

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Early Harappan</i>	<i>Mature Harappan</i>	<i>Late Harappan</i>
1. Bahawalpur (Lower Sarasvati basin)	45	174	50
2. North Rajasthan (Upper Sarasvati basin)	20	20	0
3. Punjab	24	59	174
4. Haryana	181	120	618
5. Western UP	—	4	10
6. Gujarat	—	310	198

The statistics given above is extremely important and significant as it reveals a distinct pattern of Harappan settlements in different regions, more particularly in the Sarasvati basin, which has an important bearing on the Aryan problem. It will be noticed that the number (174) of Mature phase Harappan settlements in the lower basin of the Sarasvati (Bahawalpur or Cholistan region) is almost equal to that in the upper basin (179) in Punjab and Haryana, but in the late phase it decreases considerably in the lower basin (50), and tremendously increases in the upper basin (792) in Punjab and Haryana.

This settlement pattern is doubtless intriguing and needs to be seriously considered. It can be explained as due to the migration of the Harappans from the lower basin to the upper reaches of the river. It clearly indicates that when the Sarasvati was flowing in full force in the fourth and the third millennia, the Early and Mature phase settlements could flourish on its banks, but were abandoned when the river began to dry towards the close of the third millennium. It seems to have completely dried up in the lower reaches in the beginning of the second millennium BC and the people had no alternative but to migrate to other regions, particularly in the upper basin of the river where water was available. The exodus may have begun from about 2200 BC when the decline of the Indus civilization set in and by 2000 BC a vast majority of the settlements were deserted in the lower basin by urban Harappans. Only this explains the tremendous increase of the late Harappan sites in the upper basin. Many may have migrated to other regions and, as will be seen later, even beyond the frontiers of India for which there is some archaeological and even literary evidence.

In a very meticulous analysis of Harappan settlements, V.N. Misra (2000) has drawn some significant conclusions. First, a vast majority of