Dear Associate Editor:

We appreciate your assessment and the reviewers' final suggestions. Herein we discuss them point by point to explain how we addressed them in the submitted revised manuscript.

Reviewer 1:

I am very pleased with the way the authors have addressed the previous concern raised by me and the other reviewers. Thus, I recommend that the article is accepted now pending very minor corrections.

I am overall pleased with the revision and especially with the addition of the Text Box. I would, however, suggest to include the new Supplementary map showing the locations in the main text.

Done.

Moreover, instead of only citing for the Little Ice Age IPCC (2013), Mann et al. (2009), and Neukom et al. (2014) I would also recommend to in addition cite:

PAGES 2k Consortium. 2013: Continental-scale temperature variability during the past two millennia. Nature Geoscience, 6: 339–346.

Done.

The correct title of Ljungqvist (2017) is: Issues and Concepts in Historical Ecology: The Past and Future of Landscapes and Regions

Corrected.

Reviewer 2:

General remarks

Compared to its first version and based on the reviewers comments, the paper has heavily improved. I am still not very happy with the new labels ENA and LNA, but can live with it if it is published in this form.

Specific remarks

Lines 359-360 and 372:

I agree the tracks of the Westerlies lie more south in case of negative NAO indices. But, in this case, the subpolar North Atlantic area is rather warm, not cool (see e.g. Visbeck et al., PNAS Nov. 6/2001). In addition, I am not convinced that the storminess increased. We thank the reviewer and clarify these points. Citing Orme et al. 2018:

"During a negative NAO, over sub-annual timescales, the response to air-sea heat fluxes and wind-driven Ekman transport is warming in a zonal band spanning the North Atlantic north of 45N (Kushnir, 1994; Seager et al., 2000; Visbeck et al., 2003). However, over multi-annual to decadal/centennial timescales it is suggested that a negative) NAO causes decreased convective activity in the Labrador Sea and weakening of the SPG and meridional overturning circulation, resulting in cooling)north of 55N (Eden and Jung, 2001; Visbeck et al., 2003; H€akkinen and Rhines, 2004; Latif et al., 2006). During a negative NAO strengthened northerly winds to the east of Greenland can reinforce the East Greenland Current (EGC) and increase the export of sea ice and freshwater from the Arctic to the North Atlantic, a scenario which in the twentieth century caused 'Great Salinity Anomalies' (Dickson et al., 1996: Delworth et al., 1997; Belkin et al., 1998; Blindheim et al., 2000; Ionita et al., 2016). Similar episodes have been identified over decadal-centennial timescales in model and paleoclimate analyses (Delworth et al., 1997; Renssen et al., 2005; Sicre et al., 2008; Ran et al., 2011)." Also increased storminess in the enhanced storm intensity in the Greenland Sea is the common interpretation of non-sea-salt Na (Nesje et al., 2008; Giraudeau et al., 2010; Trouet et al., 2012). Decrease in storminess at mid latitudes does not negate that. Accordingly we changed the text to clarify these points. Text reads now:

"This negative NAO phase was concurrent with moderate increases in storminess in the Greenland Sea, as shown by sea-salt sodium in the GISP2 core (O'Brien et al., 1995) and a cooling of the Iceland Basin and probably the Nordic Seas (Orme et al., 2018)."

Figure 1:

I am still not happy with the arrow for the Indian Summer Monsoon (ISM) on Figure 1. Based on the discussion with two specialists and based on paper studies it is clear that the source area of the ISM also includes the Arabian Sea (see also Figure 2).

We added an additional arrow for the summer monsoon that shows its average direction.

Line 1146: Marcott

Corrected.

1 Neoglacial Climate Anomalies and the Harappan Metamorphosis

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- 4
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- 25
- 26
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- 28

29 Abstract:

30

31 Climate exerted constraints on the growth and decline of past human societies but our knowledge 32 of temporal and spatial climatic patterns is often too restricted to address causal connections. At 33 a global scale, the inter-hemispheric thermal balance provides an emergent framework for 34 understanding regional Holocene climate variability. As the thermal balance adjusted to gradual 35 changes in the seasonality of insolation, the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone migrated southward accompanied by a weakening of the Indian summer monsoon. Superimposed on this 36 37 trend, anomalies such as the Little Ice Age point to asymmetric changes in the extratropics of 38 either hemisphere. Here we present a reconstruction of the Indian winter monsoon in the Arabian 39 Sea for the last 6000 years based on paleobiological records in sediments from the continental 40 margin of Pakistan at two levels of ecological complexity: sedimentary ancient DNA reflecting 41 water column environmental states and planktonic foraminifers sensitive to winter conditions. 42 We show that strong winter monsoons between ca. 4,500 and 3,000 years ago occurred during a 43 period characterized by a series of weak interhemispheric temperature contrast intervals, which 44 we identify as the Early Neoglacial Anomalies (ENA). The strong winter monsoons during ENA were accompanied by changes in wind and precipitation patterns that are particularly evident 45 46 across the eastern Northern Hemisphere and Tropics. This coordinated climate reorganization 47 may have helped trigger the metamorphosis of the urban Harappan civilization into a rural 48 society through a push-pull migration from summer flood-deficient river valleys to the 49 Himalayan piedmont plains with augmented winter rains. The decline in the winter monsoon 50 between 3300 and 3000 years ago at the end of ENA could have played a role in the demise of 51 the rural late Harappans during that time as the first Iron Age culture established itself on the 52 Ghaggar-Hakra interfluve. Finally, we speculate that time-transgressive landcover changes due 53 to aridification of the Tropics may have led to a generalized instability of the global climate 54 during ENA at the transition from the warmer Holocene Thermal Maximum to the cooler 55 Neoglacial. 56

57

58 1. Introduction

59

60 The growth and decline of human societies can be affected by climate (e.g., Butzer, 2012; 61 DeMenocal, 2001) but addressing causal connections is difficult, especially when no written 62 records exist. Human agency sometimes confounds such connections by acting to mitigate 63 climate pressures or, on the contrary, increasing the brittleness of social systems in face of 64 climate variability (Rosen, 2007). Moreover, our knowledge of temporal and spatial climatic patterns remains too restricted, especially deeper in time, to fully address social dynamics. 65 66 Significant progress in addressing this problem has been made especially for historical intervals 67 (e.g., Carey, 2012; McMichael, 2012; Brooke, 2014; Izdebski et al., 2015; d'Alpoim Guedes et 68 al., 2016; Nelson et al., 2016; Ljungqvist, 2017; Haldon et al., 2018) using theoretical 69 reconsiderations, novel sources of data and sophisticated deep time modeling that could lead to 70 better consilience between natural scientists, historians and archaeologists. The coalescence of 71 migration phenomena, profound cultural transformations and/or collapse of prehistorical 72 societies regardless of geographical and cultural boundaries during certain time periods 73 characterized by climatic anomalies, events or regime shifts suggests that large scale climate 74 variability may be involved (e.g., Donges et al., 2015 and references therein). At the global scale, 75 the interhemispheric thermal balance provides an emergent framework for understanding such 76 major Holocene climate events (Boos and Korty, 2016; Broecker and Putnam, 2013; McGee et 77 al., 2014; Schneider et al., 2014). As this balance adjusted over the Holocene to gradual changes 78 in the seasonality of insolation (Berger and Loutre, 1991), the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone 79 (ITCZ) migrated southward (e.g., Arbuszewski et al., 2013; Haug et al., 2001) accompanied by a 80 weakening of the Indian summer monsoon (e.g., Fleitmann et al., 2003; Ponton et al., 2012). Superimposed on this trend, centennial- to millennial-scale anomalies point to asymmetric 81 82 changes in the extratropics of either hemisphere (Boos and Korty, 2016; Broccoli et al., 2006; 83 Chiang and Bitz, 2005; Chiang and Friedman, 2012; Schneider et al., 2014). 84 The most extensive but least understood among the early urban civilizations, the Harappan (Fig. 85 86 1 and 2; see supplementary materials for distribution of archaeological sites), collapsed ca. 3900 87 years ago (e.g., Shaffer, 1992). At their peak, the Harappans spread over the alluvial plain of the 88 Indus and its tributaries, encroaching onto the Sutlej-Yamuna or Ghaggar-Hakra (G-H) interfluve 89 that separates the Indus and Ganges drainage basins (Fig. 1). In the late Harappan phase that was 90 characterized by more regional artefact styles and trading networks, cities and settlements along 91 the Indus and its tributaries declined while the number of rural sites increased on the upper G-H 92 interfluve (Gangal et al., 2001; Kenoyer, 1998; Mughal, 1997; Possehl, 2002; Wright, 2010). The 93 agricultural Harappan economy showed a large degree of versatility by adapting to water 94 availability (e.g., Fuller, 2011; Giosan et al., 2012; Madella and Fuller, 2006; Petrie et al., 2017; 95 Weber et al., 2010; Wright et al., 2008). Two precipitation sources, the summer monsoon and 96 winter westerlies (Fig. 1), provide rainfall to the region (Bookhagen and Burbank, 2010; Petrie et

al., 2017; Wright et al., 2008). Previous simple modeling exercises suggested that winter rain

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- 99 increased in Punjab over the late Holocene (Wright et al., 2008). During the hydrologic year, part
- 100 of this precipitation, stored as snow and ice in surrounding mountain ranges, is redistributed as
- 101 meltwater by the Indus and its Himalayan tributaries to the arid and semi-arid landscape of the
- 102 alluvial plain (Karim and Veizer, 2002).
- 103
- 104 The climatic trigger for the urban Harappan collapse was probably the decline of the summer
- 105 monsoon (e.g., Dixit et al., 2014; Kathayat et al., 2017; MacDonald, 2011; Singh et al., 1971;
- 106 Staubwasser et al 2003; Stein, 1931) that led to less extensive and more erratic floods making
- 107 inundation agriculture less sustainable along the Indus and its tributaries (Giosan et al., 2012)
- 108 and may have led to bio-socio-economic stress and disruptions (e.g., Meadow, 1991; Schug et 109
- al., 2013). Still, the remarkable longevity of the decentralized rural phase until ca. 3200 years 110 ago in the face of persistent late Holocene aridity (Dixit et al., 2014; Fleitmann et al., 2003;
- 111 Ponton et al., 2012; Prasad and Enzel, 2006) remains puzzling. Whether the Harappan
- 112 metamorphosis was simply the result of habitat tracking toward regions where summer monsoon
- 113 floods were still reliable or also reflected a significant increase in winter rain remains unknown
- 114 (Giosan et al., 2012; Madella and Fuller, 2006; Petrie et al., 2017; Wright et al., 2008). To
- 115 address this dilemma, we present a proxy record for the Indian winter monsoon in the Arabian
- 116 Sea and show that its variability was an expression of large scale climate reorganization across
- 117 the eastern Northern Hemisphere and Tropics affecting precipitation patterns across the
- 118 Harappan territory. Aided by an analysis of Harappan archaeological site redistribution, we
- 119 speculate that the Harappan relocation after the collapse of its urban phase may have conformed
- 120 to a push-pull migration model.
- 121
- 122 2. Background
- 123

124	Under modern climatological conditions (Fig. 2), the summer monsoon delivers most of the	
125	precipitation to the former Harappan territory, but winter rains are also significant in quantity	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
126	along the Himalayan piedmont (i.e., between 15 and 30% annually). Winter rain is brought in	Deleted. 2
127	primarily by extra-tropical cyclones embedded in the Westerlies (Dimri et al., 2015) and are	
128	known locally as Western Disturbances (WD). These cyclones distribute winter rains to a zonal	
129	swath extending from the Mediterranean through Mesopotamia, the Iranian Plateau and	
130	Baluchistan, all and across to the western Himalayas (Fig. 3). Stronger and more frequent WD	
131	rains in NW India are associated with southern shifts of the Westerly Jet in the upper troposphere	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
132	(e.g., Dimri et al. 2017). Surface winter monsoon winds are generally directed towards the	Deleted. 2
133	southwest but they blow preferentially toward the east-southeast along the coast in the	
134	northernmost Arabian Sea (Fig. 3). An enhanced eastward zonal component over the northern	
135	Arabian Sea is typical for more rainy winters (Dimri et al. 2017). Although limited in space and	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
136	time, modern climatologies indicate a strong, physical linkage between winter sea-surface	Deleted: 2
137	temperatures (SST) in the northern Arabian Sea and precipitation on the Himalayan piedmont,	
138	including the upper G-H interfluve (see also supplementary materials). Ultimately, the thermal	

- 142 contrast between the cold Asian continent and relatively warmer Indian Ocean is thought to be
- 143 the initial driver of the Indian monsoon winds (Dimri et al., 2016).
- 144

In contrast to the wet summer monsoon, winds of the winter monsoon flow from the continent
toward the ocean and are generally dry. That explains in part why Holocene reconstructions of
the winter monsoon are few and contradictory, suggesting strong regional variabilities (Jia et al.,
2015; Kotlia et al., 2017; Li and Morrill, 2015; Sagawa et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2012; Yancheva
et al., 2007). Holocene eolian deposits linked to the winter monsoon are also geographicallylimited (Li and Morrill, 2015). However, in the Arabian Sea indirect wind proxies based on
changes in planktonic foraminifer assemblages and other mixing properties have been used to

- 152 reconstruct distinct hydrographic states caused by seasonal winds (Böll et al., 2014; Curry et al.,
- 153 1992; Lückge et al., 2001; Munz et al., 2015; Schiebel et al., 2004; Schulz et al., 2002). Winter
- 154 monsoon winds blowing over the northeast Arabian Sea cool its surface waters via evaporation
- and weaken thermal stratification promoting convective mixing (Banse and McClain, 1986; Luis
- and Kawamura, 2004). Cooler SSTs and the injection of nutrients into the photic zone lead in
- turn to changes in the plankton community (Madhupratap et al., 1996; Luis and Kawamura,
 2004; Schulz et al., 2002). To reconstruct the history of winter monsoon we thus employed
- 2004; Schulz et al., 2002). To reconstruct the history of winter monsoon we thus employed
 complementary proxies for convective winter mixing, at two levels of ecological complexity: (a)
- 160 sedimentary provides for convective whiter mixing, at two reversion ecological complexity. (a)
- relative abundance of *Globigerina falconensis*, a planktonic foraminifer sensitive to winter
- 162 conditions (Munz et al.; 2015; Schulz et al., 2002).
- 163
- 164 3. Methods
- 165
- 166 3.1 Sediment Core
- 167

168 We sampled the upper 2.3 m, comprising the Holocene interval, in the 13-m-long piston core 169 Indus 11C (Clift et al., 2014) retrieved during R/V Pelagia cruise 64PE300 in 2009 from the 170 oxygen minimum zone (OMZ) in the northeastern Arabian Sea (23°07.30'N, 66°29.80'E; 566 m 171 depth) (Fig. 1). The chronology for the Holocene section of the core was previously reported in 172 Orsi et al. (2017) and is based on calibrated radiocarbon dates of five multi-specimen samples of 173 planktonic foram Orbulina universa and one mixed planktonic foraminifer sample. Calibration 174 was performed using Calib 7.1 program (Stuiver et al., 2018) with a reservoir age of 565 ± 35 175 radiocarbon years following regional reservoir reconstructions by Staubwasser et al. (2002). 176 Calibrated radiocarbon dates were used to derive a polynomial age model (see supplementary 177 materials). The piston corer did not recover the last few hundred years of the Holocene record 178 probably due to overpenetration. However, indistinct but continuous laminations downcore with 179 no visual or X-radiograph discontinuities, together with the radiocarbon chronology indicate that

- 180 the sedimentary record recovered is continuous.
- 181

- 182 3.2. Ancient DNA Analyses
- 183
- 184 A total of five grams of wet weight sediment were extracted inside the ancient DNA-dedicated
- 185 lab at Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution (WHOI), aseptically as described previously
- 186 (Coolen et al., 2013) and transferred into 50 mL sterile tubes. The sediments were homogenized
- 187 for 40 sec at speed 6 using a Fastprep 96 homogenizer (MP Biomedicals, Santa Ana, CA) in the
- 188 presence of beads and 15 ml of preheated (50 °C) sterile filtered extraction buffer (77 vol% 1M
- 189 phosphate buffer pH 8, 15 vol% 200 proof ethanol, and 8 vol% of MoBio's lysis buffer solution
- 190 C1 [MoBio, Carlsbad, CA]). The extraction was repeated with 10 ml of the same extraction
- buffer but without C1 lysis buffer (Orsi et al., 2017). After centrifugation, the supernatants were
- 192 pooled and concentrated to a volume of $100 \mu l$ without loss of DNA using 50,000 NMWL
- 193 Amicon® Ultra 15 mL centrifugal filters (Millipore) and contaminants were removed from the
- 194 concentrated extract using the PowerClean® Pro DNA Clean-up Kit (MoBio). The exact same
- 195 procedures were performed in triplicate without the addition of sediment as a control for
- 196 contamination during extraction and purification of the sedimentary DNA.
- 197

198 The extracted and purified sedimentary DNA was quantified fluorometrically using Quant-iT

- 199 PicoGreen dsDNA Reagent (Invitrogen), and ~20 nanograms of each extract was used as
- 200 template for PCR amplification of preserved planktonic 18S rRNA genes. The short (~130 base
- 201 pair) 18S rDNA-V9 region was amplified using the domain-specific primer combination 1380F
- 202 (5'-CCC TGC CHT TTG TAC ACA C-3') and 1510R (5'CCT TCY GCA GGT TCA CCT AC-
- 203 3')(Amaral-Zettler et al., 2009). Quantitative PCR was performed using a SYBR®Green I
- 204 nucleic acid stain (Invitrogen) and using a Realplex quantitative PCR system (Eppendorf,
- Hauppauge, NY). The annealing temperature was set to 66 °C and all reactions were stopped in
- 206 the exponential phase after 35-42 cycles. 18S rRNA libraries were sequenced on an Illumina
- 207 MiSeq sequencing using the facilities of the W.M. Keck Center for Comparative and Functional
- 208 Genomics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, IL, USA sequenced 18S libraries that
- 209 resulted in approximately 12 million DNA sequences.
- 210

211 The 18S rRNA gene sequences were processed using the Quantitative Insights Into Microbial 212 Ecology (QIIME) environment (Caporaso et al., 2010). Reads passing quality control (removal 213 of any sequence containing an 'N', minimum read length 250 bp, minimum Phred score=20) 214 were organized into operational taxonomic units (OTUs) sharing 95% sequence identity with 215 UCLUST (Edgar et al., 2010) and assigned to taxonomic groups through BLASTn searches 216 against the SILVA database (Pruesse et al., 2007). OTU tables were rarefied to the sample with 217 the least number of sequences, and all OTUs containing less than one sequence were removed. 218 OTUs that were detected in only one sample were also removed. Metagenomes were directly 219 sequenced bi-directionally on an Illumina HiSeq, at the University of Delaware Sequencing and 220 Genotyping Center (Delaware Biotechnology Institute). Contigs were assembled de novo as 221 described in Orsi et al. (2017). To identify contigs containing chlorophyll biosynthesis proteins,

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- 223 open reading frames on the contig sequences were detected using FragGeneScan (Rho et al.,
- 224 2010), and protein homologs were identified through BLASTp searches against the SEED
- 225 database (www.theseed.org). Only hits to reference proteins with at least 60% amino acid
- 226 similarity over an alignment length >50 amino acids were considered true homologs and used for
- 227 downstream analysis. Assignment of ORFs to biochemical pathway classes were made based on
- 228 the SEED metabolic pathway database and classification scheme. The relative abundance of
- 229 reads mapping to ORFs was normalized against values of a suite of 35 universally conserved
- single copy genes (Orsi et al., 2015), per metagenome sample.
- 232 3.3 Factor Analysis
- 233

234 Q-mode Factor Analysis (QFA) was employed to simplify the ancient DNA dataset. Prior to the 235 factor analysis the DNA database was reduced to the 124 most abundant taxonomic units from a 236 total of 1,462 units identified by considering only those present in two or more samples with a 237 cumulative abundance higher than $0.5\pm0.1\%$ (Table S1). The data was pretreated with a range-238 normalization and run though the QFA with a VARIMAX rotation (Pisias et al., 2013). QFA 239 identified taxonomic groups that covary in our dataset and determined the minimum number of 240 components (i.e., factors) needed to explain a given fraction of the variance of the data set (Fig. 241 4; see supplementary materials). Each VARIMAX-rotated factor indicates an association of 242 taxonomic groups that covary (i.e., behave similarly amongst the samples). Taxonomic groups 243 that covary strongly within a factor will have high factor scores for that factor. We primarily 244 used dominant taxa with scores higher than 0.2 in a factor to interpret the plankton taxonomic 245 groups in that factor. The importance of a factor in any given sample is recorded by the factor 246 loading that we used to interpret the importance of that factor with depth/time downcore. 247 248 3.4 Foraminifera Counts 249 250 Samples for counting planktonic foraminifer Globigerina falconensis were wet-sieved over a 63-251 µm screen. Typical planktonic foraminifer assemblages for the NE Arabian Sea were observed: 252 Globigerinoides ruber, Neogloboquadrina dutertrei, Globigerina falconensis, Orbulina 253 universa, Globigerinoides sacculifer, Pulleniatina obliquiloculata, Globorotalia menardii. 254 Counts of Globigerina falconensis were conducted on the size fraction >150 µm. We report 255 counts for the samples yielding >300 foraminifer individuals (see supplementary materials).

256

258

- 257 3.5 Harappan Sites
- 259 Archaeological site distribution provides an important line of evidence for social changes in the
- 260 Harappan domain (e.g., Possehl, 2000). We analyzed the redistribution of small (<20 ha), rural
- vs. large (>20 ha), possibly urban sites on the G-H interfluve from the Early Harappan period,
- 262 through the Mature and Late periods to the post-Harappan Grey Ware culture (see supplementary

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264	materials). Compared to settlements along the Indus and its tributaries that can be affected by	
265	fluvial erosion (Giosan et al., 2012), the distribution of archaeological sites on G-H, where large	
266	laterally-incising Himalayan rivers were absent during the Holocene, is probably more complete	
267	and representative of their original distribution. To observe trends related to partial or complete	
268	drying of the G-H system (Clift et al., 2012; Giosan et al., 2012; Singh et al., 2017), we divided	
269	the settlements into upper and lower G-H sites located in the modern regions of Punjab and	
270	Haryana in India, respectively Cholistan in Pakistan. For archaeological site locations and their	
271	radiocarbon and/or archaeological ages we follow Giosan et al. (2012), using data from the	
272	compilation by Gangal et al. (2001) with additions from regional gazetteers and surveys (Kumar,	
273	2009; Mallah, 2010; Mughal, 1996 and 1997; Possehl, 1999; Wright et al., 2005).	
274		
275	4. Results	
276		
277	Exceptional preservation of organic matter in the OMZ (Altabet et al., 1995; Schulz et al., 2002)	
278	allowed us to reconstruct the history of the planktonic communities based on their preserved	
279	sedimentary DNA (see also Orsi et al., 2017). The factor analysis of the dominant DNA species	
280	(Fig. 4) identified three significant factors that together explain 48% of the variability in the	
281	dataset (see supplementary materials). Additional factors were excluded as they would have	
282	increased the variability explained by an insignificant amount for each (< 3%). We interpret	
283	these factors as corresponding to the SST regime, nutrient availability, and sea level state,	
284	respectively (Fig. <u>4</u>). Factor 1 (Fig. <u>4c</u>) explains 20% of the variability and is largely dominated	
285	by radiolarians (<i>Polycystinea</i>) that prefer warmer sea surface conditions (e.g., Cortese and	
286	Ablemann, 2002; Kamikuri et al, 2008). High scores for jellyfish (Cnidaria) that thrive in warm,	
287	eutrophic waters (Purcell, 2005) also support interpreting Factor 1 as a proxy for a plankton	
288	community adapted to high sea surface temperatures. A general increase of the Factor 1 loadings	
289	since the early Holocene is in accordance with the U_{37}^{K} -reconstructed warming of Orsi et al.	
290	(2017). During the Holocene, relatively colder conditions are evident in Factor 1 between ~4500	
291	and 3000 years ago (Fig. 4) as previously detected in the higher resolution U_{37}^{K} record from a	
292	core located nearby on the Makran continental margin (Doose-Rolinski et al., 2001).	
293		
294	Factor 2 (Fig. <u>4b</u>) explains 18% of the variability and is dominated by marine dinoflagellates	
295	indicative of high nutrient, bloom conditions (e.g., Worden et al., 2015), flagellates (Cercozoa)	
296	and fungi. Parasitic Alveolates (Hematodinium and Syndiniales) that typically appear during	
297	blooms (Worden et al., 2015) are also important. Increased representation of chlorophyll	
298	biosynthesis genes (Fig. 4) in sediment metagenomes (Orsi et al., 2017) indicate higher	
299	productivity (Worden et al., 2015) during the Factor 2 peak. All these associations suggest that	
300	Factor 2 is a nutrient-sensitive proxy with a peak that overlaps with the colder conditions	
301	between ~4500 and 3000 years ago. The inland retreat of the Indus fluvial nutrient source as sea	
302	level rose (see below) probably explains the asymmetry in Factor 2 that exhibits higher scores in	

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308	the early vs. late Holocene. Overall, Factors 1 and 2 suggests enhanced winter convective mixing	
309	between ~4500 and 3000 years ago that brought colder, nutrient-rich waters to the surface.	
310		
311	Factor 3 (Fig. <u>4a</u>) explains 10% variability and is dominated by a wide group of taxa. The main	
312	identified contributors to Factor 3 include the coastal diatom Eucampia (Werner, 1977), the fish-	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
313	egg parasite dinoflagellate Ichthyodinium, also reported from coastal habitats (Shadrin, 2010),	Deleted: 3a
314	and soil ciliates (Colpodida), which altogether suggest a nearshore environment with fluvial	
315	inputs. The plankton community described by Factor 3 was dominant in the first half of the	
316	Holocene and became scarce as the sea level rose (Camoin et al., 2004) and the Indus coast	
317	retreated inland (Fig. 4).	
318		Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
319	At a simpler ecological level, Globigerina falconensis is the dominant planktonic foraminifer in	Deleted. 5
320	the NE Arabian Sea under strong winter wind mixing conditions (Munz et al., 2015; Schulz et	
321	al., 2002). Over the last six millennia, after the sea level approached the present level, and when	
322	the plankton community was consistently outside the influence of coastal and fluvial processes,	
323	G. falconensis shows a peak in relative abundance between ~4500 and 3000 years during the	
324	cold reversal previously identified by the sedimentary ancient DNA (Fig. <u>4d</u>). A similar peak in	Liviu Gioson 10/17/2018 1:41 DM
325	G. falconensis was detected in core SO42-74KL from the western Arabian Sea upwelling area	Deleted: 3d
326	(Schulz et al., 2002) suggesting that mixing occurred in the whole northern half of the Arabian	
327	Sea (Fig. <u>4d</u>).	
'		Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
328		Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM Deleted: 3d
328 329	5. Discussion	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM Deleted: 3d
328 329 330	5. Discussion	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM Deleted: 3d
328 329 330 331	5. Discussion5.1 Winter Monsoon Variability in the Neoglacial	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM Deleted: 3d
328 329 330 331 332	5. Discussion5.1 Winter Monsoon Variability in the Neoglacial	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM Deleted: 3d
328 329 330 331 332 333 224	 5. Discussion 5.1 Winter Monsoon Variability in the Neoglacial In concert with previous data from the northern Arabian Sea, our reconstructions suggest that 	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM Deleted: 3d
328 329 330 331 332 333 334 225	 5. Discussion 5.1 Winter Monsoon Variability in the Neoglacial In concert with previous data from the northern Arabian Sea, our reconstructions suggest that convective mixing conditions indicative of a stronger winter monsoon occurred between ~4,500 and 2,000 warr area. Another cold yet wrights period in the partners Arabian Sea (Decce) 	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM Deleted: 3d
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352	and 2,500 years ago was also documented immediately east of the Indus River mouths in the	
353	now arid Rann of Kutch (Pillai et al., 2018).	
354		
355	In a comparison to published Holocene records (Fig. 5), two periods of weak interhemispheric	
356	thermal gradient for areas poleward of 30°N and 30°S occurred on top of more gradual,	
357	monotonic changes driven by the seasonality of insolation (Fig. 5e; Marcott et al., 2013;	
358	Schneider et al., 2014). These intervals are coeval within the limits of age models with the strong	
359	winter monsoon phases in the Arabian Sea (Fig. 5g) and southward swings of the Intertropical	
360	Convergence Zone (ITCZ) in the western Atlantic Ocean (Fig. <u>5f;</u> Haug et al., 2001). Occurring	
361	when Neoglacial conditions became pervasive across the Northern Hemisphere (Solomina et al.,	
362	2015), we identify the two late Holocene periods characterized by a series of low	
363	interhemispheric thermal gradient intervals as the Early Neoglacial Anomalies (ENA) between	
364	ca. 4,500 and 3,000 years ago and the Late Neoglacial Anomalies (LNA) after ~1,500,	
365	respectively.	
366		
367	LNA includes well-known cold events such as the Little Ice Age (LIA), an episode of global	
368	reach but particularly strong in the Northern Hemisphere (IPCC, 2103; Mann et al., 2009;	
369	Neukom et al., 2014; PAGES 2k Consortium, 2013) and the preceding cold during the European	
370	Migration Period (Büntgen et al., 2016). ENA is more enigmatic at this point. The high	
371	resolution Cariaco ITCZ record showing successive southward excursions suggests a series of	
372	"LIA-like events" (LIALE in short - a term proposed by Sirocko, 2015). Furthermore, a	
373	dominantly negative phase of the North Atlantic Oscillation – NAO (Fig. 5b; Olsen et al., 2012)	
374	occurred during ENA, similar to synoptic conditions during LIA. This negative NAO phase was	
375	concurrent with moderate increases in storminess in the Greenland Sea, as shown by sea-salt	
376	sodium in the GISP2 core (O'Brien et al., 1995) and a cooling of the Leeland Basin and probably	
377	the Nordic Seas (Orme et al., 2018), During both ENA and LNA the tropical North Atlantic was	
378	remarkably quiescent in terms of hurricane activity (Fig. 5d), which appears to be the direct	
379	result of the prevailing southward position of the ITCZ (Donnelly and Woodruff, 2007; van	
380	Hengstum et al., 2016).	
381		
382	At mid latitudes, a southward position for the Westerlies wind belt, as expected during negative	
383	NAO conditions, is supported at the western end of our domain of interest by well-defined	
384	increases in spring floods in the Southern Alps (Fig. <u>5c</u>) during both ENA and LNA (Wirth et al.,	
385	2013). A higher precipitation-evaporation state in the northern Levant (Fig. <u>5h</u> ; Cheng et al.,	
386	2015) and positive balances from lake isotope records in the Eastern Mediterranean (Fig. <u>51</u> ;	
387	Roberts et al., 2011), including lakes in Iran, occur further along the southward Westerlies	
388	precipitation belt. The preferential southward track of the Westerlies during ENA and LNA is	
389	also in agreement with a stronger Siberian Anticyclone, the dominant mode of winter and spring	
390	climate in Eurasia, as interpreted from increases in the GISP2 non-sea-salt potassium (Fig. <u>5a</u>).	
391	At the Far East end of the Westerly Jet, support comes from dust reconstructions in the Sea of	
392	Japan (Nagashima et al. 2013) and modeling (Kong et al., 2017), which suggest that the	

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406 Westerlies stayed preferentially further south in the late Holocene. As in modern climatologies, 407 this suite of paleorecords supports our interpretation that stronger winter monsoon winds during 408 ENA and LNA in the northernmost Arabian Sea, that ought to have driven more convective 409 mixing at our core site, were accompanied by increased precipitation penetration along the 410 Westerlies' path across the Iranian Plateau, Baluchistan and Makran to the western Himalayas. 411 Aridification after ca. 4200 years ago in a series of sensitive records from southern East Africa to 412 Australia (Berke et al., 2012; de Boer et al., 2014; Denniston et al., 2013; Li et al., 2018; Russell 413 et al., 2003; Schefuss et al., 2011; Wurtzel et al., 2018) argue for a narrowing of the ITCZ 414 migration belt during ENA within and around the Indian Ocean domain (Li et al., 2018). 415 416 In addition to its paleoclimatological value for the Harappan domain (see discussion below), a 417 more fundamental question emerges from our analysis: what triggered ENA and LNA? The 418 reduced influence of insolation on the ITCZ during the late Holocene (e.g., Haug et al., 2001; 419 Schneider et al., 2014) could have provided favorable conditions for internal modes of climate 420 variability, either tropical or polar, to become dominant (e.g., Wanner et al., 2008; Debret et al., 421 2009; Thirumalai et al., 2018). In order to explain intervals of tropical instabilities that did not 422 extend over the entire Neoglacial various trigger mechanisms and/or coupling intensities 423 between climate subsystems could be invoked. For example, the weaker orbital forcing increased 424 the susceptibility of climate to volcanic and/or solar irradiance, which have been proposed to 425 explain decadal to centennial time events such as the Little Ice Age (e.g., IPCC, 2103; Mann et 426 al., 2009; McGregor et al., 2005; PAGES 2k Consortium. 2013). For the recently defined Late 427 Antique Little Ice Age between 536 to about 660 AD, a cluster of volcanic eruptions sustained 428 by ocean and sea-ice feedbacks and a solar minimum have been proposed as triggers (Büntgen et 429 al., 2016). However, during ENA the solar irradiance was unusually stable without prominent 430 minima (Stuiver and Braziunas, 1989; Steinhilber et al., 2012). The volcanic activity in the northern hemisphere was also not particularly higher during ENA than after (Zielenski et al., 431 432 1996) and it was matched by an equally active southern hemisphere volcanism (Castellano et al., 433 2005). As previously suggested for the Little Ice Age (Dull et al. 2010; Nevle and Bird, 2008), 434 we speculate that mechanisms related to changes in landcover and possibly landuse could have 435 instead been involved in triggering ENA. 436 437 Biogeophysical effects of aerosol, albedo and evapotranspiration due to landcover changes were 438 previously shown to be able to modify the position of ITCZ and lead to significant large scale 439 geographic alterations in hydrology (e.g., Chung and Soden, 2017; Dallmeyer et al., 2017; 440 Devaraju et al. 2015; Kang et al., 2018; Sagoo and Storelymo, 2017; Tierney et al., 2017). 441 Similarly, changes in tropical albedo and concurrent changes in regional atmospheric dust 442 emissions due to aridification during the Neoglacial could have affected the ITCZ. 443 Anthropogenic early land use changes could have also led to large scale biogeophysical impacts

444 (e.g., Smith et al., 2016). Such landcover- and landuse-driven changes were time-transgressive

445 across Asia and Africa (e.g., Lezine et al., 2017; Jung et al., 2004; Prasad and Enzel; 2006;

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447 Shanahan et al., 2015; Tierney et al., 2017; Wang et al. 2010; Kaplan et al., 2011) and could

448 have led to a generalized instability of the global climate as it passed from the warmer Holocene

449 Thermal Maximum state to the cooler Neoglacial state. Therefore the instability seen during

450 ENA may reflect threshold behavior of the global climate system characterized by fluctuations or

451 flickering (Dakos et al., 2008; Thomas, 2016) or a combination of different mechanisms

452 affecting the coupling intensity between climate subsystems (Wirtz et al. 2010).

453

454 5.2 Climate Instability and the Harappan Metamorphosis

455

456 In contrast to other urban civilizations of the Bronze Age, such as Egypt and Mesopotamia, 457 Harappans did not employ canal irrigation to cope with the vagaries of river floods despite 458 probable knowledge about this agricultural technology through their western trade network (e.g., 459 Ratnagar, 2004). Instead, they relied on a multiple cropping system that started to develop prior 460 to their urban rise (Madella and Fuller, 2006; Petrie et al., 2017) and integrated the winter crop 461 package imported from the Fertile Crescent (e.g., wheat, barley, peas, lentil) with local summer 462 crops (e.g., millets, sesame, limited rice). A diverse array of cropping practices using inundation 463 and/or dry agriculture that were probably supplemented by labor-intensive well irrigation was 464 employed across the Indus domain, dependent on the regional characteristics of seasonal rains 465 and river floods (e.g., Weber 2003; Pokharia et al. 2014; Petrie and Bates, 2017; Petrie et al., 466 2017). The alluvial plains adjacent to the foothills of the Himalayas were probably the Harappan 467 region's most amenable to multiple crops using summer monsoon and WD rains directly or 468 redistributed via the perennial and/or ephemeral streams of the G-H interfluve. The 469 orographically-controlled stability and availability of multiple water sources that could be used to mitigate climate risks probably made this area more attractive as the inundation agriculture 470 471 faltered along the Indus and its tributaries when the summer monsoon became more erratic. 472 473 Aridity intensified over most of the Indian subcontinent as the summer monsoon rains started to 474 decline after 5,000 years ago (Ponton et al., 2012; Prasad et al., 2014). The closest and most

475 detailed summer monsoon reconstruction to the Harappan domain shows a highly variable

476 multicentennial trend to drier conditions between ca. 4,300 and 3,300 years ago (Fig. 6a and 6b;

477 Kathayat et al., 2017). Thresholds in evaporation-precipitation affecting lakes on the upper G-H

- 478 interfluve occurred during the same period (Fig. <u>6c;</u> Dixit et al., 2014). The flood regime
- 479 controlled by this variable and declining summer monsoon became more erratic and/or spatially
- 480 restricted (Giosan et al., 2012; Durcan et al., 2017) making inundation agriculture less

481 dependable. Whether fast or over generations, the bulk of Harappan settlements relocated toward

- the Himalayan foothills on the plains of the upper G-H interfluve (see supplementary materials;
- 483 Possehl, 2002; Kenoyer, 1998; Wright, 2010; Madella and Fuller, 2006; Giosan et al., 2017).

Abandoned by Himalayan rivers since the early Holocene (Giosan et al., 2012; Clift et al., 2012;
Singh et al., 2017; Dave et al., 2018), this region between the Sutlej and Yamuna was watered by

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489 orographically-enhanced rain feeding an intricate small river network (e.g., Yashpal et al., 1980;	
490 van Dijk et al., 2016; Orengo and Petrie, 2017).	
491	
492 During the aridification process the number of large, urban-sized settlements on the G-H	
493 interfluve decreased and the number of small settlements drastically expanded (Fig. <u>6e</u> and <u>6d</u>	
494 respectively). The rivers on the G-H interfluve merged downstream to feed flows along the	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
495 Hakra into Cholistan, at least seasonally, until the latest Holocene (Giosan et al., <u>2012; Fig. 2)</u> .	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
496 Regardless if these settlements on the lower G-H interfluve were temporary and mobile (Petrie et	Deleted: 5d
497 al., 2017) most of them were abandoned (Fig. <u>6d</u> ; see <u>also</u> supplementary materials) as the region	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
498 aridified, suggesting that flows became less reliable in this region. However, the dense stream	Deleted: 2012; ; see supplementary materials
499 network on the upper G-H interfluve must have played an important role in more uniformly	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
500 watering that region, whether perennially or seasonally. Remarkably, Late Harappan settling did	Deleted: 5d
501 not extend toward the northwest along the entire Himalayan piedmont despite the fact that this	
502 region must have received orographically-enhanced rains too (Fig. <u>3 and Suppl. Fig. 1</u>). One	Liviu Giosop 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
503 possible reason is that interfluves between Indus tributaries (i.e., Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab,	Deleted: 2
504 Jhelum; Fig. 2) are not extensive. These Himalayan rivers are entrenched and collect flows inside	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
505 their wide valleys rather than supporting extensive interfluve stream networks (Giosan et al.,	Deleted: see supplementary materials for
506 2012).	geography of the region
507	
508 Our winter monsoon reconstruction suggests that wD precipitation intensified during the time of	
509 urban Harappan conapse (Fig. <u>pi</u>). As the summer monsoon inckered and declined at the same	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
510 time, the classical push-pull model (e.g., Dongo and Tobler, 1985, Ravenstein, 1885, 1889) 511 could beln explain the Harannan migration. Push pull factors induce people to migrate from	Deleted: 5f
511 could help explain the matappan inigration. Fush-pun factors induce people to inigrate from 512 negatively affected regions to more favorable locations. Inundation agriculture along the summer	
512 flood-deficient flood lains of the Indus and its tributaries became too risky, which pushed people	
514 out in the same time as the upper G-H region became increasingly attractive due to augmented	
515 winter rain, which pulled migrants in. These winter rains would have supported traditional winter	
516 crops like wheat and barley, while drought tolerant millets could still be grown in rotation during	
517 the monsoon season. Diversification toward summer crops took place during the Mature	
518 Harappan period, as the winter monsoon steadily increased, beginning around 4,500 years ago	
519 (Fig. <u>6f</u>), but a greater reliance on rain crops after the urban collapse implies that intense efforts	
520 were made to adapt to hydroclimatic stress at the arid outer edge of the monsoonal rain belt	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
521 (Giosan et al., 2012; Madella and Fuller, 2006; Petrie and Bates, 2017; Wright et al., 2008). The	Deleted: 51
522 longevity of the Late Harappan settlements in this region may be due to a consistent availability	
523 of multiple year-round sources of water. Summer monsoon remained strong enough locally due	
to orographic rainfall, while winter precipitation increased during ENA and both these sources	
525 provided relief from labor-intensive alternatives such as well irrigation. The decline in the winter	
526 monsoon between 3300 and 3000 years ago (Fig. <u>6</u>) at the end of ENA could have also played a	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
527 role in the demise of the rural late Harappans during that time as the first Iron Age culture (i.e.,	Deleted: 4
528 the Painted Grey Ware) established itself on the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluve.	

- 540 541 The metamorphosis of Indus civilization remains an episode of great interest. The degradation of 542 cities and disintegration of supra-regional elements of the Indus cultural system such as its script 543 need not be sudden to be defined as a collapse. However, recent contributions of 544 geoarchaeological and settlement patterns studies, together with refinements in chronology, 545 require higher levels of sophistication for addressing links between climatic shifts and cultural 546 decline. While variation in coverage and imprecision in dating sites require further efforts (Petrie 547 et al., 2017), it remains clear that there were shifts in the distribution of population and the range 548 of site sizes, with decline in the size of the largest sites. The impacts of climatic shifts while 549 remarkable from recent chronological correlations (e.g., Katahayat et al 2017) must now be 550 assessed regionally through a nuanced appreciation of rainfall quantities as well as its seasonality 551 (e.g., Madella and Fuller, 2006; MacDonald, 2011; Petrie et al., 2017; Wright et al., 2008). How 552 precipitation was distributed seasonally would have affected the long-term stability and upstream 553 sources of the stream and river network (Giosan et al 2012; Singh et al 2017). Our study suggests 554 broad spatial and temporal patterns of variability for summer and winter precipitation across the 555 Harappan domain but the local hydroclimate aspects, as well as the role of seasonal gluts or 556 shortage of rain on river discharge need also to be considered. For example, did the increase in 557 winter rain during ENA lead to more snow accumulation in the Himalayas that affected the 558 frequency and magnitude of floods along the Indus and its tributaries? Or did settlements in 559 Kutch and Saurashtra, regions of relatively dense habitation during Late Harappan times, also 560 benefit from increases in winter rains despite the fact that modern climatologies suggest scarce
 - 561 local precipitation?
 - 562

563 Local reconstructions of seasonal hydroclimatic regimes would greatly enhance our ability to 564 understand social and economic choices made by Harappans. Attempts made to reconstruct WD 565 precipitation in the western Himalayas (e.g., Kotlia et al., 2017) are confounded by the dominant 566 summer monsoon (c.f., Kathayat et el., 2017). Developing local proxies based on summer vs. 567 winter crop remains may provide a more fruitful route for disentangling the sources of water in 568 the Harappan domain (e.g., Bates et al., 2017). The Indus civilization, especially in the northern 569 and eastern regions, had a broad choice of crops of both seasons. Mixed cropping may have 570 become increasingly important, including drought-tolerant, but less productive, summer millets 571 that suited weakening monsoon and winter cereals, including drought-tolerant barley, that were 572 aided by the heightened winter rains of Late Harappan era. Facilitated by this climatic 573 reorganization during ENA, the eastward shift in settlements, while it may have undermined the 574 pre-eminence of the largest urban centres like Harappa, can be seen as a strategic adjustment in 575 subsistence to the summer monsoon decline. Ultimately, ENA is a synoptic pattern that provides 576 a framework to address the role of climate in interacting with social dynamics at a scale larger 577 than the Indus domain. As such, if ENA affected human habitation of the entire eastern Northern 578 Hemisphere, and particularly in the Fertile Crescent and Iran that also depend on winter rains, 579 remains to be assessed.

581 6. Conclusions

582 583 To assess the role of winter precipitation in Harappan history, we reconstructed the Indian winter 584 monsoon over the last 6000 years using paleobiological records from the Arabian Sea. According 585 to modern climatologies, strong winter monsoon winds correspond to rains along a zonal swath 586 extending through the western Himalayas. Changes in the planktonic community structure 587 indicative of cool, productive waters highlight strong winter monsoon conditions between ca. 588 4,500 and 3,000 years ago, an interval spanning the transition from peak development of the 589 urban Harappan to the demise of its last rural elements. Inferred increases in winter rains during 590 this time were contemporaneous with the regionally documented decline in summer monsoon, 591 which has previously been interpreted as detrimental to the inundation agriculture practiced 592 along the Indus and its tributaries. We propose that the combined changes in summer and winter 593 monsoon hydroclimate triggered the metamorphosis of the urban Harappan civilization into a 594 rural society. A push-pull migration can better explain the relocation of Harappans from summer 595 flood-deficient river valleys to the Himalayan piedmont plains with augmented winter rains and 596 a greater reliance on rainfed crops. Two seasons of cultivation helped to spread risk and enhance 597 sustainability. Summer and winter orographic precipitation above and across the piedmont plains 598 fed a dense stream network supporting agriculture close to another millennium for the rural late 599 Harappans. 600

601 Previous reconstructions and our new monsoon record, in concert with other paleoclimate series 602 from the Northern Hemisphere and Tropics, display two late Holocene periods of generalized 603 climate instability: ENA between ca. 4,500 and 3,000 years ago and LNA after ~1,500 years ago. 604 The reduced influence of insolation during the late Holocene could have provided favorable 605 conditions for internal modes of climate variability, either tropical or polar, to become dominant 606 and lead to such instability intervals. Both ENA and LNA occurred during low interhemispheric 607 thermal gradients and dominantly negative phases of NAO characterized by more southward 608 swings of both the ITCZ and Westerlies belt at mid northern latitudes, reduced hurricane activity 609 and increases in high-latitude storminess in the Atlantic. The preferential southward track of the 610 Westerlies during ENA and LNA is supported by increased rains from WDs from the Levant into 611 Iran and Baluchistan, but a stronger Siberian Anticyclone and weaker winds along the northern 612 Westerly track as far east as the Sea of Japan. Susceptibility of climate to volcanic, solar 613 irradiance and/or landcover were proposed to explain LNA but we speculate that time-614 transgressive changes in landcover across Asia and Africa could have been involved in triggering 615 ENA as it passed from the warmer Holocene Thermal Maximum state to the cooler Neoglacial 616 state. 617

618

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1104 Text Box 1: Climate Variability and the Indus Civilization

1105

1106 The Harappan or Indus (Valley) Civilization developed on the Indus alluvial plain and adjacent 1107 regions (Fig. 1 and 2) Between the Indus and Ganges watersheds, a now largely defunct smaller 1108 drainage system, the Ghaggar-Hakra, was also heavily populated. The Harappan cultural 1109 tradition (Kenoyer, 1998; Possehl, 2002; Wright, 2010) evolved during an Early Phase (ca. 1110 5,200–4,500 y ago) from antecedent agricultural communities of the hills bordering the Indus plain to the west and reached its urban peak (Mature Phase) between ca. 4,500 and 3,900 years 1111 1112 ago. The Harappans were agrarian but developed large, architecturally complex urban centers 1113 and a sophisticated material culture coupled with a robust trade system. In contrast to the 1114 neighboring hydraulic civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt, Harappans appear to have 1115 invested less effort to control water resources by large-scale canal irrigation near cities but relied 1116 primarily on fluvial inundation for winter crops and additionally on rain for summer crops. 1117 Deurbanization ensued after approximately 3,900 years ago and was characterized by the development of increasingly regional artefact styles and trading networks, as well as the 1118 1119 disappearance of the distinctive Harappan script. Some settlements exhibited continuity, albeit 1120 with reduced size, whereas many riverine sites were abandoned, in particular along the Indus and 1121 its tributaries. Between ca. 3,900 and 3,200 years ago, there was a proliferation of smaller, 1122 village-type settlements, especially on the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluve. Socio-economic as well as 1123 environmental hypotheses have been invoked to explain the collapse of urban Harappan society, 1124 including foreign invasions, social instabilities, trade decline, climate deterioration, fluvial 1125 dynamics, and human-induced environmental degradation. 1126 1127 The "climate-culture hypothesis", first clearly articulated by Singh (1971) and Singh et al. (1974) 1128 based on pollen records from Rajasthan lakes, argues for climate variability at the vulnerable arid 1129 outer edge of the monsoonal rain belt as a determining factor in Harappan cultural 1130 transformations (Fig. 1 and 2; Suppl. Fig. 4). These reconstructions together with other early 1131 paleoclimate forays in Rajasthan (see review of Madella and Fuller, 2006) proposed that 1132 enhanced summer monsoon rains assisted the development of the urban Harappan but weakening 1133 monsoon conditions after 4,200-3,800 years ago contributed to its collapse. In marine sediments, 1134 planktonic oxygen isotope records in a core from the Makran continental margin were 1135 interpreted to suggest a reduction in the Indus river discharge ca. 4,200 years ago (Staubwasser 1136 et al., 2003). More recent work, proximal to the Harappan heartland, provides strong support for 1137 this "climate-culture hypothesis" while emphasizing the complexity of both spatiotemporal 1138 hydroclimate pattern and Harappan cultural responses. Paleohydrological records from lakes in 1139 northern Rajasthan and Haryana show wetter conditions prevailing during the Early Harappan 1140 phase, providing favorable climate conditions for urbanization (Dixit et al., 2018) and a distinct 1141 weakening of summer monsoon around 4,100 years ago (Fig. 6c; Dixit et al., 2014). Another 1142 summer monsoon reconstruction from Sahiya cave above the Himalayan piedmont (Fig. 6a and 1143 (b); Kathayat et al., 2017) shows a pluvial optimum during most of the urban phase followed by

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- drying after 4,100 years ago. This high resolution speleothem-based reconstruction also reveals that the multicentennial trend to drier conditions between ca. 4,100 and 3,200 years ago was in
- 1152 fact highly variable at centennial scales.
- 1153

1154 Studies of fluvial dynamics on the Harappan territory are consistent with a dry late Holocene 1155 affecting the Harappan way of life. Landscape semi-fossilization along the Indus and its 1156 tributaries suggest that floods became erratic and less extensive making inundation agriculture unsustainable for the post-urban Harappans (Giosan et al., 2012). In contrast to Himalayan 1157 1158 tributaries of the Indus, which incised their alluvial deposits in early-mid Holocene, the lack of 1159 wide entrenched valleys on the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluve indicates that large, glacier-fed rivers 1160 did not flow across this region during Harappan times. Geochemical fingerprinting of fluvial 1161 deposits on the lower and upper Ghaggar-Hakra interfluve (Clift et al., 2012 and Dave et al., 1162 2018 respectively) showed that the capture of the Yamuna to the Ganges basin occurred prior to 1163 the Holocene. Similarly, abandonment and infilling of a large paleochannel demonstrates that the 1164 Sutlej River relocated to its present course away from the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluve by 8,000 1165 years ago, well before Harappan established themselves in the region (Singh et al., 2018). 1166 However, widespread fluvial redistribution of sediment from the upper Ghaggar-Hakra interfluve (e.g., Saini et al., 2009; Singh et al., 2018) all the way down to the lower Hakra (Clift et al., 1167 2012) and toward the Nara valley (Giosan et al., 2012) suggests that monsoon rains were able to 1168 1169 sustain smaller streams through that time, but as the monsoon weakened, rivers gradually dried 1170 or became seasonal, affecting habitability along their course. 1171 1172 If the climatic trigger for the urban Harappan collapse was probably the decline of the summer monsoon, the agricultural Harappan economy showed a large degree of adaptation to water 1173

1174 availability. The long-lived survival of Late Harappan cultures until ca. 3,200 years ago under a

1175 drier climate and less active fluvial network is the subject of the present study and further

1176 ongoing efforts (e.g., Kotlia et al., 2017; Petrie et al., 2017) that seek to understand the

1177 variability in hydroclimate and moisture sources across the Indus domain and how these relate to

agricultural adaptations.

 Figure Captions Fig. 1. Physiography, winds and precipitation sources for the Harappan domain. The dominant source during summer monsoon is the Bay of Bengal while Western Disturbances provide the moisture during winter. The extent of the Indus basin and Ghaggar-Hakra (G-H) interfluve are shown with purple and brown masks, respectively. Locations for the cores discussed in the text are shown. Fig. 2. Geographical regions and rivers of the Indus domain discussed in text. Fig. 3. Modern seasonal climatology for South Asia. Average precipitation as well as wind direction and intensity for the summer (June-July-August or JJA) and winter (December-January-February or DJF) months are presented in the left and right panels, respectively. Note the differences in scales between panels for both rainfall and winds. Data used come from the 	
1195 ERA-40 reanalysis dataset (Uppala et al., 2005) for winds (averaged from 1958-2001) and the	
1196 TRMM dataset (Huffman et al., 2007) for rainfall (averaged from 1998-2014). The white box 1197 encompasses the upper G-H interfluye.	<u>s</u>
1198	
1199Fig. 4. Holocene variability in plankton communities as reflected by their sedimentary DNA	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM
 factor loadings (panels marked a through c) and winter mixing-sensitive % <i>G. falconensis</i> (panel marked d) in core Indus 11C in the NE Arabian Sea. Relative chlorophyll biosynthesis proteins abundances are also shown. Sea level points are from Camoin et al. (2004); SSTs are from Doose-Rolinski et al. (2001); and <i>G. falconensis</i> census from the NW Arabian Sea is from Schulz et al. (2002). Triangles show radiocarbon dates for core Indus 11C. The period corresponding to the Early Neoglacial Anomalies (ENA) is shaded in red hues. 	Deleted: 3
1207 Fig 5 Northern Hemisphere hydroclimatic conditions since the middle Holocene. The period	
 corresponding to the Early Neoglacial Anomalies (ENA) interval is shaded in red hues. From high to low (panels marked a trough i): (a) Greenland dust from non-sea-salt K⁺ showing the strength of the Siberian Anticyclone (O'Brien et al., 1995); (b) NAO proxy reconstruction (Olser et al., 2012) and (c) negative NAO-indicative floods in S Alps (Wirth et al., 2013); (d) grainsize- based hurricane reconstruction in the N Atlantic (van Hengstum et al., 2016); (e) interhemispheric temperature anomaly (Marcott et al., 2013); (f) ITCZ reconstruction at the 	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM Deleted: 4
1214 Cariaco Basin (Haug et al., 2011); (g) winter monsoon ancient DNA-based reconstruction for the 1215 NE Arabian Sea (this study – in purple); (h) speleothem δ^{18} O-based precipitation reconstruction 1216 for northern Levant (Cheng et al., 2015); and (i) stacked lake isotope records as a proxy 1217 precipitation-evaporation regimes over Middle East and Iran (Roberts et al., 2011). 1218	Deleted: Marcot
1219 Fig. <u>6</u> . Monsoon hydroclimate changes since the middle Holocene and changes in settlement	
 distribution on the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluve. From high to low (panels marked a trough f): (a) variability in summer monsoon calculated as 200-year window moving standard deviation of the 	Liviu Giosan 10/17/2018 1:41 PM Deleted: 5

- 1226 detrended monsoon record of Katahayat et al. (2017) and (b) the speleothem δ^{18} O-based summer
- 1227 monsoon reconstruction of Katahayat et al. (2017); (c) lacustrine gastropod δ^{18} O-based summer
- 1228 monsoon reconstruction (Dixit et al., 2014); (d and e) changes in the number of settlements on
- 1229 the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluve as a function of size and location; and (f) winter monsoon ancient
- 1230 DNA-based reconstruction for the NE Arabian Sea (this study in purple). The period
- 1231 corresponding to the Early Neoglacial Anomalies (ENA) is shaded in red hues and durations for
- 1232 Early (E), Mature (M) and Late (L) Harappan phases are shown with dashed lines.















