CHAPTER I

THE EARLIEST NOTION OF SARASVATĪ AS A RIVER
Chapter - I

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1. General Introduction:

The earliest notion of Sarasvatī was undoubtedly as a river. It stood originally for a primitive; but for a mighty stream which has been mentioned at several places in the Rigveda, the oldest scripture. It has been taken there as a divine river, apparently for the sacredness of its waters. Since the Sarasvatī, at the remote age, was a river winning for itself a high reverence, it was naturally thought to be the best of all the rivers mentioned there. Waters were divinised under their proper name of 'āpah', which represent in general the rivers, and the Sarasvatī is the chief of these rivers. Waters also constitute a cosmic principle.

The Sarasvatī is said 'kāmagā'. The Purāṇas describe the Sarasvatī as going of its own accord and as creating waters in the clouds. All waters are identified with the Sarasvatī. On this ground, all Vedic waters (āpah) may also be identified with the Sarasvatī. Thus, the identification of waters with rivers and of waters with the Sarasvatī, is also supported by Hemacandrācārya who accepts 'Sarasvatī' as one of the twenty-seven synonyms for a river.

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1 RV., I.3.12; II. 41.16; III.23.4; V.42.12,43.11; VI.52.6; VII.36.6, 96.1-2; VIII.21.17-18,54.4; X.17.7, 64.9, 75.5 etc.
4 Cf. AC., 4.145-146.

Twenty-seven synonyms for river are: nādi, hiraṃyavarna, rodhovakrā, taranginī, sindhu, saivālivī, vahā, hradinī, srotasvinī, nimnagā, srota, nirjharinī, sarīt, taṭinī, kūlankasā, vāhini, kārṣu, dvipavati, samudradayitā, dhuni, srayanti, sarasvatī, parvatajā, āpagā, jaladhigā, kūlyā, jambalini.
Waters mentioned in the Vedas, no longer remain to be regarded merely as divine waters (divyāpaths) or rivers. They are thought to be the very source of the creation of the world; and are closely associated with Prajāpati. Prajāpati is identified with Brahmā in the Purānic Literature and Sarasvatī with Vāk in the Brāhmaṇas. It is Brahmā, who is supposed to be the creator of Sarasvatī. The Sarasvatī was a mighty river and had its source in the mountains and in the length, fell into the sea after traversing a long distance. It never knew stagnation, because of its being always in flux. The ever-continuity of one's work is the very symbol of inspiration. The ever-affluence of the Sarasvatī, psychologically, is also a source of inspiration.


"The Veda speaks constantly of the waters or the rivers, especially of the divine waters, āpo devīḥ or āpo divyāḥ, and occasionally of the waters which carry in them the light of the luminous solar world or the light of the Sun, svarvatir āpah. The passage of the waters effected by the Gods or by man with the aid of the Gods is a constant symbol. The three great conquests to which the human being aspires, which the Gods are in constant battle with the Vritras and Panis to give to man are the herds, the waters and the Sun or the solar world, gāh, apah, svah."


3 SB., II.5.4.6; III.1.4.9, 14, 9.1.7, 9; IV.2.5.14, 6.3.3; V.2.2.13, 14, 3.4.3,5.4.16; VII.5.1.31; IX.3.4.17; XIII.1.8.5; XIV.2.1.12.

4 See infra., pp. 153-155.

5 Cf. RV., VI.61.2, 8; VII.95.2, 96.2.


"She of the stream, the flowing movement", and is therefore a natural name both for a river and for the goddess of inspiration."
An analysis of the word 'sarasvati' makes the sense quite clear. Its part 'saras' is formed from /sr/, by adding the suffix 'asun'. Then the suffixes 'vatup' and 'nis' are added to 'saras' so as to form 'sarasvati'.

'Sr' implies the movement while 'saras' stands for flowing water, water, a lake, a large sheet of water, etc., and accordingly the Sarasvati is that which is watery or elegant.

The derivation of the word as 'saras + vatup + nis' presents Sarasvati as a river with flowing water (saras) and, thus, ever-affluent. The root 'sr' at the root of the word gives us to understand that as a river, Sarasvati was never stagnant, but always flowing. The Brahmans take Sarasvati as speech (Vāk), thus, implying that speech flows in the form of letters (varṇas), words (pādas), sentences (vākyas) and the group of sentences (vākyasamūhas). Thus, the name is equally applicable to a river as well as to speech.

There are various rivers mentioned in the Rgveda. They are the oldest ones. A long list of theirs has been prepared by Macdonell and Keith. Of these, the Sarasvati is said to have a close affinity with the Drsadvati and to have formed with the latter the boundary of Brahmāvarta. As such the Drsadvati is defined as "rocky" and Sarasvati as having a bottom full of large

5. MS., II.17.
The Sarasvati river could not maintain its flow down to the present time. It disappeared long ago. Its disappearance is generally supposed to have been caused by the upheaval of the earth. The disappearance has arrested the attention of scholars and several of them have investigated the whereabouts of the river.

(I) Roth: Roth identifies the Rgvedic Sarasvati with the modern Sarsūtī, the corrupt name of the former. But on the ground that Sarasvati has been described as the foremost of rivers (nadītamā), as going to the ocean and as a large river, he again thinks that it is the modern Indus river which is meant the Sarasvati river. Zimmer and others harp on the same string.

His acceptance of the modern Indus river as the Rgvedic Sarasvati is hardly tenable. The Sarasvati and Sindhu (Indus) rivers are mentioned in the Rgveda as independent rivers, and of them, Sarasvati is highly eulogised.

1 Sir A. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XIV (India, 1887) p. 88. "Drishadvati means the "rocky" or "stoney" and the Sarsuti is described by Utli in the time of Mahmud Ghaznis invasion as having a bottom full of large stones, with precipitous banks and impetuous stream."

2 Cf. Macdonell and Keith, op. cit., p. 435. "In many other passages of the Rigveda, and even later, Roth held that another river, the Sindhu (Indus), was really meant: only thus could it be explained why the Sarasvati is called 'the foremost of rivers' (nadītamā), is said to go to the ocean, and is referred to as a large river, on the banks of which many kings, and, indeed, the five tribes, were located. This view is accepted by Zimmer and others."

3 Ibid., p. 450.
One of the mantras, compares it to a great ocean (maho arnah), flowing with its mighty currents. The Sarasvati, the foremost of rivers, has been described as so large, so mighty, so strong and swift in its currents that it invokes fear in one's heart. It has been, therefore, invoked by the seers not to frighten them by its waters.

The Sarasvati has also been popular with the Brähmanas, Upanisads, Sūtras, Epics, Purānas, etc., in its different forms and its different conceptions. But this is not the case with the Sindhu which hardly finds any elaborate description after the Samhitās.

The Rgveda and the Atharvaveda use the word 'sindhu' more often for 'stream' merely; but the word appears to have been used for the Sindhu (Indus) river also. The Sarasvati river has been a different river. It has been called "sindhumātā" (the mother of streams), an epithet which apparently presents it as the greatest river, greater even than the Sindhu. The epithet 'sindhumātā' has been used only for the Sarasvati river and never for the Sindhu. If the word 'sindhu' denotes the Sindhu river, we should have no hesitation in accepting the Sarasvati as a greater river than the Sindhu on

1 Rgveda, I. 3.12.
2 Ibid., II. 41.16.
3 Ibid., VI. 61.14.
4 Macdonell & Keith, op. cit., p. 450.
5 Cf. Rgveda, I.122.6, 126.1; IV.54.6, 55.3; V. 53.9; VIII. 12.3, 25.14; X. 64.9.
account of its being treated as its mother.¹

Roth's view has, therefore, no firm leg to stand upon. The Sarasvatī and the Sindhu should be accepted as the independent rivers.²

(II) K.C. Cāttopādhyāya: He maintains that in the earlier portions of the Rgveda, particularly in Mandalas VI and VII, the Sarasvatī means the Indus and in other passages, the little stream now known by that name. According to him, the Indus itself was called by the name Sarasvatī and occasionally by Sindhu; but when the little stream in the Madhyadesa also came to be known as Sarasvatī, the distinction between these two became necessary, and the latter was, therefore, called eastern Sarasvatī.³

This view is untenable. The Sarasvatī river is described in Mandala VII of the Rgveda as flowing rapidly with all sustaining waters, sweeping away in its might all other waters;⁴ flowing through the mountains up to the ocean distributing riches to the vast world.⁵ As the description in the former verse does not agree with the little stream of the Sarasvatī river, scholars⁶ are inclined to apply it to the Indus. But this identification cannot

¹ Cf. ibid., VII. 36.6.
² Cf. Macdonell and Keith, op. cit., Sapta-Sindhavah, p. 424. "Sapta Sindhavah, 'the seven rivers', occur only once in the Rgveda as the designation of a definite country, while elsewhere the seven rivers themselves are meant. Max Muller thinks that the five streams of the Punjab, with the Indus and the Sarasvatī, are intended."
⁴ RV., VII. 95.1.
⁵ Ibid., VII. 95.2.
be accepted; for though the description in the former verse happens to agree with the Indus, that in the latter, where the Sarasvatī is said to distribute riches to the vast world, does not do at all. Thus, the Sarasvatī described in these verses cannot be taken to be the Indus.¹

The assumption that in the earlier portion of the Rigveda, Sarasvatī means the Indus, is hardly acceptable. In the hymns wherein the Sarasvatī is celebrated, there is nothing which can admit of such an interpretation. Only one verse² among all the hymns, uses the term 'Sindhu' and that, too, not as a proper name; but as a synonym for 'a river' in general. Cāttopādhyāya thinks that the words Sarasvatī and Sindhu were synonymous. If it were so, these terms ought to have been exchanged, at least once, if not often in the hymns which describe the Sarasvatī. But the case is quite different. We do not have even a single instance where these terms have been exchanged. In the verse referred to above, any synonym of river will suit in place of Sindhu, and the use of the word 'Sindhu' is here merely accidental and not with any special significance. Moreover, it is also unreasonable to assume that the adventurous Vedic Aryans did not know the Sarasvatī river which is not far away from the Indus and, therefore, believed the Indus to be identical with the Sarasvatī.³ Cāttopādhyāya supports his identification of the

¹ As the modern Sarasvatī does not reach the sea and the second verse of the same hymn expressly mentions that it does reach the sea, some scholars doubt that Sarasvatī in this hymn denotes a river at all. See OST., Vol.II (London, 1871), p. 346.

² According to Langlois quoted by Muir, Vol.II, p.246, f.n.127, Sarasvatī in this hymn stands, not for a river but for the goddess of sacrifice with her libations: "Langlois, Vol.III., p. 247, note 13, thinks that Sarasvatī in this hymn stands, not for a river, but for "the goddess of sacrifice", with her libations. "These libations form a river, which flows from the mountains, where the sacrifices is performed, and where the soma plant is collected. This river flows into the samudra(sea), which is the vessel destined to receive the oblations."  

Sarasvatī river with the Indus by a curious argument that the description of the Indus in X.75; and that of the Sarasvatī in other hymns and passages bear a close resemblance. But one cannot accept the identification on mere resemblance. In the Rgveda itself the descriptions of several deities are closely resembling to one another; but one cannot regard them as identical. The Sarasvatī was, therefore, a separate river; and not the same as Indus. Caṭṭopādhyāya considers that the Sarasvatī in the Rgveda is only terrestrial, and not celestial; but the Rgvedic evidence shows it beyond any shadow of doubt that it is both celestial and terrestrial like the Gaṅgā.¹

(III) Max Müller: To Max Müller, the Rgvedic Sarasvatī is the same as the later Sarasvatī. According to him, the Vedic Sarasvatī was really a great river and made its way to the sea. In its largeness, it has been compared by him with the Sutlej. So far as the disappearance of the Sarasvatī is concerned, he says that a great change has taken place in the existence of rivers, particularly in the existence of the Punjab rivers. The Sarasvatī was the last to have any change and, therefore, is called 'iron citadel' in the west against the rest of India. He is of the view that the Sarasvatī did not disappear in the Rgvedic age, its disappearance is later.² What Max Müller takes as the Vedic Sarasvatī, is the later Sarasvatī, i.e., the modern Sarasūti.³

¹ Vide B.R. Sharma, op.cit., pp. 55ff.
² Max Müller, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXII (Delhi, 1964), p. 60.
³ Macdonell and Keith, op.cit., p. 435, f.n.16.

"In the enumeration of rivers (evidently, from east to west) in RV, X.75,5, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Sutudri, the Sarasvatī comes between the Jumna and the Sutlej, the position of the modern Sarasūti (Sarasvatī), which, flowing to the west of Thanesar, is joined in Patiala territory by a more westerly stream, the Ghaggar, and, passing sirsa, is lost in the desert at Bhatnair; but a dry river bed (Hakra or Ghaggar) can be traced from that point to the Indus."
Here Max Müller compares the Sarasvatī with the Sutlej. To him the latter was as great as the former. It is not acceptable because in the Rigveda, the Sarasvatī has been described as a river par excellence and it is owing to this that it is variously spoken as 'the best of river' (madītamā)\(^1\); 'iron citadel' (dhūrameṣyastī pūḥ);\(^2\) 'superior to other sister-rivers' (uttarā saṁhībhyaḥ).\(^3\) The Sutlej is not so big a river as to claim such epithets and, therefore, its comparison to the Sarasvatī is also not proper. In the Rigveda, containing the praise of the rivers (Nāḍī-Śtatih), it is the Sarasvatī river alone which is highly eulogised and praised.

Max Müller leaves us untold whether the Sarasvatī flowed to the sea after its union with the Sindhu.\(^4\) We may expressly say that both the rivers were independent\(^5\) and that the Sarasvatī flowed directly to the sea (saumudra).\(^6\) The other acceptable rather more convincing point which his word later itself suggests, is the identification of the later with

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1 RV., II.41.16.
2 Ibid., VII. 95.1.
3 Ibid., VII. 95.4.
5 See _ saumṛa_, pp. 4-8.

"The Sarasvatī, however, never flowed into the Indus, but directly into the sea, like the Indus. It was an independent river, and the marks of the old bed, still discernible in the sands, do not point to its conjunction with the Indus."
the earlier Sarasvatî which has changed its course and diminished in size.¹ It is owing to the changing position that it is simultaneously called easterly (prāci)² and westerly (pasīmāmukhī).³

(IV) Divaprasad Das Gupta: Divaprasad Das Gupta also touches upon the problem. He quotes two geologists, Pilgrim and Pascoe who give the Sarasvatî river the names of the Siwalik River and Indo-Brahm River respectively. This Indo-Brahm River was stretched at a time from Assam to the west of Punjab and fell into a gulf of the Arabian Sea which had its shore dashing the boundary of Punjab. Some geological evidences such as boulder deposits, a kind of particular deposits of fossils, etc., along side the foots of the Himalayas, prove that there existed a very large river. It had big tributaries; and the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Gandāka, etc., of today are the outgrowth of these tributaries.⁴

² "There is no conclusive evidence of there having been any great change in the size or course of the Sarasvatî, though it would be impossible to deny that the river may easily have diminished in size. But there are strong reasons to accept the identification of the later and earlier Sarasvatî throughout."
³ Pdp., V. 18.217, 28.123; Bhāp., X.78.19.
⁴ SKP., VII. 35.26.
Das Gupta identifies the Indo-Brahm river with the ancient Sarasvatī and maintains that the ancient centre of civilisation and places of historic importance, Harappa and Mohejo Daro, were situated by the Sarasvatī. Mr. Das Gupta deems Mohejo Daro probably situated by the mouth of the Sarasvatī as the principal port of India. Owing to the catastrophic changes, the river got dwindled and sufficiently shrank back. At the primeval stage, there stood a high-land between Chotanagpur Plateau of Bihar and Khasi Hills of Assam. The Sarasvatī was flowing from Assam up to the border of Punjab; and was apparently to the north of this high-land, while on the opposite side, were the Meghnā, Brahmaputra, Bhāgīrathī, etc. Owing to the river capture, a drastic change took place in almost all the rivers – the Meghnā, Brahmaputra, Bhāgīrathī, etc., and they turned backwards, captured the Sarasvatī and the modern Brahmaputra diverted waters of the Sarasvatī (upper part) into its own course. Similarly, the Bhāgīrathī captured the Gaṅgā, and the latter captured Yamunā, Gaṅgāka, Gomati, Rāptī, etc., and diverted their waters into its own course. This catastrophic change was enhanced due to the upheaval in the Himalayas which turned the flow of the Gaṅgā previously.

1 Ibid., p. 536.
2 Ibid., p. 536.

"There is a phenomena in nature what is called in geological Sciences as 'river capture'. A river generally lengthens its course by cutting backwards at the very source of the river. By this process of back cutting it may ultimately reach the course of another river and divert the water of the latter river into itself."
flowing from south-east to north-west. Today, we do not find any mark of the upper part of the Indo-Brahm River, as it has been filled up and highly raised up by the rising of the Himalayas, making high the ancient deep and wide ditch occupied by the river.¹

The lower part of the Sarasvatī, flowed along the upper courses of the Satadru, Yamunā and Ghaggar and had long tributaries. A river capture was done by the Yamunā, which ultimately diverted waters of the Vedic Sarasvatī into its own course and flows even today with the same. Thus, the Vedic Sarasvatī is supposed to have formed the confluence of the three rivers — Ganga, Yamunā and Sarasvatī at Prayag.² The confluence of the three rivers at Prayag is called 'Yuktavenī'; but the Ganga forms at its deltaic point in Bengal a 'Muktavenī', which is the re-division of the Bhāgirathī, Sarasvatī and Yamunā, and is called the 'Dakṣīṇa Prayāgā' of Bengal. The Ganga which was flowing along with the Bhāgirathī during the middle of the 16th century, took a vital turn and diverted itself through the Padma. It was due to these great earth movements that the Sarasvatī and Yamunā dried up. Many other changes also took place in rivers of Bengal. The Bhāgirathī, at present, is supposed as flowing through the lower course of the Sarasvatī. This lower course of the Sarasvatī is identified with the present Hooghly

¹ Ibid., p. 536.
² Ibid., p. 537.
river, still taken to be the ancient Rgvedic Sarasvatī.¹

Das Gupta has, indeed, brought into light a good deal of striking references to the whereabouts of the Sarasvatī. His quest for the Sarasvatī, on the basis of geological findings, is really very important and establishes its close association with the Himalayas. He traces a very long route of it and shows that it was later on divided into two parts, the upper and the lower. Its lower part might have been the same as the modern Sarasūti, running from the Southern Punjab to the Northern Rajasthan. He holds that Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro were situated at the mouth of the Sarasvatī.² But at present, these places fall in the valley of the Indus river, where a great civilisation is said to have flourished. The Sarasvatī had many tributaries from North and South³ and it is possible that some of them might have gone to the Indus and, thus, have rendered a water-link between the Indus and the Gangetic basin. He, therefore, seems to be right when he puts: "Distribution of fauna in the present-day Indus and the Gangetic systems, specially of fresh water Dolphins also put to the fact that there must have been water connection between the Indus and Gangetic basins."⁴

As it is obvious, the Sarasvatī and the Sindhu were, according

¹ Ibid., pp. 537-538.
² Ibid., p. 536.
³ Ibid., p. 536.
⁴ Ibid., p. 535.
to Das Gupta, two independent rivers and they cannot be identical. So far as the diversion of the flow of the Sarasvati into that of Yamuna is concerned, he appears to be of the same opinion as Dr. D.N. Wadia, according to whom, "In course of time, the Sarasvati took a more and more easterly course and ultimately merged into the Ganges at Prayag. It then received the name of Jamuna."¹

But a contradiction still prevails. According to Dr. Wadia, it was the ancient Sarasvati, which was formerly westerly and later on became easterly, which is quite contrary to the fact leading to its disappearance in the West.² Das Gupta who holds the similar view, is wrong; because the lower part of the Sarasvati cannot be held to have merged into the Yamuna. If it is thought to have merged into the Yamuna, we cannot take it to be the Vedic Sarasvati. He is wrong in holding that in the Vedic times, the Sarasvati changed its route to the Yamuna and was seen by the then people.³ For, the disappearance of the Rgvedic Sarasvati is post-Vedic rather than Vedic. There is no mention of the disappearance (Vinasana) of the river in the Vedas proper which could support what Das Gupta states. It is possible that the upper part of the Indo-Brahm River may be identified with another Sarasvati different from the Rgvedic Sarasvati and may be advocated to have been interlinked with the Siwalik River mentioned by Pilgrim.⁴ The Siwalik river was the

² See infra., pp. 26-34.
³ Divyprasad Das Gupta, op.cit., p. 537.
⁴ Ibid., p. 535.
original Vedic Sarasvati, which flowed from the Siwalik ranges. Its course would have reached the vicinity of the region of western rivers. As its description clearly shows, the Vedic Sarasvati flowed in the western part of India rather than in the eastern, the region of the rivers namely, Brahmaputra, Meghna, Bhagirathi, etc.

The ports and cities accepted by Das Gupta as situated along the banks of the Sarasvati, are quite unknown to the Vedas. He contends that one portion of the upper part of the Sarasvati, was existing as late as the middle of the 16th century. It cannot be reconciled with the description, contradictory to the disappearance of the Vedic Sarasvati as the period of its disappearance was earlier than the 16th or the middle of the 16th century. One would hardly accept that the Vedic Sarasvati ever flowed through Assam and Bengal. The Vedas show its association with the tradition, culture, religious customs, etc., of the western part of India rather than with those of the eastern part. He states that the Sarasvati is still flowing through the Hooghly river; but none can take it for the Vedic Sarasvati for the above reasons.

1 Sir A. Cunningham, op.cit., p. 68.
2 Divaprasad Das Gupta, op.cit., p. 538.
3 "many ports and cities were established on the river. Satagram and Bator were two famous trade centres on the Sarasvati and it is very likely also that the ancient port of Tamralipti was situated at the mouth of the Sarasvati. It appears that the sea-going-vessels generally used to take the Sarasvati route for trading in Bengal".
4 Ibid., p. 537.
6 Divaprasad Das Gupta, op.cit., p. 538.
3. **The geographical and historical data:**

   So far as the historical facts leading to the location of the Sarasvati are concerned, we will see them later. Let us first see the geographical facts.

   (i) **The geographical facts:**

   (a) **Mountain:**

   The **Rgveda**, which contains various references to Sarasvati as a river, describes it as flowing from the mountains and reaching the sea:

   "ekā cetat sarasvatī nādinām śucīr yātī giriśhya ā samudrāt"  

   If those mountains and seas are once located, there will be no difficulty in ascertaining the course of the Sarasvati. Since the Sarasvati is not existent at present, we are to resort to pre-historic times, when it was existing. It would not be out of place in this context to have in mind the geological geography of the Indian Peninsula.

   The Indian Peninsula may be broadly divided into three parts, namely - (i) the triangular plateau of the Peninsula, (ii) the mountainous region of the Himalayas; and (iii) the great Indo-Gangetic Plain of Punjab and Bengal. The **Rgvedic mantra** referred to above, tells us that the Sarasvati got originated in the mountains; but we are to ascertain which mountain it was wherefrom it got its origin. There is

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1 *Supra*, p.1, f.n.1.
2 *RV.*, VII. 95.2.
no indication for it in the Rgveda proper; but in the Purāṇas, the Sarasvatī has been reckoned as one of rivers issued from the foot of the Himalayas ‘himvat-pādanīḥ saha’.¹ This shows that the Sarasvatī originated from the foot of the Himalayas. The Himalaya has a long range extending from the bordering line of our country and that of Baluchistan to the south-east of the Brahmaputra in Assam and falls under the following geographic divisions:²

i) The Great Himalayas.
ii) The Lesser Himalayas.
iii) The Outer Himalayas.

Similarly, it has been geologically divided into different zones as:

1) The Northern Zone.
2) The Central Zone.
3) The Outer Zone.

The Outer Himalayas fall under the Outer Zone and is the same as the Siwalik ranges.⁴ Rivers mostly flow from this division. The Sarasvatī, too, has been reckoned to have outfringed from the foot of the Siwalik ranges.⁵

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² D.N. Wadia, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
³ Ibid., p. 10.
⁴ Ibid., p. 10.
⁵ Cf. N.N. Godbole, op. cit., p. 17.
(b) **Seas:**

As we have noticed above, the Sarasvati after having taken its birth from the mountains, made its way to the sea. We are to ascertain which sea it was. The modern geologists, after scientific quest and observation, have unanimously reached the conclusion that the region now occupied by the Indo-Gangetic Plain of Punjab and Bengal was previously covered with waters. It divided the Indian Peninsula into two divisions - north and south.¹

In the *Rgveda*, there is the mention of two seas - eastern and western.² In the verse, the word 'pūrva' refers to the sea situated in the east and 'parah' to the one existing in the west. We are yet to discover which of these seas it was wherein waters of the Sarasvati fell. Geological evidences show that whole of Rajputana was previously the bed of a sea. It was a very large sea and covered a large area of Rajasthan.


"Mr. Wells' second map (of the period 35,000-25,000 years ago) shows the interrupted continuity of the sea that separated the Punjab and the Himalayas from the Southern Indian Plateau, broken only by the formation of land in the Eastern Rajputana and points to the existence of a sea over a large portion of the Gangetic valley (which could be no other than the Eastern Sea of the Rig Vedic map and of another sea or gulf over Western Rajputana and the whole of lower Sindha)."

2 *Rv.*, X. 136.5.

"vātasyāṁ svā vāyoḥ sakhāṁ tho: deve śito munih! ubhau samudrāṇāṁ kṣetī yasya ca pūrva utā'parah!"

*MP.*, CXXI.65, also refers to two seas - one in the east and the other in the west.
It had extended even up to the south-east of the Aravalli. When the Sarasvatī is said to flow from the mountains into the sea, it points to the fact that it flowed from the Siwalik ranges into this sea of Rajputana. The Yamunā and the Ganges flowed into the Eastern Sea, which is obviously different from the Rajputana Sea. Sri V.P. Ketkar on astronomical as well as Purānic grounds called the Eastern Sea the Gaṅgetic sea.

Thus, the Sarasvatī once flowed into the Rajasthan Sea or the Western Sea. The Ṛgveda mentions four seas also. Among these four seas, the three are - the Eastern Sea; the Rajputana Sea; and the Arabian Sea. In the enumeration of the two seas, the Eastern Sea denotes the Gaṅgetic

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1 A.C. Das, op.cit., p. 7.

"The result of a geological investigation shows that, in a remote age, a sea actually covered a very large portion of modern Rajputāna, extending as far as south and east as the Aravalli mountains, which geologists have designated by the name of the Rajputāna Sea."

2 RV., VII. 95.2.

3 A.C. Das, op.cit., p. 10.

"a long stretch of sea having been in existence in the Pleistocene and the beginning of the modern Epoch from the eastern shores of Sapta-Sindhu down to the confines of Assam, into which the Ganges and the Yamuna, after running of their short courses, poured their waters; and the Deccan, having been completely cut off and separated from the Sapta-Sindhu by the Rajputāna sea and the sea lying between the Central and Eastern-Himālayas and the Vindhya Ranges."

4 Ibid., p. 8.

5 RV., IX, 33.6.

"rāyaḥ samudrān caturo 'samahbhyam soma visvataḥ | ā pavesva sabhasrīnāḥu "

Ibid., X. 47.2.

"svā "yudham sv avasam sunītham catuḥ samudram dharunam rayīnām".
Sea and the Western Sea, the Rajputana Sea; but in the enumeration of the four seas, the case is different. The four seas must be: (i) the Eastern sea (the Ganges Sea); (ii) the Southern Sea (the Rajputana Sea); (iii) the Western Sea (the Arabian Sea); and (iv) the Northern Chinese Sea (now the Chinese desert). It is obvious that the fourth sea was towards the north of the Himalayas and it has left so many remnants.

In the Purānas, the Sarasvati is said to be 'prāśī' and 'pascimā-mukhī'. These attributes evidently show a change in its course from east to west. Geological facts prove that owing to the geological changes, there was a change in the Rajputana Sea and owing to this change in the

1 Cf. N.N. Godbole, op.cit., p. 6.

"The four seas referred so were (a) the Eastern Sea (now the Ganges Valley), the Southern Sea (the old Rajasthan Sea - now Rajasthan desert), the Western Sea (towards Afghanistan and Baluchistan and the North Chinese Sea - now known as the Chinese desert.)"

2 A.C. Das, op.cit., p. 12.

"It now only remains for us to identify the fourth sea. It must have been situated somewhere on the north, beyond the Himalayas, on the confines of the land inhabited by the Aryans. And Geology proves that such a sea did actually exist in ancient times, stretching from below the highlands of modern Turkestan towards Siberia on one side, and from the confines of Mongolia to the Black Sea, on the other covering an immense area. This sea disappeared in comparatively recent geological times, leaving the Black Sea, the Sea of Aral, Lake Balkash, and an extensive depression now dry and covered into steppes, as its remnants."

3 Pāṇ., V.16.217, 28. 123; Bhāp., X. 78.19.

4 Skp., VII. 35.26.

5 A.C. Das, op.cit., p. 7.

"This river, however, at present time, never reaches the sea, but loses itself in the sands of the desert of Rajputānā, the sea having receded a long distance, some hundreds of miles from its mouth. The evident reference is that since the composition of the verse, a different distribution of land and water has taken place, probably caused by a cataclysm or a series of cataclysms, resulting in a sudden or gradual upheaval of the bed of a sea that has once existed there."
sea, the Sarasvatī, which was once flowing into the Rajputana Sea along with the Drāsadvatī in the east, turned to the west.\textsuperscript{1} It is corroborated even by another evidence. This Sea of Rajputana was extended up to the south and east of the Aravalli mountains,\textsuperscript{2} which was once the highest mountain of the Indian Peninsula.\textsuperscript{3} It seems true that its decompositions, during the catastrophic times, must have gone through erosion to all directions irrespective of the Rajputana Sea and the Eastern Sea. And as a result, rivers falling into the Rajputana Sea would have diverted their way to south and west and the rivers, falling into the Eastern Sea, would have become more easterly.\textsuperscript{4}

Thus, from the above observations, it is quite clear that the Sarasvatī river was previously in the east; and later on, it changed its course towards the west and flowing through the Eastern Nara entered the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Cf. N.N.Godbole, \textit{op.cit.}, p.2, Map No.1.
\item A.C. Das, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 7.
\item N.N. Godbole, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 6.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, p.2.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Rann of Cutch.\(^1\)

(ii) **The historical facts:**

The location of the Sarasvati can also be ascertained on the basis of the historical evidences furnished by the Rgveda. It refers to many kings, residing along the banks of the Sarasvati, which has been described to be excessively generous unto them.\(^2\) It also mentions five tribes as brought up by the Sarasvati.\(^3\) It is to us to identify and locate these five tribes. There is the mention of the Bharatas, the Kurus, the Pūrus, the Matsyas, the Pāncālas, etc. The point is open to dispute. Raychaudhuri reckons the five tribes as the Bharatas, the Kurus, the Puṣamas, the Matsyas, and the Videghas or Videhas.\(^4\) Rāhula Sāṅkṛtāyana accepts the five tribes to be the Pūrus, the Yadus, the Turvasas, the Druhyus and the Anus.\(^5\) If we locate the Bharatas, the Kurus, and the Pūrus, we may be able to locate the Sarasvati.

(a) **The Bharatas:**

The Bharatas are mentioned with the Sudāsa, the Trțtsus and the Divodāsa. Their relation with the Trțtsus is still uncertain. They are

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1 Ibid., pp. 2, 32, 33.
2 Cf. RV., VIII.21.18.
3 RV., VI.61.12., "paṇca jātā vardhayantī".
4 Raychaudhuri, H.C., "The Sarasvati", SC 8(12), July 1942–June 1943, Nos. 1-2, p.470. He himself seems to be uncertain about it as his use of the word 'may' shows.
mentioned some times as being the Trtsus themselves, while some times, they are maintained as being different; because we find the Trtsus described as the Vasiṣṭhas, family singers of the Bharatas.\(^1\) Whatever the case may be, it is beyond doubt true, that the Bharatas lived along the banks of the Sarasvatī, and worshipped a female goddess, called Bhāratī, who had her close affinity with the Sarasvatī river.\(^2\) It seems that the Bharatas were called as such because of their association with Bhāratī. In the Rgveda, these people are also mentioned as living along the banks of the Sarasvatī, Āpayā and Drṣadvatī rivers.\(^3\) If the Bharatas are located, we will be able to ascertain the course of the Sarasvatī river also. It is almost true that these were among the Rgvedic Aryans; but during the Brāhmaṇical period, the Aryans divided into two groups, the Easterners and the Westerners, living in the east and the west of the middle country. This middle country was occupied by the Kuru-Pāñcālas with whom the Bharatas later on merged.\(^4\) If they had any association with the Kurus, they certainly would have belonged to the western part of the Indian Peninsula. From this, it is also proved that the Sarasvatī, too, would have flowed in this part.

(b) The Kurus:

The reference to the Kurus occurs sometimes independently and sometimes with the Pāñcālas. With the Pāñcālas, it occurs as Kuru-Pāñcālas,\(^7\) indicating a people living in the country of Kuru-Pāñcāla. The animity

\(^1\) Cf. Macdonell and Keith, *op.cit.*, pp. 94-95.
\(^3\) *RV.*, III. 23.2-4.
\(^4\) Donald A. Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, p. XXXIX.
and unanimity between these two groups is a matter of controversy.\(^1\) The word Kuru indicates beyond any doubt the Kuru tribe, the land of Kurus, i.e., the people of Kuru land or the modern Kurukṣetra.\(^2\) Dr. B.C. Law describes the Kurukṣetra or the land of Kurus as follows:

"It was a well-known city of the Kurus in ancient times. It was one of the 16 great countries (Mahājānapadas) or Jambudvīpa or the continent of India. It was situated 25 miles south of Ambala on the river Sarasvatī."\(^3\)

This well-known city of ancient India, was famous for its antiquity and sacredness. It was, here that the Rgvedic mighty and pious Sarasvatī flowed with other rivers of the region.\(^4\) The Sarasvatī, now called modern Sarsūti, and Drāsadvatī, now identified with the modern Rākṣī,\(^5\) formed the circuit of Cakra which covered the area of 20 Yojanas.\(^6\)

The reference to early Kurus assigns them to the western provinces of India. As they were closely associated with the Sarasvatī, the latter

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1 Macdonell and Keith, \(\text{Vol. I, pp. 165-167}\).
2 Cf. \(\text{ibid., p. 165-167; for detailed information also cf. Agrawal, R.C. "Early History and Archaeology of Kurukṣetra and Ambala Division", IHQ, Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (Calcutta, 1955), pp. 293 ff.}\)
3 Dr. B.C. Law, "Kurukṣetra in Ancient India", \(\text{Dr. S.K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, BORI (Poona, 1957), p. 249.}\)
4 Sir A. Cunningham, \(\text{op. cit., p. 88.}\)
5 \(\text{The region of Kurukṣetra is said to have been watered either by seven rivers or by nine rivers. The name of the nine are - 1, Sarasvatī; 2, Vaitarini; 3, Apaya, or Aughvati; 4, Mandakini Ganga; 5, Madhusrava; 6, Ansumati; 7, Kausiki; 8, Drishatavati and 9, Hiranyavati or Drishtavati".}\)
6 \(\text{Ibid., p. 88.}\)
7 \(\text{Ibid., p. 90. "North side from Ber to Ratna Jakh - 40 miles East side from Ratna Jakh to Sinkh - 54 miles South side from Sinkh to Ramray - 25 miles West side from Ramray to Ber - 41 miles Total - 160 miles}\)
must have flowed in the western part of India, especially in Punjab.

(c) The Pūrus:

Raychaudhuri excludes them from the five tribes. Raychaudhuri excludes them from the five tribes and has expressed the probability of their existence even before the Ṛgvedic age. He accepts that they fell in various divisions in that very age such as the Bharatas, the Tṛṣṇus and the Kusikas. At one place, in the Ṛgveda, the Pūrus tribe occur with Yadus the Turvasas, the Druhyus, and Anus.

All the five are mentioned as the sons of Yayāti: "Nahuṣa was the son of Āyu, the grandson of Purūravas and the great grandson of Ilū. Yayāti had five sons, viz., Yadu, Turvasa, Anu, Druhyu and Puru, of whom the first four migrated to other areas while Puru and his descendants ruled over the ancestral domain."

Pūrus living by the banks of the Sarasvatī merged with the Kurus by the process of intertribe-marriage. The dwelling of the Pūrus by the banks of the Sarasvatī, is also referred to in the Ṛgveda itself.

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1 Raychaudhuri, H.C., op.cit., p. 470.
2 Rāhula Sāṅkritāyana, op.cit., p. 18.
3 RV., I. 108.8. "yad indrā'gī yaduṣu turvasēṣu yad druhyuṣu'nuṣu pūruṣu sthah".
6 RV., VII. 96.2. "abhe yat te mahinā subhre andhasi adhikśiyanti pūravahī sā no bodhyavitri marutsakhā coda rūdho maghonām ""
All the above allusions to the kings and tribes tell us of the antiquity of the Sarasvatī and their close relation with it. The Sarasvatī of the Rigvedic times flowed through their regions and made them flourish in the western part of India in Punjab and the south of Rajasthan.

4. Vinasana or the disappearance of the Sarasvatī:

It is clear from what has been said above that the Sarasvatī flowed down from the mountains and ran to the ocean; but it dried up owing to geological changes. The place, where it lost its existence, is aptly called 'Vinasana' or 'the disappearance' of the Sarasvatī. The disappearance of the Sarasvatī is held in Punjab territory in Patiala district.¹ Its disappearance has also been connected with the Plakṣa Prāsravana. The Tāṇḍya-Mahābrähmāna specifies the distance between Vinasana and the Plakṣa Prāsravana. According to it, the Plakṣa Prāsravana is at the distance of forty four 'āsvinas' from Vinasana (catus catvarimsad āsvīnāni); one āsvīna being the distance traversed by a horse constantly moving one complete day and night.² It is held that Plakṣa Prāsravana was actually the place of the source of the Sarasvatī rather than the place for its re-appearance.³ In the great Epic Vinasana is placed on the borders of

2 Tab., XXV, 10.16.

"catus catvarimsad āsvīnāni sarasvatyā vinasanat plakṣaḥ prāsravanas tāved itah svargā lokāḥ sarasvatīsammitenā dhvanā svargam lokam yanti."

Sayana explains āsvīna as: "eko ’sva ekenā horātreṇa yāvantaṃ adhvaṇām gacchati tāvān ekā "āsvīnaḥ."

"In the Rigveda Sūtras the locality is called Plakṣa Prāsravana, and it apparently meant to designate the source of the Sarasvatī rather than the place of its reappearance."
the Sudras and the Abhiras. The land of the Abhiras is located above the Indus delta while the land of the Sudras was the place below the confluence of the Conâba and the Indus. Vinasâna is beyond the borders of these two places. According to other sources, Vinasâna occupies a large area capable to form the western frontier of Madhyadesa whereas the latter has its other frontiers - the confluence of the Gângâ and the Yamunâ in the east; Himâlayas in the north and Vindhyâ mountains in the south. In the Bhaudhâyanas-Dharmasûtras the region of Vinasâna is mentioned to exist to the west of Aryâvarta, which is to the west of the Black-forest, to the north of the Pâripâtra and to the south of the Himâlayas.

In the later literature, Vinasâna is held to exist near modern Sirsâ in Kurukshetra in the eastern Punjab (now in the Karnal District

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3 This Vinasâna forms, according to the laws of the Mânavas, the western frontier of Madhyadesa, the eastern frontier being formed by the confluence of the Gângâ and Yamunâ. Madhyadesa is a section of Aryâvarta, the abode of the Aryas in the widest sense. Aryâvarta shows with Madhyadesa the same frontiers in the north and the south, viz. the Himâlayas and Vindhyâ mountains, but it extends beyond Madhyadesa to the west and east as far as the western and eastern seas.
4 Cf. ibid., p. 59.

In the Sûtras which supplied the material to the authors of the matricial law books, the Vinasâna is mentioned for the first time in the Baudhâyanasûtras, I,2,9, 'Aryâvarta lies to the east of the region where (the Sarasvatî) disappears, to the west of the Black-forest, to the north of the Pâripâtra (mountains), to the south of the Himâlayas'. The name of the Sarasvatî is not mentioned, but no other river can be understood.


“In the early Vedic period, the Sarasvatî probably flowed into the Arabian Sea. Later literature speaks of its disappearance at Vinasâna (near modern Sirsa) in Kurukshetra or Brahmâvarta (in the eastern Punjab) which is described as the land between Sarasvatî and Drâdravatî.”
of Haryana). Vinasāna has also been located beyond the modern Sīrṣā, to the west of which the Sarasvatī lost itself in the desert of Bhatner.¹

When it is observed that the locality called Plakṣa Prāsravana is the source of the Sarasvatī ², our acceptance of the river as outfringed from the foot of the Siwalik range, ³ will take Plakṣa Prāsravana as situated somewhere near the Siwalik ranges. The map prepared by Macdonell and Keith may approve of it.⁴ Vinasāna is also accepted to be a locality, where the Sarasvatī ceases to flow and is said to have situated in the Patiala district.⁵ It is towards the south-west of the Plakṣa Prāsravana.⁶

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² "The Indologists are of the opinion that the Sarasvatī is the same as Sarsuti which flows to the west of Thānesar and is joined in the Patiala territory by a more westerly stream Ghaggar and passing Sīrṣa is lost in the desert at Bhatner."

³ Cf. N.N. Godbole, op.cit., p. 17

⁴ See Macdonell and Keith, op.cit., Vol. I, map of Vedic India (Names of Peoples, countries and Localities in Black).


⁶ See also SkP., VII. 33, 40-41.

⁷ "tato visṛṣya tām devīm nadi bhūtvā sarasvatī || himavatān girīṃ prāpya plakṣāt tatra vinir gata|| avatirṇā dharāprasth  ||"


⁹ "Vi-nasana, 'disappearance', is the name of the place where the Sarasvatī is lost in the sands of the desert. It is mentioned in the Pañcavimsa Brāhmaṇa and the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa. The locality is the Patiala district of the Panjab."

⁰ Cf. ibid., Vol. I, map of Vedic India.
Let us note the distance between Plakṣa Prāsravāṇa and Vināsana in the light of the Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa.

This Brāhmaṇa mentions the distance as forty four ‘āśvīnas’ (caturaṁśad āśvināni), which denotes the distance of journey covered by a horseman in one day. But ‘āśvīna’ has not been accepted unanimously to be a specific measurement of length. It has been defined variously.

In the Atharvaveda, the ‘āśvīna’ distance is held to exceed 5 yojanas. According to Patanjali, an average horse goes four yojanas, while the superior one to eight yojanas in a day. On the other hand, Kautilya mentions three varieties of horses. Of which the horse of the first variety travels the distance of six yojanas in a day; that the second variety, nine; and that of the third kind, twelve.

There is divergence of opinion as to the actual distance of yojana. Generally one yojana is believed to be of 8 krosas and 1 krosa of 2 miles. Hwen Thsang states it as equal to 8 krosas; while in the

1 TāB., XXV. 10.16.
2 Macdonell and Keith, op. cit., p. 70.
   "Āśvīna, or āśvīna, designates, in the Atharvaveda, and two Brāhmaṇas, the length of journey made in a day by a horseman (āsvin). The exact distance is not defined."
3 AV., VI. 131.3.
   "yad dhāvasi triyojanaṁ pañcayojanaṁ āśvinam."
4 MB., V. 3.55.
   "āsva yam yaś catvāri yojanāṇi gacchati, āsvatara ‘yam yo ‘stau yojanāṇi gacchati."
5 Avś., II. 30.
Hindu Books, it is rated at 4 krosas. According to Fa-Hian, yojana also stood for about $6\frac{3}{4}$ miles or $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles or 8 miles. It also stands for 4 or 5 English miles or $2\frac{1}{2}$ English miles. If we take all these into account, and try to measure the distance between Plakṣa Prāsravana and Vinasana, we cannot decide the correct distance.

The appearance and disappearance of the Sarasvatī may give us a clue to the route of the river. According to the Imperial Gazetteer of India, it rises in the Sirmur State and downs to the plains at Adh Badri. After flowing ahead to a short distance, it loses itself in the sand; but appears once more at a distance of 3 miles to the south of Bhavanipur. It again vanishes at Balchhappar and manifests while flowing through Karnal district until it loses itself completely in Patiala territory, where Vinasana is claimed to have situated.

2 Ibid., p. 484.
4 The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII (Oxford, 1908), p. 97. "Sarasvatī (I). - River of the Punjab, rising in the Sirmūr State close to the borders of Ambāla district. It debouches on the plains at Adh Badri, a place held sacred by all Hindus. A few miles farther on it disappears in the sand, but comes up again about three miles to the south at the village of Bhawānpur. At Balchhappar it again vanishes for a short distance, but emerges once more and flows on in a south-western direction across Karnāl, until it joins the Ghaggar in Patiala territory after a course of about 110 miles. A District canal takes off from it near Pehowa in Karnāl District."
This gives us the clear picture of the route of the Sarasvatī. Modern investigations brush the doubt aside and let us believe that the above mentioned route was once virtually occupied by the old Vedic Sarasvatī. In this regard, an on-the-spot survey done by Sir Aurel Stein, is of immense importance. The river now called Ghaggar or Hakra has been identified with the Sarasvatī, standing for an old Vedic Sarasvatī in the popular belief.¹ The Vedic Sarasvatī has retained old name by the modern Sarsūti, which flows near Pehoa or modern Pṛthūdaka 14 miles away from the west of Thanesar.² Though at present, it has shrunk back and dwindled sufficiently, yet it has been taken to be a very big river at a time. At present, the river is not always perennial, and in the most part of the year, its bed remains dried up. Especially in the rainy season, it over-flows and inundates a large area on its sides; because its bed is raised up considerably. It is held that at Hanumangarh, it joins Ghaggar – now as Ghaggar Canal, an old remnant of a river, which also originates from the same Siwalik range. When Sarsūti joined the Ghaggar, it loses its previous name and is known as Sarsūti-Ghaggar or Ghaggar alone. But when only the name ghaggar is applied, it purports both the Sarsūti and the Ghaggar. The single stream goes ahead under the name of Ghaggar through Patiala State, Hissar district, Bikaner, Bhawalpur and traversing a quite good journey, it enters the area of

¹ Sir Aurel Stein, Geographical Journal, XCIX, Jan-June, 1942, pp. 137 ff.
² Alexander Cunningham, op.cit., p. 283.

"The old down of Pehoa is situated on the south bank of Sarasuti, 14 miles to the west of Thanesar."
Pakistan bearing the name of Hakra. This Hakra is the tail-end of the Ghaggar, which remains empty for the most part of the year - from November to June. This tail-end should not be taken to mean an intermediary to engulf the Sarasvati (Ghaggar) to Indus. It is, in fact, the Eastern Nara through which the Sarasvati reached the Rann of Cutch. At present, the Eastern Nara, which is the tail-end of the Sarasvati or the Ghaggar, has taken the shape of the Sukkar barrage project.

So far as the confluence of the three rivers - Ganga, Yamuna and Sarasvati at Prayag is concerned, it appears to be simply a craving on the part of the religious minded people to revive the popular notion about the Vedic Sarasvati that she is still flowing and meets the other two rivers at Prayag. On the basis of the foregoing discussion, it is obvious enough that the Vedic Sarasvati is left behind at Hanumangarh and flows

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1 Baychaudhuri, H.C., op.cit., p. 468.
N.N. Godbole, op.cit., p. 19, "The Ghaggar is known as Hakra when it enters the Pakistan area."

2 Ibid., p. 2.
"The main object of the theme, the Old Vedic Sarasvati has been traced from its source to its disappearance in the sands of Rajasthan and through the Eastern Nara to its one time entry into the Rann of Cutch."

Ibid., p. 20, "In the Indo-Gangetic alluvium map of India given by Oldham, there is a very interesting reference to a small tail-end of a river known as Lower Eastern Nara River. This stream, a very narrow one, is shown to be flowing south along long 690E and flowing into the Rann of Cutch... The leading Geologists agree that at one time the Sarasvati (Ghaggar) was flowing down into the Gulf of Cutch."

3 Ibid., p. 21.
"Any way this tail-end of the old Ghaggar is utilised today as a perennial canal of the Sukkar barrage project. Thus ends the old Sarasvati contributing to the prosperity of the new Pakistan regime joining the Gulf of Cutch at about 240N-West".
under one name or the other (the Ghaggar, or the Sarasvati) through Patiala, Hissar, Bikaner, Bahawalpur to the Rann of Cutch.\(^1\) It is also held that a river of frivolous importance called Sarasvati joined the Ganges and the Yamuna at Prayag, and it is possible that it might have been misunderstood to be the Vedic Sarasvati by the people.

Some important latitudes, longitudes and heights above sea-level the concerning the flow of Sarasvati will bring the clear picture of the Sarasvati. Dr. N.N. Godbole\(^2\) has given them as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Height above sea-level:</th>
<th>Bahawalpur</th>
<th>559 feet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>400 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dera Ghazi Khan</td>
<td>400 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ludhiana (Punjab)</td>
<td>635 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>709 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harappa (near Montgomery)</td>
<td>550 feet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course of Sarasvati from Bahawalpur</th>
<th>559 feet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rawanwala</td>
<td>449 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudwala</td>
<td>385 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badalwala</td>
<td>375 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhagla</td>
<td>347 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukkar</td>
<td>190 feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohinj Daro</td>
<td>180 feet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

South-west of Amarkot

The Sarasvati flowed down along 69° and 70° long. E and into the Rann of Kutch at 24.2° N.L and 69.1° long. E.

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"The so-called Sarasvati near Allahabad was perhaps a small stream and the real Sarasvati is left behind near Hanumangarh."

3. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
Lower Nara, perhaps, the tail-end of Sarasvati enters Rann of Kutch at 24.2° N and 69.1° E long.

Some important latitudes and longitudes concerning Sarasvati are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Lat. N.</th>
<th>Long. E.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amritsar</td>
<td>31.7°</td>
<td>74.8°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harappa</td>
<td>30.6°</td>
<td>72.8°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Ganganagar</td>
<td>29.9°</td>
<td>73.9°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shatuanas</td>
<td>29.9°</td>
<td>76.1°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisar</td>
<td>29.2°</td>
<td>75.7°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirsa (Sarasvati)</td>
<td>29.55°</td>
<td>75.05°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurukshetra</td>
<td>29.95°</td>
<td>76.75°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanumangarh</td>
<td>29.6°</td>
<td>74.30°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anupgarh</td>
<td>20.2°</td>
<td>73.2°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suratgarh</td>
<td>29.3°</td>
<td>73.8°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buper</td>
<td>30.95°</td>
<td>76.5°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>28.6°</td>
<td>77.2°</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>