

# 1 Neoglacial Climate Anomalies and the Harappan Metamorphosis

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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  
36 southward accompanied by a weakening of the Indian summer monsoon. Superimposed on this  
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  
45 were accompanied by changes in wind and precipitation patterns that are particularly evident  
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 interfluvium. 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  
65 patterns remains too restricted, especially deeper in time, to fully address social dynamics.  
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).  
81 Superimposed on this trend, centennial- to millennial-scale anomalies point to asymmetric  
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

85 The most extensive but least understood among the early urban civilizations, the Harappan (Fig.  
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) interfluvium  
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 interfluvium (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  
97 al., 2017; Wright et al., 2008). Previous simple modeling exercises suggested that winter rain

98 increased in Punjab over the late Holocene (Wright et al., 2008). During the hydrologic year, part  
99 of this precipitation, stored as snow and ice in surrounding mountain ranges, is redistributed as  
100 meltwater by the Indus and its Himalayan tributaries to the arid and semi-arid landscape of the  
101 alluvial plain (Karim and Veizer, 2002).

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

## 120 121 2. Background

122  
123 Under modern climatological conditions (Fig. 3), the summer monsoon delivers most of the  
124 precipitation to the former Harappan territory, but winter rains are also significant in quantity  
125 along the Himalayan piedmont (i.e., between 15 and 30% annually). Winter rain is brought in  
126 primarily by extra-tropical cyclones embedded in the Westerlies (Dimri et al., 2015) and are  
127 known locally as Western Disturbances (WD). These cyclones distribute winter rains to a zonal  
128 swath extending from the Mediterranean through Mesopotamia, the Iranian Plateau and  
129 Baluchistan, all and across to the western Himalayas (Fig. 3). Stronger and more frequent WD  
130 rains in NW India are associated with southern shifts of the Westerly Jet in the upper troposphere  
131 (e.g., Dimri et al. 2017). Surface winter monsoon winds are generally directed towards the  
132 southwest but they blow preferentially toward the east-southeast along the coast in the  
133 northernmost Arabian Sea (Fig. 3). An enhanced eastward zonal component over the northern  
134 Arabian Sea is typical for more rainy winters (Dimri et al. 2017). Although limited in space and  
135 time, modern climatologies indicate a strong, physical linkage between winter sea-surface  
136 temperatures (SST) in the northern Arabian Sea and precipitation on the Himalayan piedmont,  
137 including the upper G-H interfluvium (see also supplementary materials). Ultimately, the thermal

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

140  
141 In contrast to the wet summer monsoon, winds of the winter monsoon flow from the continent  
142 toward the ocean and are generally dry. That explains in part why Holocene reconstructions of  
143 the winter monsoon are few and contradictory, suggesting strong regional variabilities (Jia et al.,  
144 2015; Kotlia et al., 2017; Li and Morrill, 2015; Sagawa et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2012; Yancheva  
145 et al., 2007). Holocene eolian deposits linked to the winter monsoon are also geographically-  
146 limited (Li and Morrill, 2015). However, in the Arabian Sea indirect wind proxies based on  
147 changes in planktonic foraminifer assemblages and other mixing properties have been used to  
148 reconstruct distinct hydrographic states caused by seasonal winds (Böll et al., 2014; Curry et al.,  
149 1992; Lückge et al., 2001; Munz et al., 2015; Schiebel et al., 2004; Schulz et al., 2002). Winter  
150 monsoon winds blowing over the northeast Arabian Sea cool its surface waters via evaporation  
151 and weaken thermal stratification promoting convective mixing (Banse and McClain, 1986; Luis  
152 and Kawamura, 2004). Cooler SSTs and the injection of nutrients into the photic zone lead in  
153 turn to changes in the plankton community (Madhupratap et al., 1996; Luis and Kawamura,  
154 2004; Schulz et al., 2002). To reconstruct the history of winter monsoon we thus employed  
155 complementary proxies for convective winter mixing, at two levels of ecological complexity: (a)  
156 sedimentary ancient DNA to assess the water column plankton community structure, and (b) the  
157 relative abundance of *Globigerina falconensis*, a planktonic foraminifer sensitive to winter  
158 conditions (Munz et al.; 2015; Schulz et al., 2002).

### 159 160 3. Methods

#### 161 162 3.1 Sediment Core

163  
164 We sampled the upper 2.3 m, comprising the Holocene interval, in the 13-m-long piston core  
165 Indus 11C (Clift et al., 2014) retrieved during *R/V Pelagia* cruise 64PE300 in 2009 from the  
166 oxygen minimum zone (OMZ) in the northeastern Arabian Sea (23°07.30'N, 66°29.80'E; 566 m  
167 depth) (Fig. 1). The chronology for the Holocene section of the core was previously reported in  
168 Orsi et al. (2017) and is based on calibrated radiocarbon dates of five multi-specimen samples of  
169 planktonic foram *Orbulina universa* and one mixed planktonic foraminifer sample. Calibration  
170 was performed using Calib 7.1 program (Stuiver et al., 2018) with a reservoir age of  $565 \pm 35$   
171 radiocarbon years following regional reservoir reconstructions by Staubwasser et al. (2002).  
172 Calibrated radiocarbon dates were used to derive a polynomial age model (see supplementary  
173 materials). The piston corer did not recover the last few hundred years of the Holocene record  
174 probably due to overpenetration. However, indistinct but continuous laminations downcore with  
175 no visual or X-radiograph discontinuities, together with the radiocarbon chronology indicate that  
176 the sedimentary record recovered is continuous.

177

### 178 3.2. Ancient DNA Analyses

179

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

193

194 The extracted and purified sedimentary DNA was quantified fluorometrically using Quant-iT  
195 PicoGreen dsDNA Reagent (Invitrogen), and ~20 nanograms of each extract was used as  
196 template for PCR amplification of preserved planktonic 18S rRNA genes. The short (~130 base  
197 pair) 18S rDNA-V9 region was amplified using the domain-specific primer combination 1380F  
198 (5'-CCC TGC CHT TTG TAC ACA C-3') and 1510R (5'CCT TCY GCA GGT TCA CCT AC-  
199 3')(Amaral-Zettler et al., 2009). Quantitative PCR was performed using a SYBR®Green I  
200 nucleic acid stain (Invitrogen) and using a Realplex quantitative PCR system (Eppendorf,  
201 Hauppauge, NY). The annealing temperature was set to 66 °C and all reactions were stopped in  
202 the exponential phase after 35-42 cycles. 18S rRNA libraries were sequenced on an Illumina  
203 MiSeq sequencing using the facilities of the W.M. Keck Center for Comparative and Functional  
204 Genomics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, IL, USA sequenced 18S libraries that  
205 resulted in approximately 12 million DNA sequences.

206

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

218 open reading frames on the contig sequences were detected using FragGeneScan (Rho et al.,  
219 2010), and protein homologs were identified through BLASTp searches against the SEED  
220 database (www.theseed.org). Only hits to reference proteins with at least 60% amino acid  
221 similarity over an alignment length >50 amino acids were considered true homologs and used for  
222 downstream analysis. Assignment of ORFs to biochemical pathway classes were made based on  
223 the SEED metabolic pathway database and classification scheme. The relative abundance of  
224 reads mapping to ORFs was normalized against values of a suite of 35 universally conserved  
225 single copy genes (Orsi et al., 2015), per metagenome sample.

226

### 227 3.3 Factor Analysis

228

229 Q-mode Factor Analysis (QFA) was employed to simplify the ancient DNA dataset. Prior to the  
230 factor analysis the DNA database was reduced to the 124 most abundant taxonomic units from a  
231 total of 1,462 units identified by considering only those present in two or more samples with a  
232 cumulative abundance higher than  $0.5 \pm 0.1\%$  (Table S1). The data was pretreated with a range-  
233 normalization and run through the QFA with a VARIMAX rotation (Pisias et al., 2013). QFA  
234 identified taxonomic groups that covary in our dataset and determined the minimum number of  
235 components (i.e., factors) needed to explain a given fraction of the variance of the data set (Fig.  
236 4; see supplementary materials). Each VARIMAX-rotated factor indicates an association of  
237 taxonomic groups that covary (i.e., behave similarly amongst the samples). Taxonomic groups  
238 that covary strongly within a factor will have high factor scores for that factor. We primarily  
239 used dominant taxa with scores higher than 0.2 in a factor to interpret the plankton taxonomic  
240 groups in that factor. The importance of a factor in any given sample is recorded by the factor  
241 loading that we used to interpret the importance of that factor with depth/time downcore.

242

### 243 3.4 Foraminifera Counts

244

245 Samples for counting planktonic foraminifer *Globigerina falconensis* were wet-sieved over a 63-  
246  $\mu\text{m}$  screen. Typical planktonic foraminifer assemblages for the NE Arabian Sea were observed:  
247 *Globigerinoides ruber*, *Neogloboquadrina dutertrei*, *Globigerina falconensis*, *Orbulina*  
248 *universa*, *Globigerinoides sacculifer*, *Pulleniatina obliquiloculata*, *Globorotalia menardii*.  
249 Counts of *Globigerina falconensis* were conducted on the size fraction >150  $\mu\text{m}$ . We report  
250 counts for the samples yielding >300 foraminifer individuals (see supplementary materials).

251

### 252 3.5 Harappan Sites

253

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

258 materials). Compared to settlements along the Indus and its tributaries that can be affected by  
259 fluvial erosion (Giosan et al., 2012), the distribution of archaeological sites on G-H, where large  
260 laterally-incising Himalayan rivers were absent during the Holocene, is probably more complete  
261 and representative of their original distribution. To observe trends related to partial or complete  
262 drying of the G-H system (Clift et al., 2012; Giosan et al., 2012; Singh et al., 2017), we divided  
263 the settlements into upper and lower G-H sites located in the modern regions of Punjab and  
264 Haryana in India, respectively Cholistan in Pakistan. For archaeological site locations and their  
265 radiocarbon and/or archaeological ages we follow Giosan et al. (2012), using data from the  
266 compilation by Gangal et al. (2001) with additions from regional gazetteers and surveys (Kumar,  
267 2009; Mallah, 2010; Mughal, 1996 and 1997; Possehl, 1999; Wright et al., 2005).

268

#### 269 4. Results

270

271 Exceptional preservation of organic matter in the OMZ (Altabet et al., 1995; Schulz et al., 2002)  
272 allowed us to reconstruct the history of the planktonic communities based on their preserved  
273 sedimentary DNA (see also Orsi et al., 2017). The factor analysis of the dominant DNA species  
274 (Fig. 4) identified three significant factors that together explain 48% of the variability in the  
275 dataset (see supplementary materials). Additional factors were excluded as they would have  
276 increased the variability explained by an insignificant amount for each (< 3%). We interpret  
277 these factors as corresponding to the SST regime, nutrient availability, and sea level state,  
278 respectively (Fig. 4). Factor 1 (Fig. 4c) explains 20% of the variability and is largely dominated  
279 by radiolarians (*Polycystinea*) that prefer warmer sea surface conditions (e.g., Cortese and  
280 Ablemann, 2002; Kamikuri et al, 2008). High scores for jellyfish (*Cnidaria*) that thrive in warm,  
281 eutrophic waters (Purcell, 2005) also support interpreting Factor 1 as a proxy for a plankton  
282 community adapted to high sea surface temperatures. A general increase of the Factor 1 loadings  
283 since the early Holocene is in accordance with the  $U_{37}^K$ -reconstructed warming of Orsi et al.  
284 (2017). During the Holocene, relatively colder conditions are evident in Factor 1 between ~4500  
285 and 3000 years ago (Fig. 4) as previously detected in the higher resolution  $U_{37}^K$  record from a  
286 core located nearby on the Makran continental margin (Dooze-Rolinski et al., 2001).

287

288 Factor 2 (Fig. 4b) explains 18% of the variability and is dominated by marine dinoflagellates  
289 indicative of high nutrient, bloom conditions (e.g., Worden et al., 2015), flagellates (*Cercozoa*)  
290 and fungi. Parasitic Alveolates (*Hematodinium* and *Syndiniales*) that typically appear during  
291 blooms (Worden et al., 2015) are also important. Increased representation of chlorophyll  
292 biosynthesis genes (Fig. 4) in sediment metagenomes (Orsi et al., 2017) indicate higher  
293 productivity (Worden et al., 2015) during the Factor 2 peak. All these associations suggest that  
294 Factor 2 is a nutrient-sensitive proxy with a peak that overlaps with the colder conditions  
295 between ~4500 and 3000 years ago. The inland retreat of the Indus fluvial nutrient source as sea  
296 level rose (see below) probably explains the asymmetry in Factor 2 that exhibits higher scores in



297 the early vs. late Holocene. Overall, Factors 1 and 2 suggests enhanced winter convective mixing  
298 between ~4500 and 3000 years ago that brought colder, nutrient-rich waters to the surface.

299

300 Factor 3 (Fig. 4a) explains 10% variability and is dominated by a wide group of taxa. The main  
301 identified contributors to Factor 3 include the coastal diatom *Eucampia* (Werner, 1977), the fish-  
302 egg parasite dinoflagellate *Ichthyodinium*, also reported from coastal habitats (Shadrin, 2010),  
303 and soil ciliates (*Colpodida*), which altogether suggest a nearshore environment with fluvial  
304 inputs. The plankton community described by Factor 3 was dominant in the first half of the  
305 Holocene and became scarce as the sea level rose (Camoin et al., 2004) and the Indus coast  
306 retreated inland (Fig. 4).

307

308 At a simpler ecological level, *Globigerina falconensis* is the dominant planktonic foraminifer in  
309 the NE Arabian Sea under strong winter wind mixing conditions (Munz et al., 2015; Schulz et  
310 al., 2002). Over the last six millennia, after the sea level approached the present level, and when  
311 the plankton community was consistently outside the influence of coastal and fluvial processes,  
312 *G. falconensis* shows a peak in relative abundance between ~4500 and 3000 years during the  
313 cold reversal previously identified by the sedimentary ancient DNA (Fig. 4d). A similar peak in  
314 *G. falconensis* was detected in core SO42-74KL from the western Arabian Sea upwelling area  
315 (Schulz et al., 2002) suggesting that mixing occurred in the whole northern half of the Arabian  
316 Sea (Fig. 4d).

317

## 318 5. Discussion

319

### 320 5.1 Winter Monsoon Variability in the Neoglacial

321

322 In concert with previous data from the northern Arabian Sea, our reconstructions suggest that  
323 convective mixing conditions indicative of a stronger winter monsoon occurred between ~4,500  
324 and 3,000 years ago. Another cold yet variable period in the northern Arabian Sea (Doose-  
325 Rolinski et al., 2001) occurred after ~1500 years ago under strong winter monsoon mixing (Böll  
326 et al., 2014; Munz et al., 2015) and is seen in the *G. falconensis* record of Schulz et al. (2002)  
327 but is not captured completely in our top-incomplete record. In accordance with modern  
328 climatologies colder SSTs in the northern coastal Arabian Sea correspond to increased westerly  
329 extratropical cyclones bringing winter rains as far as Baluchistan and the western Himalayas  
330 (Fig. 3 and Suppl. Fig. 1). Pollen records offshore the Makran coast where rivers from  
331 Baluchistan and ephemeral streams flood during winter (von Rad et al., 1999) indeed indicate  
332 enhanced winter monsoon precipitation during between ~4,500 and 3,000 years ago (Ivory and  
333 Lezine, 2009). Bulk chemistry of sediments from the same Makran core were used to infer  
334 enhanced winter-monsoon conditions between 3900 and 3000 years ago (Lückge et al., 2001).  
335 Although not specifically identified as winter precipitation, increased moisture between ~4,600

336 and 2,500 years ago was also documented immediately east of the Indus River mouths in the  
337 now arid Rann of Kutch (Pillai et al., 2018).

338  
339 In a comparison to published Holocene records (Fig. 5), two periods of weak interhemispheric  
340 thermal gradient for areas poleward of 30°N and 30°S occurred on top of more gradual,  
341 monotonic changes driven by the seasonality of insolation (Fig. 5e; Marcott et al., 2013;  
342 Schneider et al., 2014). These intervals are coeval within the limits of age models with the strong  
343 winter monsoon phases in the Arabian Sea (Fig. 5g) and southward swings of the Intertropical  
344 Convergence Zone (ITCZ) in the western Atlantic Ocean (Fig. 5f; Haug et al., 2001). Occurring  
345 when Neoglacial conditions became pervasive across the Northern Hemisphere (Solomina et al.,  
346 2015), we identify the two late Holocene periods characterized by a series of low  
347 interhemispheric thermal gradient intervals as the Early Neoglacial Anomalies (ENA) between  
348 ca. 4,500 and 3,000 years ago and the Late Neoglacial Anomalies (LNA) after ~1,500,  
349 respectively.

350  
351 LNA includes well-known cold events such as the Little Ice Age (LIA), an episode of global  
352 reach but particularly strong in the Northern Hemisphere (IPCC, 2103; Mann et al., 2009;  
353 Neukom et al., 2014; PAGES 2k Consortium, 2013) and the preceding cold during the European  
354 Migration Period (Büntgen et al., 2016). ENA is more enigmatic at this point. The high  
355 resolution Cariaco ITCZ record showing successive southward excursions suggests a series of  
356 “LIA-like events” (LIALE in short - a term proposed by Sirocko, 2015). Furthermore, a  
357 dominantly negative phase of the North Atlantic Oscillation – NAO (Fig. 5b; Olsen et al., 2012)  
358 occurred during ENA, similar to synoptic conditions during LIA. This negative NAO phase was  
359 concurrent with moderate increases in storminess in the Greenland Sea, as shown by sea-salt  
360 sodium in the GISP2 core (O’Brien et al., 1995) and a cooling of the Iceland Basin and probably  
361 the Nordic Seas (Orme et al., 2018). During both ENA and LNA the tropical North Atlantic was  
362 remarkably quiescent in terms of hurricane activity (Fig. 5d), which appears to be the direct  
363 result of the prevailing southward position of the ITCZ (Donnelly and Woodruff, 2007; van  
364 Hengstum et al., 2016).

365  
366 At mid latitudes, a southward position for the Westerlies wind belt, as expected during negative  
367 NAO conditions, is supported at the western end of our domain of interest by well-defined  
368 increases in spring floods in the Southern Alps (Fig. 5c) during both ENA and LNA (Wirth et al.,  
369 2013). A higher precipitation-evaporation state in the northern Levant (Fig. 5h; Cheng et al.,  
370 2015) and positive balances from lake isotope records in the Eastern Mediterranean (Fig. 5i;  
371 Roberts et al., 2011), including lakes in Iran, occur further along the southward Westerlies  
372 precipitation belt. The preferential southward track of the Westerlies during ENA and LNA is  
373 also in agreement with a stronger Siberian Anticyclone, the dominant mode of winter and spring  
374 climate in Eurasia, as interpreted from increases in the GISP2 non-sea-salt potassium (Fig. 5a).  
375 At the Far East end of the Westerly Jet, support comes from dust reconstructions in the Sea of  
376 Japan (Nagashima et al. 2013) and modeling (Kong et al., 2017), which suggest that the

377 Westerlies stayed preferentially further south in the late Holocene. As in modern climatologies,  
378 this suite of paleorecords supports our interpretation that stronger winter monsoon winds during  
379 ENA and LNA in the northernmost Arabian Sea, that ought to have driven more convective  
380 mixing at our core site, were accompanied by increased precipitation penetration along the  
381 Westerlies' path across the Iranian Plateau, Baluchistan and Makran to the western Himalayas.  
382 Aridification after ca. 4200 years ago in a series of sensitive records from southern East Africa to  
383 Australia (Berke et al., 2012; de Boer et al., 2014; Denniston et al., 2013; Li et al., 2018; Russell  
384 et al., 2003; Schefuss et al., 2011; Wurtzel et al., 2018) argue for a narrowing of the ITCZ  
385 migration belt during ENA within and around the Indian Ocean domain (Li et al., 2018).  
386

387 In addition to its paleoclimatological value for the Harappan domain (see discussion below), a  
388 more fundamental question emerges from our analysis: what triggered ENA and LNA? The  
389 reduced influence of insolation on the ITCZ during the late Holocene (e.g., Haug et al., 2001;  
390 Schneider et al., 2014) could have provided favorable conditions for internal modes of climate  
391 variability, either tropical or polar, to become dominant (e.g., Wanner et al., 2008; Debret et al.,  
392 2009; Thirumalai et al., 2018). In order to explain intervals of tropical instabilities that did not  
393 extend over the entire Neoglacial various trigger mechanisms and/or coupling intensities  
394 between climate subsystems could be invoked. For example, the weaker orbital forcing increased  
395 the susceptibility of climate to volcanic and/or solar irradiance, which have been proposed to  
396 explain decadal to centennial time events such as the Little Ice Age (e.g., IPCC, 2103; Mann et  
397 al., 2009; McGregor et al., 2005; PAGES 2k Consortium. 2013). For the recently defined Late  
398 Antique Little Ice Age between 536 to about 660 AD, a cluster of volcanic eruptions sustained  
399 by ocean and sea-ice feedbacks and a solar minimum have been proposed as triggers (Büntgen et  
400 al., 2016). However, during ENA the solar irradiance was unusually stable without prominent  
401 minima (Stuiver and Braziunas, 1989; Steinhilber et al., 2012). The volcanic activity in the  
402 northern hemisphere was also not particularly higher during ENA than after (Zielenski et al.,  
403 1996) and it was matched by an equally active southern hemisphere volcanism (Castellano et al.,  
404 2005). As previously suggested for the Little Ice Age (Dull et al. 2010; Nevle and Bird, 2008),  
405 we speculate that mechanisms related to changes in landcover and possibly landuse could have  
406 instead been involved in triggering ENA.

407  
408 Biogeophysical effects of aerosol, albedo and evapotranspiration due to landcover changes were  
409 previously shown to be able to modify the position of ITCZ and lead to significant large scale  
410 geographic alterations in hydrology (e.g., Chung and Soden, 2017; Dallmeyer et al., 2017;  
411 Devaraju et al. 2015; Kang et al., 2018; Sagoo and Storelvmo, 2017; Tierney et al., 2017).  
412 Similarly, changes in tropical albedo and concurrent changes in regional atmospheric dust  
413 emissions due to aridification during the Neoglacial could have affected the ITCZ.

414 Anthropogenic early land use changes could have also led to large scale biogeophysical impacts  
415 (e.g., Smith et al., 2016). Such landcover- and landuse-driven changes were time-transgressive  
416 across Asia and Africa (e.g., Lezine et al., 2017; Jung et al., 2004; Prasad and Enzel; 2006;

417 Shanahan et al., 2015; Tierney et al., 2017; Wang et al. 2010; Kaplan et al., 2011) and could  
418 have led to a generalized instability of the global climate as it passed from the warmer Holocene  
419 Thermal Maximum state to the cooler Neoglacial state. Therefore the instability seen during  
420 ENA may reflect threshold behavior of the global climate system characterized by fluctuations or  
421 flickering (Dakos et al., 2008; Thomas, 2016) or a combination of different mechanisms  
422 affecting the coupling intensity between climate subsystems (Wirtz et al. 2010).

423

## 424 5.2 Climate Instability and the Harappan Metamorphosis

425

426 In contrast to other urban civilizations of the Bronze Age, such as Egypt and Mesopotamia,  
427 Harappans did not employ canal irrigation to cope with the vagaries of river floods despite  
428 probable knowledge about this agricultural technology through their western trade network (e.g.,  
429 Ratnagar, 2004). Instead, they relied on a multiple cropping system that started to develop prior  
430 to their urban rise (Madella and Fuller, 2006; Petrie et al., 2017) and integrated the winter crop  
431 package imported from the Fertile Crescent (e.g., wheat, barley, peas, lentil) with local summer  
432 crops (e.g., millets, sesame, limited rice). A diverse array of cropping practices using inundation  
433 and/or dry agriculture that were probably supplemented by labor-intensive well irrigation was  
434 employed across the Indus domain, dependent on the regional characteristics of seasonal rains  
435 and river floods (e.g., Weber 2003; Pokharia et al. 2014; Petrie and Bates, 2017; Petrie et al.,  
436 2017). The alluvial plains adjacent to the foothills of the Himalayas were probably the Harappan  
437 region's most amenable to multiple crops using summer monsoon and WD rains directly or  
438 redistributed via the perennial and/or ephemeral streams of the G-H interfluvium. The  
439 orographically-controlled stability and availability of multiple water sources that could be used  
440 to mitigate climate risks probably made this area more attractive as the inundation agriculture  
441 faltered along the Indus and its tributaries when the summer monsoon became more erratic.

442

443 Aridity intensified over most of the Indian subcontinent as the summer monsoon rains started to  
444 decline after 5,000 years ago (Ponton et al., 2012; Prasad et al., 2014). The closest and most  
445 detailed summer monsoon reconstruction to the Harappan domain shows a highly variable  
446 multicentennial trend to drier conditions between ca. 4,300 and 3,300 years ago (Fig. 6a and 6b;  
447 Kathayat et al., 2017). Thresholds in evaporation-precipitation affecting lakes on the upper G-H  
448 interfluvium occurred during the same period (Fig. 6c; Dixit et al., 2014). The flood regime  
449 controlled by this variable and declining summer monsoon became more erratic and/or spatially  
450 restricted (Giosan et al., 2012; Durcan et al., 2017) making inundation agriculture less  
451 dependable. Whether fast or over generations, the bulk of Harappan settlements relocated toward  
452 the Himalayan foothills on the plains of the upper G-H interfluvium (see supplementary materials;  
453 Possehl, 2002; Kenoyer, 1998; Wright, 2010; Madella and Fuller, 2006; Giosan et al., 2017).  
454 Abandoned by Himalayan rivers since the early Holocene (Giosan et al., 2012; Clift et al., 2012;  
455 Singh et al., 2017; Dave et al., 2018), this region between the Sutlej and Yamuna was watered by

456 orographically-enhanced rain feeding an intricate small river network (e.g., Yashpal et al., 1980;  
457 van Dijk et al., 2016; Orengo and Petrie, 2017).

458  
459 During the aridification process the number of large, urban-sized settlements on the G-H  
460 interfluve decreased and the number of small settlements drastically expanded (Fig. 6e and 6d  
461 respectively). The rivers on the G-H interfluve merged downstream to feed flows along the  
462 Hakra into Cholistan, at least seasonally, until the latest Holocene (Giosan et al., 2012; Fig. 2).  
463 Regardless if these settlements on the lower G-H interfluve were temporary and mobile (Petrie et  
464 al., 2017) most of them were abandoned (Fig. 6d; see also supplementary materials) as the region  
465 aridified, suggesting that flows became less reliable in this region. However, the dense stream  
466 network on the upper G-H interfluve must have played an important role in more uniformly  
467 watering that region, whether perennially or seasonally. Remarkably, Late Harappan settling did  
468 not extend toward the northwest along the entire Himalayan piedmont despite the fact that this  
469 region must have received orographically-enhanced rains too (Fig. 3 and Suppl. Fig. 1). One  
470 possible reason is that interfluves between Indus tributaries (i.e., Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab,  
471 Jhelum; Fig. 2) are not extensive. These Himalayan rivers are entrenched and collect flows inside  
472 their wide valleys rather than supporting extensive interfluve stream networks (Giosan et al.,  
473 2012).

474  
475 Our winter monsoon reconstruction suggests that WD precipitation intensified during the time of  
476 urban Harappan collapse (Fig. 6f). As the summer monsoon flickered and declined at the same  
477 time, the classical push-pull model (e.g., Dorigo and Tobler, 1983; Ravenstein, 1885; 1889)  
478 could help explain the Harappan migration. Push-pull factors induce people to migrate from  
479 negatively affected regions to more favorable locations. Inundation agriculture along the summer  
480 flood-deficient floodplains of the Indus and its tributaries became too risky, which pushed people  
481 out, in the same time as the upper G-H region became increasingly attractive due to augmented  
482 winter rain, which pulled migrants in. These winter rains would have supported traditional winter  
483 crops like wheat and barley, while drought tolerant millets could still be grown in rotation during  
484 the monsoon season. Diversification toward summer crops took place during the Mature  
485 Harappan period, as the winter monsoon steadily increased, beginning around 4,500 years ago  
486 (Fig. 6f), but a greater reliance on rain crops after the urban collapse implies that intense efforts  
487 were made to adapt to hydroclimatic stress at the arid outer edge of the monsoonal rain belt  
488 (Giosan et al., 2012; Madella and Fuller, 2006; Petrie and Bates, 2017; Wright et al., 2008). The  
489 longevity of the Late Harappan settlements in this region may be due to a consistent availability  
490 of multiple year-round sources of water. Summer monsoon remained strong enough locally due  
491 to orographic rainfall, while winter precipitation increased during ENA and both these sources  
492 provided relief from labor-intensive alternatives such as well irrigation. The decline in the winter  
493 monsoon between 3300 and 3000 years ago (Fig. 6) at the end of ENA could have also played a  
494 role in the demise of the rural late Harappans during that time as the first Iron Age culture (i.e.,  
495 the Painted Grey Ware) established itself on the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluve.

496

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

518

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

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## 6. Conclusions

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

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

576 Note Added in Proof:

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578 During the review of our manuscript, a paper on a similar topic was accepted for discussion in  
579 this journal (Giesche et al., 2018, in review). The authors comment on our work and we provide  
580 a brief reply herein. Giesche et al. (2018, in review) used multi-species planktonic foraminifer  
581  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  from a core close to our site to infer a history of the Indian winter monsoon  
582 between 4.5-3.0 ka BP that is different than what we propose. We suggest that ancient DNA and  
583 % *Globigerina falconensis* proxies are better suited to reconstruct monsoon changes by providing  
584 the right balance between planktonic whole-ecosystem change and proxy specificity,  
585 respectively.

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587 Data Availability

588

589 Data presented in the paper can be accessed in the supplementary materials. After publication the  
590 data will also be uploaded to to the Woods Hole Open Access Server (FAIR-aligned data  
591 repository).

592

593 Author Contributions

594

595 L.G. and P.D.C. collected the core. M.C. and C.W. measured and interpreted ancient DNA.  
596 A.G.D. performed factor analysis. K.T. provided climatology. L.G., W.D.O., K.T. and D.Q.F.  
597 interpreted the results with input from all authors. L.G. wrote the manuscript with input from all  
598 authors.

599

600 Competing Interests

601

602 The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

603

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1076

1077 Text Box 1: Climate Variability and the Indus Civilization

1078

1079 The Harappan or Indus (Valley) Civilization developed on the Indus alluvial plain and adjacent  
1080 regions (Fig. 1 and 2) Between the Indus and Ganges watersheds, a now largely defunct smaller  
1081 drainage system, the Ghaggar-Hakra, was also heavily populated. The Harappan cultural  
1082 tradition (Kenoyer, 1998; Possehl, 2002; Wright, 2010) evolved during an Early Phase (ca.  
1083 5,200–4,500 y ago) from antecedent agricultural communities of the hills bordering the Indus  
1084 plain to the west and reached its urban peak (Mature Phase) between ca. 4,500 and 3,900 years  
1085 ago. The Harappans were agrarian but developed large, architecturally complex urban centers  
1086 and a sophisticated material culture coupled with a robust trade system. In contrast to the  
1087 neighboring hydraulic civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt, Harappans appear to have  
1088 invested less effort to control water resources by large-scale canal irrigation near cities but relied  
1089 primarily on fluvial inundation for winter crops and additionally on rain for summer crops.  
1090 Deurbanization ensued after approximately 3,900 years ago and was characterized by the  
1091 development of increasingly regional artefact styles and trading networks, as well as the  
1092 disappearance of the distinctive Harappan script. Some settlements exhibited continuity, albeit  
1093 with reduced size, whereas many riverine sites were abandoned, in particular along the Indus and  
1094 its tributaries. Between ca. 3,900 and 3,200 years ago, there was a proliferation of smaller,  
1095 village-type settlements, especially on the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluvium. Socio-economic as well as  
1096 environmental hypotheses have been invoked to explain the collapse of urban Harappan society,  
1097 including foreign invasions, social instabilities, trade decline, climate deterioration, fluvial  
1098 dynamics, and human-induced environmental degradation.

1099

1100 The “climate-culture hypothesis”, first clearly articulated by Singh (1971) and Singh et al. (1974)  
1101 based on pollen records from Rajasthan lakes, argues for climate variability at the vulnerable arid  
1102 outer edge of the monsoonal rain belt as a determining factor in Harappan cultural  
1103 transformations (Fig. 1 and 2; Suppl. Fig. 4). These reconstructions together with other early  
1104 paleoclimate forays in Rajasthan (see review of Madella and Fuller, 2006) proposed that  
1105 enhanced summer monsoon rains assisted the development of the urban Harappan but weakening  
1106 monsoon conditions after 4,200-3,800 years ago contributed to its collapse. In marine sediments,  
1107 planktonic oxygen isotope records in a core from the Makran continental margin were  
1108 interpreted to suggest a reduction in the Indus river discharge ca. 4,200 years ago (Staubwasser  
1109 et al., 2003). More recent work, proximal to the Harappan heartland, provides strong support for  
1110 this “climate-culture hypothesis” while emphasizing the complexity of both spatiotemporal  
1111 hydroclimate pattern and Harappan cultural responses. Paleohydrological records from lakes in  
1112 northern Rajasthan and Haryana show wetter conditions prevailing during the Early Harappan  
1113 phase, providing favorable climate conditions for urbanization (Dixit et al., 2018) and a distinct  
1114 weakening of summer monsoon around 4,100 years ago (Fig. 6c; Dixit et al., 2014). Another  
1115 summer monsoon reconstruction from Sahiya cave above the Himalayan piedmont (Fig. 6a and  
1116 6b; Kathayat et al., 2017) shows a pluvial optimum during most of the urban phase followed by

1117 drying after 4,100 years ago. This high resolution speleothem-based reconstruction also reveals  
1118 that the multicentennial trend to drier conditions between ca. 4,100 and 3,200 years ago was in  
1119 fact highly variable at centennial scales.

1120  
1121 Studies of fluvial dynamics on the Harappan territory are consistent with a dry late Holocene  
1122 affecting the Harappan way of life. Landscape semi-fossilization along the Indus and its  
1123 tributaries suggest that floods became erratic and less extensive making inundation agriculture  
1124 unsustainable for the post-urban Harappans (Giosan et al., 2012). In contrast to Himalayan  
1125 tributaries of the Indus, which incised their alluvial deposits in early-mid Holocene, the lack of  
1126 wide entrenched valleys on the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluvium indicates that large, glacier-fed rivers  
1127 did not flow across this region during Harappan times. Geochemical fingerprinting of fluvial  
1128 deposits on the lower and upper Ghaggar-Hakra interfluvium (Clift et al., 2012 and Dave et al.,  
1129 2018 respectively) showed that the capture of the Yamuna to the Ganges basin occurred prior to  
1130 the Holocene. Similarly, abandonment and infilling of a large paleochannel demonstrates that the  
1131 Sutlej River relocated to its present course away from the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluvium by 8,000  
1132 years ago, well before Harappans established themselves in the region (Singh et al., 2018).  
1133 However, widespread fluvial redistribution of sediment from the upper Ghaggar-Hakra interfluvium  
1134 (e.g., Saini et al., 2009; Singh et al., 2018) all the way down to the lower Hakra (Clift et al.,  
1135 2012) and toward the Nara valley (Giosan et al., 2012) suggests that monsoon rains were able to  
1136 sustain smaller streams through that time, but as the monsoon weakened, rivers gradually dried  
1137 or became seasonal, affecting habitability along their course.

1138  
1139 If the climatic trigger for the urban Harappan collapse was probably the decline of the summer  
1140 monsoon, the agricultural Harappan economy showed a large degree of adaptation to water  
1141 availability. The long-lived survival of Late Harappan cultures until ca. 3,200 years ago under a  
1142 drier climate and less active fluvial network is the subject of the present study and further  
1143 ongoing efforts (e.g., Kotlia et al., 2017; Petrie et al., 2017) that seek to understand the  
1144 variability in hydroclimate and moisture sources across the Indus domain and how these relate to  
1145 agricultural adaptations.

1146  
1147

1148 Figure Captions

1149

1150 Fig. 1. Physiography, winds and precipitation sources for the Harappan domain. The dominant  
1151 source during summer monsoon is the Bay of Bengal while Western Disturbances provide the  
1152 moisture during winter. The extent of the Indus basin and Ghaggar-Hakra (G-H) interfluvium are  
1153 shown with purple and brown masks, respectively. Locations for the cores discussed in the text  
1154 are shown.

1155

1156 Fig. 2. Geographical regions and rivers of the Indus domain discussed in text.

1157

1158 Fig. 3. Modern seasonal climatology for South Asia. Average precipitation as well as wind  
1159 direction and intensity for the summer (June-July-August or JJA) and winter (December-  
1160 January-February or DJF) months are presented in the left and right panels, respectively. Note  
1161 the differences in scales between panels for both rainfall and winds. Data used come from the  
1162 ERA-40 reanalysis dataset (Uppala et al., 2005) for winds (averaged from 1958-2001) and the  
1163 TRMM dataset (Huffman et al., 2007) for rainfall (averaged from 1998-2014). The white box  
1164 encompasses the upper G-H interfluvium.

1165

1166 Fig. 4. Holocene variability in plankton communities as reflected by their sedimentary DNA  
1167 factor loadings (panels marked a through c) and winter mixing-sensitive % *G. falconensis* (panel  
1168 marked d) in core Indus 11C in the NE Arabian Sea. Relative chlorophyll biosynthesis proteins  
1169 abundances are also shown. Sea level points are from Camoin et al. (2004); SSTs are from  
1170 Dooze-Rolinski et al. (2001); and *G. falconensis* census from the NW Arabian Sea is from  
1171 Schulz et al. (2002). Triangles show radiocarbon dates for core Indus 11C. The period  
1172 corresponding to the Early Neoglacial Anomalies (ENA) is shaded in red hues.

1173

1174 Fig. 5. Northern Hemisphere hydroclimatic conditions since the middle Holocene. The period  
1175 corresponding to the Early Neoglacial Anomalies (ENA) interval is shaded in red hues. From  
1176 high to low (panels marked a through i): (a) Greenland dust from non-sea-salt  $K^+$  showing the  
1177 strength of the Siberian Anticyclone (O'Brien et al., 1995); (b) NAO proxy reconstruction (Olsen  
1178 et al., 2012) and (c) negative NAO-indicative floods in S Alps (Wirth et al., 2013); (d) grainsize-  
1179 based hurricane reconstruction in the N Atlantic (van Hengstum et al., 2016); (e)  
1180 interhemispheric temperature anomaly (Marcott et al., 2013); (f) ITCZ reconstruction at the  
1181 Cariaco Basin (Haug et al., 2011); (g) winter monsoon ancient DNA-based reconstruction for the  
1182 NE Arabian Sea (this study – in purple); (h) speleothem  $\delta^{18}O$ -based precipitation reconstruction  
1183 for northern Levant (Cheng et al., 2015); and (i) stacked lake isotope records as a proxy  
1184 precipitation-evaporation regimes over Middle East and Iran (Roberts et al., 2011).

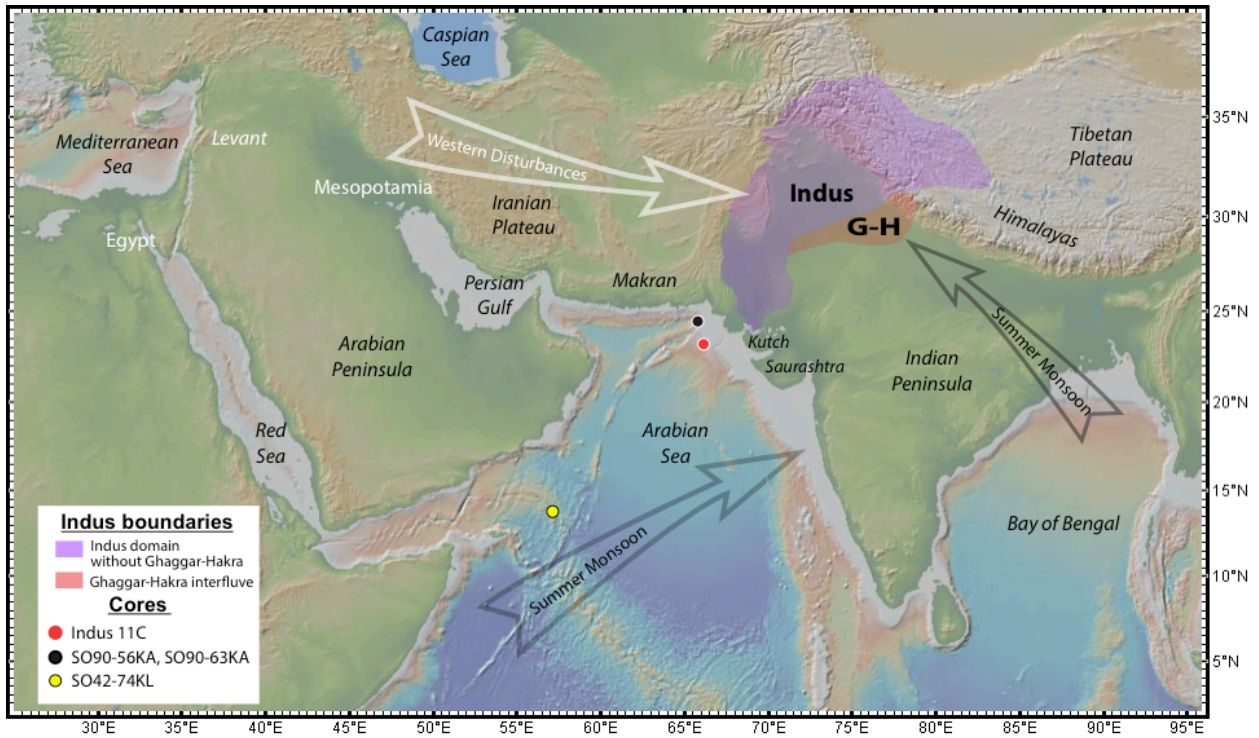
1185

1186 Fig. 6. Monsoon hydroclimate changes since the middle Holocene and changes in settlement  
1187 distribution on the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluvium. From high to low (panels marked a through f): (a)  
1188 variability in summer monsoon calculated as 200-year window moving standard deviation of the

1189 detrended monsoon record of Katahayat et al. (2017) and (b) the speleothem  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ -based summer  
1190 monsoon reconstruction of Katahayat et al. (2017); (c) lacustrine gastropod  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ -based summer  
1191 monsoon reconstruction (Dixit et al., 2014); (d and e) changes in the number of settlements on  
1192 the Ghaggar-Hakra interfluvium as a function of size and location; and (f) winter monsoon ancient  
1193 DNA-based reconstruction for the NE Arabian Sea (this study – in purple). The period  
1194 corresponding to the Early Neoglacial Anomalies (ENA) is shaded in red hues and durations for  
1195 Early (E), Mature (M) and Late (L) Harappan phases are shown with dashed lines.



1196 Fig. 1  
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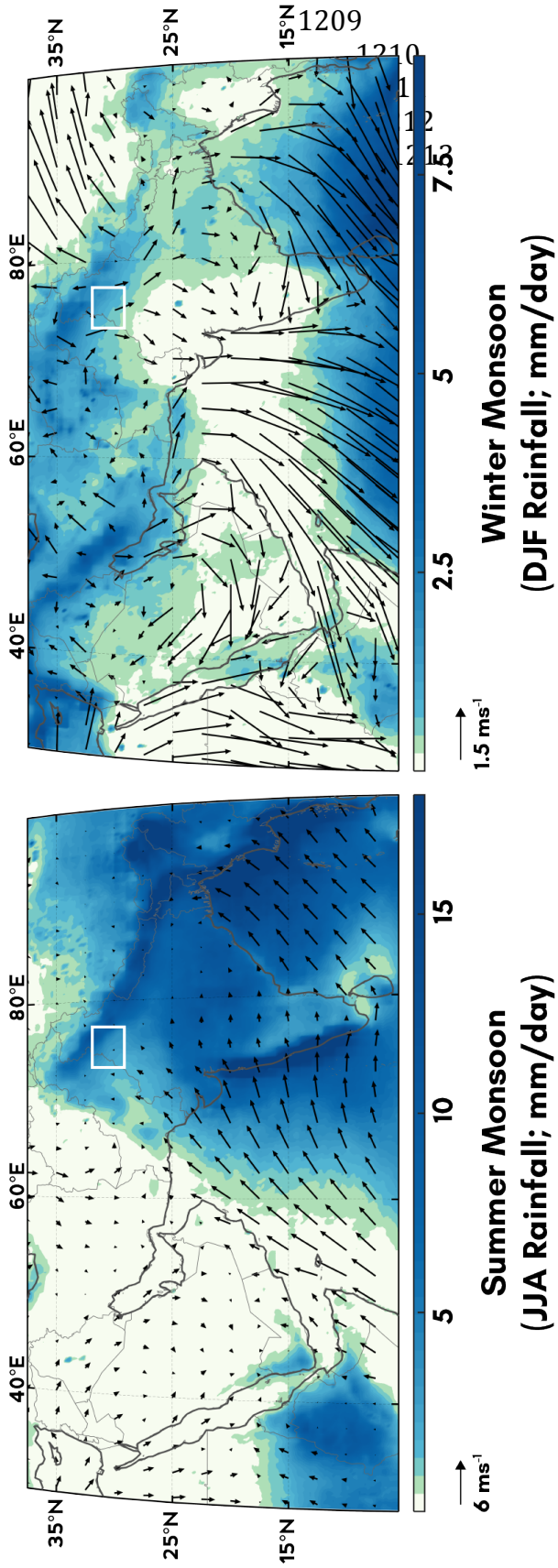
1201 Fig. 2  
1202



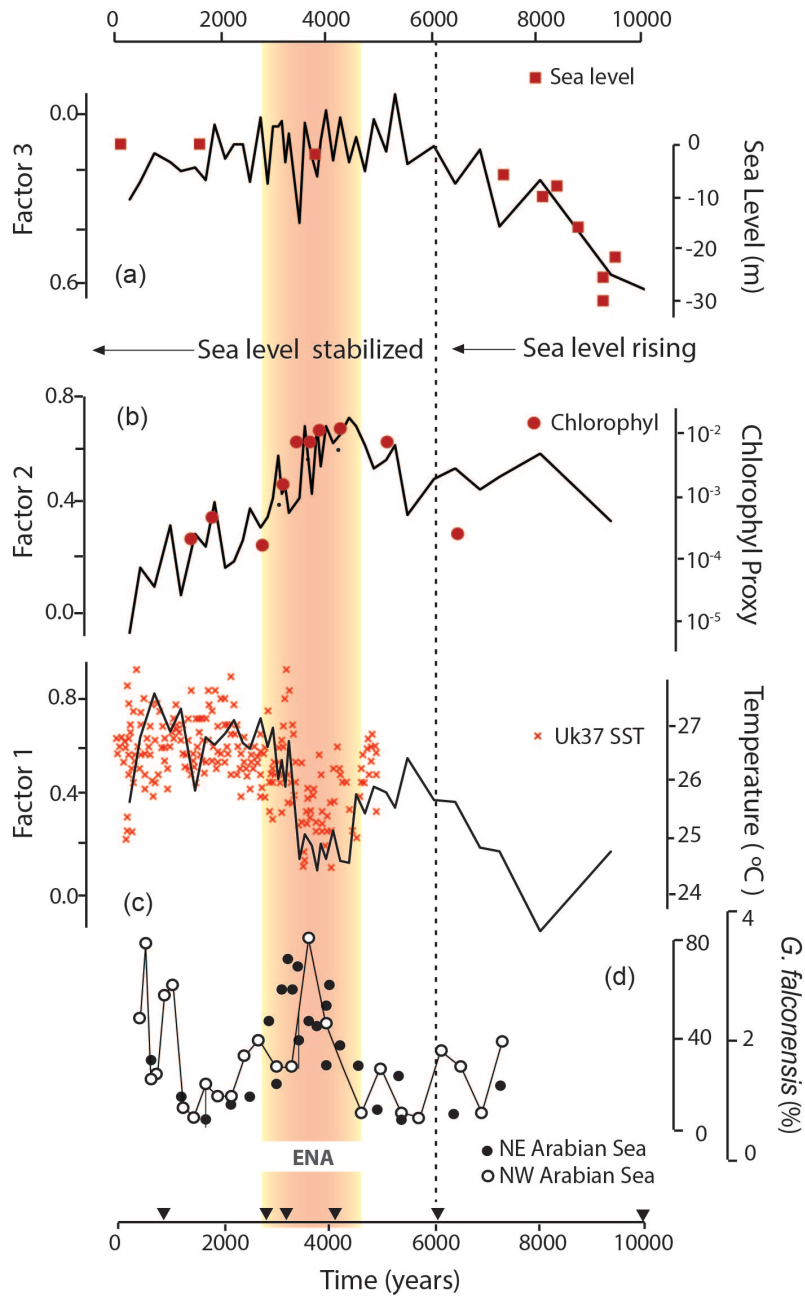
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Fig. 2. Geographical regions and rivers of the Indus domain discussed in text.

1207 Fig. 3.  
1208

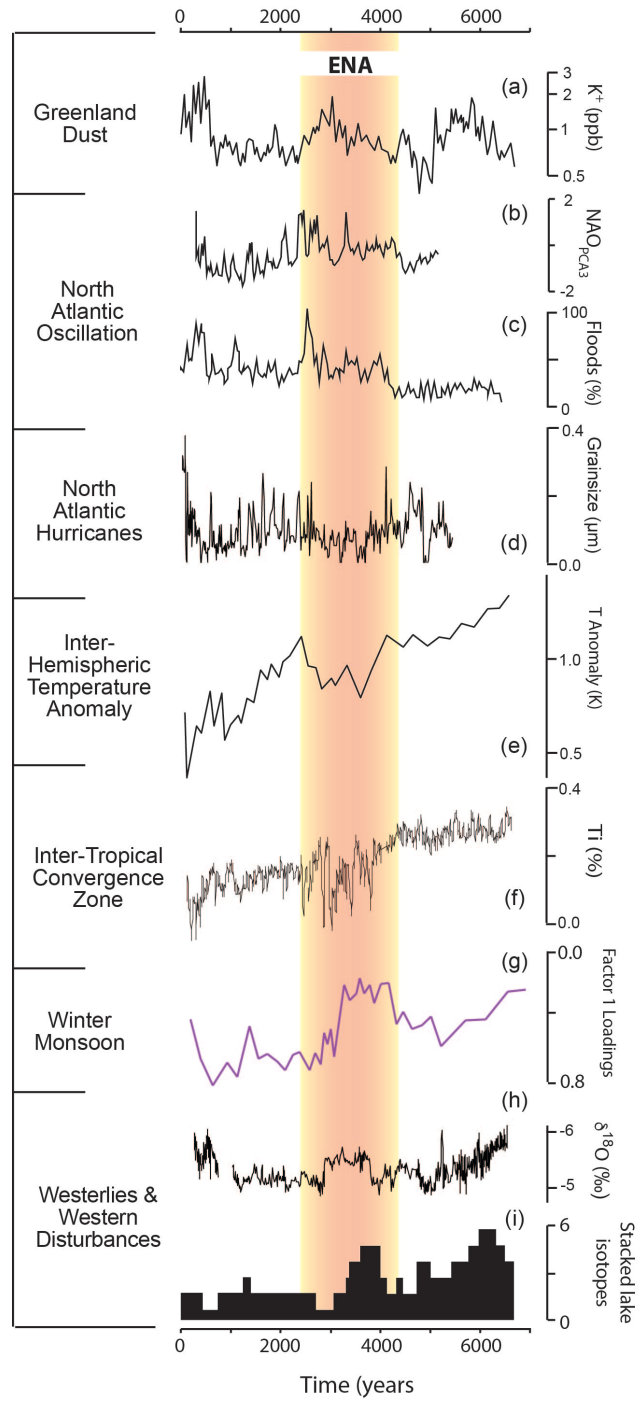


1214 Fig. 4



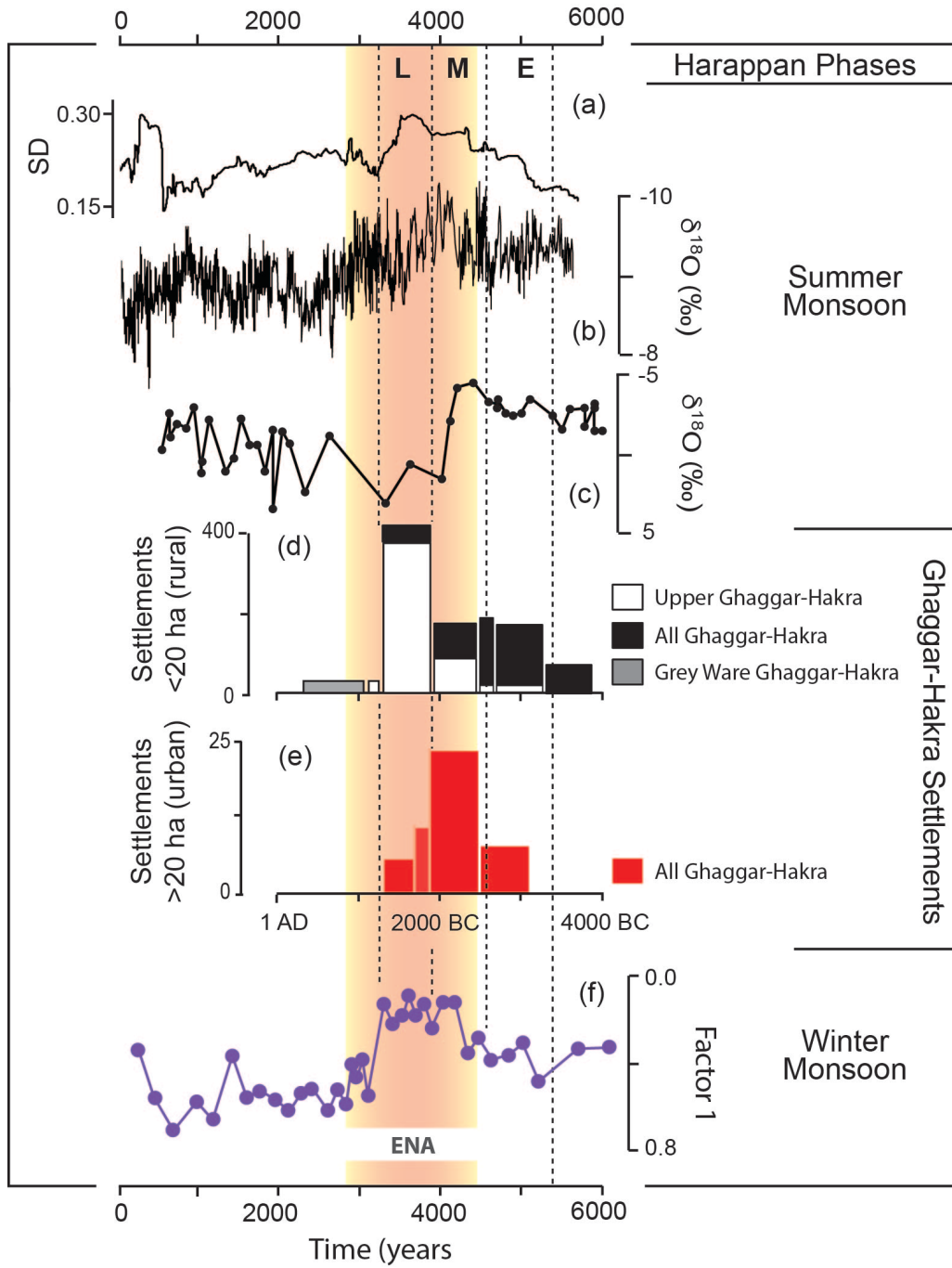
1215  
1216

1217 Fig. 5.  
1218



1219

1220 Fig. 6.  
 1221



1222  
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