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Tracing Magan and Its People via Indus Seals

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Abstract

Building upon Rajesh Rao's statistical analysis of the Indus script and phonetic studies by Sue Sullivan and *Yajñadeva*, this paper examines Indus seals lacking clear *Sanskrit* interpretations. *Yajñadeva*'s decoding of 3,674 seals reveals *Sanskrit*-based phonetic patterns, though many terms lack direct Vedic parallels and are reconstructed through root-verb alignments and phonetic similarity. Despite extensive archaeological evidence of trade with Mesopotamia and Egypt, foreign place names are rarely identifiable; the sole recognition of *Madra* hints at more hidden toponyms.

The study highlights recurring glyph clusters on seals—appearing at the start, middle, end, or in isolation—often paired with other repeating forms. While their function has been unclear, *Yajñadeva*'s phonetic assignments yield coherent *Sanskrit* words, offering interpretative potential. This paper tries to find place called Magan in IVC seals and its related people focusing on 48 seals, the research proposes that glyphs read as *Moka*/*Maka*—*Prākṛta* forms of *Makran*—and their variants *Mokana* and *Mokanī* represent geographic names like Oman, *Makran*, and *Magan*-linked regions. These may have denoted ancient transhipment ports or entrepôts. The suffixes *-ana* and *-anī*, serving as plural markers in both Sumerian and *Sanskrit*, suggest a wider linguistic continuum.

The interpretation is corroborated by Sumerian Cuneiforms references to 32 Lords of *Magan*, including King *Manium*, linked to the Akkadian *Maništušu*. This alignment enhances our historical understanding of *Maka* and highlights the seals as carriers of meaningful geographic information. The study thus opens new pathways for exploring Indus–Mesopotamian intercultural links through seal analysis.

1 Introduction

The Indus Valley Civilization (IVC) covered an estimated area of 1.25 million sq. km (about 500,000 sq. miles) at its peak, making it one

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of the largest Bronze Age (3500 to 1100 BCE, mature form from 2600 BCE to 1900 BCE) industrious civilisations as compared to Mesopotamia and Egyptian civilisation of contemporary times, the latter being the consumers. Over the years, numerous scholars have attempted to decipher the Indus Valley Civilization (IVC) script, yet its meaning remains unresolved. Since the early 20th century, interpretations have ranged from viewing the script as a symbolic system without linguistic content to identifying recurring patterns suggestive of syllabic or phonemic structure. Notably, Steve Farmer, Richard Sproat, and Michael Witzel argue the script is non-linguistic and lacks syntactic depth.

In contrast, *Yajñadevam* proposed a phonetic model based on *Sanskrit*, assigning sounds to individual glyphs. His analysis of 3,674 seals revealed systematic sound patterns, though many of the resulting terms lack parallels in Vedic literature and are inferred through root-verb alignments and phonetic resemblance of different texts like *Brāhmaṇas*, *Itihāsās* and *Purāṇās*. Moreover, *Yajñadevam*'s decipherments often resemble concise motto-like expressions sometimes placed beneath emblematic symbols.

Despite archaeological evidence of long-distance trade with Mesopotamia and Egypt for more than a millennia, *Yajñadevam*'s decipherment shows little indication of foreign toponyms or influences. His identification of the name *Madra* suggests the potential presence of other hidden place names within the Indus corpus in the guise of same phonetic values assigned in *Sanskrit* terms.

2 Why Some Seals May Represent Place, Item, or People's Names—Some Examples

In the royal inscription of Sargon of Akkad (2334–2279 BCE) refers to ships from *Meluhha*, *Magan*, and *Dilmun*. It is noteworthy that *Magan* has been identified with both *Makrān* and *Oman* by various researchers in the past.

Not commonly recognized is the Balochi pronunciation of *Makrān* as *Mokan*, a detail of particular linguistic interest. Since the seals are mostly found at Indus Valley Civilization sites, it would be pertinent to examine whether we can detect such phonetic semblance in the glyphs of the seals, taking a leap of faith that the name may have persisted over time—similar to astronomically inclined place names like *Kurukṣetra*, *Avanti*, and its synonym *Ujjayinī*, including many other place names in India.

I therefore searched for such semblances and created a database for this name. For this inquiry, I examined *Yajñadeva*'s Seal H-1938, deciphered as *Mākham*, interpreted as "oblation" in *Saṃskṛta*.

In that reading, the long vowel *ā* in *Mākham* had been shown with the vowel glyph "*o*" which is assigned to sound "*o*" by *Yajñadeva*. To assess the validity of this substitution, I re-evaluated and tested the seal using the originally assigned phonetic value of the vowel *o* in the words to observe the resulting implications.

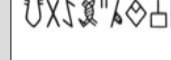


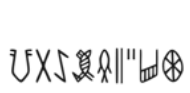
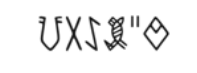
Figure 1: **MS-2814** — Royal inscription commemorating the defeat of Oman and the Indus Valley; Sumer, 2100–1800 BCE. Includes mention of Oman and the Indus Valley by Sargon of Akkad. *Source: The Schøyen Collection*

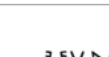
However, it should be noted that the language of the seals is syllabic in nature—primarily lacking vowels other than "*a*"—and exhibits features of a pidgin, likely resulting from cross-cultural interaction. It remains the task of researchers to interpret these glyphs and propose coherent theoretical frameworks.

Yajñadevam assigns vowel "o" glyph	**Yajñadevam uses as**	**Bhaty uses as**
ओ (o)	*aa*	*o*

Table 1: Phonetic assignment comparison between Yajñadevam and Bhaty

S.no	**CISI-ID**	**Seal-Glyph**	**Glyph - Syllable (IAST) L-R R-L**	**[YD] Yajnadevam's interpretation (IAST) [RB] Bhaty's interpretation**	**Bhaty Rupa's Observations; Identified place names**
1	**H-278, to H-284, H-871 H-872, H-873** (11 entries)		sa-ta-ma-ma-da-m-**(o)**-ka-va-ra-an (an-ra-va-ka-aa-m-da-ma-ma-ta-sa)	haṭa mamada mākha—varam O Shining one; I enjoyed the sacrificial gifts[YD] haṭam—mada—moka—varan[RB]	Haṭṭam (Hattusa), Mada (land of Hattis or Elam), **Moka** (Makran) and Varan (Some Indian port or Greek city—Beroea)
2	**M-369**		da-ma-na-sa-ta-ma-ma-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-ma-ma-ta-sa-an-ma-da)	damanasat mama mākham My sacrifice; O Subduing Spirit[YD] damana—hattam —ma—mokan [RB]	Daman (ancient Indian port in Gujarat near Surat), Haṭṭam (Hittites), Ma (Ship in Sumerian), (via?) **Mokan**
3	**H-12**		ra-va-ama-ma-ma-sa-m-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-sa-ma-ma-ama-va-ra)	rava amam maha —mākhaṃ O Roarer; a powerful great sacrifice (to you) [YD] reva—umma—mahr—mokan[RB]	Revakhanda (Narmada region), Umma, (via) Maha(Sindhu), **Mokan**
4	**H-20**		as-ma-sa-sa-ma-m-**(o)**-ka-sa-an (an-sa-ka-aa-m-ma-sa-sa-ma-as)	aham sahaṃ mokṣam I am capable of salvation	Isin, Susam (Susa), **Moka** (Makran-Baluchistan), San (unidentified—Su people in the text of Hamazi?)
5	**K-10**		na-sa-va-ra-na-va-ma-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-va-na-ra-va-sa-na)	naśvara—nava—mākhaṃ New sacrifice oblationn[YD] naza—varan—mokan—[RB]	Nuzi (Hurrian place-known from 15th cen BCE), Varan (Beroea — Mount Bermius-Greece), **Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)

6	**M-1667**		ra-da-va-sa-ma-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-ma-sa-va-da-ra)	radha vasmaukaO Subduer[√रध्], Protection[RV] and Refuge[Uṇ]	King Arad-Nanna of (K)Hamazi—contemporary of Šulgi (c. 2094 – c. 2046 BC)—Vasa (Vasai)—**Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)
7	**M-671**		da-ma-na-ama-ma-m-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-ma-ama-an-ma-da)	damana amam mākham O Subduer, a powerful sacrifice	Daman—Umma—(via) **Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)
8	**M-525, M-1475, M-1480, M-1479, M-1476**		m-**(o)**-ka-an-a-a-ja-ya (ya-ja-aa-a-an-ka-aa-m)	mākham ājaya The sacrifice, O conquerer[आ-√जि]	**Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)-A-Jaya Seal with Jaya inscription was found in Shortugai—Takhar-Afganistan) ref seal Sh-69—Jaya
9	**M-1666**		ba-na-an-m-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-an-na-ba)	baṇan mākham O Roarer[बण् शतृँ] the sacrifice[RV]	Bāṇa ganga creek (Kutch-Gujarat)—**Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)
10	**M-377**		ama-ma-m-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-ma-ama)	amam mākham Powerful[RV] sacrifice[RV]	Umma—**Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)
11	**M-816, M-1206**		ra-va-m-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-va-ra)	rava mākham The oblation[Hariv], O Roarer[√रु]	Reva(khanda)—**Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)
12	**Seal ID-4290.1 H-834**		m-**(o)**-ka-an-i (i-an-ka-aa-m)	mākhāni Oblations[Hariv]	**Mokani** (Makran-Baluchistan and Makkan-Oman, etc)
13	**H-1938, H-2039, H-1937, M-455, M-857, M-950**		m-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m)	mākham Oblation[Hariv]	**Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)

14	**Seal ID 2465.1, M-1156, M-1474, M-1548**		ma-m-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-ma)	mama okam My[RV] refuge[Uṇ. iv, 215]	**Ma** (Ship-Sumerian)—**Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)
15	**H-1797, H-2584 (broken seal),**		ja-m-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-ja)	jama—akan The moving[√जम् अच्] wanderer[अक अच्]	**Za** (Bead-Sumerian)—**Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)
16	**M-61**		as-m-a-ma-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-aa-m-as)	asme mākham sacrifice[RV] for me[dat. अस्मम RV]	**Isin** (Mesopotamian occupied since 4th millennium)—**Mokan**
17	**M-369**		da-ma-na-sa-ta-ma-ma-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-ma-ma-ta-sa-an-ma-da)	damanasat mama mākham My sacrifice; O Subduing Spirit **daman-hatam-ma-mokan**	Daman-Hatti-ship to-**Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)
18	**M-1691**		ja-an-ma-m-**(o)**-ka-an (an-ka-aa-m-ma-an-ja)	janmamākhaṃ birth[RV] oblation[Hariv]	yāna-ma **(Ship leading to) Mokan** (Makran-Baluchistan)

In the above Table No. 1, it may be observed that *Moka*, along with its variants *Mokan* and *Mokani*, appears to be consistently represented by the same glyphs, occurring at initial, medial, or terminal positions. These seals representing *Moka* are found in association with various then-contemporary Mesopotamian place names (interpreted by the author)—regions with which the Indus Civilization maintained active trade relations—as attested by multiple cuneiform sources.

Through a combined analysis of cuneiform studies, Mesopotamian historical records (e.g., about *Hamazi*), and known Indus Valley place names—supplemented by surviving ethnographic memories of such regions (e.g., the *Narmadā* region as *Revākhaṇḍa* or the modern-day *Bāṇa Gaṅgā* creek in Kutch, or *Daman* in lower Gujarat, known from deep antiquity)—it has become possible to further substantiate these identifications. These evidences provide valuable insight into the functioning of entrepôts and provisioning (food and water) bunkering intermediate ports within the broader context of ancient transregional trade.

Furthermore, evidence from *Kau Kanakku*, a navigational scale-manual, reveals a selective enumeration of ports, reflecting their economic and strategic importance. Notably, it lists major Gujarati ports such as

Dvārakā, *Somnāth*, *Diu*, *Gopanātha*, *Khambhāta*, and Kutch harbours of ancient maritime networks starting from the Maldives, mentioned as *Magathalā*.[1] It then references *Sindhu* (likely the Indus delta with Lakhpat port/fort and Koteshwar), *Karācī*, followed by *Chersah* (i.e., *Cher-Bahr*, now called Chabahar port) and *Hormuz*. These were recorded with their corresponding pole star altitudes (*Dhru*) and Arabic equivalents (*Isba*) to guide further maritime progression.

I have covered a few of the names of the ports from IVC seals which matched with the names mentioned in *Kau-Kanakku*—an Indian navigational *Tamil* manual—and *Arabian Isba*, in yet another chapter to show that these words with the same phonetic values represent places, items, tribes, and people's names.

The IVC seals thus give a correct impression of many *Maga* places with the help of the word read as *Mokani*, which would have mostly referred to coastal ports engaged in trade.

3 Thirty-Two Lords of *Magan*: Linguistic Analysis of Plural Forms of *Maga* in Indus Seals

Below is a pictorial assessment of the name *Moka—Mokan—Mokani*, which appears frequently (48 entries) in the seals, sometimes at the beginning, middle, or terminal end of inscriptions, and occasionally as a standalone name. *Mokan* and *Mokani* are demonstrable variants of *Moka*, as evidenced by the glyphs below. As shown in Figure 2.

These forms can now be triangulated with the name *Magan* mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon. An intriguing conjecture arises from these variants—particularly the *-an* and *-ani* endings—which seem to reflect Sumerian and Semitic pluralizing patterns. In this context, *Mokan* may indicate a singular derivative or regional variant, while *Mokani* might imply a plural or collective reference to multiple locations bearing similar names. This intercultural linguistic overlap is further supported by the appearance of Sumerian and Akkadian place names, port designations, entrepôt references, and personal names in the accompanying table.

Accordingly, when *Moka* appears alone, it most likely denotes a singular geographic location. In contrast, the forms *Mokan* and *Mokani* may indicate two or more related sites. Similar grammatical constructs are also observed in *Saṃskṛta*, where *-an* and *-ani* function as nominative and accusative endings for neuter singular and plural nouns.

[1] Prof. B. Arunachalam, *Maritime Heritage of Southern Peninsular India*, Maritime History Society, Mumbai, 2010.

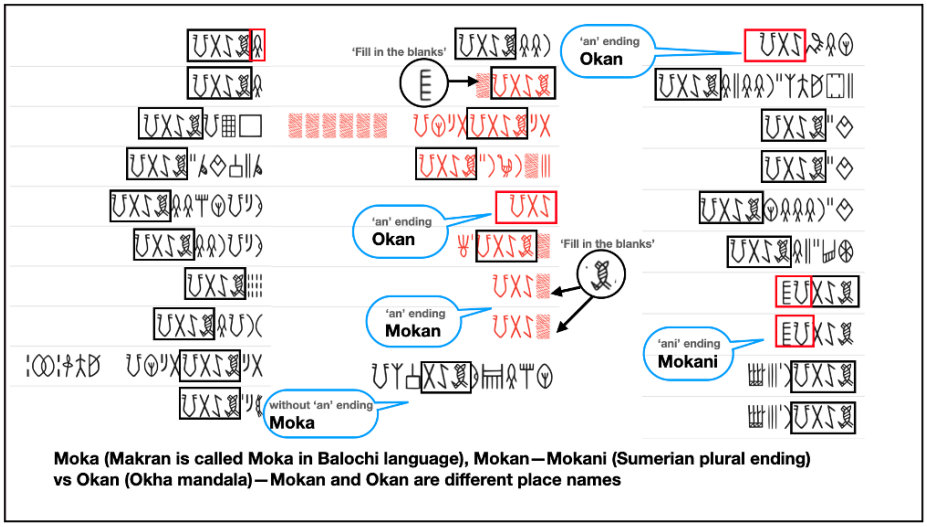


Figure 2: Glyphs demonstrating the plausible place names, either as a singular name or appearing at the initial, medial, or terminal positions in inscriptions referencing the word *Mokan*.

Understanding the semantic and geographic implications of the term *Magan* thus becomes crucial, particularly in light of existing scholarly efforts to identify its location. The table below presents various interpretations proposed by researchers in this domain.

It is evident that scholarly opinion remains divided regarding the precise location of *Magan*. However, an analysis of the table above, alongside the Indus glyphs, suggests that *Magan* may have referred to more than one geographic region. This finding offers a resolution to the long-standing ambiguity surrounding the extent of *Magan* as understood in Mesopotamian sources. It is plausible that both regions identified as *Magan* were known by the same name and possibly governed or inhabited by culturally or ethnically related groups.

This interpretation is further supported by cuneiform inscriptions, particularly those from the reigns of *Naram-Sin* and *Maništušu* in the 23rd century BCE, which record military campaigns against *Magan*, specifically noting confrontations with "32 Lords of *Magan*".[2] The recurring appearance of the term *Mokani* in Indus seals thus warrants focused and critical study, as it may hold the key to understanding the

[2] Abed, Ibrahim, and Peter Hellyer. (2001). *United Arab Emirates: A New Perspective*. London: Trident Press, p. 40.

political and commercial geography of *Magan* from both Mesopotamian and Indus perspectives.

4 *Magan*: A Toponymic and Trade Nexus—A Further Linguistic Analysis

It has long been speculated that the name "*Magan*"—frequently attested in Sumerian and Akkadian texts—represents a phonetic transformation of *Makrāṇ*, a coastal region spanning present-day southeastern Iran and southwestern Pakistan. These cuneiform sources describe *Magan* as a land rich in copper and deeply integrated into maritime trade networks. Archaeological evidence confirms the presence of copper artefacts in this region as early as the 6th millennium BCE, underscoring its metallurgical significance.

Archaeological data from *Makrāṇ*'s copper-bearing zones, particularly sites like *Reko Diq*, corroborate its role as a metallurgical hub. Copper use in Mesopotamia during the Chalcolithic period (beginning ca. 5200 BCE) continued into the early Bronze Age, while copper beads from Indus Valley Civilization (IVC) contexts have been dated to before 6000 BCE. It is thus conceivable that metallurgical specialists from the *Makrāṇ* region migrated to Oman—identified as *Magan* in cuneiform records—bringing with them technical knowledge of copper extraction and smelting.

Artefacts attributed to the IVC, discovered in Mesopotamian contexts dating to the Ubaid period (pre-3800 BCE), further support the hypothesis of early Indo-Mesopotamian trade. In addition to copper, both Oman and the *Makrāṇ* coast were renowned for their diorite resources, which were also in demand across Mesopotamia. "Textual descriptions of the military exploits of the Akkadian ruler *Maništušu* (ca. 2269–2255 BCE) brag of his invasions of *Magan* in order to acquire diorite,"[3] endorsing the importance of copper sites.

Ethnographic and linguistic evidence also contributes to this reconstruction. The *Baloch* people traditionally referred to their southern territory as *Moka* or *Maka*, terms that are etymologically linked to the modern name *Makrāṇ*. Several researchers argue that Oman may have once been part of a broader *Makrāṇ* cultural and trade sphere.

The phonological rendering of *Makrāṇ*—*Moka* or *Makkan* as *Magan* in Mesopotamian records becomes linguistically plausible when understood through the lens of *Prākritized* forms being adapted to Akkadian and

[3]Gregoricka, L. A. (2011). Geographic origins and dietary transitions during the Bronze Age of the Oman Peninsula. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 30(1), 62–79. See pp. 53, 70.

Sumerian phonetic systems. This adaptation may have served as a mnemonic for Mesopotamian scribes and traders to associate the region with its principal export: copper.

Table 2: Scholarly Interpretations of the Identification of Magan with Makran

S.No.	Scholar	Magan = Makran?	Notes
1	**John Hansman**	Strongly supported	Linguistic + geographic
2	**Daniel T. Potts**	Possible in early phase	Later shifted to Oman
3	**Henry Field**	Supported	Based on archaeology & geography
4	**Gregory Possehl**	Possible inclusion	IVC-centric trade perspective
5	**Jean-François Salles**	Ambiguous	Wider trade zone interpretation
6	**M. Redha Bhacker and Bernadette Bhacker**	Didn't comment	Oman, a source of copper and diorite

Further support for this interpretation emerges from ethnolinguistic traditions. The *Saṃskṛta* term *Makara* (meaning "crocodile") may have influenced the toponym *Makrāṇ*, especially considering the presence of *mugger* crocodiles in the rivers of Sīstān and Baluchestān, near the Iran–Pakistan border—close to IVC sites like *Sutkāgēn-dor*. Oral traditions also speak of a tribe called *Makara*, possibly reinforcing the antiquity and continuity of the name.

Finally, the widespread export of carnelian beads, particularly from Gujarat and the broader Indus region, underscores the depth of Indo-Mesopotamian trade ties. The presence of such beads in Mesopotamian burial contexts attests to long-distance exchange and the circulation of luxury goods. Furthermore, from the old Brāhmī letters found in some of the earliest artefacts, and the grey ware pottery similar to that of the Indus Valley, they have been dated around 1500 BCE. Heyerdahl, in his stimulating book *The Maldives Mystery*, establishes maritime links

between the Maldives and the last phase of the Indus Valley Civilization, through the southern Indian ports.

It is plausible that various ancient groups—from the Sumerians, Akkadians, and Elamites to Dravidian-speaking Cheras and Tamils—preserved place names like *Makrāṇ*, *Moka*, or *Magan* in ways that emphasized the resources and prestige associated with these regions.

5 Triangulation of Various Evidence Tracing Magan and Its People

The last piece in this jigsaw puzzle connecting many *Magan* sites is the figure of King *Manium* of *Magan*. It was noted that 32 Lords of *Magan* were given the title of *Malek*—a designation still prevalent in surnames such as *Mallik*, *Malik*, *Maliq*, and *Mullik* among Punjabis, Pakistanis, and Bengalis—by the Akkadian king *Maništušu* (ca. 2269–2255 BCE).

In an exploratory exercise, phonetic parallels were sought for the names *Maništušu* and *Manium*, with the constraint in mind that only about 10% of Indus Valley Civilization sites have been excavated. Interestingly, both names were identified, raising the possibility of a meaningful historical link. As shown in Figure 3.

Based on this, a conjecture is proposed in this paper: the name *Manium*, which is still prevalent in Kerala as the surname *Mani* (or *Manium*) in a warrior clan, could be of South Indian origin. A sub-caste known as *Maniyāṇi* or *Maniyāṇi Nāyar*[4] —Malayalam-speaking Yādava communities also known by other regional names—forms part of the broader Nāyar caste.

This conjecture is further strengthened by references in navigational literature to *Magathalā*, a name associated with the Maldives, and by the archaeological discovery of IVC artefacts in the Maldives dated to ca. 1500 BCE.

The argument is bolstered by findings from genetic studies. Keralites and Punjabis share a complex genetic history that reflects both shared ancestry and distinct regional evolutions. Studies indicate that certain Keralite communities, notably the *Nāyars* and *Tiyyas*, possess substantial West Eurasian (specifically Iranian-related) genetic input, thought to derive from ancient migrations to northwest India. Similarly, Punjabi populations—including specific groups like the Jats—exhibit a

[4] *Maniyani caste*, Wikipedia. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maniyani_(caste) [Accessed November 2024].

blend of South Asian, East Asian, and West Eurasian ancestries, with a diverse range of haplogroups.[5]

S. No.	**CISI-id**	Seal-Glyph	Glyph - Syllable (IAST) L-R R-L	[YD] Yajnadevam's interpretation (IAST) [RB] Bhaty's interpretation	**Bhaty Rupa's Observations; Identified place names**
1	**M-123** **H-525** (63 entries)		ma-na-a-i (i-aa-na-ma)	manaiḥ by the great one[Vā] [YD] **manai [RB]**	**Manium—King of Magan** (traces in Manyani caste, Kerala)
2	**M-1849**		ma-n-sa-n-i (i-nasan-ma)	maṃhanī The gift bearer[RV][+इनि] [YD] **manish'ani [RB]**	**Maništušu and other kings** —the older brother of Rimuš, son of Sargon, ruled for 15 years.(2270-2255 B.C.) and other kings (ani suffix)
2	**M-986** **(9 entries)**		na-ra-an (an-ra-na)	naraṃ man[TS]	**Naram** Naram-Sin, son of Maništušu, ruled for 56 years. (2255-2218 BC)

Figure 3: Yajnadevam's interpretation and Bhaty's interpretation for IVC seal glyphs

– 32 Lords of *Magan* were titled *Malek* by the Akkadian king *Maništušu* (ca. 2269–2255 BCE); the title survives in surnames like *Malik*, *Mallik*, *Maliq*, and *Mullik* among Punjabis, Pakistanis, and Bengalis.
– A name resemblance with *Manium* and *Maništušu* is observed in Indus seals, suggesting possible historical linkage. This phonetic proximity is noteworthy despite only ~10% of Indus Valley sites having been excavated.
– A conjecture is proposed that *Manium* may be of Kerala origin, linked to the *Mani* (or *Manium*) surname still found among the

[5]Dr. K. Thangaraj, *Genetic Ancestries of the South-West Coast Populations of India*. [Online]. Read here: https://www.ccmb.res.in/presscovrg/pressnote_01_01_2024.pdf [Accessed December 2024].

warrior sub-caste *Maniyāṇi Nāyar*, part of the Malayalam-speaking *Yādava*/Nāyar community.

- Further support is derived from navigational texts that mention *Magathalā* (identified with the Maldives), alongside archaeological evidence of IVC artefacts discovered in the Maldives (ca. 1500 BCE).
- Genetic studies support a history of migration and interaction: Keralite groups (e.g., *Nāyars*, *Tiyyas*) and Punjabis exhibit shared West Eurasian (Iranian-related) ancestry, suggesting a deeply interconnected population history.

Conclusion

1. The examination of similar glyphs appearing in multiple seals—either at the beginning, middle, end, or as standalone elements—correlating with other glyphs that align with known place-name words, suggests that these sequences likely represent geographic names. This is especially the case for *Moka—Mokan—Mokani*, as well as other transhipment ports, *entrepôts*, or bunkering stations. The study also endorses the use of Sumerian and *Sanskṛt* suffixes such as *-an* and *-ani* for pluralization, indicating possible linguistic exchange and continuity.
2. The word *Moka* or *Maka* found on IVC seals—likely a *Prākrit* form of *Makrāṇ*—appears with suffixes *-an* and *-ani*, indicating that the name *Maka* referred to multiple locations. It is identified with the region *Magan*, mentioned by King Sargon of Akkad (2334–2279 BCE). The reference to the "32 Lords of *Magan*" in cuneiform inscriptions, along with the name *Magathalā* (Maldives) found in southern Indian navigational texts, supports this identification. The form *Mokani* further suggests a link to Oman, possibly serving as a satellite port to the *Makrāṇ* coast. Both regions were rich in diorite, and the name may have been associated with their strategic and economic significance. This interpretation helps clarify the geographic ambiguity surrounding *Magan*.
3. Readings from Table 1 illustrate that the seals reflect multilingualism and reciprocal trade exchanges. Sumerian terms for beads (*Za*) and ships (*Ma*) appear in the inscriptions analyzed in this study. Additionally, the presence of the name of the *Hamazi* king (a region east of the Tigris known from cuneiform sources) in the seal corpus suggests awareness of Mesopotamian polities among the Indus Valley population.

4. Place names such as *Umma* from Mesopotamia and *Reva(khaṇḍa)* from the Narmada region of India—an area within the IVC cultural sphere—are legible and identifiable in the readings discussed.
5. This paper also investigates seals potentially linked to King *Manium* of *Maga* and his contemporary, the Akkadian ruler *Maništušu*. The occurrence of sixty-three entries bearing the name *Mana* underscores the significance of this title, providing context for the use of the epithet *Malek* (meaning "king") in reference to Lord *Manium*. Furthermore, the name *Manium* is traced to southern influences, possibly indicating its origin within the cultural traditions of South India.

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