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## 3 **Managing glacial and periglacial hazards in the Alps: a geohistorical 4 approach**

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6 Juliette Bazin\*<sup>1,2</sup>, Ludovic Ravanel<sup>1</sup>, Sandrine Caroly<sup>2</sup>

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8 <sup>1</sup> EDYTEM, Savoie Mont-Blanc University, CNRS, 5 Boulevard de la Mer Caspienne 73370 Le  
9 Bourget-du-Lac, France

10 <sup>2</sup> PACTE, Grenoble Alpes University, INP, 46 Avenue Félix Viallet 38000 Grenoble, France

11 \*Corresponding author: J. Bazin (juliette.bazin@univ-smb.fr)

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15

### 16 **Key words**

17 Glacial and periglacial hazards, Risk management, Risk perception, Geo-history, European Alps

18

### 19 **Abstract**

20 Through a geo-historical study, we compile an inventory of glacial and periglacial events that have  
21 prompted risk management actions in the European Alps over the last centuries. This management is  
22 analysed through seven guiding principles/pillars: hazard understanding, preventive information, land-  
23 use planning, monitoring and surveillance, hazard-vulnerability-exposure mitigation, crisis management  
24 preparedness, and resilience. The objective of this research is to examine how risk management methods  
25 have evolved over time and across different Alpine countries. The western Swiss Alps and the French  
26 Alps, home to the highest elevations, have experienced most of the major events.

27 Certain events, such as the 1892 collapse of the Tête Rousse glacier's water pocket, represent key turning  
28 points that mark a rupture or renewal in how risks are perceived and addressed. Today, glacial and  
29 periglacial risk management benefits from improved understanding of both hazards and vulnerabilities.  
30 Our geo-historical analysis highlights that the inclusion of the population in crisis management has  
31 become an increasingly significant factor in making-decision processus. However, current risk  
32 management practices remain limited and would benefit from more participatory approaches, which in  
33 turn depends partly on the perception of hazards and their integration into management practices.

34

### 35 **1. Introduction**

36 Rock and glacier mass movements in high mountains pose significant risks to communities and  
37 infrastructure. Numerous past examples show how glacial and periglacial processes have affected Alpine  
38 valleys through large-scale and/or cascading phenomena (e.g., Haeberli et al., 2016; Magnin et al.,  
39 2023), and their frequency and volume appear to be increasing (Jacquemart et al., 2024). Recent  
40 disasters in Bondo (Graubünden, CH) in August 2017 (Ancey, 2017; Walter et al., 2020), La Bérarde  
41 (Isère, FR) in June 2024 (Mainieri et al., 2025), and Blatten (Valais, CH) in May 2025 following a  
42 massive rock-ice avalanche from the Birch Glacier illustrates this intensification.

43 This study focusses on major hazards affecting valley floors: ice, rock, and mixed avalanches, glacial  
44 lake outburst floods (GLOFs) and debris flows. These are defined as natural phenomenon impacting  
45 Alpine territories (Moles, 1972; Bisquert et al., 2025). A process becomes a *risk* when it threatens lives,  
46 economic assets, or the environment. The notion of an *event* is useful for historians as it marks “a cut, a  
47 discontinuity”, something “interesting”, sufficiently “important” or “new” to be “told or enacted”  
48 (Dosse, 2010; Giacoma et al., 2017). The *issues* are thus the exposed elements with varying  
49 vulnerabilities to each hazard (Defossez et al., 2018).



50 Rockfalls and rock avalanches in high mountains are mainly triggered by permafrost degradation and/or  
51 glacial debuttressing (Fischer et al., 2006; Gruber and Haeberli, 2007; Huggel et al., 2010). They may  
52 directly impact valley areas or provide material that triggers debris flows (Walter et al., 2020).  
53 Ice avalanches occur when a glacier section detaches and slides downslope (Alean, 1985; Richard, 2005;  
54 Faillietaz et al., 2015), destroying infrastructure, forests and lives, as in the 1965 Allalin glacier collapse  
55 on the Mattmark dam (Dalban Canassy et al., 2011). Indirectly, they can trigger snow avalanches  
56 (Margreth and Funk, 1999) or debris flows when ice temporary dams a watercourse (Richard, 2005).  
57 GLOFs arise when a glacial lake or a water suddenly drains, releasing large volumes of water that can  
58 evolve into debris flows if sufficient sediment is available (Richard, 2005; Huss et al., 2007; Carrivick  
59 and Tweed, 2016; Ancey et al., 2019). Their impacts can devastate entire valleys, as seen in the Bagnes  
60 valley below the Gietroz glacier in 1595 and 1818 (Vincent et al., 2010; Ancey et al., 2019).  
61 Integrated management of these emerging, climate-related risks (Prudent-Richard et al., 2008; Stoffel et  
62 al., 2014; Jacquemart et al., 2024) is essential.  
63 The database developed this study documents glacial and periglacial events across the European Alps  
64 over the past two centuries that e required risk management (*i.e.* with implementation of one or more  
65 principles of risk management). Our aim is to assess the frequency and intensity of such events, trace  
66 historical trends, and identify differences between countries. A historical approach enables the analysis  
67 of change processes in risk management(Giacona et al., 2017, 2019), beyond mere event description  
68 (Girard and Rivière-Honegger, 2015).  
69 We seek to understand how Alpine glacial and periglacial hazards have shaped scientific knowledge and  
70 risk management practices.  
71 The paper first outlines the theoretical and historical framework of risk management, followed by the  
72 methods used to construct the database and apply the seven principles of risk management. Results  
73 describe the spatial and temporal distribution of events and corresponding management actions. Finally,  
74 we discuss the data's limitations and the challenges of future prevention in a changing climate..  
75

## 76 **2. State of the art and theoretical positioning**

77

78 The concepts used here need to be defined to clarify our approach. A risk refers to the probability of  
79 damage resulting from interactions between a physical process (hazard) and vulnerability (Pigeon,  
80 2002). The hazards studied occur at high altitudes (above 2,000-2,500 m a.s.l.) and may reach valley  
81 floors, threatening infrastructure, livelihoods, ecosystems and populations (IPCC, 2023). Mountains  
82 valleys are thus considered vulnerable because of their exposure to such hazards. Vulnerability also  
83 depends on resilience and sensitivity, *i.e.* system's ability to absorb shocks and the degree of damage it  
84 can sustain (Reghezza et al., 2006; Schneiderbauer and Ehrlich, 2004; Defossez et al., 2018). Exposure  
85 reflects the spatial and social closeness between hazard sources and affected communities.  
86

87

88 The ongoing expansion of urbanised areas in high Alpine valleys increases potential losses and justifies  
89 effective risk management (Allen et al., 2017). The later encompasses actions and strategies to  
90 anticipate, reduce and respond to hazards (Leone et al., 2021). It also aims to reduce uncertainty through  
91 new scientific knowledge (Margreth et al., 2011, 2017). While similar to other Alpine hazards, glacial  
92 and periglacial processes are distinguished by their rapid evolution and exceptional magnitude (Richard,  
93 2005). Anticipation remains complex because these hazards evolve with the cryosphere: glacier retreat,  
94 de-icing of rock faces, permafrost degradation, formation or disappearance of glacial lakes, and  
95 changing glacier thermal regimes, etc. (Mainieri et al., 2025). Their rarity combined with high intensity  
96 (Boudières and Peisser, 2013). As historical experience; therefore, traditional approach based solely on  
97 hazard characterisation (Richard, 2005) are necessary but not sufficient (Allen et al., 2017). By analysing  
98 past events, we can improve our understanding of triggering and propagation mechanism, refine  
99 susceptibility assessments, and better mitigate impacts (Carrivick and Tweed, 2016). Rather than  
100 seeking an exhaustive inventory of events, the focus is on lessons learned from major occurrences,  
especially regarding how societies have managed risks.



101

102 Building a historical database requires a diachronic approach, inspired by the concept of diachronic  
103 monographs (Girard and Rivière-Honegger, 2015). This approach, illustrated by regional monographs  
104 such as those of the Pyrenees (Desailly, 1990), highlights how temporal analysis helps explain current  
105 territorial situations. Time is therefore essential, as it allows us to describe dynamics and explain  
106 environmental or social processes. A diachronic monograph thus offers a detailed study of a system  
107 defined in space and time to understand its mechanisms of change (Girard and Rivière-Honegger, 2015).  
108 Temporal analysis is relevant not only when the hazard itself has a temporal dimension, but also when  
109 it helps interpret contemporary conditions (Mendez, 2010). It is important to avoid actualism, *i.e.* the  
110 idea that the present fully explains the past. Instead, the memory of disasters uses history to contextualise  
111 and interpret events (Dollfus and D'Ercole, 1996). This leads to the notion of geohistorical trajectory  
112 (Valette and Carozza, 2019), which identifies rupture points to reconstruct the evolution of hazards  
113 (Hugerot et al., 2021). We adopt this geohistorical perspective to understand long-term risk management,  
114 local practices, and the evolution of risk culture. Through studies such as those by Favier (2006) and  
115 Fournier (2010) on avalanches and floods in the Grenoble basin (France), we learn how mountain  
116 societies actively experienced and managed disasters.

117 Adopting a diachronic perspective also implies careful selection of sources. Practical archives  
118 complement narrative sources (Fournier, 2010). Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, researchers have sought to  
119 reconstruct the chronology and characteristics of past floods to better anticipate future ones (Dourlens,  
120 2004). Historical research thus becomes a complementary tool for prediction relying on long time-series  
121 data. Yet, a full chronicle is impossible; many small or “common” events leave no trace in archives  
122 (Giacona et al., 2019).

123 To overcome this bias, historical approaches help explain processes and mechanisms rather than  
124 compiling exhaustive lists. Our study therefore provides both a broad view of Alpine risk management  
125 and insights into the geophysical mechanisms of high mountain mass movement. This is also shown by  
126 Ravanel and Deline (2008) and Ravanel et al. (2020), who used temporal analysis of rockfalls in the  
127 Mont-Blanc massif (FR/IT) to reveal long-term dynamics.

128

### 129     3. Construction of the database

130

#### 131     3.1. Inventory of major glacial and periglacial events in the Alps

132

##### 133     3.1.1 Criteria used to identify events to be included in the database

134

135 Building a comprehensive long-term database is challenging as data availability before the 20<sup>th</sup> century  
136 largely depends on societies’ vulnerability (Giacona, 2019).

137 We adopted a qualitative approach, keeping events that significantly marked local history or the  
138 environment, living traces in archives or collective memory.

139 Our criteria are grouped into four categories.

140

141     Extreme events:

142     We focused on rare or major events exceeding several thousand cubic metres or causing serious human  
143     or environmental damage (Field et al., 2012; Bourrelier and Dunglas, 2009). Quantitatively, these  
144     correspond to the far end of the frequency–intensity spectrum..

145

146     Events with feedback:

147     We consider known events that required extensive feedback (beyond simple observation of the event).  
148     By this, we mean a detailed study to understand the hazard and improve knowledge of its mechanisms  
149     (*e.g.* the Gietro glacier collapse in Switzerland in 1818; Wiegandt and Lugon, 2008).

150

151     Repeated events:



152 When an extreme process has been repeated several times in the same watershed. The most significant  
153 breaks have been taken into account here. This is for example the case of the Bockkarkees hanging  
154 glacier (AU), which has generated more than 70 ice avalanches since 1933, the largest of which reached  
155 five million m<sup>3</sup> in 1945 and two to three million m<sup>3</sup> in 1964 and 1975 (*Gridabase*; Kellerer-Pirkbauer  
156 et al., 2012).

157

158 Change in risk perception:

159 Finally, if an event significantly influenced risk perception, we included it in the inventory, even if it did  
160 not meet all of the above criteria. The Marmolada glacier collapse in 2022 (Francese et al., 2024) is one  
161 such example: although the phenomenon did not reach the valley and only affected mountaineers, its  
162 consequences (11 victims) had a significant impact on public opinion and highlighted the need to better  
163 locate potential glacial phenomena (Chiarle et al., 2022).

164

165 We initially sought to start our inventory in 1985-1990, marking the first visible signs of the climate  
166 crisis in the Alps (Ravanel, 2009; Ravanel et al., 2020), up to 2025. However, earlier key events such as  
167 the 1892 Tête Rousse outburst (Mougin et Bernard, 1922).

168 were too significant to omit.

169 We therefore extended our period back to the early 19th century, whenever reliable sources were  
170 available.

171

172 For each event, we collected the following data: location (country, region, mountain range, orientation,  
173 name of the glacier or summit), date(s) of rupture, identified causes, destabilised and/or deposited  
174 volumes, runout distance (propagation), possible cascading effects, damage and casualties, monitoring  
175 methods, event or crisis management, and sources used.

176 This method was applied to three types of glacial and periglacial hazards: ice avalanches, torrential  
177 hazards including GLOFs and debris flows, and rock falls/rock avalanches.

178 In the case of cascading processes, we selected the one with the most devastating effects, generally the  
179 one furthest downstream. For example, if a serac fall causes a lake to overflow, we recorded the torrential  
180 process. If a serac fall causes an ice jam, we record the ice break-up and the subsequent propagation.

181

### 182 3.1.2 Data sources

183

184 The main source is the *Gridabase* inventory produced as part of the European research project  
185 (« Gridabase - Glaciorkis », s. d., 2001-2003). The objective of this project was to identify, monitor and  
186 prevent catastrophic glacial phenomena in order to better assess risks in a changing climatic and socio-  
187 economic context (Peissier and Courtray, 2012). This joint database compiles 501 documented events  
188 across Austria, France, Italy and Switzerland, including floods, GLOFs, and ice avalanches (Richard,  
189 2005). At the end of 2004, the database contained 501 documented events in Austria, France, Italy and  
190 Switzerland. The aim of *Gridabase* was to preserve as exhaustively as possible the memory and trace  
191 of glacial events, even those of modest importance (which we have not taken into account here,  
192 according to our criteria explained).

193

194 Another source used is the *RTM Database*. This is a French database developed by the *Restauration des*  
195 *Terrains de Montagne* service of the *Office National des Forêts* (ONF-RTM). Since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup>  
196 century, it has recorded the following six processes: avalanches, gully erosion, subsidence, landslides,  
197 rockfalls and debris flows (Bisquert et al., 2025). We have retained glacial and periglacial events  
198 consisting of rock glacier ruptures, rockfalls linked to permafrost degradation and debris flows generated  
199 by cascade processes.

200 The RTM has also produced numerous reports analysing glacial and periglacial events. These reports  
201 indicate the recognised causes of the rupture, the trajectory of the materials, the estimated volume, any  
202 damage and a history of the various processes in the same catchment area. Some studies report on risk



203 management, in which the RTM is involved through preliminary studies prior to the (ice, rock-, lac dam)  
204 collapse, including modelling (e.g. Lac de la Patinoire or the retrospective analysis of the Étançons  
205 torrent flood in the Écrins massif (FR) in 2024, (Cathala et al., 2021; Demolis et al., 2021; Mainieri et  
206 al., 2025) and crisis management through operational measures (e.g. artificial draining of Rochemelon  
207 lake in 2005; Vincent et al., 2010; Cathala et al., 2021).

208  
209 Scientific papers in geosciences constitute another large part of our documentation. They analyse certain  
210 past glacial and periglacial events and seek to develop a deeper physical understanding of the hazards  
211 and their causes. The same event may be analysed by different research teams using different methods  
212 and approaches. The example of the Whymper hanging glacier (Mont-Blanc massif, Italy) is  
213 representative: Margreth et al. (2011) analyse the monitoring system used to monitor the glacier;  
214 Margreth and Funk (1999) discuss different scenarios of breakoff with snow recapture; Chiarle et al.  
215 (2022) document the ruptures of the hanging glacier; Margreth et al. (2011) analyse the hazard and  
216 propose adapting the safety system; and Dematteis et al. (2021) present various strategies for monitoring  
217 the glacier, etc.

218  
219 The inventory of Chiarle et al. (2022) on Italian glacier ruptures and on debris flows in the Alps (Chiarle  
220 et al., 2007) and the one of Jacquemart et al. (2024) on Alpine mass movements recorded in 30 years of  
221 scientific literature have been a good way to cross-reference our sources.

222  
223 French ministerial reports, combined with those of the *Pôle Alpin des Risques Naturels* (PARN), gave  
224 us a clear idea of how countries in the Alpine arc manage disasters related to glacial and periglacial  
225 processes. They describe past and ongoing projects (*Glaciorisk*, *PERMAdatROC*, *PermaNET*,  
226 *GlariskAlp*, *GLAMOS*, *Prevrisk-CC*, *PermaRisk*, *SAMCO*, *PAPROG*, etc.), prevention measures,  
227 monitoring methods and examples, crisis management and available feedback. *GEORESEARCH*, a  
228 research institution, also brings together research projects on monitoring efforts, glacial and periglacial  
229 movements and quantitative risk analysis in the Alps (*FROSTINI*, *Futurelakes*, *GlacierRocks*,  
230 *AlpSenseRely*, etc.) (cf. « Research Projects - GEORESEARCH », s. d.).

231  
232 The *World Glacier Monitoring Service* (WGMS) publishes data on glacier fluctuations around the world  
233 every five years, from 1959 to 2010. Each volume of the WGMS includes a chapter on notable events  
234 involving these glaciers.

235  
236 The local press helps reveal the societal impact of mass movements, reporting on damages and the risk  
237 management measures implemented. However, this source requires critical recontextualization, as it  
238 may reflect various biases (framing, selection, confirmation, political) and sometimes lacks technical  
239 accuracy due to limited resources or urgency (Joffe and Orfali, 2005). Despite these limitations, the  
240 press offers valuable insight into risk perception from a societal perspective, which scientific literature  
241 often only partially addresses.

242  
243 We completed the data collection when data from several sources coincided. Some additional  
244 information was added (hypotheses about causes, etc.).

### 245 3.2 Types of glacial and periglacial risk management

#### 246 3.2.1 Definition of the seven pillars of risk management

247  
248  
249 On Alpine risk management systems (from local to national levels) and scientific literature, Kienholz et  
250 al., (Kienholz et al., 2004) and Link and Stötter (Link and Stötter, 2015) developed a classification of  
251 risk prevention and management methods. In Switzerland, since the 1980s, natural hazard management



254 has followed the “Risk Minimisation Concept” and “Integral Risk Management” principles, aiming not  
255 to eliminate risks entirely but to reduce them to an acceptable level through comprehensive assessment,  
256 prevention, mitigation, and crisis preparedness. After an event, the post-crisis or regeneration phase  
257 focuses on learning from experience to improve future measures.  
258 In France, similar principles are formalized in public policy and summarized by the PARN for glacial  
259 and periglacial risk prevention. These principles were used to classify the management strategies  
260 identified in our database

261

262 Pillar 1 : Understanding hazards, phenomena and risks

263 This pillar focuses on improving knowledge of hazardous phenomena through the study of past events,  
264 archives, field monitoring, modelling, and feedback (Villeneuve et al., 2010; Faillettaz et al., 2015). It  
265 includes site inventories and vulnerability assessments—the foundation for prevention projects such as  
266 GlaRiskAlp (2010–2013) and hazard mapping in Valais.

267

268 Pillar 2 : Preventive information

269 This pillar promotes a culture of risk through public information and education (Beccera and Peltier,  
270 2011). By increasing awareness, citizens become active participants in prevention, improving collective  
271 preparedness and crisis response.

272

273 Pillar 3 : Integration into land-use planning

274 Here, risk is incorporated into spatial planning tools such as hazard maps and prevention plans to reduce  
275 exposure and vulnerability (Schneiderbauer and Ehrlich, 2004). These maps, combining modelling and  
276 spatial analysis to support evidence-based decision-making (Allen et al., 2022).

277

278 Pillar 4 : Monitoring and surveillance

279 Monitoring at-risk sites identified in Pillar 1 enables early detection and warning (Giordan et al., 2020;  
280 Cathala et al., 2024). For instance, the Gornersee lake (CH) is monitored annually through automatic  
281 cameras, depth measurements, and seismic sensors to anticipate GLOF hazards (WGMS, 1993; Huss et  
282 al., 2007).

283

284 Pillar 5 : Reducing hazard, exposure and vulnerability

285 This pillar relies on cooperation between scientists and authorities to limit damage (Marco et al., 2012).  
286 Actions include engineering works (*e.g.* dykes) to reduce exposure, warning and evacuation systems to  
287 lower vulnerability, and source interventions such as artificial drainage of glacial lakes (Vincent et al.,  
288 2010).

289

290 Pillar 6 : Crisis management preparedness

291 It covers planning, training, and coordination measures to anticipate and manage crises, through  
292 contingency plans, simulations, and the integration of glacial and periglacial risks into training (Einhorn  
293 and Peisser, 2011; Link and Stötter, 2015).

294

295 Pillar 7 : Resilience

296 Defined as a system’s ability to absorb shocks and recover, resilience involves resistance, adaptation,  
297 and reorganisation capacities (Reghezza et al., 2006; Dauphiné and Provitolo, 2013). Even if the initial  
298 state cannot be fully restored, the aim is to establish a new threshold that is considered acceptable by  
299 society (Einhorn, 2017).

300

### 301 **3.2.2 Distribution of events according to the seven principles typology**

302

303 Once the typology defined, each event was linked to the corresponding management pillars. Events were  
304 grouped by decade (or by five-year period for rock hazards) to ensure temporal clarity. This

305 representation allows identification of trends and shifts in management practices, avoiding visual gaps  
306 due to rare events.

307

308 4. Results

309 The study identifies 200 glacial and periglacial events from 109 Alpine catchment areas.

310

## 311 4.1 Spatial and temporal distribution of the events

312

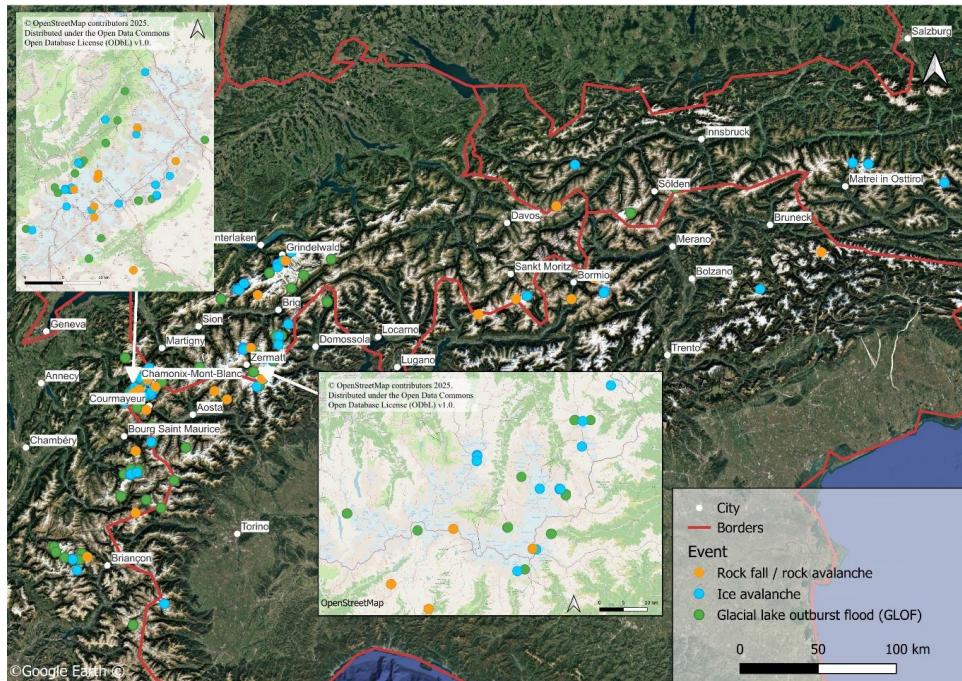
### 313 4.1.1 Distribution of the events across the Alps

314

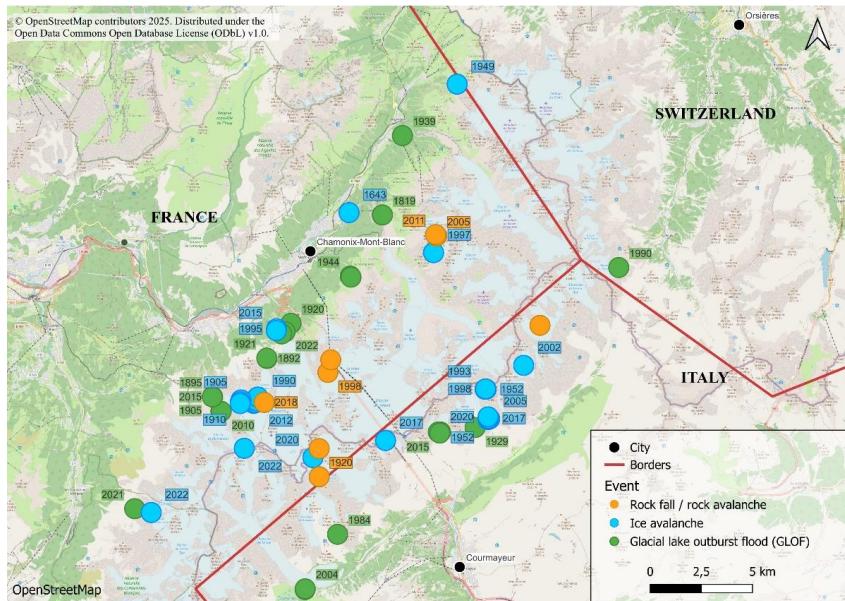
315 The spatial distribution of events (Fig. 1) shows marked concentration in certain areas, highlighting the  
316 existence of particularly exposed or dynamically active zones. The Mont-Blanc massif (mainly its  
317 French and Italian sides) stands out clearly as the area most densely affected by major events, all hazards  
318 combined. It is followed by the Valais Alps (CH). In addition, GLOFs are overrepresented in the western  
319 part of the Alps.

320 The western Alps have higher peaks than the rest of the Alps, steep slopes and extensive glacier cover,  
321 making them a hotspot for glacial and periglacial mass movements. The Mont-Blanc massif and the  
322 Valais Alps are among the most monitored and instrumented areas in the Alps, which may introduce a  
323 ‘visibility’ bias (*cf.* 5.1). As these areas are highly populated and/or frequented by tourists, events are  
324 here better detected, documented and sometimes perceived as more significant.

325



326 *Fig. 1 Distribution of major glacial and periglacial events in the Alps.*  
327

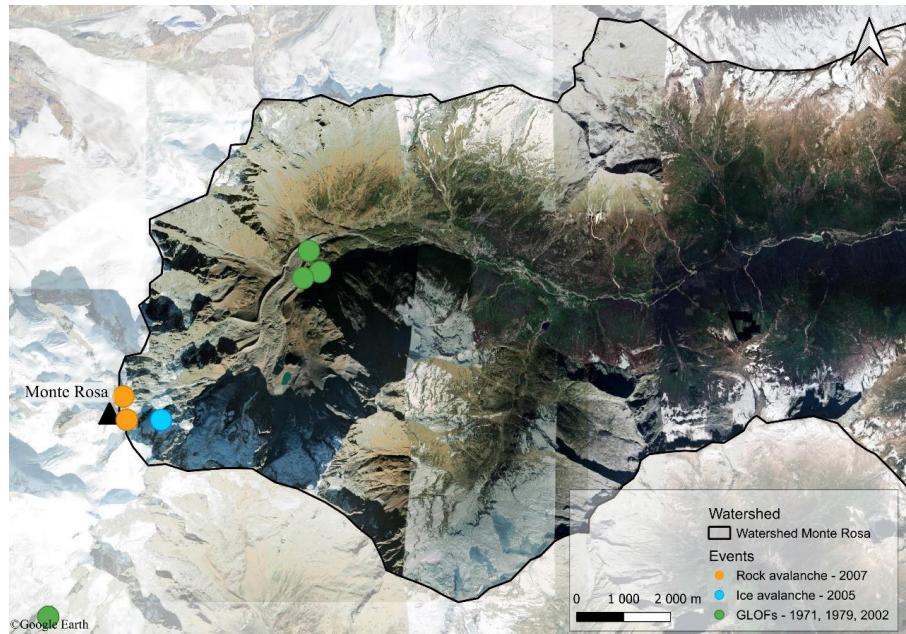


328  
329 Fig. 2 Distribution of major events in the Mont-Blanc massif from the 17<sup>th</sup> to present days.  
330

331 Figure 2 shows the overlapping and diversity of glacial and periglacial hazards affecting the Mont-Blanc  
332 massif. By bringing together major events that occurred between the 17<sup>th</sup> and today, it reveals the  
333 historicity of these dynamics: hazards are not isolated or punctual, but are part of a long trajectory,  
334 sometimes recurring, sometimes unique. This representation demonstrates that Alpine massifs are  
335 territories where several types of hazards coexist and can impact the same areas, making their  
336 management more complex.

337  
338 **4.1.2 Example of overlapping events in the same watershed**

339 Seven Alpine watersheds are the source of several events involving several types of hazards: Belvédère  
340 glacier (IT), Brenva glacier (IT), Planpincieux glacier (IT), Taconnaz glacier (FR), Bossons glacier (FR),  
341 Armancette glacier (FR), and Allalin glacier (CH).  
342



343  
 344  
 345

Fig. 3 Watersheds with multi-events: the example of the eastern side of Monte Rosa (4634 m a.s.l.).

346

Areas with a high density of glaciers mechanically present an increased risk of destabilisation and/or the formation of glacial lakes and water pockets. Added to this is the presence of unstable rock faces located at altitudes where permafrost and rock glaciers are degrading, causing more rock avalanches and rockfalls.

350

#### 351 4.2 Distribution of management pillars over time

352

##### 353 4.2.1 Intensification of phenomena

354

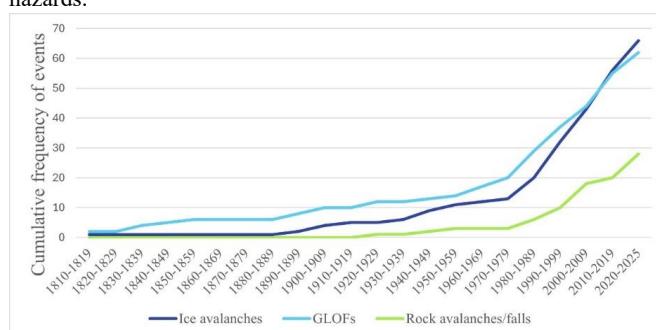
355 Considering source and event biases (*cf.* 5), we observe an intensification of glacial and periglacial 356 hazards over time since the 1980s, across all Alpine countries (Fig. 4). It should be noted that this figure 357 only considers events that required risk management and that have influenced our understanding of 358 hazards.

359  
 360  
 361

Fig. 4 Cumulative frequencies of recorded glacial and periglacial events, requiring risk management, in the Alps.

362

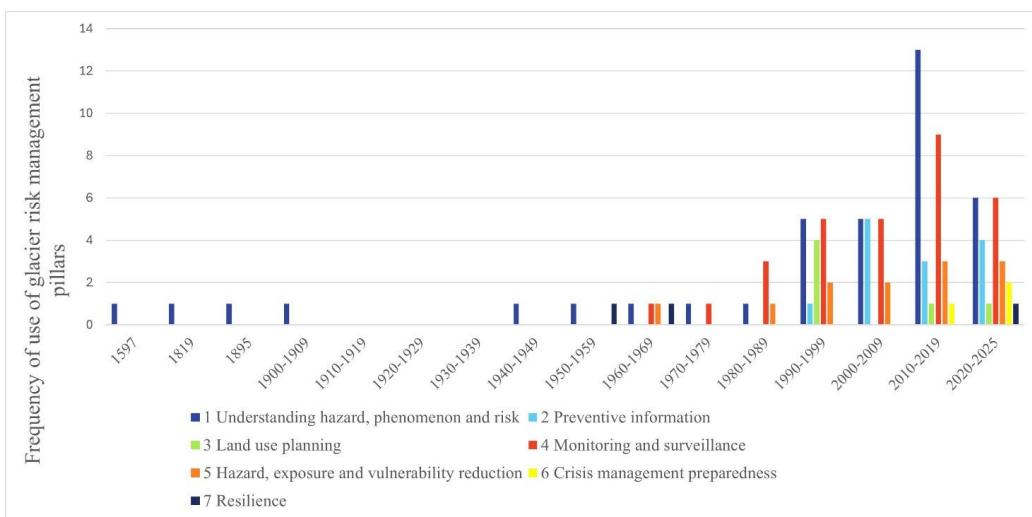
##### 4.2.2. Evolution over time of the pillars used





363 Pillars 2 (Preventive information) and 3 (Land use planning) appear only from the 1990s onward, while  
364 Pillar 6 (Crisis preparedness) has been applied for roughly two decades. Pillar 1 (Understanding the  
365 hazard) remains the oldest and most consistently used.

366  
367 Evolution over time of major event risk management for *ice avalanches* in the Alps (Fig. 5):  
368 The Altels ice avalanche (CH) in 1895 marked the beginning of the need to understand hazards in high  
369 altitude Alpine regions. This avalanche was of exceptional size, with  $4 \times 10^6 \text{ m}^3$  of ice breaking away,  
370 killing six people and burying 170 cattle over an area of one  $\text{km}^2$  (Forel, 1895; Du Pasquier, 1896). For  
371 a long time, this event was the reference point in terms of ice avalanches. "To what extent can we predict  
372 such disasters, and to what degree will we be able to prevent them from happening again? Many Alpine  
373 glaciers give rise to avalanches or ruinous debacles. (...) The same glaciers periodically give rise to the  
374 same phenomena, so it is above all empirical knowledge of these phenomena that we need to acquire.  
375 (...) An accurate knowledge of the dangerous points and the phenomena that occur there is absolutely  
376 necessary. The era of independent personal research is over; it has produced all it could in this field (...).  
377 What is needed now is more coordination, more method, more consistency in research" (Du Pasquier,  
378 1896).  
379



380  
381 Fig. 5 Temporal evolution of ice avalanche risk management in the Alps.  
382

383 If preventive information (pillar 2) appears so late, it implies that decision-makers are taking late action  
384 to communicate simplified information to the population concerned. It is linked to crisis management  
385 preparedness (Pillar 6). The example of the Val Ferret valley (IT), where the terminal tongue of the  
386 Planpincieux glacier is monitored since 2014, is coupled with rapid response in terms of civil protection  
387 and information for the population (FMs, 2012). The aim of glacier monitoring activities is to  
388 continuously track the evolution of the glacier and detect signs of instability in order to activate civil  
389 protection procedures to close the road and/or evacuate the village.

390 We also integrate the French Avalanche Phenomenon Location Maps (CLPA) into the land use planning  
391 (Pillar 3) even though they concern the risk of snow avalanches. These maps first appeared in the 1970s,  
392 but the events of 1984 and 1993 at the Bourgeat glacier (FR) provide information on ice avalanches that  
393 triggered snow avalanches (RTM - ONF, 2000). We therefore consider the CLPA to be sometimes mixed  
394 (snow-ice risk management) in the Chamonix valley (FR).

395  
396 Evolution over time of risk management for major rockfall / rock avalanche events in the Alps (Fig. 6):

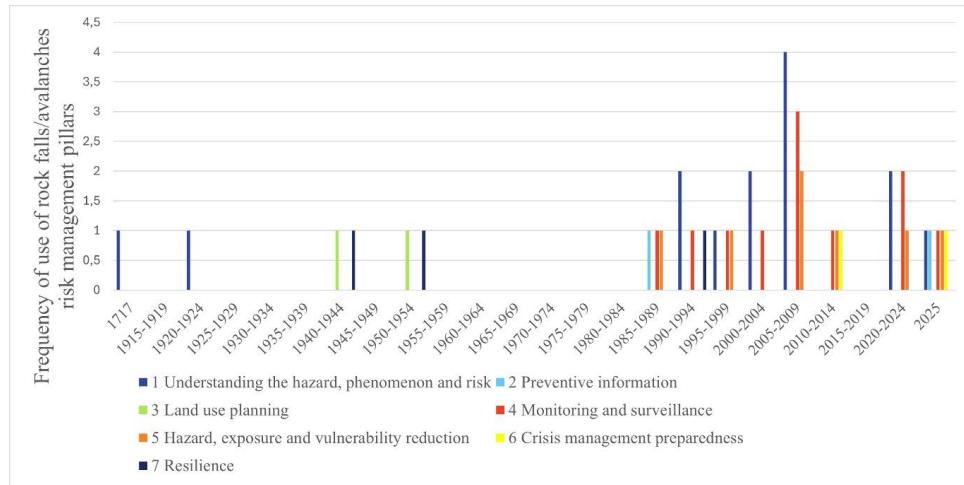


Fig. 6 Temporal evolution of risk management for rockfalls / rock avalanches.

397  
398  
399

400 The figure 6 has been divided into five-year periods in order to better highlight recent dynamics, as the  
401 majority of rockfall events occurred after 1980.

402 The reduction in vulnerability, exposure and hazard (Pillar 5) is particularly evident in these rockfall  
403 events. In 1987, the preventive evacuation in response to debris flow and the Val Pola rockslide (CH;  
404  $30 \times 10^6 \text{ m}^3$ ) illustrates proactive risk management (Chardon, 1990). In 2011, at Piz Cengalo (CH;  $1.5 \times 10^6 \text{ m}^3$ ), a series of preventive measures were put in place: alerting the population, closing trails,  
405 abandoning alpine buildings and protective structures (Ancey, 2017).

407

408 Monitoring unstable rock faces is a key management tool (Pillar 4). Since 1986, the eastern face of  
409 Monte Rosa (IT) has been regularly monitored due to an increase in mass movements (Fischer et al.,  
410 2006). Other iconic sites have also been equipped: Aiguille du Midi (FR) since 2005, the south face of  
411 the Matterhorn (IT) and Les Drus (FR) since 2007.

412 Finally, projects such as EU AlpinSpace *PermanET* have helped to structure knowledge on alpine  
413 permafrost, with a harmonised database covering the entire Alps (Mair et al., 2011).

414

415 Evolution over time of risk management for major GLOF events in the Alps (Fig. 7):

416 GLOFs are the best documented events in the archives, due to their high recurrence and significant  
417 impact over time. Their frequent evolution into debris flows amplifies the damage in valleys, making  
418 them easier to trace and document.

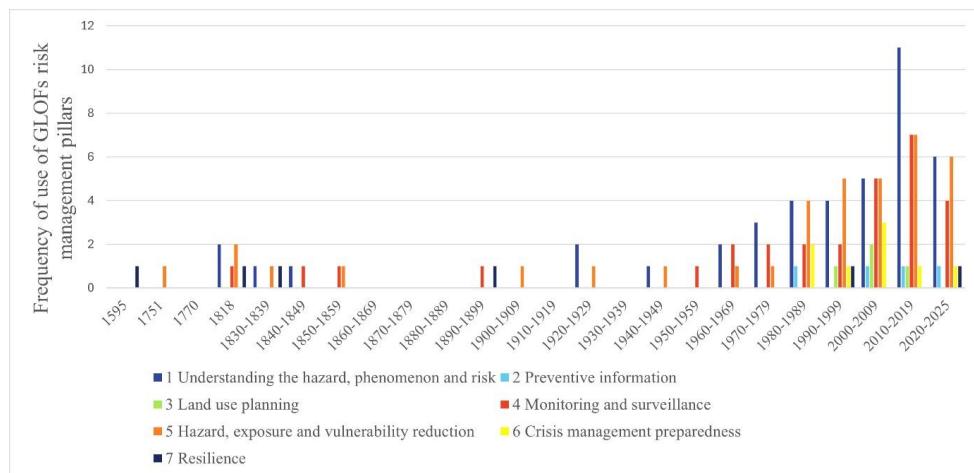
419 Efforts to reduce vulnerability and exposure appear earlier for GLOFs than for other hazards. This is  
420 because the response strategies are similar to those used for floods, which are better known to the public  
421 and authorities (whether or not the hazard is related to climate change). Thus, from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup>  
422 century, the recurrent outflow of the Margherita glacial lake at the Rutor glacier (IT) was the subject of  
423 studies commissioned by the Duke of Savoy (12 events between 1430 and 1680; discharge of  $5 \times 10^6$   
424  $\text{m}^3$  in 1751). Technical solutions such as the construction of a dam or the digging of a tunnel were  
425 considered as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Vergnano et al., 2023).

426 Another notable example is the episode involving the Gietro glacier in 1818, where the attempt to  
427 channel the water *via* a tunnel through the ice dam triggered the discharge of  $18 \times 10^6 \text{ m}^3$  reaching the  
428 town of Martigny (Wiegandt and Lugon, 2008).

429 These repeated events gradually led to the implementation of specific measures: dykes, dams, storage  
430 chambers, subglacial drilling, siphoning or draining of lakes, solidification of morainic barriers, warning  
431 systems, and even restrictions on access to risk areas.



432 Monitoring of glaciers in relation to their potential to form lakes or water pockets became formalised  
433 around a century ago, notably with systematic photogrammetric surveys of the Vernagtferner (AU), one  
434 of the best-documented glaciers in the country due to its numerous GLOFs, the most notable of which  
435 dates back to 1848 (Braun, 1995; *Gridabase - Glaciorisk*, s. d.).  
436 However, the integration of populations through preventive information is a more recent development.  
437 In 1986, with the case of the Arsine proglacial lake (FR), scientists alerted the authorities and the  
438 population to the risk of overflow in the event of a serac falling into the lake (Hoinkes, 1969). This alert  
439 led to the first official crisis management preparations involving local residents. The following year, in  
440 Valtellina (IT), similar preventive measures were put in place in response to instability in Val Pola and  
441 the heavy rainfall forecast (Chardon, 1990).  
442



443  
444 *Fig. 7 Temporal evolution of risk management for Glacial Lake Outburst Floods.*  
445

#### 446 **4.2.3 Disruptive events that have improved the management and understanding of glacial and 447 periglacial risks**

448 The creation of a timeline tracing risk management measures in response to past events has made it  
449 possible to identify key moments marking disruptions and/or the emergence of new approaches. The  
450 examples selected correspond to the first documented cases where a new specific form of risk  
451 management was implemented or redefined: first predictions of collapses, first glacial and periglacial  
452 monitoring systems, first actions to reduce exposure, vulnerability or hazard at source and on a larger  
453 scale, and first large-scale multidisciplinary coordination in crisis situations.

454  
455 Change of scale:

456 First, we note a change of scale in the management approach, moving from a commonly local  
457 management scheme, *i.e.* of the affected area and village, to national management. A notable example  
458 of this is the Gietro glacier case in 1818, which devastated the Bagnes valley (Ancey et al., 2019). At  
459 that time, glaciological studies were in their infancy. This event showed that a better understanding of  
460 the processes involved could lead to more effective interventions. Scientific advances thus contributed  
461 to the development of preventive measures and promoted the emergence of regional and national  
462 intervention policies, gradually replacing the local and reactive approaches that had prevailed until then  
463 (Wiegandt and Lugon, 2008). The case of the Gietro is therefore also significant in terms of the need for  
464 science to understand and know how to respond, from the decision-maker point of view. The disaster  
465 brought about a change in social attitudes towards risk and in the way, people reacted. Although



467 unpredictable at the time and therefore inevitable, disasters began to be perceived not as evidence of  
468 divine wrath, but as natural and physical processes (Carrivick and Tweed, 2016).

469

470 Monitoring and surveillance:

471 The first inventory known of a glacier in the Alps dates back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for the  
472 Vernagtferner (AU), a glacier known for its numerous and destructive GLOFs over the last 400 years  
473 (Hoinkes, 1969). A hundred years of systematic surveys were carried out using photogrammetry,  
474 resulting in the first map and descriptive theory on glacier movement (Braun, 1995). Continuing with  
475 this focus on intensive monitoring of glaciers and their associated risks, the Gietro glacier was one of  
476 the first to be monitored since the 1960s. Surface movements, short-term flow movements, structure,  
477 mass balance, volume changes, etc. are measured (Ancey, 2017). Similarly, the Matterhorn (CH-IT) has  
478 been closely monitored and equipped with a microseismic monitoring system and thermometric  
479 monitoring system since 2007, following recurrent rockfalls since 2003 (Occhiena and Pirulli, 2012).

480

481 Multidisciplinary network:

482 The rupture of the Tête Rousse water pocket in 1892 was a fundamental event in the early days of glacier  
483 risk management. The debris flow that affected several villages downstream, causing 175 victims  
484 (Mougin and Bernard, 1922), led to the establishment of a multidisciplinary network to identify the  
485 causes of the disaster and implement measures. Engineers, glaciologists and foresters from the *Eaux et*  
486 *Forêts* administration were brought together, commissioned by the local authorities (Marco et al., 2012),  
487 to investigate, map, dig a drainage tunnel and enable increased monitoring of the glacier (Sirop et al.,  
488 2022).

489 The collapse of the Allalin glacier tongue at Mattmark (CH) in 1965 also made history, not only because  
490 of its 88 victims (Vivian, 1966), but also because of the urgent need for scientists to work together.  
491 Indeed, glaciological and engineering studies were carried out immediately after the disaster in order to  
492 protect rescue operations and construction work in the following years (Dalban Canassy et al., 2011).  
493 Such a coalition of scientists has irrevocably advanced our understanding of the mechanism of phased  
494 glacial rupture.

495 Still in this spirit of coordination between management actors, the case of the Rochemelon lake seems  
496 significant. Trapped between the ice and the rock face, the lake grew continuously until 2004 (Vincent  
497 et al., 2010), when fears of overflowing and spreading on the French side alerted scientists. This led the  
498 authorities to take preventive action to drain the lake. French and Italian authorities, scientists, engineers,  
499 technicians and rescue workers worked closely together in this crisis management operation. This  
500 involved risk studies based on observation and measurement campaigns, alerts to the population, and  
501 finally the draining of the lake at the end of 2004 and 2005. The Rochemelon crisis highlighted two  
502 major points: (1) the importance of having the necessary investigative resources to understand the entire  
503 phenomenon and its evolution at a very early stage and with sufficient precision, in order to translate  
504 this into operational decisions; (2) the importance of ensuring, both upstream and during crisis  
505 management, genuine continuity between scientific knowledge, its transfer to the authorities and its  
506 translation into operational measures (Marco et al., 2012).

507

508 Predictive study:

509 In 1973, the first successful glacier rupture prediction was made at Weisshorn (CH) (Röthlisberger,  
510 1981b). Scientists observed an acceleration of the upper part of the glacier, supplemented by warnings  
511 from local mountain guides about a new transverse crevasse, indicating an unstable situation (Faillettaz  
512 and Funk, 2013).

513

514 Reduction of exposure and vulnerability (evacuations, works, etc.):

515 The first known organised evacuations in response to gravitational hazards date back to 1987, in the  
516 Adda valley (IT), in response to the  $30 \times 10^6$  m<sup>3</sup> rockslide in Val Pola (Dramis et al., 1995). The  
517 instability of the slope, due to inconsistent geology, a steep gradient and heavy rainfall in the preceding



518 days, had led to warnings of a potential collapse (Chardon, 1990). Regarding glacial hazards, one of the  
519 first documented evacuations took place in 1997 in Planpincieux (IT), due to the threat of collapse of  
520 the Whymper hanging glacier (south face of Grandes Jorasses, 4208 m a.s.l.), which could have carried  
521 away large masses of snow (Margreth and Funk, 1999). In the same year, researchers developed the first  
522 safety concept for the village, based on several breakage scenarios derived from glacier monitoring and  
523 avalanche studies (Margreth et al., 2011).

524 In terms of reducing exposure, vulnerability or hazard (Pillar 5), the Belvedere glacier (IT) is a  
525 significant example. Following a lake's overflow in 1979, preventive work was undertaken: artificial  
526 lowering of lake delle Locce and construction of downstream dams (Haeberli and Epifani, 1986). In  
527 2002, faced with the threat of sudden drainage of the Effimero lake onto the village of Macugnaga, the  
528 Italian Civil Protection Agency implemented several emergency measures: risk mapping, access  
529 restrictions, enhanced monitoring, alert and evacuation procedures, and an artificial pumping system  
530 (Haeberli et al., 2002).

531

532 This initiative is part of the ongoing development of Alpine projects dedicated to improving risk  
533 understanding and management (*Glaciorisk*, 2001-2003; *PERMAdatROC*, 2000-2006; *GlariskAlp*,  
534 2010-2013; PAPROG, since 2019, etc.).

535

536 Institutional understanding of risk:  
537 We are experiencing a shift in the way Alpine institutions and societies understand risk. Taking the idea  
538 from Link and Stötter (2015), the management of mountain risks has evolved from '*hazard protection*'  
539 to '*hazard management*' and now to '*risk management*'.  
540 Before 1950 (considered the period of hazard protection), the aim was to reduce exposure by focusing  
541 on structural protection (through protective works) and institutionalising natural hazards through  
542 legislation. There are many traces of such works in the 19<sup>th</sup> century archives: one example is the galleries  
543 dug into the ice of the Allalinglestcher glacier in 1834 to lower its lake (glacial-morainic dam) and  
544 reduce the already high frequency of ice breaks (Mariétan, 1953). Between 1589 and 1850, documents  
545 report 26 significant and sudden discharges (Raymond et al., 2003).  
546 After 1950, efforts were made to gain a deeper understanding of hazards and their processes (*via*  
547 frequency-intensity calculations and time series): this was the age of *hazard management*. This also  
548 marked the beginning of hazard mapping (Link and Stötter, 2015).  
549 Then, from the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, risk management was introduced. “[It] follows a holistic idea of  
550 reducing risk over the long term through the harmonisation of prevention, mitigation and  
551 reconstruction” (Link and Stötter, 2015). The concepts of vulnerability and risk acceptance were  
552 incorporated into society.  
553

554 It should also be noted that before the 2000s, hazards were considered *in response* to the event. The  
555 study focused on the event alone in order to understand its causes and prevent it. It was only with  
556 subsequent disasters (and more distant ones such as Kolka Karmadon in Russia in 2002) that cascading  
557 phenomena and their downstream impacts began to be questioned and considered as a single  
558 phenomenon (Allen et al., 2022). The importance of considering the plurality of possible scenarios is  
559 gradually becoming apparent in risk management approaches.  
560

#### 561 4.2.4 Proactive vs. reactive management

562

563 Our typology of glacial and periglacial risk management distinguishes between proactive and reactive  
564 approaches. Management is said to be *proactive* when it is based on anticipatory measures to prevent  
565 potential risks; it is *reactive* when it intervenes after the event, with a view to understanding,  
566 reconstruction and resilience.  
567 Fig. 8 illustrates the implementation of the various principles of glacial and periglacial hazards  
568 management, which operate independently but can be combined. For example, Monitoring and



569 Surveillance (Pillar 4) is frequently associated with that of Exposure, Vulnerability or Hazard Mitigation  
570 (Pillar 5).

571

572 With regard to torrential hazards associated with glacial lakes, scientists raised the alarm in 1985 about  
573 the risk of the Arsine proglacial lake (FR) overflowing and threatening the Guisane valley (Peissier and  
574 Courtray, 2012). Under pressure from researchers and the media, the authorities carried out a partial  
575 artificial draining of the lake.

576 In a proactive way, an early warning system was installed in 2008 on the Grindelwaldgletscher glacial  
577 lake (CH). Equipped with a pressure sensor, it automatically transmits an alert to the natural hazard  
578 prevention service in the event of a critical drop in water level. This system worked perfectly during the  
579 emptying episode on 30 May 2008 (Bauder, 2017).

580 Conversely, the overflowing of the Patinoire lake (FR) in 1964, which caused damage as far as the  
581 village of Pralognan, prompted a reactive response. The managers conducted a review based on  
582 testimonies and field visits (Cathala et al., 2021). A study of the susceptibility of the moraine dam to  
583 failure was conducted, followed by modelling of the potential impact on the main town. In 2019, the  
584 watershed was identified as a priority for in-depth analysis.

585

586 The Whymper hanging glacier illustrates proactive, anticipatory management: in 1997, movement  
587 measurements enabled prediction of an imminent ice avalanche, prompting the evacuation of  
588 Planpincieux due to potential downstream impacts (Margreth and Funk, 1999). The site has been  
589 continuously monitored since 1996.

590 In contrast, the 1965 Mattmark disaster linked to the Allalin glacier exemplifies reactive management.  
591 Authorities focused on crisis response, searching for survivors and investigating causes through a  
592 multidisciplinary team. The event later became a major political issue, leading to a trial to assign  
593 responsibility.

594

595 For the hazard of *rock falls*, the example of Piz Cengalo concerns both *reactive* management that  
596 preceded *proactive* management, in the context of two major events. At the end of 2011, Cengalo  
597 experienced its first rock avalanche (Walter et al., 2020) at a time when the upper Val Bondasca was  
598 fortunately empty. The local authorities set up a process to monitor the rock face. As a debris flow  
599 occurred the following summer, the municipality built a 50,000 m<sup>3</sup> storage area and a protective wall  
600 upstream of the village. This facility complemented the alarm system installed at the top of the valley,  
601 giving residents a few minutes to evacuate the village and allowing the closure of threatened traffic  
602 routes. The municipality also decided to close hiking trails and abandon some Alpine buildings (Ancey,  
603 2017). In 2017, a rock slope failure that turned into a rock avalanche and then debris flows travelled  
604 down the Val Bondasca over a distance of 3 km. The total volume of rock, sediment and water amounted  
605 to  $3.1 \times 10^6$  m<sup>3</sup> (Walter et al., 2020). Specialists observed an acceleration of movement within the  
606 mountainside and alerted the local authorities. Although the scale and speed of the flows exceeded initial  
607 estimates, the warning system worked, and the protective structures limited the damage to infrastructure  
608 in Bondo (Ancey, 2017).

609

## 610 5. Discussions

611

### 612 5.1 Distribution of management principles

613

614 An eighth principle – *Feedback* – was initially considered, but it appeared systematically in all  
615 documented events. Feedback is the very condition for an event's existence in archives: its narration and  
616 memory make it visible historically. Therefore, it is implicitly included in all other pillars.

617



618 It should also be noted that certain ancient events are well documented in the archives through their  
619 feedback, but have only recently been used as data for analysing and understanding the hazard (Pillar  
620 1). These events therefore do not appear in Figures 5, 6 and 7, even though they meet the selection  
621 criteria due to their value for understanding past phenomena. This is the case, for example, of the  
622 Breithorn ice avalanche (CH) in 1597, which destroyed the village of Homattugletscher (Forel et al.,  
623 1901); the devastating lake outbursts beneath the Rutor Glacier (IT) between the 15 and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries  
624 (*Gridabase - Glaciorisk*); the Gietro glacier break-up in 1995, which claimed 140 lives (Ancey, 2017);  
625 the rock avalanche scattered across the Triolet glacier (IT) in 1717 (Porter and Orombelli, 1981; Deline  
626 et al., 2014); at the Allalin glacier between 1589 and 1850, documents report 26 significant and sudden  
627 discharges (*Gridabase - Glaciorisk*), etc.

628

## 629 **5.2 Risk perception and culture in past centuries**

630

631 The documentary research carried out to compile this timeline did not include risk perception and culture  
632 during events in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and earlier. We focused on contemporary methods (20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup>  
633 centuries) of risk management, as these explain how things are done today. However, understanding risk  
634 management in a more global context requires the perception of risk at the local level by placing it in its  
635 historical and climatic context.

636

637 We wondered whether religious processions in mountain villages affected by glacial or periglacial events  
638 were necessary to understand today's risk management. We have only mentioned them, without  
639 exploring the idea of risk culture in ancient mountain societies in greater depth. The two most  
640 outstanding examples remain the processions around 1818 to the Ussere Aletsch mountain pasture (CH),  
641 where a cross was erected to "exorcise these terrible threats" (Coutterand, 2017) and to stop the  
642 Märjensee lake from overflowing (21 times between 1813 and 1895). We also noted the example of the  
643 Mer de Glace in Chamonix (FR), which threatened agricultural land. A procession was organised in the  
644 valley by the coadjutor of Geneva to make the glacier recede in 1943-1944 (Mougin and Bernard, 1922).  
645 It is therefore clear that at a time when religion was prevalent in society, processions were part of a  
646 certain form of risk management. The fact that science and reason now prevail in the way we understand  
647 risk and uncertainty motivated our decision not to include these examples. Even if "invoking the heavens  
648 did not prevent attempts to understand the conditions for the development of disasters at the local level  
649 (at least among the local elites)" (Favier, 2007).

650

## 651 **5.3 Biases linked to difficulties in compiling an exhaustive inventory of events**

652

653 Compiling an inventory that is exhaustive in relation to our decision-making criteria implies certain  
654 limitations and the need to place the event in its context.

655

The source effect:

656 With the increase in glacial and periglacial events over time, we are facing biases related to the *source*  
657 *effect* (e.g. Giacoma et al., 2017). This increase is closely linked to the sources, *i.e.* the origin of the  
658 information. As Giacoma (2019) points out, "the spatial and temporal distribution of events is closely  
659 dependent on that of the structure of the documentary corpus". Each event recorded is therefore  
660 dependent on the quality and diversity of the sources that attest to it. The author thus hypothesises in his  
661 geochronology of snow avalanches in the Vosges mountains that the rarity of sources in the distant past  
662 limits the traceability of events, while the abundance, accuracy and increasing systematisation of data  
663 in the recent past automatically increases their number.

664

The *source effect* therefore requires particular attention to variations in the volume of documentation.  
665 For example, the installation of a webcam at the Gornergletscher (Huss et al., 2007), demonstrating  
666 advances in technology, adds a source of detailed data. It will make it possible to create multiple  
667 occurrences of hazards.

668



669 Land use and the event prism:  
670 The increase or absence of sources may be due to the presence or absence of vulnerable population in  
671 the area under study. Indeed, if there is no human community there to observe the phenomena, they  
672 cannot be recorded. The newly increased presence of humans in high mountains through the  
673 development of mountaineering (Mourey et al., 2023) or growing urbanisation in mountain valleys  
674 (Vannier et al., 2016) has greatly expanded the capacity for observation. Conversely, villages or  
675 mountain pastures that are now abandoned were witnesses to hazards in the past.

676 Even when glacial or periglacial hazards occur, how societies perceive and relate to risk determines how  
677 these hazards are recognized and managed. A hazard may take place without being recorded if it is not  
678 considered significant. As Giacoma (2019) notes, an event only gains social existence when it is  
679 perceived as a disruption in time. Risk perception changes over time and depends on collective  
680 experience, interests, social roles, and knowledge (Granet-Abisset, 2012). Moreover, the growing  
681 observation of high-mountain hazards reflects increasing social expectations for safety, responsibility,  
682 and prevention. Social pressure thus drives the production and diversification of information sources.

683  
684 Beyond the individual witness and their experience and perception, the role of regulatory mechanisms  
685 and the emergence of projects on glacial risks play a decisive role in the production of the event as such.  
686 Projects such as *Glaciorisk* have also been instrumental in creating a collection of events, bringing  
687 together phenomena associated with glaciers.

688  
689 **6 Conclusions and perspectives**  
690

691 This study departs from traditional approaches that focus primarily on post-event causes or hazards  
692 characterization, and instead examines the methods of management. While raw event inventories offer  
693 insights into the frequency of phenomena, they rarely address organisational dynamics, decision-making  
694 processes, or the capacity for anticipation or adaptation. Our analysis seeks to explore these dimensions.  
695 By analysing 200 events since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (some even earlier, though less frequent), we  
696 observed a temporal intensification of events accompanied by increasingly formalised management  
697 practices that left archival records from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present day. The pursuit of knowledge  
698 about hazards emerges as a common foundation across all forms of management. In contrast, measures  
699 aimed at reducing exposure and vulnerability have mainly targeted GLOFs and debris flows. All high-  
700 altitude Alpine massifs are affected, but our sources reveal a concentration of major events in France  
701 and western Switzerland, particularly those linked to GLOFs.

702 The completeness of this long-term inventory remains constrained by biases in the available sources and  
703 event recognition.

704 The management of glacial and periglacial risks has evolved in response to major events and to the  
705 growing understanding of the processes involved. Forecasting, instrumentation, and monitoring of  
706 potentially unstable zones have expanded, while contingency and evacuation plans are increasingly  
707 implemented. Efforts to reduce exposure and vulnerability are being adapted to both evolving hazards  
708 and the pressures of urbanisation in mountain regions. Since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there has  
709 been a surge in scientific initiatives aiming to anticipate mass-movement phenomena in the high Alps.  
710 Scientific knowledge is now shared more actively across national borders, and risk management is  
711 becoming progressively more comprehensive and holistic. Processes are more and more analysed not in  
712 isolation, but as interconnected or cascading phenomena.

713 Future research could address the limited involvement of local communities in risk management. At  
714 present, experts generate knowledge, managers implement protective measures, and authorities decide  
715 on preventive actions. This separation raises a crucial question: could greater participation by local  
716 populations improve the way their vulnerabilities, resilience, and detailed, experience-based knowledge  
717 of risk-prone areas are integrated into management strategies?

718



719 *Author contributions.* JB, LR and SC designed the study and JB carried it out. JB prepared the  
720 manuscript with contributions from all co-authors.

721  
722 *Competing interests.* The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.  
723

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