The Kangar

'Of all the Kangar, the most well known lived in southern Mesopotamia in antiquity. We call them Sumerians.'

Joseph Amyot Padjan

The Kangar

Joseph Amyot Padjan

The Kangar

For Muta

Contents

Preface

This book is not about the dagger, or short sword, called *khangar,* or *khanjar,* a choice weapon for many men throughout the ages, but about the ancient tribe or people whose name for themselves—Kangar—means sword- or dagger-bearer, and became the name for the dagger itself. That is to say, the name of the dagger, wherever the *khangar* or *khanjar* or *handžar* is used, whether in Iraq, Oman, Yemen, Egypt, the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia, or India, comes from the name of the people—the Kangar. The Kangar were, or rather are, aborigines of India, and they are one of the most ancient peoples in the world, with a history spanning many thousands of years and involving numerous countries. Of all the Kangar, the most well known lived in southern Mesopotamia in antiquity. We call them Sumerians.

It is important to mention here a phenomenon that often occurs among peoples lasting millennia, or even centuries. When a people or a tribe endures a very long time, through whatever bonds, new names for it, or variations on its original appellation, are bound to arise, whether from evolution, or from corruption; and as new septs or clans are the natural outgrowth of a successful and organized people, as are distinct subdivisions, so new names are all the more likely to arise among them.

So has it been with the Kangar. In the course of their long history, a variety of forms of their name have come into use, and new clans, as well as distinct subdivisions, have cropped up again and again, bearing either new names altogether, or variant forms differing more or less from the original name, which, in the case of the Kangar, was either Kankali, or Kangari. Today they are most widely known by the exonyms Gonds and Khonds and Khands, though they call themselves Kuenju (Kangju) or Kangar or Kankali or Koi (Koya) or Koitors, etc., depending on their tribal division.

How Kankali came to be Kangari, or vice versa, at least among some divisions of the people, is no mystery at all; the one evolved into the other on account of the presence of phonemes that became interchanged, namely, the *k* sound for the sound of *g*, or vice versa; and the *l* sound for that of *r*, or vice versa; and eventually for some divisions, the *i* on the end was dropped, or it was added; hence Kangar, Kangari, Kangali, Kankali, and so forth.

In the pages that follow, I will present all the known variants of the name of the Kangar, as well as all the names of the known subdivisions; I will trace the history of the Kangar to the present from their earliest appearance in sources, as well as from the evidence of DNA, and locate them, or endeavor to locate them, wherever they have ended up.

Thus in a stew mostly of facts, seasoned with speculations and conjectures as needed, a picture of the Kangar, their origin, and their history, emerges.

This book is, in the main, not a history proper, but an argument, or series of arguments, intended to demonstrate, in

so far as it is possible, that the Sumerians were, in fact, the Kangar.

Joseph Amyot Padjan

Bangkok, 2016

The Kangar

I

The First Kangar

Deeply held origin myths, however richly embroidered, have a habit of being right. – Bryan Sykes

On an island in the sea an anonymous goddess and the god Niramiranjan looked into each other's eyes, and thereby conceived a child. Nine months and nine hours later their daughter was born; but the mother goddess was not happy. Fearing she lost her divine virtues by bearing a child, she refused to nurse her baby, and threw the infant into the sea. Niramiranjan the god seeing the atrocity, rescued his daughter and brought her home. She was named Kankali-Kali-Kankali. She was the first Kangar.[1]

One day Kankali went to the sea to swim, not knowing that a group of gods were near the shore. When she removed her clothes and stepped into the water, they saw her and began to shout and clap and laugh. Kankali was disgraced. She returned home, where her father Niramiranjan, who for twelve years had weighed her daily, found her now to weigh more than five mugri

[1] Behram H. Mehta, *Gonds of the Central Indian Highlands*, Volume I (Concept Publishing Company, 1984), pp. 188-189.

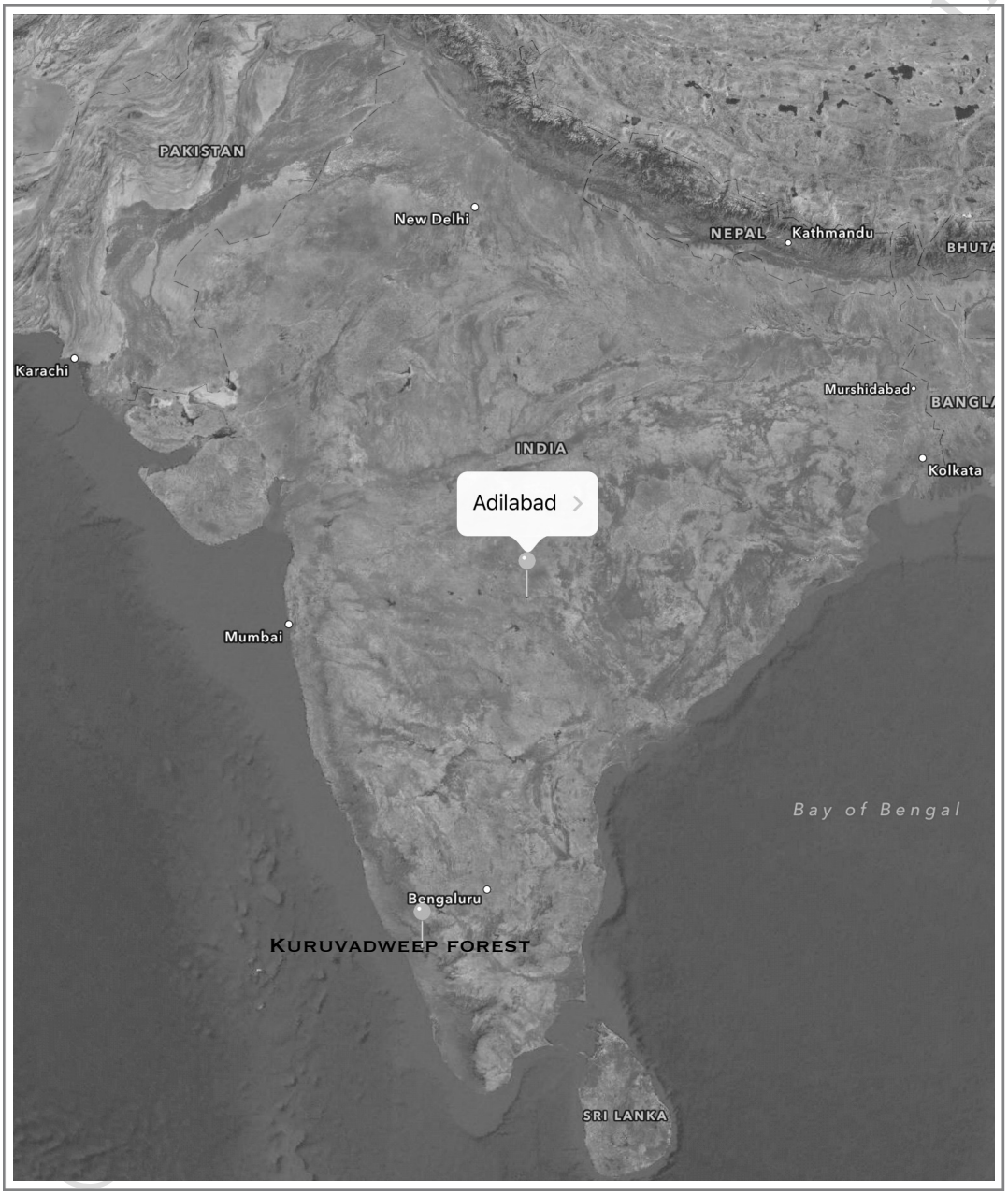
flowers, and thus discovered her to be pregnant. Kankali was now impure and she was banished. She left her home, and walked for nine months until she reached Kuruvadweep forest.[2] There she leant on a saj tree, and gave birth to the Gond gods, who transformed into men and became the progenitors of, among others, the Koya (Koia),[3] relatives of the Kuenju, or Kangju. Thus the Koya, like the Kuenju, are Kangar.

The paragraphs above are a summary of the origin myth of the Gonds. It is, in fact, the origin myth of the Kangar. The myth was recorded in Adilabad in the mid-twentieth century by Austrian ethnologist Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf.[4]

[2] Behram H. Mehta, *Gonds of the Central Indian Highlands*, p. 189.

[3] Mehta, p. 193.

[4] Mehta, p. 193.



Kuruvadweep forest in relation to Adilabad

Now, I will be the first to point out how extraordinary it is that a people living from time immemorial in the very heart of India, so distant from the sea in every direction, have an origin myth that states that the goddess who bore them—Kankali-Kali-Kankali—was born on an island in the sea.

The fact that the sea is mentioned in this origin myth, and in it has so prominent and conspicuous a role, demonstrates that the related groups—the Koya and the Kuenju, who are both Kangar—could not have originated where the myth was recorded. People cannot talk about real things that they do not know or have any knowledge of; and if the Kangar were originally from central India, where they live now, many hundreds of miles from the sea in all directions, their ancestors would have had no knowledge of the sea (which is what anthropologist Behram H. Mehta inclined to believe), and would not have been able to talk about it. Therefore the ancient Kangar from whom the myth first came, to talk about the sea in the myth of their origin, and to talk about an island, must have known the sea and features of it. Since the myth states that Kankali-Kali-Kankali was conceived and born on an island in the sea, we are right to suppose that the ancient homeland of the Kangar was, just as the myth relates, an island in the sea. That is to say, the ancient Kangar must have been an island people before moving to mainland India, and an island off the coast of India must have been the place of their origin.

Behram Mehta, author of *Gonds of the Central Indian Highlands*, the definitive work on the Gonds (Koyas, Koitors, Kuenju, Kangju, Kangar, Khonds, Khands, Kankali, etc.—all are of the same stock), did not fail to realize that an explanation

for the existence of such a sea origin myth among this people must be attempted. Mehta says:

> The references to the sea and ocean may be to the river Godavari; or it could be the eastern coastline of India near Visakhapatnam.[5]

Since Mehta speaks long and in detail on every other aspect of Gond culture and society in his book, and goes into Gond problems deeply, it is interesting that he devoted a mere sentence or two to this remarkable aspect of their origin myth. I am inclined to think he saw no easy way to explain how a people living in central India could owe their origin to a goddess that had been born on an island in the sea or ocean, and that he could offer only a superficial conjecture at what the word *ocean* signifies in the myth. Mehta again:

> The Gonds have not migrated over sea; but to a primitive society, crossing the banks of great rivers is like crossing oceans.[6]

Below I have reworded his sentence to express the meaning of it as clearly as possible:

> To a primitive society that has not crossed an ocean, crossing a great river is like crossing an ocean.

Mehta's conjecture is, that the reference to the ocean in the myth is explainable by the perception a primitive society would have of the crossing of a great river—that if the river is great, it is *like* an ocean *to that society*. Mehta assumes that that primitive

[5] Mehta, p. 176.

[6] Mehta, p. 58.

society in particular, the Gonds, or Kangar, living in the heart of India, could have had no experience of an ocean. Now, to a primitive society, or to any other kind of society for that matter, with no experience of an ocean, a river, however great, can be to them like nothing at all but a river. In other words, a primitive society with no experience of an ocean cannot consider a great river to be like any ocean. It is only a society that has experience of an ocean that can consider any other body of water at all to be like an ocean, or not to be like one. Thus, without experience of an ocean, crossing a river to any society can be only like crossing a river; and such society would have no word for ocean. Only a society that has experience of an ocean can possibly have a word to signify such. The Gonds, or Kangar, have a word that signifies ocean, and their having such word, which is not a borrowed one, indicates experience (their ancestors' experience) of an ocean or the sea. Mehta's explanation of the reference to the ocean in the myth is therefore untenable. It is not correct. Mehta:

> Grigson, perhaps basing his theory on the Hislop discovered Gond legend, suggests that the aboriginal Gonds were originally a riverine people on the Godavari river. He identifies the Koitor Gonds [ancestors of the Koyas, and thus Kangar], so well-known to the Gonds of Chanda and Adillabad, to be the original tribe of Gonds.[7]
>
> The Gonds of the Godavari river, including the Koyias [Koyas] and Reddys, have been studied by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf. The

[7] Mehta, p. 62.

> Koyias are on the Godavari river, north and east of Warrangal.[8] [Brackets added.]

It must be borne in mind that a riverine people whose lexicon includes a word to signify ocean cannot possibly be without a word to signify river; and for both words to exist in their lexicon, they must have experience, or their ancestors must have had experience, of an ocean or the sea as well as of a river. In the myth the word to signify an ocean or the sea is used; the word to signify a river is not used. If in the myth the body of water referred to were a river, then in the myth the word to signify river would have been used.

Fürer-Haimendorf, as said above, recorded the myth in the Adilabad region near the river Godavari.[9] If by the word *ocean* those who related the myth to him had meant that great river, which was within walking distance from them at that time, or had known that their ancestors who told them the myth had meant that great river, they would have said that Kankali was born on an island in that river; they would have *specified* the river Godavari. Those who told Fürer-Haimendorf the myth communicated to him what they had heard, of course, from their ancestors, and so on and so forth, the myth being passed from one generation to another, going back countless generations.

If we were to accept that the word *ocean* in the myth refers to the Godavari River, we must accept that the Kangar who communicated the myth, who at the time were a riverine

[8] Mehta, p. 67.

[9] Mehta, p. 67; p. 193.

people,[10] used a word signifying ocean because their vocabulary lacked a word signifying river. To accept this would be, of course, the height of absurdity. It is impossible that a riverine people would have no word in their vocabulary to signify river, but one instead to signify ocean. The word *ocean* in the myth must signify ocean, that is, the sea.

That Mehta himself had serious doubts about the word *ocean* in the myth referring to the Godavari, or to any other river, is plainly shown by his subsequent statement, that the reference to the ocean may be to the eastern coastline of India, that is, to the ocean off the eastern coast of India near Visakhapatnam—the Indian Ocean. In other words, he was at a loss to reach a conclusion on what the word *ocean* in the myth signifies, whether a great river, the Godavari, or in fact an ocean or the sea. Had he not been at such a loss, he would not have sat on the fence between the two very different alternatives that he mentions to explain the reference to the ocean in the myth.

Mehta is undoubtedly the foremost authority on the Gonds. His work on them is systematic and scrupulous, and by far more extensive than any other work on them. He was exceedingly thorough. As an anthropologist, he was of the first and highest class. In fact, it is hard to imagine that his work on them will ever be surpassed in thoroughness and quality. Nevertheless, his explanation of the presence of the reference to the ocean in the Gond, or Kangar, origin myth, is unsatisfactory.

Besides the Godavari, which naturally we dismiss from consideration for the reasons given above, Mehta without saying why suggests, as already mentioned, that the eastern coastline of India, near Visakhapatnam, may be what is meant by the

[10] Mehta, p. 67.

reference to the ocean in the myth. But the identification of Visakhapatnam, or of the coastline near it, as the place where Kankali-Kali-Kankali was born, meets in no way all the criteria necessary to satisfy the identification of it as an accurate one. For, as the myth relates, Kankali-Kali-Kankali was born on an island in the sea or ocean, and off the coast of Visakhapatnam, and for many scores of miles north and south along the coast in that region, not a single island is to be found. Mehta by the way, when he speaks of the eastern coastline of India near Visakhapatnam as possibly being what is meant in the myth by the reference to the ocean, is not thinking of (or speculating about) a time when more sea water was locked up in ice, a time when the sea level was lower, a time when islands were perhaps to be found (they were not to be found) off the coast of India near Visakhapatnam, such as during the last Ice Age. He has in mind a time when coastal India was the same as it is now. Since the myth states that Kankali was born on an island in the ocean, and since there are no islands at all off the coast of India near Visakhapatnam, and none at all for miles and miles north and south along the eastern coast that might be identified as the island where Kankali was born, we dismiss with ease what Mehta says, and rule out the eastern coast of India from consideration as the region to be surveyed for the island on which Kankali was born.

Before we turn our attention to the western coast of India, and survey it for habitable islands suitable for an emergent people, we must, of course, have a look at Sri Lanka, since it is in fact an island, and therefore at first glance presents itself for consideration as possibly being the island abode of the goddess Kankali-Kali-Kankali. Could Sri Lanka be the island we are

looking for? The answer is no. For one, Sri Lanka has been inhabited for more than two thousand years by the Sinhalese and the Tamils, both of whom evidently arrived after its most ancient inhabitants the Nagas, and the history of Sri Lanka is long and well-documented, without the slightest trace of the Gonds, that is, of the Kangar. The absence of any reference to the Kangar in the historical literature of Sri Lanka does not necessarily prove, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the Kangar, or Gonds, never inhabited Sri Lanka, but that absence most strongly suggests that they never set foot on that island in antiquity. Moreover, if the Gonds, or Kangar, who are attested to worship and revere, and to have as totems, trees, plants, and spices (one Kangar sept or clan, the Haldi, revered turmeric),[11] had come originally from Sri Lanka, at least one of the Kangar clans (such as one of the twenty-seven recorded by Captain Luard and shown below) would most definitely have worshipped or revered, or have had as a totem, cinnamon. Yet not a single Kangar clan has revered cinnamon or has had it as a totem. Cinnamon was unknown to the Kangar, and since it was unknown to them, so must have been Sri Lanka.

Mehta, who obviously gave little space in his book to the reference to the ocean and the island in the myth, could have easily suggested Sri Lanka as a candidate for the identification of the island home of Kankali, but he knew the reasons why Sri Lanka could not be the island that the myth refers to. Many other reasons exist to eliminate Sri Lanka from consideration as the island home of Kankali-Kali-Kankali, but it is needless to go through them, the one given above about their ignorance of

[11] Captain C. E. Luard, *Of the Dravidian Tract* (H. H. Risley, Census of India, Volume I, Ethnographic Appendices, pp. 165-166, 1901), pp. 165-166.

cinnamon, together with the more important one about their absence in the literature and history of Sri Lanka, being perfectly sufficient to eliminate that island as the birthplace of Kankali-Kali-Kankali.

Now we turn our attention to the western coast of India in our search for the island home of Kankali, and we have good reason to look for it in the waters on the western side of the subcontinent. Leaving Sri Lanka behind and following the coastline of the mainland southwards, we soon round the southern tip of India and find ourselves off the coast of Kerala, a state in the southwest of India. Kuruvadweep forest is in Kerala, and according to the Gond origin myth, Kankali, after leaving her island home and walking for nine months, arrived at last in Kuruvadweep forest, and there, while leaning against a saj tree (*Terminalia tomentosa*), gave birth to the Gond gods, who the myth says transformed into men, and became the progenitors of the Koyas and their relatives (the Kuenju, etc.). The fact that the myth mentions Kuruvadweep forest, which is hundreds of miles from the place where the myth was recorded, is evidence that the myth must in part be a record of real events. The Kangar must have spent some time in Kuruvadweep forest. In fact, there is no doubt that the Gonds, or Kangar, spent a long time in regions to the south of the Godavari. R. V. Russell, in his *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, writes:

> This evidence seems to establish a probability that the Gonds [Koyas] and Khonds [Khands, Kuenju] *were originally one tribe* in the south of India, and that they obtained separate names and languages since they left their original home for the north. The fact that both of them speak languages of the Dravidian family,

> whose home is in southern India, makes it probable that the two tribes originally belonged there.[12] [Brackets and italics added.]

People are not static. A tribe or a people that has formed in one location may inhabit for ages the place where their ethnogenesis occurred, and then, for various reasons, whether warfare, drought, or plague, abandon their ancestral land and become migrants who eventually settle in a region far from the spot of their nativity. And if such a people endures for scores of generations, the act of abandoning one habitation and removing to another is bound to repeat itself multiple times, resulting in a number of ancient habitations or homelands of the people. Such phenomenon, this periodic moving from an ancient habitation to a new land, is, as all the various evidence indicates, a feature of the history of the Kangar.

Now, as mentioned above, the origin myth of the Gonds, or Kangar, states that Kankali-Kali-Kankali, after being banished from her island home owing to her impurity, walked a whole nine months alone, the entire duration of her pregnancy, until she reached at last Kuruvadweep forest, where she gave birth to the Gond gods. Despite the fact that the myth represents Kankali as having made her trek alone, it should be understood, and it is well to remember, that the myth is the story of the origin and movement of the people, the Kangar, and for that reason Kankali in the myth is to be seen as the people we call Kangar, or Kangali. At any rate, because she represents the Kangar, I will retrace the migration as made by the goddess Kankali. Of course, in this endeavor, speculation will take the lead at the outset, but, as will be seen, it will deliver us to firm

[12] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, Volume III (Macmillan and Company, 1916), p. 44.

ground; and what at first may seem far-fetched or fanciful, will shortly become very plausible, to say the least.

Since Kankali walked for nine months before arriving at Kuruvadweep forest, which is located in the northernmost part of interior Kerala, outside and far beyond the regions of the south where cinnamon grows, and since the Kangar had no knowledge of cinnamon, her journey to Kuruvadweep must have begun in an area located to the north of that forest; for if it had begun in southern Kerala, where cinnamon bark is harvested, the descendants of Kankali-Kali-Kankali, the Kangar, would have known about, and would have thus revered cinnamon. Most important, there are no islands at all off the west coast of southern India, or below its tip, where could possibly be found the one referred to in the myth, where the Kangar must have emerged as a people.

Kankali's journey thus began on an island in the ocean, but her walk to Kuruvadweep forest of course commenced on the mainland. The first part of her journey, therefore, involved crossing the water between the island and India proper. After reaching shore, she probably followed a coastal route till reaching the latitude of Kuruvadweep forest; and the direction of her travel, or migration, which really was, again, the migration of the Kangar people, was from north to south, it being impossible, for the reasons already given, that it was the reverse. Since, therefore, her journey really began when she left the island, and since, for reasons to be shown below, the island must be at the same latitude, or almost the same latitude, as the coastal location where her walk began, we can discover the latitude of each if we discover the latitude of one.

The argument against the latitude of the island and the latitude of the shore she landed on being wide apart, is that her journey or migration to Kuruvadweep forest took approximately nine months to complete; and for a journey on foot to Kuruvadweep forest to have taken nine months or so from the place where it began, it could not have been undertaken at a latitude close to the latitude of the forest. The latitude of the forest and the latitude of the starting point of her walk to it, therefore, must have been far apart—far enough apart to allow for a migration of approximately nine months, along a coastline limited in its length. The limited length of the coastline restricts how far to the north the starting point of the migration could have been, and the nine months that the migration took restricts how far to the south the starting point could have been. Keeping these definite restrictions in mind, and remembering that the starting point of her walk must have been far from the forest, and of necessity to the north of it, we must conclude that her walk along the coast began fairly close to the latitude of the island, rather than to any latitude far to the south of it, or far to the north of it.

For such reasons above, Kankali's, or rather the Kangar's, sea journey from the island to the mainland must have been fairly direct, perhaps even straight across the sea. In any case, from all the above, it is clear that the island home of the Kangar was well to the north of the state of Kerala.

To determine how far to the north of Kerala the starting point of Kankali's, or the Kangar's migration to the south was, we should endeavor to estimate how far north we might walk along the western coast of India in nine months or so from the latitude line that Kuruvadweep is on, without failing to take into

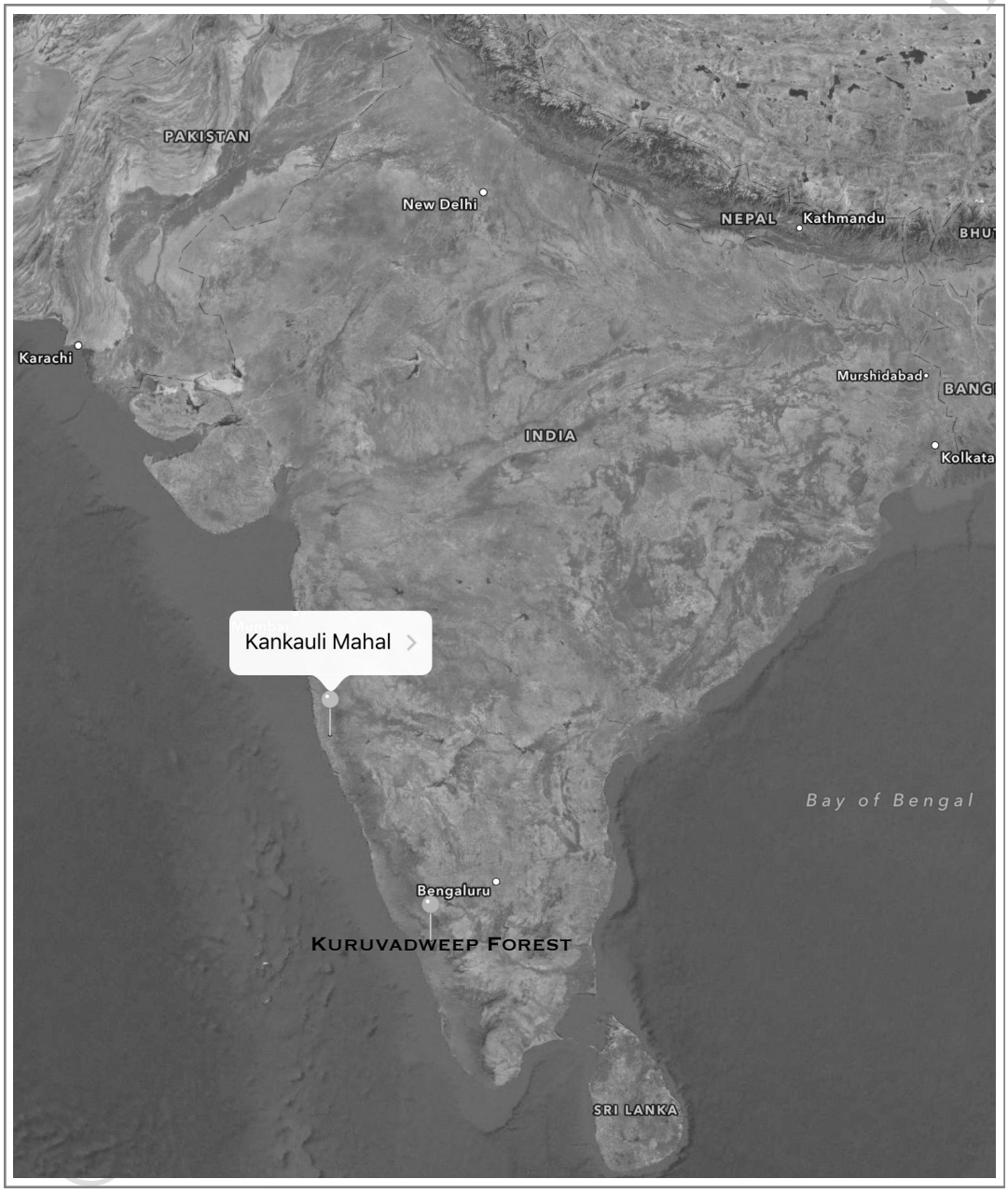
account the terrain to be crossed and the difficulties it may present for foot travel; and, at the same time, we may scan the coast for islands that present themselves as candidates for the identification of Kankali's ancestral island home.

The town of Kalpetta is next to Kuruvadweep forest. If we were to walk from Kalpetta in Kerala to Daman, which coastal city lies between Surat and Mumbai or Bombay in the state of Daman and Diu, we would cover as we walked northward, depending on our chosen route, a distance of approximately one thousand two hundred fifty kilometers, or roughly seven hundred seventy-five miles. It would not be an easy coastal walk because of the Western Ghats and countless river crossings, but even at a pace of three miles a day, which we could easily do, we would make it from Kalpetta to Daman in nine months and a half or less. There would be days, of course, when we would walk fewer than three miles, just as there would be days when we would cover more ground, perhaps five to seven miles or more in a day. Considering that we are trying to determine how far the whole people or the tribe, the Kangar, could have walked in nine months or so, and not forgetting to consider all the challenges that they may have faced, and the difficulties that may have slowed them down, I think the best estimate is, that if they walked or migrated an average of three miles a day, they would have arrived in Kuruvadweep forest in a little over nine months if their journey to the south had begun at Daman.

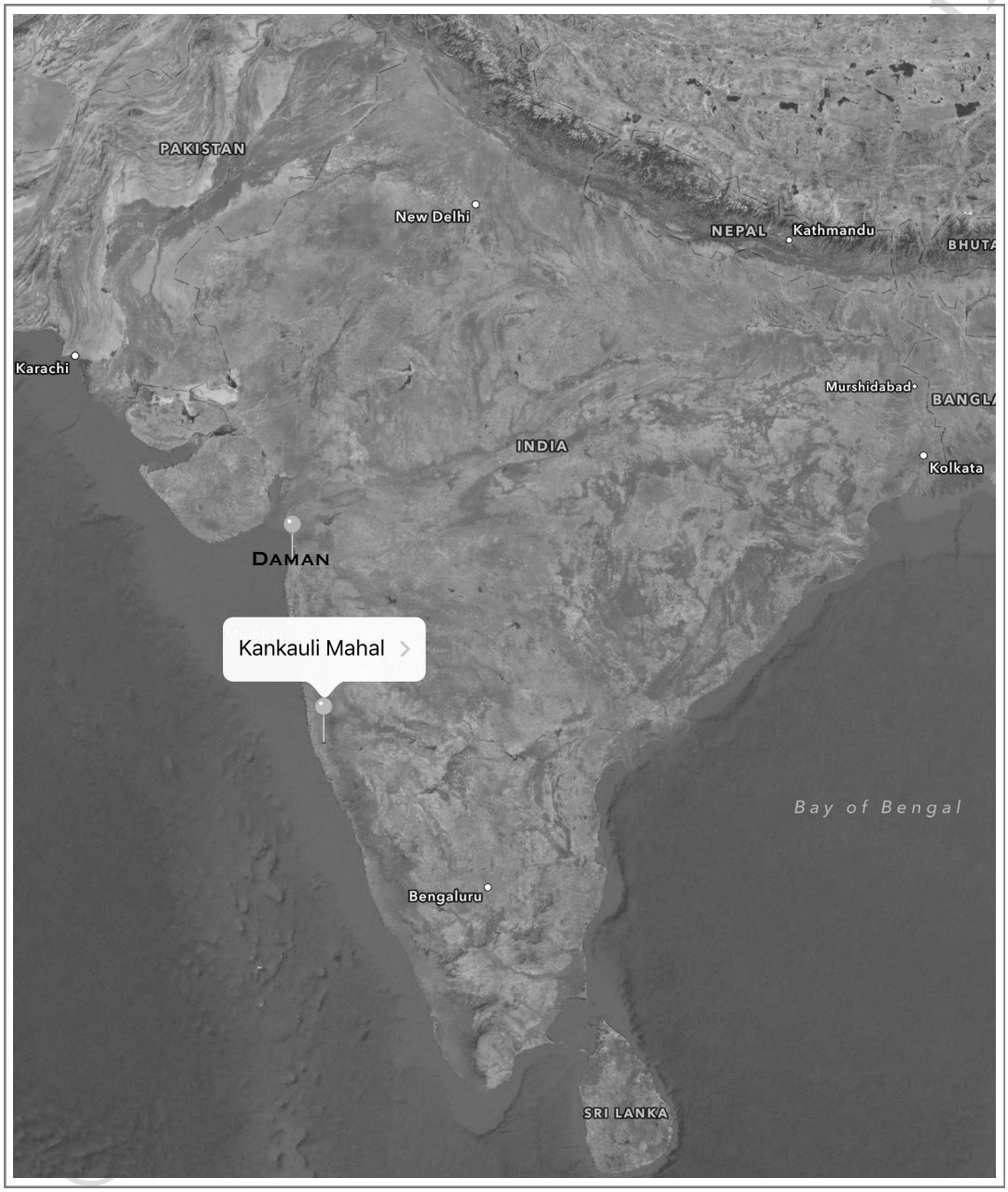
Where, then, should we look for the island that was once home to Kankali-Kali-Kankali, that is, home to the Kangar? I think it is obvious we should look for it off the coast of India near Daman, in the Gulf of Cambay, or in the Arabian Sea. While it is true that there are a few islands off the coast of India

between Daman and Kuruvadweep forest, we must allow for a migration on foot that took nine months or so to complete. The islands to the south of Daman, with the exception of Arnala Island, are too close to Kuruvadweep forest, and therefore too far from the place where the starting point of the migration must have been; and Arnala Island, like all the other islands between it and Daman, is too small to have been the birthplace of a people. In any case, Daman is at an ideal latitude, and it is at its latitude that we should look, in the Gulf of Cambay, or better yet in the Arabian Sea, for the island home of the Kangar.

It might be wondered at this point whether there is anything that might indicate, or even confirm, or perhaps confute, that I am correct or am mistaken in designating the western shore of India as the side of the subcontinent on which the migration took place, whether, in fact, there is anything that indicates that a coastal route paralleling the Western Ghats was used by the Kangar for a migration from Daman or its vicinity, to Kuruvadweep forest. Two toponyms support my arguments:



Kuruvadweep forest in relation to Kankauli Mahal



Daman in relation to Kankauli Mahal

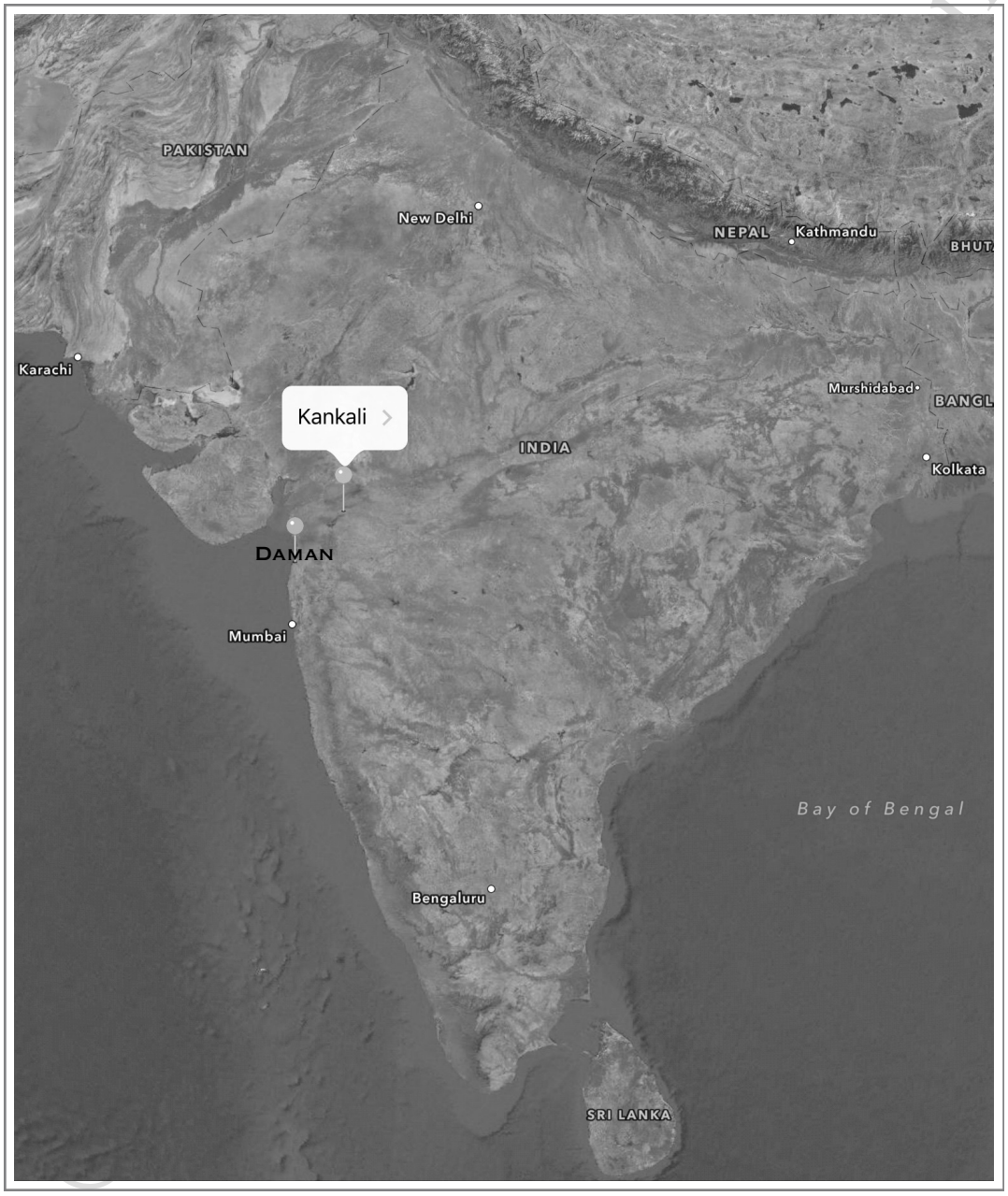
Kankauli (कनकौली) Mahal (महल) is named after the goddess Kankali-Kali-Kankali. The word *mahal* in this sense means 'village.' Kankauli became a mahal in Maharashtra officially in 1945, and at that time Hindi together with English was used in Maharashtra for official administrative purposes. In 1966, when Marathi became the official language of Maharashtra, the Marathi spelling of Kankauli supplanted the original spelling, and as a result the name was transformed, or rather corrupted, into the spelling Kankavli (कनकवल्लि), which has not the same etymology as Kankauli (कनकौली). In brief, Kankauli is the original, and it is derived, as shown above, from the name of the goddess. Now, the village of Kankauli Mahal, which is halfway between Daman and Kuruvadweep forest, or almost halfway, being named after the goddess, could have been settled or first occupied by none other than those who claim descent from her, namely, the Kangar; and thus they, or a branch of them, must have settled where the mahal is. Its location is significant, for the village lies outside the known territory of the Gonds, or Kangar. It is at latitude 16.2°, and it lies to the west of longitude 74°, to the west of the Western Ghats. Mehta states:

> The total habitat to all the Gonds [Kangar], therefore, lies somewhat between Lat. 18° and 26° N. and Long. 74° and 88° E.[13]

Since Kankauli Mahal lies well outside the present habitat of all the Kangar, or Gonds, it must have been in antiquity that they settled in the area where Kankauli Mahal is located, and thus in antiquity that they gave the settlement the name Kankauli. It

[13] Mehta, p. 59.

could not have been named Kankauli in historical times since it is far outside the historical habitat or territory of the Gonds, or Kangar. Another place named Kankali, as shown on the map below, demonstrates that they must also have settled to the northeast of Daman:



Daman in relation to Kankali

Now, I pointed out above that Mehta, when he says that the references to the ocean and the sea in the Gond (Kangar) origin myth may be to the eastern coastline near Visakhapatnam, is not thinking of a time when the sea level was lower than it is today, such as during the last Ice Age. He suggested that area on the basis of the known historical locations of the Gonds, without realizing that in directing our attention to the coastline of that area, he was directing our attention to a region where there are no islands in the ocean at all. The total absence of islands in that region makes it necessary to conclude that he was entirely mistaken, and that we look elsewhere for the island mentioned in the myth. And for the reasons I have already given, as well as for others to be shown below, we must look where I have suggested.

Although Mehta did not consider the coastlines of India as they appeared during the last Ice Age, or as they changed over time as the ice melted and released enormous quantities of water into the sea, it is necessary that we take into consideration how sea-level rise has altered the shape of coastal India, and examine maps that show the coasts of India as they looked at different periods in the ancient past—necessary because the Kangar have lived in India for thousands, or tens of thousands of years, as the antiquity of their DNA—the DNA of the Koya—proves.[14] Fortunately we need concern ourselves only with the western coast of India, having already eliminated from our survey the eastern and southern coasts. Now, a close inspection of maps of present-day India reveals that there are no islands off the western coast of India near Daman, nor any for many scores of

[14] Kivisild, T., Rootsi, S., et al., *The Genetic Heritage of the Earliest Settlers Persists Both in Indian Tribal and Caste Populations* (American Journal of Human Genetics 72, pp. 313–332, 2003), p. 321.

miles to the north of Daman, or any single one to the south of it that meets the criteria that must be met for its identification as the island home of Kankali; there are none close to the shore, none in the Gulf of Cambay, and none in the Arabian Sea, in the compass of our search. Where, then, was the ancient island home of Kankali-Kali-Kankali, or the Kangar?

Since the science of genetics has established it as fact that the antiquity of the Kangar in India is very great, and since the history of the people themselves indicates that they have lived in India since time immemorial, we must take into account that the story of their origin is likely to be as ancient as, or almost as ancient as, the Kangar themselves, that the myth itself is, in fact, thousands of years old. What islands, if any, might have existed off the coast near Daman, or at least about the same latitude as it, when the sea level was lower, when more sea water was locked up in ice in the ancient past, and more land exposed, such as during the Ice Age and as it came to an end?

Dr Glenn Milne, 'a specialist in glacioisostacy and glaciation-induced sea-level change at Durham University's Department of Geology,' has, along with his colleagues, 'established a worldwide reputation predicting ancient sea-level changes and the corresponding changes in the earth's coastlines.'[15] Milne and his team have produced a number of maps with their computer models to show what coastal India looked like at various times in the ancient past, and one of them shows what the coastline of India looked like 7700 years ago. This map reveals something very relevant to the present work. I have made a version of it, shown below:

[15] Graham Hancock, *Underworld: The Mysterious Origins of Civilization* (Crown/Archetype, 2009), p. 22.

India as it appeared 7700 years ago.[16] 'Kankali Island,' which might just as well be called 'Kangar Island,' was a real island off the coast of India. By 6900 years ago it was completely submerged.[17]

[16] Graham Hancock, *Underworld*, p. 263.

[17] Hancock, p. 263.

'Kankali Island' (or 'Kangar Island') on the map above, which existed from approximately 13,500 years before present until about 6900 years ago, is the only island that satisfies the requirements that must be satisfied for the positive identification of the ancestral island home of the Kangar. It must be the island referred to in the origin myth of the Kangar, or Gonds. No other island comes close to suggesting itself as likely to have been the island where their ethnogenesis occurred. It must be remembered about the myth, by the way, that it contains references to real things that are found hundreds of miles from the place where the myth was recorded, one such real thing being the ocean, and the other being Kuruvadweep forest. In other words, the myth is not fiction from beginning to end. It contains references to real things, and since it does so, its reference to the island must be taken seriously. It must be presumed that the island was, in fact, the place of their ethnogenesis. For these reasons, I maintain that Kankali Island on the map above is the island referred to in the origin myth recorded in Adilabad by Fürer-Haimendorf.

Since Kankali Island was submerged by 6900 years ago, the origin myth of the Kangar must be at least 6900 years old. In the even more remote past, back farther than 13,500 years before present, the sea was at a level so low, that the land that would eventually become Kankali Island was itself a western extension, or extremity of mainland India. The most conspicuous feature of this ancient extremity of the subcontinent, as the maps produced by Dr Milne show, was a large inland lake or sea, which existed as far back as 21,300 years.[18] As the sea rose it flooded the land and overflowed the lake, and Kankali Island by

[18] Hancock, p. 262.

degrees emerged into existence. Whether the Kangar had lived in that area even before Kankali Island formed, we have no way of knowing, or even finding out. We do know, owing to the two toponyms earlier mentioned, that at some time or other in antiquity, they must have lived to the north of Daman, where the place named Kankali is, as well as to the south of Daman, where halfway between Daman and Kalpetta lies, near the Western Ghats, Kankauli Mahal. Since the Kangar must have lived in both of those places, there being no other explanation for the existence of those two toponyms, it is difficult to conceive that they would not also have lived, at some point in time, in Daman itself, which at one time lay in the center of this triangle formed by Kankali Island and the two places by the name of Kankali (Kankauli). Since Daman is at the same latitude that the northern part of Kankali Island was, and since according to the myth Kankali was born on an island, and in all probability on that island, it is quite probable that if any people lived near that inland lake or sea, it must have been the Kangar; for the Kangar, or Gonds (Khonds), are the oldest inhabitants of India, and are recognized as such by scholars.[19] If, then, anybody lived there that far back in time, between 13,500 and 21,300 years ago, it was the Kangar, descendants of the goddess Kankali. As the sea rose and inundated the land, between 16,400 and 13,500 years ago, Kankali Island formed;[20] and about 6900 years ago, or about 4885 BCE, when the sea was rising over Kankali Island, the Kangar, who I maintain inhabited that island, must have then set off in boats for mainland India. If so, then the movement of the Kangar from Kankali Island to the

[19] Mehta, p. 171.

[20] Hancock, pp. 262-263.

mainland would have been a major migration, one undertaken of necessity by the whole people; and this migration would have been a most epic event in their history, one long remembered and one to be preserved in story. Thus we have the origin myth of the Kangar, or Gonds, in which in summary we are told the story of the migration. In the myth, as has been said, the Kangar are represented as the goddess Kankali-Kali-Kankali, known by the short form Kankali.

II

The Names of the Kangar

The Koya, born of Kankali-Kali-Kankali according to their origin myth, are Kangar, as said above, Kankali being a variant of Kangari, or vice versa. The Koya live in two places in India, on the Godavari River in Adilabad, and in the Malkangiri district,[21] which is about twenty-five kilometers to the south of Kangar Valley Forest. The *kangiri* in Malkangiri is, of course, a variant of Kankali, or vice versa; that is, it is the same name, whether spelled with a *k*, or with a *g*.

Now, the analysis of the DNA of various aborigines, wherever in the world they may live, has shed much light upon their deep ancestry. Our concern is with the aborigines of India, and what the study of their DNA, and of their Y-DNA in particular, reveals about them. Consider the Koya. Seventy-one percent of Koya males living in Malkangiri belong to Y-DNA haplogroup H-M69 (H1).[22] Worldwide, H-M69 occurs at its highest

[21] Das Kornel, *Tribals and Their Culture: Koya Tribe in Transition* (APH Publishing, 2006), p. 6.

[22] Kivisild, T., *The Genetic Heritage of the Earliest Settlers Persists Both in Indian Tribal and Caste Populations*, p. 321.

frequency among the Koya there. I too belong to Y-DNA haplogroup H-M69 (and to its subgroup H-M82).[23]

My paternal ancestors were the Padjanaks and the Kangar, who arrived together in Europe about 900 CE. I inherited my Y-DNA from the Kangar. Before they migrated to Eastern Europe with the Padjanaks, who were in fact the Kushans,[24] the Kangar lived in Sogdia, which in 130 BCE was known to the Chinese as Kangju,[25] as were its inhabitants. Kangju is a variant of Kuenju, and both of these are, of course, variants of Kangar. The Kangar are also known as Khands.[26]

The Khands and the Koya became separated in antiquity in India, and evolved independently one of the other. The Khands (Khonds, Gonds) speak the language Kui;[27] and the Koya (Gonds) speak the language Koi.[28] If in Kui we should like to say *He is a Khand*, we would say *Ē-anju Kuenju*.[29] A Khand is, therefore, a Kuenju, or Kangju, or Kangar, etc.

Another name or word we must look into, and learn about, is *ahar*. In the *Report of Tours in the Central Doab and Gorakhpur*, published in 1879, A. C. L. Carlleyle writes the following in regard to the origin and meaning of *ahar*:

---

[23] Joseph Amyot Padjan, "The Padjanaks" (unpublished manuscript, 2014), accessed January 10, 2025 https://www.josephamyotpadjan.com/2022/05/the-padjanaks/., p. 123; p. 185.

[24] Joseph Amyot Padjan, "The Padjanaks," pp. 63-65; p. 91.

[25] Sima Qian, *Shi ji, or Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*, Revised Edition, translated by Burton Watson (Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 234.

[26] Lingum Letchmajee, *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Kui or Kandh Language*. Second Edition (Bengal Secretariat Press, 1902), p. 20.

[27] Lingum Letchmajee, *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Kui or Kandh Language*, pp. ii-iii.

[28] Mehta, p. 219.

[29] Letchmajee, p. 20.

> The name of Ahâr is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word *hâr*, meaning defeat, or discomfiture, or destruction, as, for instance, in the loss of a battle or the defeat of an army, conjecturally the defeat of Sisupâl and Jarâsandha by the Yadus. But unless the initial letter "A" is a mere accidental prefix, added by corruption, it would rather seem to indicate the negative particle "*a*," prefixed to the word "*hâr*;" and therefore Ahâr would more likely mean *without defeat*, or *without fail*, that is, successful, and it might thus perhaps be conjectured to refer to the supposed fact of Krishna having not failed, but on the contrary, having been eminently successful and victorious in fulfilling his promise to rescue and carry off Rukmini, and also to the fact that Krishna and his brother Balram are supposed to have here completely defeated the armies of Sisupal, Jarasindhu, and Rukam. *Ahâr* might therefore be taken to mean "*without failure*," or "*successful*," or *unconquered*. But in Sanskrit, "*ahar*" with the *first vowel only long* means a *pond* or *pit*, or a trough for watering cattle, while "*ahar*" with *both* vowels long means *provisions*, *aliment*, *provender*, or food, and therefore, as the name of a place, *Ahâr* might signify a victualling place, a place for provisions or stores of food, a commissariat in fact, or it might mean a pasture-ground reserved for the fodder, or provender or feeding of cattle; and in that sense *Ahâr*, as meaning fodder, provender, or pasture, might be the origin of the name of the "*Ahirs*," who are cattle-herds [cattle-herders]; so that the term "*Ahir*" might literally mean *feeders*, or *provender-providers* for cattle, or graziers, or pasturers.[30] [Brackets added.]

For our purposes, it is not necessary to know exactly what the word *ahar* means, nor where it comes from. It is only necessary to know that it is a word in and of itself. Whatever its ultimate origin and meaning, the enigmatic *ahar* occurs as a member of a

[30] A. C. L. Carlleyle, *Report of Tours in the Central Doab and Gorakhpur* (Archæological Survey of India. Volume XII (Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1879), p. 31.

compound place name found in Afghanistan, namely, Khandahar (Gandahar).[31] (Kandahar was formerly spelled Khandahar.) If we drop from this toponym the word *ahar*, we are left with the name Khand. Remember, he who is a Khand, is a Kuenju.

This toponym in Afghanistan, Khandahar, I maintain, is in fact a compound consisting of two parts, Khand and *ahar*; and the first part, Khand, refers to the people known as Khands, namely, the Kuenju, or Kangar. In other words, Khandahar, to be so named, must have been inhabited in antiquity by the Khands, who had come originally from India. I surmise that Kangar groups arrived in Afghanistan at least six thousand years ago, and began to mine in Badakhshan a certain beautiful blue rock, lapis lazuli; and I maintain that the place, or one of the chief places, where the Khands, or Kangar, settled in the greatest numbers, and set up to trade lapis, and to ship it west, became a settlement named after them, called Khandahar.

Now, in ancient Sogdia, the most important city was Samarkhand. This name is likewise a compound, one consisting of two names, Samar and Khand.

Samarkhand is a large oasis city on the Silk Road, and it existed long before Alexander the Great conquered it in 329 BCE.[32] When he came he found an established population, and it was certainly not a homogeneous one. By the time Alexander and his troops arrived there, Samarkhand must have been inhabited by both Medes and Persians, and in all probability by

[31] Gandahar and Kandahar, or Khandahar, are synonymous; and the name of the ancient kingdom, Gandhara, is one and the same with the name of the ancient city of Khandahar, or Gandahar. In other words, the origin of the name of the city and that of the kingdom is the same.

[32] J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*. Third Edition (Macmillan and Company, 1955), p. 791.

bands of Sakas or Scythians, Massagetae, and Sarmatians, as well as by the earliest inhabitants of Samarkhand, non-Iranians, who had lived there before any Iranians arrived. Who were those earliest inhabitants?

A succession of peoples arrived, at different times, in the area that we know as Samarkhand, and it was, without doubt, the first settlers to arrive in that area after whom Samarkhand was named. The Achaemenids, who led by Cyrus conquered Sogdia,[33] were not, of course, the first to have arrived in Samarkhand. For, if the Achaemenids had been the first, it would have been unnecessary for them to conquer Sogdia, and to conquer Sogdia was, *ipso facto*, to conquer Samarkhand as well, inasmuch as Samarkhand, along with Bukhara, was the most important and oldest city of Sogdia. No one will deny that Samarkhand was already inhabited when the Achaemenids arrived in Sogdia, but no one has suggested that its earliest inhabitants were not Iranian.

Now, looking at the name Samarkhand, and dividing it into its two parts, Samar and Khand, I maintain that Khand in Samarkhand denotes the Kuenju, or Kangar, that the earliest inhabitants of Samarkhand were the Khands, and that the city is named, in part, after them.

The state of Kangju, as said above, was one and the same with Sogdia, and thus Samarkhand, the chief city of Sogdia together with Bukhara, was in the dominion of the Kangar. Craig Benjamin, in *The Yuezhi: Origin, Migration and the Conquest of Northern Bactria,* makes the case that the Kangju established their hegemony over Sogdia about 210 BCE, and

[33] A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (The University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 46-47.

maintained it until about 130 BCE, about the time of the arrival of the Yue-Ji ('Yuezhi') in Bactria.[34]

Since coincidence cannot explain how the city of Samarkhand, which existed long before 210 BCE, came under the rule of a people between 210 and 130 BCE whose name, or one of whose names, was exactly the same name as *khand* in the compound name Samarkhand, we must conclude that the city got part of its name *before* 210 BCE from the people who were known as Khands, namely, the Kuenju, who ruled Sogdia, and thus Samarkhand, between 210 and 130 BCE. It cannot be argued that the people known as Khands got their name from the latter part of the name of the city; for the Khands, in their own tongue, called (and still call) themselves Kuenju. Remember, in Kui, *Ē-anju Kuenju* translates as *He is a Khand*. Since Khand is not what they called themselves in their own tongue, they could not possibly have taken their name from the *khand* in Samarkhand. The *khand* in Samarkhand, therefore, must come from the variant by which the Kuenju, or Kangju, or Kangar, were known (and are known), namely, Khand. Since the city has been known as Samarkhand since the time of the Achaemenids, the Kuenju must have settled Samarkhand some time before 539 BCE, the year that the Achaemenids arrived. In other words, before the Achaemenids ruled it, the Kuenju, or Khands, must have founded and ruled Samarkhand. That is the only possible and logical explanation for the people and the city having the name Khand in common.

During the time of the Tang dynasty (618 CE - 907), Sogdian merchants in China bore surnames to identify which city in

[34] Craig G. R. Benjamin, *The Yuezhi: Origin, Migration, and the Conquest of Northern Bactria* (Brepols Publishers n.v., 2007), pp. 152-153.

Sogdia they were from. In *A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia*, Edwin G. Pulleyblank writes:

> An, which in the T'ang dynasty was the Chinese name for Bukhārā, was commonly adopted by natives of that region as a surname when they came to China. The Sogdians were known collectively as the 'Hu of the Nine Surnames.' The significance of the 'Nine Surnames' is not quite clear, but at least we find the following used by Sogdians in China: K'ang (Samarkand), An (Bukhārā)…[35]

When in China, then, and probably when anywhere else, a Sogdian, if from Samarkhand, bore the surname Kang. Kang is short for Kangju (Kuenju, Kangar); and thus the *g* in Kang is not a hard *g* (at least not a hard *g* like that in English). A Sogdian from Samarkhand bore the surname Kang, because he was a Kangju—a Khand.

Many places have been named for this most ancient people, as well as by them, the Kangar. Some of those places bear the name Kangju in one of its various forms, while other places bear the name Khand, or a variant of it. Whatever the spelling, the names trace their origin to the same people, the Kangar. Thus, where we find Khand as a place name, we find the Kangar, or we find that they had been, or must have been, in such place. Since the Khands, who were originally from India, as I have already shown, must have been the first to settle Samarkhand for it to be so named, they must have established their rule for *a second time* when they established it over Sogdia and Samarkhand between 210 and 130 BCE. In other words, in 539

[35] Edwin G. Pulleyblank. "A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia." T'oung Pao 41, no. 4/5 (1952): 317–56. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4527336., pp. 319-320.

BCE, the Achaemenids must have taken control of Sogdia and Samarkhand away from the first rulers of the region, or away from others who had established before 539 hegemony over the first rulers of it, namely, the Kangar, the founders and first rulers of Samarkhand.

Those who would argue that the 'Greek' form Maracanda was the original, and that the name Samarkhand is a variant of Maracanda, cannot fail to realize that Maracanda is nothing more than a Greek corruption of Samarkhand. Maracanda may be transliterated from the Greek, or spelled phonetically as, Marakhanda, and when this variant is divided into its component parts—Mara and Khanda—the name at once betrays its origin, namely, that it originates with the people known as Khands, the Kangar. As will be seen below, Khand, or Khanda, is a name of Munda origin, and is an exonym used of the Kuenju, or Kangar. My argument about the origin of Samarkhand, therefore, stands. The city could have been founded by, and named after none other than, the Kangar—the Khands.

III

Lapis Lazuli, Badakhshan, Sumer (Kangar), Dilmun

Samarkhand and Khandahar, besides having in common the ethnonym Khand as a member of their respective compound names, were both markets for lapis lazuli in antiquity, and both were located on important routes of the Silk Road.[36] This beautiful blue stone the whole ancient world prized, and in antiquity there was only one place in the world where quality lapis was mined, where it could be got, namely, in Badakhshan, Afghanistan.

From Badakhshan lapis lazuli was transported to Samarkhand and Khandahar; and from both those cities it was taken farther west by caravan, with its chief destinations being Sumer and Egypt. Georgina Herrmann writes:

> With Badakhshan established as the most likely starting point of the lapis lazuli trade, the next problem was to investigate who required the stone, and why. It is only in the cities of ancient Mesopotamia (apart from Egypt) that large numbers of objects of lapis lazuli have been found—areas nearer the source, including the staging posts, have only produced a handful of lapis artifacts—

[36] Mary Boyce and Frantz Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism* (Brill, 1991), p. 127, n. 9.; Susan Whitfield, *Life Along the Silk Road* (University of California Press, 1999), p. 38.

> and we must assume that Mesopotamia was the focal point of this trade.[37]

> Despite the 1500 miles separating Badakhshan from Mesopotamia, the Badakhshan mines have been generally accepted as the principal source, or, indeed, as the unique source, of lapis lazuli for the ancient Near East [Mesopotamia—Sumer].[38]

> In the absence of an Iranian source, Badakhshan remains the only probable supplier of lapis lazuli to the Near East. It is the nearest, Lake Baikal being approximately twice as distant: it is considerably easier of access than the Pamir source: Darius states that his lapis lazuli came from his satrapy of Sogdia, in which province Badakhshan was located: and, finally, the colour range from Sar-i-Sang is closely comparable to that of archaeological lapis lazuli. The varying shades of the pieces of veneer on the "Standard" of Ur [Sumer], for instance, can be exactly paralleled by modern specimens from Badakhshan.[39] [Brackets added.]

The lapis lazuli miners in Badakhshan were thus directly connected with Samarkhand, Khandahar, Sumer, and Egypt through the merchants that brought the lapis to those destinations; and it was in fact those miners and merchants, as well as the artisans who worked the raw material, that saw to it that the appetite for lapis among the ancients, which was perhaps most ravenous in the Sumerians, was well satisfied.

> The massive finds of lapis lazuli and other luxury materials at Ur attest to the city's exceptional affluence during the Third Early

[37] Georgina Herrmann. "Lapis Lazuli: The Early Phases of Its Trade." Iraq Volume 30. No. 1 (British Institute for the Study of Iraq, pp. 21-57, 1968), p. 21.

[38] Georgina Herrmann, "Lapis Lazuli," p. 22.

[39] Herrmann, p. 28.

> Dynastic period. This wealth was well established prior to the founding of the First Dynasty of Ur by Mes-anni-padda with Ur's consequent kingship over Sumer: it is likely, however, that after the defeat of the First Dynasty Ur's prosperity was diminished.[40]

It is a little known fact that Sumer was not the name that the Sumerians themselves called the land that they settled, occupied, and ruled in ancient Mesopotamia. The Sumerians, in their own language, called the land Kangar. It was the Babylonians that called the land Sumer:

> The designation Sumerians is derived from the Babylonian name for southern Babylonia—Sumer; the actual Sumerian name for the land was Kengi(r) [Kangar], 'civilized land.' …Since the discovery of the Indus civilization about seventy years ago, however, it has been almost universally accepted that the Sumerians immigrated from the east. This immigration could have succeeded entirely by land if the Sumerians immigrated from somewhere in northern India, because in the fourth millennium the barrier to great folk migrations, the eastern Iranian deserts of Lut and Kavir, were passable and even partially inhabitable—at least periodically—as a result of the much more moist climate (see above, ch. II).… What led to the westward migration of the Sumerian [Kangar] groups, whose language may have been related to the Dravidian languages of India, will probably never be understood.[41] [Brackets added.]

Since it was the Babylonians that called the land Sumer, and since the inhabitants of Sumer called their land Kangar, we

[40] Herrmann, p. 48.

[41] Wolfram von Soden, *Einführung in die Altorientalistik* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1985), translated by Donald Schey, *The Ancient Orient : An Introduction to the Study of the Ancient Near East* (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994), p. 17.

must conclude that the inhabitants that called the land Kangar did not think of themselves as, or call themselves, Sumerians. The name given to a geographical area by the people who inhabit it is almost always the same name that the people bear. Since the inhabitants of Sumer did not call the land Sumer, nor, for that matter, *sag-gi-ga*, but Kangar, we are left with only one reason that can logically explain why the inhabitants themselves called the land Kangar, namely, that Kangar is what they called themselves. It is a misconception that they called themselves by the term that they used to describe themselves, *sag-gi-ga*, meaning 'black-headed,' which is a derived adjective functioning in the capacity of a concrete adjective. It is not a noun, it is not a name. The endonym Kangar is a noun, and Kangar, the name of the land, was the name of the people.

Kangar (Sumer), Khandahar, and Samarkhand, then, all have names that are identical, in part or in full, to those that their inhabitants and sometime rulers bore, or by which they were known. The Kangar, as already shown, have always been known also by the name of Khand. Citing the discovery of the Indus civilization, von Soden indicates that he accepted that the Kangar arrived from the east, and may have spoken a language related to the Dravidian languages. In the pages that follow, I will show that the Kangar in all three places were all one and the same people, one that came originally from India.

Von Soden reckoned that the reason for the westward migration of the Kangar would probably never be understood. I would argue that certain factors, such as famine, disease, and war, for example, were not primary causes of their westward movement. On the contrary, I would argue that their westward movement towards Mesopotamia was initiated by their

involvement in the lapis lazuli trade (as well as in the ivory and the amazonite trade), and I would likewise argue that they were the key players in that trade.

The first stones of lapis lazuli arrived in Mesopotamia at least as early as the Late Ubaid period; and since it has been determined that the source of the lapis imported to Mesopotamia during the Late Ubaid period was Badakhshan, the lapis trade between these two regions, which are separated by about one thousand five hundred miles, began, and must have begun, about 3500 BCE, or even earlier. Georgina Herrmann writes:

> The most likely source for this early Gawran [Gawra XIII] lapis is, in fact, the mines at Badakhshan, some fifteen hundred miles to the east, across desert and mountain; and one of the principal reasons for investigating lapis lazuli was the tradition that it originated *only* from the Badakhshan mines. Although this exclusive claim cannot be regarded as proven, Badakhshan remains the only probable source, and it follows that as early as c. 3500 B.C. trade was established between ancient Iraq and distant Afghanistan —convincing proof of the widespread scope of early trade and communications …Despite the 1,500 miles separating Badakhshan from Mesopotamia, the Badakhshan mines have been generally accepted as the principal source, or, indeed, as the unique source, of lapis lazuli for the ancient Near East.[42]

This early date (c. 3500 BCE) of the oldest known lapis lazuli from Badakhshan in Mesopotamia, or ancient Iraq, is of great significance. For one, it marks the beginning of the lapis trade, and therefore of communication, between the two regions at a very early date, and two, it eliminates any possibility that Indo-

[42] Herrmann, pp. 21-22.

Europeans could have had a part in any aspect of that trade. J. P. Mallory, in *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth*, points out that movements of people spreading out from the Pontic-Caspian and into the steppe lands and forest steppe to the east of the Ural Mountains, may have begun as early as the fourth millennium BCE, and may have continued for thousands of years until their advances were definitively checked and reversed by speakers of Turkic languages, such as the Huns.[43]

If, as the majority of scholars say, the Pontic-Caspian steppe was in fact the homeland of the Indo-Europeans, and if, as the majority argue, the Andronovo culture was in fact an Indo-European one, then the archaeological record places them in the location of the Andronovo sites as early as 1500 BCE.[44] Archaeology may place them in Asia (northern Asia) even earlier, as early as, perhaps, 3500 BCE (in northern Asia),[45] if the Afanasievo sites can be definitely demonstrated to have been Indo-European ones. In any case, the earliest date for the beginning of the eastward expansion of the Indo-Europeans from the Pontic-Caspian steppe falls most likely in the fourth millennium BCE, whatever the connections may have been between the Indo-Europeans and the cultures of the two sites mentioned. Alternatively, if the homeland of the Indo-Europeans should be proved to have been Anatolia, one fact nevertheless remains the same: their expansion eastward into Central Asia, and particularly into Afghanistan, was later than,

[43] J. P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth* (Thames and Hudson, 1989), p. 223.

[44] J. P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, p. 227.

[45] Mallory, p. 223.

by a thousand years or more, the beginning of the lapis trade between Badakhshan and Mesopotamia. This means, and can only mean, that the lapis lazuli trade between the two regions could have been initiated and carried on only by non-Indo-Europeans. (It is needless to say that Semites could not possibly have been involved in the discovery, mining, and distribution of the lapis lazuli found in Badakhshan.) The Sumerians, or Kangar, of course, were not Indo-Europeans. When did the Kangar arrive in Mesopotamia? Samuel Noah Kramer has an answer:

> Be that as it may, it is highly probable that the Sumerians did not arrive in Sumer until sometime in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C.[46]

The second half of the fourth millennium BCE was, of course, about 3500 BCE. If the Sumerians arrived in Sumer about this time, as Kramer argues, then the Sumerians, or Kangar, arrived there at the same time that the first stones of lapis lazuli did. It is probable that this was the case.

Georges Roux, on the contrary, seems to favor the possibility that the Sumerians may not have been immigrants at all, but rather a group native to the region of Mesopotamia itself. Roux, however, does not attempt to make an argument that would explain the fact that the Sumerians, or Kangar, spoke an agglutinative language that shows real affinity only to Dravidian languages. He seems to forget also that he says:

[46] Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character* (The University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 42.

> The reality and extent of this trade [conducted and maintained by the Ubaid culture] is attested by the presence of obsidian on many sites of southern Iraq and of gold and amazonite (a semi-precious stone obtainable only from India) at Ur...[47] [Brackets added.] [Parentheses are Roux's.]

Since it could not have been Indo-Europeans that brought the amazonite from India to southern Iraq during the Ubaid period, who could it have been that brought it? No doubt the same people brought the amazonite from India that brought the lapis lazuli from Badakhshan to Mesopotamia. As I will show below, it could have been none other than the Kangar.

I should also mention that Roux points out something that supports my contention that it was not famine or conquest, but trade, that initiated the westward migration (or series of migrations) of the Kangar to Mesopotamia:

> The five hundred years which saw these developments have been divided, somewhat artificially, by archaeologists into a [sic] 'Uruk period' (c. 3750-3150 B.C.) and a 'Jemdat Nasr period' (c. 3150-2900 B.C.) but there is little doubt that the people [Sumerians] responsible for the urbanization of southern Mesopotamia were closely related to, or had been absorbed by, the Ubaidians, *for there is no clear-cut break between the Ubaid culture and the Uruk culture and no sign of armed invasion and destruction*.[48] [Brackets and italics added.]

I maintain that it was Kangar merchants that first led the way from India to southern Iraq, and that they were subsequently followed there by many other Kangar. This would explain the

[47] Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq* (Penguin Books, 1992), p. 64.

[48] Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, pp. 67-68.

apparently smooth transition from the one culture, the Ubaid, to that of the other, the Sumerian, or Kangar. Note, by the way, that it does not take an armed invasion for an immigrant group to eliminate, or greatly reduce the numbers of, the established population that they encounter at the end of their migration. That is to say, the Kangar could have brought a virus from India or Badakhshan to southern Mesopotamia to which the established population there had no immunity. In other words, upon their arrival in southern Mesopotamia, the Kangar could have triggered a deadly plague among the Ubaidians and others.

Sir Leonard Wooley, one of the early authorities on the Sumerians and Mesopotamia, published, in 1929, his book *The Sumerians*. He writes:

> Sir Arthur Keith states: 'One can still trace the ancient Sumerian face eastwards to Afghanistan and Baluchistan, until the valley of the Indus is reached — some 1500 miles distant from Mesopotamia.' Recent excavation in the Indus valley has brought to light extensive remains of a very early civilization, remarkably developed, which has a good deal in common with that of Sumer; particularly striking are rectangular stamp seals found in the two countries which are identical in form, in the subjects and style of their engraving, and in the inscriptions which they bear, while there are similarities hardly less marked in terracotta figures, in the methods of building construction and in ground-plans. To say that these resemblances prove identity of race or even political unity would be to exaggerate the weight of the evidence; to account for them by mere trade connection would be, in my opinion, to underrate it no less rashly: it is safest, for the time being, to regard the two civilizations as offshoots from a common source which presumably lies somewhere between the Indus and the Euphrates valleys, though whether the centre from which this culture

> radiates so far afield is to be sought in the hills of Baluchistan, or where, we have no means of knowing as yet.[49]

Had the discipline of linguistics been as advanced in 1929, and as informative as it is now on the origin and the expansions of the Indo-Europeans, Sir Leonard, who indicated that he thought the Sumerians were Indo-Europeans, would not have made the mistake of thinking that they were probably of Indo-European origin. It is also possible that his mistaken belief that they were was a reflection of his own cultural bias. At any rate, they were not Indo-Europeans and they could not have been Indo-Europeans, nor could they have been Semites, as has been shown.

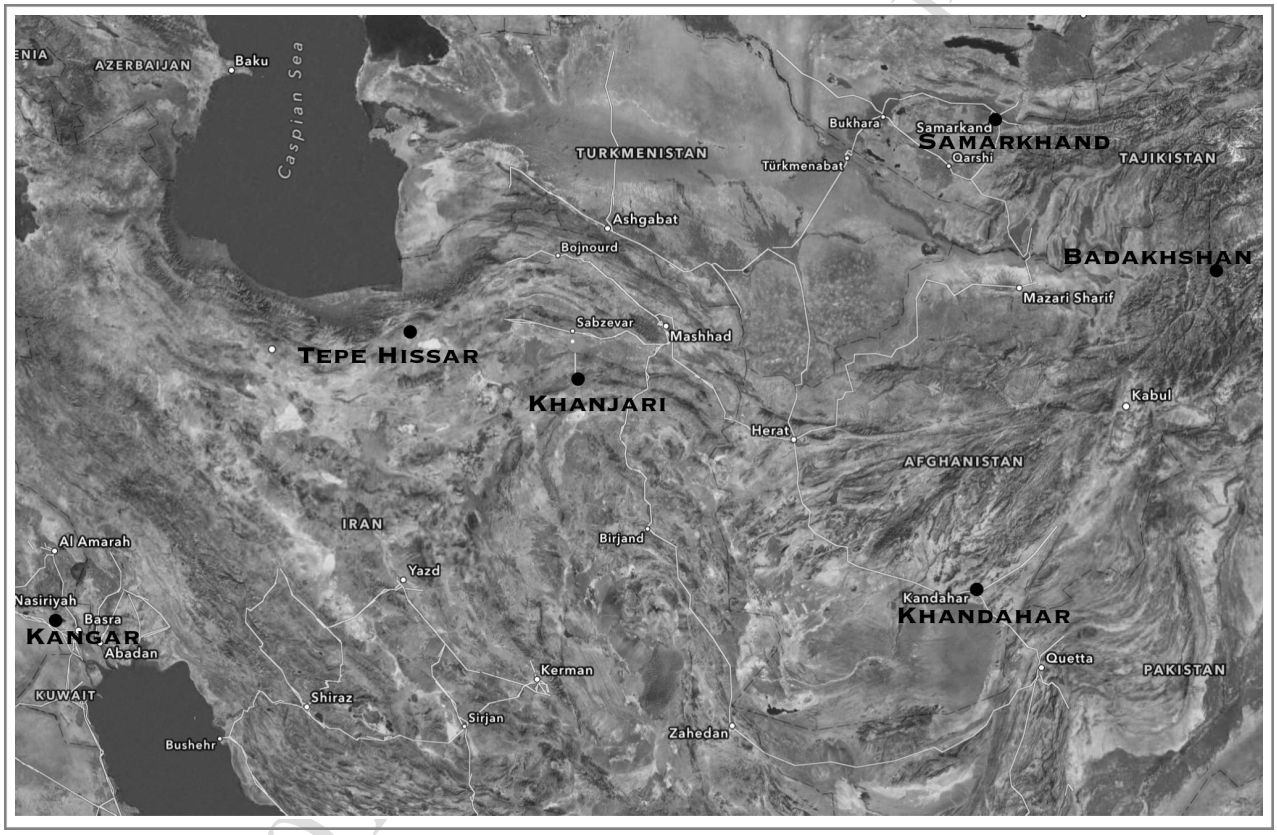
Wooley also suggests that the first Sumerians to have settled in Mesopotamia may have arrived by boat. A stronger argument for their arrival by land, however, can be made when we remember that evidence for the westward expansion of the Kangar on land is attested by the existence of Samarkhand and Khandahar, two cities which bear in part one of the names by which the Kangar were known, and are still known, and which were markets for lapis lazuli; and also by the existence of a village in Iran named Khanjari, Khanjar being a common attested spelling of the name of the Kangar. Khanjari, though virtually unknown to scholars, is on a Silk Road route and it is rather close to Tepe Hissar, where 'remarkably large quantities of chips, rejects, and finished objects of lapis lazuli have been found.'[50] The reason for such large quantities of chips and

[49] Sir Leonard Wooley, *The Sumerians* (Barnes & Noble Books, 1995), pp. 8-9.

[50] Maurizio Tosi and Marcello Piperno "Lithic Technology Behind the Ancient Lapis Lazuli Trade." Expedition Magazine, Volume 16, Issue 1, pp. 15-23 (Penn Musuem, 1973), p. 15.

rejects of lapis at Tepe Hissar, which was one of the last stops on the Silk Road before worked lapis and finished objects of lapis were transported to Sumer, was that raw lapis was worked there to remove calcites and barylites from it in order to increase its purity,[51] and thus its market value. The Silk Road, or routes of the Silk Road, of course, connected Samarkhand, Khandahar, and Khanjari, and their earliest inhabitants, the Kangar, with Mesopotamia, where in ancient Iraq, where they would eventually settle, the Kangar were known to the Babylonians as, of course, Sumerians, though they still knew themselves as, and called their land there, Kangar.

[51] Maurizio Tosi, "Lithic Technology," p. 20.



Sumer, or Kangar, in relation to the places mentioned above

Georgina Herrmann, in her paper on lapis lazuli, points out that Badakhshan was included in the province of ancient Sogdia, which, as we have already seen, was ruled by the Kangar before 539 BCE, and between 210 and 130 BCE. In her paper she mentions something significant:

> Darius the Great [Darius I] (522-486 B.C.) proudly claims that the lapis lazuli used in the construction of his palace at Susa came from Sogdia, an ancient province in Central Asia which included Badakhshan.[52]

Susa, in a regional sense, is a stone's throw from Tepe Gawra, where the oldest lapis lazuli in Mesopotamia has been found.[53] It is significant that Darius the Great, in his inscription, identifies Sogdia as the place from which the lapis lazuli for his palace came, because, in the same inscription, he identifies India and Arachosia as two of the places where the ivory for his palace was obtained.[54] Arachosia, or Harauvatiš, was a historical region located to the south of Bactria and Sogdia, in present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan. Most significant is that Arachosia, like India, was to the east of Mesopotamia.

In the same passage of the inscription in which Darius identifies India and Arachosia as sources for his ivory, he

[52] Herrmann, p. 28.

[53] Herrmann, p. 21.

[54] Peter Magee, Cameron Petrie, Robert Knox, Farid Khan, and Ken Thomas. "The Achaemenid Empire in South Asia and Recent Excavations in Akra in Northwest Pakistan." *American Journal of Archaeology* 109, no. 4 (2005): 711–41. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40025695., p. 713 n. 16.

identifies only one other place where the ivory for his palace originated, namely, Kush, in Nubia.[55]

The fact that Darius identifies India, Arachosia, and Kush as the only places from which the ivory was obtained, and Sogdia as the place where the lapis was from, is of great significance because it is proof that ivory was imported to Mesopotamia from the east, from India and Arachosia, as well as from the southwest, from Nubia, but not imported from any place directly south of Mesopotamia, that is, not from any place directly south of Sumer (Kangar). Since the source regions of ivory would have been the same when Sumer existed, we may presume that the Sumerians, or Kangar, who imported ivory, imported it from the same regions that Darius did, and that the ivory from Kush was transported to Sumer in the same way as it was to Susa. The Susa inscription reads:

> The precious stone lapis-lazuli and carnelian which was worked here, this was brought from Sogdiana.[56]
>
> The ivory which was worked here, was brought from Ethiopia [Kush] and from Sind [India] and from Arachosia.[57]

Darius identifies Egypt as the place from which the silver and the ebony came:

[55] Derek A. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush : The Napatan and Meroitic Empires* (British Museum Press, 1996), p. 175.

[56] Lisbeth S. Fried, *The Priest and the Great King : Temple-Palace Relations in the Persian Empire*, Biblical and Judaic Studies, Volume 10, edited by William H. C. Propp (Eisenbrauns, 2004), p. 46.

[57] Lisbeth S. Fried, *The Priest and the Great King*, p. 46.

> The silver and the ebony were brought from Egypt.[58]

The ivory that Darius obtained from Kush, which was located just outside Egypt, would have been brought to Mesopotamia on the same routes that the silver and the ebony from Egypt were, that is, through Egypt, across Sinai, and onward to Mesopotamia by caravan. The ivory from Kush would not have been shipped by boat in the direction opposite to Egypt (a huge market) and around the entire Arabian peninsula to Bahrain of all places, and then shipped from there to Mesopotamia. And if the Sumerians imported ivory from Kush as well, it would have been brought to Sumer on the same trade routes as those land ones that must have been used to get it to Darius. For at any time, to ship it there by boat would have meant the lost opportunity of trading in Egypt.

The Sumerians, or Kangar, have left us numerous records in clay in which, time and again, they speak of a place named Dilmun.[59] For as long as scholars have known about the existence in Mesopotamia of the Sumerians, and been able to read their records and texts, they have debated about the location of Dilmun, with some arguing for its identification with Bahrain, and others arguing for its identification elsewhere. Stephen Langdon writes:

> Delitzsch many years ago identified Dilmun with the island Bahrein; although that scholar does not expressly defend this identification, yet this inference has been accepted and generally adopted. The identification with the largest of the Bahrein islands has been suggested to scholars by passages in the inscriptions of

[58] Fried, p. 46.

[59] Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians*, pp. 281–283.

Sargon, who in describing his invasion of Bit-Jakin (the seacoast land at the head of the Persian Gulf) and Elam says, "Upiri king of Dilmun, who had made an abode in the midst of the sea towards the East, like a fish a distance of 30 *kasgid* heard of the might of my royal power and brought tribute." If this passage be taken literally we must infer that an island is intended, or as Delitzsch says, "at any rate a peninsula." But we now know that in Assyrian historical inscriptions the *kasgid* or hour's march was 5346 meters or 3.3218+ English miles. If we suppose that Sargon intended to state the distance from the innermost shore of the Persian Gulf as it was in his day, that is 15 or more miles further inland than at present, we assume that Dilmun lay about 100 miles from that point, say a degree and a half south of modern Basra. Of course Dilmun, if it designated a province on the Elamitic side of the Persian Gulf in the region of modern Laristan, may have included all the small islands off that coast such as Shaikh Shuaib, Kais and Kishm. All of these are considerably more than 100 miles from Basra, but Sargon may be using some point farther south as his place of reckoning. Dilmun cannot be an island in another passage of this same Sargon who says, "The land Bit-Jakin which lies on the shore of the salt stream [Persian Gulf] as far as the boundaries of Dilmun as one land I ruled." Here Dilmun and Bit-Jakin form a contiguous territory. On the whole the identification with a strip of land from about the twenty-ninth degree of latitude southward along the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf including the islands off the coast perhaps as far as the strait of Ormuz and the Arabian Sea will satisfy all the known references concerning Dilmun. The expression of Sargon, "in the midst of the sea," will then refer to one of the small islands of the province to which the king Upiri fled.[60] [Brackets added.]

[60] Stephen Langdon, *Sumerian Epic of Paradise : The Flood and The Fall of Man* (University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. X, No. 1, 1915), pp. 9-10.

Langdon points out that Sargon, in his description of his invasion of Bit-Jakin and Elam, says 'Upiri king of Dilmun, who had made an abode in the midst of the sea towards the East, like a fish a distance of 30 *kasgid* heard of the might of my royal power and brought tribute.' With exactly the same meaning, that statement by Sargon may be expressed as 'Upiri, who was king of Dilmun, who had made an abode in the midst of the sea towards the East...'

Note that in both versions (the one rendered by Langdon and the one rendered by me) of Sargon's statement the abode is not being identified as Dilmun. Upiri was king of Dilmun and he had made an abode (and may have stayed there for a time) in the midst of the sea towards the East. His being king of Dilmun is a fact that exists independently of his having made an abode in the sea (or anywhere else). That this is the correct interpretation of Sargon's statement is borne out by the meaning of another statement by Sargon in the same inscription, in which he says 'The land Bit-Jakin which lies on the shore of the salt stream [Persian Gulf] as far as the boundaries of Dilmun as one land I ruled.' Remember that he invaded both Bit-Jakin and Elam at the same time *in a single invasion*. If Dilmun is to be identified as Bahrain, then Bit-Jakin must be identified as Bahrain as well. If we accept the identification of Bit-Jakin and Dilmun as Bahrain, then we are forced to accept the impossible: that Sargon's *single invasion* took place on *opposite* sides of the Persian Gulf *at the same time*, in Elam and on Bahrain (Dilmun and Bit-Jakin). This cannot be correct. Since it cannot be correct, we must conclude that Dilmun and Bit-Jakin were located on the same side of the Persian Gulf as Elam, and that they were, in fact, as Langdon points out, contiguous.

Note further that Sargon states that Upiri had made the abode 'towards the East.' Bahrain is not at all to the east of any of the lands that Sargon ruled. It is almost directly south of all of them. Morris Jastrow Jr., who endeavored to discredit Langdon's translation of Sargon's statement, but who failed, pretended Sargon did not say 'towards the East.' Jastrow writes:

> He [Langdon] adds this qualification in order to account for the specific statement—repeated several times—in an inscription of Sargon that "Upiri, King of Dilmun, who [had] made an abode in the midst of the sea [towards the East]," etc., and from which most scholars have drawn the natural conclusion that Dilmun was an island. Nor is there any force in Langdon's contention that when Sargon says that he conquered the land Bit-Jakin on the shore of the salt stream (i.e., the Persian Gulf) up to Dilmun that this proves that "Dilmun and Bit-Jakin form a contiguous territory," especially if we consider that Sargon does not say, as Langdon translates, that he ruled this territory "as one land," but "altogether" (*mithariš*).[61] [Brackets added.]

Even if we accept that Jastrow was correct in interpreting the word *mithariš* as meaning 'altogether' rather than 'as one land,' he is still wrong about Dilmun and Bit-Jakin not being contiguous. In the inscription the statement, whether translated by Langdon or by Jastrow, reads 'The land Bit-Jakin which lies on the shore of the salt stream [Persian Gulf] as far as the boundaries of Dilmun.' (Jastrow replaces 'as far as the boundaries of Dilmun' with 'up to Dilmun.') In other words, the land Bit-Jakin *extended* all the way to Dilmun. Thus Bit-Jakin and Dilmun were, in fact, as Langdon says, contiguous.

[61] Morris Jastrow. "Sumerian Myths of Beginnings." *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 33, no. 2 (1917): 91–144. http://www.jstor.org/stable/528274., p. 104.

Jastrow's arguments are incapable of withstanding rigorous analysis. They fall apart. He was wrong.

Kramer, in *The Sumerians*, discusses at some length the Dilmun problem, and he makes a good argument, based on the content of written records recovered in the ruins of Sumer, that Dilmun should be sought east of Mesopotamia, in the area of the Indus civilization. He writes:

> The land Dilmun, to which we now turn, seems to have been even more intimately related to Sumer than Magan and Meluhha. Dilmun is identified by most scholars with the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf; a large and highly competent Danish archeological expedition has been excavating there for the past ten years largely because of its faith in this identification. As the following analysis of the relevant literary material will show, however, there is considerable room for skepticism on this point. In fact, there is even some possibility that Dilmun may turn out to include the region in Pakistan and India where a remarkable urban, literate culture flourished toward the end of the third millennium B.C., the so-called Harappan, or Indus Valley, culture.
>
> A fairly obvious clue to the general direction in which Dilmun is to be sought is found in the last extant lines of the Sumerian deluge myth, according to which Ziusudra, the Sumerian Flood-hero, is given eternal life and transplanted by the great gods An and Enlil to Dilmun, which is described as "the place where the sun rises." Now the epithet "the place where the sun rises" hardly fits the island of Bahrein, which hugs the Arabian coast and is almost directly south of Sumer; it is much more likely to refer to the region of the Indus River, or perhaps to Baluchistan.[62]
>
> …But no matter where Dilmun is located, it is clear from what has already been said that it was looked upon by the Sumerians as a blessed paradise land, intimately related to Sumer especially on

[62] Kramer, p. 281.

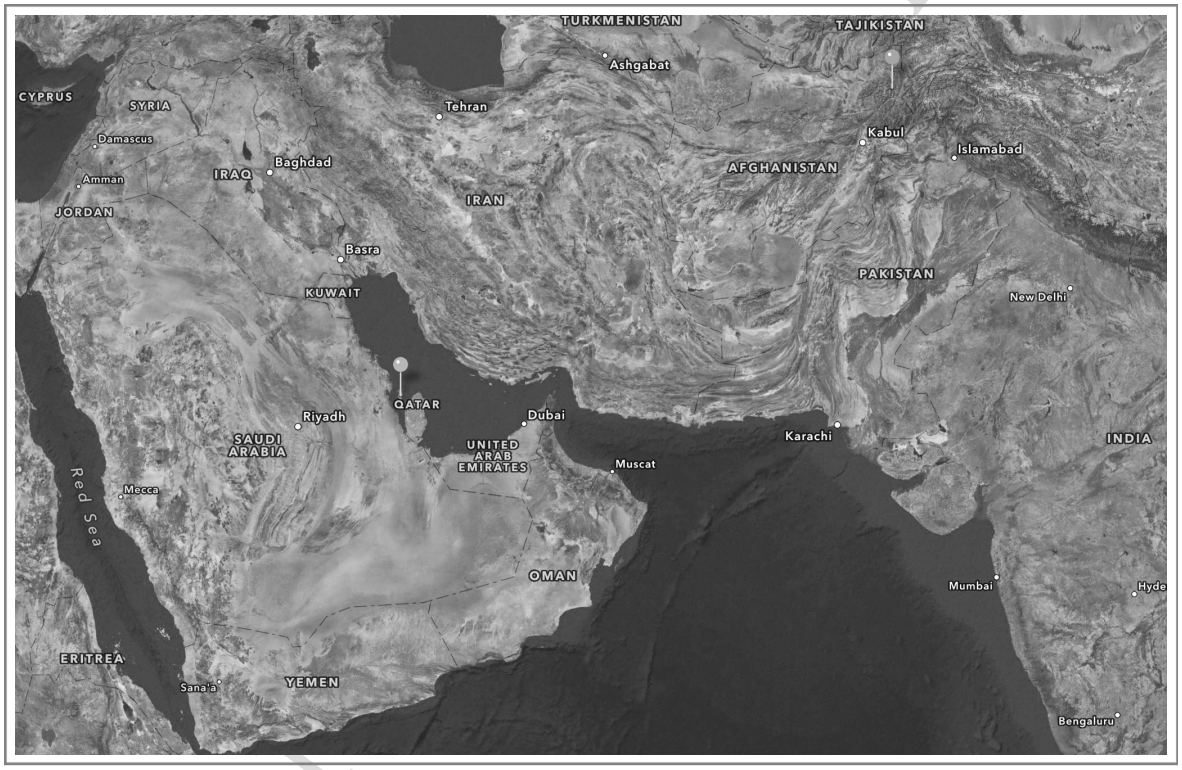
> the religious and spiritual level. According to the myth "Enki and Ninhursag," it appears to have been Enki's home ground [ancestral home], as it were, where he begot quite a number of deities. The great goddess Ninhursag, too, seems to have been quite at home in Dilmun; indeed, it seems to have been the place where all the gods meet.
>
> Now Dilmun is not just a literary fiction, a never-never land created by the fertile imagination of the Sumerian bards and poets. It has a long history, to judge from the votive and economic documents, beginning with the Ur-Nanshe, who records that "the ships of Dilmun brought him wood as a tribute from foreign lands." The boats of Dilmun anchored at the Agade docks alongside those of Magan and Meluhha in the time of Sargon the Great. According to the economic documents from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the Isin-Larsa period which followed, the imports of Dilmun consisted of gold, copper and copper utensils, lapis lazuli, tables inlaid with ivory, "fisheyes" (perhaps pearls), ivory and ivory objects (combs, breast-plates, and boxes as well as human- and animal-shaped figurines and end pieces for furniture), beads of semi-precious stones, dates, and onions.[63]

The lapis lazuli that was imported to Sumer came ultimately from Badakhshan. Darius, as shown above, confirms that the lapis used in the construction of his palace at Susa came from Sogdia, in which in antiquity Badakhshan was located. Economic records of the Third dynasty of Ur confirm that lapis lazuli was imported to Sumer from Dilmun.

Now, it is not impossible that Dilmun included Bahrain. But if Dilmun is to be identified exclusively with Bahrain (which as I have already shown cannot possibly have been the case), we would be forced to accept something absurd on its very face, something that cannot possibly be correct (just as the

[63] Kramer, pp. 282-283.

identification of Bit-Jakin with Bahrain cannot possibly be correct), that the lapis that was mined *on the other side* of the Persian Gulf from Bahrain, in distant Badakhshan, which was *not on the opposite side* of the Persian Gulf to Sumer, was shipped across the Persian Gulf to Bahrain and then shipped to Sumer. Nothing could be more absurd. Dilmun, as demonstrated above, must have been on the same side of the Persian Gulf as the lapis lazuli mines of Badakhshan are. In other words, the identification of Dilmun with Bahrain, or at least exclusively with it, is implausible in the extreme. Look at the map:



The pin placed between Tajikistan and Kabul marks the area of Badakhshan; and the pin placed on the island by Qatar marks Bahrain. Basra, Iraq, marks the area of Sumer, that is, Kangar.

For the lapis from Badakhshan bound for Sumer to have been shipped to Bahrain, it would have *necessarily* been shipped from a port (on the same side of the Persian Gulf as Badakhshan) on the coast opposite to Bahrain *and* to the south of Bahrain. That is to say, the port of origin would have to have been on the same side of the Persian Gulf as Badakhshan, and it would also have to have been to the south of Bahrain for the lapis to have been shipped to Bahrain in the first place. For, if such port had been to the north of Bahrain, it would have been closer to Sumer than to Bahrain, and it would have made, therefore, utter nonsense to ship the lapis in the direction opposite to its destination (Sumer), across the entire breadth of the Persian Gulf.

But the idea, in the first place, that lapis lazuli from Badakhshan bound for Sumer was first shipped across the Persian Gulf to Bahrain, as would necessarily have been the case if the identification of Bahrain with Dilmun is to be accepted, and then shipped to Sumer, makes complete nonsense; for under such circumstances a totally unnecessary voyage across the entire Persian Gulf must have been made. The identification of Bahrain with Dilmun cannot possibly be correct—or, at least, the exclusive identification of Bahrain with Dilmun cannot possibly be correct. In other words, only if Dilmun is understood and determined to have been a polity that included territory on both sides of the Persian Gulf, could any identification of Bahrain with Dilmun make sense.

It is true that lapis lazuli has been found on Tarut Island,[64] which is close to Bahrain; but almost all of it is raw lapis. In fact, almost all the pieces of lapis found on Tarut have been

[64] Kelsey Michal Ajango, *New Thoughts on the Trade of Lapis Lazuli in the Ancient Near East c. 3000 – 2000 B.C.*, Doctoral thesis (University of Wisconsin, 2010), p. 25.

described as 'chunks' of lapis.[65] No chips, no rejects, and not more than a few finished objects of lapis have been found in an archaeological context on Tarut, not to mention the complete absence there of partially worked lapis.[66] These facts do suggest that the lapis found on Tarut was the plunder of ancient robbers. Moreover, Tarut Island is not Bahrain.

Some inhabitants of Dilmun evidently were, or had become, seafarers, and since seafaring people have a habit of colonizing new lands without abandoning their old ones, we may logically imagine Dilmun as having been a polity, or 'state,' or kingdom that included territory on both sides of the Persian Gulf. An excellent example of a country in this situation today, is the United Kingdom, which is, of course, a country presently made up of two islands, one in full and one in part—Britain and Ireland.

If such was the case, that Dilmun was actually a polity or kingdom with territory on both sides of the Persian Gulf, it must have had its beginnings on the same side of the Gulf that its two most precious exports to Sumer, ivory and lapis lazuli, originate on, and then later expanded its territory across the Gulf to include Bahrain, if, in fact, Bahrain was a part of Dilmun at all.

Where, then, was Dilmun? Kramer more than once points out that Dilmun is described in the Sumerian texts as 'the place where the sun rises,' and he notes that the economic records of Sumer show that lapis lazuli and ivory, and goods made of ivory, among other things, were imported to Sumer from Dilmun. Kramer states, in regard to Dilmun, that 'it is much more likely

[65] Kelsey Michal Ajango, *New Thoughts on the Trade of Lapis Lazuli in the Ancient Near East*, p. 25.

[66] Ajango, p. 26.

to refer to the region of the Indus River, or perhaps to Baluchistan.' We know that the lapis lazuli in Sumer came from Badakhshan, and we know that ivory from India and Arachosia were used in the construction of the palace at Susa, which city was close to Sumer. The fact that Darius stated in his inscription that he brought ivory for his palace at Susa from India and Arachosia proves that ivory from those two regions was imported to Mesopotamia at a very early date, and for that reason it is logical to suppose that the Sumerians, or Kangar, imported ivory from India and Arachosia as well (the ivory from Arachosia almost certainly came from India). It is highly improbable that ivory that could be obtained in abundance in places so close to where the lapis was being obtained, would not have been exported to Mesopotamia for thousands of years before the time of Darius, while the lapis lazuli was exported in abundance there for thousands of years before his time. In other words, even before the time of Darius the Great, and, in all probability, for thousands of years before his time, ivory from India and Arachosia must have been imported to Sumer, just as lapis lazuli was imported there from Badakhshan.

IV

The Language of the Sumerians, or Kangar; Indus Valley Civilization; Dilmun

Wolfram von Soden, as mentioned above, states that the Sumerian language may have been related to the Dravidian languages. He was not alone, of course, in leaning towards the identification of Sumerian with them, but, like many other scholars in the West, he had insufficient knowledge of those languages to be in a position of authority on the matter. The Tamil scholar A. Sathasivam, however, was an authority on both the Dravidian languages and the Sumerian tongue. After twenty-five years or so of studying the languages, and of cataloging the numerous correspondences between them, he concluded that Sumerian was, in fact, related to the Dravidian tongues, that it is of the Dravidian language family. He writes:

> The relationship between Tamil and the other members of the Dravidian family has been the subject of inquiry by me for the past decade and the results were presented in "The current status of Dravidian historical and comparative studies" (1964). A rigorous application of the principles of historical and comparative method as practised by Henry M. Hoenigswald led to the reconstruction of a Pre-Tamil stage, a Proto-Tamil stage, and eventually a Proto-Dravidian stage. While working in the library of the University of

> Pennsylvania during the Fall of 1964 and comparing these reconstructions with the actual languages, I was quite accidentally introduced to the Sumerian language. The entire Sumerian vocabulary of the inscriptions of the pre-Gudean period (3500 B.C. – 2400 B.C.) has been found identical, phonetically and semantically, with the roots of the Dravidian languages. This includes the first six numerals and demonstratives of the early Sumerian language in which Semitic influence is less traceable.[67]

And Allan Bomhard informs us that:

> Claude Boisson has been exploring lexical parallels between Sumerian and other languages, especially the Nilo-Saharan and Nostratic languages. Boisson has been very careful not to draw wild conclusions from the data he has amassed about [the] possible relationship of Sumerian to other languages or language families. Yet, the lexical parallels he has uncovered between Sumerian and the Nostratic languages, especially Dravidian, though not numerous, look very promising and permit one to establish tentative sound correspondences between Sumerian and the rest of Nostratic.[68]

Universal agreement among scholars about the classification of Sumerian as a Dravidian language will probably never occur, but no scholar can deny that Sumerian has more in common with the Dravidian than it does with any other languages. Alfred Toth writes:

---

[67] A. Sathasivam. "Linguistics in Ceylon (II): Tamil." Thomas Albert Sebeok, Current Trends in Linguistics, No. 5., pp. 752-759 (Walter de Gruyter, 1963), p. 757.

[68] Allan R. Bomhard. "Mother Tongue." Newsletter of the Association for the Study of Language in Prehistory, November/December 1989., p. 19.

> Since both Sumerian and Kannada (as representative of the Dravidian languages) fulfill the syntactic and morpho-syntactic requirements of genetic relationship established for Uralic and Altaic by Fokos-Fuchs (1962), all agglutinative languages are also syntactically related to one another and thus must originate in Sumerian.[69]

Dr Toth makes Sumerian the ancestor of the Dravidian languages; he asserts that they are genetically related, a view in line with that of Dr Sathasivam.

One thing that many scholars seem not to know about the Sumerian language, is that it possesses and employs the relatively rare phenomenon of pluractionality, or verbal number. In *A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian*, Abraham Hendrik Jagersma writes:

> Nominal number is well-known from languages such as English, where it is far more pervasive than in Sumerian. In the latter language it is largely restricted to the human gender, so that most nominals show no number distinction at all. But Sumerian does not only have nominal number. It shows verbal number [pluractionality] as well, a gram-matical category, which, although absent from European languages, is found in many languages across the world.
>
> Verbal number differs crucially from nominal number. Whereas the latter is about counting entities, verbal number is concerned with quantifying actions and states (Corbett 2000; Mithun 1988; Mithun 1999: 83). Thus, verbal plurality indicates that the verb expresses an action or state which is in some respect a plural one. In the Dravidian language Kui [the language of the Kangar], for instance, 'special forms of the verb are sometimes used to express

[69] Alfréd Tóth, *Are all agglutinative languages related to one another?* (Mikes International, The Hague, Holland, 2010), p. 22.

> the following modes of plural action: One person doing a number of things. One person doing one thing many times. More than one person doing a number of things. More than one person doing one thing many times.'[70] [Brackets added.]

The languages that employ pluractionality (the kind of pluractionality that is not merely a semantic concept[71]) are found in few language families. In fact, of the one hundred forty-seven language families documented, only Native languages of the Americas, Chadic, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, and Dravidian languages, possess pluractionality, or verbal number, though Georgian does as well. R. Caldwell, in *A Descriptive Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, writes:

> The nearest analogies to the Dravidian 'ir' which I have noticed in other families of tongues, are in the Caucasian dialects ; e.g., in the Georgian 'ori ;' in the Suanian (a dialect of the Georgian) 'eru' or 'ieru ;' in the Lazian 'zur ;' and in the Mingrelian 'shiri :' compare also the Armenian 'ergov.'[72]

It is interesting that Jagersma, in explaining pluractionality as it occurs in Sumerian, chose the Dravidian language Kui to show examples of verbal number, or pluractionality. Kui is, in fact, the language of the Kangar, as I have already shown; and the Sumerians were the Kangar.

---

[70] Abraham Hendrik Jagersma, *A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian*, Doctoral thesis (Leiden University, 2010), p. 314.

[71] Patricia Cabredo Hofherr and Brenda Laca, *Verbal Plurality and Distributivity* (Walter de Gruyter, 2012), p. 191.

[72] R. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian* (Harrison and Sons, 1856), p. 270.

We know what the distribution of Dravidian languages is at present, but what about their distribution in antiquity, before Indo-Aryans spread into Afghanistan, Pakistan, Baluchistan, and India? J. P. Mallory addresses this old question in *In Search of the Indo-Europeans*, and answers that the existence of northern Dravidian languages in pockets, such as Brahui in Baluchistan, and others spoken southeast of the Indus, together with the fact that Indo-Aryan is positioned in the north of India, and the expansion of Indic has been from the north to the south and east, leaves one explanation with no other satisfactory one to challenge it, that is, that the Dravidian languages were spread throughout the entirety of the Indian subcontinent in antiquity, but in time were pushed farther and farther south by the intrusive Indo-Aryans; and he goes on to say that the earlier dominance of Dravidian in northern India makes it the foremost candidate for the language of the Indus civilization.[73]

The many references to Dilmun made by the Sumerians, or Kangar, in their economic records and their literary texts, were made at a time that antedated the arrival of any Indo-Aryans in India, Pakistan, Baluchistan, or Afghanistan. Since archaeology has demonstrated that the Indus civilization is of greater antiquity than the first Indo-Aryan presence in the Indus Valley, we are left with a single logical conclusion regarding the language spoken by those who created that civilization, namely, that it was a non-Indo-European one. Since the Indo-Aryans arrived only relatively recently in the Indian subcontinent, and since a genetic relationship between Dravidian and Altaic has been demonstrated by K. H. Menges, it must have been the case

[73] J. P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth* (Thames and Hudson, 1989), p. 44.

that Dravidian speakers, before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans, were distributed throughout a much larger area of India in remote antiquity, and at least as far north as Baluchistan, where the largest number of Brahui speakers live; for the alternative explanation, that the Altaic speakers were located in the south of India where the bulk of Dravidian speakers are located now, cannot possibly be correct. Menges writes:

> In their [Altaic and Dravidian] totality, the facts of basic agreement, particularly in the domains of morphology and syntax, also in that of lexicon, and, to a lesser degree, a certain amount of phonological features, mostly those of common phonological development, but also the phonological structure, as mentioned above, exhibiting in the morphology and syntax not only the same system, and in the morphology also a considerable amount of suffixes identical in form and meaning, cannot reasonably be explained as being due to borrowing in whatever way, including that by conquest-movements and/or ethnical mixture, or as accidental phenomena, but only as the result of genetic relationship. Since this genetic relationship extends to Uralic, these three language-families form a mighty complex of genetically related languages in Eastern Europe and a considerable portion of Asia and the insular world to the East, South, and Southwest of the continent. In Nostratic linguistics, Uralic, Altaic, and Dravidian constitute the East-Nostratic group, K'art'uli, Indo-European, Semitic-Hamitic the Western. This is now confirmed by this present work.
>
> The genetic relationship uniting the three language-families poses anew the question of their primordial home. As this will not be discussed in this contribution, reference should be made to what I said in Orbis (1964 : 97 ff.), Robert von Heine-Geldren

> (1964 : So. 9, pp. 187-201) and K. Zvelebil (1972), all agreeing on a habitat to the Northwest of India.[74]
>
> …In as far as prehistorical times are concerned, it might be said here, in addition to the statements in Orbis (1964 : 102 f.), that G. F. Dales in his contribution on Balūčistān, Afghanistan, and the Indus valley from pre-pottery neolithic to the proto-historical period (1965), presents much cogent evidence in support of the theory that the high Indus-Valley-Culture [Mohenjo Daro and Harrapa] is an outgrowth of the earlier culture of East-Iran (Balūčistān and Afghanistan) which in turn derives from Iran and Turkmenistan rather than from Mesopotamia directly. This also means that the bearers of the Indus-Valley-Culture, early Dravidians, immigrated from the Northwest prior to the Indo-European conquest of their former habitat.[75] [Brackets added.]

The correct conclusion is, that Dravidian speakers were widely distributed throughout the Indian subcontinent and beyond before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans, at least as far north as the Brahui speakers in Baluchistan; and they therefore have the distinction of being able to claim, with justification, that the Indus civilization was a creation of theirs, that is, of Dravidian speakers.

Now, the identification of Dilmun with the Indus Valley civilization—the identification of it with Baluchistan to the northwestern coast of India, down to Daman, which I have already shown to figure into the history of the Kangar—fulfills every requirement that must be met for the identification of Dilmun to be correct. Bahrain, on the other hand, as I have shown, fails to meet all of them.

---

[74] K. H. Menges, "Dravidian and Altaic." Anthropos 72, no. 1/2 (1977): 129–79. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40459078., p. 172.

[75] K. H. Menges, "Dravidian and Altaic," p. 174.

Only the Indus civilization can be identified as Dilmun; and since only Dravidian speakers can be credited with the development of that civilization, only Dravidian speakers can be considered responsible for the existence of Dilmun. In fact, as no alternative identification has been demonstrated to be acceptable, so, from what has been shown, it can be stated that Dilmun and the Indus civilization were one and the same.

The Sumerians were the Kangar, and the language of the Kangar, or Kuenju, is Kui, which is a Dravidian language most similar to Telugu. But the Koya are also the Kangar, and the language of the Koya is Koi, which is also a Dravidian tongue, one most similar to Tamil. These two divisions of the Kangar—the Kuenju and the Koya—who still live in India, use different words to express the same ideas and communicate thoughts, but do so in vehicles of expression, in agglutinative languages, that betray their relatedness through lexical phenomena and structures that they have in common, not just with each other, but with all the other Dravidian languages. Likewise in Mesopotamia, the Sumerians, or Kangar, spoke an agglutinative language, which owing to fundamental lexical features that it has in common with the Dravidian languages, and to the unique aspect of pluractionality that it shares with them, is no isolate at all, and cannot be said to be one. It belongs to a family. It betrays its membership in one, that of the Dravidian, not only by having fundamental lexical features in common with those of the Dravidian, but by representing a style of thinking, through its employing pluractionality, that is unique to the Dravidian languages, but that is foreign to all other tongues in Asia, all the way from the Caucasus to China. Thus, as the Dravidian stand alone as the only languages that show real relationship with

Sumerian, so Sumerian is to be recognized as a member of the same family.

It is clear that the inhabitants of Dilmun and those of Sumer both spoke a Dravidian language. As Kramer shows, the god Enki was evidently from Dilmun.[76] Enki was not only from a place where Dravidian speakers lived, but was also, at the same time, venerated in distant Sumer by Sumerians, or Kangar. It is not a coincidence that Dilmun and Sumer have in common a connection with Dravidian speakers, nor is it a coincidence that Enki was from the one and venerated by the inhabitants of the other. Since the Sumerians spoke of a real geographic area to have been Enki's homeland, the Sumerians themselves, who give detailed descriptions of Dilmun, must have known that region intimately, and they could have known it intimately only if they had spent a long time there. They too, like Enki, must have been originally from Dilmun.

The Kangar, wherever they are, and wherever they may have ended up, as in Sumer, must have begun to spread out originally from the area of Dilmun, or Daman, after reaching the mainland of India. Dilmun in antiquity, or ancient Daman, was evidently not confined to the area of the coastal city of Daman today, but was much larger, extending all the way to Baluchistan, and, in all probability, to Badakhshan. In the first part of this book, I show that the homeland of the Kangar must have been off the west coast of India on the now submerged island that was at the same latitude that present-day Daman is. Ancient Daman, or Dilmun, however, encompassed much more land than the present-day city of Daman does. It extended all the way to Bit-Jakin; and it is well to remember, for that reason, that if the

[76] Kramer, p. 282.

existence of Dilmun, or Daman, began long before the oldest records of it in the clay tablets of the Sumerians indicate, then it was most definitely the case, that that island, 'Kankali Island,' before it was swallowed by the sea, ran parallel to, and was likewise situated below, all of Dilmun, or ancient Daman, that is, the Indus Valley civilization. In fact, the true age of the Indus civilization will only become known when the ruins of the ancient city recently found underwater in the Gulf of Cambay, to the south of Lothal, are definitively dated.

I have pointed out above that the language of the Kuenju, or Khands, or Kangar, is Kui. In *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Kui*, Lingum Letchmajee writes:

> I have always thought that this language [Kui] is a corruption of, or the primitive Telugu itself. In support of this opinion some arguments might be adduced; but as my object is to be as brief as possible, I shall content myself with pointing out the similarity that exists between many of the Kui and Telugu words. To notice all the grammatical similarities of the two languages would occupy more space than is intended for this introduction.[77] [Brackets added.]

In Telugu, the word for breathe is rather interesting. It is different from the Tamil word for breathe, which is *mūccu*; it is also different from the Kannada word for breathe, which is *usirādalu*; and it is different from the Malayalam word for breathe, which is *sasikkuka*. The Telugu word for breathe is *upiri*, a name which was borne by one of the only two known kings of Dilmun, the other king having been named Hundaru.[78]

[77] Letchmajee, p. iii.

[78] Kramer, p. 283.

That king of Dilmun, Upiri, could have borne any one of thousands of names, yet of all the names he could have borne, the one that he did bear is a word in none other than in a Dravidian language, in Telugu, of which Kui, the language of the Kangar, may be the most primitive form.

Today in India, as I mentioned at the outset of this book, the Kangar are also knowns as Gonds. The Gonds, or Kangar, have many myths, and important in them are not just certain gods, but other beings of different capacities. Sages, for example, who are also recognized in some cases as magicians, play a role of importance in Kangar mythology. In India magic is still important in Gond or Kangar culture, just as it was among the Kangar, or Sumerians, in ancient Mesopotamia. In one of the myths of the Gonds, a venerable sage is spoken of. Behram Mehta writes:

> Sun, moon and stars are unable to tell Lingo about the whereabouts of the Gonds. He goes to the sage Kuwait, the greatest magician, and he replied...[79]

From the Sumerians we learn that a king of Dilmun bore the name Upiri, which happens also to be a word, but only in Telugu, of which the Kangar may speak the most primitive form, Kui; and from the Gonds, or Kangar in India, we learn that the name of the greatest magician and sage was Kuwait, which happens to be the name of one of two countries, Kuwait and Iraq, where Sumer, called Kangar by its inhabitants, was located in Mesopotamia in antiquity. Add to these facts that the name of one of the main divisions of the Kangar, as shown

[79] Mehta, p. 184.

below, is Arakh, which is homonymous with Iraq, and you have much to ponder. Clearly, the name of the Kangar division Arakh is the original of the name Iraq.

V

Meaning of the Name Kangar; The DNA of the Sumerians, or Kangar

The name Kangar originated among an aboriginal people of India, and it means sword- or dagger-bearer.[80] In *The Padjanaks* I write:

> The tribal name Kangar came in antiquity to mean 'sword- or dagger-bearer,'[81] and it thus became the name for a short sword or dagger in many languages. In Kannada, a sword is a *khadga*;[82] in Hindi, a dagger is a *khangar* or *khanjar*; a sword, a *khanda*, or a *khangar*.[83] The tribal name Khandahat means 'swordsman.'[84] In Egyptian Arabic, and in Arabic spoken outside Egypt, a dagger is called *khangar*.[85] In whatever language the word for a dagger or a

[80] K. S. Singh, *The People of Rajasthan*, Volume XXXVIII, Part Two (Anthropological Survey of India, Popular Prakashan, 1998), p. 529.

[81] K. S. Singh, *The People of Rajasthan*, p. 529.

[82] Rev. F. Kittel, *A Kannada-English Dictionary*, (Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, 1894), p. XXXIV.

[83] Nathaniel Brice, *A Romanized Hindustani and English Dictionary* (Trubner and Co., 1864), p. 157.

[84] R. V. Russell, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, p. 436.

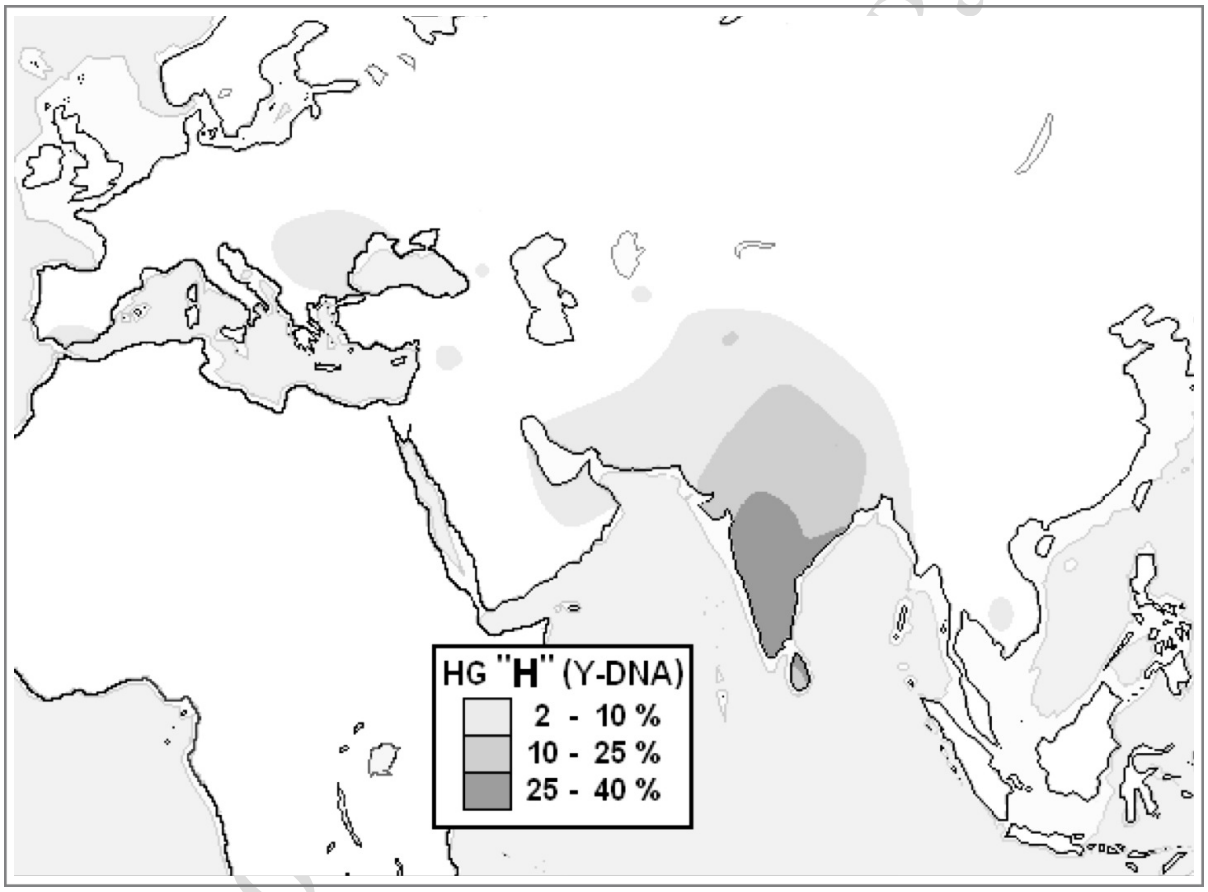
[85] F. E. Robertson, *An Arabic Vocabulary for Egypt* (Sampson, Low, Marston and Company, 1898), p. 43.

short sword is *khangar*, or *khanjar*, or *khanda,* or *hanjar,* or *hanzar*, or *handžar*, etc., it is ultimately derived from the name of the Kangar of India.

The Kyrgyzes, the Kazakhs, and the Uzbeks all call a dagger *khangar* or *khanjar* or *hanjar*; and Kankali clans constitute a part of all three of these peoples. The Kankali, or Kangly, or Qangly are, in fact, Kangar. They are all originally from India[86]

As mentioned above, I belong to Y-DNA haplogroup H-M69 (H1), in common with the Koya (Kangar), among whom, as has been said, it is most frequent in the world. Here is a map showing the distribution of H-M69:

[86] Padjan, p. 75.



Worldwide Distribution of H-M69

Note that the distribution pattern of H-M69 seems to indicate an absence of the haplogroup in the region of ancient Mesopotamia, that is, in Iraq as well as in Kuwait. Since I have been arguing in this book that the Sumerians were the Kangar, and since I have demonstrated in *The Padjanaks* that H-M69 is the main haplogroup of the Kangar, one might wonder what explanation I have for the apparent absence of the haplogroup in the region where the Sumerians, or the Kangar, resided in Mesopotamia.

Looking at the map above, we should pay particular attention to the distribution patterns of H-M69 on both sides of the Persian Gulf, and note that it is distributed along almost the entire length of the Arabian Peninsula on the one side of the Gulf, right up to Kuwait, and that on the other side, it is distributed inland and along the coast all the way from India, through all of Iran, and right up to Iraq. It is found also in Syria.[87] But within this triangular area formed by the distribution pattern of H-M69 itself, within Mesopotamia, H-M69 is, or at least appears mostly to be, absent. What can account for this apparent absence of H-M69 in Iraq and Kuwait —in Mesopotamia? If, *excluding Mesopotamia*, the present-day distribution pattern of H-M69 reflects its distribution pattern in antiquity, or approximates to its ancient pattern, then the most plausible explanation for the apparent absence of H-M69 within Mesopotamia, within this triangular area that includes Iraq and Kuwait, in which for ages many kings competed for supremacy, is that a sweeping 'Genghis Khan effect' (in which a

[87] Semino O., Passarino G., Oefner P. J., et al. (November 2000). *The genetic legacy of Paleolithic Homo sapiens sapiens in extant Europeans: a Y chromosome perspective*. Science. 290 (5494): 1155–9.

certain Y-chromosome predominates in a region[88]) created by the ruling Semites of the region, and later perpetuated by their descendants, greatly reduced, or almost eliminated, the occurrence of H-M69 within Mesopotamia, within that triangular area. Moreover the Semites, beginning with the group that Wolfram von Soden terms the 'North Semites,'[89] had been established in the region from the earliest times, and thus constituted the established population of Mesopotamia; and by virtue of the fact that they were the established population, they would have outnumbered there the immigrant Sumerians, or Kangar, and would have been in a position to reproduce in greater numbers there than the Sumerians. The Semites eventually, by establishing their hegemony in the region, brought about the end of Sumer.

It is inconceivable that those in antiquity who belonged to H-M69 would have settled only outside Mesopotamia, on both sides of the Persian Gulf, in lands arid, barren, and devoid of fertility, as well as to the north of Mesopotamia, in Syria, but not in Mesopotamia, which was lush, fertile, and watered by two mighty rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. In other words, those who belonged to H-M69 in antiquity must have settled also in Iraq and Kuwait, in Mesopotamia, and not just on the fringes of it—the fringes of all sides of it, where H-M69 is found today.

The Y-DNA haplogroup most common among men in Iraq today, is haplogroup J-M267 (J1-M267). In the general

[88] Bryan Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts: The Genetic Roots of Britain and Ireland* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), pp. 125-126.

[89] Wolfram von Soden, *The Ancient Orient*, pp. 19-20.

population, at least 26.8 percent of Iraqi males belong to it.[90] Among the Marsh Arab males of southern Iraq, it is even more common, with 80 percent of them belonging to haplogroup J-M267.[91]

As for those Marsh Arabs in southern Iraq today, who many might be disposed to think represent, because of where they live, the descendants of the Sumerians, or Kangar, they cannot be assumed to be the descendants of the Sumerians simply because they live in the area where the Sumerians once lived. To think that the Marsh Arabs who belong to J-M267 are the descendants of the Sumerians on the basis that they live where the Sumerians once lived, would be like thinking that the Croats, for example, are the descendants of the Illyrians because the Croats now live where the Illyrians once lived. It is, of course, possible that some of the Marsh Arabs have for ancestors Sumerians (just as it is possible, of course, that some Croats have Illyrian ancestry), but it would be ridiculous to assume that the bulk of the Marsh Arabs are the descendants of the Sumerians only on the basis of the fact that they live in the area once inhabited by them. In fact, those Marsh Arab that belong to Y-DNA haplogroup J-M267, are most certainly not the descendants of the Sumerians, or Kangar. If we were to accept that they were, we would be forced to accept that almost ten million Iraqi males of the general population who belong to

[90] Chiaroni, Jacques; King, Roy J; Myres, Natalie M; Henn, Brenna M; Ducourneau, Axel; Mitchell, Michael J; Boetsch, Gilles; Sheikha, Issa; et al. (2010). *The emergence of Y-chromosome haplogroup J1e among Arabic-speaking populations*. European Journal of Human Genetics. 18 (3): 348–353.

[91] Nadia Al-Zahery, Maria Pala, Vincenza Battaglia, et al., *In search of the genetic footprints of Sumerians: a survey of Y-chromosome and mtDNA variation in the Marsh Arabs of Iraq* (BMC Evolutionary Biology, Volume 11, Number 1, 2011), p. 12.

J-M267, are also the descendants of the Sumerians, and not, therefore, of the later dominant Semites. If J-M267 represented the haplogroup of the Sumerians to the exclusion of all other haplogroups, we would be forced to accept the absurdity that H-M69 is not the haplogroup to which Sumerian males largely belonged, and at the same time we would be forced to try to explain how it is that H-M69 arrived in the Middle East from India, and in the areas all around Mesopotamia, with a people whose males (in this scenario) were not ancestors of the Sumerians, but whose males' Y-DNA, H-M69, nevertheless proves, definitively, a genetic relationship to the Koya, or Kangar, in India, whose Dravidian language, *and whose name*, meaning 'dagger-bearers,' directly connects them to a people in Mesopotamia in antiquity known by the exonym Sumerians—a people who called their land in what is present-day Iraq, not Sumer, but Kangar, just as, of course, they called themselves, and must have called themselves, by that same name—Kangar. Men in Oman and men in Yemen, who call a dagger *khangar*, and who belong to H-M69, prove the point above: They are patrilineal descendants of no other ancients than the Kangar, or Sumerians. In other words, the paternal ancestors of those men in Yemen and men in Oman, were the Kangar, who had originated, of course, in India. J-M267 (J1-M267) could not have been the Y-DNA haplogroup of the Sumerians. H-M69, now known as, again, H1, is, in the main, the haplogroup to which Sumerian males belonged.

The Kankali, or Qanqli, or Kangly clans among the Kyrgyzes,[92] the Kazakhs,[93] the Uzbeks,[94] the Karakalpaks,[95] and the Nogais,[96] are clans of the Kangar, and H-M69 is found among all those peoples.

Haplogroup H-M69 has been in India since it arose there, about 45,000 years ago,[97] and because of its high frequency in Malkangiri, we might be led to think that H-M69 arose in that location. But we must remember that H-M69 has been in India for tens of thousands of years, and in deepest antiquity, the ancestors of those among whom it is most frequent of all, the Koya, lived, and must have lived, for some indeterminate length of time, in the northwest of India, as I have shown. If, therefore, we were to turn back time by degrees, we would observe the epicenter of H-M69 move out of Malkangiri, and move slowly across India from east to southwest, towards Kuruvadweep forest, and from the forest to the northwest, towards Daman, across from which city, about 6900 years ago, in the Arabian Sea was the island which I call Kankali Island—the island that I maintain is the one referred to in the myth of the Koya, or Kangar, or Gonds, or Khands, etc.—the island where the

---

[92] Osman Yorulmaz, *Moğol İstilası Sonrası Kanglılar/Kanklılar* (Bilig / Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Ê sayı 40: pp. 195-222, 2007), p. 195.

[93] Martha Brill Olcott, *The Kazakhs* (Hoover Press, 1987), p. 5.

[94] William of Rubruck, *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World 1253-55*, translated by William Woodville Rockhill (The Hakluyt Society, 1900), p. 119 n. 1.

[95] Wolfgang Weissleder, *The Nomadic Alternative: Modes and Models of Interaction in the African-Asian Deserts and Steppes* (Walter de Gruyter, 1978), p. 148.

[96] William of Rubruck, *The Journey of William of Rubruck*, p. 119 n. 1.

[97] Sanghamitra Sahoo, Anamika Singh, G. Himabindu, *et al.*, *A prehistory of Indian Y chromosomes: Evaluating demic diffusion scenarios* (Proc Natl Acad Sci U S A. 2006 Jan 24; 103(4): 843–848.), p. 847.

goddess Kankali-Kali-Kankali was born. For, as the Koya, or Kangar, within India moved, so did the epicenter of H-M69.

VI

Racial Classification and Linguistic affiliation of the Kangar, or Sumerians, and Santals

Early reliable accounts of the Kangar in India come from the British who encountered them there. They classified the Kangar as of Dravidian stock, or of the Dravidian 'race.' Captain C. E. Luard writes:

> The *Khangar* as found in Bundelkhand gives us an example of the evolution of a caste out of a tribe, one portion being still to a great measure in a primitive state, while the other section has been admitted within the circle of Hinduism. The *Khangars* appear to have been the original habitants and rulers of a large part of Bundelkhand before the Rājputs invaded the country. They were apparently of Dravidian stock. As we find them now they are divided into three large endogamous groups, "*Raj-Khangars*," "*Ārakhs*," and "*Dhanuks*," though there is some doubt, however, as to the last group, and they are at any rate insignificant locally. Each of these is again sub-divided into exogamous divisions. Of these divisions the first is now a caste proper, though not a high one, while the other two are looked on as jungle tribes or at best but on the fringe of the caste system.[98]

[98] Captain C. E. Luard, *Of the Dravidian Tract*, pp. 165-166.

Yet again, in a region where the Kangar are the 'original habitants,' we find the name Khand as part of the compound place name of the region that they inhabit, namely, Bundelkhand. I need not repeat here all that I have already said about the name Khand, and its use in compound place names, such as Samarkhand and Khandahar, but I will remind the reader nevertheless, that in Kui, the language of the Kangar, or Kuenju (Kangju), *Ē-anju Kuenju* means *He is a Khand* (meaning *He is a dagger-bearer* or *He is a swordsman*).

The names of the Kangar septs of Bundelkhand recorded by Captain Luard are given below:

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE KHANGARS OF BUNDELKHAND.

RĀJ-KHANGARS.

[*Main divisions—Rāj-Khangars, Ārakh.*]

Exogamous septs :—

(1) **Bel-gotia.**—Revere the *Bel* (*Ægle marmelos,*) tree, which they never cut or injure.
(2) **Bela-gotia.**—Revere the *Bela* plant and never cut it, etc.
(3) **Samad-aotig.**—Hold the *Samad* tree sacred.
(4) **Suraj.**—Profess to be descended from, and be worshippers of, the sun.
(5) **Guae.**—Called after the iguana (*Guae*), which they never injure.
(6) **Nāg.**—Revere the serpent and never destroy any snake.
(7) **Ghur.**—Revere the horse (*Ghur, ghora*). Never mount one and will not allow them to be used in marriage processions.
(8) **Hāthi.**—Revere the elephant.
(9) **Gau.**—Have the cow as a totem.
(10) **Magar.**—The alligator is their totem. Special acts of worship are paid to it at weddings, etc.
(11) **Chandan-guae.**—Another species of iguana. They never injure it.
(12) **Kusam.**—Revere the *Kusam* (*Schheichera trijuga*) tree and never use clothes dyed in its juice.
(13) **Nim.**—Revere the *Nim* (*Melia azadirachta*) tree and never use its fruit or cut it
(14) **Karil.**—Revere the *Karil* tree.
(15) **Chanwar.**—Have rice as a totem. Never eat it.
(16) **Haldi.**—Revere the turmeric and never use its dye, etc.
(17) **Bharat.**—
(18) **Bat.**— } Origin of name not known.

ĀRAKH.

Exogamous septs :—

(1) **Lāhher Gotia.**—Abstain from touching the *Lāhera* tree, which is their totem.
(2) **Ent.**—*Ent*, a brick. Never use bricks, all their houses are made with plain wattle and mud.
(3) **Hāthi.**—Revere the elephant.
(4) **Gau.**—Cow is worshipped.
(5) **Pahan.**—Not known.
(6) **Chandan.**—Worship the *Chandan* (*Santalum album*) tree and never harm it.
(7) **Chanwār.**—*Chanwār*, rice. They never eat rice or touch it.
(8) **Ghorā.**—Revere the horse.
(9) **Sāndal.**—This is Eponymous, the sept being called after the *Sāndilya* Brāhman who saved the woman (*vide* tradition of Rāj-Khangars in text). It will be noted that **Sāndal-gotia** occurs only among the jungly section of the tribe.

It is interesting that the Sandal are named as an Arakh sept in the list above. The Sandal are also known as Santal, or Santhal, and the Santal today are Munda speakers. The Santal themselves are divided into a number of tribes, of which the Karmali are one.[99] Regarding the Santals, H. H. Risley writes:

> Sonthal [Santal], Saontar, a large Dravidian tribe, classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian...
>
> In point of physical characteristics the Santals may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock. Their complexion varies from very dark brown to a peculiar, almost charcoal-like, black ; the proportions of the nose approach those of the Negro, the bridge being more depressed in relation to the orbits than is the case with Hindus ; the mouth is large, the lips thick and projecting ; the hair coarse, black, and occasionally curly ; the zygomatic arches prominent, while the proportions of the skull, approaching the dolichocephalic type, conclusively refute the hypothesis of their Mongolian descent.[100]

Whether the Santals, or Santhals, are of pure Dravidian stock, as Risley asserts, or Austroasiatic, as others say, we need not try to decide. That they and the Karmali are Munda speakers today is certain. As for the racial classification of both the Santals and the Karmali, they are almost certainly a combination of both the Dravidian and the Austroasiatic. The important thing to remember is that racial or ethnic affiliation does not necessarily determine language affiliation. In other words, some Dravidians may have become Munda speakers, and some Austroasiatics may

[99] L. S. S. O'Malley, *Census of India, 1911. Volume V. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Sikkim. Part I* (Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1913), pp. 392-393.

[100] H. H. Risley, *Of the Dravidian Tract: Santal* (Census of India, 1901, Volume I, Ethnographic Appendices, 143-148), p. 143.

have become Dravidian speakers. The Sandal that Captain Luard recorded as an Arakh sept were Dravidian speakers, and, according to him, were of Dravidian stock, and if the Santal outside Bundelkhand that speak Munda, or a dialect of it, are of the same stock as the Sandal that Luard recorded, and they may very well be, then the only difference between the two is the language that they speak. What about the Sumerians? As Kangar, they must have been of the same racial affiliation as the Kangar of India, that is, they must have been of Dravidian stock. Or perhaps like the Sandal, or Santal, who may display a combination of the Dravidian and Austroasiatic types, they displayed features that were characteristic of the Dravidian and the Austroasiatic. In any case, we should not be surprised to find, say, Sumerian skulls that appear more like the one type than the other, or vice versa, or of a combination of both types; for both the Dravidians and the Austroasiatics have lived in India for many thousands of years, and to think that they did not exchange DNA during all the time that they have lived there, would be absurd. In fact, relevant to this subject are the observations of Sasanka Sekhar Sarkar, who writes:

> The Mundas also show the same physical traits and migratory habits. They have always confined themselves to the eastern coastland of India, and do not appear to have penetrated deep into the hinterland, which was already occupied by the Veddids. In an earlier study it has been shown that the Mundas appear to be comparatively recent immigrants in this country. They have given rise to some peculiar hybrid combinations which are not met with in the case of any other aboriginal tribe in this land. The hybrids are known as (1) *Khangar-Munda*, (2) Kharia-Munda, (3) Konkpat-Munda, (4) Karanga-Munda, (5) Mahili-Munda, (6) Nagbansx-Munda, (7) Oraon-Munda, (8) Sad-Munda, (9) Savar-

Munda, (10) Munda-Bhuiya, and (11) Munda-Chamar. H. H. Risley noted that these hybrids are descended from intermarriages between Munda men and women of other tribes.[101] [Italics added.]

[101] Sasanka Sekhar Sarkar. "Race and Race Movements in India." *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Volume I, pp. 17-32 (Swami Nityaswarupananda, 1937, 1958), pp. 19-20.

VII

The Etymology of Samarkhand

I have shown above, in chapter two, that the name Khand in the place name Samarkhand is a variant by which the Kangar are known; that Khand in the compound name Samarkhand refers, in fact, to the Kuenju, or Kangar, that is, the Khands. I have also demonstrated in chapter two that the Kangar of Sogdia established their hegemony over Samarkhand for a second time when they established it over Sogdia in 210 BCE. Thus, as explained above, they must have founded Samarkhand before the arrival of Cyrus and his Achaemenids in 539 BCE.

The above etymology of Khand in Samarkhand that I have given is the correct etymology of the name. From what I have demonstrated, no other etymology can be correct. Those who have attempted to etymologize the name Samarkhand have made the mistake of thinking that the name Khand is of Sogdian origin,[102] or of Persian origin,[103] or of Tartar origin,[104]

[102] Adrian Room, *Placenames of the World: Origins and Meanings of the Names for 6,600 Countries, Cities, Territories, Natural Features and Historic Sites,* 2nd ed., (London: McFarland, 2006), p. 330.

[103] Sir William Drummond, *Origines; or, Remarks on the Origin of Several Empires, States, and Cities*, Volume III (Baldwin and Co., 1826), p. 317.

[104] Sir William Ouseley, *The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, An Arabian Traveler of the Tenth Century*. Appendix, No. III. (Wilson and Co., 1800), p. 298.

or of Turkish origin;[105] and others have made the mistake of thinking that Khand is of Sanskrit origin, or of Indo-Aryan origin. How have they made the mistake of thinking this or that? In the main, they have erred for three reasons in their attempts to etymologize Khand: one, by not knowing who the Khands were and are; two, by not knowing that the name or word Khand is of Munda origin;[106] and three, by being misled by two ancient apocryphal accounts of the origin of the name of Samarkhand, although one of the accounts they are sure not even to be aware of.

The author of the first apocryphal account of its origin was Alexander the Great, who is reported in the Syriac version of his history as saying:

> And then we came to the country of the Sundîkâyê ('the inhabitants of the Sugd') ... I commanded a city to be built there and to be called Samarkand [Marakhanda] …[107] [Brackets added.]

The second apocryphal account, given below, was evidently unknown by all scholars of the twentieth century, and is yet evidently unknown by all scholars of the twenty-first century, who have written in their respective centuries about the origin of the city of Samarkhand and its name. The following account, which is a summary and translation of that of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Persian historian who wrote in

[105] Sir William Ouseley, *The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal*, p. 298.

[106] F. B. J. Kuiper, *Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit* (Noord-hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1948), pp. 47-49.

[107] Fiona Jane Kidd, *The Samarkand Region of Sogdiana: Figurines, Costume and Identity, 2nd -1st Century BCE -8th Century CE* (Doctoral thesis, Department of Near Eastern Archaeology, University of Sydney, 2004), p. 49.

Arabic, has been mentioned by no scholars at all since the nineteenth century, just as none of the other accounts of it are mentioned by any scholars:

> In the book entitled *Tesmiah al Boldan*, it is mentioned, that in those times Samarcand was called *Cheen*, and the *Cheenians* were there; and these people first made the paper of the *Cheenians*. But Samar (Shammar Yahr'ish) called this city after his own name. In Persian Samarkand […]. Kand […] in the Tartar or Turkish language signifies a city. But when this name was used in Arabick, it became Samarcand […]. After this Samar led forth his army and proceeded into Turkestan and to Tibbet, &c. &c.
>
> The ancient tradition, here recorded, is unknown to most of the modern Persian writers, or, at least, unnoticed by them. Emir Rauzi, however, in his excellent geographical compilation, *the Heft Aklim*, or *Seven Climates*, informs us that 'a person named Shamar who was of the family of the Tobba, or sovereigns of Yemen, destroyed that city, so that no vestige remained of its (principal) building, (a castle of immense extent, and said to have been erected by Gurshasp, and repaired, at different times, by Lohorasp and Alexander the Great). After that it acquired the name of Shamarkand, which the Arabs, according to their idiom, call Samarcand.'[108]

Shammar Yahr'ish flourished in the late third century CE, about six hundred years after Alexander the Great. Proof that the story of Shammar Yahr'ish's naming of the city of Samarkhand is apocryphal, is Alexander the Great's apocryphal story of giving it the same name almost six hundred years earlier. And proof that Alexander's story of naming it Samarkhand is apocryphal, is, in fact, my etymology of the

[108] Ouseley, pp. 298–299.

name Khand, particularly as it occurs in the compound name Samarkhand, which etymology is incontrovertible.

Now, at the outset of this book, I stated that the names Gonds and Khonds and Khands are exonyms used of the Kuenju, or Kangar; and I said just above that *khand* is a name or word of Munda origin:

> The origin of *khaḍga~* ['sword'] is still obscure and its structure does not confirm the idea that it is inherited from prim. Indo-European. A variant **khaṇḍa-* (cf. Tam. *kaṇṭam* "sword" in the lexicographical work of Piṅgala) has left some traces in NIA., cf. Hi. Beng. *khāṛā*, Guj. *khāḍu*. Panj, *khaṇḍā*. Mar. *khāḍā*, Gypsy *xanró* (see Turner s.v. *khāṛo*). Bloch 318 observes that only the first element of these words recalls *khaḍga-*, and supposes the nasal to be due to a contamination with the word-family of *khaṇḍ-* "to break". As it seems reasonable to suppose some connexion between this root and the word for "sword" [or dagger], we shall first have to examine more closely the derivatives from this root.[109] …Owing to the false premise that *khaṇḍa-* is an IE. word, no attention has been given to these variants although in the Addenda to the shorter Pet. Diet. (VII, 337) it is expressly stated that *gaṇḍa-* is identical with *khaṇḍa-*. Cf. Nep. *gìṛnu*, *gẽṛnu* "to cut into pieces, kill." Further derivatives are *khaṇḍayati* [the Khandayat or Khandahat are, as said above, a tribal group of India whose name Khandahat means 'swordsman'] "breaks or cuts to pieces, divides, dispels, hurts, wounds, destroys, interrupts, violates, etc.", […]
>
> The various phonetic changes, which these words presuppose, suggest a Proto-Munda, rather than a Dravidian, origin. As a matter of fact, modern Munda has a great many words which must be traced back to a root *ga-ḍa* "in pieces", e.g., S. *guṇḍạ*, *guṇḍạ guṇḍi* "fragments, remnants, small bits, to make into do., to grind" (cf. M. *guṇḍạ* "crumbs", Mark 7, 28), *gaṇḍạ guṇḍạ* "fragments,

[109] F. B. J. Kuiper, *Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit*, pp. 47–48.

> crumbs, to break into do., to grind small" (cf. Tel. *gandarala* "fragments, bits", a loanword), *guṇḍuc'* "excrements (in small quantity)", *giṇḍrạ* "a piece, bit", *kuṭrạ* "a fragment, bit, piece, to cut into pieces, divide", *kaṭra kuṭrạ*, *kuṭrạ kuṭri*, *kuṭrạ muṭrạ* "bits, fragments, small pieces, to divide, cut into pieces", *kuṭri kuṭri* "in small divisions", *kiṭrạ* "fragment, piece, to divide into pieces", *kạṭi kuṭi* "in pieces, to cut into do.", *khaṇḍa khạṇḍi, khaṇḍa (k)huṇḍi* "to cut into pieces", *khiṇḍi huṇḍi*, *khini khudri* (*huḍi*, *huṇḍi*) "to tear into pieces", *kheṇḍec'* *bekrec'* "scattered, in small pieces", K. *kūdkā*, *kuṭkā* "piece, bit, crumb", *kūdkā-kī* "to break into pieces", Kh. *kũrā* "powdered".[110] [Brackets added.]

Khand, like Kuenju and its derivatives or variants Kangju, Kangar, Kankali, etc., as shown above, means swordsman, or sword- or dagger-bearer. Thus the Khands—the Kangar—are the sword- or dagger-bearers.[111] In other words, the name of the Kangar, or Kankali, came to denote dagger-bearers as the people came in antiquity to be known as Khands, despite their being descended from the goddess Kankali-Kali-Kankali; and thus in antiquity, in India, *kangar* became the name for the dagger itself.

In the name Bundelkhand, Khand refers, of course, to the Kangar, the original inhabitants of Bundelkhand. The land is named after the Kangar, or Khands, just as Samarkhand is named in part after them.

As shown above, the word *khand* has been borrowed into other languages, such as, for example, Sanskrit, and, as a result, has had additional meanings given to it. Nevertheless, the word *khand* is not of Indo-European origin, or of Turkic origin, etc. It is, as has been shown, of Munda origin.

[110] Kuiper, pp. 48-49.

[111] Singh, p. 529.

VIII

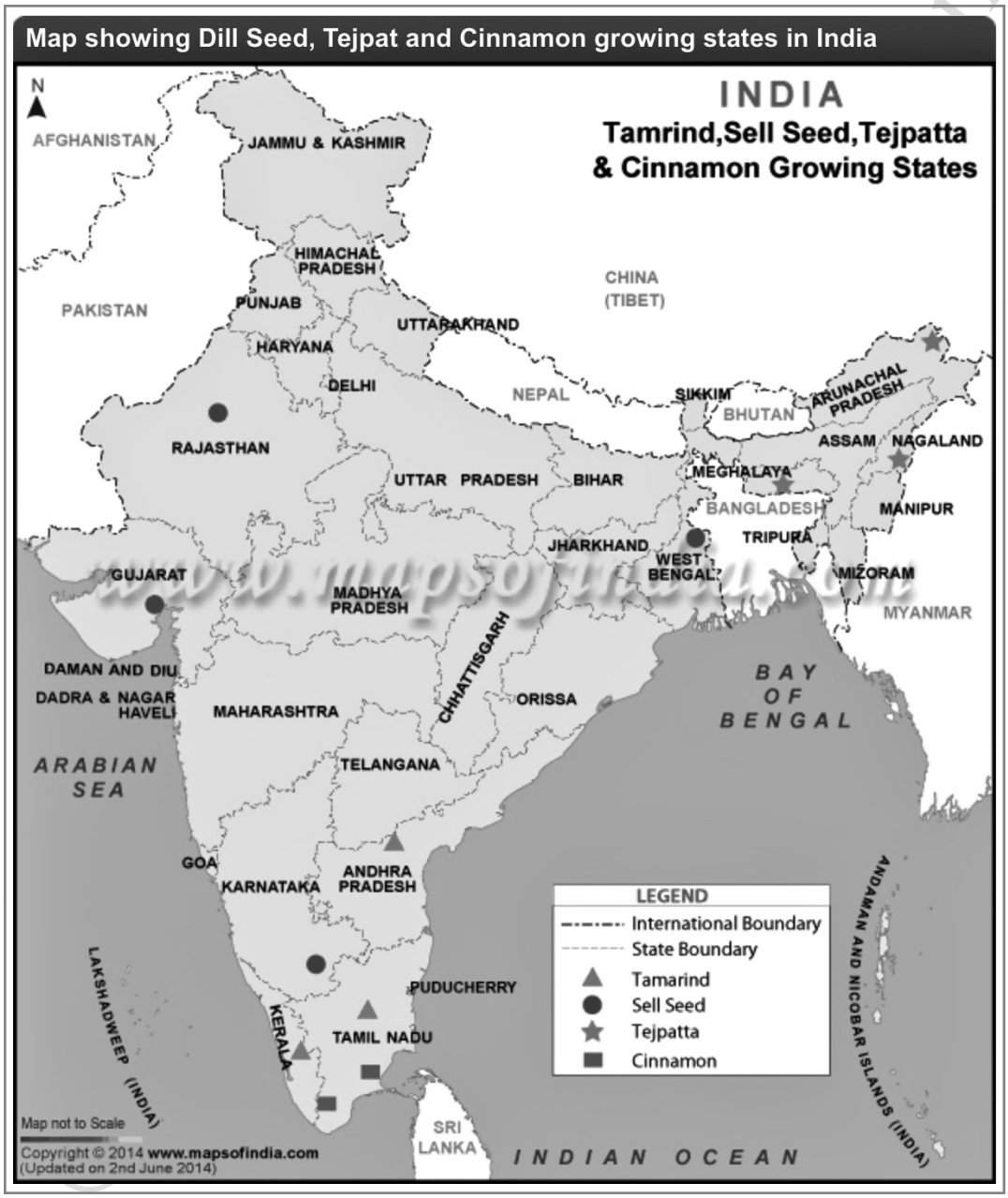
Gods and Goddesses

Any examination of the respective gods and goddesses of the Kangar will raise a number of questions, with the main one being, why are the Kangar deities different from those of the Sumerian deities, if, after all, the Sumerians were Kangar? One thing to remember about the Kangar of India is that they have been a people without writing for most of their history. The names of their gods and goddesses have passed from lip to lip among them for as long as they have been a people, in other words, for thousands of years. They have no book in which the names of their gods and goddesses are written; and over time, for whatever reasons, some deities, however important they may have been at one time in the culture of the people, may have lost their importance, and may have been replaced by other gods and goddesses. For example, if a god or goddess fails to make something happen, or fails to prevent something from happening, the people may become disappointed and seek out, or create, another god or goddess, in the hope that their expectations will be satisfied. They may abandon deities for other reasons as well. If, for example, the blessings provided by a god or goddess are no longer needed, they may cease to worship

> own and partly for their own use, finds a ready sale among low-caste Hindus in villages and market towns.[113]

These, then, are the Kangar, one of the most ancient and most widespread people in the world. In their very long history they have been known by many names—Kankali, Kangari, Kongari, Kuenju, Kuienju, Kangju, Khanjar, Kanjar, Khangar, Khands, Kands, Khonds, Konds, Gonds, Koya, Koia, Koitors, Koiturs, Kangly, Qanqli, Qanqly, Roma, Romani, Gypsies, Sumerians, and more—and through the ages they have produced an unknown number of septs and clans and subgroups, all with unique names. The most famous and illustrious of all the Kangar lived in Mesopotamia in antiquity. We call them Sumerians. They called themselves Kangar.

[113] Russell, p. 340.



Cinnamon growing regions of India

Bibliography

Ajango, Kelsey Michal. *New Thoughts on the Trade of Lapis Lazuli in the Ancient Near East c. 3000 - 2000 B.C.* Doctoral thesis. University of Wisconsin, 2010.

Al-Zahery, Nadia, and Maria Pala, Vincenza Battaglia, et al. *In search of the genetic footprints of Sumerians: a survey of Y-chromosome and mtDNA variation in the Marsh Arabs of Iraq.* BMC Evolutionary Biology. Volume 11. Number 1, 2011.

Amyot Padjan, Joseph. *The Padjanaks.* Unpublished Manuscript, 2014 https://www.josephamyotpadjan.com/2022/05/the-padjanaks/.

Benjamin, Craig G. R. *The Yuezhi: Origin, Migration, and the Conquest of Northern Bactria.* Brepols Publishers n.v., 2007.

Bomhard, Allan R. *Mother Tongue*. Newsletter of the Association for the Study of Language in Prehistory. November/December, 1989.

Boyce, Mary, and Frantz Grenet. *A History of Zoroastrianism.* Brill, 1991.

Brice, Nathaniel. *A Romanized Hindustani and English Dictionary.* Trubner and Co., 1864.

Bury, J. B. *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*. Third Edition. Macmillan and Company, 1955.

Cabredo Hofherr, Patricia, and Brenda Laca. *Verbal Plurality and Distributivity.* Walter de Gruyter, 2012.

Caldwell, R. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian.* Harrison and Sons, 1856.

Carlleyle, A. C. L. *Report of Tours in the Central Doab and Gorakhpur.* Archæological Survey of India. Volume XII. Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1879.

Chiaroni, Jacques, and Roy J. King, Natalie M. Myres, Brenna M. Henn, Axel Ducourneau, Michael J. Mitchell, Gilles Boetsch, Issa Sheikha, et al. (2010). *The emergence of Y-chromosome haplogroup J1e among Arabic-speaking populations*. European Journal of Human Genetics. 18 (3): 348–353.

Drummond, Sir William. *Origines; or, Remarks on the Origin of Several Empires, States, and Cities.* Volume III. Baldwin and Co., 1826.

Fried, Lisbeth S. *The Priest and the Great King : Temple-Palace Relations in the Persian Empire.* Biblical and Judaic Studies. Volume 10. Edited by William H. C. Propp. Eisenbrauns, 2004.

Hancock, Graham. *Underworld: The Mysterious Origins of Civilization.* Crown/Archetype, 2009.

Herrmann, Georgina. *Lapis Lazuli: The Early Phases of Its Trade*. Iraq Volume 30. No. 1. British Institute for the Study of Iraq, pp. 21-57, 1968.

Jagersma, Abraham Hendrik. *A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian.* Doctoral thesis. Leiden University, 2010.

Jastrow, Morris. *Sumerian Myths of Beginnings*. The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures 33. No. 2 (1917): 91–144. http://www.jstor.org/stable/528274.

Kidd, Fiona Jane. *The Samarkand Region of Sogdiana: Figurines, Costume and Identity, 2nd -1st Century BCE -8th Century CE.* Doctoral thesis. Department of Near Eastern Archaeology, University of Sydney, 2004.

Kittel, Rev. F. *A Kannada-English Dictionary.* Basel Mission Book and Tract Depository, 1894.

Kivisild, T., and S. Rootsi, S., et al. *The Genetic Heritage of the Earliest Settlers Persists Both in Indian Tribal and Caste Populations.* American Journal of Human Genetics 72, pp. 313–332, 2003.

Kornel, Das. *Tribals and Their Culture: Koya Tribe in Transition.* APH Publishing, 2006.

Kramer, Samuel Noah. *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character.* The University of Chicago Press, 1963.

Kuiper, F. B. J. *Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit.* Noord-hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1948.

Langdon, Stephen. *Sumerian Epic of Paradise : The Flood and The Fall of Man.* University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section. Vol. X. No. 1. 1915.

Letchmajee, Lingum. *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Kui or Kandh Language*. Second Edition. Bengal Secretariat Press, 1902.

Luard, Captain C. E. *Of the Dravidian Tract.* H. H. Risley. Census of India. Volume I. Ethnographic Appendices. Pages 165-166, 1901.

Magee, Peter, and Cameron Petrie, Robert Knox, Farid Khan, and Ken Thomas. *The Achaemenid Empire in South Asia and Recent Excavations in Akra in Northwest Pakistan*. American Journal of Archaeology 109. No. 4 (2005): 711–41. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40025695.

Mallory, J. P. *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth.* Thames and Hudson, 1989.

Mehta, Behram H. *Gonds of the Central Indian Highlands.* Volume I. Concept Publishing Company, 1984.

Menges, K. H. *Dravidian and Altaic*. Anthropos 72. No. 1/2 (1977): 129–79. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40459078.

Olcott, Martha Brill. *The Kazakhs.* Hoover Press, 1987.

Olmstead, A. T. *History of the Persian Empire.* The University of Chicago Press, 1948.

O'Malley, L. S. S. *Census of India, 1911. Volume V. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Sikkim, Part I.* Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1913.

Ouseley, Sir William. *The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, An Arabian Traveler of the Tenth Century*. Appendix.No. III. Wilson and Co., 1800.

Pulleyblank, Edwin G. *A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia*. T'oung Pao 41. No. 4/5 (1952): 317–56. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4527336.

Risley, H. H. *Of the Dravidian Tract: Santal.* Census of India. 1901. Volume I. Ethnographic Appendices. Pages 143-148.

Robertson, F. E. *An Arabic Vocabulary for Egypt.* Sampson, Low, Marston and Company, 1898.

Room, Adrian. *Placenames of the World: Origins and Meanings of the Names for 6,600 Countries, Cities, Territories, Natural Features and Historic Sites.* 2nd ed. London: McFarland, 2006.

Roux, Georges. *Ancient Iraq.* Penguin Books, 1992.

Rubruck, William. *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World 1253-55.* Translated by William Woodville Rockhill. The Hakluyt Society, 1900.

Russell, R. V. *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*. Volume III. Macmillan and Company, 1916.

Sahoo, Sanghamitra, and Anamika Singh, G. Himabindu, et al. *A prehistory of Indian Y chromosomes: Evaluating demic diffusion scenarios.* Proc Natl Acad Sci U S A. 2006 Jan 24; 103(4): 843–848.).

Sarkar, Sasanka Sekhar. *Race and Race Movements in India*. The Cultural Heritage of India. Volume I. Pages 17-32. Swami Nityaswarupananda, 1937, 1958.

Sathasivam, A. *Linguistics in Ceylon (II): Tamil*. Thomas Albert Sebeok, Current Trends in Linguistics. No. 5. Pages 752-759. Walter de Gruyter, 1963.

Semino, O, and Passarino G., Oefner P. J., et al. (November 2000). *The genetic legacy of Paleolithic Homo sapiens sapiens in extant Europeans: a Y chromosome perspective*. Science. 290 (5494): 1155–9.

Sima Qian. *Shi ji, or Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I.* Revised Edition. Translated by Burton Watson. Columbia University Press, 1993.

Singh, K. S. *The People of Rajasthan.* Volume XXXVIII. Part Two. Anthropological Survey of India, Popular Prakashan, 1998.

Sykes, Bryan. *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts: The Genetic Roots of Britain and Ireland.* W. W. Norton & Company, 2007.

Tosi, Maurizio, and Marcello Piperno. *Lithic Technology Behind the Ancient Lapis Lazuli Trade*. Expedition Magazine. Volume 16. Issue 1. Pages 15-23. Penn Musuem, 1973.

Tóth, Alfréd. *Are all agglutinative languages related to one another?* Mikes International, The Hague, Holland, 2010.

Von Soden, Wolfram. *Einführung in die Altorientalistik*. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1985. Translated by Donald Schey. *The Ancient Orient : An Introduction to the Study of the Ancient Near East.* William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994.

Weissleder, Wolfgang. *The Nomadic Alternative: Modes and Models of Interaction in the African-Asian Deserts and Steppes.* Walter de Gruyter, 1978.

Welsby, Derek A. *The Kingdom of Kush : The Napatan and Meroitic Empires.* British Museum Press, 1996.

Whitfield, Susan. *Life Along the Silk Road.* University of California Press, 1999.

Wooley, Sir Leonard. *The Sumerians.* Barnes & Noble Books, 1995.

Yorulmaz, Osman. *Moğol İstilası Sonrası Kanglılar/Kanklılar.* Bilig / Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Ê sayı 40: Pages 195-222. 2007.