

## Abstract

This paper quantitatively analyzed the evolution of human-water relationships in the Heihe River basin of northern China over the past 2000 years by reconstructing the catchment water balance by partitioning precipitation into evapotranspiration and runoff. The results provided the basis for investigating the impacts of societies on hydrological systems. Based on transition theory and the rates of changes of the population, human water consumption and the area of natural oasis, the evolution of human-water relationships can be divided into four stages: predevelopment (206 BC - 1368 AD), take-off (1368 - 1949 AD), acceleration (1949 - 2000 AD), and the start of a rebalancing between the human and ecological needs (post 2000 AD). Our analysis of the evolutionary process revealed that there were large differences in the rate and scale of changes and the period over which they occurred. The transition of the human-water relationship had no fixed pattern. This understanding of the dynamics of the human-water relationship will assist policy makers to identify management practices that require improvement by understanding how today's problems were created in the past, which may lead to more sustainable catchment management in the future.

## 1 Introduction

The development of land and water resources within catchments over thousands of years has led to spectacular growth in agricultural production along with increased human consumption of water, significant modification of catchment vegetation, and serious degradation of ecosystems, worldwide (Carpenter et al., 2011; Falkenmark and Lannerstad, 2005; Röckstrom et al., 2009; Vörösmarty et al., 2010). Future human wellbeing may be seriously compromised if we pass a critical threshold that tips catchment ecosystems into irreversible degradation.

Understanding the connections and feedback mechanisms between changes in human activities and hydrological systems in the long term, and uncovering the mechanisms governing the human-water feedback loop, can help us to understand how today's conditions and problems were created in the past, and have important implications for future management (Sivapalan et al., 2012; Liu et al., 2013; Montanari et al., 2013; Savenije et al., 2013). However, at present, there is limited understanding of the major modes of interactions between the human and hydrologic systems over long time scales. Developing such understanding is the aim of social-hydrology (Savenije et al., 2013).

Historical analysis is a key method of socio-hydrology in which hydrological analysis over a long timeframe is a key component. Accurate historical data for hydrology, climate, land use, ecology and geomorphology are often unavailable, but hydrological reconstruction that aims to generate long-term datasets, could provide a basis for the identification, description and parameterization of feedback mechanisms between human activities and water (Thompson et al., 2013). Empirical reconstructions of changes in single hydrological elements at specific locations have been reported, including precipitation, streamflow, water salt content and lake levels (Turner et al., 2008; Lowry and Morrill, 2011). Whilst these studies are empirically informative, few of them have been conducted on water balance in basins that are facing significant threats such as water over-abstraction, sea level rise, or land use change, or in basins that experience major transitions (Vörösmarty et al., 2010).

In the social science literature transition is a well-established concept. It is: “*a non-linear process of social change in which the structure of a societal system (energy sector, water management and agriculture) transforms*” (Rotmans, 2005). Although there is a considerable number of empirical studies focusing on the dynamics of transition, and in particular on the different stages and processes of transition, they have been criticized for empiricism: good at description but weak at explanation (Wimmer, 2006). There have already been several early

1 attempts at exploring the co-evolution of human and water systems. For example, Xiao and  
2 Xiao (2004) divided the evolutionary processes of the human-land relationships affected by  
3 the water resources in the Ejin region, downstream of the Heihe River basin, into four periods.  
4 Geels (2005) studied the trajectories of the co-evolution of water technology and society in  
5 present-day Netherlands. Kallis (2010) studied the co-evolution of water resource  
6 development in ancient Athens. Pataki et al. (2011) provided an outline of the interplay of  
7 sociological and ecological processes in urban water management. Unfortunately, most of  
8 them adopted “thick descriptive” approaches that have poor explanatory and predictive ability.  
9 Recently, Elshafei et al. (2014) developed a prototype framework for models of  
10 social-hydrology including identification of some important feedback loops. The framework  
11 aims for more explanatory capability although the fully parameterized dynamic coupled  
12 model has yet to be applied.

13 The Hexi Corridor, located in western Gansu Province, China, is an important part of the  
14 ancient Silk Road established in the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD), and was a trade route  
15 between China and western countries that facilitated cultural and economic exchange for  
16 approximately 1500 years. It is an arid area supported by oasis ecosystems where water  
17 dominates the dynamics of human society and natural systems, and therefore the interactions  
18 and feedbacks between humans and water are very prominent. The region has a rich written  
19 history of over 2000 years. Over-development of land and water resources over thousands of  
20 years has significantly modified the catchment vegetation conditions and desertification is a  
21 continuing process causing environmental degradation in the region (Xiao and Xiao, 2004,  
22 2008).

23 The overarching goal of this paper is to reveal the evolutionary processes of human-water  
24 relationships in the Heihe River basin, an important part of the Hexi Corridor for a period  
25 spanning approximately 2000 years, over which hydrologic, social and environmental  
26 systems interacted. The specific objectives are to reconstruct the water balance at the basin  
27 scale over the past 2,000 years and to determine the development stages of the evolution of  
28 the human-water relationships. The analysis is used to gain important understanding of the  
29 human-water relationships and provide guidance for the region’s sustainable development.

## 30 **2 Methods**

### 31 **2.1 Study area**

32 We selected the Heihe River basin (HRB) in northwest inland China as our case study area.  
33 The HRB is located in the central Hexi Corridor; one of the most arid regions in the world. It  
34 covers approximately 130,000 km<sup>2</sup> and is located at the climatic intersection between the  
35 Westerlies and the East Asian summer monsoon (Fig. 1). Many civilizations and cultures  
36 have flourished there, including the Siba culture, the Juyan Wooden Slips and the Literature  
37 of Heishui city (Cheng et al. 2011; Shi, 2007). The rise and fall of civilizations in the HRB is  
38 closely linked with water: when there is water there are oases and flourishing societies, when  
39 there is no water, there is desert and diminished human activities.

40 **Figure 1.** Location of the Heihe River basin and locations of ice core, tree ring and lake  
41 sediment data.

42 The Qilian Mountains are the principal water source areas of the Heihe River. They have an  
43 elevation varying between 2000 and 5500 m and a mean annual precipitation varying from  
44 250 to 500 mm. The midstream oases are a part of the Hexi Corridor with elevations between  
45 1000 and 2000 m and mean annual precipitation ranging from 100 to 250 mm. The lower

1 reaches are located on the arid Alaxa Plateau where the mean annual precipitation is less than  
 2 50 mm (Qin et al, 2010). The Heihe River is the second longest inland river in China with a  
 3 length of 821 km. Starting from the upstream Yingluoxia Hydrological Station (Y LX), the  
 4 Heihe River flows northward into its midstream area. Flows out of the midstream area are  
 5 measured at the Zhengyixia Hydrological Station (ZYX), and if finally flows into terminal  
 6 lakes in the downstream areas. Flow from the upper catchment provides water supplies for  
 7 agricultural production and ecosystem stabilization in the middle and lower reaches of the  
 8 HRB.

9 The HRB is an important area for grain production in China and is a highly developed  
 10 irrigation district with an unremittingly agricultural history dating back nearly 2000 years.  
 11 Intensive and unsustainable utilization of water resources in the middle reaches of the basin  
 12 has led to a sharp decrease in water supply to the lower reaches during the last 50 years (Zhou  
 13 and Yang, 2006). As a consequence the ecosystems in the lower reaches have been degraded  
 14 by land desertification, more frequent sandstorms, and the drying of terminal lakes. Therefore  
 15 the HRB is a compelling case study area for an analysis of the co-evolution of human-water  
 16 systems at the basin scale.

## 17 2.2 Study period

18 We selected the past 2000 years as our study period. This time scale represents a period in  
 19 which dramatic changes in climate, land use, runoff, management policy, population, societal  
 20 development and catchment ecological conditions have occurred. These are major variables  
 21 affecting the water cycles of river basins. It is also a time of significant civilisation  
 22 development in China, for which there is a wealth of documentary evidence available  
 23 (Holmes et al., 2009; Zheng and Wang, 2005).

24 We reconstructed the co-evolutionary processes of societal development and hydrological  
 25 systems based on seven periods in the past 2000 years using the results of Shi (2010), Wang  
 26 et al. (2013) and Xie et al. (2013) (Table 1). This reconstruction was dependent on adequate  
 27 land use information, which resulted in some limitations to developing a contiguous  
 28 hydrological data set over this long timeframe.

29 **Table 1.** Seven periods selected in the past 2000 years.

Dynasty	Start	End	Main production	Selected periods
Han Dynasty	206 BC	220 AD	Agriculture	The beginning of the 1st century AD
Wei-Jin Era	220 AD	420 AD	Animal husbandry	The end of the third century AD
Tang Dynasty	618 AD	907 AD	Agriculture	The mid- 8th century AD
Yuan Dynasty	1271 AD	1368 AD	Animal husbandry	The end of the 13th century AD
Ming Dynasty	1368 AD	1644 AD	Agriculture	The mid- 16th century AD
Qing Dynasty	1644 AD	1912 AD	Agriculture	The mid- 18th century AD
The Republic of China Era	1912 AD	1949 AD	Agriculture	The 1940s

## 1 **2.3 Reconstructing the evolutionary processes of catchment water balance**

2 We used annual water balance partitioning to provide insights into the evolutionary processes  
3 of human-water relationships at basin scale. Such partitioning is widely used as a signature of  
4 hydrologic regimes when catchments experience changes in precipitation regimes,  
5 temperature and land use change (Budyko, 1974; Sivapalan et al., 2003). For this study, the  
6 water balance equation can be written as:

$$7 \quad P + R_{in} = E + R_{out} \quad (1)$$

8 where  $P$  and  $E$  are precipitation and evapotranspiration in the mid- and down- stream areas of  
9 HRB, respectively;  $R_{in}$  is the streamflow from the upstream part of HRB into the midstream  
10 area, and  $R_{out}$  is the volume of water flowing into the terminal lakes of the downstream areas.  
11 In arid regions soil water content is very small and the groundwater levels were stable over  
12 historical periods, so changes of soil water content and groundwater are negligible and not  
13 included in Eq. (1).

14 Due to a lack of measured data in historical periods the reconstruction of  $P$ ,  $R_{in}$  and  $E$ , and  
15 validation of the derived  $R_{out}$  from Eq. (1) are important steps for developing catchment water  
16 balance over the long-term timeframe necessary for understanding the co-evolutionary  
17 process of human-water relationships.

### 18 **2.3.1 Reconstruction of precipitation ( $P$ ) in the mid- and down- stream areas**

19 We estimated precipitation ( $P$ ) in historical periods based on instrumental data in the most  
20 recent period and changes in paleoclimatic conditions. Ren et al. (2010) reconstructed the  
21 mean precipitation sequence of the whole HRB for the past 2000 years using historical  
22 drought and flood sequences, based on the good correlation between drought and flood  
23 disasters and precipitation in the 40 years from 1956 to 1995 ( $R^2 = -0.892$ ). We reconstructed  
24 the distributed precipitation ( $P$ ) in the mid- and down- stream areas in historical periods as  
25 follows. The mean precipitation from the instrumental record for 1956 to 1995, when there  
26 were continuous records at ten meteorological stations, was multiplied by the ratio of the  
27 precipitation in each historical period reconstructed by Ren et al. (2010) to the precipitation  
28 in the measured period. The instrumental precipitation data in the recent period were obtained  
29 from the China Meteorological Administration.

### 30 **2.3.2 Reconstruction of streamflow into the midstream area: $R_{in}$**

31 Dendrochronologically-based hydrological reconstructions have been widely used to extend  
32 existing instrumental streamflow records, as streamflow variations correlate well with tree  
33 ring-width series (Woodhouse et al., 2006; Saito et al., 2008). There are many streamflow  
34 reconstruction studies based on tree ring analyses for the Qilian Mountains. The longest  
35 streamflow record in this region is about 1400 years, developed by Yang et al. (2012), then  
36 1300 years by Kang et al. (2002) and 1000 years by Qin et al. (2010). None of these  
37 streamflow reconstructions completely span the 2000 years of interest.

38 In order to reconstruct the historical streamflow in the upstream area of HRB ( $R_{in}$ ) over the  
39 past 2000 years, we firstly analyzed the consistency of the historical streamflow  
40 reconstructions of Yang et al. (2012), Kang et al. (2002) and Qin et al. (2010), and selected  
41 the two most reasonable reconstructions based on the humidity changes in this region as  
42 reflected by other proxy indices, e.g. lake sediments and ice cores. The shorter one was used  
43 to extend the historical series and the longer one was used to validate the extension where

1 these two reconstructions did not overlap. We then extended the selected reconstructed  
 2 streamflow up to 2000 years by using the reconstructed precipitation and a relationship  
 3 established between the selected streamflow reconstruction and the existing precipitation  
 4 reconstruction in the upstream area. All the streamflow reconstructions focused on the  
 5 mountainous region of the mainstream of the Heihe River (Figure 1). Therefore, in order to  
 6 obtain the streamflow flowing into the midstream area ( $R_{in}$ ), we multiplied the streamflow at  
 7 YLX by the ratio of the total streamflow from the upstream area of the HRB to the  
 8 streamflow at YLX, based on the instrumental data in the recent 50 year period. The  
 9 instrumental streamflow in the recent period was obtained from the Hydrographic Service of  
 10 Gansu Province.

### 11 2.3.3 Estimating $E$ based on reconstructed land use

12  $E$  in Eq. (1) was calculated using the top-down method of the Budyko hypothesis. We used  
 13 the equations developed by Fu (1981) (For details, see Fu, 1981 and Zhang et al., 2004)  
 14 which are:

$$15 \frac{E}{P} = 1 + \frac{E_0}{P} - [1 + (\frac{E_0}{P})^w]^{1/w} \quad (2)$$

$$16 \frac{E}{E_0} = 1 + \frac{P}{E_0} - [1 + (\frac{P}{E_0})^w]^{1/w} \quad (3)$$

17 where  $E_0$  is potential evapotranspiration.  $E_0$  was estimated on a daily timescale using the  
 18 Penman-Monteith Equation for 1966 to 1995. The Penman-Monteith Equation has been  
 19 acknowledged as the best method for this region (Zhao and Ji, 2010). It is known that many  
 20 factors influence  $E_0$  and it is difficult to clearly determine the changes of  $E_0$  in historical  
 21 periods without instrumented data. However, it is recognized that air temperature is one of  
 22 most important factors influencing  $E_0$ . As range of the temperature change over the study  
 23 period was not more than 2 °C in this region (Zheng et al., 2010), and as Zhang et al. (2014)  
 24 found that the  $E_0$  increased by only 1.16 mm per month for a temperature increase of 2 °C in  
 25 the Gulang River Basin (next to the Heihe River basin), it was assumed that  $E_0$  in the HRB  
 26 was constant over the study period and the same as instrumented times. The term  $w$  is a  
 27 catchment scale model parameter determining the evaporation ratio ( $E/P$ ) for a given  $E_0/P$ .  
 28 Theoretically,  $w$  should vary between land use types and could change with time depending  
 29 on the type and intensity of crops. Unfortunately, due to the lack of historical documents or  
 30 data for the natural oases (forest and grassland) in this region, it is impossible to characterize  
 31  $w$  for the natural oases in historical periods. In addition, in equations (2) and (3), when  $w$  is  
 32 larger than 3, the impact of changes in  $w$  on  $E$  is small, especially in arid regions where  $E_0/P$   
 33 is large. In such situations, the available water for evapotranspiration becomes the  
 34 determining factor (Zhang et al., 2001; Zhang et al., 2004). Therefore, the value of  $w$  for  
 35 HRB was set to 3.5 following Yang et al (2007). The sources of water supply for  $E$  include  
 36 precipitation, groundwater, and irrigation water, so  $P$  in equations (2) and (3) can be replaced  
 37 as follows:

38 For cultivated oases:  $P_{crop,i} = P_i + J$

39 For natural oases:  $P_{veg,i} = P_i + G_{veg}$

40 where  $P_{crop,i}$  and  $P_{veg,i}$  are the precipitation equivalent in period  $i$  for crop and natural oases  
 41 respectively;  $P_i$  is the actual precipitation in period  $i$ ;  $J$  is irrigation; and  $G_{veg}$  is the water  
 42 consumed from groundwater by the natural oases. In this arid region, there is no agriculture  
 43 without irrigation. According to Xiao and Xiao (2008) flood irrigation has been the main  
 44 irrigation method in northern China since the Han dynasty. The main crop varieties, water

1 conservancy facilities, irrigation methods and farming conditions have remained almost  
 2 unchanged from the Han dynasty to the early modern period according to Wang's (2003)  
 3 research on the development history of farm irrigation in the Heihe River basin which, to our  
 4 understanding, is the most comprehensive study on historical agricultural irrigation in this  
 5 region. The wheat was the major crop and single wheat was the main cropping pattern in this  
 6 region, therefore the annual irrigation volume was set at 500 mm for the historical periods.  
 7 Since the 1980s, annual irrigation applications in this region have increased from 500 to 650  
 8 mm as the cropping pattern has evolved from single wheat to double cropping with wheat and  
 9 maize (Wang et al., 2005; Shi et al., 2011).

10 Irrigation water was obtained by surface water withdrawal from upstream reaches in  
 11 historical periods; however, it has been both pumped from groundwater and diverted from  
 12 surface water since 1949 as the surface water resource was insufficient for rapid development  
 13 of agriculture. The development of pumping and drilling technology during this period also  
 14 facilitated this change.  $G_{veg}$  was set at 225 mm per year for natural oases based on Wang et al.  
 15 (2005). For unused land, where the groundwater level was deep, the only water supply was  
 16 precipitation.

17 The total  $ET$  of the basin is given by:

$$18 \quad E_{total} = \sum_{l=1}^3 E_l \times S_l \quad (4)$$

19 where  $E_{total}$  is the total evapotranspiration of the basin;  $l$  is the number of the land use types:  
 20 cultivated oases, natural oases, and unused land.  $E_l$  is the evapotranspiration from land use  
 21 type  $l$ , and  $S_l$  is the area of land use type  $l$ .

22 The maps of cultivated oases in historical periods were downloaded from the Heihe Plan  
 23 Science Data Center: [www.heihedata.org/heihe](http://www.heihedata.org/heihe) (Xie, 2013). As the historical reconstructions  
 24 of the natural oases in this region were not available in the literature, we reconstructed them  
 25 based on the following two assumptions about the reclamation of cultivated oases based on  
 26 previous results (Li, 1998; Wu, 2000; Xie et al. 2009): (1) people selected the regions with  
 27 natural oases (grassland and forest) rather than desert for reclamation in the historical periods  
 28 because the former has better water and soil conditions in these arid regions, and (2) once the  
 29 reclaimed farmlands were abandoned and without vegetation cover, they were subsequently  
 30 desertified because of wind-driven sand and burial by dunes. The hundreds of ruins of towns  
 31 along the Silk Road in the vast deserts of northwest China are clear evidence of this change  
 32 of oases systems. Then, it is known that the expansion of the farmland from the desert in this  
 33 region started after 1975, we considered the total area of oases from the first period to the  
 34 period of 1975 as the largest area of oases in historical periods, which included cultivated and  
 35 natural oases. In each period the area of cultivated oases had reconstructed data (Xie, 2013),  
 36 then the area of natural oases was obtained by deducting the area of cultivated oases in the  
 37 particular period and the area of cultivated oases abandoned in the past periods, from the total  
 38 oases area, and the remainder was considered unused land.

39 Based on the land use reconstructions, precipitation reconstructions and estimated  $E_0$ , the  $E$  in  
 40 Eq. (1) was obtained using Eqs. (2) and (3). The data sources used for calculation of  $E$  and  
 41 reconstruction of land use included: land use data obtained for three periods by remote  
 42 sensing (1975 Landsat MSS, 2000 and 2010 satellite TM and ETM+ data), the historical atlas  
 43 of China (Tan, 1996), and meteorological data from the China Meteorological Administration,  
 44 including daily mean, maximum and minimum air temperatures, wind speed, and relative  
 45 humidity.

### 2.3.4 Validating $R_{out}$ with reconstructed evolution of the terminal lakes

The input volumes of water to terminal lakes  $R_{out}$  were derived from the reconstructed precipitation,  $E$  based on the reconstructed land use, and reconstructed streamflow  $R_{in}$  using Eq. (1). We validated the derived  $R_{out}$  with the lake evolution reconstructed by previous research on the lithology, geochemistry and mineralogy of lacustrine sediment depth profile sequences.

As sediment profiles of lakes in arid zones sensitively reflect changes in climate and human activities, they are regarded as excellent resources for palaeoclimate research (Jin et al., 2004). Lacustrine sediment sequences have been widely used for deducing the mass balance between the inflow water volume and evaporation from terminal lakes, climate change and human activity (Jin et al., 2004; Jin et al., 2005). For example, grain size distributions of lacustrine sediments directly reflect water dynamics, and soluble salt content reflects the chemical characteristics of lake water, which is affected by climate and inflow water (Jin et al., 2004).

Due to the unavailability of systematic and consistent studies on lake evolution in the HRB, we validated the derived  $R_{out}$  values based on the changes of input volumes of water to the terminal lakes in downstream areas as they reflect changes of the hydrologic cycle involving precipitation, land use, evaporation and runoff in the upper and middle reaches.  $R_{out}$  directly influences the processes of expansion and shrinkage of surface area, sediment deposition and salinization of the terminal lakes. When the input volume of water to the terminal lakes is relatively abundant, lake area extends, lake water level rise, lake water has smaller salt concentrations, and the sediment deposition environment is relatively stable, and *vice versa*.

The data and information sources used for reconstruction of the evolution of the terminal lakes include all studies on the palaeoenvironmental evolution in the downstream area of the HRB from Lakes Sogo Nur, Gaxun Nur and Juyanze. The evolution of the terminal lakes in the Heihe River experienced three periods: Juyanze from Warring States Period to Yuan dynasty, Juyanze-Gaxun Nur from Yuan dynasty to Ming dynasty and Gaxun Nur-Sogo Nur from Ming dynasty to 1961 AD (Chen, 1996). The data include granularity, soluble salt, sedimentary pigment, organic carbon content, and groundwater level (Jin et al., 2004; Jin et al., 2005; Qu et al., 2000; Zhang et al., 1998).

## 2.4 Determining the development stages of evolutionary processes of human-water relationships

River basins are co-evolving social-ecological systems in which water management decisions affect environmental outcomes that are subject to societal conditions. We interpreted and determined the key states of the evolutionary processes of the human-water relationships in the HRB based on the transition theory of social science. Transition theory is one of the most relevant approaches to understand the evolution of societal systems and support the management of sustainable development (Tǎbara and Ilhan, 2008). In general terms a transition can be understood as the process of change of a system from one stage of a dynamic state to another. According to Rotmans (2005) a set of typological phases can be identified in a transition: (1) predevelopment, (2) take-off, (3) acceleration, and (4) stabilisation. In the predevelopment stage, a change occurs marginally or imperceptibly, while after take-off a rapid process of societal change occurs until another state is reached, in which the speed of change decreases again (Tǎbara and Ilhan, 2008). Transitions can fail at any stage.

1 A transition can be measured and assessed by indicators that could be variables with actual  
 2 physical meanings, or their surrogates. In this study we used human water consumption and  
 3 natural oasis area as indicators to understand the evolutionary processes of the human-water  
 4 relationships in the HRB over the past 2000 years. Human water consumption, the difference  
 5 between evapotranspiration and precipitation in cultivated land areas, reflects the  
 6 consequence of human societal development on water cycles. The area of natural oases  
 7 reflects water supporting the environment. We used direction and rate of change ( $k$ ) of these  
 8 two indicators over time to divide the human-water relationship into different development  
 9 stages. Both the natural oases area and human water consumption were obtained using the  
 10 methods above.

### 11 **3 Results**

#### 12 **3.1 Reconstructed precipitation ( $P$ ) in mid- and down- stream reaches**

13 The ratios of precipitation for seven selected historical periods to the current period for the  
 14 whole HRB, were 0.7, 0.95, 1, 0.9, 1, 0.98 and 0.96, respectively. The precipitation in mid-  
 15 and down- stream areas for each historical period was then obtained by multiplying the mean  
 16 instrument-measured precipitation from data 1966 to 1995 at ten meteorological stations by  
 17 these proportions (Fig. 2). The precipitation in historical periods decreased from the  
 18 midstream to downstream reaches, and it was least in the Han Dynasty, and was similar to the  
 19 present level in the Tang and Ming Dynasties.

20 **Figure 2.** The reconstructed precipitation in historical periods in mid- and down- stream  
 21 areas of the HRB.

#### 22 **3.2 Reconstructed streamflow flowing into midstream reaches ( $R_{in}$ )**

23 The streamflow reconstruction of Qin et al. (2010) was used to extend the measured  
 24 streamflow reconstruction, and the streamflow reconstruction of Yang et al. (2012) was used  
 25 to validate it. It was found that the streamflow record reconstructions obtained by Yang et al.  
 26 (2012), Qin et al. (2010), and Kang et al. (2002) for the period AD 1000-2000 are generally  
 27 consistent; however, discrepancies occurred around the years of 1290, 1530, 1690, 1840 and  
 28 1910. The streamflow reconstructions by Yang et al. (2012) and Qin et al. (2010) were more  
 29 consistent with the changes in regional humidity suggested by paleoclimate results for this  
 30 region. The paleoclimatic series were derived from tree rings from living trees or  
 31 archaeological woods in the Qilian Mountains and the Tibetan Plateau (Yang et al., 2014;  
 32 Sheppard et al., 2004; Shao et al., 2010), sediments in Qinghai Lake (Shen et al., 2001) and  
 33 ice cores in Dunde (Liu et al., 1998). Therefore these two reconstructions were considered to  
 34 be the more reasonable.

35 It is known that the annual streamflow at YLX and mean precipitation in the Qilian  
 36 Mountains region changed consistently over the past 50 years (Xiao and Xiao, 2008). It was  
 37 found that precipitation reconstructions of Yang et al. (2014) (Fig. 3a) and streamflow  
 38 reconstructions of Qin et al. (2010) (Fig. 3b) changed consistently in the last 1000 years. We  
 39 derived a linear relationship between them as follows:  $R_{\text{Qin et al. (2010)}} = 0.2771 * P_{\text{Yang et al. (2014)}} + 80.632$ . We used this relationship to extend the streamflow reconstruction back to the  
 40 period 0 to 1000 AD at YLX (Fig. 3c). The extended streamflow reconstruction is consistent  
 41 with the streamflow reconstruction of Yang et al. (2012) for the period from 575 AD to 1000  
 42 AD. Over the whole study period, the reconstructed streamflows into midstream areas ( $R_{in}$ )  
 43

1 varied between about 2.6 and 4.0 billion m<sup>3</sup> per year. Streamflow peaked in recent years due  
 2 to abundant precipitation together with glacier and snow melt in the upstream areas due to  
 3 rises in temperature.

4 **Figure 3.** (a) Yang et al.'s (2014) annual precipitation reconstruction for the Qilian  
 5 Mountains over the last 2000 years, with 50-y smoothing. (b) Qin et al.'s (2010) annual  
 6 streamflow reconstruction spanning the last millennium with 50-y smoothing at YLX. (c) Our  
 7 extension of the streamflow from 0 to 1000 AD based on the Yang et al. (2014) precipitation  
 8 reconstruction and the Qin et al. (2010) streamflow reconstruction.

### 9 3.3 Reconstructed historical land use and land cover

10 The reconstructions of land use for the seven historical periods and three land use maps for  
 11 1975, 2000 and 2010 obtained by image interpretation are shown in Fig. 4. The areas of  
 12 cultivated oases changed significantly over historical periods. It was large in the Han Dynasty,  
 13 and then gradually decreased in area until the Yuan Dynasty. From the Ming Dynasty it  
 14 increased gradually, and finally reached a peak in the period of modern China. The cultivated  
 15 areas were mainly distributed in the downstream area of the basin in the first period, and then  
 16 moved upstream, finally ending up focused on the middle reaches. This might suggest that  
 17 land reclamation was directly affected by the available water resources.

18 **Figure 4.** Land use reconstructions in historical periods and land use through image  
 19 interpretation in recent periods in mid- and down- stream areas of HRB. (It should be noted  
 20 that the grassland, forest and water or wet land were combined with the natural oases, and the  
 21 farmland and built-up land were combined with cultivated oases in the land use in 1975, 2000  
 22 and 2010.)

### 23 3.4 Validation of derived $R_{out}$ with the reconstructed evolution of the terminal lakes

24 The average annual volume of water that entered the terminal lakes ( $R_{out}$ ) in the historical  
 25 periods is shown in Table 2. The estimates were obtained using Eq. (1) together with the  
 26 reconstructed precipitation, streamflow and  $E$  related to land use. The reconstruction of the  
 27 evolution of the lake, based on lithological, geochemical and mineralogical data from the  
 28 lacustrine sediment profile sequences in terminal lakes, together with some interpretation, is  
 29 also described in Table 2.

30 There are relatively good relationships between the input volumes of water to the terminal  
 31 lakes ( $R_{out}$ ) and the evolution of the terminal lakes in historical periods. The input of water to  
 32 terminal lakes was not only determined by the streamflow from upstream, but also affected  
 33 by land use in the mid- and down- stream areas of the basin. When the streamflow from the  
 34 upstream area was high and the cultivation activity in the middle stream was not intense, the  
 35 input of water to terminal lakes was high, such as during the Tang and Ming Dynasties, and  
 36 *vice versa*. This was reflected by the pigmentation and organic carbon content of the  
 37 sediments of the terminal lakes (Qu et al., 2000; Zhang et al., 1998). After the turn of the 21st  
 38 century  $R_{out}$  became negative which meant that there was a deficit in groundwater recharge  
 39 because of over-extraction of water for irrigation to meet the need of food (Wei, 2013).

40 **Table 2.** The input volumes of water to the terminal lakes ( $R_{out}$ ) and evolution of the terminal  
 41 lakes in historical periods.

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Periods	$R_{out}$	Evolution of terminal lakes
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		/10 <sup>8</sup> m <sup>3</sup> /year
Han Dynasty	7.5	The lake was shrinking (Qu et al., 2000), and fine magnetic minerals peaked in the sediment profile (Qu et al., 2000; Zhang et al., 1998). This might be affected by low $R_{out}$ and intense reclamation in the downstream areas around the terminal lake.
Wei-Jin Era	9.2	The lake was still shrinking (Qu et al., 2000), and the primary productivity of the lake was low, such as <i>Oscillatoria flavin</i> and chlorophyll derivative (Qu et al., 2000; Zhang et al., 1998). This may be because of low $R_{out}$ and weakening reclamation due to war and other factors.
Tang Dynasty	18.1	There were stable water dynamics, a large lake area and deep water reflected by the sediments with higher contents of silt and clay, and relatively low coarse grain content (Jin et al., 2005; Jin et al., 2004). This was consistent with a large $R_{out}$ during this period.
Yuan Dynasty	14.9	Same as the Tang dynasty.
Ming Dynasty	18.9	The salinity of lake water decreased and the lake expanded further (Zhang et al., 1998). This was consistent with a large $R_{out}$ .
Qing Dynasty	11.8	Same as the Ming dynasty.
Modern China in 1949	15.4	The lakes maintained a relatively large area (Zhang et al., 1998; Xiao et al., 2004). This was consistent with a large $R_{out}$ .
1975	2.0	Terminal lake Gaxun nur dried up and Sogo nur became ephemeral (Xiao et al., 2004). This was because of intense exploitation of water for agriculture in the midstream area, which led to streamflow decreased and was unstable.
2000	-2.8	The lakes dried out, and the groundwater levels decreased (Xiao et al., 2004). This was because of intense usage of water for agriculture in the midstream area and overexploitation of the groundwater in the basin.
2010	-0.5	Lake restoration started.

### 1 3.5 Reconstructed catchment water balance in the past 2000 years

2 We reconstructed the catchment water cycles in the HRB for the past 2000 years from the  
3 precipitation reconstruction ( $P$ ) in mid- and down- stream areas, the streamflow  
4 reconstruction ( $R_{in}$ ), land use reconstruction, evapotranspiration reconstruction ( $E$ ) and the  
5 derived streamflow reconstruction into terminal lakes ( $R_{out}$ ). Comparison of the reconstructed  
6 lake condition using the sediment record and  $R_{out}$  (Table 2), shows that the reconstructed  
7 water cycles reasonably reflects variations in the water balance partitioning in the HRB over  
8 the past 2000 years.

1 Fig. 5 shows the evolution of the catchment water balance in the HRB in the past 2000 years.  
 2 Human water consumption changed clearly, especially after the founding of modern China in  
 3 1949, when streamflows from upstream areas were approximately unchanged. The main  
 4 cause of the water balance changes was rapid expansion of the cultivated areas around oases,  
 5 reflecting the increasing population, which was the primary driver. The cultivated oasis areas  
 6 shrank from the Han to the Yuan Dynasty and have expanded until now, the natural oasis  
 7 areas were continually shrank until 2000, and the areas of desertified land have increased as  
 8 cultivated land was abandoned due to war, disasters or other causes. The volumes of water  
 9 flowing into terminal lakes remained about 1 billion m<sup>3</sup> per year, even more in historical  
 10 periods, but it decreased sharply after 1975, and even became negative. The negative values  
 11 (which would be zero in reality) probably indicate that the groundwater was being  
 12 overexploited so that there was a negative mass balance, which is consistent with falling  
 13 water tables in recent times. After a water reallocation scheme was implemented in 2000, the  
 14 ecological and environment deterioration was halted and the lakes were restored. At the same  
 15 time, the cultivated oasis areas, population and human water consumption increased. This  
 16 was at the expense of groundwater in midstream areas combined with the benefits of a wet  
 17 period of about ten years.

18 **Figure 5.** Changes in elements of the reconstructed catchment water balance over the past  
 19 2000 years in the mid- and downstream area.

### 20 **3.6 Determination of the development stages of evolutionary processes of human-water** 21 **relationships**

22 Human water consumption and natural oasis areas changed at different rates (*k*) in different  
 23 periods (Fig. 5). Based on their rates of change with time we divided the evolutionary  
 24 processes of the human-water relationships in the HRB over the past 2000 years into four  
 25 phases (Fig. 6): (1) predevelopment (206 BC - 1368 AD), (2) take-off (1368 - 1949 AD), (3)  
 26 acceleration (1949 - 2000 AD), and (4) the start of rebalancing between the human and water  
 27 relationships (after 2000 AD).

28 **Figure 6.** The development stages of evolutionary processes of human-water relationships.

29 The predevelopment phase started after the Han Dynasty. In the Han Dynasty an  
 30 unprecedented expansion of manmade cultivated areas based on oases occurred associated  
 31 with defence needs, immigration and settling of farms, which changed the production mode  
 32 from nomadic herding into settled farming (Cheng et al., 2011). It also corresponded with the  
 33 warm and humid climate in the early Western Han Dynasty (Ren et al., 2010; Xie et al.,  
 34 2009). However, in the late eastern Han Dynasty, agricultural production levels declined due  
 35 to population loss and damage to water conservation facilities after long-term warfare. From  
 36 the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-581) to the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), the people  
 37 led nomadic lifestyles and the Hexi corridor was in a state of frequent wars and dynastic  
 38 change. The HRB landuse was primarily pastoral as most agricultural oases were abandoned  
 39 (Li, 1998; Xie et al., 2013). In this predevelopment stage of about 1500 years, the population  
 40 was stable, and cultivated area was small and focused on downstream areas. As a result,  
 41 humans had few impacts on the water system and the area of natural oases area did not  
 42 change significantly.

43 Since the Ming Dynasty, when agricultural civilization revived, the evolution of the  
 44 human-water relationships in the HRB entered the take-off stage. During this phase oasis  
 45 reclamation activities were promoted and moved upstream to the midstream area (Wu, 2000).

1 In the middle of the Qing Dynasty, the Hexi corridor was politically stable and free of wars  
2 and the basic requirements for agricultural development were provided by the government,  
3 including seeds, cattle, and the steel farming implements. This led to expansion of the  
4 cultivated land and agricultural development. Therefore the population increased quickly (Shi,  
5 2010). At the same time irrigation technology hardly changed, and with the area of cultivated  
6 land expanding, water resource utilization became increasingly intense (Wang, 2003). It was  
7 also during this period that disputes about water arose (Cheng et al., 2011; Shen and He,  
8 2004). This phase was relatively short, lasting about 580 years. During this phase, human  
9 water consumption increased at a rate of 1.09 million m<sup>3</sup> per year on average, and the area of  
10 natural oases decreased at an average rate of 1.38 km<sup>2</sup> per year. Human intervention in the  
11 water system was gradually increasing.

12 After modern China was founded in 1949, societal development in the HRB moved into the  
13 acceleration stage. During this stage the population, the area of cultivated land and human  
14 water consumption increased sharply, especially after the green revolution of the 1960s, and  
15 China's reform and opening-up in 1978. In addition, food self-sufficiency dominated Chinese  
16 agricultural and water resources development policy. Many wells, reservoirs and channels  
17 were built during this stage. This stage was the shortest, only 50 years long, but the human  
18 water consumption increased at an alarming rate of 35.1 million m<sup>3</sup> per year, and the area of  
19 natural oases area decreased at an average rate of 58 km<sup>2</sup> per year. The influence of human  
20 activities on water resources reached its peak and the environment was seriously degraded as  
21 natural wetlands, rivers, and lakes dwindled rapidly (Xiao et al., 2004).

22 In order to prevent continuing environmental degradation a series of actions and measures  
23 were implemented, such as the Natural Forest Protection Project after 2001, and another large  
24 project that turning cultivated land into forests or grasslands from 2002 to 2004. In addition,  
25 Zhangye city, in the midstream area, was selected as the first experimental construction site  
26 by the Water Saving and Conservation Society (WSCS) of China in 2002. This was  
27 supported by a water reallocation scheme in 2000 in which the midstream area should  
28 discharge 950 million m<sup>3</sup> (as measured at the ZYX station) to downstream areas in normal  
29 years (when the upstream YLX discharges 1,580 million m<sup>3</sup> of water). The Central  
30 Government's No.1 Water Document in 2011, which limits total water diversion, promotes  
31 water use efficiency and reduces water pollution, reinforces the changes in the relationship  
32 between humans and water emerging since the early 2000s. All of these actions have resulted  
33 in some improvements to downstream ecosystems, including halting the ecological and  
34 environment deterioration and restoring the lakes. The area of natural oases increased at an  
35 average rate of 28 km<sup>2</sup> per year from 2000 to 2010. A new state between the humans and  
36 water emerged after 2000.

#### 37 **4 Discussions and conclusions**

38 This paper represents an attempt to reveal the evolutionary processes of the human-water  
39 relationships in the HRB over the past 2000 years. We quantitatively analyzed the dynamics  
40 of coupled human and hydrological systems as well as the associated climatic and ecological  
41 changes in the past 2000 years within the HRB by reconstructing the catchment water balance.  
42 Based on transition theory we divided the evolution of the human-water relationship into four  
43 stages, which are predevelopment (206 BC - 1368 AD), take-off (1368 - 1949 AD),  
44 acceleration (1949 - 2000 AD), and rebalancing (after 2000 AD).

45 This study provides new understandings of how societal drivers and societal responses over  
46 time interact and feedback with catchment water cycles over a timescale of 2000 years. The  
47 pace of the evolutionary process varied. The predevelopment stage lasted for 1500 years, and  
48 the take-off period was shorter at only 580 years. After that, in a period of only 50 years, the

1 acceleration period occurred when the population increased from 0.5 to 1.9 million and the  
2 area of cultivated oases expanded by 3649 km<sup>2</sup>, which was about double that at the beginning  
3 of the acceleration stage. Human water consumption increased by 1.9 billion m<sup>3</sup> per year,  
4 resulting in a doubling of water use over the stage. This resulted in volumes of water from  
5 midstream areas flowing into terminal lakes decreasing from more than 1 billion m<sup>3</sup>/y to 0.  
6 This became the trigger for a sustainability transition in the HRB in 2000 when a water  
7 reallocation scheme was implemented. This meant that the evolutionary processes of  
8 human-water relationships in the basin entered a new stage: rebalancing. This understanding  
9 of the dynamics of transitions will assist policy makers to identify management practices that  
10 require improvement by understanding how today's conditions and problems were created in  
11 the past. It could also help integrate management of land and water use to allow for more  
12 sustainable catchment management to combat desertification in this region.

13 An important part of the paper was reconstructing the catchment water balance. This relied  
14 on a range of data sources, including paleo-climates and paleo-environments reflected by  
15 dendrochronology, ice cores, lake sediments and historical drought and flood sequences, a  
16 historical atlas of China, remote sensing images and instrumented streamflow and climate  
17 data. The resulting reconstructed water balance was consistent with the dynamics of the  
18 terminal lakes in the HRB over the past 2000 years. The reconstruction provided a basis for  
19 generating baseline data against which to evaluate recent changes, for investigating the  
20 impact of human societies on hydrological systems in historical contexts and for generating  
21 datasets for improving models of hydrological systems over timescales that exceed the length  
22 of the instrumented record (Savenije et al., 2013).

23 There are some important limitations on the methods and with the data collection and  
24 analysis. Several assumptions and uncertainties in the 2000 year hydrological reconstruction  
25 exist due to lack of data. Values for  $E_0$  in the historical periods were assumed to be the same  
26 as in recent periods, which is reasonable given the variation in average temperature was less  
27 than 2 °C. Values for  $w$  may vary among different land use types and could change with time  
28 depending on the type and intensity of crops in historical periods, however due to the lack of  
29 data, the value of  $w$  for HRB was set at 3.5. For the same reason, irrigation was set at 500 mm  
30 per year for the whole historical period. There was also some inconsistency between the data  
31 extracted from the different proxy materials, for example, the streamflow reconstructions by  
32 Yang et al. (2012), Qin et al. (2010), and Kang et al. (2002) using tree rings were not  
33 completely consistent. There were limitations due to the available data's representativeness of  
34 locations, for example the data from tree rings only focused in the upstream area of the  
35 mainstream areas of the Heihe River, and the samples of lake sediment mainly focused on the  
36 terminal lake Sogo Nur. Problems of representativeness of data in various time periods and  
37 varying resolutions of data also occurred. For example, the land use maps only covered  
38 several periods, the tree ring dating can be specific to the annual scale, and the information  
39 from ice cores and lake sediment profiles was at the century scale.

40 The transitions seen from the four stages of evolutionary processes of human-water  
41 relationships in the HRB did not follow the standard theoretical processes. Stabilization, a  
42 typological phase in the standard transition process, did not appear. In addition, there were  
43 large differences in the rates and scales of changes and the period of time over which they  
44 occurred. Some further theoretical research is needed to explain the transition pattern, but this  
45 result evidences that transitions have no fixed pattern. This paper provides a path toward an  
46 analytical approach to water related societal transitions that should be, on one hand, strongly  
47 attached to social science theory, and on the other hand, firmly based on formal hydrological  
48 modeling.

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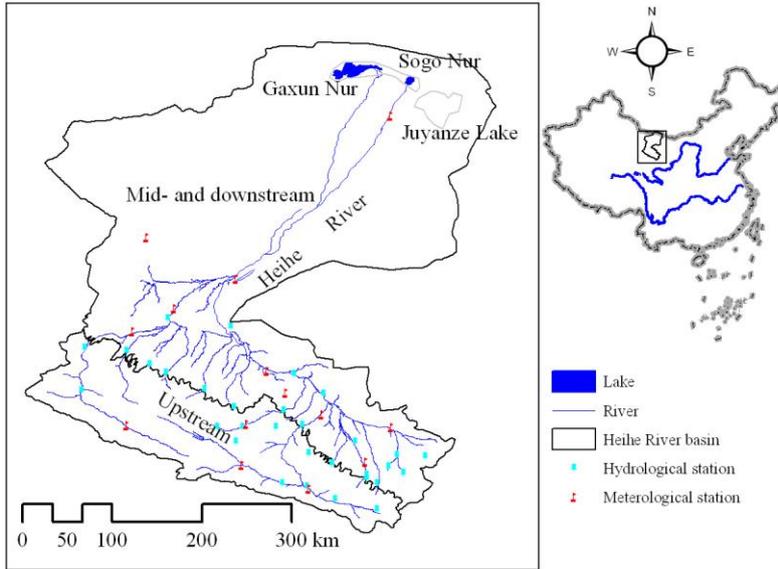
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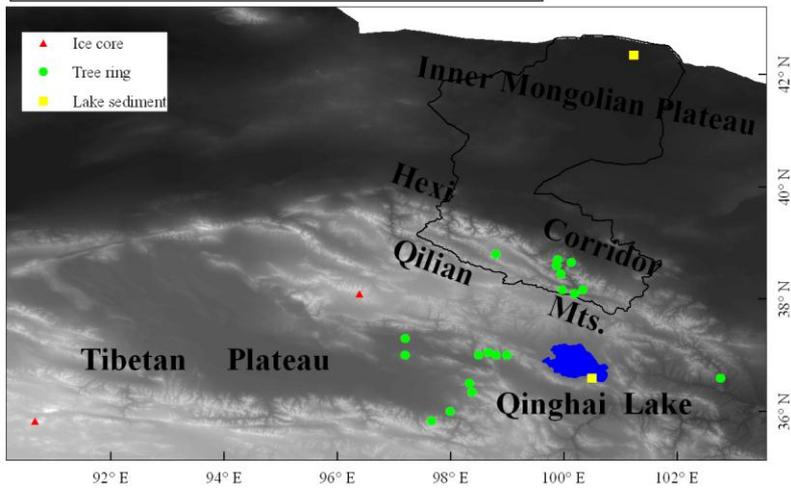
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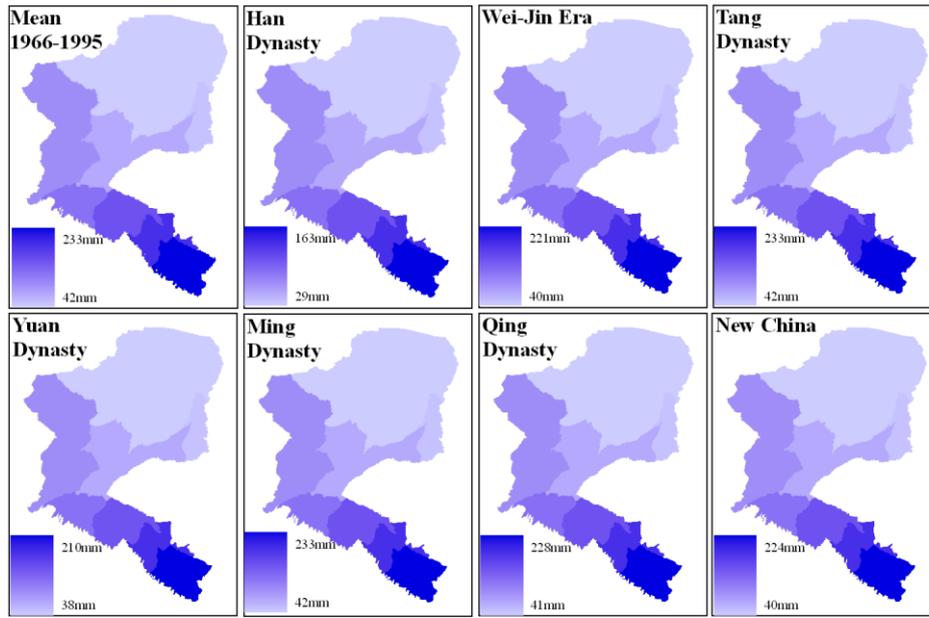
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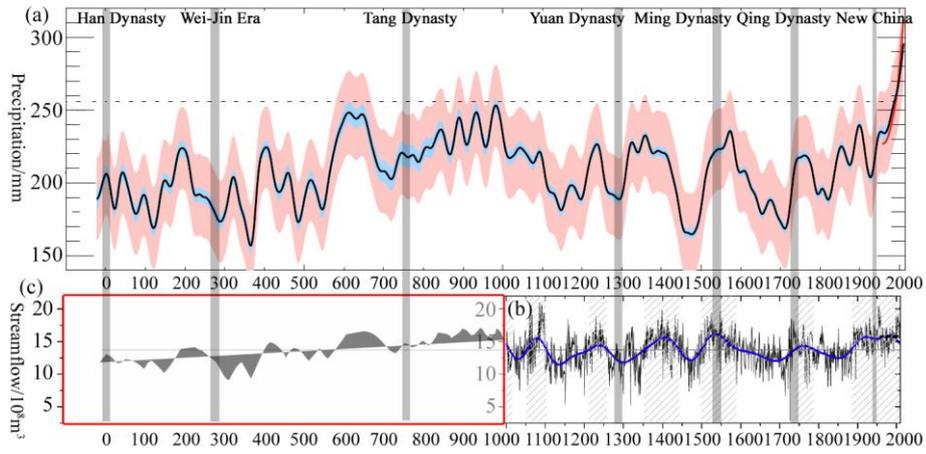


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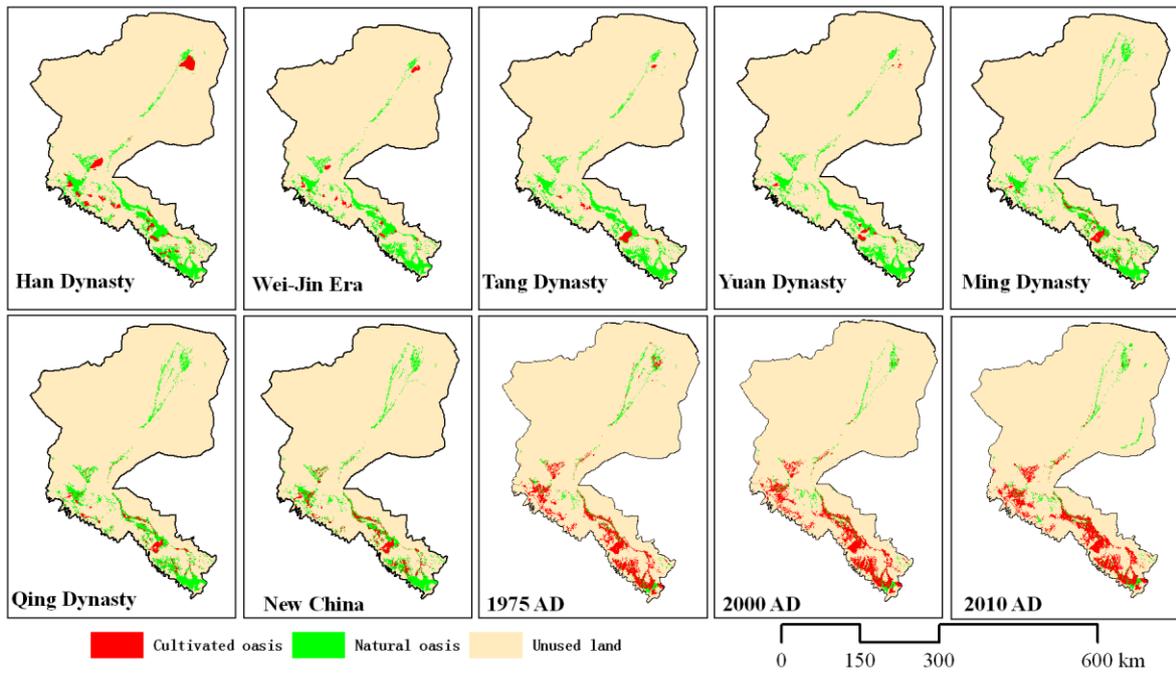




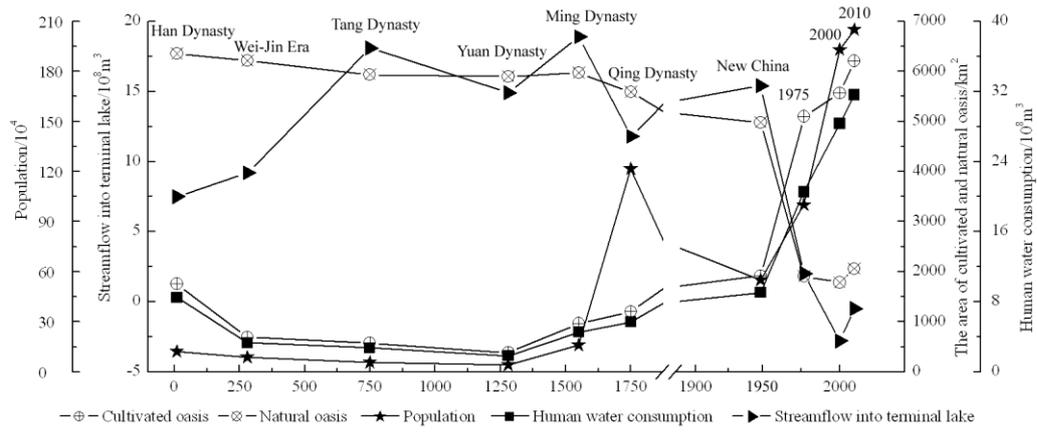
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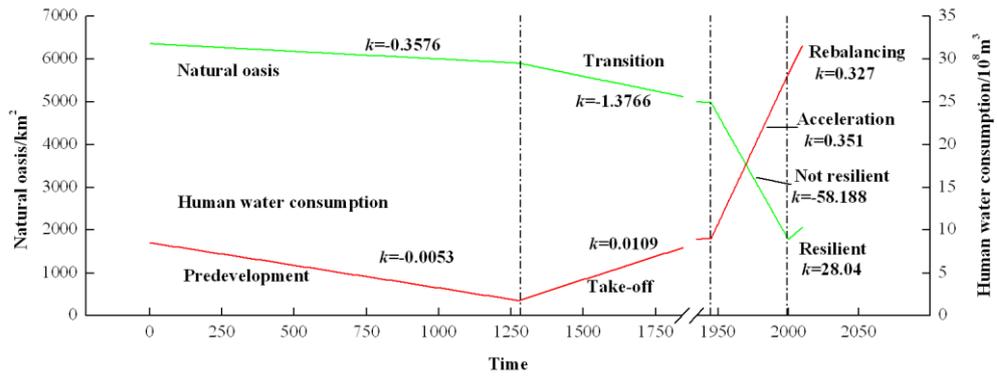
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