

# Sacred Sarasvati: The River in Indian Culture

Dr. Rimjhim Sharma\*

India, with one of the ancient civilisations has always been a land of rivers where rivers have been deified and considered holy and sacred. The Sarasvati river has been one such river apart from the Ganga and the Yamuna, the other major rivers considered sacred in the Hindu traditions. The Sarasvati is not only mentioned as voluminous, with plenty of water, in the Rigveda<sup>1</sup> but is also claimed to have been the earliest homeland of the Vedic Aryans in the Indian subcontinent (*Aryavarta* or *Brahmavarta*)<sup>2</sup>. However, as suggested by the scholars, in the post-Vedic phase, the Sarasvati River disappeared physically from the face of earth, yet continued in legends, myths, and stories within the Indian culture. As late as the time of the Puranas (around 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century onwards), the river continued to be sacred, for example, one such Purana mentions of a legendary story of the Moon-god being cursed by his father-in-law, who could restore his brightness only after bathing at the confluence of the river Sarasvati<sup>3</sup>. The Sarasvati river, not only provided ecological benefits to the region but also created ideological and religious space within the hearts of the Indian people. In the Rigveda, the Sarasvati has been referred to as *ambitame, naditame, devitame* - 'Best of mothers, the best of rivers, best of goddesses, Sarasvati'<sup>4</sup> and is deified. It has also been claimed that the Sarasvati river connected the parts of Northern India as navigation was possible from the Indian ocean up to the Ganga-Yamuna doab, from Dwarka to Mathura, or from Lothal to Ganweriwala or Kalibangan<sup>5</sup>.

In cultural traditions of India, river Sarasvati has continued to be part of sacred rivers along with Ganga, Yamuna, Brahmaputra, and many of their tributaries which are worshipped in their regional space.

Pilgrimages and holy places have been established on its banks providing *moksha* or liberation from the cycle of birth and death. This sacred river has survived through centuries of debates over its existence. Some scholars equated the Harappans with the Rigvedic Aryans calling it as the Vedic Harappans which emerged on the banks of river Sarasvati<sup>6</sup>, while some have identified the river with Ghaggar-Hakra river system which dried and/or began flowing below earth to meet the rivers Ganga and Yamuna at Prayag. Debates have also been on the question of its existence as the river Sarasvati as claimed in the Rigveda or the one mentioned in *Avesta* as Harkhawati. Some scholars have even suggested westward migration of people towards Harkhawati (Kubha, Afghanistan) around c. 1500 BCE, as river Sarasvati dried up. This migration continued towards Ganga-Yamuna doab (Rakhigarhi) and towards south through the Gulf of Khambhat, settling in the site of Daimabad<sup>7</sup>. The idea of westward migration continued to the extent that Rajesh Kochhar relocated the Vedic Aryans to Afghanistan along with the river Sarasvati. Perhaps he accepted the theory of 'Afghan Sarasvati', proposed by Thomas and Hillebrandt in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>. However, this theory did not gain much acceptance among scholars. Indologists have even suggested that the sacredness of the river Sarasvati and her attributes as goddess were transmitted to Ganga when people migrated towards east in the Ganga-Yamuna doab region<sup>9</sup>. The debate does not end here, since recently Bharat Jhunjhunwala challenged the existing consensus that the river Sarasvati of the Rigveda was the Ghaggar river. According to him, 'the river Sarasvati of the Rigveda was the river Luni while the river Sarasvati of the Mahabharat was the Ghaggar'<sup>10</sup>. Many such issues around the river have been fiercely debated in the academic circle and is ongoing. Despite being the most contested river, the Sarasvati flows in the hearts and minds of people in India at large.

\*Asstt Professor, Department of History, PGDAV College (M)/ University of Delhi. Can be reached at rimjhim.sharma@pgdav.du.ac.in

This river has culturally bound the people of India and provides certain civilisational identity and cultural continuity in its customs, traditions and practices. *Nadistuti sukta* or 'praise of rivers in the hymn', given in the tenth Mandala of the Rigveda<sup>11</sup>, mentions of the river Sarasvati or *Sarsuti*, along with Ganga, Yamuna, Sindhu, Kubha (Kabul), and many others flowing in the North-western region of the Subcontinent. John Muir, translating the verses, states that 'the river Sarasvati was considered as pure as river Ganga in modern times' and 'the possessor of knowledge'<sup>12</sup>. The description of the river Sarasvati as mighty and holy river in the Vedic hymns clearly establishes its heavenly status. Michael Witzel, has personified the Vedic Sarasvati to Milky Way, and as a river of the heavens, that flowed on earth during the day and in the sky during night, thus suggesting it to be of mythical nature<sup>13</sup>. Even *Skanda Purana* mentions about the Sarasvati originating from the water pot of Brahma in the heavens and flowing from *plaksha* on the Himalayas<sup>14</sup>. Legends even justifies her flow underground, to hide from Brahma from whose forehead she was born, but he was mesmerised by her beauty and began to desire for her. The short period when she appeared on earth was to rest from her tiring run from Brahma. It was this phase of her rest on earth when the Vedic seers composed many important Hindu scriptures along her banks<sup>15</sup>. Vedas, particularly Rigveda, became divine since composed along the banks of this sacred River Sarasvati, which were spoken by gods to the sages and the rishis. In Mahabharata, as Oldham suggested, reason for the sinking of the river Sarasvati into the earth was to prevent the Nishadas (low born) from seeing her<sup>16</sup>. Along with cultural and ideological value, 'Sarasvati-Sindhu' river valley, as suggested by some scholars, also supported agriculture as well as metal-lapidary-weaver craft economy. This led to flourishing of the trade with Mesopotamian civilization and Bactrian region. The term *Soma* in Rigveda is also suggested to be related to metallurgy. Hence, proposing it to be a maritime civilization<sup>17</sup>.

There are other legends of which one speaks of establishing link between gods and humans through knowledge transmitted by the sages. The sages needed to create a channel to transport this knowledge from heaven to earth which could be done only through 'Fire' who could acquire and disperse it. This is when gods decided to send *Badabhaagni* or 'The Monumental Fire of Destiny' to mother earth. The Sarasvati, as goddess of knowledge could only carry this 'Fire' to earth for which she needed fluidity and speed which could counterbalance the heat. Legends suggest it was this time when she takes the form of mighty River and carried 'Fire of knowledge' to the earth, handed over the pot-of-Fire to the sages and plunged into the ocean to cool down. The story indicates

towards her importance as the transmitter of knowledge and of her divine presence in Indian traditions. The Sarasvati is also identified as the goddess of *Vac* or speech in the Rigveda. Even as synonym of Sarasvati, the early script Brahmi was named in which the Ashokan Edicts were written around c. 300 BCE. Scholars have emphasized upon the importance of language, speech and oral tradition related to the way the Vedic knowledge was transmitted orally by the sages. Probably, Vedas took their name from the root word *vid*, that is to know, since they were composed on banks of the River Sarasvati, who is also seen as the goddess of knowledge or *Vidya*. Later in the Hindu pantheon too, the Sarasvati was personified as the goddess of knowledge.

The sacredness of Sarasvati is also claimed in the Mahabharata text, on the banks of which the historic war was fought and Lord Krishna gave his message of knowledge, devotion, and *karma* to Arjuna, which was later compiled into the text, Srimad Bhagavada Gita<sup>18</sup>. Apart from reclaiming the cultural roots and highlight Indian cultural heritage globally, the idea behind revival of the river is also to fulfil the water requirements of the people living in this arid region, recharge the groundwater level and boost ecological balance.

In literary writings and popular culture, she has been showered with multiple names such as *Bharathi*, *Vidyadatri*, *Vani*, *Veenavadini*, *Vagdevi* and so on. These names signify her different functions as a goddess. She is seen as the provider of wisdom, light, purity, self-realisation, virtue and as an embodiment of arts, music, speech, creativity<sup>19</sup>. Etymologically, large number of words originate from the root word *Vid*, such as *vidya*, *vidyalaya*, *vidwan*, *vidushi*, and so on which conform the importance of learning and knowledge transmitted through goddess Sarasvati. The spiritual connect of the people with the River and the Goddess despite she being invisible, definitely shows that the people of India draw certain cultural and religious identity from her. Geological occurrences might have brought changes in her character and writings from around c. 600 BCE, claimed the River to have disappeared but never from the oral and folk culture, tradition, and practices within the Indian Subcontinent. Traditional and religious beliefs have continued to keep the Sarasvati River alive as a sacred river which according to legends was flowing beneath the earth to join the other two sacred rivers of the Indian Subcontinent, the Ganga, and the Yamuna, at Prayag (present Allahabad). The three rivers together formed the confluence, known by the epithet *Triveni* or *Sangam*<sup>20</sup>, despite the city being far off from the origin and course of the Vedic Sarasvati. The pure white water of Sarasvati merges with dark coloured water of Yamuna and along with Ganga, the water at *Sangam* gives a marshy look. This gives an impression of existence of two

rivers only because of which many scholars opine, that the Sarasvati does not meet here. However, even Manu mentions, that Prayag was the place where Vinasana of the Sarasvati met Ganga and Yamuna, which marked the boundary of the Madhya Desha<sup>21</sup>. The *Sangam* is regarded as one of the most auspicious and sacred places in the Hindu traditions, on the banks of which every twelve years Kumbh Mela is organised when lakhs of people take holy dip to purify themselves. Along with the Kumbh Mela, people also throng to *Sangam* on the day of Makar-Sankranti and with this also begins the forty-seven days 'Maagh Mela'. These and many such congregations and drive to take holy dip in *Sangam* on various auspicious occasions show the deep faith that people have in the sacredness of the rivers. This also emphasizes, that though the Sarasvati is not visible, yet she is present symbolically in the hearts of people who can feel her holy presence here. Her sacred presence has created *Sangam* not only at Prayag, but at various other places such as at Somnath, in confluence with rivers Hiranya and Kapila<sup>22</sup>. It is also seen that though the river has been claimed to be mythical, by some scholars yet, its auspicious character has inspired people across the Indian subcontinent to name many other rivers as 'Sarasvati'<sup>23</sup>.

The river Sarasvati has lived in our ancient literature over many centuries, and its existence has become a part of legend. The river has been invisible but still has generated intense debate amongst the scholars from all walks of lives. As early as 1760, a small stream '*Soorsuty*' was shown in a map from *The Library Atlas*, flowing into the 'Guggur' (Ghagghar) in Punjab. Later in 1778, James Rennell, a famous British geographer and cartographer included this in his *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan or the Mughal Empire*, which was the most detailed map of Indian then<sup>24</sup>. However, it was the French Indologist, M. Viven de Saint-Martin, in 1855, who noted the proper location of the Ghagghar in the map and recognised the corrupt spelling of the Sarasvati. He also interpreted *Nadi sukta* (Rigveda: X.75), and suggested that 'the hymn was probably composed by, or revealed, after the arrival of the Vedic Aryans on the banks of the Sarasvati river'<sup>25</sup>, and identified Ghagghar-Hakra as the relic of the Vedic Sarasvati. With this interpretation, began the great search for the 'lost' Sarasvati river which till then had remained in literary works. Thereafter, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, extensive archaeological explorations were taken by the Archaeological Survey of India, in western India and Afghanistan, when it was declared that the Ghagghar-Hakra paleo-channel was indeed the Sarasvati<sup>26</sup>. In 1920s, with the discovery of Harappan Civilisation, the focus of archaeologists and historians shifted to the Harappans, who formed the new ethnic link. The study of the Aryans and the Vedic material culture got diverted. However,

after partition, the locus of the Harappan Civilisation shifted away from the Indus valley to a larger geographic area, extending up to the Gangetic valley in the east and Saurashtra in the south. Thereafter, Ghagghar-Hakra as the Sarasvati became the hydrological centre of the civilisation. Boost to the search for the Vedic Sarasvati also came with various projects of ASI (Archaeological Survey of India), such as 'Archaeology of the Mahabharata Sites', led by the archaeologist B.B. Lal in 1950-52, 'Archaeology of Ramayana Sites', and 'Aryanization of the Indus Civilisation'<sup>27</sup>. The projects perhaps established the link between the Hindu culture and the scientific archaeology. These developments provided platform for beginning of the next phase of search for the dry-beds of River Sarasvati. In search of its existence and to find the roots of Hindu traditions as mentioned in the Rigveda, extensive explorations began in the region of Haryana, Rajasthan, and Gujarat. By 1990s, more than 1400 sites were discovered in India located in the arid zones of India and Pakistan. In the dry paleo-channels of the Ghagghar-Hakra rivers particularly, large clusters of sites were discovered. This Ghagghar-Hakra was monsoon-fed channel which now is suggested to be the dry-land bed of the Vedic Sarasvati. The founding of large number sites the Ghagghar-Hakra or Sarasvati bed also led to the emergence of the idea of calling the Harappan Civilisation as the 'Indus-Sarasvati Civilisation', or the 'Sindhu-Sarasvati Civilisation', or the 'Sarasvati Civilisation'<sup>28</sup>, and the River Sarasvati became an unquestionable factual reality. The presence of Sarasvati river in the sub-conscious of people and Hindu cosmology, somehow never depended on its presence in physical mode. As a goddess equivalent to other Vedic goddesses such as *Savitri*, *Vac* and *Gayatri*, she continued to hold importance. Despite, being attested as vanishing riverine body in the later Vedic texts, such as *Aitareya Brahmana*, *Satapatha Brahmana* and the *Jaiminya Brahmana*, the Sarasvati remained a polysemic goddess with manifold manifestations in the celestial pantheon.

As one of the major rivers of the *Sapta-Sindhu*, of the Rigveda, great antiquity is attached to its existence in ancient literature. However, archaeologists and geologists analysing through various technological methods suggest greater antiquity to the river for the establishment of cultural development. K. N. Dikshit, on the basis of excavation at Bhirrana and Kunal, in the 'lost' Sarasvati plains claims beginning of primary cultural settlements to be between c. 7380-6201 BCE<sup>29</sup>. The Sarasvati plains also housed some of the Early Harappan sites thus, providing cultural continuity or antecedent<sup>30</sup> and 'Integration', as claimed by Jim Shaffer<sup>31</sup>, to the Mature Harappan Civilisation. Ever since B. B. Lal has suggested existence of a greater number of Early and Mature Harappan sites - nearly 177 Early and 283 Mature

- in the Sarasvati Valley as compared to 50 sites in the Indus Valley<sup>32</sup>, the scholars and archaeologists have begun to agree on its integrative role in Indian culture. It has been suggested that many social groups integrated culturally which gave rise to Harappan culture occurring in the Sarasvati Valley<sup>33</sup>. Therefore, though the river dried up by the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE, it left cultural and religious markers within the Indian traditions which has continued to the present times. Lal, in his recent publication *The Sarasvati Flows On*, has spoken of many such cultural and religious practices, as the yogic postures in the *Yogasana*, *Namaskara* mudra (upraised folded hands for greetings or salutations) and applying of vermilion (*Sindoor*) in the hair parting by the Hindu married women (*Maanga-bharana*), etc<sup>34</sup>. The river Sarasvati has been represented iconographically as goddess Sarasvati. Temples dedicated to the goddess have been built across the country, such as the Sarasvati temple at Koothanur in Tamil Nadu, Wargal Sarasvati in Telangana, and with the identity of Brahmani (As *Shakti* of the creator God, Brahma) in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, and Himachal Pradesh. Temples of Sarasvati have been built by even merchant communities, for example, the one built by the G.D. Birla family in 1959 in Pilani. The idea of 'Indian Renaissance' and revitalisation and strengthening of Hinduism as *Arya Dharma*<sup>35</sup> was established through temple construction along with many other temples and educational centres that the family went on to build across the country.

The Sarasvati river has not only been personified as goddess of wisdom and purity which flows in the form of its water but in Hindu tradition a particular festival is designated to her, 'the Sarasvati Puja.' This festival, also known as Vasant Panchami, is in reverence of goddess Sarasvati as well as to welcome the season of spring, signifying end of season of gloom. Sarasvati Puja or festival is celebrated with great enthusiasm across the nation and recently, in 2018, the Haryana government launched 'National Sarasvati Mahotsav' to be celebrated annually<sup>36</sup>. The day of the Sarasvati festival is marked as the day of learning when young children are introduced to not only books but to any kind of art such as music, dancing, painting etc. Her blessings are sought in Indian culture for beginning in any field of knowledge. Therefore, students, educational centres, and art institutes, specially organise programmes in her reverence. She is also seen as one of the *Tridevi*-Mahalakshmi, Mahakali and Maha-Sarasvati<sup>37</sup> as the *shakti* or power behind the *Tridev*-Vishnu, Shiva, and Brahma, respectively. The Sarasvati as goddess is worshipped even in one of the days of the *Navratri* festival. *Navratri* is nine-day festival celebrated in honour of female goddesses who are personified as power or *shakti*, responsible for destroying evil. Veneration of goddess

Sarasvati is not only confined to the Hindus within the Indian subcontinent but it has spread to South Asian and South-east Asian countries as well. When Hindus from India migrated to the countries of these regions, they took their cultural traditions with them and with passing time it merged with the local traditions, thus giving rise to a cross-cultural customs and practices. Indonesia, Japan, Cambodia, China, Thailand, Myanmar, and Tibet<sup>38</sup>. These countries worship Sarasvati and celebrate festivals in her honour. She remains the goddess of wisdom, light, purity, music, language, poetry and many more even in these countries. Her iconographic representation too remains almost similar to the Indian representation with minor regional touch. However, she is not revered only in Hindu traditions, but Jain and Buddhist<sup>39</sup> religions too integrate her as the goddess of wisdom and source of all learning.

The legendary river, despite being surrounded with many controversies over its origin, existence, and course of flow, has continued to maintain its sacredness in the Indian culture. In the present time search for original channel of the Sarasvati river is going on. The Vedas are seen as the repository of all knowledge from which Indian culture flows. Particularly, the Rigveda being the earliest written text of the Indian subcontinent and source of Hindu traditions, was written on the banks of Sarasvati river, finding its roots becomes all the more important. It is seen as a river which provided wisdom to Vedic seers who composed the Rigveda and other religious texts which form the basis for the Hindu culture and traditions. Today various scientific and modern technologies are being applied to find the 'lost' river. Various scientific organisations including ISRO (Indian Science and Research Organisation), GSI (Geological Survey of India), ASI (Archaeological Survey of India) and Centre of Excellence for Research on the Sarasvati River (CERSR), Kurukshetra University are engaged in research. Some claim that the ancient channel of the Sarasvati River can be seen in the satellite imagery, topographic analysis and based on these evidences, Haryana government has launched a project to reclaim, revive and revitalise the Sarasvati river. Hopefully, such researches may increase authentic knowledge about the Sarasvati in future.

## Notes

1. Muir, 1870: 337-347.
2. Allchin & Allchin, 1982: 358.
3. Baidur, 2009: 48.
4. Rigveda, Book 2, Hymn 41, Line 16; Muir, 1870: 337-347.
5. Kalyanaraman, 1997: 3.
6. Bakshi, 2019: 52, 61-63.
7. Kalyanaraman, 1997: 3-4.
8. Kochhar, 2000: 132.

9. Danino, 2015-16: 67.
  10. Jhunjhunwala, 2020: 203.
  11. Pande, 1949: 93.
  12. Colebrooke, 1985: 16-17.
  13. Witzel, 2012: 74, 125, 133; Ludvik, 2007: 85.
  14. Baidur, 2009: 48.
  15. Olivelle, 2004: 24.
  16. Oldham, 1893: 50.
  17. Kalyanaraman, 1997: 8-10.
  18. The Indian Express, 2021.
  19. Muir, 1870: 337-347; Moor, 1865: 125-127.
  20. MacLagan, 1885: 706-707.
  21. Oldham, 1893: 55.
  22. Eck, 2013: 220.
  23. Thapar, 2004: 42.
  24. Danino, 2015-16: 55.
  25. Thomas, 1883: 363.
  26. Stein, 1942: 182.
  27. Chadha, 2011: 69-71.
  28. Singh, 2008: 137.
  29. Dikshit, 2012-2013: 1.
  30. Ibid: 3.
  31. Kenoyer, 1991: 333-34.
  32. Lal, 2002: 47-48.
  33. Shaffer and Litchenstein, 1989: 123.
  34. Singh, 2003: 32.
  35. Kudelska et al, 2016: 130.
  36. The Daily Pioneer, 2017.
  37. Eck, 2013: 265-79.
  38. Pande, 2006: 660-661.
  39. Sherab, 2007: 65-68.
- Bibliography**
- “Sarasvati Mahotsav on Jan 28”, *The Daily Pioneer*, 7 January 2017.
- Allchin, B., and R. Allchin. (1982), *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*, Cambridge University Press, India.
- Baidur, M. (2009), “Nature as Non-terrestrial: Sacred Natural Landscapes and Place in Indian Vedic and Purāṇic Thought”, *Environmental Philosophy*, 6 (2), pp. 43–58.
- Chadha, A. (2011), “Conjuring a river, imagining civilisation: Sarasvati, archaeology and science in India”, *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 45, 1, SAGE Publications LA/London/ New Delhi, pp. 55-83.
- Colebrooke, H.T. (1885), *On the Vedas, or, Sacred writings of the Hindus*, Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
- Danino, M. (2015), “From Sarasvati to Ganga”, *Sandhi-A Journal Of Science and Heritage Initiatives*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, IIT Kharagpur, pp. 32-35.
- Danino, M. (2015, 2016). The Riddle of the Sarasvati River, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. 65, Nos. 1–4, September–December 2015 and March–June 2016 issue, pp. 55–69.
- Dikshit, K.N. (2012-13), “The Rise Of Indian Civilization: Recent Archaeological Evidence From The Plains of ‘Lost’ River Sarasvati And Radio-Metric Dates”, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute*, Vol. 72/73, pp. 1-42.
- Eck, Diana L. (2013), *India: A sacred geography*, Harmony, Random House, New York.
- Habib, I. 2001. “Imagining River Sarasvati: A defence of commonsense” In *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 61st session, Kolkata, 2000-01, pp. 67-92: 46.
- Jhunjhunwala, Bharat. (2020). “Sarasvati River of the Rigveda” in *Transactions of the Institute of Indian Geographers*, Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 203-216.
- Kalyanaraman, S. (1997). *Sarasvati River (c. 3000 to 1500 BC). Sarasvati Sindhu Research Centre*. Chennai.
- Kelting, M. W. (2001), *Singing to the Jinas: Jain Laywomen, Mandal Singing, and the Negotiations of Jain Devotion*, Oxford University Press.
- Kenoyer, J. M. (1991), “The Indus Valley Tradition of Pakistan and Western India”, *Journal of World Prehistory*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 331-385.
- Kochhar, R. (2000). *The Vedic People: Their History and Geography*. Orient Longman, Hyderabad.
- Lal, B. B. (2002). *The Sarasvati Flows on*. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.
- Ludvik, C. (2007). *Sarasvatī, Riverine Goddess of Knowledge: From the Manuscript-carrying Vīṇā-player to the Weapon-wielding Defender of the Dharma*, BRILL.
- MacLagan, R. (1885). “The Rivers of the Punjab”, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, Vol. 7, No. 11 (Nov., 1885), pp. 705-719.
- Marta Kudelska, Agnieszka Staszczyk and Agata Świerzowska, (2016). “On The Road To Great India – A Program Of National Revival: The Sarasvati Temple In Pilani as an Expression Of The Worldview Of G.D. Birla”, *Politeja*, No. 40, *Modern South Asia: A Space Of Intercultural Dialogue*, pp. 129-158.
- Moor, E. ([1810] 1865), *The Hindu Pantheon*, Trubner and Co., London.
- Muir, J. (1870). *Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India- Their Religions and Institutions*, Vol. 5, Trubner and Co., London.
- Olivelle, P. (2004). *Translated, The Law Code of Manu*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp.13-25.
- Pande, G.C. (ed.) (2006). *India’s Interaction with Southeast Asia: 1 (History of Science, Philosophy & Culture in Indian Civilisation)*, The University of Michigan.
- Pande, R.B. (1949). “The Historical Interpretation Of The Nadi-Stuti Hymn In The Rigveda”, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 12, pp. 93-96.
- Oldham, C.F., (Jan., 1893). “The Sarasvati and the Lost River of the Indian Desert”, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 49-76.
- Shaffer, Jim G. and D. A. Lichtenstein. (1989). “Ethnicity and Change in the Indus Valley Cultural Tradition” in J. M. Kenoyer (ed.): *Old Problems and New Perspectives in the Archaeology of South Asia*, pp. 117-26. Madison: Dept. of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin.

- Sherab, K. P. (2007). *Tara's Enlightened Activity: An oral commentary on the twenty-one praises to Tara, Shambhala*.
- Singh, Shivaji. (2003). *Vedic Culture and its Continuity: New Paradigm and Dimensions*. Keynote Address delivered at the National Seminar held at Vikram University, Ujjain.
- Singh, U. (2008). *A History of Ancient and Early Medieval India: From the Stone Age to the 12th Century*, Pearson Education India.
- Stein, A. (1942). "A Survey of Ancient Sites along the Lost Sarasvati River", *Geographical Journal*, 99 (4), pp. 173–82.
- Thakran, R.C. (2000). "Implications of Partition on Protohistoric Investigations in the Ghaggar-Ganga Basins", *Social Scientist*, 28 (1), pp. 42–67.
- Thapar, R. (2004). *Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300*, University of California Press.
- The Indian Express, February 15, 2021, Chandigarh.
- Thomas, E. (1883). "The Rivers of the Vedas, and the Way the Aryans Entered India", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 15, pp. 357–86.
- Witzel, M. (2012). *The Origins of the World's Mythologies*, Oxford University Press.