative forcing. This is in good agreement with analyses performed for other glaciers



over shorter time periods (Lüthi, 2014; Sigl et al., 2018; Brönnimann et al., 2019). Overall, the curve of the ELA values of Jostedalsbreen (green curve) indicates a slower reaction. All three glaciers show a strong mass increase with advances during the 2.8 kyr event (Table 1), which has two negative RF peaks. The Jostedalsbreen reacts relatively late but very strongly during the subsequent warm period of the Roman time. The Aletsch Glacier and especially the Mer de Glace show a temporary advance after 300 CE, which is documented as a rather short-term cold relapse (Luterbacher et al., 2016). After significant glacier advances in the seventh century CE, a remarkable melting back is found during the Medieval Climate Anomaly (Table 1). Several negative peaks in the RF, which can be attributed to groups of volcanic events as well as several solar minima, are reflected in significant advances in all three glaciers during the LIA and thus to the maximum levels during the entire Neoglacial (Wanner et al., 2022).

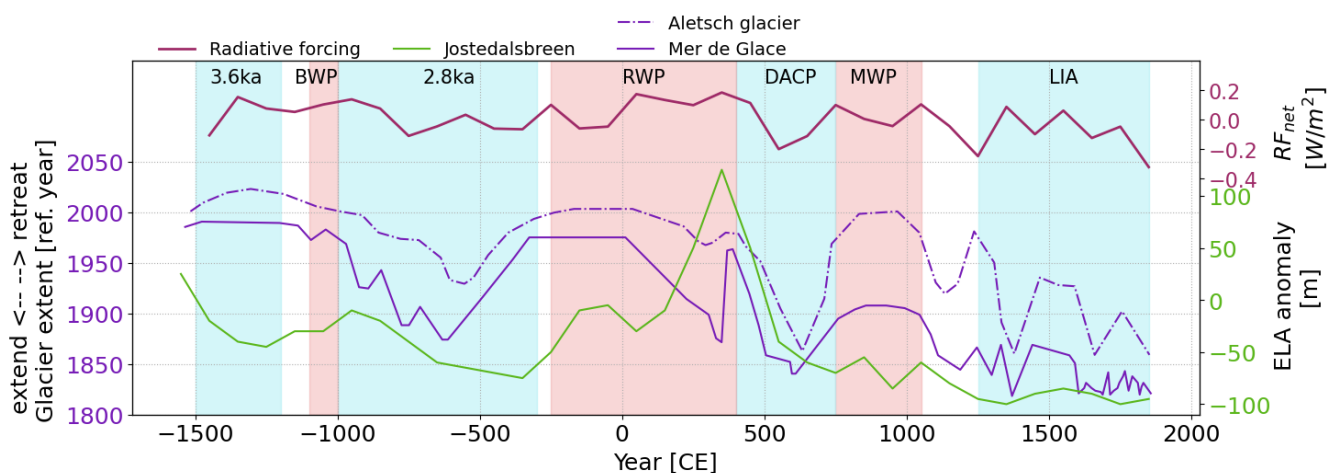


Figure 2. Glacier curves for the Aletsch glacier and the Mer de Glace in the Alps (purple) and for Jostedalsbreen in Norway (green), as well as the total net radiative forcing from solar and NH extra-tropical volcanic forcing (burgundy). The glacier extent is given compared to a reference year for the Alpine glaciers, and for the Norwegian glacier the equilibrium line altitude (ELA) anomaly is given. Cold and warm periods as defined in Table 1 are represented by the blue and red shading, respectively.

215 3.2 Proxy reconstructions

Unlike the glacier curves, the 100-year mean reconstructed temperature from the different proxies present a more ambiguous picture of the climate variations during the late Holocene. The cold periods appear indeed cold in some but not all proxies, and the warm periods, as defined from the glacier retreats, do not appear as particularly warm periods in the proxy reconstructions. In addition, the differences between the locations are substantial. Even proxy sites relatively close to each other, such as the tree-ring records from sites in northern Scandinavia (Fig. 3a,b, and d) show differences in centennial temperature variations. The tree-ring reconstructed temperatures from the NH (Fig. 3h) agree well with the predefined warm and cold periods, but this



reconstruction only covers the Common Era.

Thus, on small spatial scales as represented by individual proxy sites, external forcing appears not to be the dominant driver of the centennial scale temperature variations over the last 3500 years. Rather, internal variability plays a more important role in the centennial changes in temperature that are recorded. A composite of several sites across a larger area, for example for the NH, results in temperature variations that agree more with the external forcing. Combining several sites dampens the signal of internal variability from each site, thereby making the forcing signal more pronounced.

3.3 Model results

For both the MPI-ESM and the CESM, boreal winter has the largest variability in temperature, and boreal summer the least (Fig. 4). This is as expected, as the winter season brings more low pressure systems over Europe, with the storm track being most strongly positioned over Northern Europe and Scandinavia. The model simulations agree more with the predefined warm and cold periods than the proxy reconstructions. However, there are discrepancies between the model simulations, and between the modeled temperature anomalies and the warm and cold periods as defined by archaeology and glacier advances.

The MPI-ESM simulates significant cooling at the predefined cold periods on a centennial scale across all of Europe, with the highest amplitude in winter (Fig. 4a,c,e). In Northern European summer, the insolation is strong, resulting in a declining trend of temperature anomalies (Fig. 4a). The Roman Warm Period is warm in the MPI-ESM simulation, whereas the Medieval Warm Period only appears warm in Northern Europe.

For the CESM, the agreement with the cold periods on the centennial scale is more elusive. The cold period around 1500-1200 BCE is cold in this model, as well as the LIA, but the two cold periods in between are not significantly cold for this model simulation, and the warm periods do not stand out either (Fig. 4b,d,f).

The largest simulated rapid temperature transition does not occur at the same time in both model simulations (Fig. 4a-b, magenta dots). For the MPI-ESM, the largest rapid transition between a centennial temperature maximum and minimum occurs during the first half of the Homeric minimum, with a cooling rate of 1.6°C per century. In the simulation from the CESM, the largest rapid transition occurs during the Roman warm period, with a cooling rate of 1.45°C per century. This indicates that the internal variability plays an important role in the simulated temperatures of the different regions in Europe.

3.3.1 Correlation with fast-varying external forcing

To test the influence of internal variability, correlations between the model simulated 100-year running mean temperatures and the 100-year running mean fast varying external forcing (combined solar and NH extra-tropical volcanic forcing) are calculated. A low correlation between the simulated 100-year mean temperature and the forcing means that the internal variability has a larger influence on the temperature fluctuations on the centennial time scale. P values are typically provided with $p < 0.xx$ (in text and Table 3).

The MPI-ESM *all forcing* simulation has the highest correlation with winter temperatures for Northern Europe ($r=0.50$) and Central Europe ($r=0.48$). For summer, these correlations are slightly lower but still significant ($r=0.38$, $p=0.05$), and for



255 Southern Europe no significant correlation with the forcing is found for either season ($r=0.23$ and 0.17 , respectively). Surprisingly, for CESM, the highest and only significant correlations are found for Central Europe and Southern Europe during summer ($r=0.36$ and 0.33 , respectively, $p=0.05$). Neither of these correlations explain more than 25% of the variance, which leads to the conclusion that the internal variability plays an important role in the temperature variations during the late Holocene when zooming in to these regions, especially in the CESM.

260 To study the internal variability in more detail, both model simulations are compared to their corresponding simulation without fast varying external forcing. For the MPI-ESM, this is a Holocene simulation that includes orbital forcing and greenhouse gases. For the CESM, only orbital forcing is used in the control simulation. No correlation between the slow forcing simulation and the fast varying external forcing is expected, as there is no fast varying external forcing input in these simulations. Any relatively high correlations must therefore be by chance. The MPI-ESM `orb+GHG` simulation indeed has a much lower correlation with the forcing as the `all forcing` simulation. In contrast, both CESM simulations have a similar correlation with
 265 the fast varying external forcing. Therefore, the all forcing simulation must be predominantly determined by internal variability in this model. The different correlations are presented in Table 3.

Area and Season	MPI-ESM		CESM	
	all forcing	orbital + GHG	all forcing	orbital only
Northern Europe				
DJF	0.50	0.24	0.13	0.14
JJA	0.38	0.22	0.29	0.38
Central Europe				
DJF	0.48	-0.12	0.19	0.15
JJA	0.38	-0.06	0.36	0.23
Southern Europe				
DJF	0.23	-0.07	0.20	0.18
JJA	0.17	-0.21	0.33	0.27

Table 3. Correlations between the temperature and the fast varying external forcing (combined volcanic and solar forcing) in the different simulations. Significant values ($p=0.05$) are in bold.

Spatial patterns

270 With the gridded model output, we investigate the spatial patterns of temperatures during the warm and cold periods. Two warm and two cold periods are selected for Northern Europe and Central Europe winter (DJF) for each model simulation (Fig. 4a-b and e-f, red dots). The selection is based on the periods exceeding the 2σ threshold, as well as occurring close in time in both model simulations. In figures 5 and 6, the spatial signature of these warm and cold periods for Northern Europe and Central Europe is presented. The spatial patterns for the warm (Fig. 6) and the cold (Fig. 5) periods are very similar between



the MPI-ESM and CESM. This is especially true for cold and warm periods in Northern Europe, where all of the chosen time
275 frames exhibit similar patterns in both models, with the main center of cooling around Northern Scandinavia and the Barents
Sea. Studying the temperature anomaly patterns for the entire NH (not shown here), three out of the four periods also indicate
similar patterns on a hemispheric scale. For Central Europe, only the cold periods exhibit similar patterns on a continental scale
(Fig. 5 e-h), with again the center of the cooling around the Barent Sea, as well as over central Europe. The mid-sixth century,
as well as the late 15th century both indicate similar temperature anomaly patterns also on a hemispheric scale. For the warm
280 period around the 13th century, both MPI and CESM simulate a similar warming anomaly over central Europe. However, for
the warm period around 0 CE, the spatial temperature patterns exhibit slight differences on a continental scale (Fig. 6 f,g),
with MPI simulating warm anomalies over central Europe, whereas CESM simulates the main warm anomalies over northern
Europe. This is exacerbated on the hemispheric scale.

For Northern and Central Europe, the cold periods display roughly the same anomaly patterns for both models. This indicates
285 that the cold periods are possibly more affected by the integrated (predominantly volcanic) external forcing, peaking at slightly
different years owing to slightly different response mechanisms in each model. For example, this could be due to the ocean-sea
ice feedback that sets in after the initial direct cooling from the forcing (Lehner et al., 2013). In both models, the main cold
anomalies are present over the Barents Sea, which is an important area for sea ice formation. In contrast, the warm periods
exhibit fewer similarities in patterns between the models, indicating a larger influence of internal variability for these periods.

290 4 Conclusions

The late Holocene shows pronounced cold and warm periods, as defined by the literature (Table 1). These definitions often
stem from archaeology, or from glacier advances in the Alps and Scandinavia and are widely used in especially the archaeology
to link climatic changes to changes in societies. However, glacier advances are often the result of the integrated effect of
temperature changes over a longer time, thereby smoothing the temperature signal. While the glacier advances as reconstructed
295 for the late Holocene agree very well with the smoothed mean for fast varying external forcing of solar radiation changes
and volcanic eruptions, this does not capture all the nuances of the highly varying climate on annual to decadal scale. In
contrast, high-resolution paleo-proxy reconstructions from tree-rings and speleothems indicate that the local sites at which the
temperature changes are recorded, are dominated by internal variability, masking to some extent the signal of external forcing
on the centennial scale. Climate model simulations also indicate a greater influence of internal variability for smaller areas. In
300 the MPI model, Northern Europe is influenced more by external forcing than Central Europe and Southern Europe, with the
latter being very insensitive to external fast varying external forcing in these simulations. This could be due to possible sea-ice
feedback mechanisms (Lehner et al., 2013). However, in CESM the results are rather ambiguous, which shows that sensitivity
to external forcing is also part of model uncertainty. Centennial cold periods are more likely to be the result of changes in
external forcing, as the temperature anomaly patterns for the selected cold periods are the same for both the MPI-ESM and
305 the CESM. On the other hand, warm periods appear to be less sensitive to external fast varying external forcing, indicated by



the variety of temperature anomaly patterns between the models, as well as between the different warm periods in each model simulation.

Thus, warm and cold periods in the late Holocene did occur, but caution is needed when interpreting events or results encompassing a small area. The cold and warm periods in the last 4000 years are not homogeneously distributed over Europe, and for local sites internal variability is on the same order of magnitude (or larger) as the effect of fast varying external forcing, making comparison between different locations for a certain warm or cold period challenging.

Code and data availability. The CESM data is archived and accessible via (doi). MPI data is available on Zenodo (<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10409454>). Code is available on github (<https://github.com/EvelienvanDijk/late-Holocene>)

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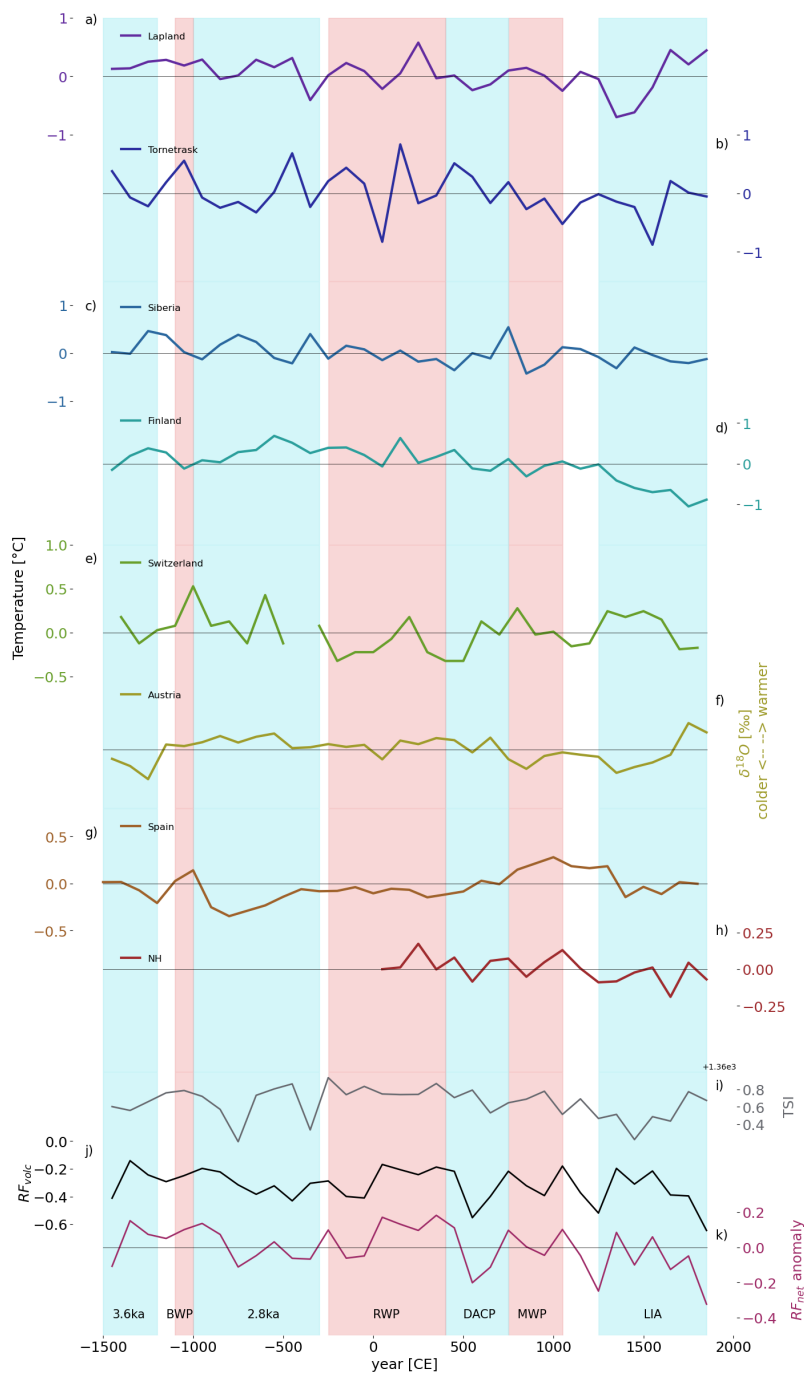


Figure 3. 100-year mean climate reconstruction for a) Lapland (tree-ring width) (Helama et al., 2010), b) Tornetrask (tree-ring width) (Grudd et al., 2002), c) Siberia (tree-ring anatomy) (Hantemirov et al., 2023), d) Finland (tree-ring) (Helama et al., 2022), e) Switzerland (speleothems) (Affolter et al., 2019), f) Austria (speleothems) (Fohlmeister et al., 2012), g) Spain (speleothems) (Martín-Chivelet et al., 2011), h) NH (tree-ring width) (Büntgen et al., 2021), i) solar forcing (TSI) (Krivova et al., 2011), j) NH extra-tropical volcanic forcing (Sigl et al., 2022), and k) solar and volcanic forcing combined. Cold and warm periods are represented by the blue and red shading, respectively, based on glacier advances and archaeological definitions (Table 1). **20**

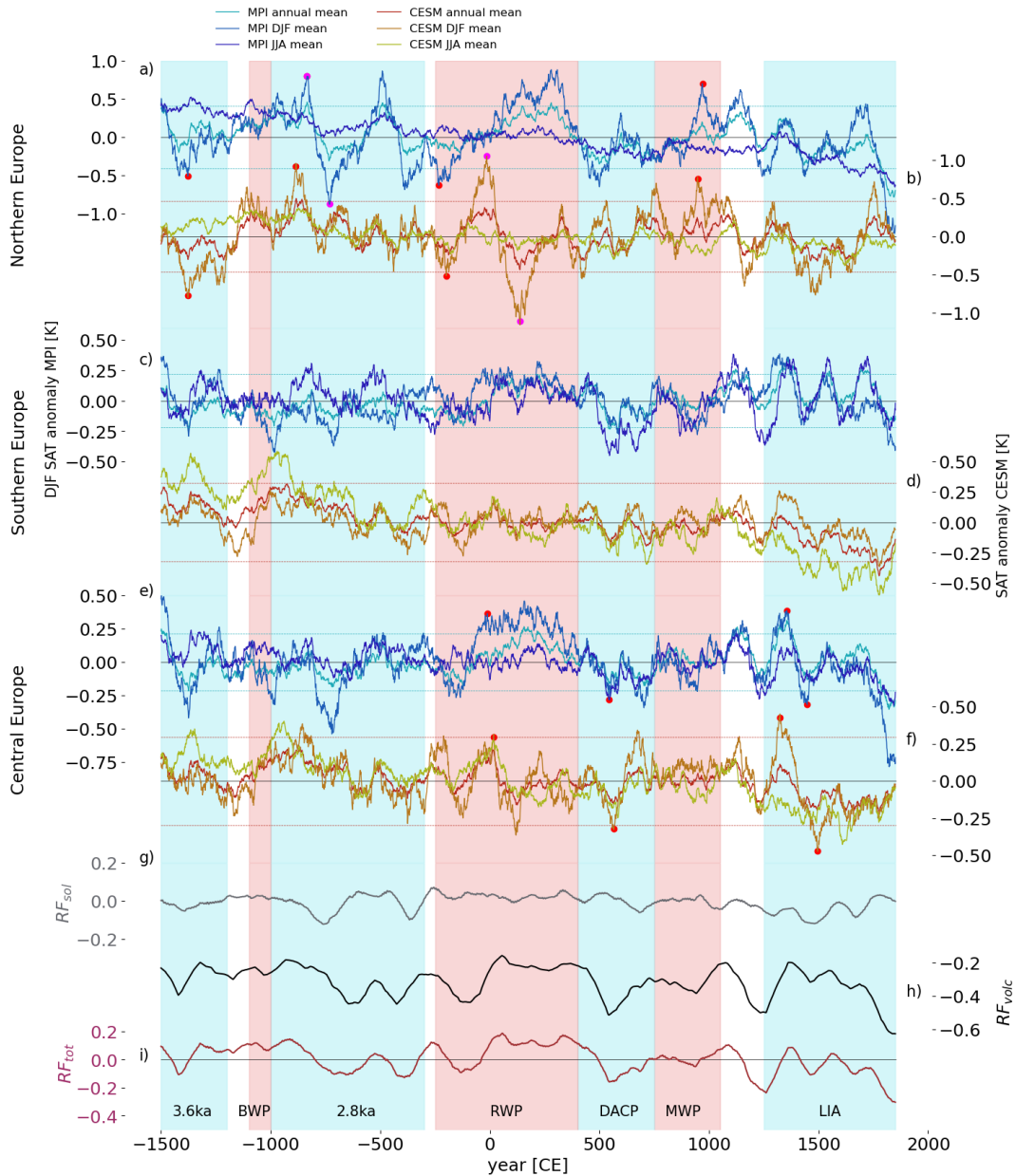


Figure 4. 100-year running mean, annual, boreal winter (DJF), and boreal summer (JJA) simulated temperature anomalies for Northern Europe a) MPI, b) CESM, Southern Europe c) MPI, d) CESM, and Central Europe e) MPI, f) CESM, as well as the g) solar forcing (TSI) (Krivova et al., 2011), h) NH extra-tropical (30-90N) volcanic forcing (Sigl et al., 2022), and i) solar and volcanic forcing combined. 2σ for the annual mean is represented by the dashed horizontal lines. Cold and warm periods are represented by the blue and red shading, respectively, based on glacier advances and archaeological definitions (Table 1). Red dots represent the cold and warm periods taken for spatial comparison, and the magenta dots represent the minimum and maximum taken for the maximum temperature transition.

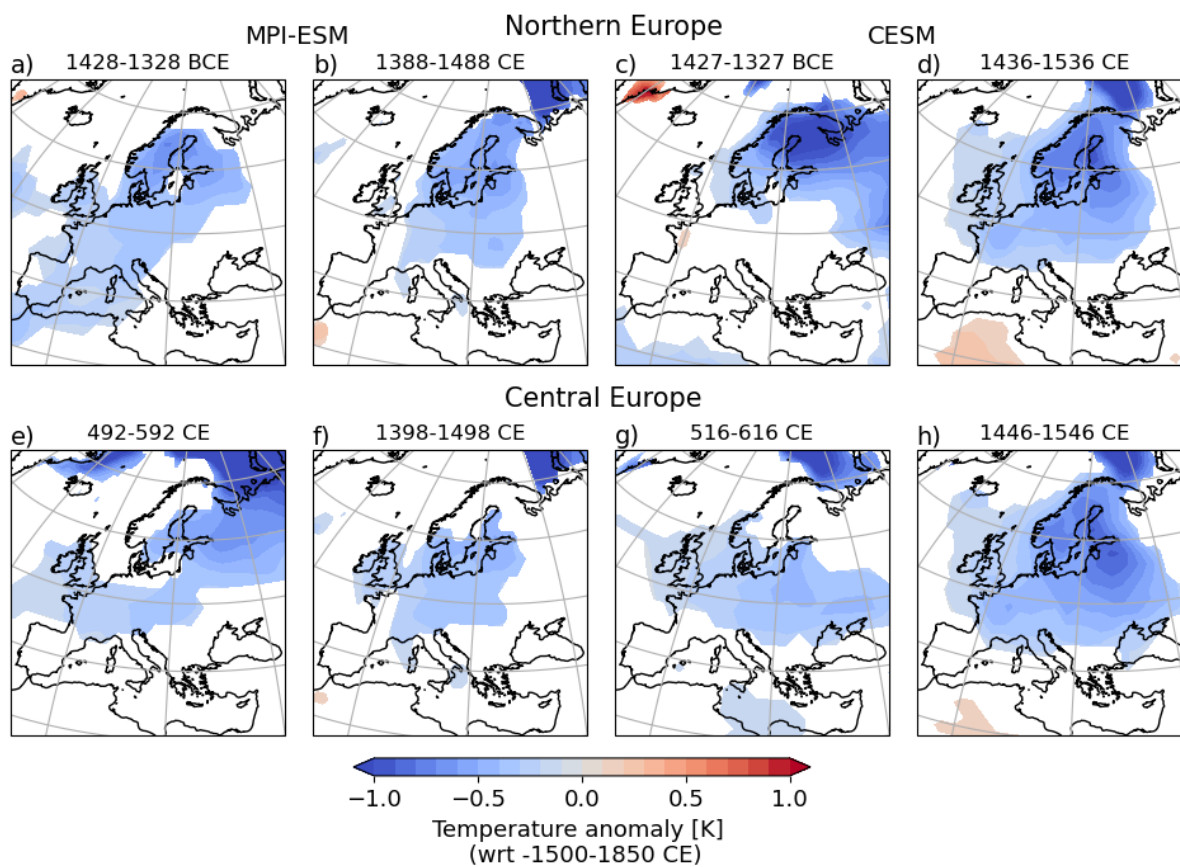


Figure 5. Spatial comparison for selected 100-year cold periods (mean) in MPI (a,b,e,f) and CESM (c,d,g,h) for Northern Europe (a-d) and Central Europe (e-h). Temperature anomalies are with respect to the 1500 BCE - 1850 CE mean from the control simulations.

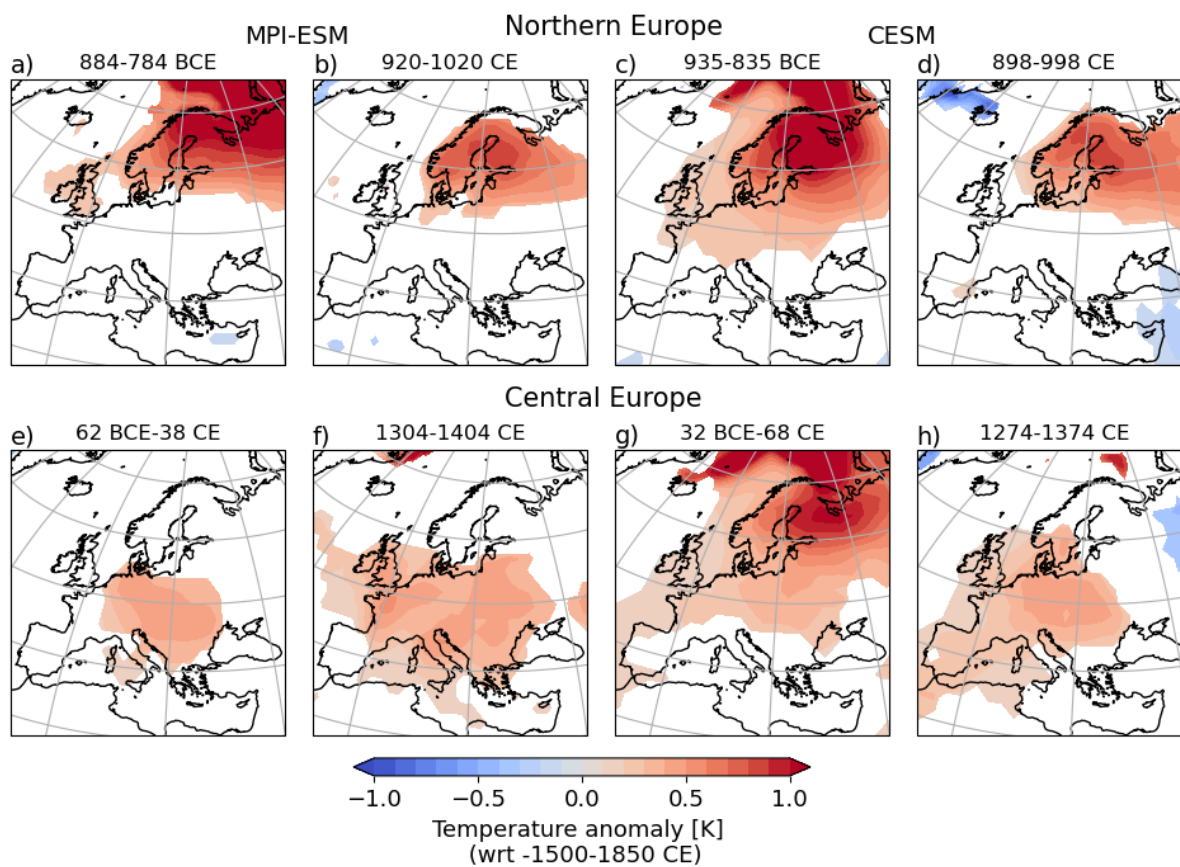


Figure 6. Spatial comparison for selected 100-year warm periods (mean) in MPI (a,b,e,f) and CESM (c,d,g,h) for Northern Europe (a-d) and Central Europe (e-h). Temperature anomalies are with respect to the 1500 BCE - 1850 CE mean from the control simulations.