

The Genealogical Records of the Pathans of India

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Physical state of the records

Fourteenth-century historiographer and historian Abu Zayd Abd el-Rahman Ibn Khaldun wrote (1377) about the "illusion of genealogy": the tendency to claim an esteemed lineage long after separation from the esteemed family of origin. Ibn Khaldun claimed this illusion to be particularly strong among the Sons of Israel. Having formerly claimed a lineage of kings, sages, and prophets, they had lost all their glory during exile and yet still imagine themselves to be children of Aaron and progeny of Joshua and the tribe of Judah.¹

The Pathans of India seemed to have severed themselves from their family of origin upon their migration from Afghanistan. But the research of the genealogy of the Pathans has received an important twist with the discovery of the genealogical archive in the hands of the family of the Bara-Hazari.

These books of genealogy, roughly 200 pages each, 60-by-80 centimeters, are closely guarded by a family in the village of Niwana (in Chomu Tehsil of Jaipur district) in Rajasthan, India. For nearly the last 500 years, since the decree of the Pathan emperor and legislator Sher-Shah Suri (1486-1545), the scribes of the family document marriages, births, and deaths among the Pathans and the Saiyads, both Muslim. The current patriarch is Mr. Sadar-Muhammad Khan, the Bara-Hazari, and it is his task to update the records.

The texts are written in the Devanagari alphabet used by Sanskrit². The language employed is the Dhundhari dialect, one of the eight dialects of the Rajasthani language, a tongue of Western Indo-Aryan origin,³ with a mixture of words from Pashto, Urdu and Aramaic.

At this stage of research, it appears that this archive is one of the earliest sources of Pathan genealogy and it is a wonder that nothing has been written about them until this day. The physical state of the books is quite dire. They are wrapped inside a woolen blanket that serves as a *genizah* of sorts. They are not arranged in any order and are vulnerable to the whims of the weather and the bites of insects and mice.

All my efforts to suggest their transfer to a formal archive or local museum were flatly refused. As of the past half-century, few families still update their data. In the past, scribes made rounds in the villages. The current scribe does not, and receives only a little data from phone calls. The younger generation is apparently not too enthusiastic about documenting. Therefore, there is a danger that in the near future, a large quantity of data documenting every birth, marriage and death, Pathan history and mythology will perish and be irreparably forgotten.

A Carbon-14 testing done at The Weizmann Institute of Science for two of the books from the Bara-Hazari indicated that: "The two books are definitely young and not before the 17th century A.D."⁴

Another test done at the Israel Museum showed that the ink used in the genealogy books contained glue and pigment. Water based, like watercolor paints, they could be compromised by liquid as opposed to ink used by Jewish ritual scribes for Torah scrolls, which is gall based and prevents erasure and forgery. The resin that makes the base for the ink is from gum arabic or some other water based resin, and the black pigment is of organic origin, most probably charcoal mixed with glue.

As for the paper, we know the paper industry originated in China. Arabs first learned of paper in 751 CE, after the Battle of Talas. In the Islamic world, the first paper production was done in Samarkand. In the days of the Barmakid viziers, papermaking reached Baghdad. Later, in the tenth century, the paper industry dealt a death blow to Egypt's papyrus production, and from there paper manufacturing spread to the western lands of Islam and to Europe.⁵

The paper of the genealogy books is, no doubt, hundreds of years old. It was handmade, as is evident from the uneven distribution of fibers. The source of the fibers is unclear at this stage; they may be either of wood, flax or cotton origin, or perhaps from some other fiber-rich plant. Nowadays most paper fibers are made from wood-based lignin. An XRF⁶ testing revealed that the paper did not turn purple, indicating that it was over 200 years old, since wood was only introduced as a component of paper in the 19th century.

Addition of glue in the paper making was meant to prevent the spreading of the ink. This paper appears to contain a small amount of glue, as the spreading of ink on it is uneven. The paper seems to have "drunk" the ink, leaving less ink for the continuation of the text. Therefore, there are bolder letters at the points where the quill was dipped, and the letters get fainter and fainter as the line progresses until the final letters of each line can barely be read.

The First 24 Generations of Man in the Ansab-Segera

The genealogy in the books begins with the 24 generations from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, and from Abraham to Ismael, Isaac, Jacob, and Jacob's 12 sons. Some are mentioned using their biblical names, while others by other names of unknown origin.

In the Koran⁷ there is no mention of the lineage of the first 20 generations of man. Their order is first mentioned in the commentaries and quoted in the Bible: Adam, Habil, Kabil, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lemech.⁸ Noah, Shem, Arpachshad, Shelah, Eber, Peleg, Reu, Sarug, Nahor, Terah, and Abraham.⁹ As a rule, Islamic genealogy is based mainly on the Bible, and it would seem that Muhammad's primary teachers were Jews living in Arabia.¹⁰ Most of the quotations that we are to see were taken from Jewish and Christian stories, traditions, and folklore that the Arabs encountered on their conquests.¹¹

The reason that the genealogy of these generations is absent from the Koran is the Islamic assumption that after the burning of the Torah by Nebuchadnezzar, the text of the Torah was corrupted and only reconstructed later by Uzeir Al-Warak, the biblical figure of Ezra the Scribe. According to Islamic sources, Ezra's reconstruction of the text did not prevent the corruption of the text and therefore, the commentaries of the Koran see no importance in the genealogy in the beginning of the book of Genesis.¹²

We shall now examine the first 24 generations to creation as they appear in the Pathan genealogical records, in comparison with ancient Jewish and Islamic sources:

First Generation: Adam and Eve – Adam is mentioned in the Koran 20 times.¹³ Eve is not mentioned by name, and is merely called Adam's wife.¹⁴ Her name is cited in the Hadith, as is her sin of eating the forbidden fruit.¹⁵ The Stories of the Prophets describe the creation of Adam, his appointment to the position of Caliph, his placement in Eden, his sermon to the angels, the creation of Eve, the sin of Adam, and his subsequent expulsion from Eden.¹⁶ According to these sources, immediately after his expulsion Adam and Eve reached India.¹⁷

Second Generation: Habil and Kabil – In the Koran they are mentioned as "the two sons of Adam".¹⁸ The Koran also elaborates on the hardships of Eve's pregnancies, but no miscarriages are mentioned, nor additional pregnancies, nor twin siblings: "... when he had sexual relations with her, she became pregnant and she carried it about lightly. Then when it became heavy they both invoked their Lord..."¹⁹

The Koranic commentaries mention Cain and Abel by their biblical names²⁰, and as being born after 20 prior pregnancies of Eve²¹. Some commentaries offer the names of the children of these pregnancies: Abd el-Hareth, Abdullah, Ammatullah, Abd el-Rachman el-Rahim and their twin sisters of no name,²² and Abed el-Mujith and his sister Amath el-Mujith²³. The Koran also mentions Seth, Ayad, Balaj, Ataythi, Tawabe, Barak, Banan, Shaboba, Ayan, Darabis, Hadaz, Yahud, and Sandal, all of whom had unnamed twin sisters.²⁴ Cain's twin sister

is Iklimah,²⁵ and Abel's is Labuba.²⁶ After the murder of Abel, Cain married Ashut, his sister, and she bore him Enoch.²⁷

The Jayumarath Dynasty – According to Al-Tarabi, the majority of Persian Islamic scholars believe Jayumarath is Adam, but there is a minority opinion that he was his son.²⁸ Jayumarath was a military leader and legislator, and had a son, Mashi. This son married his sister Mashayeina. Their son Siamak married Siami who bore him five sons, Frawak, Dis, Barasab, Ajwab (Ajrab), Awarash, and four daughters, Afri, Dadhi, Bari, and Wawarashi.²⁹

There is an opinion that the first legislator was Oshahanj, the son of Shyela, the son of Arpachshad, the son of Shem, the son of Noah. According to this tradition, Oshahanj lived for 200 years after the death of Adam. Al-Tarabi draws a comparison between this genealogy and the biblical one³⁰: Oshahanj is Mahalalel, Frawak is Kenan, Siamak is Enosh, Mashi is Seth, and Jayumarath is Adam.³¹

Third Generation: Abd el-Wahab – This name is not mentioned in Islamic sources, but upon looking at the names cited above, one can surmise that this is the name of one of the twins Eve bore, and this name reached Pathan sources from the Muslim ones.

Fourth Generation: Syais – Not mentioned in the Bible or the Koran, probably a distorted form of Seth. Some say he was born without a twin sister, yet others say his twin was Hazorah.³²

Fifth Generation: Annus – Enosh (Enush in Arabic) in the Bible is the third generation.³³ He is not mentioned in the Koran, but is mentioned in the Stories of the Prophets.³⁴

Sixth Generation: Matba-Sala – "Sala" might denote prayer. This could also possibly hint to the prophet Salih, but it would seem that the name "Salhi", the sixteenth generation, would be Salih, rather than Matba-Sala. This name does not appear in the Koran, and Al-Tabari cites the name Salih as one of the children of Adam and Eve who was killed by Satan after the couple refused to name him after Satan, Abd el-Haret.³⁵ Could the Pathan chronicler have been influenced by this legend?

Seventh Generation: Malik – He does not appear in Bible, Koran or in the Stories of the Prophets.

Generation: Nuh (Noah) – In the Bible, Noah "found favor in God's eyes."³⁶ In the Koran: "... And Nuh we guided".³⁷ The story of Noah in the Koran is more or less the same as in the Bible.³⁸ Noah's ark and the dispersal of Noah's descendants over the world are cited by Al-Kisa'i³⁹ as is "Gommorah," the first wife of Noah, mother of Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The Koran claims that she betrayed her husband.⁴⁰ Some commentaries explain that she bore an illegitimate child to another man and became Noah's fourth son,⁴¹ while other commentaries explain that her betrayal was calling her husband "a madman."⁴²

Ninth Generation: Shem – The Koran does not mention Noah's sons by name. Instead, it mentions Arpachshad the Great, as Shem's son and as father of the Arab tribes Laud, Asur, Awilam, and Aram.⁴³ In the Pathan chronicles Shem is mentioned twice, whatever the reason may be.

Tenth Generation: Azuz – Azuz is not mentioned in the Bible nor in the Koran. The Midrash literature, as well as in the Stories of the Prophets, tell of two angels whose names vary: Aza and Azabiah,⁴⁴ Harut and Marut,⁴⁵ Uza and Azael,⁴⁶ or Shamhazay and Azael.⁴⁷ According to tradition, these angels descended from heaven in the generation of the flood to satisfy their lust for women.⁴⁸ This could be the source of the names Azaz and Mazuz.

Eleventh Generation: Mazuz – See above.

Twelfth Generation: Canaan – Canaan is mentioned by name in the Bible,⁴⁹ but not in the Koran: "Noah called to his son... My son, come aboard with us and do not be with the disbelievers."⁵⁰ The commentators cite this son as Canaan.⁵¹ In the Stories of the Prophets, Canaan is cited as Noah's son from his second wife Walaah, daughter of Mahwil, and that he perished in the flood.⁵²

Thirteenth Generation: Shem – It is unclear why this name is repeated.

Fourteenth Generation: Arif – This name is not found in the Bible, Koran, Hadith, or Stories of the Prophets.

Fifteenth Generation: Hud – A descendant of Asher, Hud was the son of Jacob.⁵³ In the Koran: "And to the Aad we sent their brother Hud..."⁵⁴

Sixteenth Generation: Salhi: Salhi is not mentioned in the Bible nor the Koran. This could be the prophet Saliyah or perhaps a corruption of the name of prophet Salih, the prophet of the sons of Thamud, or of the Slavs, the sons of Jafeth.⁵⁵

Seventeenth Generation: Nahor – Nahor is mentioned in the Bible,⁵⁶ which cites his name as father of Terah,⁵⁷ but is not cited in the Koran.

Eighteenth Generation: Farik – Farik is not mentioned in the Bible nor in Islamic sources.

Nineteenth Generation: Boreh – Boreh is not mentioned in the Bible nor in Islamic sources.

Twentieth Generation: Aazar – The Koran says, "Abraham said to his father Aazar: Do you take idols as deities?"⁵⁸ One opinion holds that Aazar was a moniker of Terah. Another opinion holds that Aazar was his real name, and yet another opinion holds that this is a distortion of the name of Eliezer, Abraham's household manager.⁵⁹ It does not mention him, but mentions Terah the son of Nahor as Abraham's father.⁶⁰

Twenty-First Generation: Abraham – Abraham initially appears in the Bible as Abram⁶¹ and changes his name only after receiving the commandment to circumcise. In the Koran he is mentioned as a loyal Hanif,⁶² and the first migrant to set out on a journey in the name of God.⁶³ His figure is inseparably blended into the figure of Muhammad.⁶⁴ Biblical Abraham had three wives: Sarah⁶⁵, Hagar,⁶⁶ and Keturah.⁶⁷ In the Koran, Sarah is mentioned as "Abraham's wife" in relation to the story of the message of the future birth of her son.⁶⁸ Hagar is not mentioned by name either, and is only hinted at in connection to the events around the Al-Safa and Al-Marwa hills in Mecca.⁶⁹ Al-Kasa'i mentions Hagar by name as mother of Ismael and the founder of the dynasty of the Prophet.⁷⁰ Bukhari insists on the expulsion of Hagar and Ismael as happening in Mecca.⁷¹ There is an opinion in the commentaries of the Koran that Hagar died before Sarah and before Ismael's second marriage.⁷² Keturah does not appear in the Koran at all.

Twenty-Second Generation: Isaac and Ismael – Isaac is first mentioned in the Bible at the Covenant of the Pieces.⁷³ In the Koran: "And his wife was standing, and she smiled. Then we gave the good tidings of Isaac, and after Isaac - Jacob. She said: 'Woe to me! Shall I give birth while I am an old woman, and this, my husband, an old man...'"⁷⁴ In the early prophecies of Mecca, Isaac is presented as a positive character with noble traits, similar to Ismael. It seems Muhammad wanted to portray Isaac as a partner to Ismael and as part of the legacy

of Abraham.⁷⁵ In order to portray Ismael as the primary heir, Isaac's name is omitted from the story of the Binding.⁷⁶ In the Bible, Ismael is first mentioned to Hagar in the message of the angel.⁷⁷ In the Koran, he is mentioned in the petition of Muhammad to the Jews.⁷⁸ Ismael's merits include abandoning Hebrew, sanctifying Arabic,⁷⁹ and helping to build the Kaaba.⁸⁰

Twenty- Third Generation: Jacob – In the Bible, Jacob's name initially appears at his birth.⁸¹ In the Mecca Surahs, he is mentioned along with Isaac as Abraham's son, not grandson,⁸² but in the later Surahs, he is mentioned as Isaac's son.⁸³ The reason for this is that during the Mecca period, Muhammad did not know of the lineage of the sons of Abraham and only learned this in Al-Medina.⁸⁴ In the Bible he is Esau's twin,⁸⁵ but Esau is not mentioned at all in the Koran. In the Stories of the Prophets, Esau is mentioned as the son of Isaac and Rebecca; and figure is blended with that of Jesus of Nazareth, Issa the son of Miriam, who is traced to the seed Abraham as well.⁸⁶

Twenty-Fourth Generation: Twelve sons of Jacob – In the Bible: " And the sons of Jacob were twelve. The sons of Leah: Reuben, Simon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun. The sons of Rachel: Joseph and Benjamin, and the sons of Bilha... Dan and Naftali and the sons of Zilpa... Gad and Asher⁸⁷. In the Koran, the tribes are mentioned as a group and aren't mentioned by name,⁸⁸ with the exception of Joseph. The reason for this is that the tribes are deemed minor characters and not future heads of nations.⁸⁹ The tribes are also mentioned in the Koran as the Sons of Israel.⁹⁰

According to:

Sons of Leah: Reuben, Simon, Levi, and Judah.

Sons of Sriya: Dan and Naftali.

Sons of Sharuba: Issachar (Sahik) Zebulun, Asher (Bashir), Gad, and Dina.

Sons of Rachel: Joseph and Benjamin.⁹¹

Al-Tarabi renders the names of the wives of Jacob in accordance with the Bible, as well as the names of the tribes and the division between the mothers. One narrative tells the story or the relationship between Jacob and his wives in its entirety, while another narrative has Jacob marrying Rachel only after the death of Leah.⁹² Bilha and Zilpa, the concubines, are not from the seed of Laban.⁹³

A thorough glance in seven of the Pathan genealogy books reveals 14 names of the tribes: *Banay* (sons of) Yusuf, *Banay Yamin*, *Banay Yehuda*, *Banay Labay*, *Banay Saman*, *Banay Zabil* (or Zahir), *Banay Shaher*, *Banay Abad*, *Banay Ro'il*, *Banay Razil*, *Banay Habil*, *Banay Malun*, *Banay Annus*, and *Banay Madar*. It should be noted that the Pathan books state clearly, on the spot, that Jacob only had 12 sons, and it can therefore be deduced that two of these names are not direct sons, but other groups, of unknown origin.

The above mentioned names can be divided into three groups:

1. Names mentioned explicitly in the Bible:

Sons of Joseph (Yusuf) – Joseph is mentioned in all seven books. In the Bible, he appears initially as Rachel's firstborn son⁹⁴ and in the Koran, he is mentioned multiple times throughout "Surat Yusuf" as the protagonist.⁹⁵

In the Bible, Joseph bears two sons, Menashe and Ephraim, from Osnath, daughter of Poti'phera, Priest of On.⁹⁶ They are not mentioned in the Koran, but in the Stories of the Prophets they are the sons of Zohila, wife of Elaziz, the biblical Poti'phera whom at first tried to seduce Joseph,⁹⁷ but during the famine in Egypt repented and married him.⁹⁸

Benjamin (*Banay Yamin*) – Benjamin is initially mentioned in the Bible as Rachel's second son, after whose birth she died.⁹⁹ In the Koran he is not mentioned by name, but rather as Joseph's brother.¹⁰⁰ Al-Tabari states that Benjamin had another name in Arabic: Shadad.¹⁰¹ As noted, the Pathan royalty associate themselves with the tribe of this name.¹⁰²

Sons of Judah – Judah is not mentioned in the Koran

Sons of Lavi (*Levi*) – Lavi is not mentioned in the Koran. The later Arabic spelling is "Lawi."¹⁰³

2. Names that are possibly in the Bible:

Sons of Saman – Saman is parallel to Simon, son of Leah. The Arabic spelling is "Shamun." The name "Saman" is not mentioned in the Koran. There was a Samanide dynasty that ruled the Afghan lands in the 9th and 10th centuries, but their family records reveal no explicit connection to the family of Jacob.¹⁰⁴

Sons of Zabil (*Zabir*) – Zabil is parallel to the sons of Zebulun.

Sons of Shaher – Shaher is parallel to the sons of Asher, whom in the Stories of the Prophets is called Bashir. His daughter, Sarach Bint Bashir, is mentioned there as well.¹⁰⁵ There is an opinion that Shaher is Issachar, based on the phonetic similarity between the names; Issachar is sometimes pronounced "Yashhar".¹⁰⁶

3. Names in the Pathan Books of Genealogy with no biblical or Islamic parallel:

Sons of Ro'il, sons of Abad, sons of Razil, sons of Habil, sons of Malun,¹⁰⁷ sons of Annus, and sons of Madar.

The name Ro'il does not appear in the Bible, but it may actually be the biblical name of Re'uel, the name of the son of Esau and Basmath,¹⁰⁸ and the name of the father of Elyassaf, chief of the tribe of Gad.¹⁰⁹ Ancient Islamic tradition as well cites Re'uel as son of Esau and Basmath.¹¹⁰ This name also is quoted as grandfather of Job: "Job, son of Amotz, son of Re'uel, son of Esau, son of Isaac, son of Abraham... and he married the daughter of Ephraim, son of Joseph, Rahma..."¹¹¹

This tradition would have Re'uel as a contemporary of Joseph, but son of Esau, not Jacob. This may be the figure pointed to by the Pathan genealogy. Other than Ro'il, all the rest of the names have no mention in Biblical or in Islamic sources.

The 35th generation from Abraham is that of Malik-Taluth (King Saul). The book of Samuel reads: "And there was a man from the land of Benjamin named Kish, son of Aviel, son of Tzror, son of Behorat, son of Afiah, from the tribe of Benjamin, a warrior. And he had a son named Saul..."¹¹² in the Pathan books of genealogy, Malik-Taluth is traced to both the tribe of Benjamin and to the tribe of Judah: "Pathan son of Yahud." In the Pathan books Malik-Taluth's ancestors are: Jacob, Judah, Rohil, Malik-Ass, Atba, and Qais. Malik-Taluth had two wives, of no name. One bore him two sons: Armia and Arkia. Armia is the father of the Iranian nation, and Arkia the father of the Afghan nation. His second wife bore him a son named Madul. After him are recorded the following generations: Taraz, Habil, Lohi, Talal, Karmod, Aharun, Asmo'il, Hazif, Asam, Hud, Sala, Hanan, Joldar, No'im, Atba, Salul, Asbalid, and Qais Abd el-Rashid. Qais had four sons, most probably from his marriage to the daughter of Khaled ibn al-Walid: Sarban, Bitan, Gargasht, and Karlani. Sarban's dynasty is not recorded, but the three other sons had many descendants¹¹³ who are the foundation of the regal Qais dynasty.¹¹⁴

In conclusion

The discovery of the genealogical books allows a big step forward in the research of the Pathans. Up until now, the Pathans existed on the axis between the myth and reality: The presence of Aramaic words in the language, the similarity in appearance, and remnants of ancient customs were not enough to exit the boundaries of myth.

The discovery of the books creates a new challenge for the researchers: trying to understand the texts thoroughly and in depth and possibly proceed in different directions. This includes:

Why weren't the books printed? Printing was known in central India in the 15th century during the reign of Sher-Shah.

What is known about the prevalence of Colophons in central India in the 15th century? Were there Colophons in the text?

What information can be obtained from the text about personal details of the writers, their education, their wages for the writing, and their other incomes? Did they get help from the family? Where was the exact location of the writing? Were women allowed to work with them?

Are there any existing geographical place-markers in the text? Are there references such as greetings, congratulations, apologies, incantations, curses, stories about historical events or natural disasters mentioned in the text?

To determine any of the above, we must examine the issues of uniformity of the text, signatures, numerology and different dates that appear inside.

But not only historical support for the issues is necessary. Researchers from Pathan culture and society have an obligation to come and test the multi-faceted identity of the Pathans nowadays in India. The identity of the Pathans as Children of Israel is only one part of the "Circle of Identities." They are indeed Muslims, but they limit themselves with regard to some Islamic customs. On the other hand, they identify themselves as Indian citizens in a democratic country in the 21st century. How do they understand the diversity of all the identities? How do they feel with this? What does it mean to them to be Children of Israel in the 21st century? Is it just a historical identity? Or are there deeper feelings, including the desire to rebuild the ruined bridge between them and the Jewish people?

Around all these questions, there is still much work to be done. This article seeks to open discussion on the issue of Pathans and about the ancient origin of the Pathans from Jacob's family and from the twelve tribes of Israel.

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Notes

¹ Ibn Khaldun, 1966 edition, p. 91

² Sanskrit, or Samskrata, is of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European linguistic family, as are all the languages to be mentioned. This is the same linguistic family as Greek, Latin, and most European languages. Sanskrit is called "the language of the Gods," as it is the language of classical Indian literature such as the Rig Veda, Mahabharata, and the Upanishads. The literal translation of the name means "polished" or "pure," denoting the lofty quality Indian authors and poets assigned to their works (Shulman, 1986, p. 9; Singh 2004: 1407; Grinshpon, 2005: p. 25; Shulman, and Hart 2008: p. 14).

³ In Rajasthan, roughly 20 separate dialects are spoken among various populations. The main dialects other than Dhundhari are: Mewari, Marwari, Haroti and Mewati (Lodha, 2011: p. 403, Doshi and Purohit 1968: p.1441).

⁴ I must thank Dr. Elizabeta Boarto of the Kimmel Center for Archeology at the Weizmann Institute of Science for her help.

⁵ Cohen 1995: p. 206

⁶ XRF testing (Fluoro-Gliconol) determines the existence of lignin. If the paper contains lignin, it will turn purple in the test; if not, there will be no change in color.

⁷ In understanding the Koranic sources, I was aided by the Hebrew translation by Rubin (2005) as well as Bukhari (1994 ed.), Mahmad ibn Ismail (1422 to Hijra); Al-Tabari, Muhammad ibn Jarir (1991 ed.); Ibn Qatir (1998 ed.); All Tha'labi, Abu Ishaq Ahmad (1035; 2002 ed); Al-Kisa'i, Muhammad ibn Abdullah (Shusman ed 2013). The stories of the prophets were analyzed by researchers such as Hirshberg, 1946; Goitein, 1952; Schwartzbom, 1964, 1975; Shusman, 1980; Lazarus-Yafeh, 1986; Edang, 1996; Kister, 1999; Garsiel, 2006; Ben-Ari, 2014; and Lakker, 2014.

⁸ Genesis, 5; 1-31.

⁹ Genesis, 11; 11-26; Ibn Qatir, 1998 ed.: 160.

¹⁰ Goitein, 1936: 77; 1952: 59; Lakker, 2014:26.

¹¹ Kister, 1999: 109.

¹² Lazarus-Yaffe, 1986: 363 in the name of Al-Tabari; Adang, 1996: 64; and Bar-Asher, 2002: 13.

¹³ Surah, 2, 31, and many other verses.

¹⁴ Surah, 2,35; Tottoli, 2002: 20; and Garsiel, 2006: 34.

¹⁵ Bukhari (1994 ed.), Hadith, 3399.

¹⁶ Garsiel, 2006: 35-44; Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 106, 118; Tottoli, 2002: 20.

¹⁷ Qamaruddin, 1985: 25; Al-Tabari, 1989: 317.

¹⁸ Surah, 5: 27-32; Sahih Bukhari (1994 ed), Hadith 3335; Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 106, 118; Tottoli, 2002: 20.

¹⁹ Surah, 7, 189; Schwartzbom, 1975: 210.

²⁰ Al-Tha'labi, 2002: 73; Garsiel, 2006:53, fn. 220, 221.

²¹ Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 117-118; Al Tha'labi, 2002: 73; Al-Tabari, 1989: 317.

²² Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 117-118; Al-Tarabi, 1989: 320-321.

²³ Al Tha'labi, 2002: 73.

²⁴ Al-Tarabi, 1989: 317-318.

²⁵ Al-Tha'labi, 220: 73; Al-Tarabi, 1989: 314; "Jealousy... entered Cain's heart... as (Abel's) twin was the fairest of women. He said: I'll kill him... and marry his wife" (Babylonian Talmud, Yevamot 62a; Pirkei D'Rabbi Eliezer, 21). Al-Tarabi (308:1989) is of the opinion that Abel's sister was the beautiful of the two sisters, and Cain sought to marry her.

²⁶ Al-Tarabi, 1989: 317.

²⁷ Al-Tarabi, 1989: 337.

²⁸ Al-Tarabi, 1989: 318.

²⁹ Al-Tabari, 1989: 325-326.

³⁰ Genesis 5: 1-12.

³¹ Al-Tabari, 1989: 326.

³² Al-Tabari, 1989: 317; 324.

³³ Genesis 4, p. 26.

³⁴ Ibn Qatir, 160: 1998 ed., Al-Tabari, 1989: 326; al-Tha'labi, 83: 2002; Al-Kisa'i, 122: 2013.

³⁵ Al-Tabari, 1989 : 322, fn. 916; Al-Kisa'i, 2013 : 117-118.

³⁶ Genesis 6, 8.

³⁷ Surah 6, 84.

- ³⁸ Tottoli, 2002: 21.
- ³⁹ Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 142-161.
- ⁴⁰ Surah, 66, 10.
- ⁴¹ Rubin, 2005: 1883 fn. 46.
- ⁴² Rubin, 2005: 478 fn. 10; Garsiel, 2006:72.
- ⁴³ Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 146; 163.
- ⁴⁴ el-Talbi, 2002: 877.
- ⁴⁵ Surah 2, 102, editor's notes; Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 89, fn. 54; Al-Kisai 1978 ed.: 47.
- ⁴⁶ Midrash Agadat Bereshit, 1903: XXXIX; Kahalani, 2004: 314-315.
- ⁴⁷ First Book of Enoch (Cahana ed., 1937), 31.
- ⁴⁸ Genesis 6, 2.
- ⁴⁹ Genesis 9, 18.
- ⁵⁰ Surah 11, 42.
- ⁵¹ Rubin, 2005: 182, fn. 42; Garsiel, 2006: 69-70; Tottoli, 2002: 22.
- ⁵² Hirshberg, 1946: 170; Al-Kisa'i 2013: 147; 155; and Garsiel, 2006: 68.
- ⁵³ Chronicles 1, 7, 37.
- ⁵⁴ The sons of Aad are an ancient Arab tribe that was destroyed for refusing to listen to the prophet Hud, the earliest of the five prophets mentioned in the Koran (Surah 7, 65, Rubin); Hirshberg, 1946: 168, Shusman cited by Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 12; 165-172; Ben Ari, 2014: 29.
- ⁵⁵ Surah 27, 45; Al-Tarafi, 2003 ed. 50; Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 163; 173-182; Al-Tarabi; 1989 (vol 1): 237; Tottoli, 2002: 48-50.
- ⁵⁶ Genesis 11, 24.
- ⁵⁷ Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 185-186.
- ⁵⁸ Surah 6, 74. For material about Abraham's battle against his father's idolatry, see Tottoli 2002: 23.
- ⁵⁹ Rubin, 2005: 113, fn. 74.
- ⁶⁰ Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 190-191, Ben-Ari, 2014: 59-60.
- ⁶¹ Genesis 11, 26; 17, 5.
- ⁶² Surah 2, 124.
- ⁶³ Goitein, 1936: 81.
- ⁶⁴ Surah 3, 67; Tottoli, 2002: 23; Shusman in Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 16-17, Ben-Ari, 2014: 56.
- ⁶⁵ Genesis 11, 29; 17, 15.
- ⁶⁶ Genesis 16, 1.
- ⁶⁷ Genesis 25; 1.
- ⁶⁸ Surah 11: 71; Surah 51: 29. In *The Stories of the Prophets*, Sarah is mentioned by name (Al-Kisa'i, 2013 203-206).
- ⁶⁹ Surah 2: 158 and in fn.
- ⁷⁰ Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 204.
- ⁷¹ Tottoli, 2002: 1188.
- ⁷² Shusman, 1980: 338, fn.57.
- ⁷³ Genesis 17, 19.
- ⁷⁴ Surah 11, 71-72; Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 209.
- ⁷⁵ Garsiel, 2006: 91.
- ⁷⁶ Surah 37, 102-113; Tottoli, 2002: 27; and Garsiel, 2006: 91-95.
- ⁷⁷ Genesis 16, 11.
- ⁷⁸ Surah 2: 133.
- ⁷⁹ Al-Tarafi, 2003 ed.: 82; Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 204-208; Schwartzbom, 1975: 220; and Garsiel, 2006: 76-78.
- ⁸⁰ Surah 2, 127; Tottoli, 2002: 24.
- ⁸¹ Genesis 25, 26.
- ⁸² Surah 6, 84 : Surah 11, 71.

⁸³ Surah 2, 132-133.

⁸⁴ Garsiel, 2006, 99.

⁸⁵ Genesis 25, 25.

⁸⁶ Surah 6, 85; Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 218; and Al-Tabari, 1989 (vol. 2): 134.

⁸⁷ Genesis 35, 23-7.

⁸⁸ Surah 2, 60; 2, 136; 3,84; 4, 163.

⁸⁹ Garsiel 2006, 101.

⁹⁰ Surah 2, 83; 5: 12.

⁹¹ Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 219-222 fn. 178; and Al -Kisai, 197: 164. It would seem that most translators of *The Stories of the Prophets* preferred using the Hebrew names of the tribes and not their Arabic transcription.

⁹² Al-Kisa'i 2013: 219.

⁹³ Al-Tabari, 1989 (vol. 2): 134-135.

⁹⁴ Genesis 30, 22.

⁹⁵ Surah 12: 198-199; and Tottoli, 2002:28.

⁹⁶ Genesis 41, 50-51.

⁹⁷ Surah 12, 22-24; and Tottoli, 2002: 29-30.

⁹⁸ Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 232; and Garsiel, 2006: 113-115.

⁹⁹ Genesis 35, 16-18.

¹⁰⁰ Surah 12: 8; 59; 69; 87.

¹⁰¹ Al-Tabari (vol. 2) 135.

¹⁰² This lineage is hinted in the Bible: "And Ner begat Kish, and Kish begat Saul, and Saul begat Jonathan... and Jonathan's son was Meriv Ba'al, and Meriv Ba'al begat Micah, and the sons of Micah were Pithon and Meleh and Tarah and Ahaz" (Chronicles 1 8, 33-35; 9, 39-41). If our assumption is correct, Pithon, great-grandson of Jonathan, son of King Saul, was the father of the Pathans (Shahan, 2003: 39-40; and Godbey, 1930: 358; 365).

¹⁰³ Al-Tarabi (vol. 2): 134.

¹⁰⁴ Reynolds: 1858: 247; and Al-Utbi, 1020.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 219; 243 fn. 192; and Genesis 46, 17.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Tabari, vol. 2: 134.

¹⁰⁷ After the flood, Noah married a daughter of Cain, who bore him a son named Bonzir. This son was born in an Eastern city named Malun-Shamsa (Al-Tabari, vol. 2: 18-19). The sons of Malun may be connected in some way to that city.

¹⁰⁸ Genesis, 36, 5.

¹⁰⁹ Numbers 2, 14.

Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 245. ¹¹⁰

¹¹¹ Al-Kisa'i, 2013: 245.

¹¹² Samuel 1, 9 1-2; and Surah 2, 247-249. Kasai, 2013: 327, documents the lineage as follows: "Saul, son of Bashir, son of Janub, son of Benjamin, son of Jacob.

¹¹³ The Pathan books record 52 descendants and Huja Niamatullah Harbi mentions 395 tribes (1986: 115).

¹¹⁴ Netzer, 2011: 14.