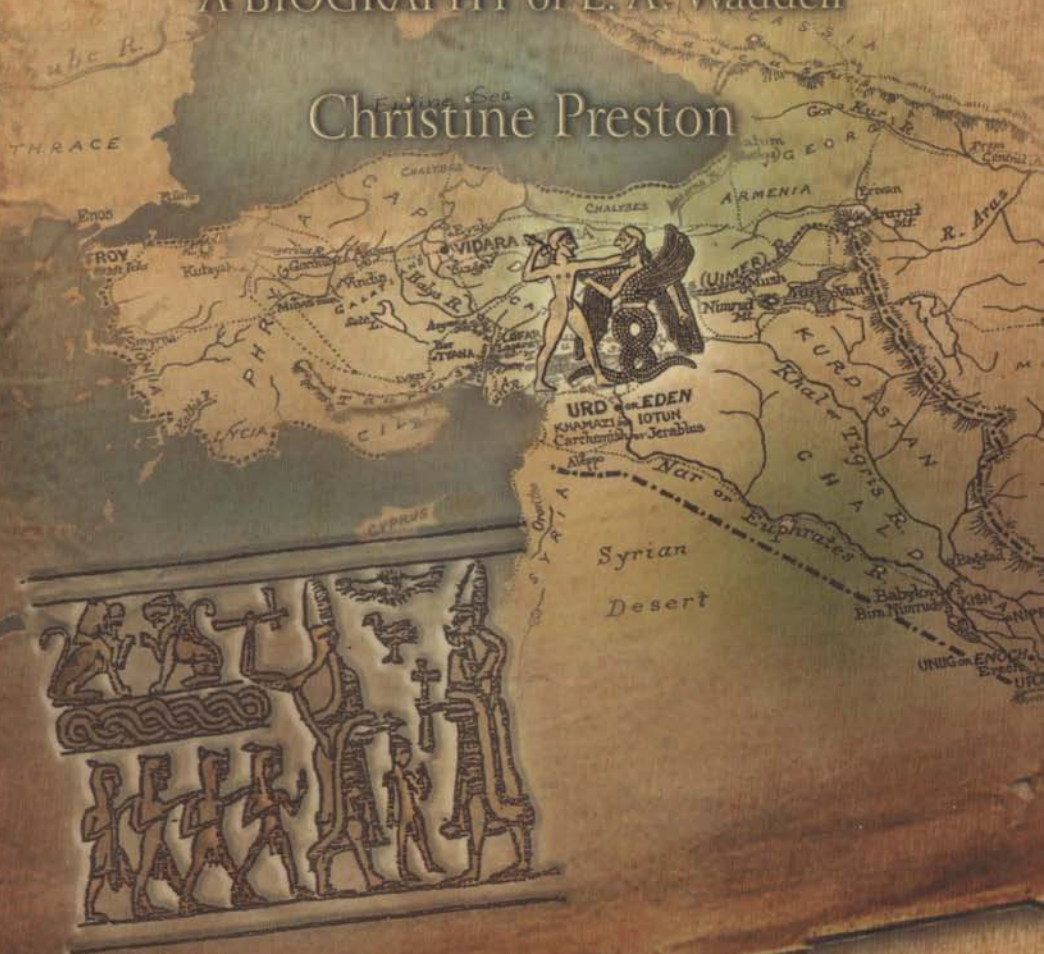


The Rise of Man

in the Gardens of Sumeria

A BIOGRAPHY of L. A. Waddell

Christine Preston



The
Rise of Man
in the Gardens
of Sumeria

To my son and daughter

David and Danielle

precious companions on the path of my life

The
Rise of Man

in the Gardens
of Sumeria

A BIOGRAPHY of L.A. Waddell

Christine Preston

sussex
ACADEMIC
PRESS

BRIGHTON • PORTLAND

Copyright © Christine Preston 2009

The right of Christine Preston to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

2 4 6 8 10 9 7 5 3 1

First published 2009 in Great Britain by
SUSSEX ACADEMIC PRESS
PO Box 139
Eastbourne BN24 9BP

and in the United States of America by
SUSSEX ACADEMIC PRESS
920 NE 58th Ave Suite 300
Portland, Oregon 97213-3786

All rights reserved. Except for the quotation of short passages for the purposes of criticism and review, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Preston, Christine.

The rise of man in the gardens of Sumeria : a biography of L.A. Waddell /
Christine Preston.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-84519-315-7 (hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Waddell, L. A. (Laurence Austine), 1854-1938.
2. Scholars—Great Britain—Biography.
3. Archaeologists—Great Britain—Biography.
4. Great Britain. Army—Officers—Biography.
5. Asianists—Great Britain—Biography.
6. Philologists—Great Britain—Biography.
7. Ethnologists—Great Britain—Biography.
8. South Asia—Antiquities.
9. Sumerians—Antiquities.
10. Indo-Aryans—Historiography.

CT788.W23P74 2009

920.041—dc22

.....

The paper used in this book is certified by The Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), a non-profit international organization established to promote the responsible management of the world's forests. Products carrying the FSC label are independently certified to assure consumers that they come from forests that are managed to meet the social, economic and ecological needs of present and future generations.

Typeset and designed by SAP, Brighton & Eastbourne.

Printed by TJ International, Padstow, Cornwall.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	vii
<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv
Introduction: The Controversial Scholar	1
Part I THE ARYAN QUEST	
1 Quest and Career – A Tour of the Himalayas	25
2 Excavations in Pataliputra, 1895–1903	46
3 Quest for Manuscripts in Lhasa, 1903–1904	51
Part II THE RISE OF MAN	
4 Sumerian, Decipherment, and ‘Shinar’	73
5 Decoding the Dragon and Rise of Man (<i>The British Edda</i>)	87
6 The Phoenician Origin of the Britons	117
7 Identification of the first Sumerian Dynasty	128
8 Ur-Nina, Ruler of the Gardens of Sumeria	142
9 Menes was Sumerian	153
Part III THE SECOND GARDEN OF SUMERIA	
10 Archaeology of the Indus Valley Civilization	161
11 Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered	167
12 Findings about the ‘Second Edin’	178
13 Decipherment of the Seals	187
Epilogue: The Forgotten Scholar	194
Appendixes	197
I Introduction by Professor S. Langdon to G.R. Hunter’s Abstract	197
II Waddell’s letter re Shinar	198
III Waddell in the Special Collections	199
IV Undated draft by Waddell in response to Julian S. Huxley and A.C. Haddon’s commentary in <i>We Europeans</i> (1935)	200
V Full titles of works by Waddell with a common Aryan theme	201
Illustrations	202

<i>Notes</i>	211
<i>Bibliography</i>	231
<i>Index</i>	254

List of Illustrations

Cover Illustration

A map of Cappadocia and Sumerian territories modified by Waddell to show his identification of place-names mentioned in *The Elder Edda* (see Plate VIII). *Centre* (see Plate VII): Representation of Zeus' struggle with Typhon as on the frieze of Pergammon, from a Greek vase. Zeus stands for ancient Athenians believed to be the first Indo-Europeans who migrated to Greece from Cappadocia. Typhon is a titan in Greek mythology. The conflict is sometimes associated with a battle interpreted as having taken place between the ancient Greeks and Atlanteans on the basis of Plato. Here Typhon is represented with wings and serpent limbs, symbols which may have originally been pictographic to indicate an association with the serpent-dragon cult, the memory of which is now lost but which is mentioned in the *Elder Edda*. Published on the front cover of *The Secrets of the Fifth Kingdom* by C. Sandie (pen name for Christine S. Preston) (1996). *Source*: The vase could not be located. *Bottom left* (see Plate VI): A Hittite seal *c.* 2,000 BC commemorating the golden age of civilization, and possibly King Thor civilizing the aborigines of the Lion Tribe (represented as dwarves or elves). The Aryan Goths had settled down in Cappadocia, the land of future Hittites, in about 3,000 BC as assessed by Waddell. Were the Goths really of giant stature by comparison to 'Man' or aborigines? The *Edda* mentions dwarves. This seal was reproduced in *The British Edda* (as Figure 30) to support Waddell's interpretation of the lays. *Source*: Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.

Plates I–VIII are presented after page 202

Plate I – Seal of Mudgala, Lord of Edin, Minister to Uruas, from Telloh – after Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux, Musée du Louvre. This is a drawing of the seal published in Waddell's *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered* (Figure 5, p. 35). Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.

Plate II – A photograph of Waddell enlarged from *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 1905, (facing p. 252), with Col. Younghusband to his right. (The original picture is very small, hence the poor reproduction quality.) Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.

Plate III – Drawings of Seals I–XII and XIII–XIX that Waddell claimed to have deciphered, from *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*. Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.

Plate IV –Fragments referred to as the Bowl of Utu(k), consecrated stone bowl of Eden with Sumerian inscriptions unearthed below the foundations of a temple at Nippur by the Pennsylvania Museum Expedition, dated at the time to c. 3,247 BC, but classed as Early Dynastic III (2,570 BC). Waddell thought this bowl may have been a magical cauldron and fetish that belonged to aborigines and inspired a Sumerian quest as well as ‘holy grail’ stories because it was confiscated by the makers of civilization, as recorded in the *Edda*, then lost. The fragments were in Waddell’s possession, but were donated to the British Museum in 1939. AN0050446001. Reg. no. 1939, 0612.2. Reproduced with kind permission from the Trustees of the British Museum (15 September 2008).

Plate V – Example of Sumerian pictograms and Phoenician Cadmean letters: Column 1: Sumerian pictogram signs, from Barton’s standard plates. Column 2: Akkad cuneiform. Column 3: Egyptian equivalents of alphabetic signs in Pre-dynastic and Early-dynastic periods from Petrie’s *Formation of the Alphabet* (PLATES II–IV). Column 4: early forms of Phoenician letters in non-reversed Cadmean. Source: L.A. Waddell, 1927, ‘Sumer-Aryan Evolution of the Alphabet,’ *Aryan Origin of the Alphabet*, facing p. 14 and 54. Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.

Plate VI – A Hittite seal c. 2,000 BC commemorating the golden age of civilization, and possibly King Thor civilizing the aborigines of the Lion Tribe (represented as dwarves or elves). The Aryan Goths had settled down in Cappadocia, the land of future Hittites, in about 3,000 BC as assessed by Waddell. Were the Goths really of giant stature by comparison to ‘Man’ or aborigines? The *Edda* mentions dwarves. This seal was reproduced in *The British Edda* (as Figure 30) to support Waddell’s interpretation of the lays. Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.

Plate VII – Representation of Zeus’ struggle with Typhon as on the frieze of Pergammon, from a Greek vase (see cover illustration, p. vii).

Plate VIII – A map of Cappadocia and Sumerian territories modified by Waddell to show his identification of place-names mentioned in *The Elder Edda*, i.e. Troy, Vidara, Chaldea, and Urd (Eden) as well as rivers, i.e. the Omiras and Euphrates; also showing original natural boundaries of the Goths’ kingdom and extension of their empire within dotted lines down to the Persian Gulf. Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.

Preface

At the turn of the 20th century, the media referred to L. A. Waddell (1854–1938) as the first scholar to have penetrated the mysteries of Lamaism and an authority on Buddhism, after he had a work published in 1895. His career in the East as a British Army Officer culminated with a commission to acquire Tibetan manuscripts during the famous British expedition to Tibet (1903–4), which contributed largely to his being put in the limelight in addition to the publication of *Lhasa and its Mysteries* in 1905. Waddell was also a philologist and linguist. He studied Sanskrit and Sumerian, but in contrast with the fame he experienced in the earlier phase of his career and Tibetology, he gained no recognition as a Sumerologist, and his works ‘in a new field’ on topics of the history of civilization and with an Aryan theme were received as controversial.

The Rise of Man in the Gardens of Sumeria reconstructs Waddell’s life and career, and sheds light on the ideologies of those works which appear to be little known today because they were sidelined or bypassed by the media and scholars. Among the sources available to reconstruct his life were reviews and articles in academic journals, one of which was published with the purpose of opposing his claim of decipherment of seals excavated by John Marshall in the Indus Valley. Waddell contended he was able to read their inscriptions thanks to his knowledge of Sumerian. He found the signs more cursive than cuneiform but similar to those of inscriptions excavated by Flinders Petrie at Abydos, and dated them to the period of the rule of the Sumerian Sargon I. He also claimed to have been able to decipher them with his knowledge of Sumerian whereas Egyptologists could not. Waddell built for himself a unique perspective of ancient history and civilizations on the basis of his overall research and decipherments, including the view that Egyptian civilization started out as a Sumerian dependency. An example of the scripts he studied and that helped him to read the seals is provided in the Illustrations.

The title ‘*Rise of Man*’ alludes to the effects of the creation of civilization, as per Waddell’s interpretation of mythological lore in the *Elder Edda*, the stories of which were compiled by Saemund ‘the Learned’ on parchment leaves (Codex Regius). Waddell contended the language of the manuscript was mistaken as Scandinavian due to the similarity of Old Norse and Old English, and that it had been traced to a family that had settled in Iceland in AD 795 but had come from the West of Scotland, hence his title *The British Edda*. In the 1970s the codex was returned to Iceland as it was where it had been discovered and scholars agreed it was not Scandinavian. According to Waddell, manuscripts with Eddic poems (that were recited at festivals) were

quite common in the British Isles up to the 6th century but were destroyed by Christian missionaries by the 11th century. Furthermore, he identified a multitude of Cappadocian and Sumerian place-names in the text of Codex Regius that revealed the lost origin of the tradition that 'the Learned' preserved, as well as a scenario sometime parallel to the accounts of *Genesis*.

The decoded Edda discloses ancient Aryan makers of civilization (Lords, AEsir, men of Asia, Guti, or ancient Goths) taking possession of Thrace 5,000 years ago, then establishing headquarters (called 'Himin' or 'Heaven') at Vidara (Pteria), Boghazkoy, in present-day Turkey, the home of later Hittites. These newcomers then fight a great battle in Eden as mighty armies rally from as far as Armenia under the leadership of El or Ilu to oust them out. El is a powerful matriarch gifted with occult powers deified during her own life and the ruler of the indigenous Old Chaldean world, who controls a dragon-serpent cult, and demands blood sacrifices.

The hidden meaning of the formula of Indo-European and Hittite serpent-dragon slaying myths, scholars admit is still a mystery, is revealed. The slaying of a dragon in Indo-European poetics was symbolic of the eradication of the serpent-dragon cult as a result of a great battle fought by Aryan Goths against the matriarchal ruler in Eden in about 3,000 BC and their victory. The reason for the formation of the myth is that the eradication of the matriarch's rule and of the serpent-dragon cult represented liberation from evil. As an extremely important event for the ancient world, this battle and liberation from evil gave rise to the notion of a struggle of Light and Darkness in a primordial time in mythologies and religions. Waddell's interpretation also sheds light on the killing of Tiamat by Marduk in Mesopotamian tradition. It has implications for *Genesis* as Tiamat is associated with watery chaos before cosmic creation, but Waddell shows us that it is chaos preceding the creation of civilization and that the latter puts order into the ancient Near-East. The legend of St. Michael slaying the Dragon Apollyon as well as that of St. Michael slaying the Red Dragon in the Book of Revelation would be more recent adaptations also stemming from the mythologization of the same historical events.

After annexing the new territories of Eden to their Cappadocian kingdom, the Aryan Lords civilize indigenous people, including dwarves and Edenites, and bring them the benefits of irrigation and agriculture. This innovation was so important that it gave rise to legends such as the one about the 'Garden of Eden' in *Genesis*. It was a confused recollection of a historical event. Eden has been identified as the plain where Sumerian civilization was created. The idea of civilization and agriculture are encapsulated in the term 'garden' in the title *Rise of Man in the Gardens of Sumeria*. The Aryans imposed laws and spread their Sun-cult. Their knowledge caused a spiritual 'Rise of Man' but in the context of this interpretation of the Edda, the effects of civilization were spiritual as well as material.

As far as scholars are concerned, the Sumerians remained nameless and their origin a mystery. Waddell's history of the creation of civilization offers

many clues for the elucidation of questions which have remained unsolved in Archaeology. It has been suggested in academic circles that the origin of *Genesis* was an oral tradition that circulated in the Ancient Near-East for thousands of years before the stories were penned down. With Waddell it becomes clear that in a period of decline the original sense of 'the rise of man' was lost and the golden age of civilization was remembered as a lost paradise.

Waddell was a pioneer in Sumerology as he asserted before Thorkild Jacobsen that the antediluvian dynasties of the Isin Lists were the result of duplication of material by the Isin priests. His comparative studies permitted him to recover the fact that the dynasty Ur-Nina founded was the very first dynasty of the Sumerians. Waddell's history of civilization is truly unique and still unknown.

Ur-Nina is known under other names such as Ur-Sagaga and King Dar or Tur, and the title of 'Ukusi of Ukhu City' in the Kish Chronicle. Ur-Nina, who is referred to as Ur-Nanshe in the Louvre Museum, was deified as Zakh, Sakh, or Lord Sakh Ugu. Waddell contended that this king's achievements were told in the *Elder Edda* as Thor's. He was of the opinion that Zeus and Jehovah, gods of thunder like Thor, derived from Zakh, the deified form of this king, as the Greeks and Israelites inherited legacies from older nations, i.e. the Egyptians and Babylonians.

A seal discovered at Telloh that Waddell deciphered revealed the fact that Ur-Nina ruled over a 'second Edin' situated in the Indus Valley, his first 'garden' (of agriculture) being in Mesopotamia. He contended Ur-Nina did not rule solely over a city state, as scholars seem to believe. The existence of a second 'Edin' was interpreted by Waddell as a colonization of the Indus Valley. This Edin would also have been a 'garden of Sumeria'. Hence the title *Rise of Man in the Gardens of Sumeria* – in which 'gardens' is in the plural as the rise of man is not just in relation to the garden situated in Mesopotamia but also the one in the Indus Valley.

Further evidence of this empire is on the basis of Waddell's discovery that Manis-tusu, son of the Sumerian Sargon I, was Menes, and inscriptions excavated by Flinders Petrie at Abydos (that Egyptologists could not decipher) were Sumerian and of Sargon's time. It was Waddell's opinion that Menes' first Egyptian dynasty started out as a Sumerian dependency; he was known to the Minoans as King Minos.

Following the excavation of seals in the Indus Valley by the Archaeologist John Marshall, Waddell wrote *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered* (1925) to announce that he had been able to read their inscriptions with his knowledge of Sumerian but his claim was opposed on the evidence of articles in academic journals, though the starting point of his theories was supported by prevalent views in Archaeology in the 1920s. Furthermore, in the 1940s, when Sir Mortimer Wheeler was in charge of the Archaeological Survey of India, his conclusions about the indigenous origin of the Indus Valley civilization made Waddell's decipherment appear impossible. Attention has been drawn to the fact that theories prevalent in the 1920s were a good start-

ing point for Waddell's claim and that the Sumerians hypothesis in respect of the identification of the underlying language of the Indus script remains a possibility.

One of the reasons for the literary oblivion of those of Waddell's works on the history of civilization with an Aryan theme is suggested in the Introduction to be in relation to the fact that he did not give up the quest for the Aryans in terms of racial origins when it was abandoned in the 1870s, and this quest was very influential in his choice of career. Furthermore, the term 'Aryan', which stands for 'Indo-European' and was discarded, became associated with the rise of Nazism, especially in the post Second World War period. The works that are now little known may also have been sidelined due to having been erroneously associated with anti-Semitic theories due to Waddell's use of the term 'Aryan' and despite the fact they predated the embarrassing episode which scholars experienced in the 1930s and '40s, as they were published in the 1920s. Waddell's notion that the Sumerians were Aryan was supported by V. G. Childe, the historian who was regarded as having put order in the history of the Indo-Europeans, and G. Kossinna. Unfortunately, it was the latter's conclusions about the German peoples' homeland and racial superiority on the basis of archaeological finds that the Nazis chose for their propaganda. A background in Archaeology, with regard to the notion of the Aryans as diffusers of civilization and the Sumerians being non-Semitic in contradiction of the biblical view, has also been provided as it permits to understand that Waddell's apparent obsession with the Aryans was not unique in the context of contemporary discoveries and research.

Waddell stumbled across a lost secret. His view of history permitted him to appreciate the value of the Sumerian bowl of Utu(k), the fragments of which he purchased from the excavators. The archaeologist Sir Charles Leonard Woolley, who was associated with the expedition that discovered the bowl, established the historicity of the Sumerian ruler Ur-Nina. Waddell believed this Sumerian king ruled over Sumeria, as well as a second 'Edin', or agricultural Garden of the Indus Valley (as a colony). He professed that Ur-Nina had been deified as Sagaga or Sakh and that the bowl had been dedicated to him as a legendary ruler by a fourth generation descendant (Utu). Its genealogy confirmed the identification of the first Sumerian Dynasty that he identified on the basis of his comparative studies of Sumerian and Indian King-lists. This vessel had been consecrated into the Sun-cult of the Sumerians before being buried under the foundations of a temple at Nippur. It had previously been lost to the followers of the serpent-dragon cult as a result of being captured by the Aryan Lords architects of the civilization of Sumer. It was a magical cauldron or fetish that conferred power to El, the occult matriarch leader of the Edenites. It may have been the original of the Grail quest as its loss was spoken of in Sumerian literature. Stories about the genesis of civilization were exported along the routes of migration from the ancient Near-East to Western Europe, either with a first wave of megalithic

Syrio-Phoenicians builders, or a second one of Trojan Greeks who settled in the British Isles.

Acknowledgements

I am particularly grateful to Dr. D.W.J. Gill of the Classics and Ancient History Department of Swansea University for his interest, supervision and guidance in all matters concerning my research and writing of this biography, for accepting to take me on board for a biography as he was interested in 19th century scholars, as well as Theory in Archaeology. My thanks are also due to all the following persons or authors for their contribution of information, advice and support: Peter Levenda (author of *Unholy Alliance*, who was kind enough to provide a recommendation), Dr. Clare Harris (Fellow of Magdalen College, University of Oxford, author of *In the Image of Tibet*), Karen Mutton (author of a biography of Lobsang Rampa), Karl Gruner (a German author of a work based on Waddell's theories), Harald Bechteler (an Orientalist), Alexander Berry (who retraced Waddell's journeys in Tibet and was interested in the Younghusband expedition), John Bonaccorsi, Lesley Adkins (author of many works including a biography of Henry C. Rawlinson: *Empires of the Plain*), Joe Best (who was particularly keen to help to get the work published and passed on Graham Hancock's advice), as well as the Royal Anthropological Society. I would also like to thank Mr. Peter Asplin at the Special Collections, at the University of Glasgow Library, for his continuous correspondence over many years, information, support, and interest in keeping my biography of L.A. Waddell as an electronic companion volume to Waddell's works in the Special Collections, and Mrs. Jean Pattison for inviting me in her home in Rothesay, letting my daughter, Danielle Preston take external photographs some of which were donated to the Special Collections, as it was Waddell's last residence and this permitted me to have an idea of how he lived.

The
Rise of Man
in the Gardens.
of Sumeria

INTRODUCTION

The Controversial Scholar

At the turn of the 20th century, Lieut.-Col. Laurence Austine Waddell, MB, M.Ch, LL.D, C.B., C.I.E., FRAS, FLS,¹ was known as an explorer of the Himalayas and the 'first European to have penetrated the esoteric Buddhism of Tibet' after the publication of *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (1895).² This work was the result of research by direct contact with lamas while he was posted on the borders of Tibet, and of activities that were made possible because he had joined the Medical Service of the Indian Army in 1880. Waddell had studied Hindustani and Sanskrit in addition to editing the *Indian Medical Gazette's* for a period of four years³ in India. He had extended his activity to Archaeology, Philology, and Ethnology⁴ in his spare time and in between military expeditions. He had been able to study Tibetan and the rituals of the lamas during the period of his assignment as Deputy Sanitary Commissioner for the Darjeeling District (1885–86 and 1888–95). He had also compiled data of a secular, political and topographical character in the process of dangerous spying activities for the government, referred to as the 'Great Game'. This 'gathering of intelligence' was carried out from the borders of Tibet before sanction permitted Europeans to cross its frontier.⁵ A British newspaper reported that he was acquainted with secret service agents and had made many attempts to reach Lhasa in disguise from Darjeeling.⁶

A report of the archaeological survey Waddell carried out at Patna, India, in 1882, and that was published by the government of Bengal had also caused great excitement among European Orientalists because he had discovered the lost site of Pataliputra, the capital of the kings of the Maurya Dynasty and Asoka's palace at Pataliputra.⁷ Waddell had supervised excavations in between military expeditions and his duties in Darjeeling after funding was provided.⁸ By that time, he was not a beginner in Archaeology as he had already carried out excavations at several Indian hermitages, and had been credited with the discovery of evidence for Gautama Buddha's historicity.

In 1905, Waddell was again in the limelight due to an autobiography recounting the details of the famous 1903–4 military expedition to Lhasa, Tibet. He was assigned to accompany this expedition as Superintendent, head of Sanitary Services, or Chief Medical Officer, as well as commissioned to acquire a collection of ancient Tibetan manuscripts and curios, because his reputation as an authority on Tibetan Art was already well established after 1895. This opportunity permitted him to enter the forbidden city with the

British expedition and search lamaseries for ancient records for what we shall call his 'Aryan quest' at the same time as he carried out military day-to-day duties and made official enquiries to acquire manuscripts for the government. Waddell had indeed aspired to gain entry to Lhasa at the time he was posted in Darjeeling because of the hope that Lamaism was a repository of Indian or Brahmanist historical records relating to the Aryans and the diffusion of civilization. He had expected that in Tibet scriptures had not been destroyed as they were in India at the hand of Mohamedan invaders. Presumably there also was a chance some records had been left undisturbed in Lhasa due to the isolation of the latter from Western civilization.

Waddell had also aspired to go to Lhasa at the time it was forbidden to Europeans, to gather intelligence due to his involvement in the Great Game. The story that he received a large sum of government money to purchase Tibetan manuscripts was reported in the British press at the time of his departure, and again in 1904, to announce that many works had been donated to the British Museum and British Universities. This was in addition to reviews for his *Lhasa and its Mysteries* in 1905.

After conducting investigations with his assistant, David Macdonald (the author of *Twenty Years in Tibet* and a different person from the General Macdonald that he referred to), Waddell resigned himself to the fact that Tibetan manuscripts did not contain records of ancient civilization. He came to such a conclusion after discussing the question with Regent Ti Rimpoché who told him he was not aware of the existence of historical secrets preserved in lamaseries.⁹ This was how his personal quest ended. He mentioned the fact it would be a disappointment for people who hoped some proof that 'Atlanta' was more than a myth would be discovered in Tibet. After his return to Britain, Waddell was at last able to devote full-time to his research.¹⁰

The year 1917 has been noted as a time of transition when Waddell 'began to display interest in a new field', 'dealing with Aryan or Sumerian origin', and his works in this new field were considered as having an 'Aryan theme' in common.¹¹ However, this was a date of publication, not the year he started studying Sumerian (1908). The works published after 1917 incorporated the view that the Sumerians were Aryan or that the Aryans reached Mesopotamia as Sumerians.

In contrast with his achievements as a British Officer, his established reputation in the Oriental Field, and in spite of the fact he was professor of Tibetan at the University College of London from 1906 to 1908, Waddell gained no recognition as a Sumerologist, nor for the works published after 1917 on topics of the history of civilization. F. W. Thomas (1867–1956), an Orientalist and Philologist devoted to the history of British education in India, who pioneered a New School of Asian Philosophy and wrote about Tibetan mythology,¹² observed that Waddell exploited the subject for the first time in an article published in the *Asiatic Review* in 1917.¹³ It was followed with the publication of *Phoenician Origin of the Britons* in 1924. Waddell explained that the fact that India was an ideal location to study the Aryan question was rele-

vant to his decision to join the Indian Medical Service. His interest in the Aryans can therefore be traced back to 1880.

Dilemma

Researchers have sometime been unable to obtain scholarly assessments about Waddell's model of the history of civilizations, his theories, or his comparative studies. In one instance, a linguist who was approached replied he had never heard of him and 'dismissed his position on the basis of little information', using an argument that appeared as an 'evasion to the question'.¹⁴ He is certainly little known in academic circles – a status due to the fact that scholarly assessments of his theories have so far been limited to short biographical references, i.e. in *Who Was Who*, and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. The main sources used in the latter were an obituary published in *The Glasgow Herald* on the 20 September 1938, and an article by F. W. Thomas entitled 'Colonel L.A. Waddell' in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1939).¹⁵ There is a repeat of the material in the *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (1906).¹⁶ In the University of Glasgow Library can be found a number of letters that famous scholars wrote to Waddell in reply to his own correspondence, as well as letters or articles which were published in academic journals, but acquaintance with archaeologists, their discoveries, and theories, is necessary to appreciate their significance, hence the need for a companion volume such as the present biography. This material, in addition to press cuttings and copies of reviews, is part of the 'Special Collections' and of 711 works from Waddell's personal library (including his own works). This collection was bequeathed to the University in 1939 following his death, at the age of 84, on 19 September 1938.¹⁷ A description for each book and document is maintained in an online catalogue.¹⁸

One of the reasons that Waddell's works on the history of civilization are little known today seems to be that they were sidelined because of their controversiality. A contemporary reviewer judged that Waddell's views were so unorthodox that he would have to expect strong criticism and even ridicule because 'he had an enormous amount of prejudice to overcome'.¹⁹ Waddell admitted being 'at variance' with what seemed to be the 'established doctrine', but argued he was an unbiased independent student of the history of civilization working by recognized scientific methods in the vast new-found field of Sumerology.²⁰ The year in which he started studying Sumerian, on a full-time basis, was 1908.²¹ From about this date, he also became a follower of the pioneering group led by Henry Rawlinson, the scholar who first established the existence of the Sumerians thereby creating a controversy over the fact that the Sumerian language was not Semitic. Rawlinson professed that the first speakers of Sumerian were of Scythic origin (synonymous of 'Syrian'). In the 1920s the controversy was still alive but the non-Semitic nature of Sumerian is now an accepted fact in scholarship.

Contemporary study of the past

Thomas praised Waddell for his 'wide accomplishment' but criticized him for being 'too unrestrainedly, bent upon discovery'.²² It is likely that Thomas was irritated by the fact that Waddell had taken up the search for the Aryans 'at its eastern or Indo-Persian end'²³ when other scholars had abandoned it in the 1870s. Thomas also stated that Waddell's demonstrations (which 'could be studied in *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*') were mainly based 'upon linguistic conjectures, ignoring all principles of sober research'.²⁴ Since Waddell usually carried out his studies to a great depth, and that this sentence has a double meaning (i.e. 'linguistic conjectures' could be a reference to Max Müller's linguistic theories), it is possible that Thomas took for granted that Waddell was a follower of this scholar. Müller was a Philologist and Sanskritist and the first to use the term 'Aryan'. In the late 1800s Archaeology was subordinate to Philology, and the latter was regarded as an important tool to study the past. The reconstruction of a hypothetical ancestral tongue was undertaken in Linguistic Palaeontology as soon as it was realised that similarities in Indo-European languages, i.e. Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, Gothic, Celtic and Old Persian, could be attributed to their derivation from a lost parent language which they called 'proto-Indo-European'.²⁵

In early days, scholars professed that Europeans descended from Japhet, one of Noah's three sons, said to have escaped the biblical flood in an ark, because of the statement in *Genesis 9:1* that after the waters had receded, God established a new covenant and commanded Noah to 'Go forth and multiply and fill the earth'. Müller however suggested a 'Central Asian' origin for the Indo-Europeans, calling them 'Aryans', because it was the name by which Sanskrit and Old Persian speakers called themselves. His school was opposed by ethnologists, anthropologists and archaeologists in the 'Race versus Science' debates and his Central Asian theory 'was still in vogue' at the time Waddell worked on *Makers of Civilization in Race & History* (from 1908 and throughout the 1920s).²⁶

The main disagreement in respect of using linguistic tools to demonstrate racial ancestry was that Aryan speaking races were Aryan by language and not by blood.²⁷ Carl Penka was the founder of the Germanist School. His anthropological arguments demolished Müller's Central Asian theory in two works in 1883 and '86.²⁸ Although he was a strong believer in racial divisions by skull measurement and colour of the skin that the Anatomist, Anthropologist and Ethnologist, Thomas Huxley, established in the 19th century, like Penka, Waddell disagreed that the European race was 'the Cinderella' or youngest of all.²⁹ Isaac Taylor also rejected the Asian model of migration offered by Müller for the Aryans because excavations proved that the European race was more ancient than previously ascertained.³⁰ He made the comment that:

The Aryan speech and civilization prevailed but the Aryan race either disappeared or its purity was lost.³¹

In the world of Archaeology, the study of ancient cultures in the Aegean region had been stimulated by ground-breaking excavations, such as those of Schliemann between 1870 and '90.³² Oscar Montelius had proposed that the origin of Indo-European cultures was the ancient Near-East after the rise of civilization in Sumer, in works published in 1899 and 1903.³³ This was in the context of the European race being regarded as recent. It was the first time that an academic work contradicted the 'unilinear' rule to which scholars had been committed. Grafton Elliott Smith's theory that Egypt was the original centre of civilization, in 1915,³⁴ was also opposed because of its notion of diffusion. The problem was that many scholars still believed that civilization appeared separately and without influence upon one another. The concept of 'unilinear evolutionism' kept archaeologists in chains until the 1950s, as it was only in this decade that 'diffusionism' was fully accepted in regard to the creation of civilization.³⁵ The reception of Waddell's works suffered due to this situation. *Phoenician Origin of the Britons* (1924), for instance, was ascertained by Sir Richard C. Temple, President of the Anthropologist section of the British Association and Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, as 'subversive of accepted views' for belonging to the Diffusionist School of Anthropologists which opposed the Evolutionists'.³⁶

Waddell had already experienced opposition from G. A. Barton and Sydney Smith in 1922 and '23. He admitted he was 'at opposite poles from leading authorities' but argued that he had 'come to history without prejudice' and had 'no other aim than to advance truth'.³⁷ He clarified his position in regard his opinion of the origin of civilization in the following quote:

It would be affectation to ignore that in this and in the companion volume on British Origins, [. . .] I am in opposition to much of what is held to be, if not established doctrine, at any rate good working theory with regard to Sumerian, Phoenician, Indian and British history. I am also at variance with both general and expert opinion as regards the nature and causes of the so-called "Higher Civilization." [. . .] And as regards Origins, I find myself opposed not merely to the theorists who trace most of our culture to Judaism; but also to those who refer it to an effect, manifested rather suddenly some six thousand years ago, of the Egyptian climate on the mixed populations who at that period inhabited the Nile Valley;³⁸ and also to those who look upon Civilization as arising independently³⁹ amongst different races at different centres and due to a supposedly widely distributed similar temperamental strain amongst different races reaction in the very same way when exposed to the same circumstances in the early historic and later prehistoric times.⁴⁰

Waddell was not alone in his use of the term 'Aryan': i.e. John Myres, Emeritus Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, theorized about the spread

of civilization from Egypt and Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean and debated the question of the origin of the Mycenaean civilization⁴¹ that Schliemann studied. It was regarded as the creation of Nordic invaders or Aryans.⁴² Today Greek civilization is viewed as having spread from the mainland to the seat of the Minoan civilization but Arthur Evans (1851–1941) believed the reversed, i.e. that Aryan Minoans had colonized Greece after establishing their civilization.⁴³ Waddell expounded that the Minoan civilization was created by the son of the Sumerian ruler Sargon I, Manis-tusu, but King Minos to the Minoans. He found evidence that the first Egyptian dynasty started out as a Sumerian dependency under Manis-tusu who was known to the Egyptians as Menes and seceded from his father's empire. It was his opinion that the Sumerians were Aryan and had settled down at Boghazkoy in Cappadocia before creating Sumer.

Prehistoric Archaeology had emerged as a discipline following great discoveries in the ancient Near-East and Mediterranean but fifty years before Waddell's time of writing. The first scholar to have combined Prehistoric Archaeology with linguistics to find answers on the question of Aryan origins was Gustav Kossinna, an Anthropologist and Philologist (1858–1931), who proposed a cradle of German people in North Germany and a homeland for Indo-European languages on the basis of his study of Corded Ware (pottery) in *The Indo-European Question Answered Archaeologically* (1902).⁴⁴

V. G. Childe (1893–1957), first holder of the Abercromby Chair of Prehistoric European Archaeology (1927–46) and director of the Institute of Archaeology at the University of London, a prehistorian and linguist, adopted Kossinna's approach to explore the relationship between prehistoric European cultures.⁴⁵ Because Archaeology was cultural, Childe explored the origin of the Aryans in terms of culture on the evidence of archaeological remains and linguistics. After studying material dated to the 4th millennium BC excavated at Ur, Kish, and Erech, in 1922, Childe concluded that it revealed no sign of local development from a primitive state. This indicated that the Sumerian civilization was not indigenous.⁴⁶ It had been created by conquerors or newcomers from another nation, who ruled over the local peasantry and glorified their victory by the restoration and enlargement of old shrines.⁴⁷ Painted figurines with serpent faces and the Moon god Nannar, a deity with a distinctive matriarchal character, were associated with these shrines. The Sumerians remained nameless and their origin was a mystery.⁴⁸ One of the reasons Childe believed the Sumerians were Aryan was that in the correspondence preserved at Tell El Amarna, Egypt, the names of the gods that were acknowledged were Indo-Iranian.⁴⁹ He also noted that the Amorites (Phoenicians) were often depicted by the 18th and subsequent Egyptian dynasties, as tall, with blue eyes, brown hair, and relatively fair skin.⁵⁰

Childe stated that the notion expounded by Kossinna, i.e. that 'the Aryans had reached Mesopotamia as the Sumerians', 'would have happily explained the supposed affinity between Sumerian and Indo-European speech'.⁵¹ Waddell believed in this affinity but after the non-Semitic nature of Sumerian

was firmly established, a consensus appeared as to its 'not being Indo-European either' and to be 'unrelated to any other language'.⁵² The archaeologist E. Mackay had however professed in the late 1920s that Sumerian had evolved from proto-Elamite (an Indo-European language of Syria, Asia Minor), and that Sumerian and Indus Valley remains also indicated a common Proto-Elamite ancestry.⁵³

Childe viewed the Sumerians and Hittites as blood-brothers, and Cappadocia as the Sumerians' homeland. Waddell's model of Aryan diffusion from Cappadocia to Sumer, in *The British Edda*, seems to have been in agreement with Penka's idea that Nordic Aryans had migrated towards the Danubian region and Asia Minor, and Kossinna's that the Aryans had reached Mesopotamia as the Sumerians.⁵⁴ The idea implied that the Aryan architects of civilization intruded upon an indigenous population, but were genetically absorbed at one point in time because they were few by comparison with the people they civilized and intermarried with, and this could explain their disappearance.

In the 1880s, when Waddell was in India, Ignatius Donnelly wrote his illustrious work *Atlantis: the Antediluvian World*. Donnelly traced the seat of the Aryans or Indo-European family of nations to Atlantis and expounded that the gods of the Egyptians, Greeks, Phoenicians, Hindus, and Scandinavians were Atlantean kings and heroes, and that mythology was a 'confuse recollection of historical events' (p. 4). Waddell also asserted that kings, heroes, and makers of civilization had been deified. Such a concept could lead to the rational hypothesis that the gods of a 'First Time', who were sometime reputed to have become mortal in the age that followed a mythical Divine rule, were enlarged historical personalities.

Childe's study of Nordic expansion in *The Aryans* (1926) was an attempt to put order to European Prehistory.⁵⁵ He tried to identify the cradle of the Aryans by reversing Kossinna's theory and derive the 'battle-axe folk' from South Russia instead of Scandinavia. Central to this theory was a battle-axe which was an exceptional device and recognized by Scandinavian archaeologists as an imitation of the one used by Sumerians by 3,000 BC.⁵⁶ However, at the end of his book, Childe stated that his confidence in the Kurgan (South Russian) hypothesis was shaken 'since he espoused it', and concluded that 'in default' only the Germanist theory for the cradle of the Aryans suggested by Kossinna was left and that in this case, Kurgans would not be the earliest Aryans.⁵⁷

Childe admitted that Kossinna's system was a 'profound mastery of the archaeological material' and consisted in the settling down of Palaeolithic hunters, tall Cro-Magnon, in 10,000 BC on the shores of lakes in the Baltic, their main centres being Scandinavia, but also an area from Britain to Latvia; then the round-headed and long-headed ancestors of 'Indo-Germans' (Aryans) and Finns who spoke an agglutinative tongue from which Indo-European and Finno-Urian languages derived.⁵⁸ By 4,000 BC some had separated from the homeland. Those who migrated south pronounced 'k' (or

'c') softly (and were of the linguistic 'satem' group). They created the Danubian civilization. The Satem group were driven from the Ukraine towards Greece as Thracians and founded the Minoan civilization. Some went east and those left on the Baltic coast and North Sea built dolmens, then North-Indo-Germans, warriors at the same time as pastoralists, cultivators and navigators sent out waves of conquering colonists.⁵⁹ The Germanist School expounded that the folks who lived on the Baltic, North Sea, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, were visited by navigators from the southwest seeking the source of amber. These could have been Phoenicians navigating from Phoenicia across the Mediterranean Sea, passing by Gibraltar, and continuing North along the coast of Spain and France until they reached the British Isles, and then continued to Scandinavia.⁶⁰ On Kossinna's chronology, before 3,000 BC, pioneers spread westward along the North Sea and down to the Danubian region.

Progress was achieved in respect of the decipherment of the Hittites' system of writing between the time that A. H. Sayce (1846–1933), Professor of Assyriology at Oxford from 1891 to 1919, identified it in Anatolia in 1879 and the discovery in 1947 of the bilingual inscription of Karatepe on slabs at the entrance of a fortress in Old Phoenician and Hittite hieroglyphs. The discovery of ancient Hittite boosted the quest for the proto-Indo-European language (or proto-Aryan). After Henry Rawlinson decoded Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, excavations were undertaken by the British Museum at Carchemish (Kargamish) and it was established that from 1,100 BC Syria was known to the Assyrians as the land of Hatti. Its capital was only known by references in texts to 'the Great Kheta' or 'Khatti'. Sayce had suspected it was Boghazkoy. Excavations began in 1906.⁶¹ The discovery of Royal Archives comprising about 10,000 cuneiform tablets proved that he was right, but the language in which they were to be read was unknown. The only bilingual inscription available at the time for a point of reference was the Seal of Tarkondemos with ten cuneiform inscriptions and six Hittite hieroglyphs around a warrior figure.⁶² Place names were also known from Assyrian inscriptions. The translation of the Hittite tablets was entrusted in 1913 to the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft (a group of Assyriologists) and B. Hrozný, a professor in Vienna and later at the University of Prague. Some of the tablets were in the well-known Akkadian language of Babylonia and the meaning of some ideograms was understood without knowledge of the underlying language. The phrase which permitted Hrozný to crack the Hittite code contained an ideogram for 'bread' pronounced as 'ninda' in Sumerian: 'Nu ninda-an ezzateni vadar-ma ekutteni'. Hrozný wondered whether 'vadar' could mean 'water'. This would only have been possible if Hittite had an affinity with European languages. Hrozný identified a language referred to as 'Nasili' in the texts of Boghazkoy, the grammar of which was beyond any doubt Indo-European, whereas Hattili, spoken by the inhabitants of the Akkadian Empire of Sargon II, who occupied central Anatolia before the arrival of a separate ethnic group of Hittites speaking this Indo-European

language, was not Indo-European. Instead of 'Nasili', Hrozny called it 'Nesite' because 'Nesa' appeared to be the name of the capital of these Indo-European invaders when they first settled in Cappadocia.⁶³

Excavations carried out under the supervision of K. Bittel from 1931 to the outbreak of the Second World War,⁶⁴ at Boghazkoy, revealed that the Indo-European element of its population gradually increased to a point of supremacy.⁶⁵ It was achieved after a conflict between Nesite speaking people and the natives (this conflict is consistent with dragon slaying myths and the 'battle of Eden' of the Edda). Nesite continued to be used by a small elite group in Royal courts and as a language for diplomatic relations in the 2nd millennium BC. Nesite speaking people ruled upto 2,200 BC. Other languages were identified: Luwite and Hurrite. In total, eight languages in which the archives of Boghazkoy were written were identified. Luwite, Nesite, and Palaian also exhibited traces of Indo-European influence before the 3rd millennium BC.⁶⁶ However, to Waddell's detriment, scholars remained sceptical for a long time⁶⁷ and the view that the grammar of Nesite belonged to the family of Indo-European languages was only accepted in about 1948, after Turkish University researchers at Ankara and Istanbul established that the Indo-European language of an unknown Indo-European invader exerted an influence upon the native language of the land of Hatti.⁶⁸

The origin of these invaders speaking an Indo-European (Aryan) language is unknown but burial practices of the ruling class reflected a Solar Cult. Solar discs and theriomorphic standards in tombs were typical of Indo-European burials.⁶⁹ The hypothesis was proposed that they were princes and immigrants from Maitop, in Southern Russia, because this solution tied in with the result of Professor Marija Gimbutas' excavations and study of the spread of proto-Indo-European for the period 3,500–2,800 BC.⁷⁰ She called them 'Kurgans' after Childe's Kurgan theory'.⁷¹ They were patriarchal and military, rode horses, had a rudimentary agriculture, and developed metallurgy. They migrated to Anatolia, Iran, the Chinese Turkestan (Tocharian region), Greece, Italy, Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, and India, in three waves, the second of which would be relevant to Nesite and Waddell's theories in regard to Aryans settling down in Cappadocia, as it was dated to 3,400–3,200 BC.⁷² In South Russia, according to P. Bosch-Gimpera's study of burial practices and skeletal remains in the 1960s, there also was a change in the Kurgan population in 4,500 BC. when Nordic type blonds with white skin and blue eyes (dolichocephals)⁷³ intruded the indigenous population of smaller stature but also of Cro-Magnon type, and cohabited with them.⁷⁴ The skeleton type of these newcomers was tall and long-headed like remains dating from the same period in India and Pakistan, as well as Harappan and pre-Harappan remains in the Indus Valley,⁷⁵ a fact that could be relevant to the question of the origin of the Indus-Saraswati (or Indus Valley) civilization.

In 1927 Sayce proposed to replace the Müller's Central Asian theory by an Anatolian or Asia Minor theory because of discoveries in relation to the satem and centum pronunciations, but this was a model of migration from Asia

Minor to the Danubian region, instead of the reverse as expounded by Kossinna.⁷⁶ Sayce had noted that the Phoenicians were a 'fair and blue-eyed stock', and were related to blond 'Libyans' and Celts.⁷⁷ Waddell also asserted, like the Germanist school, that the Aryans who had settled in Anatolia or Asia Minor in 3,000 BC had arrived there by way of the Danube. The content of Anatolian graves dated to the 3rd millennium BC reflects a solar worship⁷⁸ in agreement with Waddell's vision of the introduction of agriculture and creation of civilization in Cappadocia before Sumeria, as his model in *The British Edda* is one of solar-worshipping Aryans settling down in Troy, and establishing headquarters near Boghazkoy. The scenes of the *Elder Edda* also describe Aryan settlers as having a white complexion and fair hair. A new theory rooted in Prehistoric Archaeology elaborated by Colin Renfrew, Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge University, incorporates the idea that languages were propagated along the same routes as those identified for the expansion of agriculture from Anatolia from c. 7,000 BC⁷⁹ and that the earliest speakers of an Indo-European language were present in Cappadocia in the 7th millennium BC and migrated towards Greece.⁸⁰ Prevailing views on the origin of the 'Aryans' as set out by Kossinna in 1902 'are not affected' by this model.⁸¹

Effect of racist ideologies on Waddell's works

The term 'Aryan' that Waddell used also became associated with the rise of Nazism, particularly after the Second World War. I have received various queries and comments about Waddell. Peter Levenda, author of *Unholy Alliance* (1995) – a work on the occult background to the rise of Nazism – had heard rumours that Waddell 'was a crank, had no background in Philology and Archaeology', and 'wrote books filled with racist theories'.⁸² He said he had read a great deal of Waddell and came to the feeling that his 'purported anti-Semitism was simply misconstrued', 'mostly by his use of the Aryan term', and that he was glad to see I 'had reached similar conclusions'.⁸³ It is possible that Waddell's polemics against 'Semitic scholars' were misinterpreted in recent time as he used this expression in the sense of 'British or European scholars who maintained that the Sumerians and their language were Semitic', and not to refer to scholars who were Semitic in race.

Another situation had negative consequences for those of Waddell's works with an Aryan theme. It has been said that the notion of an Aryan race spreading Indo-European languages to different races in ancient time gave rise to the formation of racist ideologies.⁸⁴ In Germany 'cultural greatness' and 'racial purity' gained popularity from the 19th century.⁸⁵ The term 'Aryan' now has a negative connotation because it was associated with theories of superiority in connection with the rise of Nazism and the fact that Kossinna expounded that the Nordic strain was the most potent in Germans because 'they had been less contaminated than other nations'.⁸⁶ The Nazis adopted theoretical innovations presented by Kossinna in *Die Herkunft der Germanen (the Origin of the*

Germans) (1911), and *Origins and Expansion of the Germans in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times* (1928).⁸⁷ His ideas were imposed in German schools from 1931 to support the concept of the German nation as a 'master race'.⁸⁸ The Nazis' involvement with the occult and their philosophical digressions led to ethnic cleansing and the Third Reich plot of world domination.⁸⁹ In short, the prelude to Nazism was as follows: some fifty years before Hitler rose to power, a Pan-German movement of secret occult societies, from which the Nazi Party⁹⁰ emerged, started studying the hidden science of runes and searching repositories of Teutonic legends and Nordic lore believed to be of Icelandic origin, some of which were written in Old Norse, in an attempt to discover the German peoples' ancestry. With the help of occultists, German apologists ascertained that Iceland was the homeland of the nation (as it was identified as the hyperborean Ultima Thulé), and claimed to be pure blooded descendants of a 'Master Race' that had superpowers in antiquity. The desire to recreate a glorious past and 'super race' appears to have originally been at the root of the plan to abolish the historic structure of society (such as Christianity and Capitalism), and putting into place a new Order.⁹¹ The fact that German prehistorians and Nazi ideologists claimed a biologically pure origin for the German people, referring to their ancestors as the blond, long-headed Nordic racial group and as 'Aryan', between 1933 and '45, was regarded as a discreditable episode by British scholars, and as a result they discarded the term 'Aryan' though it had been used for more than a century.⁹² For instance, although philologists found this term unscientific, Childe preferred it to 'Indo-European' because it was what Indians and Iranians called themselves.⁹³ He stated that the term 'Indo-European' was clumsy and proposed to retain 'Aryan',⁹⁴ but was careful to abandon research of a racial nature when it became clear that the term had become associated with the rise of Nazism. He destroyed his thesis entitled *The Influence of Indo-Europeans in Prehistoric Greece*⁹⁵ and avoided mention of the superiority of the Aryans (presumably after 1926 as in *The Aryans* he still stated that the Nordics' superiority and physique 'fitted them to be the vehicles of a superior language'⁹⁶). The origin of the Indo-Europeans in terms of race, which the Germans called 'Urheimat', was abandoned after the Aryan concept of superiority led to criticism and became a general embarrassment to scholars. Waddell, of course, was not interested in German ancestry and had no political agenda. He was just fascinated with the mystery of the Aryans and Sumerians.

In the post World War era, anthropologists realized they could not rely on skeletal remains to assess racial types as features become less distinctive when races are mixed. As the latter can disappear by losing their genetic character, academics decided they could not define cultures as a genetic community or 'race' any more, and started professing that 'ethnic identity is essentially cultural'.⁹⁷ They now rely on genetic studies to assess the continuity of populations, but don't always know by what name ancient people called themselves;⁹⁸ the old-fashioned concept of race is regarded as 'chimerical and inadequate'.⁹⁹ The term 'Aryan' was also discarded in academia and was

replaced by 'Indo-European' due to embarrassment since it had become associated with theories of superiority.

The fact that a swastika was imprinted in gold colour on the spine of *The British Edda* (1930)¹⁰⁰ was probably also little conducive to attracting readership. The reason for this unfortunate choice was that the swastika was a mystical Sun-cult symbol to the Phoenicians and Hittites. This 'fly-footed Cross', precursor of Celtic and Christian crosses, was found in the middle of Cadmean inscriptions on the Newton Stone which Waddell deciphered.¹⁰¹ The swastika was also a symbol of the Bon religion that preceded Lamaism in Tibet. The Nazis did not invent the swastika, they appropriated it. Its sacred meaning was known to Hindus and Rudyard Kipling also had it imprinted on the covers of his books.¹⁰² It was also associated with the occultism of the Theosophical Society which had headquarters in Madras. The term 'swastika' is from Sanskrit, written as 'suastika'; 'su' and 'asti' have the meaning of 'it is well' or 'it is fortunate'.¹⁰³ Just as Runes were believed to be charged with magical power and mathematical significance,¹⁰⁴ and were inscribed on stones to cast spells or get good fortune, when magic was a synonym of writing and a secret art, the swastika was attributed power that would attract good luck if drawn in such a way that its extremities would spin in a clockwise direction around its axis. However, German cultural societies selected the anticlockwise swastika for their emblem because they assessed that its negativity reflected the antagonism they felt towards the Judae-Christian Order of the world.¹⁰⁵ If the clockwise swastika really did have magical power and attracted good luck where it was written, the anticlockwise symbol could have had the opposite effect.

Robert Casillo attempted to show in a dissertation that Waddell was accountable for the poet Ezra Pound's anti-Semitic themes and polemics in *The Cantos*, a work encrypted with a sub-layer of Aryan tradition, which linked Sumer to Hitler and Musolini.¹⁰⁶ Ezra Pound was imprisoned at Pisa by the U.S. Army in 1945 and was confined at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington for thirteen years because of his anti-Semitic or fascist views. Although he admitted that he was neither a Nazi nor a Fascist, and that Pound 'had borrowed' his interpretation of mythological lore for his celebration of Sumeria,¹⁰⁷ Casillo cast Waddell as responsible for Pound's views as if he was trying to excuse the latter (saying he had been 'misled' by him as by 'Eliot and Yeats')¹⁰⁸ instead of making it clear that he had used Waddell's material and placed it in an anti-Semitic context. Casillo's reasoning was on the basis that 'Aryanism and anti-Semitism is rarely if ever very far apart'.¹⁰⁹ The problem is that Casillo assessed Waddell's material as 'racial mythology'¹¹⁰ because of the term 'Aryan'. For instance, he misinterpreted a statement in relation to the Aryans' superiority in relation to indigenous primitive people such as Phrygians or Edenites (which was meant to be understood in the sense that they had created civilization in 3,000 BC)¹¹¹ as being racist and anti-Semitic. This dissertation may have been at the root of the rumour that Waddell 'wrote half-baked books filled with racist theories'.¹¹²

The proposal that the Aryan race was the earliest diffuser of civilization, for which Waddell believed there was 'unshakable evidence', had been met with violent opposition by propagandists of the Semitic theory which supported the biblical view of the Semitic creation of civilization. Some of Waddell's statements against 'Semitic scholars', an expression he used to refer to 'scholars who supported the Semitic theory' in titles published in the 1920s, may have been mistaken as racist by readers who did not realize the arguments had nothing to do with scholars of Semitic origin. Probably unaware of possible consequences as it was only in following decades that it became clear that research in terms of racial origins carried the risk of being associated with Nazi ideologies, Waddell, who had acquired his convictions in relation to the Aryans at University in the 1870s, still defended their existence at the age of 81. An undated and unfinished draft, discovered in the Special Collections, indeed revealed Waddell's attempt to expose the authors of *We Europeans: the Race Question: Theory & Fact*¹¹³ published in 1935, simply because they asserted that 'there never was an Aryan race'. One of the authors, Julian S. Huxley, was the grandson of the anatomist and ethnologist Thomas Huxley.

Mythological lore

Waddell carried out a reconstruction and interpretation of the *Elder Edda*, the stories of which were compiled by Sæmund 'the Learned' on loose parchment leaves (Codex Regius). Codex Regius is a manuscript written in gothic letters and dated to about AD 1,270¹¹⁴ It was discovered in Iceland by Bishop Brynjolfr Sveinsson in 1643 and donated to King Frederick III of Denmark in 1662. Waddell stated that the manuscript was kept in the Royal Library of Copenhagen.¹¹⁵ According to the *Dictionary of Middle-Ages* it was indeed kept in the Old Royal Collection of Copenhagen with the call number Gml.kgl.saml.2365, 4^o,¹¹⁶ but in the 1970s it was returned to Iceland and became part of the Collection of the Arnarnagnaean Manuscript Institute of Reykjavik.¹¹⁷

The view that emerges from Waddell's interpretation in *The British Edda* is that an oral tradition relating to the 'Rise of Man' and genesis of civilization in Cappadocia and Eden was told at festivals in Britain in pagan days but without knowledge of the foreign origin of the stories or of the geographical position of place-names. It was preserved on parchment by 'the Learned' (Codex Regius or the *Elder Edda*). There were other records but in Britain all traces of this pagan tradition disappeared at the hand of Christian missionaries. As explained below, Codex Regius was discovered in Iceland because a family from Scotland emigrated there. The myth had survived as an oral tradition as it had been resurrected with modifications in the 12th century by authors such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, as the Arthurian legends, when its Cappadocian, Trojan, or Sumerian origins were forgotten.

There was no evidence of opposition to *The British Edda* in the Special

Collections from Scandinavian or Germanic scholarship, but a letter from Cyril John Gadd (1893–1969) dated 11 June 1930, thanks Waddell for the copy he sent to the British Museum.¹¹⁸ The etymology of the term ‘Edda’ was a puzzle to Waddell’s contemporaries except for the suggestion it derived from the Latin ‘edere’ (to write, publish) in analogy with ‘kredda’ from ‘credere’.¹¹⁹ Grimm, Simrock, Rosenbeg, Vigfusson and Müllenhoff suggested ‘Edda’ was from from óðr, an Old Norse term meaning ‘poetry’ or ‘song’ or originated from a Nordic term with the sense of great great grand-mother or progenitrix such as ‘oldemoder’.¹²⁰ Until well into the 19th century, Eddic poems from Old Norse oral tradition were regarded as very ancient and even to reflect Scandinavian genesis.¹²¹

Some contemporaries of Waddell attributed the Eddic lays to Snorri Sturluson, who lived in Christianized Iceland (1179 to 1241 CE) and produced literary works in an attempt to preserve the Old Norse tradition.¹²² Sturluson’s *Prose Edda* incorporated Icelandic pagan mythology in stories which he manipulated to reflect a struggle between paganism and Christianity and show the AEsir (pagan gods or Lords) defeated.¹²³ Waddell contended that the *Elder Edda* (or Codex Regius) was attributed to the ‘Icelandic Snorri’ because his mythological tales became known in Iceland as the ‘Edda’.¹²⁴ German scholars studied the Edda and traced the ancestry of their nation to Iceland, or Ultima Thulé.¹²⁵ Waddell alluded to Germanist scholars who followed Sturluson ‘in his misreadings’ because some characters of the Edda were national deities to the Teutons.¹²⁶

Characters and names

In 1927, when Waddell was working on *The British Edda*, C. W. Lewis wrote in his diary, ‘spent the morning partly on *the Edda* [. . .]. It is an exciting experience, when I remember my first passion for things Norse [. . .] at about the age of 9’.¹²⁷ Lewis joined Kolbitar, a society dedicated to the study of Icelandic and Norse sagas founded by J. R. R. Tolkien, Professor of Anglo-Saxon, author of *The Lord of the Rings*, who attached importance to Old Norse and Old Icelandic. Richard MacGillivray Dawkins, a classical scholar, who was self-taught in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Icelandic, was a founder-member of Kolbitar with Tolkien in 1926.¹²⁸ Members of Kolbitar ascertained that the *Elder Edda* predated Sturluson’s work by a century, and that its poems narrated the exploits of Scandinavian and Germanic gods as well as human heroes.¹²⁹ European researchers introduced the Edda poems as *the Elder Edda* or *Poetical Edda* to distinguish them from Snorri Sturluson’s fairy tales.¹³⁰ However, in scholarship, Sturluson was held to be the author of the *Elder Edda*, and to have weaved together stories without logical connections.¹³¹ Whereas researchers believed that the Edda was composed of cycles of different ages and re-grouped the lays on this erroneous assumption, Waddell contended that ‘the Learned’ had gathered the lays without any coherent

sequence or stitched together the parchments in the wrong order, and that the tales were about the same heroic characters, but their names changed in different scenes and according to different circumstances.¹³²

Waddell's title *The British Edda* reflects the fact he asserted the parchments were mistaken by some of his contemporaries as Scandinavian due to the similarity of Old Norse and Old English. He was not the only one to have doubted this assumption as some Scandinavian scholars speculated the composers were Norwegian bards who had resided in Britain.¹³³ Waddell made his case on the basis that the parchments that the Learned collected were traced to a family that had come from a Christian sect called the Culdée (Keledei Order) in the West of Scotland and the Hebrides. This family had settled in Iceland in AD 795.¹³⁴ The Christian sect in question already had headquarters at St. Andrews and a settlement in Orkney in the 6th century AD.¹³⁵ The stories of the Edda may have been known to them in the form of an oral tradition that antedated the arrival of Christian missionaries and Anglo-Saxons, and in fact was carried to British shores with the Trojan Brutus in 1,103 BC.¹³⁶ Waddell was of the opinion that the Codex preserved vestiges of an oral tradition that were recited by sibyls at medieval festivals in the British Isles.¹³⁷ The poems are about ancestral heroic exploits and the making of civilization. The sibyl who received this legacy learned them by heart and probably lacked appreciation of their antiquity or origin. She started with allusions to the chaotic world of Eden and the atrocities of the Serpent-Dragon Cult. Her vision emphasized the primitivity of the culture that the Lords wanted to regenerate by the creation of civilization.

In Britain the Old Gothic letter with which Codex Regius was written were still current in Henry I's reign (AD 1,100–1,135).¹³⁸ Manuscripts with Eddic poems similar to Codex Regius were quite common in Ireland, Scotland and the Scottish Isles, in about the 6th century,¹³⁹ but were destroyed by Christian missionaries by the 11th century after being stigmatized as pagan. This could be substantiated by ecclesiastical records.¹⁴⁰ Experts on the medieval era who studied the manuscript in the 1970s concluded, like Waddell, that the *Edda* was mistaken for centuries as a lost poetic book by Snorri and agreed it was penned down (or copied) by Saemund Sigfusson 'the Learned' (c.1055–1135).¹⁴¹ It was for this reason that the Codex was returned to Iceland in the 1970s.

In Waddell's opinion, the confusion could also have arisen because the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians had the same gods and heroes as they were of the same kindred stock. For instance, in English, the etymology of the days of the week is from the names of the leading heroes of the Edda: Thursday derives from 'Thor' as does 'Thores-daeg', Tuesday from his warrior-son 'Thio' as 'Tiwes-daeg', and Wednesday from 'Wodan' as does 'Wodens-daeg', Friday is based on one of the names of Thor's queen Frea or Frida. Sunday was named after that luminary that appears to hold an important place in Thor's beliefs and sun-cult as 'the light of the World'.¹⁴²

As the stories were of pagan origin, and Norway and Iceland were

converted to Christianity between the years 995 and 1030, their sources were dated to before the 10th century, but some Icelandic authors were of the opinion that the scattered pages of Eddic lays had been written before the ninth century.¹⁴³ However, in modern time, some texts of Codex Regius have been dated to before AD 850, and parts of its narratives to the 13th century.¹⁴⁴

In the later decades of the 13th century, Icelandic authors compiled stories relating to the legacy they inherited from Scandinavian heroes who lived in a Dark Age or ancient Viking Age.¹⁴⁵ In his *Prose Edda* Sturluson created stories paralleling the tale of creation of *Genesis* and suggesting he believed pagan tales were created because people had forgotten Christian truths though the world had been Christian since Adam.¹⁴⁶ In one story, accompanied by an expedition referred to as the 'men of Asia' or 'Æsir', a character sets out on a journey from Turkey to Sweden, where he settles down and rules the land according to the pattern of Troy.¹⁴⁷ Waddell identified Cappadocian and Sumerian place-names in the parchment of Codex Regius. These terms revealed the lost origin of the tradition that 'the Learned' preserved, as well as a scenario taking place in pre-Sumerian territories sometimes parallel to the accounts of *Genesis*.

At the time Codex Regius was believed to be Scandinavian, Waddell argued that its language could have been mistaken for Old Norse because of the common origin of the Danes and Anglo-Saxons (Engles, Jutes and Saxons) before the latter migrated to the British Isles. Furthermore, the difference between Old Norse and Old English was not so distinct before the transition of the latter to Middle English.¹⁴⁸ The loss of inflections in Old English represented the most important aspect of all changes involved in the transition from Old to Middle English.¹⁴⁹ Inflectional elements in Old English were the main obstacle in communication between the Anglo-Saxons and the Vikings who started invading the British Isles in AD 787. It is because these inflections were dropped that the Vikings are regarded as having been instrumental in the process of simplification of the grammar of Old English. The place of words in sentences gained importance and acted as a substitute to the inflections. Scandinavian words also entered the English language during the 10th and 11th centuries whilst the new population was being absorbed in the British Isles. In the 11th century, Cnut, king of Denmark, obtained the throne of England and ruled it as a part of his Scandinavian kingdom. His settlements resulted with 1,400 places bearing Scandinavian names (north and east of the British Isles) including peaceful farmers who settled down, as well as adopted customs and Christianity.¹⁵⁰ Some Old English words died out because Middle English borrowed French words during the later Norman occupation. Waddell kept a number of Old English terms in his reconstruction and literal translation of the *Elder Edda* for the benefit of grammarians, but provided a glossary.¹⁵¹

In a model in which he explores the origin of languages on the basis of archaeological finds and of the expansion of agriculture from Anatolia, Colin Renfrew also calls Anatolian Hittites 'Guti' (as Waddell) and dates them to

the 3rd millennium BC.¹⁵² He argues for a diffusion of agriculture and therefore of farmers eastward from Anatolia with Boghazkoy as a centre where an early form of Indo-European language was spoken.¹⁵³ Waddell similarly emphasized the fact that agriculture was the innovation that made civilization possible from Cappadocia to Sumer, and that it explained the 'Garden of Eden' story in *Genesis*. In his opinion, it was the innovation of agriculture in antiquity which gave rise to 'tree of life' and 'plants of youth' mythology. He identified the position of a garden of Eden at Carchemish from a mention in the Edda of 'Gymis-gard' or 'garden of Gymis' wherein Gymi is a title of the matriarch El, but he revealed that Gymis was 'hell' and 'himin'¹⁵⁴ (meaning 'heaven' in Hittite) was the Aryans' fortress near the village of Boghazkoy in present Turkey. Boghazkoy is where the lost city of Hattusha was situated in Central Anatolia, and where royal archives charting the rise and fall of the Hittite empire were discovered. The earliest documents from the Royal Archives would be from a later date than the establishment of civilization as reconstructed by Waddell, but it was his opinion that the bas-relief at Iasily Rock Chambers or Iasili-Kaia below Boghazkoy, that contemporary scholars were at a loss to decipher,¹⁵⁵ portrayed Thor's wedding in a way consistent with the narratives of *Codex Regius*.¹⁵⁶ He reproduced a photograph of the sculpture 'after Perrot and Guillaume, P.A. pl.49'.¹⁵⁷

Elucidation of dragon-slaying myths

The decoded Edda discloses ancient Aryan architects of civilization (Lords, AEsirs, men of Asia, Guti, or ancient Goths), taking possession of Thrace 5,000 years ago, then establishing a headquarters ('Himin' or 'Heaven'), at Boghazkoy, Cappadocia or present Turkey. These newcomers then fight a great battle in Eden as mighty armies rally from as far as Armenia under the leadership of El, or Ilu, the matriarchal ruler of the Old Chaldean world, to oust them out. El is a powerful matriarch gifted with occult powers deified during her own living and the ruler of the indigenous Old Chaldean world, who controls a serpent-dragon cult, blood sacrifices and Moon worship. The hidden meaning of the mysterious formula of serpent-dragon slaying myths performed as rituals in Hittite festivals, which has so far remained a mystery in Indo-European Poetics studies, is found in the fact that the imagery of the Serpent or Dragon stands for the Cult and anarchy of the matriarchal ruler, as well as herself, as she is the personification of Evil. The significance of the slaying of this Dragon of Evil, as disclosed by Waddell, was that it cleared the way for the creation of civilization and the eradication of the cult, and represented liberation from evil. Myths could have been created as a result of the commemoration of an event of such significance. The formula is also present in Mesopotamian tradition as the killing of Tiamat by Marduk. Tiamat has been associated by exegesis with watery abyss and chaos in a context of cosmic creation, but in the light of Waddell's interpretation of the *Edda* the

lost meaning of Tiamat in biblical Scripture and Babylonian mythology is that of chaos preceding the creation of civilization and the latter puts order in the ancient Near-East. The legend of St. Michael slaying the Dragon Apollyon, as well as that of St. Michael slaying the Red Dragon in the Book of Revelation, would be more recent adaptations deriving from the older tradition and celebration of liberation made possible by the victory of the Aryans in Eden in about 3,000 BC. The dragon was symbolic of the matriarch El and her cult.

In *Secrets of the Serpent: In Search of the Sacred Past*, Phillip Gardiner also finds evidence for the existence of a serpent cult in antiquity. He explores the evidence that 'aeons ago' before a great battle, and before Christianity, 'an ancient serpent cult dominated mankind'.¹⁵⁸

Serpent-dragon cult before civilization

The hypothesis that human society in the period of 7,000 to 2,000 BC was matriarchal, and that a mother-cult with the 'figure of a goddess and dying god' was widespread, had many adherents in the 19th century.¹⁵⁹ There is archaeological evidence that the spread of Indo-European languages involved the disappearance of a more ancient culture or 'Mother Goddess' culture, which was associated with a Moon cult before the arrival of Indo-Europeans. Arthur Evans subscribed to the view that such a cult was central to the Minoan religion of Crete.¹⁶⁰ More recently Marija Gimbutas expounded that many of the regions, where Indo-Europeans settled down, were originally inhabited by a matrilineal culture that she refers to as 'Old European' and people who were Snake-goddesses and Moon worshippers, for thousands of years. The old way of life survived in pockets but the language of the natives vanished from Central Europe. Gimbutas' model is one of farming societies organized matriarchally from the Near-East to Western Europe. The study of blood groups in Old European cemeteries has revealed that mothers and daughters were related and men were unrelated, which suggests they left home and married into another matrilineal family.¹⁶¹ The Celts were patriarchal Indo-Europeans but, like the Basque of Spain and France, Iberians, and Picts of Scotland, preserved matrilineal traits from the days before they absorbed the newcomers.¹⁶² The Old European culture had images of bird and snake goddesses, as well as deities in the form of animals. The serpent goddess was usually portrayed with slanted eyes, limbs in the shape of snakes, and in a yogi-like posture. Gimbutas noted they were believed to embody deceased ancestors.¹⁶³ The Moon was linked to their beliefs and religion focused on cycles of life and death, as well as fertility.¹⁶⁴ Gimbutas challenged the opinion of sceptics in two books: *The Gods and Goddesses of Europe* (1974) and *The Living Goddesses* (1999). An off-shoot from the Indo-European family of languages is divided into three groups: Indo-Aryan, Iranian and Nuristani, the first of which concerns India.¹⁶⁵

Paradise

Waddell's reconstruction of the *Edda* reveals that after annexing the new territories of Eden to their kingdom, the Guti/Gothic Lords civilize and educate indigenous inhabitants and bring them the benefits of irrigation and agriculture, an innovation that gave rise to the imagery of the 'garden of Eden', and lost paradise. The Goths imposed laws and spread their Sun-cult. Their knowledge caused a spiritual 'Rise of Man' and in this context civilization is synonymous of spirituality. When the sense of the 'rise of man' was lost, an oral tradition circulated in the Ancient Near-East about the 'creation of man' and tradition was penned down in a corrupt form. In a period of decline the golden age of civilization was remembered as a lost paradise.

Ur-Nina's empire

Thor is the name of a heroic leader of the Aryan conquerors in Scandinavian mythology. According to Waddell, Thor of the *Elder Edda* is to be identified to the Sumerian Dar, Tur, who was deified as Sakh, or Ur-Sagaga. As a result of comparative studies of king-lists, Waddell discovered that Ur-Nina was identical to this legendary character and that the dynasty the latter founded was the very first dynasty of the Sumerians (he is referred to as 'Ur-Nanshe' in the Louvre Museum). Waddell discovered a symbolic connection in regard Ur-Nina's title (Ukusi of Ukhu city) that linked this king with Boghazkoy and the fact that he did not only rule over a city-state, as scholars seemed to believe, but over the whole of Sumeria and a colonial empire, including a 'second Edin' (or 'Garden of Eden'). There is archaeological evidence in support of an Aryan settlement in Cappadocia.

Antediluvian Mystery elucidated

Waddell contended that a list of Sumerian dynasties had been incorporated in the Mahabharata and Purānas of Indian Sacred Scripture. He referred to the event that had made this possible as 'the Great Migration' of people who transported their records of Sumerian dynasties to India as they were fleeing Sargon II. These Syrio-Phoenicians had a legacy in common with the Sumerians, their 'blood brothers'. With what he called his Indian keys, by comparative studies of these records, Waddell elucidated the mystery of abnormal antediluvian reigns in the Babylonian Isin Lists. He ascertained that antediluvian dynasties in the latter were duplication of material placed in front of the Sumerian Kish Chronicle. His findings permitted to identify Ur-Nina as the founder of Sumerian dynasties and his First Dynasty as the very first of all Sumerian dynasties. Waddell contended there were no dynasties before

the flood. *Makers of Civilization in Race & History* was published in 1929. Ten years later and without awareness of Waddell's research, Thorkild Jacobsen made the assessment that one of the reasons for the abnormal antediluvian rules of the Isin Lists was the mistaken belief of the Isin priests (record keepers) that Sumerian dynasties existed in succession, which they did simultaneously in the main city-states, and furthermore, that they had created false kingships by duplicating and misplacing some material.¹⁶⁶ Jacobsen's work was assessed in 1960 as 'likely to remain basic to further research for a long time to come'.¹⁶⁷ This was probably because it was not expected that many scholars would approach the subject due to the fact that Sumerian myths contradicted the Semitic (*Old Testament*) view of the creation of civilization. In this respect, Waddell is a pioneer but his findings were ignored or bypassed. At the time of his writing and in the 1940s, research on the Sumerian king-lists was slowed down due to the Sumerian controversy.

Opposition to *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*

As he had learned Sumerian from about 1908, some sixteen years later, Waddell interrupted his comparative studies of king-lists to write *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered* (1925), in which he claimed that he had been able to read inscriptions on the seals discovered in the Indus Valley by Sir John Marshall, with his knowledge of Sumerian. His findings on a seal from Telloh, in relation to the existence of a second 'Edin' (the first 'Eden' being situated in Mesopotamia), confirmed his Sumerian colonisation theory of the Indus Valley.

In his paper entitled 'On the So-called Sumero-Indian Seals', George A. Barton, Professor Emeritus of Semitic languages at the University of Pennsylvania (1922–32), stated in regard *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered* that 'he was convinced Waddell was mistaken'.¹⁶⁸ He criticized his claim of decipherment of the seals discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in an article entitled 'On the so-called Sumero-Indian Seals', refuting the idea that the seals were 'Indo-Sumerian'. However, it turns out that this scholar waged a war against theorists whose ideas represented a threat to his Semitic view of the creation of civilization on the basis of the *Old Testament*,¹⁶⁹ despite his apparent realization that progress could be achieved by the opposition's projection of hypotheses.¹⁷⁰

Prevalent theories of the 1920s were a good starting point for Waddell's claim to have been able to read inscriptions on the seals excavated by John Marshall on the basis of his knowledge of Sumerian, i.e. scholars had demonstrated the connection of the Indus Valley civilization with Sumer. However, a shift, which made his claim appear untenable, occurred in the consensus in Archaeology after Sir Mortimer Wheeler was put in charge of the Archaeological Survey of India. This was for four years from 1944, although he already reviewed the state of the latter in 1938.¹⁷¹ Wheeler is regarded as

one of the most important figures for the period of 20th century archaeology: he was Director of the London Museum between 1926 and 1944, and was influential in the running of the Institute of Archaeology.¹⁷² Biographers sometimes refer to archaeologists of the 19th and 20th centuries as 'Old World' or 'antiquarians' because the methods of fieldwork, which now assist archaeologists in their work of excavation and assessments, had not yet been invented.¹⁷³ It is generally held that F. Pitt Rivers (1827–1900) and Sir Mortimer Wheeler were the founding fathers of the New Archaeology because their application of methodological standards to fieldwork permitted a giant step forward.¹⁷⁴ Wheeler's interpretation of the archaeological data was the guideline for scholars who appear to have ruled out the possibility that the language of the seals could be akin to Sumerian and Proto-Elamite. Although prevalent theories supported his theory of a Sumerian rule in the 1920s, Waddell's claim that he was able to read the script with his knowledge of Sumerian appeared untenable after Wheeler declared the civilization was indigenous (despite the fact that Professor S. Langdon of Oxford University had suggested that the Sumerians could probably read the Indus Script).¹⁷⁵ It is my opinion that Sir Mortimer Wheeler's commitment to 'unilinear evolutionism' prevented him from accepting the possibility that the Indus Valley civilization was not indigenous in the 1940s.

In regard to the field of decipherment of the Indus script, prominent scholars are not convinced that any attempt was ever successful during the last eighty years. This is due to the opinion that the underlying language of the script was Dravidian.

PART

I

The Aryan Quest

CHAPTER ONE

Quest and Career – A Tour of the Himalayas

The British scholar Laurence Austine Waddell, born on the 29 May 1854, was the son of Thomas Clement Waddell, D.D., a School Master and author,¹ of Cumbernauld, Dunbartonshire (near Glasgow, Scotland), and Jean, the youngest daughter of John Chapman, Glenhead, Barton, Stirlingshire. Waddell's sister lived in Greenock, near Glasgow, while Waddell was abroad. One of her letters in the Special Collections was signed 'your loving sister Maggie'.² Between 1923 and 1933, Waddell lived at 55 Campbell Street, Greenock, Scotland, but already had some mail sent to this address in 1906 when he worked in London. Waddell married Amy Louise Reeves in 1895 and had a son named Frank Austine who died during the First World War.³ There is a reference in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*⁴ to the fact that the couple also had a daughter: 'He was married in 1895 and leaves a widow and daughter, his son having been killed in the war'.⁵ In her letter written on 31 March 1919, Waddell's sister referred to a young lady by the name of 'Pearl' and the fact she passed 'her material medica' and her studying for a degree in Anatomy, but whether she was Maggie's daughter or Waddell's was not indicated. Jones also states that Waddell's forenames were 'Lawrence Augustine' and that his second forename was changed to 'Austine' at an unknown date. The earliest of Waddell's works showed the author's forenames as 'Laurence, Austine', and so does the *Who Was Who*. As his son was also given the name of 'Austine' as a second forename, the change in respect of Waddell's names may have been made at a very early stage of his career. Mr. Peter Asplin, at the Special Collections, has suggested 'Austine' is probably an 'informal contraction of Augustine – such as Bill for William – which he preferred for everyday usage', and that the name was probably not changed officially'.⁶ In his article entitled 'Colonel L.A. Waddell', Thomas also spelled Waddell's first name as 'Lawrence' instead of 'Laurence'.⁷ After completion of his higher education in a private school, Waddell studied Medicine until the age of 24 and graduated with highest honors in this subject with a Master's in Chemistry (MB, MCh) from Glasgow University in 1878.⁸ His first work experience was as resident surgeon in the Western Infirmary of Glasgow (during 1879)⁹ situated near the University and Kelvingrove Park. He was President of the University's Medical Society and first visited Ceylon and Burma during the same year.

The first fact usually observed about Waddell is that he joined the Indian Medical Service (I.M.S.) in 1880, and accompanied military expeditions with the Bengal Army at the time it was maintained by the British Government in India. The regions of the world he visited during his career in the East were Burma, China, Japan, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria-Phoenicia, the Himalayas, Tibet and North America.¹⁰ Waddell may have visited Tibet for the first time in 1880 as he stated in the Preface of his book *Lhasa and its Mysteries* that he first visited the 'mystic land beyond the Himalayas' a quarter of a century before the date of his writing the Preface of his book, in London, dated 9th December 1905. However, the initial spark of his interest in the mysteries of Buddhism was kindled at the sight of a temple during a visit to Ceylon and Burma in 1879, not Tibet. Subsequent prolonged visits increased his attraction, and led him to study the tenets, history and art of this world religion, as he found the subject irresistible.¹¹ On entering the 'Indian Medical Service' in Bengal, it was his 'first self-imposed task to pass literary examinations for the Higher Standard', not only in Hindustani, but also in Bengali and Sanskrit,¹² the latter being a dead language of Indian Buddhism and Brahmanism, and its disuse being comparable to that of Latin in Europe.¹³ Sanskrit allowed him to read the RigVedas and become familiar with names which he claimed to have recognized on the Indus Valley seals.¹⁴

Excavations

Waddell explained that after joining the I.M.S., and being appointed Professor of Chemistry and Pathology at the Medical College of Calcutta in 1881, he devoted his spare time to historical research and excavations:

When later on, in the Indian Medical Service, I was stationed officially within the Buddhist Holy Land in India, the home of Buddha and his Buddhism, I discovered and excavated several of the lost hermitages of the historical Buddha or "The Enlightened One," the Aryan ex-prince Gotama, "The Sage of the Skaya (or Scythic) Tribe (Sakya-Muuni), recovering actual bodily relics of that sage [. . .].¹⁵

By 1886, he was credited with the discovery of Gautama Buddha's lost birth-place at Kapilavastu in the Nepal Terai, and of stone inscriptions which were donated to the Museum of Calcutta. The subject of Buddhism was still very enigmatic to Europeans in the 19th century. Waddell's studies of Buddhism were in fact among the earliest of all in Victorian society. A letter of reference from a certain James H. Hart, dated 14 March 1893, stated that Waddell was already an authority on the subject of Buddhism:

This will introduce to you Dr. Waddell of Darjeeling who is travelling China [unreadable] in pursuit of Lamaism! He is a most enthusiastic student of

Buddhism and quite an authority on this subject. I have recommended him to our friend Walters, [unreadable] Canton, and to Dr. Martin in Peking, and if you will kindly assist him in Hong Kong by your experience, I shall be very much obliged to you.¹⁶

It seems that Waddell travelled to China to study religious beliefs there as part of his search for the origin of Buddhism and Lamaism, after his visit to Patna, India, in 1892. He made his own sketches while travelling and was interested in photography. His pursuit of Buddhism was not motivated by a desire for what some people would call spiritual enlightenment, and he certainly had no inclination to becoming a Buddhist: his quest was related to the reconstruction of the past, the recovery of lost knowledge, of artifacts and manuscripts, and his approach was always scientific.

Aryan Quest

Waddell expected that a career in the Indian Medical Service would give him a better chance of making a breakthrough because of the notion that the Aryan gene was better preserved in India than in Europe due to the fact that a rigid caste system prevented intermarriages for centuries. Furthermore, Sanskrit was a dialect of the speech of the ancient Aryan rulers of India.¹⁷ He was confident he could succeed despite the fact European historians had given up the search for the Aryan homeland in the 1870s.¹⁸

After failing to find any traces of them as a race, they threw it up in despair about half a century ago. I took up the problem at its eastern or Indo-Persian end and devoted to it most of my spare time during over a quarter of a century spent in India.¹⁹

Scholars had apparently given up the search in the aftermath of opposition to Philologists, in England and on the Continent.²⁰ Müller's School of Philologists had grouped Europeans and Indians together on the basis of linguistic affinities, following the discovery that the ancient language of India was closely related to Iranian languages.²¹ In regard to the use of the term 'Aryan' for Indo-Europeans, as it was ascertained that Sanskrit was related to Iranian languages, scholars had hypothesized that the term 'Arya' found in Vedic scriptures meaning 'honorable' or 'faithful man', as well as 'noble' or 'of a higher class', was the name of a people who spoke the parent of Indo-European languages.²² They had considered Iran as the place of origin of the Aryans who migrated to India, because the name 'Iran' also derived from a genitive plural of 'Arya' and therefore meant 'land of the Aryas'.²³ Waddell devoted the earlier period of his career to linguistic studies, Philology, Ethnography, as well as Sanskrit, to acquire the tools to tackle the question of Indo-European origins.

The opinion of theorists was that 'there was absolutely no trace of higher civilization in India before the seventh century BC, on the basis that 'the more or less exhaustive excavations' of the Indian Archaeological Survey had not found anything that could be 'specifically dated to before 600 BC'.²⁴ Waddell observed that it was at this date that history appeared to start in India according to Buddhist literature such as the 'Maha Barat epics' (Mahabharata). Hence he asked 'whence came these Aryan invaders suddenly into India with their fully-fledged civilization?' He explained he 'was led by numerous clues' to trace them back to Asia Minor and Syria-Phoenicia.²⁵

Müller had retrieved ethnological data from the Rig Vedas, such as the four castes of the Aryans: i.e. the Brahmans, Ksatriyas (or Kshatriyas), Vaisyas and Sudras. These castes pre-existed the penning down of the Rig Vedas, but only the first three social castes were Aryan as the Sudras' was 'an-arya' (non-Aryan) and was adopted within the caste system.²⁶ Scholars generally agreed that the Aryans were Caucasian, spoke Sanskrit, worshipped a pantheon of gods, and that their lineage was patrilineal and their social system patriarchal. Philologists offered a model in which fair-skinned invaders were viewed as settling on the Upper Indus after descending towards the south and east of India and allowed non-Aryans within the ranks of Aryan society as the caste of the Sudras later. This vision was part of a racial theory of Indian civilization which, according to Isaac Taylor, proved resistant to change.²⁷

'Aryan rule' in India

In the early 1900s, the Aryans were sometimes regarded by archaeologists as warlike and uncivilized, both in India and Europe, but E. B. Havell, a contemporary of Waddell, argued it was 'on insufficient grounds' and objected to the idea the Aryans were unskilled and barbarian in character.²⁸ In his opinion the Vedas were the records of poets and philosophers 'who lived mostly from agriculture, with one hand on the sword and the other on the plough', and imported a solar and spiritual cult as well as patriarchal ideals into India at the time its culture was matriarchal (between 5,000 and 3,000 BC). Communal marriages were a custom in the matriarchal system, some children being the offspring of intercourse between members of different tribes at the festivals of the seasons.²⁹ Waddell's views were compatible if not identical. Havell also considered it probable that the Aryans of India were 'an overflow from Mesopotamian cities and Persia'.

What follows is of great importance because the ancient Aryan structure of society in India permits us to understand Aryans elsewhere and represents a clue to elucidate mysterious stories in biblical or apocryphal ancient scriptures which were recollections of legends concerning the Aryans. These myths could have been handed down to the inhabitants of Mesopotamia due to contacts between the Indus Valley and Sumer: the terms 'Aryavarna' (class system) and 'Aryan' were, according to Havell, originally related to a system

of racial distinction and Code of Law prohibiting intermarriages between Aryans and non-Aryans to prevent the profanation of the Aryan legacy by the substratum of the population, but which was modified in a later period to include non-Aryan people who adopted Aryan law and religion. The reason for this Law could be that as they were a minority among the indigenous population, the Aryans saw the necessity to preserve their blood-line or genetic stock.³⁰ This archaic system of class exclusiveness was revived after Buddha's time as the modern Indian Social System of privileged classes in which the Vaisyas had a right to the highest class, i.e. the Brahmans, by initiation, a ritual of second birth, whereas in a remote era, it was a right of birth. This was because the concept of purity of race had shifted to one of spirituality. The ceremony permitting access to the class of the Brahmans was called 'Brahmacharin' or studentship.³¹ The priestly class of the Brahmans had also taken over the leadership of the people as it previously was in the hands of the Kshatriyas, warriors bound by rules of chivalry and guardians of the Aryan race.³² Like the Hittites, the Kshatriyas were initiates of the equivalent of a chivalric institution governed by high ethical and social ideals identical to the blood bond of Teutonic races.³³ The villages of the Aryans were cattle-forts or 'gopurams' and their affairs were administered by representatives of a council.³⁴ The shift to the right to the highest class by initiation happened in a period subsequent to that of intermarriages which resulted with the disappearance of the Aryan Race. The Sudras, who originally were the offsprings of forbidden intermarriages (Samanya) between Aryans and non-Aryans, despite a Decree of Law which forbade such relationships, had finally been allowed within the social system of the Aryans.³⁵ The Kshatriyas constituted the highest class of the social system when the Law was broken.

Sons of the gods as Aryans

In Havell's vision early Kshatriyas, or fighting men, were initiates of a spiritual chivalric institution and had high ethical ideals.³⁶ They possessed a profound knowledge of Life, were inventors of agriculture, irrigation, dams, architecture, etc. They also guarded knowledge from unscrupulous adversaries lest it should be perverted or made into a weapon. In the *Book of Enoch* the Watchers are condemned for having divulged secrets and magical crafts to the 'daughters of man' and having cohabited with them. This was interpreted in the early years of Christianity as representing a 'fall by lust' of the angels from heaven. Its parallel, *Genesis* 6:1–4, is a tale of condemnation of the sons of God/the gods (bene haelohim)³⁷ for the same sin of cohabitation with the 'daughters of men'. The question of the nature and identity of the 'sons of God' has been the subject of many unresolved debates among Church Fathers and academics during the last 2,000 years. The preferred interpretation in exegesis was the Sethite position which viewed the 'bene haelohim' as the children of Seth, Adam's third son.³⁸ The identification of bene haelohim

as angels was the oldest view. In Ugaritic literature 'sons of God' is a term referring to the divine pantheon,³⁹ but if the latter was created by deification of human ancestors, the 'sons' could have been special men marrying the daughters of other men. An identification of the sons as 'men' as opposed to 'angels' was thought to explain why they could be judged for the intermarriages condemned in *Genesis* 6.⁴⁰ Could the suggestion in *Genesis* that inter-marriages between 'sons of God' and 'daughters of men' were a transgression', have originated from the Indus Valley, rather than the (first) Eden of Mesopotamia, and could this prohibition have related to the need of the Aryans to preserve the purity of their race, and their bloodline? Waddell answers that question as he states that the version of *Genesis* was borrowed from later Babylonian and Chaldean myths including heroes from the First and Second Sumerian Dynasty kings. The creation myth was also erroneously placed before the Flood. He stated:

And the "Sons of God" who married "the daughters of men" in the Hebrew legend are seen to have been obviously the Aryan "sons" or descendants of the Aryan King "Adam" who introduced Civilization with the idea of a God of Light in Heaven into the Old World of lowly pre-Adamite men, [. . .]. But presumably, owing to imperfect knowledge of the historical facts they mutilated the tradition and degraded these illustrious kings into their own primitive [. . .] ancestors, notwithstanding that these famous kings were not Semitic in race at all, but Sumerians, Early Aryans, or "Nordics" or Goths.⁴¹

The 'Aryan' is therefore to be added to the 'angelic, royal or traditional Sethite' explanations.⁴²

Military Expeditions

According to the *Who Was Who*, Waddell taught Chemistry and Pathology for six years⁴³ from the date of joining the I.M.S. which brings us to 1886 when he joined the Burma Expedition (1886–87). There is a discrepancy in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, as it records Waddell teaching Chemistry and Pathology at the Medical College of Calcutta from 1896 for six years, though he stated it was from 1881.⁴⁴ After this first expedition, Waddell was appointed Deputy Sanitary Officer, or Assistant Sanitary Commissioner in the I.M.S., in 1886, and started participating to military campaigns with the Indian Army under British rule,⁴⁵ the first of which was Burma (1886–87). During the period of 1900–1902, Waddell served in more military expeditions, i.e. Peking and Mahsud blockade. The armies raised and maintained by the British in India were divided between those of Bengal, Madras and Bombay.⁴⁶ Some correspondence in the Special Collections was addressed to the Bengal Army, the only one which was directly under the Commander-in-Chief of India. Each army was made up of Indian units under European

officers and a few units recruited from Britain for permanent Indian service.⁴⁷ When the East India Company was abolished, the Indian troops – together with their British officers – became servants of the Crown and were controlled by the Secretary of State for India. Troops from the Indian establishment could be used for overseas campaigns, and if there was no connection with Indian defence needs, they were paid for from British instead of Indian revenues. The Indian Army was reformed under Lord Kitchener in 1902, to produce an army for the defence of India's north-west frontier against local or any other forces' aggression (such as Russian), and the terms 'Bengal', 'Madras', and 'Bombay' were abolished. Waddell served in Burma (1886–87), the Chitral Force (1895), China and Relief of Peking (1900), the Mahsud-Waziri blockade (1901–2), PMO Malaka (1902) and the PMO Tibet Mission to Lhasa (1903–4).⁴⁸ He had military decorations for each campaign⁴⁹ and medals with clasp for these.⁵⁰ In ranks, he was at first referred to as 'Surgeon-major' (not 'Sergeant') and in later years, as 'Lieut.-Colonel'. During the 1903–4 historical expedition to Tibet which Waddell was a part of, due to Kitchener's reform, the field army consisted of nine infantry divisions, eight cavalry brigades, and each division would have had an Indian cavalry regiment, a field brigade and a mountain brigade of artillery, three infantry brigades of one British and two or three Indian battalions, a pioneer battalion, sappers and miners, and medical units. During 1886–87, Waddell took part in the expedition that annexed Upper Burma to the borders of Tibet on the dethronement of Theebaw, the last of the Burmese kings. Waddell became fairly familiar with Burmese during the active campaign of that year in the military medical service.

Darjeeling

After his return from Burma, in 1887, Waddell was appointed Deputy Sanitary Commissioner and Principal Medical Officer for the Darjeeling District in 1888 as a result of volunteering to be posted there. His reasons were apparently his interest in discovering historical records in Tibetan lamaseries and 'Aryan' origins,⁵¹ on the premise that Indian Brahmans or Indian Buddhist monks who settled in the Himalayas and Tibet had inherited a tradition from the Sumerians, and that Buddhism was an offshoot of Brahmanism.⁵² Waddell was aware that theistic Indian Buddhism had risen in India and been transplanted to Tibet where it became known as the Buddhism of Tibet, and that it was only in Tibet that the body of Scriptures and commentaries on the Mahayana School of Indian Buddhism were preserved, as in India they were destroyed by Mohammedan invaders in the 12th century AD.⁵³ He devoted much of his holiday leaves to the comparative study of Tibetan beliefs with Buddhist ones.⁵⁴ On the borders of the forbidden land of Tibet, in the Darjeeling District, the English government had acquired land on a hillside from the Sikhimese King in 1835, where a

sanitarium was set up for its troops. As it was exposed to the full force of the rainy monsoon from the Bay of Bengal and the mists and rains were ironically detrimental to the men's health, causing several to commit suicide, the buildings had to be abandoned. The fact that the native name of the hills (Senchal) itself meant 'the damp misty hill' should have alerted the British government but they were not aware of it. This helps us to understand why Waddell stated in the Preface of the second edition of *Buddhism in Tibet* that he 'chanced' to be located officially with his headquarters 'on the frontier of Central Tibet at the Himalayan station of Darjeeling'.⁵⁵ Volunteering for such a position was not without risk, but it afforded the opportunity of visiting many of the less frequented parts of the heart of the Himalayas. When the English government acquired the Darjeeling hills, the latter were isolated within a dense forest. A little more than a decade later, as Nepalese and a few thousand Europeans settled in the area, its population exploded to a quarter of a million inhabitants.⁵⁶ At the time Waddell wrote the Preface of *Among the Himalayas* which he dated 1898, there were roads, bridges and staging houses for travellers in the State of Sikkim. While in the Bengal Army and in Darjeeling, Waddell seized the opportunity to devote himself to the intensive study of Tibetan in order to be able to converse with lamas and read their scriptures.⁵⁷ He stated he found it quite easy as he was already familiar with Burmese and it was part of the family of Mongolian languages. Tibetan is written in a form of Indian Sanskrit that was current in India from the 7th to the 10th centuries AD. The best years of Waddell's adulthood were spent abroad as it was only by the time he was fifty or so (after the Mission to Lhasa) that he retired from the I.M.S. and returned to Britain. By this time he had also studied Sanskrit for a period of 25 years. As he had acquired proficiency in Tibetan, he was offered a position as lecturer to teach this language at London University College (1906-8).⁵⁸

As to his first journey from Calcutta to his 'health' resort in Darjeeling (after the campaign of 1886-7), it was achieved 'comfortably' within twenty-four hours on the Northern Bengal Express, a toy-like train with a 'powerful little engine', which struggled along a winding ascent of over 6,000 feet in a few hours,⁵⁹ through a succession of changing scenery. As steam travel and motorcars were still in their infancy in the 19th century, Waddell will be forgiven for stating that he found the rate of 9 to 10 miles an hour, from a seat in an open carriage, rapid and exhilarating! Once he had 'rescued' his luggage from the porters, some of whom were women and children, who were fighting over it, he was able to appreciate the fact that Darjeeling was perched on a summit at a stupendous height from the valley below. He was glad to escape the vegetative existence of the burning plains of India for a complete change of climate and found the air of the loftiest summits refreshing.⁶⁰ The climate of Darjeeling reminded him of the seasons of temperate Europe. 'Sweet memories of home', as he called them,⁶¹ would have been from Greenock, where his sister lived, or Glasgow where he studied as an undergraduate. In Darjeeling, Waddell's accommodation was in a house sitting on a hillside in

which he had a cosy room with a blazing fire. He recalled that on the day following his arrival he was up before dawn to ride to Senchal, for a chance to see the sun rising over the snow-capped summit of Kanchen-junga at 27,000 feet in altitude. To describe his vision he stated 'it was sublime!'⁶² Beyond the valleys at the foot of Darjeeling were ranges of snow-capped mountains in the distance. Waddell stated 'they looked as if they belonged to another world!'⁶³ He was little interested in the social life of Darjeeling - not that it left anything to be desired as he said it was 'equivalent to any fashionable European health-resort',⁶⁴ but because he felt it was not compatible with his objectives. After his arrival, he therefore lost no time to get on with visiting the cave of the mystic thunderbolt called the *Dorje*. This term was defined as an ecclesiastical sceptre emblematic of the thunderbolt of Sakra and a precious stone.⁶⁵ Buddha was said to have shattered demons with such a thunderbolt. Waddell ascertained the term 'Darjeeling' derived originally from *Dorje-glin* (place of the Dorje). The ruins of a lamaist temple or monastery, which used to be a branch of the Dorjeling monastery in Sikhim, were still visible on Observatory Hill where the Dorje had been found.⁶⁶ The Lamaist temple was furnished with complete sets of the voluminous scriptures. As there were a number of temples, monasteries, lamaseries, and libraries opened to sightseers in the States of Sikhim and Bhotan, it was a unique opportunity for him to explore Lamaism, but he realised that an intensive study of the Tibetan language would be required to converse with Lamas and read their Scriptures.

Tocharian mystery

In a Preface dated 24 January 1924, Waddell said he led a double life as he devoted his spare time to his Aryan quest.⁶⁷ In his 1903 Report on the excavations of Pataliputra, which he directed from 1895, he also stated that he had led a double life, 'snatching time' from his other 'official duties' in his personal pursuits, over a period of about 25 years,⁶⁸ probably including his first visit in Ceylon and Burma in 1879. A detail in his discussion on the origin of Tibetan Buddhism and Maha-yana, in relation to Indian Buddhism in *Buddhism of Tibet*, at least, reflects his interest in racial origin or the Aryans in the period 1885-95: the mention that the Sakya Tribe was Aryan or Scythic.⁶⁹ West and south of Tarim, and north of the Indus Valley lived nomads recorded as the Scythians.⁷⁰ Their language was close to that of Saka or the Sakya tribe which descended from the Himalayas and was Scythian.⁷¹ Fair-haired mummies had been found north-east of the Tarim in the sands of the Täklimakān desert where Tocharian languages were spoken,⁷² and where manuscripts written in Sanskrit or Khotanese were preserved in monasteries. They were discovered along the ancient Silk Road, north-east of Tibet, one of the first regions which adopted Buddhism,⁷³ by European explorers, including Marc Aurel Stein (1862-1943), who had been posted Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore in 1886, and who explored Asia, including the Tarim region.⁷⁴ Stein contacted

Waddell at Camp Gujrat District, Rawalpindi, by a letter dated 2 February 1902.⁷⁵ However, it was not until 1911 that they had the opportunity of meeting and discussing all matters relating to these explorations. The mummies would have reinforced Waddell's expectations in relation to his Aryan quest, if indeed they discussed them. Indo-European look-alike Tocharians were also depicted on the walls of Buddhist caves in Medieval Ages with Caucasoid features, light hair, light coloured eyes and beards.⁷⁶

Three hundred mummies dating from about 1,800 BC are now known. Scholars are baffled by the fact that not only does the light hair and beards of these mummies indicate the settlers of the Tarim were Indo-Europeans, but their DNA analysis has confirmed that they shared the same genetic inheritance as is typical among some 40 percent of modern Europeans.⁷⁷ Textiles experts who have analysed the tartan textile the mummies were wearing found it similar to the earliest European tartans of Hallstatt in the Austrian Alps.⁷⁸ These Caucasoid or Europoid mummies represent one of the major mysteries of recent archaeological discovery.⁷⁹

In the southern region of the Silk Road, there are Indian documents containing loanwords and names representative of a language of Tocharian origin.⁸⁰ 'Tocharian' is an ancient language of the family of Indo-European languages. The following Tocharian terms are remarkably similar to their English counterpart: i.e. pacer (father), macer (mother), procer (brother), ser (sister), keu (cow), okso (ox), twere (door), nuwe (new). Experts have established that Tocharian also shares with Hittite and other Indo-European languages archaic grammatical features inherited from the parent language called 'proto-Indo-European'.⁸¹ Because of the Eastern location it was spoken (north of the Himalayas and Tibet), this language was expected to belong to the 'satem' group in accordance with the soft pronunciation of the 's' of its term for 'a hundred', but it was assessed to fall within the category of hard pronunciation (of 'c') as in the Latin 'centum' (pronounced 'k'). This revealed the Tocharians as an isolated Indo-European group who had migrated from their homeland over Iranian territories in the 1st millennium BC or some time later.⁸² It has been speculated that English derived from a branch of the family of Indo-European languages which broke off from that which continued as Tocharian languages at an early period of ancient history.⁸³

Quest for lost knowledge

In Darjeeling, Waddell's curiosity was naturally aroused at the sight of a colony of several thousand Tibetans (lamas and laity) who were in daily contact with Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, a land 'peculiarly isolated on two sides', and shut in by two great icy wall-like ridges, the Singalela and Chola Ranges.⁸⁴ The mystical mysteries of Lhasa were jealously guarded by Tibetan Buddhist priests or Lamas. That far-off isolated capital on the 'Roof of the

World' was a 'forbidden city' because of its geographical situation as well as the fact its frontier was closed to Europeans. In Darjeeling, Waddell recruited two well educated lamas to assist him in his research and to search Tibetan texts. He selected them because they had free access to Lhasa and the Dalai Lama's monastery. One of these lamas was a Tibetan, and the other a Mongol who was already employed by the Survey Department of the Indian Government to teach Tibetan to spies who were being sent out on missions to map Tibet, and who were posted in Darjeeling for that purpose. Waddell also purchased and reconstructed a Lamaist temple with its complete interior fittings, including scriptures from Lhasa, and its exterior with usual carvings, inside his own premises.⁸⁵ He felt compelled to do so in order to acquire the meaning of the lamas' symbols and rites as they officiated because the secrecy they maintained was rigid. He requested the lamas revealed the inner meaning of the rituals they performed. They did so willingly but only because the only explanation they could find for his unusual knowledge of Buddhism was that he was an incarnation of the 'Buddha-god of the West':

Perceiving how much I was interested, the Lamas [. . .] as to interpret in my favour a prophetic account which existed in their scriptures regarding a Buddhist incarnation in the West. They convinced themselves that I was a reflex of the Western Buddha Amitabha and thus they overcame their conscientious scruples and imparted information freely [. . .].⁸⁶

With the help of lamas from Lhasa, Waddell also compiled a Sanskrit to Tibetan Dictionary.⁸⁷ He recognised that in the Himalayas could be discovered indisputable keys to unlock many unsolved problems in ethnology, natural history and geography, but he was also intellectually stimulated by 'echoes of the theosophist belief' that beyond Kanchen-junga was a key to the mysteries of the 'old world' lost as a result 'of the sinking of the Atlantean continent'.⁸⁸ Waddell may have been acquainted with theosophical teachings, which abounded in discussions on Atlantis, but the only evidence is from his bibliography in *Buddhism of Tibet* as it included a book by A. P. Sinnett, a theosopher: *Esoteric Buddhism*, published by the Theosophical Society (1883).⁸⁹ From the time he arrived on the borders of Tibet, he entertained the hope of penetrating into Lhasa though the Tibetan frontier was closed to Europeans because he hoped that secrets of the earliest civilization of the world 'anterior to that of Ancient Egypt and Assyria' that 'perished with the sinking of Atlanta in the Western Ocean' had been preserved in this city.⁹⁰ However, after the gates of Lhasa were forced opened by the British troops in 1904, during a visit with a party of medical officers to the Temple of Medicine situated at the top of a rocky pinnacle (of which a sketch is provided in *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, facing p. 376), His Excellency, the Regent, noble ruler of Tibet, Rimpoché, attempted to convince him that there were no 'secrets of the ancient world preserved in Tibet'.⁹¹

Influence

Waddell's interest in Tibetan manuscripts and secrets of ancient civilization can only be appreciated in the light of his view that long-headed North Europeans or Nordic people, called 'Aryans', were the creators of civilization in prehistoric time.⁹² He disagreed that the European race was the youngest and some of his writing is in the form of a polemic because he believed he was 'at variance' with prevalent views on this matter.⁹³ His writing does not seem to have predated the discovery of human occupation in Europe that proved that the European race was more ancient than previously assumed due to which Isaac Taylor had already refuted the models of Aryan migration from Central Asia to Europe in 1889.⁹⁴ In Waddell's view, however, adherents of the archaic age of the Europeans were a minority and all notions contradicting the interpretation of the biblical appearance of civilization were opposed.

From the evidence of a draft in response to a book published in 1935,⁹⁵ Waddell was a follower of Thomas Huxley, a comparative anatomist, ethnologist, and protagonist of Darwin, who established 'racial categories' by measurements of skull and skin colour. Huxley had a report entitled 'The Aryan Question' in *Nineteenth Century* (1890), in which he stated:

There was and is an Aryan race, that is to say, the characteristic modes of speech, termed Aryan, were developed among the Blond Long-heads alone, however much some of them may have been modified by the importation of Non-Aryan elements.⁹⁶

Huxley also used the term 'Aryan' in a racial sense and to designate the ancestors of the white race, fair-headed people. Waddell pointed out that modern Greeks were of a 'wholly different race' from that of Classical Greeks, as the latter were blond or fair. He contended that the Classic Greek period reached its zenith under the Aryan or Nordic race, and that it 'waned and became practically extinct in later Greece'.⁹⁷ He proposed that one of the causes for the disappearance of the Aryans could be their relatively low birth rate as compared with other races.⁹⁸

Anthropology

Waddell's 'début' in publishing were by contributions to publications such as *Researches on Serpent Venom* (1888), and articles such as 'Birds of Sikkim' in the *Sikkim Gazette* (1893), 'Note on the Poisoned Arrows of the Akas', 'Some Ancient Indian Charms from the Tibetan', and 'The Tibetan House-Demon', in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* in 1895.⁹⁹ In addition, he had 17 articles published in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* between 1891 and 1899, and 'The Fall of the Tsang-po (San-

Pu) and Identity of that River with the Brahmaputra', in *The Geographical Journal* in 1895. *Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley* was published in 1902. Waddell's long-standing interest in Anthropology is reflected by the fact he was already elected a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1891, and was a member of its Council during the period 1914-16 and 1919-20. He is mentioned a few times in their General Correspondence Archive on routine matters, including a letter from the Council dated 28 October 1920 accepting his resignation with regret (as he had written on the 26 October that he wished to resign 'owing to pressure of work'), and the Society held Reports of Referees dated 8 December 1893 in relation to his papers on *The Tibetan House Demons* and *Ancient Indian Charms*.

Derivation of Buddhism

The importance that Waddell attached to Lamaïsm was also ultimately in relation to the Aryans, and his opinion that it was not an adaptation of Indian Buddhism by Tibetans, as some of his contemporaries believed, but an earlier form of Buddhism that developed in India between the 7th and 12th centuries AD, and that was transplanted to Tibet by Indian (Brahmanist) or Indo-Aryan Buddhist monks. This Indian Buddhism brought the first glimpse of civilization with writing to Tibetan mongoloïds.¹⁰⁰ Whereas Aryan Buddhism disappeared in India as a result of the massacre of Indo-Aryan monks by iconoclastic Mohammedan invaders in the 12th century AD,¹⁰¹ it was preserved in Tibet as Lamaïsm. This school of Buddhism was known as the Mahayana or Great Vehicle.¹⁰² Beside studying the Buddhism of Burma, Ceylon, Sikhim, Bhotan, China and Japan, Waddell penetrated the mysteries of the Tibetan Buddhist 'Lamas' who were technically 'priests' to the populace - a term which he found had the same meaning as 'Arya' or 'Aryan' from what he called the early Aryan or Sumerian root 'Ar' meaning 'exalted' or 'noble',¹⁰³ but he said that in the holy land of Buddhism it was used in an ecclesiastic (or spiritual) sense and not a racial one. The Chinese annals that he consulted in Lhasa recorded that the king who erected the Potala sent for Buddhist priests from India and China and asked them to pen down several Buddhist books in the Indian alphabet (but in the Tibetan language).¹⁰⁴

Waddell's fascination for Buddhism and Lamaïsm was also somehow connected to his understanding of the derivation of these religions and of Brahmanism from the solar cult of the Sumerians as he believed that the laws that Gautama Buddha introduced in his doctrine contained analogies with the ethical code of the Sumerians some 2,500 years earlier. In his opinion, the Buddhist doctrine of 'Gotama' borrowed the terms 'nirvana' and 'karma' from the age-old Aryan doctrine of Brahmanism and Jains, and the Dharma concept or 'Law of Buddha' was analogous to that of the Lawgiver personified by the Brahmans as a god of Justice and Judge of the Dead.¹⁰⁵ He was however critical of Gautama's religion as it demanded renunciations and

desertion of one's family, and was too impractical to become a popular religion, but he pointed out that this was fortunate, as if the whole of the human race had become ascetic in the odd notion of becoming a parasite society, its swarms of mendicant monks could not have been fed!¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, Amitabha, a god depicted at Tashilhumpo with a red complexion and as residing in a Western paradise, was in his opinion, an early Buddha forged from a solar myth derived from the legendary golden-age of Sumerian civilization. The fact that the lamas were on the look out for the re-appearance of a Buddha from the West or Western Paradise, despite the antagonism they felt toward Europeans, and had concluded he was the second coming of this Buddha because they could find no explanation for his knowledge of their religion,¹⁰⁷ reinforced his opinion. The work entitled *Manu's Land & Trade Laws: their Sumerian origin and evolution upto the beginning of the Christian era*, by R. W. Vaidyanatha Ayyar (1927) in the Special Collections,¹⁰⁸ which belonged to Waddell, seems to have supported his view of a connection between Sumerian Laws and the Brahmanism of India.

The fact that Sumerian and Vedic legends tell identical stories could also be regarded as evidence for this Sumerian origin, in the context of the Sumerians being Aryan (as in Kossinna's and Childe's models). A narrative in the *Vedas* makes a mention of Seven Sages or Rishis accompanying Manu, the counterpart of the Noah of *Genesis*, in an Ark or Ship.¹⁰⁹ In this account, the 'Aryas' are Manu's progeny, and this epithet also has the meaning of 'noble'. For having saved the seed of mankind, the gods granted Manu knowledge of the mystery of the soul and practical immortality (a manvantara). Whereas Noah's ark was made to rest on Mount Ararat when the waters of the Flood receded, Vedic Scripture states that Manu's ship 'descended' on the top of the Himalayas.¹¹⁰ A narrative about Seven Sages has been preserved in Sumerian as well as Vedic tradition.¹¹¹ In Sumer and Assyrian art relating to the myth of Oannes, the Sages are represented as fish-garbed beings, semi-divine beings, architects, builders and engineers emerging from the sea to teach mankind the arts of civilization.¹¹² Oannes was described as 'a monster with a human head attached to the head of the fish'.¹¹³ This depiction may have derived from a pictogram or sign, when the meaning of the latter was lost. In India, the Sages are also associated with fish symbols. They are ascetic, practice yoga, and battle against evil; at one time they were mortal men, then 'ascended' to a higher state, but returned to teach. The Sages ensure knowledge is never lost and the *Vedas* are an ancient teaching which they 'salvaged'. In Sumerian as well as Indian tradition, they strive to preserve civilization and promote spiritual life.¹¹⁴

The Great Game

Waddell made several attempts to penetrate the mysteries of Lhasa from his location in Darjeeling and accumulated an exceptionally rich amount of infor-

mation of a secular character, about tribes, topography, and the natural and political history of the region. It was part of his gathering intelligence for ‘the Great Game’¹¹⁵ (a term popularized by Rudyard Kipling in his Novel *Kim* published in 1901). From the moment he was posted in Darjeeling, he explored the Himalayas and compiled data that was first published in 1899. He stated:

[. . .] during the last 14 years I have traversed portions of this region nearly every year [. . .] Exploring customs of the people on the frontiers of Tibet and of Nepal where I lived in tents for 4 to 5 months of several successive years [. . .].¹¹⁶

The fact that he was able to spy upon Tibetans from Darjeeling, with leave to stay away in tents for four to five months of several successive years,¹¹⁷ suggests he was instructed by British Intelligence to acquire sensitive political information. Colonel Sir Francis Edward Younghusband (1863–1942), who sits on Waddell’s right in the second row on the photograph of ‘Officers of beleaguered garrison at Gyantsé’ facing p. 252 in *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, was British Commissioner to Tibet from 1902 to 1904. He had been transferred to the Indian Political Service, an arm of the British Secret Service, in 1890. Younghusband later authored books in which he described his involvement in the ‘Great Game’, five years before the British invasion of Tibet,¹¹⁸ when the latter was considered politically unstable.

To supplement the old ‘Lama Survey’ of the Jesuits dating from 1717, and the first map of Tibet published in 1735, the British Government employed naturalised British subjects who were indigenous and had settled on the other side of the Himalayas to carry out surveys and produce maps of the unknown territories of the Lamas. Nain Sing, sent out by Col. Montgomery of the Indian Survey in 1866, was the first to fix the latitude and longitude of the city of Lhasa.¹¹⁹ He disguised himself as a monk absorbed in meditation, twirling a prayer wheel. The latter contained recordings of places and paces between towns written down on the slip of paper upon which prayers were normally inscribed in Sanskrit, and later, a compass was hidden within the prayer wheel. His rosary had 100 beads instead of 108 and every 100 paces he dropped one. Other famous agents were Lamas Ugyen Gyatsho and Kuntup. An Indian disguised as a Tibetan companion of Gyatsho had gained entry into Tibet from Darjeeling twenty-five years earlier but for being a party to his being smuggled into Lhasa, the Lama was denounced as a traitor, then dragged, murdered, and his body thrown into a river to the east of the city. The Grand Lama even decreed he should be denied reincarnation.¹²⁰ Waddell made various attempts to evade frontier guards to penetrate the territory of the Lhasa government, without success, and one in disguise failed in 1892:

Although my attempt to reach the mystic citadel, in disguise in 1892, failed [. . .] during these years of preparation I had accumulated such accurate pic-

tures of the land that my ultimate entry into its capital, seemed but the realization of a vivid and long-cherished dream.¹²¹

There is no doubt Waddell was involved in the Great Game because the lamas' own spies were keeping a check on his whereabouts in Darjeeling and a description of his appearance referring to his having blue eyes¹²² had been sent to Lhasa, as stated in a press review:

Colonel Waddell set himself the task of learning all he could [. . .] he familiarized himself with the language, he traveled secretly in Tibet, and he made an effort to reach Lhasa in disguise, and though, of course, the attempt failed, it added to his knowledge of the country and the people. From the information which he gained he was able to prepare maps of Lhasa and its environs, which were found to be remarkably accurate and useful when the place was visited and his medical position, his Buddhist knowledge and after the entry, his conversational ability allowed him to communicate freely with the leading authorities, religious and political. The one British person who is welcome in Tibet is the doctor. The ambition and the intention of colonel Waddell to reach Lhasa had become well known to the Tibetan rulers. Dr. Sven Hedin, when he was stopped in attempting to reach the sacred city from the Russian frontier, was surprised to find himself strictly examined to see whether he had blue eyes. The explanation is that all the outposts had been furnished with a description of Colonel Waddell, from whom a second effort to arrive at Lhasa was expected.¹²³

Spying in Tibet was a very risky business because detection was impossible to avoid for a European as a penalty of death had been decreed for Central and Western Tibet by the lamas of Lhasa for helping foreigners. But Waddell went on expeditions, tracked the Tibetan frontier at great altitude, camped in the breezy heights of little-known regions, and even slept in caves to acquire information. He gave the following details:

I tramped many hundreds of miles along the mountain tracks of the Tibetan frontier, at various points from Garhwal and Nepal in the west, to Assam in the east where the valley of Central Tibet ends in that of the Brahmaputra River, often at great altitude [. . .] and on several occasions, penetrating some days' journey into the territory of the Lhasa Government, eliciting information about the tribes, topography, and natural history of those regions.¹²⁴

Following the discovery that the Russians had become embroiled in intrigues, England feared that Russia would take possession of Lhasa for this would have had far-reaching political consequences. In 1902, the British government felt compelled to plan a military expedition to assess Russian influence there.¹²⁵ A British-Indian Japanese priest, by the name of Kawaguchi, had reported to have seen 200 camel-loads of Russian rifles in

Lhasa, and a certain Russian or Mongol Lama Dorjieff was suspected to be masterminding war preparations. As the Tibetan capital was a great political and religious centre for Buddhist Asia, and its plateau an important strategical position 'commanding the eastern passes to India', an attack upon British India was also feared, and Tibetans had become hostile as they were themselves alarmed. The mysterious land was also of special interest because it possessed a potential of undeveloped resources such as gold mines. Politicians had claimed that:

[. . .] with an English protectorate over Tibet, replacing the shadowy Chinese suzerainty over that country, [. . .] England would prevent a Russian wedge being interposed between her Indian, Burmese and Chinese possessions.¹²⁶

Waddell reviewed the political situation as far back as 1772 with details on previous missions, when the Grand Lama of Tashilhumpo sent a petition to Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, to intercede for Bhotanese. This resulted with a mission in 1774. Then the State of Sikhim was acquired with the Sanitarium at Darjeeling and 100 miles of common frontiers. The Raja of Sikhim was reinstated under British suzerainty, and in 1830, a tract was leased from the Raja from Calcutta to Darjeeling. After some event of political significance in 1849, Sikhim was annexed as a British district.¹²⁷ In 1872, Mr. Edgar (later Sir John), Magistrate of Darjeeling, attempted to renew friendly communications with Lhasa due to commercial potentials. However, the Lamas armed force invaded the State of Sikhim in 1886, causing a panic among Europeans. They expelled Roman Catholic missionaries at Batang in 1887, massacred converts and forced the Sihim Raja to sign a treaty. Then a British expedition ousted them out in 1888.¹²⁸ Negotiations went on for two years after the Sikhim War of 1888 and a treaty to facilitate trade across the frontiers was signed, on 17 March 1890, by the Chinese Amban of Lhasa and by Lord Lansdowne, Viceroy of India. A joint commission was to be appointed, but the Lamas did not respect the treaty.

After another three years of unsuccessful negotiations, the British and Chinese commissioners met on 5 December 1893, and signed a set of Trade regulations under the treaty.¹²⁹ They included an arrangement, a trade-mart, which was of personal interest to Waddell because he was to be the resident British Officer at this one.¹³⁰ Tibetans were not part of this treaty although they sent a representative, their Prime Minister, Shata Sha-pe. When he was in Darjeeling, as he had a keen interest in Tibet, Waddell had paid him several visits. He had taken a photograph of this personality and his suite who were concerned to lose their position on their return to Lhasa if they were too friendly with the English.¹³¹ Waddell's efforts were ruined when 'hot-headed British subs'¹³² pulled the Regent's clerk off his horse because he refused to 'salaam' to the British. Lamas repudiated the Treaty between the Chinese and British on the grounds they had not been a party in its making,¹³³ and prevented trade in the Yatung by building a loopholed wall across the Chumbi

Valley. They also removed boundary pillars erected under the treaty and forced British subjects against their will into Tibet. Waddell mentioned the fact that official letters had been written to attempt to communicate with the Dalai-Lama. Newspaper articles published between October 1900 and December 1901 discussed the political development that led to the decision on the part of the British government to make Col. Younghusband's expedition wait for four months for envoys who never came. Before the expedition to Lhasa, there was mounting evidence that Tibetans were preparing an attack. An army of Tibetan posted itself in front of the British camp and asked for the Mission to withdraw.

Tours of the Himalayas

Waddell dedicated *Among the Himalayas* to his wife as 'the bright companion of some of the journeys herein described' without disclosing her name. It was Amy Louise Reeves.¹³⁴ The journey in which she accompanied Waddell was part of an expedition that left Darjeeling on 14 September 1896 to explore the southern peaks and glaciers of the Kanchen-Junga.¹³⁵ Her silhouette was drawn on a sketch with the caption 'through a glade of feathery bamboos'.¹³⁶ When the excavations at Pataliputra started in 1894, Waddell was on sick leave.¹³⁷ He returned to Britain as the Preface to the first edition of *Buddhism of Tibet* was written from London on 31 October 1894. Perhaps it was when they met for the first time. They tied the knot in 1895, and their son Frank Austine was born the following year. *Among the Himalayas* was published after their 1896 tour of the region.

Waddell's exploration of the Himalayas, and specifically Sikkim, started from Darjeeling seven years earlier, on 3 October 1889, with a party of fifty-three persons, himself included and forty-one porters or coolies.¹³⁸ Some of the sketches were done on the spot by a Colonel Tanner, Waddell himself and others.¹³⁹ A. D. McCormick, who created illustrations based on some of Waddell's photographs for the book, was not part of the exploration of Sikkim. Departing in October when the rainy season was nearly over, the scheme of the expedition of 1889 was to follow the valley of the Teesta and ascend the La-chen river northwards till the Zemoo Valley which Hooker had not penetrated, then proceed southwards over the glaciers of Kanchenjunga upto To-loong.¹⁴⁰ Waddell narrowly escaped a fatal accident when he attempted to cross a cane-bridge over the Teesta River that was unsafe.¹⁴¹ The incident was represented in a drawing on the frontispiece of this title. He had crossed a number of similar rope-bridges or 'jhola' in Northern Himalayas, but this one was more alarmingly 'rickety-looking' and rotten. There was but a single line of bamboos for foothold; they were not tied to the V-slings and the latter were also loose. He called a 'lepcha' to tie it up and attempted to cross it, but as he stepped on to the next line of bamboos, it tilted up and he saw in front of him that others were also untied, but it was too late to turn back

as he could not swing round. After each step he had to close his eyes to ‘counteract the giddy feeling’ of the upward rush of the bridge. One false step and he would have fallen in the gulf of waters below.¹⁴²

Over their camp-fire at the foot of the Tendong, the Lepchas told Waddell weird tales, including one about the flooding of this mountain which stands between the two main rivers of Sikkim, the Teesta and the Great Rang-eet. The legend explained the reason it was named Tendong (properly Tun-Rong, or the Uplifted Horn): it was believed to have miraculously elongated itself to save some victims of this rising flood. Waddell believed it was a local flood caused by the damning up of the Teesta River by a great landslip, not a universal one:

No evidence of extensive lacustrine deposits has been found here, such as exist in the Valley of Nepal where such a cataclysm certainly did take place.¹⁴³

Relevant to the persisting myth of the existence of ancient underground networks leading to Agarthi, it is interesting that Waddell reported: ‘here are some caves said to be several miles long, and believed to connect the sacred mountains Tendong and Mainom, all infested of course by devils’.¹⁴⁴ He described that on reaching the top of the Tang-Kar pass at 16,500 feet the cold was bitter but the view of Tibet was striking. His helpers uttered a prayer to the spirit of the pass.¹⁴⁵ Their commissioner had just accepted a deal with the Tibetans and Chinese for a new frontier but it was still ‘forbidden land’ as there still were no sanctions for Europeans to cross it. Upon his return at Lachoong, Waddell received a letter addressed to ‘the Doctor travelling in Upper Sikkim’, such was his reputation. It was calling him to Kedoom because the Reverend ‘S-H’ (name not revealed) had a chest condition due to the cold and rarefied air and was dying.¹⁴⁶ He therefore left the valley leaving his cook Rameses and Achoom and other servants with ‘B’ (a European travelling with him). He explained that the proper personal name of Nepalese porters was scarcely used by nearest friends. ‘B’ was the European male explorer figuring on the drawing at the start of Chapter II next to himself. It is confirmed later when Waddell says he left him with the coolies. He took Kintoop with him, two yaks to carry luggage, ten Sikkimese and Tibetan coolies, and travelled on a pony. This guide was a polyandrist, a system by which two, three, or more men had a wife in common. This practice was used in the Himalayas because the head of the family was away for weeks whilst herding the cattle and in Sikkim, the husbands were usually brothers.¹⁴⁷

Waddell reports coming across a trail of large footprints in the snow across their track continuing towards higher peaks. Although his coolies believed them to be that of the infamous ‘abominable snow man’ sometimes called ‘yeti’, he contended ‘these so-called hairy wild men were evidently the great yellow snow-bear (*ursus isabellinus*)’.¹⁴⁸ Present-day researchers are sometime of the opinion that the legendary yeti could be a prehistoric ape-man that has survived high in the mountains. Snow started falling heavily. At Choong-

tang he accepted a lama's invitation to stay at a Monastery that was overtopped by snowy peaks but commanded a view over a semi-tropical forest, the Valley of Lachen, reminiscent of stories about Changri-La.¹⁴⁹ In England and Europe it was not easy to find a meaning in the names of many of the rivers, mountains and places because the population that had given them originally was displaced, but in the Himalayas the inhabitants still remembered legends which explained why a name had been given. The language of the Lepchas was fast becoming extinct because they had no vocabulary written down and as this knowledge was in danger of becoming lost, Waddell kept notes, recorded words phonetically from the lip of elder Lepchas, and sought the meaning of each word.¹⁵⁰ He established that oldest names in that part of the Himalayas were of Lepcha origin but that many Tibetan names could be traced to the Bhotiyas who had settled there. He also recorded Nepalese names. He visited the Cinchona plantations on the eastern flank of Senchal and journeyed towards the Everest, to Sandook-Phy and Faloot, along the Nepal frontier.¹⁵¹ The expedition reached the rest house of Toom-ling or Tonglu at 10,974 feet of altitude.

Waddell carried out a comparative study of Tibetan beliefs and rites during his holiday leave. There also was a need for more general information than was available in Sir Joseph Hooker's *Journals*. So, Waddell wrote: 'I venture to hope that some account of my travels may contribute to the supply of this want'. The main treatise available on the subject of the Buddhism of Tibet in English was Emil Schlagintweit's *Buddhism in Tibet* (1863) but he had not had any direct contact with Tibetans. Other works in Waddell's bibliographical list in appendix of *Buddhism of Tibet* were in his view also fragmentary and of conflicting character.¹⁵² Schlagintweit wrote to Waddell as evident by a letter dated 17 November 1896 in the Special Collections.

Commission to acquire manuscripts

The first edition of *Buddhism of Tibet* was published with 150 illustrations by W.H. Allen & Co., in 1895.¹⁵³ *The Times* commented about this work in its 22 February 1895 edition:

This is a book which considerably extends the domain of human knowledge. Every page contains new materials; many of his chapters are entirely new, and the whole forms an enduring memorial of laborious original research. He is the first European who, equipped with the resources of modern scholarship, has penetrated the esoteric Buddhism of Tibet.¹⁵⁴

Waddell managed to study Lamaism by extracting information from Lamas in Darjeeling. The Preface of the first edition of *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* was dated London, 31 October 1894. The Special Collections of Glasgow University Library hold newspaper reviews for this title for the

period 1894 to 95 and 1897. They reflect public interest following its publication. When Waddell searched lamaseries in Lhasa for ancient manuscripts and curios, it was part of his duties, as he was commissioned by the Government of India to do so. He was lucky to have obtained this assignment as there was a chance he would stumble across historical records relevant to his Aryan quest in the process of making official enquiries. It was probably thanks to the fact that his reputation had been well established as an authority on Tibetan Art that he was recommended for the expedition to Tibet.

CHAPTER TWO

Excavations in Pataliputra, 1895–1903

Over a seemingly very busy period of ten years devoted to archaeological activities, while he was posted as ‘Deputy Sanitary Commissioner’ in Darjeeling, Waddell took leave of absence in 1892 and ’94, and in 1895, before returning to Britain on sick leave, he accompanied the Chitral Force, for which he was awarded a medal with clasp.¹ It is evident that he spent time in London due to ill health because the Preface of the first edition of *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* was dated ‘London, 31st October 1894’. He also carried out excavations and ‘discovered many important classic sites.’² Between 1895 and ’97, he collected Indo-Scythian Buddhist sculptures in the Swat Valley. Following the excavations he carried out on ‘classic sites’, he had a publication entitled *Discovery of the Birthplace of Buddha* published in 1896.³ His findings were announced in *Historical Newspapers* on 16 March 1897. The year 1895 was eventful as it was when Waddell received an LL.D from the University of Glasgow, got married to Amy Louise Reeves, and *Buddhism of Tibet* went to press. *The Times* stated on its 22 February 1895 edition that the book considerably extended the ‘domain of human knowledge’, and that it was ‘a memorial of laborious original research’. He was again in London in 1898 as the Preface of *Among the Himalayas* was signed and dated London, December of that year. After this, Waddell accompanied the Mahsud-Wazirri expedition (1901–2) and that of Malaka (1902).

Furthermore, Waddell was occupied supervising excavations in India from 1895, following a visit to Patna in 1892.⁴ The Government of Bengal initially published a report of the archaeological survey in which he claimed to have identified the site of the lost Pataliputra, the capital of the kings of the Maurya dynasty and Asoka’s palace, known to the Greeks as ‘Palibothra’, as stated in a review in *Times of India* published on 5 March 1904. A review of this report entitled *Discovery of the Exact Site of Pataliputra and Description of the superficial remains* (1892), which appeared in *The Englishman* on 10 March 1893, created great interest and excitement among European Orientalists and resulted with funding by the Indian government for excavations that begun in 1894, when he was absent on sick leave. He was appointed ‘Director of operations’ in 1895.⁵ Waddell wrote his final report on 26 July 1900 in hurried circumstances while he was in Hong Kong with the China Expeditionary Force, sometimes referred to as the Peking (Bejin of 1900). Its publication was

probably delayed till 1903 due to the lack of funding the Archaeological Survey of India was reported to have suffered from. James Burgess had taken charge of it after General Alexander Cunningham (1814–93) retired in 1885, but after 1889, the Government had decided the Survey did not require a Director.⁶ There were none when funding was provided for Pataliputra. John Marshall had been appointed Director General when Waddell's report was finally published. It was probably at this time that he had a first contact with this scholar before a meeting they had in 1925 (as mentioned in Introduction).

Waddell obtained the assistance of Mr. C. A. Mills, of the Public Works Departments, for local supervision as he could not always be present personally. Mills was also assisted by a surveyor by the name of Ahmed Hossain.⁷ Waddell explained how the excavations had developed and mentions that in 1896 he was telegraphed to come to the site as a result of finds to instruct the team how to proceed further:

In 1895, Government asked me to direct and supervise the excavations [. . .] at the sites [. . .] lying within the old palace (of the kings of the Maurya dynasty) [. . .]. I secured for the Calcutta Museum all the various portions of Buddhist railings and other important pieces of sculptures which were lying about or fixed in buildings [. . .]. In 1896 the exploratory trenches were commenced at the various spots pointed out by me at Kumrahar, Bulandhi, Bahadurpur and Rampur. Within a few days so many important sculptures [. . .] were unearthed that I was telegraphed to visit the excavations, and [. . .] to advise further proceedings [. . .]. Sculptures included a colossal capital of a distinctly Greek type – quasi-Ionic (figured in Plate II) found 12 feet below the surface. It was the most Grecian sculpture yet found in India excepting the capitals of Asoka's pillars and the Indo-Graecian statues and freezes of the Panjab. It was found within the palace precincts of Asoka's own capital [. . .]. In June 1896, 10 feet below the surface, were found [. . .] broken fragments of a gigantic pillar of Asoka [. . .] which the emperor inscribed with his edicts [. . .] fragments of nearly half of the pillar were recovered but no inscription [. . .].⁸

Approach to excavations

In 1892, Waddell studied the reports of the Archaeological Survey of India going back to 1860 on excavations in minute details, visited the most important ancient sites, made several explorations and excavations, and studied the physical types of the people. Some time before 1892, he became acquainted with the methods of archaeology after acquiring knowledge of Sanskrit and vernaculars, as well as studying Indian traditions and the reports of the Archaeological Survey Department on excavations. He visited the most reputed ancient sites and made a few excavations 'at first hand'.

Before identifying the position of Asoka's Palace, Waddell also studied an

assessment dated 1783 by a certain Major Rennel according to which the ancient lost city that the Greeks called 'Palibothra' was situated near Patna, and a survey by a Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, of the Indian Medical Service, in 1808, who recovered an oral tradition according to which the ancient name of Patna was 'Pataliputra'.⁹ In the 1st century BC, Diodorus had written a narrative concerning a certain Jambulus 'who after being seven years in Ceylon was wrecked upon the sandy shallows of India' and was taken to the city of 'Polybothia'. There, after many days journey at sea, Jambulus was received by King Asoka.¹⁰ Polybothia was Palibothra as referred to by Megasthenes when he was sent as Greek ambassador to the city by Seleukos Nikator in 300 BC.¹¹

Historical background

In the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, the city was the capital of the Gupta Dynasty and in the 5th century, after staying in Pataliputra for three years while he was copying Buddhist Scriptures, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Fa Hian, reported having seen Asoka's building and a large town in a good state of preservation. Chinese narratives dated to the 5th and 7th centuries AD also supplied useful information as to the location of ancient buildings. In AD 635 Hiuen Tsiang, however, reported nothing more than ruins including hundreds of stupas. By the 12th century AD, Buddhism was extinct in the region due to Mohammedan invasions. In 1878, local officers who had searched for Asoka's palace when Cunningham was in charge of the Archaeological Survey, had concluded it was lost in the floods of the Ganges or swallowed up by river erosion.¹² Cunningham had assessed that the city was south of a railway, called Chhoti and Panch Pahari, but he had never found its actual location.¹³ As no progress had been achieved and as he was interested in recovering monuments and records of this lost city, Waddell decided to satisfy his curiosity as to 'the real state of matters' when visiting Patna in 1892.¹⁴ Waddell was surprised to find the landmarks referred to in the Chinese account. They can be seen on the map published in his final report.¹⁵ He found ruins and beams, buried 15 to 20 feet below the surface, which had been part of a wall that surrounded the city and was consistent with descriptions given by Megasthenes.

Pataliputra was the seat of a powerful ancient Indian Dynasty, a capital built by the warrior Prince Asoka (c.250 BC), the grand son of Chandra-gupta, who had relations with Alexander-the-Great following the latter's invasion of the Punjab/Panjab in about 326 BC, but offended the latter and had to flee.¹⁶ Chandra-gupta was known to the Greeks as 'Sandrakottos', and referred to as 'Androkottus' by Plutarch. Originally Pataliputra was but a village fortified by a Rajgir King that was famous for having received the visit of Gautama Buddha.¹⁷ According to the Buddhist tradition, Chandra-gupta's origin was the Mora or Mayura people represented by a peacock symbol on sculptures

secured by Waddell for the Indian Museum. The 'Mora' people were known to Brahmans as 'Maurya' in the Himalayas. According to a legend in the Swat Valley, the Mayura raja, a stupa-building prince, was associated with the Sakya race. Waddell's interest in Pataliputra was probably increased by the fact that the Sakya Race was of Scythian origin and 'Aryan'.

Using a different spelling for the names, the *World History Encyclopedia* states that in about 321 BC Chandragupta Maurya founded the first Indian empire and that his grandson, Ashoka, extended it until most of India came under Mauryan rule. The latter was followed by the Gupta Empire when Buddhism was replaced by Hinduism and Sanskrit became the language of the Court.¹⁸ There was a fixed date thanks to the visit of Megasthenes as a Greek ambassador when the city was inhabited by 400,000 people. According to Megasthenes, it was nine miles in width, had a sewer, and was surrounded by a wooden wall as well as a ditch for defence. Waddell noted that the Greek author did not make any reference to Buddhism for the good reason that it was but an order of mendicants at the time – 100 years after Buddha had died.¹⁹ Sandrakottos' grand son, Asoka, was to become the real creator of Buddhism in the eyes of historians because he adopted it as a State Religion, made it less abstract to increase its appeal, and built temples for mendicant monks. He spared no amount of wealth to cover his kingdom, from Afghanistan to Mysore and from Nepal to Gujerat, with gigantic stately buildings and monuments made of hewn stone or solid masonry (whereas they were previously built of wood), employing Greek and Assyrian artists for the sculptures of his colossal edict-pillars, single shafts of stone, thirty to forty feet in length. Waddell commented:

How magnificent, then, must have been the capital of this great Indian monarch, who, as we learn from some of his stone-cut edicts in the remoter parts of his empire, was the ally of the Greek kings Antiochus II of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonos Gonatus of Macedon, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus.²⁰

Changes under Asoka were so impressive that this ruler was associated with mythical giants or 'yaksha' – a detail which Waddell obtained from Burnouf's Introduction in *L'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* (p. 373) – and that his gigantic works were ascribed by the Greeks to Hercules.²¹

Reference to Waddell

Researchers have compared Megasthenes' account with Indian sources, and with the ancient political treatise *Arthashastra* associated with the Mauryan period. The work of O. Stein, *Megasthenes and Kautilya*, which became widely known,²² discussed the evidence presented by these two literary sources. In *Maurya India*, a work on the Mauryan period of India, G. M. Bongard-Levin

reproduced a quote from Stein which contained a reference to Waddell, as follows:

1. According to Megasthenes, Pataliputra was surrounded by wooden walls, while Kautilya warned against the use of wood in construction (II.3). Kangle refers to the data of archaeological excavations which demonstrated that the fortifications around the capital were made of bricks. In his view, contemporary archaeological materials do not implicitly confirm Megasthenes' information, as the wooden *constructions discovered by Waddell* were not part of a wooden rampart running round the entire city. Kangle writes: "The present text (of the *Arthashastra*) cannot be supposed to be describing the actual fortifications at Pataliputra, even assuming that these corresponded to Megasthenes' description of them."
2. Comparison of the data on the use of metals shows that Kautilya's evidence points to a more advanced technique of metal-processing. J. Jolly wrote that Megasthenes had mentioned only five metals, whereas Kautilya knew of many metals and various methods of metal-processing. However, as Kangle rightly points out, according to Megasthenes, Indians were in the know of "other metals" too. Classical authors, for example Curtius, mentioned various metal-processing methods. [. . .].²³

Waddell refers to a number of finds of great historical significance for India in his Report, such as for instance the colossal pillar of Asoka dated to 250 BC of Greek and Assyrian influence, railings and sculptured stones, which he secured and presented to the Government and Indian Museum.²⁴ These finds are not so well documented as Cunningham's excavations of stupas built by Asoka in the thousands in Northern India and Waddell has not been credited for discovering the position of his Palace. Harald Bechteler holds that Waddell is not regarded as a pioneer in Patna archaeology because it was the work of Cunningham, about 60 years earlier, 'that was the real pioneer work' and that Waddell's finds were mainly sculptures of clay.²⁵

CHAPTER THREE

Quest for Manuscripts in Lhasa, 1903–1904

After the British military expedition to Malaka (1902),¹ having been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, Waddell joined the famous 1903–4 expedition which removed obstacles to the presence of Europeans in Tibet and Lhasa. Hostile influence on the Indian frontier could not be tolerated, so for the reasons that he explained in detail, the English Government made the decision on 6 November 1903 that the Mission should advance to Gyantsé and at least to 145 miles from Lhasa.

Commission to acquire Tibetan manuscripts

The opportunity of joining the historical British expedition (1903–4) in the capacity of Chief Medical Officer and Head of the Sanitary Service of the English Mission in Tibet, ‘with a special commission’ to acquire official collections of literature and art, seemed to have been personally tailored for his dream of entering Lhasa and Tibet. It also seemed to be the perfect opportunity and culmination for the skills he had acquired in previous years. His experiences had prepared him well for the task of establishing a dialogue with the Lamas and the laity, and he possessed the knowledge to interpret symbolism, customs and myth. This he mentioned and commented that he was not ‘seeking to be boastful in any way’.² The manuscripts were ‘later distributed, together with one private collection of his own to libraries in Calcutta, London, Oxford and Cambridge’.³ Some were presented to the Calcutta Museum, some were shipped to London for the British Museum, as well as Oxford and Cambridge libraries. Referring to Waddell as ‘the archaeologist accompanying the Mission to Tibet’ – although it had not yet reached its conclusion – the *Pall Mall Gazette* reported on 21 November 1903 that Waddell had already acquired a valuable Collection of Tibetan books, manuscripts, and that the latter were donated to Cambridge University:

It seems that during the recent mission to Tibet the Government of India caused inquiries to be made for valuable Tibetan books, manuscripts, and other articles of special interest. Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell, who accompanied the mission as archaeologist, was given practically a free hand for the

purchase of as many as could be acquired, and secured a very valuable collection. The University Library has received a present of seventy-one numbers, of which twenty-three are in manuscript and 48 printed from blocks. Some of them are both rare and beautiful, and a most interesting specimen is a copy of the well-known sacred book of Nepal, the treatise on Wisdom (Prajna), painted in gold letters on thick dark paper and enclosed in fine lacquered boards. It is an attractive addition to the treasures of the Museum.⁴

Waddell later acquired an additional 450 Tibetan manuscripts from Gyantsé which were donated to the British Museum.⁵ Manuscripts were not confiscated as he received a considerable sum of money to purchase them from Tibetans as indicated in the above quote. When he was away in 1903, Waddell's address as recorded in the archives of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland was c/o R. Reeves Esq., 2 Durham House, Dartmouth Park Hill, North West London, evidently a relative as his wife's maiden name was also Reeves.

Investigations with David Macdonald

Waddell conducted investigations in Lhasa to acquire manuscripts and made enquiries together with the author of *Twenty Years in Tibet*,⁶ and *Land of the Lama*, David Macdonald,⁷ when both were members of the British expedition to Tibet. Macdonald stated he was 'indebted to Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell, the Principal Medical Officer in charge of the Mission and military escort, for having selected him to accompany the 1903-4 expedition to Tibet'.⁸ Waddell was commissioned by the Government of India to make a study of the subjects of Tibet and to obtain a collection of object of art, books and manuscripts of interest to Western scholars, as he was 'an authority on Tibetan Art, religion and literature'.⁹ Waddell had requested for Macdonald to be 'his assistant in literary research'.¹⁰ It was not without "qualms" that Macdonald accepted because Tibet was unknown and he had heard tales of cruelty 'should one be so unfortunate as to fall into Tibetan hands as a prisoner'.¹¹ He recalled that 'he spent a most interesting day' visiting Chakpori, the medical College of the Lamas, 'in company with Colonel Waddell and other medical officers attached to the expedition'.¹² A photograph published in *The Army in India 1850-1914 - a photographic record*,¹³ as one of 'unidentified British officers' in winter clothing during the Tibet campaign of 1903-4, could be that of Waddell in the middle with Macdonald and another officer on the day of their visit to Chakpori. Macdonald was appointed British Trade Agent in Tibet after 1904 and befriended the contemporary Dalai-Lama. In his review of Macdonald's book in *Man*, Waddell praised the author's proficiency in 'the honorific language as opposed to the ordinary colloquial language of Tibet' and the fact he had established an intimate personal friendly relationship with the Dalai Lama and Tashi Lama:

This book is by a former assistant of the present reviewer [. . .] three years ago. [. . .] His partial consanguinity with the Tibetans made him a persona greater with the priest-king, the Dalai Lama, and the Tashi Lama [. . .].¹⁴

The Dalai Lama's recognition of Waddell's work

At the time of writing, Macdonald was stationed at the Gyantsé trade route. The Dalai Lama referred to in the Preface of *Lhasa and its Mysteries*,¹⁵ who had run away before the British Mission captured Lhasa (in August 1904), and who had eventually returned to his capital upon the invitation of the British Indian Government, died of 'heart failure' on 17 December 1933, a month before Waddell wrote the Preface of the second edition of *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, as he dated it 22 January 1934. Waddell did not have the fortune of meeting this Dalai Lama because the latter fled the night before the British troops took Lhasa in 1904, but had become acquainted with his Regent. During his exile, His Holiness had stayed in India and, as an honoured guest of the Indian Government, had visited the site of Buddha's birthplace which Waddell's excavations had uncovered, but they never met because by this time Waddell had returned to England. The Dalai-Lama however acknowledged the importance of Waddell's books and wrote to him.¹⁶ Waddell had missed the opportunity of a meeting with this important figure because he postponed writing to him till late in 1933:

[. . .] My old assistant, the Tibetan scholar Mr. David Macdonald, whom I had taken on my staff to Lhasa in 1904 and who had soon thereafter been appointed British Trade Agent in Tibet, and residing largely in Lhasa, had become an intimate personal friend of the Dalai-Lama, informed me that the latter was greatly interested in the illustrations in both my *Buddhism of Tibet* and *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, and that the Dalai-Lama would certainly write to me if I wrote to him. This I postponed doing until last Autumn, and forwarded my letter through Mr. Macdonald, who has now retired from the service and resides on the Tibetan frontier beyond Darjeeling. In my letter, I referred to my lifelong study of Buddhism at first-hand in the different lands of its adoption, and to my following the footsteps of Gotama Buddha in the Buddhist Holy Land in India having led to the discovery, not only of his long lost birthplace, but also to several of his lost hermitages with inscriptural remains, including a vase of his bodily relics, all of which established the historicity of the Buddha beyond all further doubt. Now it is interesting and noteworthy that one of the last letters written by the Dalai-Lama, if not as Mr. Macdonald believes the very last of all letters written by him in his last illness, was written to his friend Macdonald and contained a special message from His Holiness to me. It was written on the 7th of December last, ten days before his death on the 17th December. His letter written in Tibetan says:

The reason for writing [. . .]. The letter from the retired British

Government doctor, Colonel Waddell, has been duly received. As the subject is so very great and important, I shall send a special reply to him without delay. This letter is sent with a silken scarf of ceremonial greeting on the auspicious date of the 20th day of the 10th Tibetan month of the Water-Bird year (= 7th day of December, 1933). This letter was signed by the hand of the Dalai-Lama with the Great Red Seal of the mystic magical Indian spell Om.¹⁷

On route to Gyantsé

The journey of the expedition was accomplished by the British troops in mid-winter.¹⁸ Colonel Younghusband was determined to reach Gyantsé because he had just spent 8 months trying to meet officials from Lhasa, and three months waiting at Tuna during 1903. After November 1903, the peaceful mission to Tibet became an armed force. Special clothing for the arctic regions was issued to the troops on a generous scale to protect them against frostbite. The ordinary winter scale of clothing included a balaclava cap, heavy flannel-lined warm coat, woollen drawers, thick boots, waterproof sheets and blankets. Each man received additional items listed in *Lhasa and its Mysteries*.¹⁹ A total of 10,000 sets of each of the articles listed were issued. Waddell designed ambulance chairs for the transport of sick soldiers to be carried by coolies on their backs in the mountains. These were basket chairs made from bamboo and cane.²⁰ Waddell describes the physical hardship the British troops had to endure in the Chumbi Valley, at Tuna, at an altitude of 15,000 feet. It was of an unparallel kind although they were well kitted out. The soldiers used argol fires in their tents but fumes were a source of problems. For indigestion or mountain sickness, Waddell prescribed phenacetin with brandy or 'descend to a lower altitude!'

Lhasa had mustered an army at Guru, miles from Tuna to make the mission withdraw to Yatung, and 5,000 warriors blocked the road to Gyantsé and Lhasa. Because hostile lamas had refused to grant him an interview, Col. Younghusband rode to the Tibetan camp of monks with an escort on 13 January 1903, but the Tibetans shouted 'Back to Yatung!' He entered into negotiations but the monks didn't want any treaty. He asked them if a Russian monk by the name of 'Dorjief' had influenced them. They protested the latter was Mongolian. The situation was aggravated and the position of the British officers became perilous. A week later, Younghusband asked the Tibetan General, who had previously visited him at Tuna, why Tibetans could go down to India but Englishmen or natives of India were not allowed in Tibet. It was not a fair deal. The answer was that it was a question of religious belief, to which Younghusband argued that their religion spoke of brotherhood and hospitality, not exclusiveness,²¹ and their policy of isolation was not based on any written law. The lamas did not want to admit strangers into Tibet and the British were concerned about the political threat the Russians represented.

Younghusband proposed they could enter into a new agreement 'more in accordance with the spirit of their religion'. He argued it was possible to understand that disagreeable people would wish to isolate themselves, but it didn't make sense that the 'Tibetans wished to deny the rest of the world the pleasure of their company'.²² Younghusband made another attempt to reason with the Tibetans on 7 February 1904, but it was felt the lamas were offended. The Tibetans decided to attack the Tuna Camp on 2 March 1904, but fortunately, their reading of unlucky portents resulted with a postponement. However, on 16 March, a party of Lamas was sent 'like Balaam [. . .] and for a full three days [. . .] cursed the British Mission'.²³ Having acquired food and provisions at Chumbi and ready-made carts from India to carry it, after a tiring period of three months, General Macdonald gave the order to advance to Gyantsé. They left on 24 March in a snowstorm. As the snow started to melt, men and animals walked ankle-deep in freezing water up to their first camp in a pine-forest at Gaut'ang. There, they improvised using their servants' turbans as drag-sheet to catch fish in the shallow waters of the Lingmo, then camped at the ford of Khangbu on the edge of the Phari plain. The ekkas were ready for the loads of the coolies camp renamed 'Camp of the frozen haddocks' because their dinner froze within a minute after being taken off from the fire.

Waddell went on hunting after gazelles while the force marched on to Phari and rejoined the troops after a detour over a ridge 2,000 feet higher than Phari because he saw some Tibetans. They left Phari on 28 March 1904, with 6,000 transport animals and ekka carts, and stopped for the night in a sheltered place at 15,100 feet in altitude in the Tang Pass. He climbed up the sides of Chumolhari to 18,000 feet and shot two gazelles and snow-pigeons to feed the men. The force then crossed Tang Pass to Tuna with Press correspondents. As they approached, they were met by Col. Younghusband who had been riding out to meet them. Waddell climbed a hill again above their post to scout around and spy on the Tibetan camp at Guru. He detected an entrenchment built on the plain across the Gyantsé Road 16 miles away and on hills for the purpose of stopping the advance of the British troops. The road to Lhasa was blocked along the bank of the Rham Lake. On 31 March, the mission escorted by Macdonald's forces (9 companies of native infantry, 10- and 7- pounders, Maxim guns and mounted infantry, a convoy of supplies) left Tuna on the road to Gyantsé. The plain was a white sheet of freshly fallen snow. The force advanced in four columns across the plain. After an hour, three majors of the Lhasa troops galloped towards them and asked them to return to Tuna or to wait till the arrival of the Tibetan General, Leding Depon, together with Namseling and other generals from Phari. General Macdonald and Col. Younghusband agreed to meet them. Tibetans spread a rug on the ground, but the British sat on a couple of overcoats in a ring, with an interpreter. They noticed that the Tibetans had Russian-made rifles bearing the Imperial stamp. This indicated that they had made deals with the Russians.²⁴ Younghusband made it clear he was prepared to fight and was going on to Gyantsé because

they had attempted to make negotiations during the previous 15 years and had just spent 8 months trying to meet officials from Lhasa, and waited 3 months at Tuna in vain. The British advanced up to the armed Tibetans and removed them from their entrenchment without firing a bullet.

After another battle at Guru on the shores of Rham Lake, casualties on the Tibetan side were 300 dead and 200 wounded. The British took 200 prisoners, and only had 13 wounded.²⁵ Waddell carried the Phari Depon who was wounded to a tent. His general attitude in regard to this war was that it was necessary, but as a doctor he felt that his duty was to ease pain and save life:

It was a ghastly sight, and all the more so in such sublime surrounding [. . .] but all war is inevitably cruel and horrible, however necessary it may be at certain epochs of national life.²⁶

The wounded received water or brandy, and had their pain eased by morphine which he called 'morphia', their bleeding stopped, and wounds bound up with field dressings:

I had several of the cleaner Tibetan tents torn up into bandages and dressings for these wounded and the poles, scabbards and muskets served as splints. They were carried in our ambulance litters on backs of prisoners into Tuna and Guru where hospitals were improvised for their treatment.²⁷

On another occasion, and with much intrepidity, Waddell risked his life to save Tibetan books that had been stored near gunpowder in the house of a Tibetan leader when a fire propagated itself from an adjoining one. He hurried through underground passages, found the books and brought them out just in time.²⁸

Use of Changlo Manor

Waddell describes the taking over of Gyantsé by the British troops.²⁹ This early Tibetan settlement, reminiscent of Edinburgh Castle and Mount St. Michael in France, was strategic from a commercial point of view as it was at a crossroad from India to Bhotan and from Ladak and Central Asia to Lhasa, 140 miles away. It also was the third largest trade centre in Tibet after Lhasa and Shigatsé. The name Gyantsé, an abbreviated form of 'Gyal-kar-tsé-mo', meant 'the Dominating Peak'. Waddell noted it was also called 'the Upper Nyang' meaning 'the pleasant province'. It was a fort on a rock with a flourishing town within its walls, a monastery with red-robe priests, and irrigated fields in the surrounding valley. It was first discovered 'in a poor way' by the explorer Nail Sing in 1866 and by Lama Ugyen Gyatsho in 1883. Two governors of Western Tibet, assisted by district officers, as well as 50 Chinese soldiers and 500 Tibetan warriors, resided there.³⁰ The British troops, which

arrived on 11 April, camped in fields two miles from the fort and asked the 'Jong' to surrender. The next day, General Macdonald's forces took position a mile from it as officials had not consented to their local occupation. Soon after, a detachment entered the fort under cover of guns with khaki turbans and the British flag flew over the castle as a party of Chinese officials reported that Tibetan troops had left. General Macdonald rode through the town and informed the Abbott at the Monastery that they would not be interfered with if they confined themselves solely to their religious duties. Acting upon orders from Lhasa, a hundred of his lamas had taken part in the attack in the Red Gorge.³¹ The gateway to Gyantsé Fort was supported by wooden beams and a paved court leading to a chapel painted yellow. There Waddell found a row of slate slabs with carved and painted Buddhas, and a stone inscription in raised letters which he later donated to the Museum of Calcutta. It read 'The Religious King, the Sage, lived in the palace of the Dominating Peak (Gyantsé), built of stone and beautiful as a vase of turquoise'.³² This king had restored the fort and placed there the carvings in question.

In the gloomy interior of the Chapel was displayed a colossal image of an original Indian type of Buddha. The building of the monastery was ascribed to Rabtan the religious king who had built the Jong some 600 years previously. Further up a zigzagging path on the edge of a cliff, there were dilapidated buildings and cellars filled with grains. From the top rampart, Waddell caught a bird's eye view of the town and white farms owned by nobles or rich merchants in the valley beyond the walls.³³ There was a golden-domed pagoda within the red walls of a monastery in the distance.

British soldiers destroyed stores of gunpowder by throwing it into a nearby river, and removed to their camp 100 tons of grain, barley, flour and peas accumulated by Tibetans in preparation for a siege, as well as sheep and yak meat which Nepalese and Tibetan coolies appreciated as they were not vegetarian. This confiscation was justified for survival as they were at war. A more suitable residence than the fort with unlimited water-supply was acquired at Changlo Manor by the Mission at a bridge over the river. It was a farm which had been owned by the Governor of Gyantsé (Duke Tapshi, a title reserved to the brothers of Dalai Lamas). It was situated 1100 yards south of the fort.³⁴ The British converted it for defence and used it to house 600 rifles, 2 machine Maxims and two 7-pounders (under Lieut.-Col. Brander). General Macdonald left Gyantsé on 19 April with his force for Chumbi, but Waddell stayed at Changlo Manor where the farm and outbuildings on the river-bank had been converted and fortified. The Mission was accommodated in buildings and tents, the troops camping in a courtyard. A hospital was set up in some of the buildings. The chapel was used as a messroom after Waddell secured its library of 450 volumes for the British Museum.³⁵ He took the Duke's bedroom in the Mission block which was decorated with frescoes of Lamaist saints and had carved and painted wooden pillars. Its pavement was made of pebbles and marble-looking mortar. Showing little respect for its religious significance, the men converted the inside of a giant water-driven

prayer-wheel into a room after its mechanism was switched off. Waddell stated: 'it was a useful drum-waiter by fixing on it a few nails and a bracket or two'.³⁶ About 30 tons of fire-wood or logs were found in cellars and outbuildings. They also cleared trees in the wood behind the farm for strategical purposes as there was a dense coppice half a mile long, and willows along the river-bank upto the walls. A vegetable garden was planted within the walled garden (they had a box of Sutton's seeds) as the Mission was to remain at Gyantsé for many months; soil was brought in from the woods. After this, having mutton, yak cows, eggs, fowls, potatoes, turnips, dried apricots and fresh supplies from the town, they lived in relative luxury. As merchants began flocking to the camp to sell them goods carried on yaks or donkeys, and even came to tempt Waddell with sacred scrolls, books and images, he opened a hospital to treat the sick Tibetans with Captain Walton of the Indian Medical Service in attendance. This meant that the Tibetans benefited after all from the British occupation.

Search for manuscripts

As the political atmosphere appeared peaceful enough, Waddell was able to visit the town, monasteries and nearby hermitages.³⁷ In addition he went hunting or fishing, collected birds or butterflies, and went further over the mountains without any problem. He stated he found it a pleasure to get out of the walled post, as he said:

[. . .] to ramble in the spring mornings along the river-bank [. . .] and out into the open reaches [. . .] and to wend our way towards the town and the temples of hillsides [. . .] cattle and hundreds of sheep grazed on the hillsides above the plain. It was much more like the scenery in a prosperous bit of continental Europe than the bleak conventional pictures of treeless Tibet which figure in the accounts of previous travellers.³⁸

The military objective of the Mission being to remove commercial barriers set up by hostile lamas, the market-place was of particular interest. The path they followed to get there passed under the cliff of the Jong. Waddell reported seeing old wells, and a series of chortens and shrines on the way.³⁹ He noted the latter were neglected. The trade season started at the end of November when crops were harvested and streams could be more easily crossed as they started to freeze. It was in that season that caravans came from Ladak, Nepal and Upper Tibet to exchange gold, borax, salt, wool, musk, and furs, for tea, tobacco, sugar, cotton goods, broadcloth and hardware. But the market was already a busy place in April. Waddell noticed a can of kerosene oil bearing a Russian brand, which had come by way of Darjeeling.

The troops were re-vaccinated against Smallpox as some people in the bazaar were affected or recovering from the disease. As the weather was

improving, Waddell and his companions rode down the valley to visit a carpet factory at Gobshi, and some temples and hermitages in the mountains. As the lamas of Gyantsé had been able to impose on the laity the belief that their mediumship was essential to drive away the evil spirits responsible for accidents, disease and misfortune, the people had been incited to make donations for the building and decoration of scores of temples and the latter were fitted with countless idols.⁴⁰ The most luxurious temples were of considerable architectural interest and their treasures of value. The monastery of Gyantsé, situated on the crescent-shaped southern slope of a hill overlooking the plain and town, had quarters for about 600 monks and many shrines.⁴¹ This monastery was called 'Pal-k'or' meaning 'Illustrious Circle of Pilgrimage'. It was not a hermitage (Gompa) but a religious residence (Cho'i-de).⁴² The Gyantsé Monastery was originally ruled by red-cap Sakya monks but as a result of a concession and political compromise, they were allowed to remain after a yellow-cap overthrow but worshipped separately. The porch of the Monastery was decorated on both sides with the figures of four mythological guardian kings of the four quarters of the world.⁴³ The doorways or porticoes were square shaped and supported by beams like Indian medieval entrances to Buddhist cave-temples. It betrayed the fact that Tibetans did not have the technical ability to build arches. Together with his companions, Waddell rode through a 10 feet high wooden gateway and the inner porch up to a pagoda and the temple.⁴⁴ There, they were greeted by an Abbott and monks, and they dismounted. Waddell remarked that they were attended by a local monk who was apparently more familiar with the place and its history than with ablu-tion! He commented: 'As if purity of soul was not compatible with cleanness of body!'⁴⁵ Only the Abbott had the right to the title of 'Lama'. Other monks were called 'Tapa' or 'student'. Waddell approached the great temple or 'House of the Gods' (Lha-k'ang). He found the dimensions and tapering style of the walls of this temple comparable to those of Egyptian ones. It was three storeys in height, and its façade was wooden-built and painted crimson, green and gold. There were heavy brown curtains hanging over the porch on the two first floors. On the upper floor, the window had a large gilt inscription from a Mantra read as 'Om Mani' on both sides.⁴⁶

Waddell had discovered a fresco depicting the Buddhist Wheel of Life in an ancient cave-temple at Ajanta in India which was used by Kipling in '*Kim*' as the quest of the lama of his story. In Gyantsé, there also was such a representation about 5 and a half feet in diameter but not so elaborate as the specimen he had published years ealier. In the centre of 'hell' was represented the merciless King of the Dead weighing souls for their deeds and in the 'celestial' mansions was depicted a 'Wishing Tree of Paradise' producing on its branches any objects desired by the Just.⁴⁷ Sacred books believed by the lamas to contain all knowledge were displayed in pigeon-holes at the entrance of the chapel: 100 volumes of the Kahgyur, Buddhist scriptures translated from Indian Sanskrit, 1,000 years earlier, and their commentaries of 25 volumes, the Tangyur. Each volume was 2 and a half feet long and 8 inches

in width and weighed 10–30 pounds. Among these was the Transcendental Wisdom (Prajna paramita) written in golden illuminated or gilt letters. Waddell believed it to be fictitious.⁴⁸ In his opinion, Tibetan letters were the same as the Indian alphabet and derived from a form current in the 7th century AD when religion was introduced from India to Tibet. The paper of these manuscripts was from the bark of the Himalayan laurel or the root-fibre of a lint-like plant.⁴⁹ It was treated with arsenic to preserve it from mould and insects.

Waddell was intrigued by another hundred volumes, covered with dust, in the library of a large side chapel. These were chronicles and biographies of kings and abbots but none of the monks, even the oldest among them, had any knowledge of their content. After interviewing the lamas, Waddell became critical of the claim that this was a very learned monastery conferring an education in Divinity prized throughout Tibet. He found it unacceptable that the monks were self-indulgent, lacked discipline during services and refused to obey the orders of their superior.⁵⁰ The flat roof was used as an open-air court and was surrounded by small chapels and reception rooms, including the throne-room of the Grand Tashi Lama and cloisters. The chief chapel was believed to house the shrine of Padma Sambhava, the legendary founder of Lamaism, whom the majority of lamas held in more esteem than Buddha himself.⁵¹ The larger monastery of Tsechen (quarters for 2000 yellow-cap monks) five miles away, was said to have been visited by Tsong-Khapa. Its mysterious underground passages were a feature of particular interest.⁵²

On 30 April 1904, mounting little Tibetan ponies, Waddell and two companions departed Changlo Manor to visit a hermitage 14 miles down the valley on the road to Shigatsé, where hermits were sealed up in dark caves and kept there voluntarily until they died. Those he was able to see had not yet taken the final vow of entombment, but only those of the first and second stages of holiness. They were attired like Indian yogis or fakirs, and Indian devotees, and distinctly unlike Tibetans, especially as regard the mode of doing up their hair. They told him they were hermits of the order founded by ancient Indian ascetics.⁵³ Waddell was naturally critical of the system as although votaries appeared willing to being imprisoned, they had been enlisted as children and were unable to escape the obligations.

Tibetan attack

The 'Tibetans' demeanour had deluded the British officers' as the British mission was besieged at Gyantsé 'after Col. Younghusband declared on 12 April 1904', that 'all resistance had ended'.⁵⁴ Their post at Changlo Manor was weakened because part of the British troops had left the camp to attack Tibetans at Kharo Pass, four days away from Lhasa. Couriers had lost no time reporting it on 4 May, to the lamas at Shigatsé, 50 miles away in the valley.

The same evening, they were attacked by 1,600 warriors. Fortunately, the British had some inkling of the attack because Tibetans left the hospital managed by a Dr. Walton. Waddell gave the following account:

Before retiring for the night I told the sentry of our building of the report we had heard, although scarcely any one of our party took the rumour seriously. Sure enough, we were attacked that night or rather in the early morning. Just before daybreak, about half past four a.m. on the 5th May, we were suddenly awakened by the weird war-whoop of the Tibetans, 'the shrill barking yell of 'ki-hu-hu-u-u!' [. . .] followed almost immediately by the crack of hundred of muskets and the whiz of their bullets from every side, and the long belching flash of their gun fire [. . .]. So complete was the surprise that it seemed several minutes before our sentries got into position and began to reply. Meanwhile it was a struggle to jump up speedily, and before I could get my loaded revolver from under my pillow, and grab my rifle and bag of cartridges, with a haversack of surgical dressings, several bullets had shot through the paper panes of my window upstairs [. . .]. When I reached the upper passage I was met by a crowd of unarmed servants, who rushed up terror-struck, and jostling each other, huddled into a corner [. . .] Just then a Sikh 'sepoy' ran up to me, followed by Captain Ryder, shoeless and coatless, as indeed we all were; and there we three, in a long narrow room at the top of the stairway, and with small windows commanding the court below, prepared to make a stand, as we were cut off from the rest of our party, and knew that capture meant for all of us death by cruel torture. By this time daylight had nearly set in [. . .] we could see no Tibetan inside our enclosure, along the stretch of some 30 yards, which separated us from the large central house in which was our main body, and which the General had called the 'citadel'. Remembering his parting advice - 'In case of attack, make for the citadel', I suggested our making an effort to get there. Capt. Ryder then rushed across the intervening open space, swept by the enemy's fire, without being hit. I afterwards followed suit across the zone of fire, and also luckily escaped being shot, and was glad to find Colonel Younghusband and the rest all safely in the 'citadel', as they had hurried across immediately they heard the first shot fired.⁵⁵

It took the British troops 20 minutes to push back the assailants despite a snowstorm and afterwards they counted 120 dead Tibetans, 40 wounded (who were treated) and 12 prisoners.⁵⁶ They were relieved when the Khari party returned on 9 May as it made them feel safer although, by this time, the army was only fit enough for defensive action.⁵⁷ Waddell appears on a photograph of a group of officers of the 'Beleaguered Garrison at Gyantsé' in the second row. He sits in uniform (third from the left) in between Col. Younghusband and Captain Minogue (to his left).⁵⁸ In this photo, Waddell is about 47 years old. He states they had given up shaving.

On route to Lhasa

Waddell described enormous difficulties while the British troops of the Indian government journeyed on ponies and mules towards Lhasa in atrociously wet and chilly conditions, and how they had to pitch camp in sopping slimy mud and everyone slept in damp blankets. Eight miles further up the valley, a snowy range blocked their way to the capital.⁵⁹ In this area devoid of trees and cultivation but where hills were much greener, they found the large Monastery of Ralung below the snow line, two miles from a village by which they set up camp. It was the original headquarters of the red hat sect of Lamas called the Duk-pa. The meaning of Ralung was 'Valley of Horns' and the place was called 'Duk Ralung' (Dragon) because of the hog-backed ridges of the surrounding hills. They left the track from the central valley after 8 miles or so and turned right into a narrow rocky gorge which was relatively warmer.⁶⁰ It had a thick growth of shrubs and trees although the area was 2,000 feet above the tree line where the latter stopped growing (at an altitude of 14,000 feet). There they found a stream as clear as crystal and obviously not from the muddy glacier of the valley. There also were blue and yellow wild-flowers. From their camp they were able to observe Tibetans in their loop-holed wall two miles beyond in a gorge flanked with precipices and mountains. They started moving towards them across a pass on 19 July 1904 at 16,600 feet and there they met with enemy fire from the top of cliffs hanging 2,000 feet above them. The Goorkhas climbed up to a height of 19,000 feet where they were assailed by a fusillade. Overbearing Tibetans informed Col. Younghusband that negotiations could be started again if the British troops returned to Gyantsé, using excuses such as 'a treaty made at Lhasa would not be valid due to the fact it was a purely religious city'. Younghusband however insisted a treaty now had to be signed in Lhasa, promising not to stay long.⁶¹

During a halt, Waddell rode with a few others to visit the Sanctuary of an abbess whose name he literally translated as 'the incarnated Pig-faced Goddess' (Tibetan Circe), which was in no way an insult.⁶² Though unknown to Europeans, she was of 'almost as much repute' as the Grand Lama. Waddell commented it was a pleasure to 'enter again the world of dreams and magic which may be said to be ever with us in the mystic land of the Lamas'.⁶³ To reach the abode of the 'divinity', they passed the fort of Nagartsé which rose from the shore of the 'ring lake' and rode for four miles across the isthmus of this lake towards the purple hills of the central island. It was called 'Sam-ding'. Trees were growing at the elevation of 15,000 feet of this lake as they were protected. Unfortunately, the building had a neglected and decayed appearance and the panic-stricken abbess had fled away with her inmates.⁶⁴ Waddell provided a description of the convent of Sam-ding and in the following extract is found once again the evidence that he was looking for historical records and manuscripts:

The only books I could see were the ordinary scriptural text and commentary, and there was no library of special works. The relic shrines were cased in gilt copper studded over with poor glass imitations of jewels.⁶⁵

The flat roof of this building permitted a magnificent view of the surrounding area, up to Yamdok Lake, the Kharo Pass, and the receding 'Dum-Tso' or Devil's Lake which tasted salty and was in a process of desiccation due to increased evaporation linked to the disappearance of the glacier, which fed it, and to the progressive rising of the Himalayas as a whole.⁶⁶

Invasion as prophesied

Although Waddell normally approached the Lamas' ritual and beliefs with caution and objectivity, and sometimes disclaimed their superstition as 'grotesque', he was particularly puzzled by the fact that Tibetan astrologers were able to predict political upheavals in store for their country and specify these would occur in the Year of the Wood-Dragon (1904). He had copied the prophecy himself a year before the expedition was even planned, from a Tibetan manuscript Almanac (Astrological Calendar with twelve zodiacal Beasts and five Chinese elements believed by Tibetans to exercise an influence on man's destiny). In excursus, he provided notes to this Zodiac and Tibetan system of time record, based on the 12- and 60-year cycle of Jupiter from the West through India.⁶⁷ Karren Mutton, author of a biography entitled *T. Lobsang Rampa: New Age Trailblazer* (2005),⁶⁸ also researched Waddell's works about Tibet. She has informed me that Rampa, who wrote 19 books, mentioned Waddell in his famous work *The Third Eye* (1956), and used his version of 'The Prophecy'. The Tibetan astrological system was of Western origin and was imported to Tibet from India along with Buddhism in the 7th century AD. Chinese signs, as well as symbols and terms, were substituted to Indian ones. Waddell admired Tibetans for their loyalty to their priestly ruler although their own oracle had prophesied they would be defeated. The sacerdotal city with its ruling Lama lifted to divine status and its placid monks endlessly droning mystic spells and twirling prayer-wheels had remained impenetrable to the most adventurous travellers for centuries.⁶⁹ However, in the prophesied Tibetan year of the Wood-Dragon, the Tibetans were forced to open Lhasa to Europeans, and its shrines were made to yield their secrets. Waddell lamented the fact that our legends concerning the old pagan world crumbled 'at the touch of modern hands'. As he pointed out, the city owed its seclusion to its position behind barriers of mountains difficult to pass, and the lack of facility for travelling at an altitude of 12 to 15,000 feet above sea level. But even more so, the chief cause for its inaccessibility was in his opinion, the lamas' fears or dislike of civilization and foreigners.⁷⁰ Many notions in spiritual and mystical Lamaism are indeed poles apart from Western materialism.

Arrival of the British Army

Waddell described his first glimpse of Lhasa's glittering golden roofs at 100 feet above the Kyi River.⁷¹ A proper view of it could only be obtained about four miles above a colossal Buddha. He reported they all felt a thrill of excitement for being within sight of their goal. Waddell took photographs of the British Mission and its escort as they entered the Gate of Lhasa, on 4 August 1904, and of soldiers marching towards the dominating Potala Palace.⁷² The British troops paraded the streets of the city, forming a procession on their way to the Chinese Minister of State Residency, or of the 'Amban', whom Waddell had already met at Nagartsé and who had paid the British troops a visit on the day of their arrival:

The first glimpse of the sacred metropolis is dramatic in its suddenness. As if to screen the holy capital from view until the last moment, Nature has interposed a long curtain of rock which stretches across between the two bold guardian hills of Potala and the Iron Mountain, entirely shutting out all view of the town from the side of our approach on the south-west. This rocky curtain is pierced in its middle by the western gate of the city called 'The Middle Door – Barrier' whose top is given the form of the religious Chorten monument, and it is not until this gateway is passed, or until the ridge above it is scaled, that any view whatever of the town is obtained. On the left is the front view of the Dalai-Lama's palace, which faces the east, and is now seen to be a mass of lofty buildings covering the hillside – here about 300 feet high – from top to bottom with its terraces of many-storeyed and many-windowed houses and buttressed masonry battlements and retaining walls, many of them 60 feet high, and forming a gigantic building of stately architectural proportions on the most picturesque of craggy sites.⁷³

The road to the Chinese Residency passed through two pleasure gardens:

Shrill pipes struck up a weird blast as our party entered the gateway and rode over the paved causeway between the double rows of Chinese soldiers in bright yellow and blue, edged by scarlet, who stood shoulder to shoulder armed with breech loading rifles which they held at the 'present'.⁷⁴

The Amban, a middle-aged man,⁷⁵ received Colonel Younghusband and extended cordial greetings as the Mission dismounted. They were led into an inner court and hall where they sat on chairs arranged in a semi-circle. The Chinese appeared friendly but they had stirred up the Tibetans by giving false information and had concealed the fact that the Tibetans had plotted to attack at Gyantsé. The British party passed under a Chinese archway into a large square where a Tibetan crowd peered at them. They saw one-storey houses with small gardens and pots of flowers on window-sills, as well as a theatre

and restaurants. The streets were in a revolting condition and houses were dirty despite their whitewashed exterior and being brightened with caged singing birds. Temples, on the other hand, were decorated with bright colours. 'Jo-Kang' was the name of the most important Temple in Lhasa. Its translation was 'House of the Master', but Waddell knicknamed it 'The Cathedral'. He found it disappointing, at least from the outside, and said it was 'a squat and rather mean-looking building, buried amongst narrow streets from which its gilt roof could scarcely be seen at all'.⁷⁶ It had its chief shrine, with a gilded image of the Coming Buddha on each side:

In niches in the wall were small gilt images of the thousand Buddhas. It had no roof, but was open to the sky overhead, and the chapels were ranged round it like boxes in a theatre, separated from the court by carved wooden pillars of the top-heavy kind as pictured in the cave temples of India in the eighth and ninth century. As a cornice round the top ran a row of sphinx-like, couchant lions, ten on each side [. . .] To visit the chief shrine our guide lit a torch and led us to the left around the outside of this central court-temple along a dark covered passage lined by a closely-set row of images of saints and divinities, life size; between each group of four or five a passage let off to cryptic side-chapels full of idols and relics . . . In front of these idols burned butter-candles in their massive egg-cup-shaped candlesticks of solid gold, to protect which valuables heavy iron chain curtains hung padlocked down in front.⁷⁷

Civilization like 'Atlanta'

A Temple of Medicine was perched at the top of a very high rocky pinnacle, one side of which was like a limestone cliff all the way down with a river flowing at its base.⁷⁸ Waddell had with him the materials for 'colour photography' thanks to which he took photographs of a picture-gallery of coloured bas-reliefs which bore an inscription in its centre as to its author being the first Grand Lama, Lobzang. A party of British medical officers was greeted by the High Priest of the Temple of Medicine and shown to a room in which was displayed an image of a seated 'Healing Buddha' holding a blue lapis lazuli bowl containing a pomegranate-like drug. The drone of mantras was resonating from a distant temple. While he was being pressed to drink buttered-tea in a little tea-cup of Chinese porcelain, Waddell asked about the 'Mahatmas' and secrets possibly preserved by the Tibetans about a civilization more ancient than Egypt and Assyria. He had the great disappointment to hear His Excellency, the Regent Ti Rimpoché, Cardinal of the Lamaic Church and noble acting Ruler of Tibet, say that he had never heard of 'any secrets of the ancient world having been preserved in Tibet' and that the Lamas were only interested in the Word of the Buddha, and held no value whatsoever to ancient history:

No Lama, he added, nor even any of the great monasteries in Lhasa, the greatest in all Tibet, possessed, he was certain, any account of the ancient history of India, the land of Buddha himself, beyond such fragments as were to be gleaned from the orthodox scriptures of which every monastery has a copy. Books about ancient history had only an interest for the laity, the old nobility, and lay officials who were concerned in mundane matters. This declaration of the Cardinal was confirmed by all the enquiries made by myself and by that Tibetan student, Mr. David Macdonald, of all the Lamas most likely to know, and by actual examination of many of the large libraries. The result of these enquiries shows that the Lamas seem to possess no historic works, except the quasi-authentic chronicles of their own kings and monasteries subsequent to the seventh century AD, when their language was first reduced to writing, and a few fragmentary histories of India during its Buddhist period compiled from Indian and Chinese sources during the Middle Ages, with possibly a few Indian Buddhist manuscripts of the same age. There is thus, I am sorry to say, little hope to hold out to those who fondly fancied that the lost secrets of the beginnings of the earliest civilization of the world, anterior to that of Ancient Egypt and Assyria, which perished with the sinking of Atlantis in the Western ocean, might still be carefully preserved in that fabulous land which is no longer wholly "Unknown".⁷⁹

The term 'Atlanta' which Waddell used in the above quote shows he was aware of ideas popularized by theosophical works and Ignatius Donnelly in the late 19th century. The Mission left Lhasa on 21 September 1904, and arrived back at Gyantsé on 17 October and at Siliguri, which had become the base of operations on 25 October 1904.⁸⁰

Lhasa and its Mysteries

Having retired from the Indian Medical Service after the Lhasa Mission and returned to Britain, Waddell had *Lhasa and its Mysteries* published quickly as a review already appeared on this title in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 31 March 1905. It was a point of transition to success because he enjoyed fame after this volume went to press in London and New York in 1905 and 1906. An article published on 1 April 1905 in the *Homeward Mail* praised it as a 'most illuminating and accurate of books' and commented that the author was 'an accomplished expert on every phase of Tibetan affairs', and 'a shrewd observer'. It explained that the mission to Lhasa had been a unique opportunity for Waddell to make the most of the skills, knowledge and experience he had acquired in previous years, and that he was well prepared to penetrate into the meaning of Tibetan mysteries which had remained 'concealed for so long'.⁸¹ *The Contemporary Review* praised his 'perpetual curiosity', 'diligent research', 'exceptional knowledge', and 'vigorous style of writing', and stated

that among all the books on Tibet, it was a 'most authoritative work'.⁸² *The Australasian* also reported:

Admittedly, the most important Tibetan work which has appeared is that from the pen of Lieut.-Col. Waddell, who is not only a capable writer, but also a scientific expert, and a student of Tibet, well acquainted with its language and its people. After a study of Buddhism in Burmah, he was stationed in 1886, at Darjeeling, on the borders of the Forbidden land, where there was a floating colony of several thousand Tibetans, lamas and laity, fresh from the sacred city and in constant communication with it.⁸³

Findings on Lamaism

A *Times Literary Supplement* priced at 25 shillings and dated 31 March 1905 commented about *Lhasa and its Mysteries*:

To those who desire to know something of the religion and the customs of the hermit kingdom, we confidently commend the scholarly and delightful book which Col. Waddell, of the Indian Medical Service, has written. He has prepared himself for the task by devoted study and by long years of patient enquiry; and the volume now before us, rich in information and instinct with literary charm, could only have been produced by one who knew the language and customs of Tibet and was deeply versed in the religion of the Buddhists. Every page bears witness to firsthand knowledge of the country about which the world knows so little and, whether he is describing the ceremonial rites, the buildings, or the natural history of Tibet, we find that the author is master of his subject. He writes with authority and he writes with sympathy.⁸⁴

The article commented that Waddell knew more about Lamaism than the Lamas themselves as he was able to point out to a monastery that their swastika ('lucky fly-footed cross') was a sign used by pre-Buddhist devil dancers of the Bon religion, and not a Buddhist symbol as such. It also lamented that it must have been a severe trial for the author 'to witness the wretched tapestry of the faith in unhappy Tibet'.⁸⁵ Waddell was obviously attracted to Buddhism in the initial stage of his travels and discoveries, but the reality is that in Tibet and particularly in Lhasa, he found the hostility and superstition of the lamas repulsive.

A person by the name of Alexander Berry, who attempted to retrace Waddell's footsteps in Sikkim and Tibet with his wife, Liz, and who had been interested in the Younghusband expedition for a long time and in Waddell as a 19th century Tibetologist, wrote to me that he was puzzled by what he termed Waddell's 'schizophrenic attitude', referring to his 'half fascination' and 'other half Scottish Presbyterian disapproval'. On one hand, he indeed appeared to be attracted to the mysteries of Buddhism and on the other, to be

critical of the lamas' hostility and their way of interpreting coincidences and accidents in a superstitious way for the Tibetan laity. He disapproved of the fact that the lamas pretended they could drive away evil spirits and interpreted that the latter were responsible for accidents and disease, as they betrayed the laity's trust and exploited it to extract wealth for the building and decoration of their temples.⁸⁶ Waddell was disappointed with Lamaism. He even spoke of the 'defilement of Buddhism' but hoped that the expedition would 'herald the rise of a new star in the East which may for long, perhaps for many centuries, diffuse its mild radiance over his charming land and interesting people'.⁸⁷

It was his opinion that the doctrine of 'Gotama' was a reform and offshoot from Brahmanism,⁸⁸ and that Emperor Asoka introduced into Buddhism a number of beliefs that could be adopted by more people than the few mendicants who had embraced it as a cult, in about 261 BC, and to remedy to its defects. Waddell deplored the fact that in his time Buddha's and Asoka's principles were depreciatingly referred to as 'Hina-yana' (Little Vehicle) by experts, and viewed as a preliminary revelation, as opposed to the 'Maha-yana' (Great Vehicle). The latter was a theistic development for a universal salvation, propagated from India to Mongolia and China in AD 61 and thence to Japan in the 6th century AD, then independently to Tibet in the seventh century to become the State religion of Tibet in the 8th century AD.⁸⁹ Some European writers were not acquainted with the 'Great Vehicle' and only knew the Hina-yana School of Buddhism.⁹⁰

Waddell ascertained that Asoka introduced elements such as the 'Boundless Light' personified as Amita-bha, a Buddha-god in the Western Paradise of the Sun, also surnamed 'the Boundless Life' (Amita-yus), and Ava-lokita, a 'looking down' Lord who could act as Saviour; as well as Tara, the Queen of Heaven and Sky, a goddess of Mercy, and glorified form of the old Aryan-Sumerian 'Asi', the deified queen of the first Aryan-Sumerian king 'Tur' (whose other names and titles were 'Thor', 'Dar', 'In-Dara', 'Indra', and 'Jupiter' in other traditions).

Asoka had made Buddhism a State religion for his vast empire, built a multitude of temples, shrines, and monasteries, to house the scattered ascetic monks, instituted schools for the religious education of monks and lay men, and even sent missionaries to convert people in adjoining lands. This was recorded in his edicts to the Seleucid king Antiochus Theos (261-246 BC), whose empire was indirectly inherited from the Great Alexander, but it was significant that Asoka did not mention Tibet. In nearly all his edicts, Asoka mentioned the 'law of Piety' (Dharma) as having been respected by ancient 'Brahmans' (Brahmans) and in existence since a time well before Buddha.

Waddell excavated a mound which had been erected by Asoka together with a pillar over a previous 'Buddha Konakamana', 12 miles from Kapilavastu, the birthplace of Gotama,⁹¹ suggesting there were other Buddhas before him. Theistic Indian Buddhism had risen in India in the first century BC after the fall of Asoka's dynasty when the priests invented a 'Buddha god'

that could be prayed to, and that Mahayana Buddhism was transplanted to Tibet by Mahayanist monks where it became known as Tibetan Buddhism or Lamaism. It was also only in Tibet that the great body of Scriptures, Canon and Commentaries of the Mahayana School of Indian Buddhism were preserved, because, in India, they had been destroyed by Mohammedan invaders in the 12th century AD. However, a few books had survived in Nepal, Mongolia and China.⁹² Parts of Lamaist scriptures were originally translated by Indian Buddhist monks when Lamaism was made a State Religion of the Mongols. Rulers like Asoka and earlier kings claimed the divine right of Aryan kings to rule. This belief in a divine right could be traced to Sumerian kingship.⁹³ Dalai-Lamas did more than claim a 'right to rule', as they contended to be themselves the incarnation of Avalokita (the 'looking down Compassionate Lord and Saviour of men') or Boddhisattva.

The monastery of Tashilhumpo (Shigatse) had existed for 200 years when Lobzang-the-Eloquent declared he was the reincarnation of the first Abbott of the Yellow-cap Order of celibate lamas, Strongtsan Gampo, to secure his rule, and that the latter was an Incarnation of the Compassionate Spirit of the Mountain and Lord of Mercy, Avalokita, a Boddhisattva or saviour.⁹⁴ Lobzang had raised the first Abbot to the position of Grand Lama and alleged he was an incarnation of a Buddha that, in Waddell's opinion, had been forged by Indian followers out of one of the titles of Buddha (Amitabha/Boundless Light). Lobzang also granted divine honours to the Abbot at Tashilhumpo who approved candidates for the Lhasa 'Grand Lamaship' and ordained the child selected as the Reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. In effect, Lobzang had granted divine honours to himself as the reincarnation of this Abbott. Selection also began to be performed for the choosing of a child for his own reincarnation or successor by the Grand Lama in Lhasa. The first Dalai Lama known as Kyab-gon Rim-po-ché (Precious Protector/Victorious Lord) claimed to have discovered a book of revelations written a thousand years before Gampo.⁹⁵

The Yellow-cap Order grew in importance as it acquired monasteries. The Grand Lama of Tashilhumpo (Tashi or Tashu) was more devoted to spiritual matters than the Dalai Lama, and had the title of 'Pan-chen Rimpo-ché' (Great Gem of Learning). The Dalai Lama was the equivalent of a Pope-king claiming to be divine. A series of assassinations were followed by a revolt of the priesthood against the concept of the method of succession, and even a civil war in 1710 with an invasion of Lhasa by an army mounted on camels from the plains of Turkestan.⁹⁶ Emperor Kangshi in China sent an army of 10,000 to free Tibet from Tartars, restored the succession by rebirth, and invested with spiritual powers a child born after the murder of the last lama claimed by the monks of the rival faction to be his reincarnation, and approved by the people. He had been kept at Sining with temporal power. This was the way that secularization was achieved in Tibet (by AD 1720). Seven years later, the Dalai Lama had his king murdered but was himself imprisoned by the Chinese Emperor who appointed as Regent an old monk named Kisri, and temporal

power was given to a mayor of the Palace: Polhané Miwang.⁹⁷ Records of these events were obtained by Waddell from Jesuits and Capuchin missionaries who witnessed the events from Lhasa. The Regent was murdered by the Chinese Ambans in the year 1750 and the people massacred them in retaliation. The Emperor Chenlung then sent a punitive army and the Ambans, overtaking the Regent position, started acting as the manipulating force behind the throne and regulating the selection of new Dalai-lamas. They died under mysterious circumstances, i.e assassinations, as this necessitated the ascension of a new-born infant and prolonged the term of office of the Chinese Regent who worked in collaboration with the Ambans.⁹⁸

In Waddell's time, the four previous Dalai Lamas had not reached eighteen years, except for the Dalai Lama of 1904 who was saved by a revolt against Chinese interference, and thanks to the fact that his friends took the seals of office from the Regent by a stratagem. The Dalai Lama then deprived the Chinese of any power in state matters. A new Amban was sent to take the place of the Regent but was bribed. He suppressed the edict that ordered the seals to be returned but was not reinstated in office. Following this, Chinese authority declined in Tibet as the Dalai Lama fell under the influence of Lama Dorjjeff, a Russian Mongol who had settled in Lhasa and was the reason the British Mission was attacked. Waddell wondered about this Dalai Lama:

Will this Leviathan of the mountain-top weather the storm of this [. . .] Year of the Wood-Dragon? Who can say what is woven into his destiny; but it is curious to find that [. . .] ten years before he was born [. . .] Nain Sing recorded that it was then a popular saying in Lhasa that the Grand Lama (born 1867) will transmigrate only 13 times. Now it is noteworthy that the present Lama is the 13th.⁹⁹

PART
II

The Rise of Man

CHAPTER FOUR

Sumerian, Decipherment, and 'Shinar'

A professor from Tormount, Torquay, by the name of D. D. Cunningham, sent Waddell a letter dated 2 May 1905. He had read *Lhasa and its Mysteries* with the 'greatest interest and pleasure', and asked whether Waddell would stay in Britain and 'devote himself wholly to a contemplative and literary life'. Later in the year, Sir Joseph Hooker, a famous explorer of the Himalayas, wrote to him 'I hope that we may see you and Mrs. Waddell more before this winter sets in'.¹ A note scribbled on the letter stated: '29th September 1905: At lunch today, Sir J. Hooker told me that he had enjoyed no book so much since the publication of Wallace's Malay Archipelago!! This last work was published in 1869!!'² It clearly was an exciting time for Waddell and his wife, as being in the limelight opened opportunities for travelling and social visits. Waddell acted as advisor for the Film Industry on the evidence of a letter signed by Margaret Clark, a scenario writer, who stated she was indebted to him for the guidance provided in his titles on Lamaism and Lhasa, and commented:

But you know what film stories usually are [. . .]. We are making one now at the B.P. Studio that Mr. Kinsella has written, called *The Alley of Golden Hearts*. Mr. Kinsella says he would be so very proud to meet you and show you the picture in the taking.³

Waddell resided at 61 Rissenden Mansions, Highgate Road, North West London, from 1905 to 1907, a period during which he started teaching Tibetan at the University College of London.⁴ He moved to Hastings in 1907 and remained there until 1911.⁵ He continued writing articles on Oriental topics as he contributed articles to *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Hasting Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* between 1908 and 21, and had 'A Note on the Derivation of Miri' published in *Man* (Vol. 11) in 1911, as well as 'Evolution of the Buddhist cult, its gods, Images and Art' in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1912, but from 1908, started researching the subject of Aryan origin on a full-time basis as he stated that he devoted his entire time to this study for sixteen years in the Preface of *Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons*, dated January 1924:

[. . .] in the course of my researches into the fascinating problem of the lost origin of the Aryans [. . .] to which I have devoted the greater part of my life, and my entire time for the past sixteen years [. . .].⁶

Waddell revealed it was 'about a quarter of a century ago' (in about 1905) that he 'was prompted' to 'take up seriously the gigantic task' of studying Sumerian and Egyptian after making a startling discovery that led to his establishing the unknown ancestry of Menes and the Aryan origin of Egyptian civilization and hieroglyphic writing many years later.⁷ By the time *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary* was published (1927), he had been studying Sumerian for about twenty years. However, in an article dated 12 August 1922, he wrote, 'I have devoted my entire time during the past fourteen years to the intimate study of the earliest form of Sumerian as well as cuneiform, and allied scripts, and the history of the people who used these scripts.'⁸ It was presumably because he gave up teaching in 1908 that he was able to devote full-time to his studies and writing.

The Sumerian script that Waddell studied was by 'pictographic word-signs' (signs like pictures standing for words) like those in the Egyptian system of writing which were called by the Greeks 'hieroglyphs'. The earliest form of cuneiform was more elaborate than in a later period when they became straight strokes for the purpose of rapid writing. Each syllabic pictograph had a phonetic value and could be read as something related to that object, i.e. the sign representing the sun could stand for itself as well as light, glow, warm, etc., and the sense of the sentence would be revealed by the position of this sign in the sentence or by the context, prefixes, or affixes. Signs were called 'ideograms' or 'ideographs'.⁹

In about 1901, Flinders Petrie, who worked for four seasons at Abydos, Egypt (1900–1904),¹⁰ unearthed pottery from pre-Dynastic Egypt at the Royal tombs of Menes' First Dynasty with inscriptions which Egyptologists could not decipher and assumed to be owners' marks signaries, and 'aphonic'. Petrie expounded he had discovered the use of alphabetic letters in Early Egypt before the use of Egyptian hieroglyphs, and as a result theorised that alphabetic signs preceded the invention of picture writing and were not derived from hieroglyphs. As he examined the list of signs in Petrie's Table V, Waddell recognised they were similar to 'Sumerian Pictograms of the Sargonic period' that he had studied and were of the 'syllabic' type.¹¹ He called them 'a complete Phoenician Alphabet' of fully formed letters of 'non-reversed Cadmean' type. Whereas Petrie used the term 'Phoenician' in the sense of 'late semitized people of the Syrian Province of Phoenicia', Waddell discussed 'early Syrio-Phoenicians who wrote in a non-reversed fashion' (in the same direction as we do with the Roman alphabet). The signs found at Abydos consisted of this alphabet, not the late retrograde Phoenician of 22 reversed letters.¹² Waddell noted that Petrie did not deny the Phoenician origin of the alphabet and that he concluded its place of origin was North Syria.¹³

In *Aryan Origin of the Alphabet*, Waddell reproduced the signs of this system of writing in column 3 of his comparative charts 'Sumer-Aryan evolution of the alphabet' facing pages 14 and 54.¹⁴ They had been published in Petrie's *Formation of the Alphabet* (Plate II-IV).¹⁵ In column I he reproduced Sumerian pictogram signs from Barton's standard plates. These Sumerian signs were typical of the script he referred to when discussing Sumerian and the point of comparison for the Abydos alphabet. In column 4, Waddell placed the early forms of Phoenician letters which he called Cadmean and non-reversed alphabetic writing found on Thera Island in the Aegean Sea, which he believed - on the basis of a Cadmean legend - to be a Phoenician colony of Cadmus, son of King Agenor of Tyre (the Uncle of King Minos of Crete).¹⁶ The Dorians were early Greeks who settled on Thera Island after eight generations of Phoenicians had previously occupied the area. Non-reversed inscriptions found on Phoenician and Dorian tombstones at Thera were regarded as the oldest example of the Greek alphabet. According to Thucydides, Greece was first populated by Dorian invasions. The Dorians are believed to have arrived in Greece around 2,200 BC. Their pottery resembled that from north-west Anatolia.¹⁷

Waddell was of the opinion that Cadmean inscriptions were in reversed script at Thera and other ancient sites because they were written for the benefit of native subjects who were accustomed to left-hand direction of an older native culture and cult, as opposed to the sun-wise right-hand direction of the Aryan solar cult. Other inscriptions at Thera in Asia Minor were written in the direction of Hittite hieroglyphs (Ox-plough-wise or boustrophedon style). The twenty-six letters of the Cadmean 'Formello' Alphabet or 'abecedarian' were non-reversed and almost the same as our own modern alphabet.¹⁸

Waddell concluded that Sumerian was Aryan in vocabulary and structure, as well as the parent of English and all Indo-European languages, including Egyptian. He re-arranged Sumerian vowels and syllabic pictograms according to their phonetic values in 'Roman' letters as Prince, Langdon and Gadd also did (from A to Z) in his comparative Tables showing a Sumerian origin for alphabetic letters of Western & Eastern ancient languages.¹⁹ Sumerian dictionaries and glossaries used the order of the Hebrew alphabet because of its association with the Garden of Eden. Waddell discovered that an inherent vowel 'a' in Sumerian was in analogy with the inherent vowel in Semitic Phoenician, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other alphabets, i.e. in Sanskrit: B'RT (Barat); Phoenician: PRT; and PrWT. The word 'Barat' or 'brhat' of the Bhāratas' of India was equivalent to 'Briton' and 'Pretan' as spelled in ancient Greek for Britain.²⁰ He discussed the source of the tribal title 'Barat' or 'Brihat' and its significance for the name 'Brit-on' (B-R-T) and Britannia.²¹

Attraction to the British Museum

The archaeologist Marc Aurel Stein, who worked at the British Museum, and had contacted Waddell in 1902, visited the 'Cave of the Thousand Buddhas' at Tun-huang, China, in 1907. At that time, the cave was still attended by priests and monks, one of whom, a Taoist priest by the name of Wang Tao-shih, discovered a walled up secret chamber containing a library of documents, some in unknown languages of Chinese Turkestan, Buddhist religious texts dating to the fifth century in Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts from the seventh and eighth centuries AD,²² and some in unknown languages now referred to as 'Tocharian'. Stein persuaded Tao-shih to sell him some of the records which were in Tocharian B (Kouchean).²³ The writers of the newly discovered languages were at first given the name of Tocharoi, and for that reason, the languages of the Tarim region are now called 'Tocharian'. The Tocharian manuscripts were found to be 'written in a north Indian alphabet of the Brahmi type', sometimes bilingual, and to consist of translation from Sanskrit.²⁴ Stein had brought back to England five cases of Tibetan documents from his exploratory trips to the Chinese Turkestan.²⁵ A letter dated 9 October 1911 indicated that he had obtained a spare proof of the print of the 'Vaisravana Plate' that Waddell requested on 6 October, after visiting him. Stein asked Waddell to keep it 'as a small memento'. He also said he looked forward to see his notes.²⁶ In his letter of 19 February 1910, Stein thanked Waddell for despatching the 'Lhasa Edicts' of which he appreciated the historical value. He invited him to have a look at the content which was still unpacked: 'I hope when you come to town you will pay the Collection a visit in the British Museum basement'.²⁷ Stein wrote again from Merton College, Oxford, on 4 April 1911, suggesting they could meet at the British Museum on Monday or Tuesday the following week. The object of a letter dated 19 September 1911 was also to arrange a meeting:

I hope to be in town on Friday the 22nd (as I am for most days this week) and to greet you at the British Museum on your promised visit. I should be delighted to have your company on Friday evening for dinner at the Royal Palace Hotel, Kensington, [. . .]. A line on a postcard in reply will greatly oblige.²⁸

Waddell had mentioned in a previous letter that he felt isolated. Stein replied: 'I quite understand your feelings about relative isolation and wish you may succeed in securing a congenial place of work somewhat nearer to London'. Waddell may have been attracted to the British Museum as he admired Sir Henry C. Rawlinson (1812–1902) who had been Director-General of excavations in Mesopotamia for its Trustees (1846–55). Perhaps he had been influenced by this scholar's example as he seems to have followed in his footsteps: i.e. Rawlinson also spent the first twenty-five years of his

career in India, Iran, and Afghanistan (though in the service of the East India Company) and devoted his life to decipherment.

There are a number of reasons why knowledge about the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt was lost alongside the ability to read their systems of writing (the wedged-shaped cuneiform is believed to have been invented by 3,500 BC). The introduction of new languages and Hellenistic civilization in these geographical areas following Alexander the Great's conquests was one of them.²⁹ The peoples who ruled Mesopotamia after the Sumerians were the Akkadians, Amorites, Mittani, Kassites and Assyrians, the Hittites being outside of Mesopotamia. They also used the Sumerian script to write their language.³⁰ Sumerian was no longer spoken after 1,800 BC but remained a literary language for Eastern Semites in Mesopotamia. Well-trained scribes in Babylonia and Assyria were able to read cuneiform in Sumerian or its dialects. Akkadian was replaced by Aramaic after the fall of the third kingdom of Ur at the end of the 3rd millennium BC.³¹ The Assyrians used Aramaic when they ruled Mesopotamia, but it was written down in its own alphabet, not in cuneiform, and on perishable material. When Greek was the language of bureaucracy, cuneiform texts were still being recopied and translated into Aramaic and Greek, but Sumerian and Cuneiform were totally forgotten by the first century AD. The spread of Islam with introduction of the Arabic alphabet also played a part in this oblivion by causing Syriac and Aramaic to be disused as literary languages. After the Greek empire, Mesopotamia passed into Parthian, Sassanid and Islamic hands in just one thousand years.³²

The loss of knowledge about Egypt's ancient past was also partly due to the same causes. Soon after 3,000 BC, two scripts were in use: hieroglyphic (meaning 'holy script') and its more cursive and less pictorial hieratic scripts. These writing systems were read in dialects spoken in Egypt from predynastic times through the New Kingdom and up to the Third Intermediate Period.³³ They were replaced by the Demotic script by c.700 BC, but although the language in which the scripts were written changed over time, scribes were able to read texts penned down two thousand years earlier, until the introduction of the Greek language and its alphabet also caused the demise of the hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic scripts.³⁴

Two writers attempted to preserve tradition, but the accuracy of their histories and purpose in writing have been questioned; these are: Berossos, Priest of Marduk at the Temple of Esagila, at Babylon (340–323 BC) during Alexander's reign, and Manetho, an Egyptian who also lived under new Hellenistic rulership, and was priest at the temple of the Sun god Ra at Heliopolis.³⁵ Berossos, in particular, did not possess the key to interpret the symbolism of pictographic representations in the great temple of Marduk (Esagila). Some of his accounts appear to be based on a literal interpretation of inscriptions or images in his temple, some of which he stated 'had been preserved in sculpture'³⁶ to his time. On the evidence of a Babylonian tablet found at Uruk/Erech referring to similar details as those given by Berossos,

the Kassites of the 2nd millennium BC were already speculating on the meaning of mythology³⁷ in relation to Sumerian records one thousand years earlier. In regard Berossos' antediluvian dynasties, scholars are not sure what sources he had at his disposal.³⁸ It is, however, likely he used the Isin List which was found to contain duplicated and misplaced material and to have abnormally long reignal years.

Rawlinson had unlocked the codes of Babylonian and Assyrian writings and contributed to the decipherment of cuneiform by translating Darius the Great's trilingual inscription, which he copied from the Rock of Behistun at the risk of his life. Being in three different languages and types of cuneiform, the inscriptions were important as they provided many clues for the decipherment of cuneiform.³⁹ During the time he held the office of Director of Cuneiform Enterprises, Rawlinson had pioneered the view of the non-Semitic nature of Sumerian.⁴⁰ Perhaps Waddell had been impressed by his achievements even before he made career choices.

Ruins of the fully-fledged civilization of Sumer had been discovered 'some fifty years'⁴¹ before *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary* was published (1927), a book Waddell worked on for sixteen years (from about 1911).⁴² In his historical exposé 'How the Sumerians, their monuments, and their written language were discovered', he makes it clear that he was a follower of Rawlinson and other pioneers, such as Theophilus G. Pinches, who opposed Assyriologists of Semitic conviction in the great controversy and debates on the nature of Sumerian.⁴³ Waddell introduced Rawlinson in the following manner:

The existence of the Sumerians and of their Non-Semitic language [. . .] was first elicited by the brilliant genius of Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1855. An officer of the East India company's service, he had been sent as a lieutenant to Persia in 1833 to assist the Shah in the training of his army, and finding there in 1835 inscriptions in the as yet undeciphered cuneiform or 'wedge' writing, he forthwith took up the task of intensive decipherment and became a leading pioneer explorer and in considerable part founder of the newly born science of Assyriology of his time.⁴⁴

Rawlinson stated that the 'primitive inhabitants of Babylonia were of the Scythic family (meaning 'Syrian') (the term 'Scythian' was later replaced by 'Elamite')⁴⁵ and 'not of the Semitic one',⁴⁶ when he presented his findings about the Sumerian language at the Royal Asiatic Society on 1 December 1855, after studying texts written in Cuneiform and Assyrian on the bilingual tablets of Nineveh. Five years after communicating his decipherment of the Behistun edict, Rawlinson announced that their language written in linear Cuneiform was not Semitic, and that Babylonians and Assyrians, who were Semitic, had inherited the legacy of their civilization from Scythic Sumerians, calling the latter by the name of 'Akkadians' because Semitic Babylonian and Assyrian kings referred to themselves as 'King of Sumer and Akkad' and, in

the Old Testament 'Akkad' was the name of a city founded by Nimrod,⁴⁷ and their early language 'the Hamitic language of Babylonia'.⁴⁸

Despite objections from the Semitic School of scholars, who protested against the suggestion that Semites borrowed their civilization and writing from another race,⁴⁹ a Dr. E. Hincks adopted Rawlinson's conclusions and the term 'Akkadian'. The facts published by Rawlinson and Hincks were supported by the French Professor of Assyrian, Jules Oppert, who suggested the term 'Sumerian' for the language they had identified instead of 'Akkadian'. Strong objections to the concept of the language being non-Semitic then came from Joseph Halévy, in Paris, who refuted the Sumerians' existence by arguing that civilization in Mesopotamia was Semitic in origin. A non-Semitic view of the beginning of civilization was contradictory to traditional beliefs on the basis of *The Old Testament*. However, pioneers in Sumerology, namely Rawlinson, Hincks and Oppert, a French Professor of Assyrian, were unmoved by 'the sneers' of the opponents. Rawlinson, Hincks and Oppert gained the support of other scholars such as Sayce,⁵⁰ who is regarded as a pioneer due to his decipherment of cuneiform texts. They were also joined by 'Lenormant, Haupt, Schrader and Hommel'.⁵¹ The debates on the nature of the Sumerian language were still alive in 1902, and in 1907 Sayce declared that scholars who did not recognise the discovery of Sumerian were racist.⁵² Twenty years later, Waddell stated that there was a steady diminution in the number of scholars who thought that the Sumerian civilization was derived from Semites, that cuneiform and the Hamurabi Law Code were an invention of Semites, and that Amorites were Semites.⁵³

Hincks had proposed the name 'Accadian' (or Akkadian) and Oppert suggested 'Sumerian' when Sayce, as well as François Lenormant and Frank Delitzsch, an exegesist, had already adopted the former. A Dr. Haigh pointed out that Sumer was the Shinar of the *Old Testament* and George Smith contended that it represented Southern Babylonia, 'Accad' being the 'district round the capital city of Accad, or Agade'.⁵⁴ Smith's views were not adopted straight away. It was Oppert's research which threw light on the subject. Then Haupt demonstrated there were two different dialects of Accadian and that the dialect of Accad preserved the old language in its purest and most ancient form. The other dialect was that of the South. Sayce had been of the opinion it was the other way round but Hommel disagreed, and finally managed to convince him that he was right. The dialect which Haupt said was 'Sumerian', when Hommel still called it 'Accadian', was decayed and was subject to the influence of Semitic languages. It had adopted Semitic vocabulary and idioms. This influence was first felt in Northern Babylonia where the first Semitic library was founded.⁵⁵

After 1887, Assyriologists officially adopted the title 'Sumerian' suggested by Oppert for the language that Rawlinson and Hincks had identified. However, they continued to use the term 'Akkadian' which was previously applied to the Sumerians, to designate Western Semitic people of

Mesopotamia (Assyrio-Babylonians) and their language, and used the terms in the opposite sense. Waddell was critical of the fact that the interchange of designations of 'Sumer' and 'Akkad' resulted in confusion:

This label (Sumer) was formerly attached by Assyriologists to the supposedly diametrically different race now called by them 'Akkads' and whom they also arbitrarily term 'Western Semites', but whom they previously called 'Sumers', or 'Sumerians'. But latterly, they [...] reversed the labels with the result of adding still more to the confusion, as 'Akkad' is a synonym for the Sumerian Ari (or Aryan) a title also of the Amorites who are admittedly non-Semites; [...] as this name 'Sumerian' or 'Sumer' however, has obtained currency for several decades as the title for these Early Non-Semitic civilized people in Mesopotamia, [...] we are now forced to continue its use as such, despite its arbitrariness and misleading effects. Hence the present comparative Dictionary is styled 'Sumer-Aryan'.⁵⁶

Sayce stated that 'it was soon realized' the writing system of the Sumerians 'was invented by a non-Semitic people and handed on by them to Semitic populations inhabiting the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates'⁵⁷ and that Semitic legends of Accad and Babylon derived from older non-Semitic ones about the origin of civilization in Chaldea which described it as beginning on the shores of the Persian Gulf.⁵⁸ The existence of an alternative vocabulary represented by a couple of ideographs deciphered as meaning 'the language of woman', indicated that in Northern Babylonia 'Semitic wives did not speak Sumerian with the same purity as their non-Semitic husbands' and the latter regarded their wives' dialect 'as a feminine idiom'.⁵⁹ As this extract was found in an undated article from an unknown Journal, in the Special Collections, it is possible that Waddell noted it was evidence of intermarriages between Sumerians and daughters of Semitic blood, a situation rather similar to that described in *Genesis* 6: 1-4.

Telloh excavations

Assyriologists had gained a first knowledge of early Sumerians thanks to the excavations carried out at Telloh.⁶⁰ Although findings from Telloh and Nippur undermined Semitic theories, Halévy still disputed the existence of the Sumerian race and language in the early 1900s. Waddell wrote:

Suddenly, in 1877, the massive structural remains of a mighty city and seaport of about 3,100 BC. was unearthed at Telloh, in the delta of Lower Babylonia by the French expedition of M. de Sarzec. The city was so large and rich in sculptures, inscriptions, etc., that de Sarzec continued without intermission the work of excavation for twenty-three years, until 1900, and its treasures adorn the Louvre [...]. The city was revealed by its inscriptions to have been

a capital of the great Sumerian king [. . .] (so-called "Ur-Nina" of Assyriologists) [. . .].⁶¹

Waddell disserted about the 'galaxy of monuments, sculptures, seals and other works of art and craft, and massive buildings' excavated at Telloh,⁶² and the fact that on several monuments, Ur-Nina and his descendants were portrayed as Aryan or non-Semitic physical type, and that below the levels of the Semitic period, excavations yielded similar results at various sites all over Babylonia. There was evidence that the Babylonians had inherited a legacy from the Sumerians where their laws, literature, art, system of writing were concerned, but the latter seemed to have been absorbed after a brief existence as a nation 'leaving no descendants to continue their culture and language', as if they had become extinct.⁶³ In support of Waddell's view that the Sumerians were Aryan was the fact that there were Sumerian heads typically of Nordic type and ancient marble statues dated to 3,050 BC in the Berlin and Imperial Ottoman Museums,⁶⁴ and the way the Sumerians of the earliest period were portrayed (i.e. broad-browed, and with a high forehead) was an Aryan characteristic on the basis of Huxley's science and typical of dolichocephalic skeletal remains (Indo-Europeans or Nordic type blonds). Several skulls from Ur cemeteries were also confirmed to be of this physical type by Sir Arthur Keith in 1927.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the lapis lazuli stone inset in eyes sockets of some statues represented a people of fair complexion with blue eyes.⁶⁶

Mystery of Sumerian civilization

The presence of a type of pottery in a great shaft at Erech was evidence of innovation and the arrival of a new people who created Sumerian civilization.⁶⁷ At Kish and Ur, it had reached a very high level by the 4th millennium BC.⁶⁸ Childe ascertained that it had been superimposed upon the pre-existent culture or indigenous peasantry which the Sumerians conquered and ruled over.⁶⁹ Al Ubaid painted figurines of baked clay revealed that men wore a long beard and long hair done up in a bun but shaved the upper lip, and women wore wigs as in Pre-dynastic Egypt. Childe expounded that the Sumerians appeared as the first historic Aryans in the Fertile Crescent (Eden) of the Ancient Near-East, then mixed with Semites and created civilization in the 4th millennium BC.⁷⁰ In the letters of Tell El Amarna, they had acknowledged local gods besides their own, and the latter's names were found to be Aryan.⁷¹ Documents in the Hittite archives of Boghazkoy dated to 1,400 BC contained Aryan numerals, but they would only have been found 'further back in time' because the names of the kings of Boghazkoy (Hittites) 'were not Aryan at 1,900 BC'.⁷² Childe asserted that the Sumerians had adopted the Semitic language of the natives and Babylonian script for the purpose of diplomatic correspondence.⁷³ Waddell offered a similar argument: Aryans used Semitic scribes to communicate with Semitic people in their own language and the

latter borrowed Indo-European terms belonging to the Aryan civilization. This was necessary because the great number of Semitic people in the region understood no other language.⁷⁴

Waddell became preoccupied with the Sumerian 'Ar' root in connection with his linguistic studies and the nature of the Sumerian language. He had concluded that the Sumerian language was Aryan (Indo-European) and the parent of English (more so than Greek) because of the evidence of linguistic affinities. In Sanskrit and ancient Persian language, 'Ārya' literally meant 'the exalted or noble one' and its derivation was from the Sumerian 'Ar' or 'Ara' meaning 'exalt, lofty, shining, glory', and it was the remote root of 'Aristocrat' which, in Greek, had the sense of 'governor'.⁷⁵ The Aryan title was used in a racial sense by the Sumerians in the aspirated form of 'Ha-ra'. The Goths, Scandinavians, German and Anglo-Saxons and even Irish, Scots, and Gaels, also used the aspirated form of 'Her, Hera, Hearra or Herr' meaning 'lord or master'. It corresponded to the 'Arios, Harios or Harri' of the Medes, and 'Ārya and Airya' of ancient Persians, and whereas Darius-the-Great referred to himself as 'an Arya of Arya(n) descent' on his tomb, Xerxes called himself a 'Harri'. 'Ari', a dialectic form of 'Aryan', was also used by the Amorites.⁷⁶

Waddell argued that the coining of the term 'Sumer' from a Semitic territorial title 'Shumer', for the ideogram spelt 'Ki-en-gin', was in contradiction of phonetic law, and was 'arbitrarily applied by Assyriologists to ancient imperial people' but had 'never been used by those people themselves', hence the public was misled to believe 'Sumerian' was their true name. 'Sumerian' is indeed an 'exonym'. It was not a term obtained by decipherment but a label chosen by Assyriologists for the earliest inhabitants of Mesopotamia because 'Akkad' was a Semitic term for the land called 'Ari-ki' or 'Uri-ki'. It could be deciphered as 'land of the Ari or Aryans' ('ki' meaning 'land').⁷⁷ He strongly objected to the Assyriologists' method of giving a Semitic value to syllabic signs they could not read because they had no clue as to their phonetic value, as in so doing, they made the Sumerian civilization appear Semitic. He contended Sargon I never called himself 'Sargon', Hammurabi's true name was 'Khammu-rabi',⁷⁸ and it was not until 1,200 BC that civilization became Semitic.

Waddell continued making enquiries to the British Museum in the first year of the First World War, as in a letter, with the heading of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, dated 25 May 1915, Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge replied that he 'had no time to answer his question adequately with five out of 9 staff at War' at the British Museum.⁷⁹ The question was in relation to Sumerians and Hittites using the term 'Aryan' as a title meaning 'noble', and whether it was correct 'if the Aryans ruled over non-Aryan people'. Waddell must have waited for five years and then contacted Budge again, as it was only in a letter dated 23 August 1920 that Budge gave him answers about the value of the Sumerian root 'AR'.⁸⁰ Another letter from Budge dated 14 February 1922 was pasted on the front cover of Volume I of *Book of the Kings of Egypt* (1908), with 'points negligently omitted or not made

clear' in annotation on a newspaper article published by the *Society of Biblical Archaeology*.⁸¹

In 1913, and perhaps because of his feeling of isolation, Waddell moved to the Deodars, Park Drive, Hampstead, and in December of the same year, was invited to serve with the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute, which he did from 1914 to 1916 and from 1919–20.⁸² He was a fellow of the Institute from 1891. His inactivity between 1916 and 1919 may have been due to bereavement as his son, Frank Austine, who sadly fell on the first day of the Battle of the Somme, 1 July 1916. He was buried at Hebuterne Military Cemetery near Calais.⁸³ The 58,000 loss of lives on the very first day of this battle was a most disastrous record in British history. Frank Waddell was 20 years old and had probably just graduated when he lost his life as a Private in the 14th Battalion of the London Scottish Regiment (Service number 5153).⁸⁴ The battle planned for August 1916 had been advanced to 1 July 1916. Its aim, a joint French–British attack, was to divert German resources from Verdun in the defence of the Somme.⁸⁵ The National Archives provide online details such as the type of medal Waddell received from the War Office for his son's bravery.⁸⁶ However, Waddell was still writing during the war as we know that he interrupted his main research to announce a discovery relating to Phoenician origins in the form of an article published in the *Asiatic Review* in 1917.⁸⁷ He resigned from the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute 'owing to pressure of work' as recorded on Minutes dated 26 October 1920, and his resignation was accepted 'with regret' on 28 October 1920.⁸⁸

Controversy over 'Shinar'

The real name by which 'Sumerians' called themselves was never discovered as it was not mentioned in any document, except for a reference to 'a plain in Shinar' (translated as 'a plain in Sumer') in *Genesis* 11, which has been semantically associated with early Babel or Babylon, and the word 'plain' or 'Eden' from the Akkadian word 'Edinu' with the same meaning.⁸⁹ An article addressed to the editor of an unspecified Review (possibly *The Asiatic Review*) and dated 12 August 1922, found in the Special Collections,⁹⁰ was written by Waddell in response to the fact that two unnamed correspondents, who were employees of the British Museum, had stated Waddell was no 'expert' in response to his suggestion in an article he had written in the April issue of the same Review, that the 'Tower of Babel' was probably a State granary due to the fact that the Sumerian 'She-nir', the source of the Hebrew 'shinar' or 'Senaar' of the Septuagint, was a shortened form of 'Tin-she-nir' from which the prefix Tin or Ti (meaning 'life') had dropped out of use (he had thereby offered a solution for the unknown origin of 'Shinar'). Waddell had stated that students were misled to believe 'Bab-ili' existed in the source Sumerian cuneiform wedge-headed scripts, as experts habitually suppressed 'tin-tir' and replaced it by 'Bab-ili'. 'Tin-she-nir' was also usually translated as

'Babylon' or 'Babili' because decipherers gave a Semitic value to Sumerian signs when they had no clue as to the original Sumerian phonetic value of the signs. He stated:

(Bab-ili) really reads by its late Sumero-Babylonian glosses "Tin-Tir," and by its own primary intrinsic Sumerian ideographic values "Tin-She-nir" or "Ti-She-nir." This latter Sumerian form of the name for Babylon suggested to me that it was presumably the hitherto unknown Sumerian source of the "Shinar" of the Early Hebrews.⁹¹

'She-nir' and 'Tin' had been used on documents from 2,950 BC up to the Medo-Persian occupation. In Waddell's opinion, the tower of Babel literally was 'The Great Tower of Grain' and with the prefix 'Tin' or 'Ti', it was 'the Great Tower of Grain of Life'. The Sumerians were known to have erected some as an economic provision against famine. He suggested Semites had created the legend narrated in *Genesis* 11:1-9, in an age when its economic meaning had been forgotten. It encapsulates the idea that the God of heaven felt threatened because men attempted to reach heaven. The account offers an incongruous explanation for the origin of the nations and their languages.⁹² The legendary building of Esagila and Etemenanki by the divine Anunnaki in the sixth Tablet of the Sumerian Creation Epic was a Sumerian parallel to the Hebrew story. It was dated to the 6th century BC, the period of the Hebrew exile in Babylonia. It could therefore have been the source of inspiration for the legend.

Waddell argued that the Hebrew spelling for Babylon as 'Shinar' was corrupt as other well known names of Assyrian and Babylonian kings, so he had spelled it as in Old Hebrew as 'Sh-n-ar'. An ayin had appeared in the Hebrew 'Shinar' in place of the 'i' in the Sumerian 'She-nir'. Waddell also contended that Bab-il-lu (meaning 'place of the Gate of God') occurred in scripts as a common Semitic spelling of the name of Babylon instead of 'Babili'. The correspondents had argued it was a scribal vagary. Waddell replied that 'unfortunately for these correspondents' this 'scribal vagary' was the rule in the earlier Semitic spelling of that city-name, and that 'it was of special significance' that, according to the glossaries, the Semitic equivalent of the Sumerian name 'Tin-tir' (or 'Tin-She-nir') was 'Babilu' and not 'Babili':

I would point out to the senior of these writers that in the very latest cuneiform text published by himself in 1921, in almost the only instances in which Babylon is expressly mentioned, it is in the form of this 'scribal vagary Bab-il-lu' – which three-syllabled word of the text, moreover, is arbitrarily and inaccurately habitually transliterated by that writer as "Bab-ili!"⁹³

Pinches had called Waddell's attention to his article on the 'Eridu' title of Babylon in the 'Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology' (1913 p.

154f)' in which he established that 'Shin-nir' was a recognized early title for Babylon, and cited a bilingual text by Abbé H. de Genouillac in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* (vol. x, 1913, pp. 69f) proving that a title for Babylon was 'SHI.NIR.GAL', or 'the Great Shi-nir'. This title was read by Pinches as 'Igi-Nir-Gal' but the latter observed that 'Igi' also had the value of 'Shi', so Waddell stated the name could be restored to 'Shi-Nir'. In this variant of 'She-nir' (the Great Tower of Grain,) the meaning of 'Tower of Life' could be derived from the fact that 'Shi' meant 'Life'.⁹⁴

G. A. Barton also opposed Waddell on the matter of the term 'Shinar' and disagreed over a detail of phonetic law in his review of the article that Waddell published on the historical origin and economic purposes of the Tower of Babel (1923).⁹⁵

Proposed Indo-European affinity

A postcard from Sayce, dated 20 January 1916, gives us a clue as to the date of Waddell's first contact with this scholar. In a letter pasted in *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion – as illustrated by the Religion of the ancient Babylonians*, posted from Nice, France, to Waddell at 33 The Park, Hampstead, where the latter lived between 1915 and 1920. In a letter dated 27 May 1927,⁹⁶ Sayce, who lived in Edinburgh, thanked Waddell for his *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary* and stated: 'As you know we do not see alike on the general question but there is much to be learnt from comparison'.⁹⁷ Sayce seems to have alluded to their difference of opinion in regard decipherment and whether or not Sumerian had affinities with other languages (this being a question apart from the great controversy in which Sayce played a prominent part). Waddell had analysed and compared Sumerian with Indo-European languages, and assessed that 50 per cent of the commonest words in use in the English language derived from Sumerian terms which had the same word-form, sound and meaning. Professor Stephen Langdon, director of excavations at Kish for 'Oxford Herbert Weld and Chicago Field Museum of Natural History Expedition' to Mesopotamia,⁹⁸ however dismissed the possibility that Sumerian had any Aryan or Caucasian affinity and called it a futility to undertake research on the matter:

I am convinced that it (the Sumerian language) has no affinity with either the Caucasian Aryan or Semitic groups. This side of the problem has not occupied my attention as the futility of such efforts is at once apparent.⁹⁹

Waddell complained that the opinion of some of his contemporaries 'was not based upon any serious comparison of the languages themselves'.¹⁰⁰ He felt that the conclusion that Sumerian had no affinity with the Indo-European family of languages, had been crystallized by continual repetition into a dogma. In his opinion, this ancient language had been disseminated over the

ancient world by Phoenicians, who were not Semites as scholars also supposed, but Aryan, like the Sumerians of whom they were a seafaring branch.¹⁰¹

The consensus with which Waddell disagreed was still unchanged in the 1960s, as S. Noah Kramer professed: 'In vocabulary, grammar, and syntax, [. . .] Sumerian still stands alone and seems to be unrelated to any other languages, living or dead'.¹⁰² The classification of 'agglutinative' (the 'use of compound words or strings or root-words', such as 'no-work-no-pay') seems to have been argued in modern time as the reason Sumerian could not have been regarded as 'Aryan' or 'Indo-European' any more than 'Semitic'.¹⁰³ (though vestiges of agglutination have been found in English as well as Indian Pali and Sanskrit).¹⁰⁴ This was because Indo-European and Semitic languages used inflections and modern scholars found no evidence of inflections in Sumerian.

In his reply to a paper proposing Ural-Altai affinities for Sumerian, H. K. J. Cowan has recently stated that the term 'agglutinative' and 'flexional' do not indicate any genetic relationship.¹⁰⁵ The quote is given below for an appreciation of the fact that the consensus in this field has an uncertain future:

The division of languages into agglutinating and inflectional refers to only one segment of the total structure of language, namely morphology. Comparable morphology between two languages is not necessarily an indicator of their genetic affiliation. [. . .] The interdependency of various grammatical features is not well understood (Hays: 1964). Therefore, it may be misleading to use any feature count as an indicator of genetic affiliation. [. . .].¹⁰⁶

CHAPTER FIVE

Decoding the Dragon and the Rise of Man (*The British Edda*)

The sense of the scenes as given in this volume is based on Waddell's theories and derived from his literal translation of Codex Regius (see the Introduction). As the lays lost their rhymes in translation, no attempt was made to preserve them in verses as Waddell had been able to in his literal translation. These lays would have been recited at medieval festivals in the British Isles. Waddell introduced Scene I with the statement that the sibyl (Voda-spa) sang to the assembly:

Listen! I ask you all, kindred, celebrating, big and small folk, men of the homeland of Dale! Do you wish that I, (*your*) valiant Father, tell you the old tale, our old stories of heroes, as far as I remember it? [. . .].

Characters of the *Edda*

The leading hero of the *Edda* was Thor, a king of Troy in Asia Minor.¹ The Iclander Snorri Sturluson also showed Thor in ancient Troy and as taking possession of Thrace (called Trudheim, meaning Trudhome, or Troad), exploring regions of 'the world', overcoming 'beserks', giants, a dragon and wild beasts, and marrying Sif (Ifa), who had gold hair and was of the same genealogy as himself.²

In *The Elder Edda* (Codex Regius), Her Thor is referred to as Ad, with dialectic Od, Adar, Asa, Andvari, Bill, Dan, Dar or Dur, Thor, Bur, Eindri, Modi, Odi, OEðel, AEthel, Ottar, Sig, Goer, Gerdi, Geir and Geordie, as well as Skai or Scyth, a title of the Eastern European Goth of Getae. Some of these names correspond to Sumerian titles: Ad, Adamu, Adda, Andara or Indura, As, Bel or Bil, Dan, Dar and Dur, Endurra, Gar and Gur, Idim, Hado or Hud, Mith, Mitra, Odo or Udu, Odoin or Uduin, Odanie, Ra, Sagg, Sakh, Ukhu, Zagg and Zakh.³ Dar is the commonest name for the solar god of early Sumerian psalms, with the prefix 'As' or 'Asa', meaning 'Lord'. Waddell expounded that, in Eddic poems, 'Dar' was the original Sumerian form of 'Thor' because 'th' is a late dialectic letter for the Old English letter ð, and the 'a' has been replaced over time by 'o'.⁴ In his view, the pre-Christian hero Her-Thor was a distorted figure of the deified solar hero in early Sumerian psalms,

Dur, Dar, or Tur, with the prefix Aś ('Lord'), i.e. Thor's Asa title and prefix in the *Edda*. Dar was written in Sumerian by a word-sign possessing the phonetic value of Dar as well as Uras.⁵

Thor's chivalric-like exploits included his reform of Eden dated by Waddell to 3,380–3,350 BC. The description of King Her-Thor as 'the tall red-bearded Asa Thor, the Friend of Man' who was 'so fair of face' that when he stood in the 'midst of other men, it was like ivory set in oak, his hair was fairer than gold' ties in with the ethnic characteristics of the Nordic type. His voice or language is described as 'ringing' in the following lay in which Old English terms have been removed using Waddell's glossary:

I see in a long distant past
 the imperial Reign of Reason,
 and (hear) the ringing voice of Sig (*Thor/Ottar*), the divine, calling:
 "Why must brothers battle,
 [. . .]
 Why must young sisters
 Spoil their wedlock?"
 The tall red-bearded Asa (*Lord*), Thor, thus spoke,
 [. . .]
 So fair of face was he
 [. . .]
 It was like ivory set in oak,
 His hair was fairer than gold.⁶

Thor receives the visit of vestals, one of whom is his future wife, Gunn-Ifa/Eve, an 'amazon' (female warrior on horse back, a sign of the presence of Indo-Europeans). Her initial intention is to spy on him but she is converted to his Sun-cult.⁷ Both their genealogies are recited: Gunn-Ifa is of the same race as Her-Thor although she was a priestess in El's serpent-dragon cult (see the Introduction). The hypothetical Proto Indo-European term for 'serpent/dragon/slaying' is *g'hen,⁸ and derivatives are 'kuen' (serpent) in Hittite,⁹ the Vedic 'han', Avestan 'jan', and Old Irish 'gon'. Even 'Guen-ever', 'Guinevere' or 'Geneviève' in French, have the root for 'dragon' that corresponds to *g'hen. Exegesis has had difficulties in explaining why, in *Genesis*, Eve's name is strangely linked to the serpent because the name itself is very much like the Aramaic word 'serpent'.¹⁰ Perhaps the solution can be found in the *Edda* as it contains clues to elucidate this mystery: Eve is a vestal of the serpent-dragon cult and amazon who lives with Edenites before converting to Thor's sun-cult. Thor marries Sif who is 'the fairest of women' and 'her hair was like gold'.¹¹ Thor and Sif/Ifa's ancestry are given in the *Edda* in Scene XVII.¹² Thor is a descendant of the Ynglings, the ancestors of whom were the Aethlings,¹³ a clan name for the race called 'the Angles' or 'Engles', forefathers of the Anglo-Saxons.¹⁴ In the genealogy of the Aethlings was mentioned 'Ali' 'whose haughty work reached the skirts of heaven' (reminis-

cent of the Tower of Babel narrative in *Genesis*). This Ali was the first of the Dan/Danube region and from an upper-class society descended from seafarers, called 'Swans the Red',¹⁵ and from 'Alf' named 'the Eagle':

Eldi-the-Hound of Eden says: Thou art Ottar (Thor) born of Inn-Stone,
And Inn-Stone was of Alf, named the Eagle,
And Alf was of the Wolf-tribe, the Seafarer Wolves.
And the Seafarers were Swans the Red.

[. . .]

That race was of noble blood.

Ali, thy great-grand-father of yore was a mighty strong man,
The first of the Dan region, he was the highest of the young Shields.

[. . .]

He joined forces with Eymund, a Western man,
Who slew Sigr-Ygg with the stone-club.

He had a wife of Western kin called Alm Veig,
They had a race from the progeny of eight sons.

These are the young Shields; these are the skilled ones,

Thence are the OEdl-ings; thence are the Yngl-ings,

Thence were the Land owners born, thence were the Hers (Aryans) born,

Of masters and valiant ones who dominate the world

You are of that race, Ottar (Thor) of the Homesteads!¹⁶

El, the goddess of Eden

A few days from the Aryans' frontier, at Urd on the Nar (Euphrates), was the shrine of the matriarchal chief and priestess of the serpent-dragon cult of the Edenites. The word 'Budar' used in the *Edda* means a 'bride' in the sense of unwedded 'houris' of Eden as there was no marriage institution under this Chaldean goddess whose 'seat' was in the garden of Eden at Urd (Eridu) meaning literally 'city of the Deep' because it was situated at the beginning of the deep navigable channel of the Euphrates, as Jerablus (Carchemish) also was later (see map in the Illustrations). This primitive mother goddess (El) is sometimes called Ymi, Gymi or Hymi in the *Edda*. Sturluson mistook this character for a male Edenite, but Waddell stated that the older Eddic texts described 'Ymi' as the matriarch of the serpent-wolf cult of Iotun (Eden), and she had a Sumerian counterpart: 'Gem' - a maid or concubine - with a variant 'Zimu' with the synonym of 'Gul' or 'Gal' which confirms her identity with the 'Gula', the primitive mother-goddess of the Earth of the Chaldees.¹⁷ The serpent of the Deep in the Babylonian tradition is also female. The word 'Ganda' or 'Gandr' also occurs in the *Edda* in relation to her cult. It means 'sorcerer', and is associated with 'serpent', 'wolf', and 'witch's broom'. El is a powerful witch, a dark magician naturally gifted with occult powers, a conjurer who was already deified during her life, and a mother-goddess asso-

ciated with the Moon. The matriarchal culture which Her-Thor will reform seems to be analogous to the Moon worshipping matrilineal one that the scholar Marija Gimbutas named the 'Old Europeans',¹⁸ and also associated with snake-goddesses.

Titles for the matriarch El, Ell, Al, Ale and El-di, were Ol, and OEL. 'Elu' (priest) is the Semitic, Chaldean and Akkadian equivalent title. El was the name of the supreme god of the Canaanite pantheon.¹⁹ A title for the Edenites is 'Glad' also spelt Gald or Geld. The Chaldeans were called Kaldi or Kaldu by the Assyrians.²⁰ Varg is a variant of the Frigg title of the matriarch which means 'she-wolf'. It was 'Firig' in Sumerian. The old matriarch El, called Ilu 'the Dragon of Evil' is also called 'mother Hubur' in a Babylonian version. The *Edda* describes El as feeding her son Baldr as the wolf of Fen or Van (Lake Van of Cappadocia). El is also the Babylonian Tiawat (Tiamat), the Semitic feminine form of Ty or Tiva in the *Edda* – though Ty is a name also used when a character parallel to the Abel of *Genesis* is slain by the Eddic counterpart of the biblical Cain.

Parallels to Cain and Abel

Waddell noted that in *Genesis* the Hebrew Lord El/Elohim of Eden unfairly refuses Cain's offering of the fruits of the ground, but accepts an animal sacrifice from Abel. In the light of the *Edda*, the interpretation of this account is that Cain's offering to the indigenous population was the fruit of agriculture (as introduced by the Aryan civilization) but it was rejected by primitive society. Exegetes found no explanation for the LORD's rejection of Cain's sacrifice in *Genesis* 4:1–26.²¹ Mysteries of this kind, as well as contradictions in *Genesis*, could be ascribed to the fact that a monotheist reform, seeking to provide the Jewish nation with a separate identity from the polytheism of the ancient Near-East, attempted to disguise the parts that other gods originally played in their Scripture. Waddell believed that the god who demanded an animal sacrifice was originally the matriarchal god El of the serpent-dragon cult. The serpent that attempts to tempt Eve "in the middle of the garden" of Eden in *Genesis* 3:1–5 is symbolic of the serpent cult that existed more than two thousand years before the texts were attached together by a scribe or editor.

According to Waddell, the Abel of *Genesis* belonged to El's cult as he sacrificed animals and for this reason was favoured. Cain, the other son of Adam in *Genesis*, is called by the title of Aysh or Aish in the *Edda*, which 'appears to be a vestige of the Sumerian royal title of Gin as Azag, and his AEgis title'.²² Gunn-Miok is to be identified to the Gan, Gun or Kan, who built the Sumerian seaport city of Unuk on the Persian Gulf to the West of Lagash.²³ Far from being an outcast and a fugitive, Cain was "the first" builder of cities as stated in *Genesis* (4:17). Gunn-Miok is the son of Thor (Adar), the latter being a parallel to Adam. Miok or Mikli whose Sumerian parallel is Mudgala,

is the original of St. Michael who has been made an Archangel in the Christian tradition and is often portrayed on church stained glass windows as a dragon-slayer, with wings, just as the winged Sun-horse or Asva of the Catti on Briton coins.²⁴ Waddell believed that the legendary slaying of the Dragon Apollyon by Saint Michael had an historical human original in the story of the Edda.²⁵ He indeed disclosed a parallel between the slaying of Apollyon and that of Epli of Iotun-gardi (garden of Eden) by Gunn-Miok in the *Edda*. The identity of Prince Gunn-Miok, Mikli or Kon, is also confirmed as Cain, and Epli (*Apollyon*) of Iotun-gardi as Abel. Epli is also called Baldr and was an elderly Dragon-chief and archenemy of Prince Gunn's father.²⁶ In Waddell's opinion, the elderly Baldr/Epli (Abel) was misrepresented in *Genesis* as the son of Adam and Eve, and brother of Cain, perhaps in order to genetically link the Semites to Adam.²⁷ Another name for Baldr is Ty (Typhon in Greek mythology). In the Edda Baldr's father is Grim, a title of Wodan, and his mother is Eyf of Ur.²⁸ This original Eve or Lilith of Eden is revealed here as the Matriarch El.

Arthurian legends

Waddell asserted that the British legend of King Arthur was based upon the achievements of the hero of the Eddic epic, Thor, or Her-Thor, and that not only did his name equate with 'Arthur' because 'her' and 'Ar' are dialectic forms of the same root which means 'Aryan', but his exploits corresponded to those of King Arthur. The name of Thor's queen, Gunn-Ifa, also corresponded to Gunn-Ever/Guinevere. He explained that the oral tradition of Thor, which predated the Arthurian written version, 'lingered in Britain after the loss of the manuscripts', and that this character's achievements were 'substantially identical' to those of the world emperor King Arthur of the legend modernized by Monmouth and Wace, the Anglo-Norman, in the 12th century.²⁹ Significant is the creation of a parliament by King Her-Thor in the *Edda*, which echoes Arthur's court, his round table, interest in justice, and the idea of raising society onto a utopian level of civilization is also present in the verses.³⁰ According to Waddell, the name 'Gimli' in the *Edda* was the original name of Camylot or Camelot, the city-capital of King Arthur/Her-Thor in Cappadocia: at Boghazkoy, a fortress, the temple of which could have been Thor's or Arthur's parliament.³¹ Scene XVIII corresponds to the Banqueting Hall story in the Grail legend.³² Like the Green knight of the Arthurian legend, 'Baldr' visits Thor's banqueting-hall at Vidara where he quarrels with Gothic men and insults Gunn-Ifa. He is expelled and Thor's son, Gunn (Cain), arrests him owing to his destructive raids.

Waddell disclosed the casting of Baldr-Sutt out of 'Heaven' capital by Gunn, Her-Thor's son, in Scene XVIII (following Baldr's visit to Vidara's hall) as the historical origin of the expulsion of Lucifer from Heaven by St. Michael.³³ After this, Baldr (Epli) kidnaps Gunn-Ifa, takes her to Eden and

rapes her. Thor organizes a crusade to rescue his wife. During this expedition he also carries off a magical bowl or grail of great importance to the serpent cult of Eden. This sets the scene for the great Battle of Eden.³⁴ It is generally accepted that having little interest in authenticity, medieval authors placed Arthur in the fifth and sixth centuries and portrayed the details of the Arthurian legend in medieval terms. The Arthurian legend is recognisable in Codex Regius and could have been brought to the British Isles along the known paths of Indo-European diffusion. Waddell stated that his evidence established the historical basis of the *Edda* tradition and the identity of King Thor as Arthur with the first historical Sumerian king who created civilization in the ancient world.³⁵ After reaching the British Isles, the ancient stories of the creation of civilization would have been handed down and told by 'sibyls' at medieval festivals, but after sometime the fact that their heroic achievements had taken place in another geographical position would have been forgotten.

Equation, parallels, and symbols

Waddell expounded that the Arthur of Eddic poems was also known as the patron saint of England St. George, who was often represented as a Dragon slayer. St. George's defeat of the dragon was celebrated on 23 April in England, the same day as in Cappadocia and Syria under the Greek Church. This was also in the month of 'Nisan', the first month of the Sumerian year (an agricultural year) corresponding to March 25 to April 24, called by the Sumerians 'month of the house of Zakh, Zag, or Sag of the Bowl or Jar'.³⁶ Sag was Thor and the bowl in question was a magical cauldron he had carried off from Eden. Waddell contended that the badge of St. George's Red Cross which English sailors wore and which is still the standard of the British Navy, originated from the Cross of St. George of Cappadocia.³⁷ There are details in the *Edda* about brotherly love and a 'True Cross' emblem sometimes described as a Red Cross. Waddell showed that the Phoenicians also worshipped the second Sumerian king deified by the Sumerians under the title of Mukli or Mukhla, whom he identified as the historical original of St. Michael the Archangel and who appears as Gunn-Miok, son of Thor, in the Nordic *Edda*. In Cilicia in the 5th century BC, Lord Mukhla was represented with wings under the name of MKLU (Mikal) by the evidence of a coin which Waddell reproduced.³⁸ This winged figure was associated with the disc of the sun, corn and a sun-bird (goose or Phoenix). The ancient Britons continued marking their coins with this figure, the Phoenix, or a winged horse, in pre-Roman times, with the letters TCVI or Tascia, the Tasia title of this sun-angel to the Sumerians.³⁹

In Waddell's reconstruction of Scene III of Codex Regius, we find evidence of Thor's or Arthur's concern for the uncivilized tribes of Cappadocia. His Aryan government decides how to go about reforming and

regenerating the Phrygians of the old riotous world into an ordered, law-abiding society in Cappadocia, as well as the aboriginal dwarves and Edenites, after annexing territories to their kingdom.⁴⁰ The regeneration of aborigines takes place under the banner of Her-Thor's Red Cross and of the symbol of his sun-worship. It is referred to as 'the rise of Man' as Semitic 'man' is given the opportunity of becoming 'civilized man'.⁴¹ Thor established agriculture, metal forges, built the first cities, created institutions, a Parliament, and propagated a teaching of brotherly love and brotherhood. He condemned the serpent-cult and its blood sacrifices. Waddell's reconstruction and interpretation of Scene II discloses that Her-Thor came to Troy to regenerate and civilize that part of the world, by about 3,380 BC, as Dar-Danos (Thor-Dan), the first king of Troy and the human original deified by the Sumerians as Zakh.⁴² This regeneration is both material as an elevation of men from the primitive state, and spiritual in the sense that civilization and the sun-cult are interdependent. *The Edda* relates stories of an early age in Cappadocia and Sumer and of the same period as those of *Genesis*. This part of the *Pentateuch* is said to reflect stories that circulated in the Ancient Near-East in the early 2nd millennium BC.⁴³ Its creation of civilization and regeneration of primitive man in Eden by Aryan Lords who establish a capital in the mountains of Cappadocia that they call 'Himin' (meaning 'Heaven') is in sharp contrast with the biblical creation story. Waddell noted that Baldr, the son of the matriarch El (Heidi) and Wodan, is never referred to as good or beautiful in the *Edda*, nor is he given an Aryan title such as 'Asa' (Lord). On the contrary, he is the villain of the narrative. He is the Wolf of Fen (Van) – and the counterpart of the 'Green Man' of the Arthurian Legend.⁴⁴ He is also called 'Epli' and 'Ty', as discussed previously, and 'Loki'.

Heidi and Horse-thief Wodan were of the Hrimni race. OEI begat Wolf Loki (*Baldr*) with angry Bodo (*Wodan*). She begat that 'slippery one', that frightening one, with the mind of an adder, with that [. . .] (*Wodan*), with all of his frightful lust. That was the brother from whom Byleist was begotten. Chaldea which is bright with gold [. . .] Val Hall is called their home. [. . .]

Broad-blink (*beater*) is called (*the place*) where Baldr, the hefty, made himself a cell; on that land where he lies, I see that beast fast with his extralucid spell-sticks. Loki the false-hearted (two-faced Baldr), seething with rage, with his linden lance inflamed with hatred, fanning himself with the hugging of the queens, in the ward of his lofty harem, with the flighty (*fickle*) queens that he had in his fold (home), to which flocked these wanton ones. Their oracle 'wailers' are all from the Wood Wolf. The witches all come from Wily Meidi, the mainer (*pal*). Sooth-sorcerers, these all come from Swarthy Head. Edenites, all of them come from Ymi (*of Hell*).

Waddell's identification of Epli as the biblical Abel is supported by The Testament of Abraham in which Abel is the judge of Hell. This is in the sense that Eden was in the grip of the serpent cult before the Goths or Aryans

brought about the Rise of Man. He contended that in Art, Appollyon (Abel) was represented as an elderly Mephistopheles of non-Aryan physical type, fighting St. Michael, and the latter in the shape of a handsome youth of Aryan type.⁴⁵ Furthermore, ancient monuments and pre-Roman coins of the Britons represented Cain as Tascio (an original St. Michael), or as a Goat (Goth) or Deer overcoming a Wolf. Michael's effigy and name were stamped on coins by Phoenicians who travelled as far West as Cornwall and dedicated their sun-temples and early ports to Michael – such as St. Michael's Mount. The connection between St. Michael and the exploits of Thor's son (the Sumerian name of this character being Mudgala) in the *Edda* – such as the slaying of Baldr – may be the reason that churches are sometimes associated with the great Orm or Worm legends, i.e. Ormesby in Norwich, and Appleby in Westmorland.⁴⁶ Waddell pointed out that St. Michael was always represented in art as a youth with golden hair, wearing a chaplet decorated with St. George's Cross, and armed with a lance and a shield bearing the same cross. His festival day, 29 September, is that of St. Gaiane, a variant for Cain or Gawain in the Arthurian legend.

In relation to the identification by Waddell of Thor as Adam, Gunn-Ifo as Eve, and Thor's son as Cain, and Baldr as Abel, after Gunn-Ifa becomes the queen of the Goths and guardian of the Rowan-apples or sacred tree, Thor's son, Gunn or Kon (Cain) is born. In *Genesis*, the two sons (Cain and Abel) may have been symbolic of two different races or people, and the killing of Abel by Cain also takes place in the Eddic account but in different circumstances. In the *Edda*, Baldr's (Epli/Abel) genealogy confirms he is the son of Wodan and of the Edenite matriarch or priestess El. Waddell explained that Lug is the 'Loki title' of Baldr/Val or Fal who becomes Lucifer in the *Book of Revelation*. One could speculate that the battle was transplanted onto 'heaven' and Michael made an archangel in the Christian tradition. Furthermore, the representation of Phoenicians on coins with wings, because their rebus was the Phoenix, may have played a part in the creation of the concept of angels.

Waddell provided over a hundred key Sumerian and Hittite seals and sculptures to illustrate the Scenes of the *Edda*.⁴⁷ He interpreted these seals as a celebration of the establishment of civilization by an exclusive imperial ruling class of Aryan Goths and of a short-lived victory over the serpent-dragon cult by AESir or Asa (Lords), following the great battle of Eden. His illustrations show figures wearing boots of Gothic style still worn in Asia Minor, and figures with horned helmets. In his opinion, the Goths of the *Edda* were the oldest civilized people in the world and introducers of civilization in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete, India as well as the Danube Valley of Europe.⁴⁸ Waddell explained that the pictograph of a goat was a rebus for the Goths (Guti). Despite alterations in the sounds of speech in Indo-European languages over time, the goat symbol can still stand as a rebus for 'Goth' in English. The plough, life-apples, wheat or corn-plants, and goats, as well as vases sprouting with water symbolic of wells (or tapping springs)

and irrigation or baptism, were all associated with Thor's civilization. Many seals and sculptures with dragons, lions, and wolves, were interpreted by Waddell as symbolic of the totems of the clans that were conquered, i.e. a Hittite seal showing Andara or George slaying a dragon, dated 2,500 BC,⁴⁹ and a bas relief at Carchemish showing a slain lion, stepped over by a winged figure.⁵⁰ Other important symbols for the Goths were the plant of youth, and a solar attribute or Cross. Figures represented as dwarves on the same seals could be identified as natives, Edenites, or Phrygians, and their symbols were the serpent, a moon crescent, dragon-like creatures such as winged lions and wolves as sorcerers' tamed animals.

Serpent-Dragon slaying myths

In modern Comparative Indo-European Poetics studies researchers have noted the existence of an obscure and hidden meaning in Vedic and Indo-European myths from the Western Isles of Europe to the Northern half of the Indian sub-continent. People in these regions have an ancestral tongue and myth in common: that of the slaying of a serpent, dragon, or adversary by a divine hero.⁵¹ The telling of such a myth was an integral part of a Hittite ritual at the New Year Purulli festival.⁵² The serpent-dragon slaying myth is still regarded as a mystery.⁵³ Researchers have only been able to assess that the chaos symbolized by the serpent or dragon is more than social in character and the fact it was told at a 'new year festival' indicates that it was created to celebrate an extremely important event in history. In the Slav's dragon stories *To Afanasiev*, the sun, oppressed by storm clouds, disperses them with lightning and the dragon is slain.⁵⁴ Scholars admit they do not really know what dragons and serpents represent although some have ventured to suggest it is symbolic of victory or growth over stagnation or dormancy in the cycle of year.⁵⁵ The serpent is described as hostile and deceitful, and the killing formula can be by a metaphor of thunderbolts.⁵⁶ The dragon-slaying myth is also present in the Mesopotamian tradition, i.e. in Marduk slaying the dragon Tiamat.⁵⁷ Tiamat has sometimes been interpreted as the personification of primaeva watery chaos before the creation of the world. However, in the light of the *Edda*, Tiamat represents the chaos of ignorance, atrocities of the serpent cult, superstition, and a primitive way of life. Waddell showed that the dragon-slaying myth was fashioned as a celebration of the significance of the eradication of the serpent-dragon cult. It was of great importance in respect of the Rise of Man in a golden age of civilization and the latter was made possible after mighty armies of good and evil clashed together, the forces of the sun-cult of the Aryans being represented as those of the Light and those of the powerful magician El as Dark Forces.

Tivo or Ty, Baldr's title in the *Edda* can be associated with Zeus' adversary on a famous Greek frieze, the Altar frieze of Pergamon, in which the artist represented Typhon's lower extremities as serpents.

*Scene I: Vision of Eden and its serpent priestess
before civilization*

I remember the Edenites (*Iotun in Old English; 'Iotna garda' for garden of Eden is used in Scene XIV*) born a long time ago, (and) their old world story (that) the (wise) heads have told me. I have a vision of newly built homes, of Ivid-Ior-d (*young Eve of Ior also spelt 'Ifo'*) and of the happy 'bearer of the Wood Cross', the First one of our race.

'Bearer of the Wood Cross' is from the Old English term 'Miot-vid' ('vid' meaning wood). According to Greek legend Pro-Metheus stole the sacred fire to civilize mankind from the island of Lemnos (below Troy). In Her-Thor's title 'Miot-the-Asa', the term Miot could be associated etymologically with 'Metheus' (bearer). In Old English, Miot-vid means 'Miot of the wood' (wood possibly alluding to the Cross or sceptre as 'Vid' means wood, but in the light of the association between Miot and Metheus, Miot-vid could mean 'bearer of the Cross made of wood'.⁵⁸

Ymi is associated with Geme in Sumerian, like the Indian Gula, a primitive Mother goddess and priestess of the serpent of the Deep. A change to the male gender appears in the later versions of the myth-mongering priests of the Egyptians, Indians and Wodanist Goths, but Ymi, the ignorant matriarch, was the first of the series and is also to be distinguished from the late successor of that name who was more cultured than her primitive ancestor.⁵⁹

MATRIARCH OF EDEN, SERPENT PRIESTESS AND 'WEIRDS' (SORCERERS)

In a primordial time was that concubine Ymi self-established (*in Eden*). Not aware of (*the existence of*) sand nor sea was she, nor of cool swelling waves, nor of other tribes on earth, nor of heaven above. Only aware of the Gulf of Ginnunga (*Gi-in-gi or Kan-in-gi for Mesopotamia on the Persian Gulf*) was she, and (*of*) its unique (*corn-*) grass.

She knew not where the Sun had its eight mansions. She knew not where the Stars had their eight stations. She knew not how the Moon had its quarters and powers (*Ancient Science?*). She knew not how the Moon had its quarters and powers. I have a vision of her cellar/cave as it stood sheltered from the sunlight, on the strand of Nar (*river Euphrates*) (*Carchemish was called Nari-ma or Nar-land by the Hittites, Assyrians and Egyptians*) with its door facing northward; in through its door (*made of leaves*) fell drops of adders' venom.

The Old English term Orm translates as Great Serpent or Worm, and is found in British place-names associated with King Arthur, i.e. Orme's Head. It derives from the Sumerian Erim 'Enemy Serpent, Worm'. Slid-Ur (Urdu) was the seat of the oracular priestess and mother goddess in Sumerian (Eridu). It literally meant 'City of the Deep'. A later Eridu was established at the mouth

of the Euphrates on the Persian Gulf.⁶⁰ Central to the story of the lays is the cauldron which Waddell identified as a grail. It appears to be used by the matriarch for clairvoyance like a crystal ball. The Old English term 'glari' meaning glass, present in the episode in which Thor captures the bowl of Eden, is by coincidence an anagram for the term 'grail'.

I see under the cellar the horny Great Serpent (*Worm*) (*she worshipped*). (*I see*) a river flowing eastward over the Adder's Dale, that hole of swords, Slid-ur (*Urdu*) – so it was named. I see wading/crossing the waters, thronging/invading thickly the stream, men maimed/mutilated for confuting her and for murdering her (*holy*) wolves. And another was found guilty for overhearing her eerie rune secrets. (*Ymi/Hemi*) Heidi, was styled 'the shining one' when she visited houses. (*I see*) the sibyl (*near a*) well, prophesying with the witchery of her Sorcerers/wolf and witch's broom, spell bounding every one she knew. She loved to play tricks/cast spells. (*Yet*) she was adored by her bad brothel suite (*female maids, bridesmaids*).

THREE WEIRDLY FATES AND THEIR SACRED TREE

In Old English Tholli is a tree figured as the sacred tree of Ur or Urdu in many archaic Sumerian and Persian seals. It occurs on some of the sculptures unearthed at Carchemish. The sacred tree of Life is described in the Sumerian hymns and it is significant that the matriarch Ymi or Gymi was mentioned as Zimu as she flourished with the tree of Life before the epoch of Adam-Thor or In-Duru according to Sumerian hymns.⁶¹ The *Edda* states:

Thence (*the matriarch's cellar*) came the maids (*of Ymi*), with their infinite witchery; three of them in the cell that was located beneath the (*sacred*) Tholli/Tilla Tree. Weird Urd was one named, and another (*was*) Verdandi, (*who was*) shearing the doom-sticks. Skull-the-Binder was the third. They heard the (*oracular*) Voice, they lived in a trance; for those born of old, they were the sorcerers and soothsayers. Standing far to the north at the Nether Fell (*mountain*) was the cellar/cave of Gulli of this cindry (*ash colour*) race. And yet another cellar/cave stood at Okolni, the beer-cellar of the Edenite; Brimi, the Burner, he was named [. . .].

ATROCITIES OF THE SERPENT PRIESTESS

Cruelty reigned supreme in her home and much sodom (*prostitution*). (*This was a*) club-age, an axe-age with butchery cleaving, a wind-age, a wolf age. Here the old world's hell broke loose: men tore apart other men untiringly. There, the Nether Ogress sucked mankind in misfortune. The she-wolf Frigg slit those men apart! Do you know the Edda yet! Do you know it all?

Scene II: Founding of Troy

Scene II discloses King Her-Thor coming to Troy to regenerate and civilize the 'world' c.3,380 BC, as Dar-Danos (or Thor-Dan), the first king of Troy and the human original of Zeus.⁶²

I see coming from the distant (*far away*) Empire Reign of Reason, and hear the ringing voice of Sig (*Sag, Zakh, Zeus*), the divine, shouting 'Why must brothers battle, and (*do so*) against their own precious dignity? Why must young sisters spoil their wedlock?' The tall red-bearded Asa (*Lord*) Thor, the Friend of Man, (*thus spoke*); so fair of face was he that when he stood in the midst of other men (*Edenites*); it was like ivory set in oak, his hair was fairer than gold.

The text describes the utopian conditions of the spot where Dar-danos or Od (Od-am/Adam), other names for Thor, chose to settle at first in the Dardanelles. Figure.21 provided as an illustration in *The British Edda* is from a Sumerian plaque dated to 3,000 BC, showing a figure with horned head dress drinking with an attendant and a pictographic representation of a long-haired goat (a rebus for 'Goth'). Mount Ida was situated at the source of the river of Troy: the Ska-Mandar: The Mountain was sacred to Zeus. His name derives from Thor's title Zakh/Sakh/Sigg. According to tradition, Troy was built by Dar-Danos, the Sumerian Dur/Dar deified as Zakh.⁶³

The Asas (*Lords*) settled on the Vale of (Mount) Ida. I see there a vast expanse of holy land, cultivated by the Asas and their elves. Thor's race will even be present in Troad when the sensational history of the royal rulers (*comes to pass*). 'Yew Dale' (*Dardanelles*) is called the home where Ull the hefty carved himself a hall. 'Bur's Inn' is the third, which the cheerful ruler built, and thatched its saloon with silver: 'Ilios' (*Vala-kialf*) it is called, and was chosen by himself, the Asa (*Lord*), in the olden days. 'Sunk Beach' is called the fourth of the Inns, where the cool swelling waves are forever clashing over; there Od-of-the-Inn and his wise men/sages drink day after day from golden jars, their heart filled with joy.

INSTITUTION OF AGRICULTURE

Ad(-am) bur's sons uplifted the soil in cultivation. They (*the Goths*) gave the Middle Garden its glorious happy shape. The sun then cast its warmth into the stone cellars (*in Eden*). The ground became green with leeks (*and*) grain. The Sun wrapped its shining rays around the fellowship of men, in sun-wise direction around the heavenly Adar (*Adam*).

In 'The British Edda', Figure 23 is from an archaic Sumerian seal on which a ploughman holds a plough with two hands, a second presses down a point

of share, and two others drive oxen with a whip. Figure 24 from a Cassi seal of about 1,350 BC shows ploughing under the sign of the Cross, the emblem of the Sun and of Thor's sun-cult. Figure 25A is from a Hittite seal c.2,000 BC, to be interpreted as Goths worshipping a winged sun disc with its cross emblem and its sacred tree.

LAWS AND INDUSTRIES

Then all the Regi rulers went to their judgment seats in Parliament, and these great holy Goths decided together that to the Night and New Moon they would give these names. Morning also they named and Mid-day too, Dinner and Afternoon to tell the time. They built an altar and a high timbered hall to receive guests, flaming forges and a wealth of smithies, tongs too they shaped, and workmen's tools (*they placed*) on tables; in the town they played cheerily in houses. There was nothing they lacked, not (*even*) gold. Do you know the Edda yet?

Scene III: Thor colonises aboriginal dwarves and Edenites

The Sibyl recited:

Until the time when people slender such as ourselves arrived (*on this land: Cappadocia*)— us, the Asas (*Lords*) who are filled with love in our happy homes, there only existed on this land little helpless people called 'blue-legs', who were smeared with ash, who howled (*like wolves*), and were without future. Soul had they none, nor lineage: they had nothing, no government (*headmen*), no craft (*sciences*), were unable to write (*no letters*) and didn't even have a spark (*glint*) of God. Soul gave them Od of the Inn. Wits gave them Hoeni (*Enoch*), sciences and industries Lord Urr gave them and the light of God/*of the solar cult*. Then all the Rulers went to their Hall of Judgment seats (*stools, in Parliament*), these great holy Goths and pondered together: 'how shall we protect/shield the dwarfs and shape them into people, both those from Brimis' blood and those from the Blue-Legs?'

ADMISSION OF ABORIGINE CHIEFS TO GOTHIC PARLIAMENT

Then tenures of land were ordained by assembly/council for the chiefs of all the dwarf tribes, and for Thor of the Inn, another. This civilized manner of marking and settling the dwarfs over the land was as Thor of the Inn had advised.

THOR'S EXPLOITS

The *Edda* has scenes describing aboriginal tribes of the Troad area and as far as Lake Van in Armenia and in Eden. After the 'Asa' or Lords (Snorri

Sturluson called them 'AESirs') settle down upon the Vale of Mount Ida, and together with their 'elves', or natives of small stature, cultivate a vast expanse of land, aborigines flock to Thor and his sun-cross standard. In Scene VI, under the name of Miot-the-Asa (King Midas) because of natives' attacks, Thor is forced to conquer Phrygia, land of the lions, up to the Euphrates, and down to the Taurus and seaboard of Cilicia, in the eastern region of Cappadocia.⁶⁴

Scene VI: Conquest of Phrygia by 'George'

Phrygia is inhabited by a Lion tribe of Dwarves. The name 'Phrygia' (the land of the Lions) derives from the Sumerian Firig or Pirig (a lion) (literally: ferocious) which was written by the pictograph of a lion's head. Figure 38, a Hittite seal c.2,500 BC, shows Thor as Meide-Asa or Geiri (George) conquering Wodan and his lion-totem tribe of Phrygia by his cross-standard and hammer. It represents the king attacking a lion holding a hammer in his right hand and a captured wolf in his left hand (symbol of a tribe).⁶⁵ At the source of the Sangarios River in the heart of Phrygia is a rock sculpture on the face of a cliff with nine crosses which Waddell called 'St. Georges' crosses' (Figure 39). One of its inscriptions was deciphered as reading 'Midas'. The monument was probably erected to celebrate Thor's victory over the serpent cult of the Phrygians and Edenites.⁶⁶ Figure 36 shows Thor taming the lion-totem tribes of Phrygia, native chiefs being represented allegorically as lions on a stone-knife c.3,350 BC in the Louvre.⁶⁷ Thor has devoted chiefs all over the Dardanelles and Cappadocia. The *Edda* states that the sons of Hek Tor (Hug-Tor, i.e. Oku-Thor) came to 'Frigia Land' and settled there, but banished Elenus, whom the Asas called Ale (El).⁶⁸ An interesting statement is that Vigri (Phrygia) is called 'the field' in view of the fact that *Genesis* 3:1 uses the same term (sometimes translated as 'plain') when stating that the serpent which tempted Eve was wiser than other animals.

Vigri (*Phrygia*) is called 'the field', where in fight shall meet the black heads and our dear Goths. A hundred rushing torrents, has it every way. It is their destined battle field.

Here as elsewhere, armies are compared to torrents. Waddell expounded that the biblical myth of the Flood may have derived from this metaphor. Homer described a conquest of Phrygia by a king he called Otreus. Waddell believed this name corresponded to Thor's Eddic title of Adar: Ottar. The female warriors whom Thor has to fight in the *Edda* also correspond to the Amazons of Homer's tale. In an expedition Thor encounters Amazonian warriors from Eden who are described as wearing skin-coats, whereas Goths wear tailor-made garments.

FIGHTING THE AMAZONS

I (*Thor*) was in the East fighting with the Edenites, the baleful unwedded brides (*Amazons*) going up to the mountains. Numerous would the Edenites be if all of them lived: never would a man survive in Midgard (the Middle garden/Middle earth).

The sibyl speaks as Wodan:

(I) see (fighting) against me Hekk (*Hek-Thor*) Meide at Vind (*Vindara/Vidar/Pteria*), that Geiri (George), who in the night with all his nine (wood-crosses), wounded me, inflicted a wound to me, Wodan: to myself, to mine own self, with these (*woods*) of Meide, which no man had heard of! Every one of them defeated me, and I ran! That living Wood did not protect me, that wood without horns! These Nine Standards crushed me. (*I was*) taken prisoner by the upstanding Rowans (*guardians of the Rowan apple tree*), (*and*) seized while weeping. I withdrew and retreated.

THE FIRST SUMERIAN CAPITAL

The Goths build a fort inland, east of Troy, the ruins of which still exist near the village of Boghazkoy (in Turkey). Waddell presented Vidar/Pteria (Boghazkoy) as the first Sumerian Capital and the Sumerian makers of civilization as 'blood-kinsmen' of early Hittites.⁶⁹ The land of 'Vidar' (Pteria to the Greeks: Boghazkoy) was known as 'Bidarra' to Sumerians, a different spelling due to the fact that V, B, and P are interchangeable dialectically.⁷⁰ Bidarra was associated with the son of the first Sumerian king and 'Lord Digger of the Earth'. A Sumerian synonym for 'Bidarra' was 'Ukush' and 'Ukhu', a title linking Sumer to the capital city of Boghazkoy, meaning 'Hawk' or 'Eagle'. This solar title was to be associated to a king later deified as a Father-god called in Sumerian 'the Hawk Lord' and defined as the Lord Sakh or Zax, also popularly perceived as a Judge, and the original of Zeus, to the Greeks, Jupiter to the Romans, and Jehovah to Jews. Waddell identified the son of this Hawk Lord as Baku (Bacchus to the Romans), or Mukhla, known to the Sumerians as 'Mudgala', as attested by a seal discovered at Telloh (see the Illustrations).⁷¹ The son of the Lord was referred to as Gin and was Tasia to the Britons. He was the Cain of *Genesis* and Gan, Gun or Kan, in the Isin Lists. Baku was associated with the renewal of vegetation and agriculture, and was the first builder of cities in Mesopotamia (Kish and Erech).⁷²

After Vidar or Himin (his capital) was attacked, Her-Thor acquired new territories in Urd (Eden) after a battle at Jerablus (identified by Waddell as Carchemish) on the Euphrates and the Chaldean frontier. His territories expanded down to the Persian Gulf (forming Eden, present Iraq).⁷³ Waddell also identified place names such as Lofar on the other side of the Taurus Mountains, Cilicia, and Lake Van situated east and south of Armenia.

At his capital, Thor has a judgment hall and a Rowan-apple tree referred

to as 'Ygg's Drasill'.⁷⁴ The tree is guarded to prevent it from dying because too many people are picking its apples, (or it was lacerated by harts and serpents⁷⁵), an interesting alternative to the story about the tree of knowledge in *Genesis* as, in both stories, it becomes 'forbidden'. Sometimes this tree is called an Ash, Run or Rowan tree (belonging to the family of *Pyrus*).⁷⁶ Thor establishes baptism as an initiating rite into his sun-cult. There is a reference to 'the baptized men at Vidara town'.⁷⁷

Scene VII: Annexation of Cilicia and building of capital

A territory including Cilicia which extended from Phrygia to the Upper Euphrates and Armenia, and in the south to the Mediterranean coast, was annexed by King Thor. It is at this stage that Thor established his capital Vidara (Pteria) in Cappadocia, east of Troy, inland. The *Edda* mentions it by its ancient name of Pteria, as well as Vidara. It existed close to the present Boghazkoy village (in Turkey) (see map in the Illustrations). Thor called his capital 'Himin' the meaning of which is 'heaven', perhaps because the fortress of Boghazkoy was built at an altitude of 3,700 feet above sea level.⁷⁸ Two maps were provided as well as a photograph of the Lion Gateway of the Old Hittite Capital, the ruins of which are still standing and are about six meters high. The Cappadocian capital is occasionally referred to as 'Goer-voll' in Old English, meaning 'George-wall'. Waddell unveiled Thor's identity as the original of St. George of Cappadocia and Patron Saint of England.⁷⁹ A plan of Vidara was provided 'after Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein in *Reisen in Kleinasien*, Tafel XIV'.⁸⁰

DESCRIPTION OF CAPITAL VIDARA/PTERIA

Sprigs, vegetation and high grass covers Vidara land with wood. And there Maeg (*one of the names or titles for Thor's son*) slipping away, will saddle his mare to go and valiantly avenge his father. Heaven city is the head (quarter) where the Home Dale (*Father*) now tells his bold maxims. There the Keeper of the Goths drinks [. . .] husbandmen the glad mead in the palace of the Goths. Glittering in the tenth Inn, all studded with gold and thatched, seemingly with silver. [. . .] he waits for the good moment to go each day and settle every virulent dispute.

'New-town' is the eleventh Inn. There the Nordic has constructed for himself with great effort a carved hall. The peacemaker of men, (*has pulled up*) the balancing beam of its base. It is constructed in wood (*timbered*) high on the Red Horn.

JUDGEMENT HALL AND TREE

Thor goes to the Judgement Inn and crosses the rivers: the Kormt and Ormt and the two Kerlaugs. At their shallow ends Thor crosses every day when he

travels to Doom Inn, at [. . .] Ygg's Dra-sill (*Thor's ash tree*). For the Lord's bridge is set alight with fire where the holy waters noisily flow. [. . .]

THOR'S TREE

The Ash I see standing is called Ygg Drasill (*Thor's ash tree*). High, broad and oozing with apples it is. [. . .] It stands well afar from the green pine of Urd Burn (*Eridu of Eden*). Three of its roots stand out at the three highways under Ygg Drasill.

In *The British Edda*, Figure 47 shows Thor's sacred tree in Assyrian art guarded by unicorns from a seal c.1,000 BC. Figure 48 shows Thor's tree watched over by goats and attacked by an adversary. There is a sun ray on each side of the tree and a Moon crescent indicates the identity of the attacker. Figure 49 also depicts an attack upon Thor's tree by a wolf (a symbol for Chaldeans). Everyone acquires a piece of it, until it is so rare that it has to be guarded. In *Genesis 3:24* the LORD also places a cherubim with a revolving flaming sword to guard the way of the Tree of Life. There also is a sacred tree in Eden (at Carchemish) called Tholli in the Eddic text. It is linguistically equivalent to Tilla, the date-palm tree. This tree does not grow as far as Carchemish any more, but is present on many Sumerian seals as the sacred tree of Ur or Urdu, and on Persian seals, as well as on sculptures in Carchemish itself.

To the Hell chamber in Eden goes one; another (*goes*) to the frost giants on the rim (of Ararat); the third (*goes*) to the baptized men (*the Goths at Vidara town*). [. . .] The Ash (*tree*), Ygg Drasill (*Thor's tree of knowledge*) looks more poorly than it ever has: animals eat it on the top, at its sides it rots and the Nether-ogre shears is lower parts.

The forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge has always been represented as an apple in popular art although *Genesis* does not state what this fruit was. The idea it was an apple may be a legacy from the oral tradition that was repeated at medieval festivals. Waddell identified the Rowan Apple tree or Quicken Ash as belonging to the 'Pyrus' family of apple trees. In *Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons*, he explained how the Rowan tree became sacred to the sun cult.⁸¹

Scene VIII: Visit of future wife to capital

Here we find that the matriarch El, called Ymi, Heide and Mary, is jealous of Thor's civilization and sends her maidens to spy in the capital Himin.

Then came there Mary's maid and giant (*Amazon*) maidens which worried the invaders (Goths) of their land in Eden a lot.

The name Ior or Ifa is sometimes used in the *Edda* as well as 'Ivo' or 'Ifo'. Ior is also spelt as 'Ur' and 'Urd', and this discloses an affiliation with Ur of the Chaldees, at the level of Carchemish (not its namesake close to the Persian Gulf, which also became a centre of the serpent cult and Moon god).⁸² The seat of the matriarchal oracular priestess was at Urdu which literally meant 'City of the Deep' because it was situated at the beginning of the deep navigable channel of the Euphrates where Carchemish stood. The Urdu near the Persian Gulf was established later.

Figure 54 in *The British Edda* illustrates a first encounter between Gunn-Ever or Gunn-Ifa, the Warrior Amazon, and King Thor. It is from a Sumerian seal c.2,500 BC. In her right hand she carries a serpent caduceus as she is an oracular priestess and vestal in the serpent cult. She has been sent to Himin to spy on Thor. Waddell stated:

The Sumerian inscription on the right reads "Lord Iatil and Lady Gun-na." Iatil is Thor's Eddic title of Oetil or OEdl, the Anglo-Saxon AEthel, and Gunna is the Sumerian source of Gunn in the *Edda*.⁸³

'Guen-ever' and 'Guinevere' of the Arthurian legend seem to have derived from the Eddic 'Gunn'.⁸⁴

Scene IX: Gunn or Ifo's marriage to Her-Thor

Gunn-the-Warrior is sometimes referred to as 'Asyn of Ior' and 'Sif'. A Sumerian seal dated c.2,500 BC (Figure 55) was interpreted by Waddell as representing Thor's future wife. She sits on a throne decorated with lions. On her right is a serpent and on her left a Moon crescent showing her connection with the matriarch's cult. Next to it is also the star-sign for her title 'Ash' meaning 'lady' or 'lord'. Two figures are led by a priestess wearing a horned hat. Snorri Sturluson conjectured that Gunn was the daughter of Sutt (Seth or Apli) identified by Waddell as Abel, but as a vestal priestess of his mother's cult she was technically his sister. In the Hound's Lay, under the name of Frey (Freia) she is made a daughter of Ymi, another name for El:

Frey wedded Gerdi/George. She was Gymis' daughter (*priestess*) and of Aur Bodo (*other name for Wodan*), an Edenite in the Airt/Earth (*Arata in Sumerian*).⁸⁵

The Amazon was however of the Gothic race and of the same AETHling clan as Thor/Arthur. It seems that she was sometimes called a 'daughter' of the matriarch because of her position in the cult. Before the Goths' arrival the serpent cult held all of Eden in its grip. It was the fashionable religion of the pre-Adamite world referred to by Plato as 'the Old World'. The *Edda* confirms that some of its priestesses were of the Asa (noble) or Gothic race:

Much separated by birth, I think are the Nuns (*priestesses*). Their race is not the same (*as that of the Edenites*). Some are reared of Asa kin. Some are reared of Elf kin. Some are daughters of the Dvalin Dwarves.

'Gunn-of-the-Froth' is another title for Ifo (Gunn-ever) related to her ancestry (her ancestors being seafarers) and it varies with 'Gunn of the sea-froth' or 'Sea-foam kin' which also was that of Aphrodite and Venus.

GUNN-EVE LEAVES THE OLD SERPENT CULT TO MARRY

What follows is a dialogue between Gunn-ever (Ifo) and El referred to as Mary, the Hound or Houndel (translating as 'She Wolf') as well as Eldi and Fiery El. Various titles are used for Thor, such as Bur, Modi, Odi, OEdl, AEth, Ottar, Sig, Geordie, and also Skati for Scyth. Freyia (Gunn/Ifo) calls El:

Wake up, Mary May, maid. Wake my wench! O Hound-sister, who dwell in Hell's chamber! Now is the time to get a move on. Let's ride with the wolves to Val Hall, and thence to Holy Ves (*Vidara*). Let's beg the Aryan Father to give us a seat and hug us! For he gives geldings and hunting hawk spurs to his bodyguard. He gave to Modi a helmet and breastplate, and Sig the Minor got a sword. He gives victory to his 'sons' and gold ore to some, (*teaches*) speech skill to many, and manliness to his men. Chambers he gives to his men [. . .] and songs to the bards. He gives honourable men (*to wed*) to many honest young girls. Thor must I worship, and thus must I beg him that he be at peace with you, though he is no friend of the brothel brides of Eden. Now take your Wolf from its stall, let him run with my Rowan! Slowly my colt will trot on the way of the Goths. I will saddle my mare of mettle.

El/Houndel replies:

False you are, Freyia, and tempting me! Is it to that your eyes and mouth (*now*) turn? Is it that you have your favourite steed (*Roman*) from Ottar-of-the-Inn (*title for Her-Thor*), Inn-stone's young Bur?

Freyia (Gunn-ever/Ifo) answers:

Deluded you are, Houndel, and surely dreaming if you think my husband (*to be*) had anything to do with my favourite comrade (*steed*), my glorious Gold Bristle! Hilda's [. . .] had it reared for me by the twin dwarves Dainn and Nabhi.

Let's chat on our saddles, seated with the wolf pack, but be fair to the race of the bringer of Doom, the groom who comes from the Goths. They have wagered (*for my hand*) in precious gold dust: Young Ottar-of-the-Inn and thy sweetheart son Ty (*Attis, Baldr*). But I shall grant that young Skati (*Scyth/Catti title of Thor*) of the Inn what is due to him because of our friendship. He built me an altar of piled-up stones, and rubbed their grit smooth like

glass, and reddened it with new nout's blood: Ottar has indeed been true to Asyn of Ior! Now let's hear again the pedigree tale of the upper-born race of men! Who were the Shield-ings? Who were the Skille-ings? Who were the OEdlings? Who were the Yelp-ings? Who were the Born Land-Holders? Who were the Aryans from? Who were the most chosen men in Mid-Gard? Bear all these bound in your mind to recite them out so that he will listen to all these worthy words, readily on the third morning hence, when he and your sweet-heart son Ty (*Abe/Baldr*), their races will reckon.

The matriarch:

Run away and sniff on the trot from here yourself! [. . .] Few fair words of friendship you will force out of me: galloping after your lover Adar, out at nights meeting the He-Goats (*Goths*)! Farewell you Heid-of-the-Rowan! Running after Odi (*Thor*), for ever yearning, cross with high speed, there in skirts still more. Gallop on your own, OEdl's lover! I shall not tonight! You are the same as these farmer folks. Go far away Heid-of-the-Rowan (*her horse's name*).

Gunn still insists:

I'll slay you, fiery Eldi, though you are Ivi's (*my*) old mother, if you don't come on the road!

Hound/Gymi/El:

Here quench your burning fire! Hold your flame! Were it to happen that he lost his life, it could be endured. Take this beer to Ottar, blended with adder's drops and ill-health of Hell!

Ifo/Gunn:

Your weird Hell spells will not work any harm on him as you think, O brothel bride of Eden! Nor your baleful curse. He will drink Dyr's own wine (*his own wine*) and I shall ask Ottar and all the Goths for dough.

Eve has failed to convince Gymi/El to accompany her on her wedding march to Thor's home. Baldr does under the name of Ty or Tis. He leads a procession of the wolf tribe and Valkyrie weirds. Waddell contended that the *Edda* was a word commentary for the rock inscriptions at Iassili, Pteria (Boghazkoy) which had been the object of speculation by archaeologists.⁸⁶ In his opinion, Gunn-ever or Ifo was depicted with goat symbols together with Thor to indicate that as a result of her wedding she had become yoked to the clan of the Goths. Baldr, on the other hand, rides a lion pictographic of his tribe and chieftainship, and the Valkyrie weirds, ravens.

THOR AND GUNN-EVER'S ANCESTRY

When Thor visits Eden some time after the wedding in Scene XVII to discuss

Baldr's plot against the Goths, the Matriarch recites his ancestry and divulges that Gunn was also born of the Gothic race and of the same AETHling clan as himself. In this lay section the matriarch referred to as 'Eldi the Hound' recites Thor's ancestry. She states that the Ynglings descended from the AETHlings or OEdlings. The Ynglings is the clan name for the race we call 'the Angles' or 'Engles', the forefathers of the Anglo-Saxons.⁸⁷ Waddell pointed out that the term 'Saxon' was etymologically related to the Sumerian title Zakh or Zax and the latter equivalent to Thor's title 'Sigg'. The AETHlings are given in this genealogy as originating from a race that sprang from the eight sons of Alm Veig of Western kin, and before her, Sigtr-Ygg, and another one called Ali whose haughty work reached the skirts of heaven (perhaps a parallel to the biblical tower of Babel?). Ali was the first of the Dan region and originated from an upper-class society (Aryans or nobles) descended from seafarers called 'Swans the Red' and from one called 'Alf' named 'the Eagle' who was Inn-Stone (the House of Stone). The Matriarch stated to Thor he was Ottar born of Inn-Stone, but that Alf was of the Wolf tribe, a Seafarer 'Wolf'. Gunn-Ever, the Valkyr and Warrior priestess, or 'Gunn of the Lather or Froth', descended from the bairn of Svavo (her real mother) and her father was a Sea King. This was the same race as Thor's. Baldr's ancestry was recited and disclosed as being from Bodo, Bauta (or Wodan) and Heide/Eldi. 'Eyf of Ur' was also a title for the matriarch.⁸⁸ The Ynglings were issued from Landowners and the Hers or Aryans were masters and valiant men.⁸⁹

THE QUEEN OF THE GOTHs IN HER PALACE

After her wedding (Scene IX), Gunn-ever/Ifa becomes queen of the Goths and guardian of the Rowan apple or sacred tree, and Thor's son, Gunn or Kon (Cain) is born.⁹⁰

'Folk-Garden' is the ninth Inn, and there Freyia (Eve) gives counsel seated cosily in her saloon. Half of the valiant ones she kisses every day, and half go to Odo-of-the-Inn. Do you know the Edda yet? Do you know it all yet?

Freyia was elevated to the position of Queen in the Hittite capital of the Goths called 'heaven' as Asi (lady) of Ior. This, according to Waddell, discloses the origin of Ishtar and the meaning of the following Sumerian statement:

Ishtar set her holy seat with An-Dara the King, and all over the kingdom of Heaven is exalted.⁹¹

Scene X: Gunn/kon (parallel to the biblical Cain)

The Eddic titles Gunn and Kon correspond to the Sumerian titles Gunn, Gin or Gan, which Waddell believed to be the source of the Hebrew name Cain

and Gawain in the Arthurian legend.⁹² Waddell discloses Gunn as the Sumerian emperor Gan or Kan who established agriculture and was remembered as Bacchus, the Lord of Plants and Wine. The Egyptians called him 'Lord of Corn and Wine' or 'Basa' and 'Khonsu', a title of Horus.⁹³ He is also referred to as Aegis and Bauge in the *Edda*. In Figure 63 Waddell explained that a serpent surmounts his sun disc to indicate his mother's original cult.⁹⁴

King's son and Hetman/Hittite hero, Kon was the youngest in the Inn House. As soon as he could stand up he grew up as an Earl born.⁹⁵ [. . .] Kon the Young rode through [. . .] fully-fledged in the skill of his club [. . .]. As Earl he disseminated the Runes, but beat his father the King in poetry which he better knew. Then after getting the AEdl-dish he wrote his own Runes (book) and as King he was known as the Rune-knower.⁹⁶

*Scene XII: Ifo (also called Heide here) imparts
commandments to her son*

Heide of the Rowan Runes (writings) is called the She-Goat (Goth) that stands in the Aryan Father's Hall, and eats off the limes of the Wisdom Tree, and who fills her shapely jar. She weighs the Baptist's mead, the wind that never stops.

The Hug Runes were a set of rules or maxims by which to live a good life and do one's duty. 'Hug' literally meant 'affection', 'love', 'sincerity' and 'courage'. Waddell contended that these rules, along with baptism by water, formed part of an initiation into King Thor's new religion of the Cross and sun-cult. Gunn-Ever says to her son:

[. . .] This I counsel you in the first place: that you remain blameless with your friends. Even if they take side against you do not ever strike them to the blood. That will duly speak for you when you are dead. I counsel you of this, another: that you swear no oath unless you know it to be true [. . .].

[. . .] This is my tenth counsel: that you never trust pledged words from a man of the Wolf-tribe, not even a bit, if you have injured his brother, or have given a blow to his father. [. . .] Do not think of striking and hate, even in your sleep [. . .]. But wits and weapons, every one needs to carry, when journeying among foreign people.

Scene XIII: Attack of Himin

A tribe of Lake Van attacks Thor's capital. Here another ancient name of the city is revealed.

In the East sat She, the Old One, in the Iarn Wood, giving oracles to the Fen Wolf's kin (of Lake Van). The Guardian of them all is the one and only

aggressor, the Moons' cult Ti, the ogre of the troll fiend's skin. She fills the four quarters of the land with serpent men destined to die raiding the capital of Reason. El reddens it with drops of blood. The grass becomes sunless until the summer after, breaking all marriage pledges. What is the mound called where Sutr and the Asas will hurl themselves in battle? Osk-Opni it is called, where all the skulking wolves will fight the Goths of Geir (George). Bil's roost bridge will be broken, as they advance but they will swim the muddy waters.

Waddell stated that the name of 'Osk-Opni' preserves the ancient Sumerian name of Ux or Akshak as written on early tablets of about 2,200 BC and Ux has the variant spelling of Ukh which discloses Thor's title of Oku or Uku (Eagle). Ux or Akshak was called by the Akkads 'Upe' and later 'Opis'.⁹⁷

The wolf tribe led by their Moon cult priestess attacks the Asas. They break a wall of the Goths' fort.⁹⁸

Broken was the border wall of the Asas' city: the Vans knew a new craft to break down the walls. But Od of the Inn scattered them with arrows. That was the first fight of the people, the first in the Himin home. Then the rulers all went to their rock stools, the great Holy Goths, and deliberated whether the Asas should accept to suffer loss, or should all get war-gild (*from the Edenites*).

Scene XIV: Thor on the defensive

After deliberation in parliament, Thor decides to defend his frontier on the Omiras river to protect Cappadocia and Cilicia from Vimur.⁹⁹ He complains:

I was in the East and guarding the river, when the sons of the Swearer (Wodan) set an attack on me. With grit they bombarded me, yet they gained no victory. Since they were so abusive I made them beg their freedom. Don't get indignant now Vimur for I think I'll walk across your river to the Garden of Eden! If you wish to get indignant, then I'll increase all my Asa might even as high as heaven! [. . .].¹⁰⁰

Thor also goes to battle 130 miles west of Carchemish at the Cilician Port on the Mediterranean known to the Greeks as Aigea.

The bear-sarked brides I battled against at Hleseyo. They gave the worst wounds and hit all the people. She-wolves were they, but scarcely women. They climbed up my ship which I had brought ashore, hacked me with an iron club and chased young Thia (*Cain*).¹⁰¹

In Scene XVI, Thor's ship is capsized off Cilicia by Baldr. Here Thor is called Andvara from his Sumerian title of An-Dara (Lord Dar), a name which has mutated into St. Andrew, the patron saint of later Goths, Scyths and Scots.

In Scene XVIII, Baldr visits Thor's banqueting hall at Vidara where he quarrels with Gothic men and insults Gunn-Ifa. He is expelled and Thor's son, Gunn/Cain, arrests Baldr (Epli/Abel) owing to his destructive raids. To take his revenge, Baldr/Abel will kidnap Gunn-Ifa/Eve and carry her away to Eden. Thor will organise a crusade to rescue his wife and with his commando will seize the magical bowl of Eden, thereby setting the scene for the great battle at Carchemish and his victory over the serpent-dragon cult. Gunn/Cain will kill Epli/Abel. In Sumerian his name is Mudgala from which derived 'Michael'. El will be slain by Thor, an act which will inspire the creation of dragon-slaying myths in following centuries.¹⁰²

Scene XX: The Goths plan a rescue expedition

Then all the rulers went to their seats in Parliament, the great holy Goths, to deliberate on the following matter: where are the obscene traitors who have caused this lofty loss? And given the maid of Od(am) to the race of the Edenites? Thor alone rose there, thronged in burning mood [. . .]

Thor said:

I wish to Baldr, the bloody Tivo, Wodan's child, a felon warlock's fate! The [. . .] sibyl of the Harri (Aryans) fine and much fair was she as a mistletoe! The lady of the Aryans is maimed, my fine one sinned against. Hod(am) will seize and kill this hateful criminal! [. . .].¹⁰³

A CRUSADE

Waddell had a vision of the expedition taking place in Scene XXI as a crusade. He viewed George-the-Red as the historical original of St. George of the Red Cross of Cappadocia who is also a patron saint of England. The cross was emblematic of the sun and worshipped as the source of Life, both in a physical and spiritual way. The Eddic lays imply that the cross was capable of miraculous effects. Figure 91 showed a Babylonian seal c. 3,000 BC with a cross above a figure in gothic dress holding a runic cross standard and an hawk hovering beside it over a Drasill tree.¹⁰⁴

Scene XXII: Thor fights Baldr to rescue his wife

This lay calls Baldr 'Epli', a name to be equated with the Hebrew Abel of *Genesis*, as explained before. It also calls him 'Val', a variant of Bal. The name Egil is Thor's title of AEGili as on an ancient British whalebone casket with Runes dated 6th century AD which may represent his attack of Epli as Egil-the-Archer. It was in the British Museum at the time of Waddell's writing.¹⁰⁵ Gunn-Ever was rescued from an underground serpent temple near the divining well or grail, where she was kept prisoner.

THE MATRIARCH TELLS BALDR TO RUN AWAY

Inside are the hugging Goths! Now my son, he whom I have expected has broken into our cellar [. . .] An(-dara) the Skotti (*Scyth/Catti*),¹⁰⁶ the Friend of Man who is called Voor. Beware [. . .]. So go and save yourself!

The Asas came forward but the old Edenite [. . .] said to herself: be careful when you see that he who makes the witches weep steps on your floor.

Then [. . .] that Edenite [. . .] said: Despite being strong men and crashing like rams, Roa and Kynni, you will never break my chalice even with your crafty might! Then Hlo-the-Rider (*Gunn, son of Thor*) came and took the broth-stone glass (*in Old English: 'glari', an anagram of Grail*) to drop and break it. [. . .]

Then as she had a lot of knowledge about the wisdom of the Adder, that harlot Ishtar, and ability to see in the future, Frida (*Gunn/Eve*) said: break it on the head of Hymi (El the matriarch) which is harder than my precious meat-chalice of Eden. Then the He Goat guardsman (Thor) rising from his knees, crashed the dish with all his might down upon the helmet head of the Hell enchantress [. . .].

Scene XXIII: Capture of the Magic Bowl

The magical cauldron sacred to the Matriarch El does not appear to have been broken as Thor carries it off. However, we shall see that the bowl of Utu(k) which Waddell identified to the grail central to this story, was already broken when it was buried beneath the foundations of a temple. The loss of this fetish became a favourite theme in Sumerian literature. It was a grail of fore knowledge to the Weirds of the Garden of Eden and their most precious possession.

Now you have heard how the Ewer-can (Grail) was worn in the manner which goth artists carve with such skill; that Ewer [. . .], Thor took as a loan. Thus both he and the Chaldee and the bairn (Thor's son) returned home. Thus the valiant Ug came to the Parliament of the Goths wearing on his head the family Ewer of Hymi.¹⁰⁷

SUMERIAN ORIGIN OF THE GRAIL LEGEND

It was at Fort Gygi, Kamish or Gamish (Carchemish), also known as Hieropolis and Jerablus, that the Stone bowl was appropriated by the Gothic commando. When the bowl was confiscated, the fort was but an underground burrow. Sumerian literature credit King Sakh with the founding of the first city. Waddell ascertained that the capture of the fetish of the Chaldeans by the punitive expedition to the well of Urd at Jerablus on the Upper Euphrates was also present in Sumerian hymns such as the following one:

Adar [. . .] the strong Darru [. . .] had driven chariots over the mountains

[. . .] in their midst like a great wild bull had he lifted up his horns. The Shu (vessel) Stone, the Precious Stone, the strong stone, the Serpent-stone of the mountain-stone, that Warrior – the Fire-Stone (cauldron) too – the Hero has carried (off) to the city (*his Himin city*).¹⁰⁸

Scene XXIV: The Battle of Eden (c. 3,350 BC)

The great battle of Eden would have been fought because the matriarchal culture was furious that its fetish bowl had been confiscated. Swarms of Edenites descended on Thor's armies like a flood of skin-clad and wolf-tailed dwarves armed with flaming swords. This conflict was the historical source of the legendary slaying of Apollyon by St. Michael.¹⁰⁹ It discloses the Sumerian origin of the name Tubal for Cain.¹¹⁰ The Matriarch El mustered a formidable army from Carchemish and Van, Syria, Lycia and Lydia, as well as other parts of Asia Minor for the most memorable battle in antiquity, but it was won by the Aryans.¹¹¹ Various tribe names are mentioned: the Hrym, Orm, Harry, Nidfoel, etc. Lydians (whom the Greeks called Lukie or Lykie) arrived by sea (Lukos means 'wolf' in Greek).¹¹² The battle of Scene XXIV has its parallel in 'the fight of Bel and the Dragon' in Sumerian and Babylonian myths.¹¹³ Waddell held that the Deluge was not a flood of water but the swarming up of Edenites against Thor's forces with the object of overthrowing his higher civilization and rules against lawlessness.¹¹⁴

The battle had far reaching effects as it permitted Thor to gain supremacy and to allow his civilization to spread over the ancient Near-East.

SLAYING OF BALDR BY GUNN-MIOK

The slaying of Baldr by Prince Gunn-Miok, or Mikli, in Scene XXV, is a parallel to that of Apollyon by St. Michael. The latter was depicted in modern art of later tradition. Mikli is another name for Gunn, Bacchus and the Sumerian Mudgala.

Then came in Mikli, the son of Father Sig (*Thor*) of Vidara, and he fought with Val-dyr, the bold beast. Megi (*Mikli*) laid young Hydra (*serpent*) low. He stood over him for a moment then plunged his weapon into his heart. Thus he avenged his Father.

A number of Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite and Persian seals and sculptures represent the slaying of a bull, lion, or dragon, and the *Edda* sometimes refers to Baldr as a bull or steer. The slaying of a demon bull, lion or dragon by Marduk, son of Indur or Bel-the-Lord, was also recorded in Sumerian tradition.¹¹⁵ Gunn's slaying of Baldr is also a parallel to Cain's attack upon Abel in *Genesis*. Abel is Apli and the son of the matriarch El, who is depicted in Babylonian mythology as Tiamat.

Scene XXVIII: Matriarch perishes in water

After the battle of Eden, El attempts to escape under the name of Meidi or Modi, the nether ogress of Nar, the Euphrates, but is captured and slayed by Thor. She perishes in water, hence her symbolic association with deep waters.¹¹⁶

[. . .] the nether ogress of the Nar now must she be sunk. The sun turns swarthy, fields sink into the sea, averted in the heavens are the stars overhead. Gushes of fiery smoke rise from the old Ur Nars, rising high and licking Heaven itself. Do you know the Edda yet? Do you know it all yet?

Scene XXIX: Enthronement and celebration

Thor ascends the Mountain of Eden at Carchemish on the Euphrates, and from its summit has a panoramic view of his new territories. A Hittite sculpture in the shape of a throne was discovered there. It was displayed in the British Museum (II, B.25). It was dated one thousand years later than the time Waddell alleged these events took place, but it may have been erected in remembrance of the Aryans' victory in a later period.

Scene XXX: The Rise of Man

The battle won, the way was clear for the Rise of Man and regeneration of Eden. On annexing Eden, Thor indeed sets about reforming the old paradise or hell and provides the indigenous population with the benefits of civilization, laws and human rights.

Myths and stories are not always consistent and sometime they contradict each other. The following lay suggests that Baldr did not die in battle with Gunn. The dragon-slaying myth may most of all be symbolic of the eradication of the serpent cult as an outcome of the battle of Eden and of the regeneration carried out by the Aryans.

Thereafter this everyone must live under the same law: the golden tablets they found in the grass. These were of the olden days from Attar's own head (Adam's). Uncultivated earth they must enlarge into tilled acres, baleful things they must all improve. Even Baldr must come to reside there with Hodr (Thor). Baldr that ruffian brute must come and live on Sig's green tuft but must be a well-doing Val Tiuar. Do you know the Edda yet? Do you know it all yet?

Under Thor's the Edenites are admitted into the fellowship of the Aryans but mix-marriages are not allowed unless the aborigine can prove he is sufficiently educated and has adopted the Aryan way of life or culture. In a later age this era will be remembered as a golden age. Waddell noted that it presum-

ably was this 'city of God' that John described in the *Book of Revelation*.¹¹⁷ The Lords raise Chaldean aborigines to civilized status by 3,380 BC and organise a reform by uplifting the Edenites and keeping the land in order. The Goths and aborigines are now depicted as brothers (as Cain and Abel also were):

Vidar (Cain) and Vali (Abel) together will build in the fame of the Goths when Surtr's fire (Wodan's) is [. . .].

The Edenites will benefit from the Goths, their water irrigation, wells, canals, and agriculture. Laws are another feature of this civilization:

I see [. . .] another fellowship on earth, now at ease, at Ida's green pine. [. . .]. There are now fountains there. [. . .] The Asas are now found at Ida's Well (*of Urd*). The Asas are the mighty ones who predict destiny, and they mastermind there the judgement of the Magi and condemn the clumsy Ty's former (*evil*) runes.

Scene XXXI: Annexation of territories

Thor's territories originally extended from the coast of the Euxine Sea north of Vidara, to the western coast of Turkey (with Troy), the coast of the Aegean Sea, down to Cilicia, and in the east to a frontier at the level of Mount Ararat (see map in the Illustrations). The Omiras River was a natural frontier south of which was Eden. The Cappadocian territories were extended when Chaldea was seized and after the battle of Eden, as a result of Gunn's (Cain's) expeditions from Urd towards Persia and along the Euphrates all the way down to the Persian Gulf. Territories which form Iraq today were annexed to the Goths' Cappadocian kingdom. Like the Cain of *Genesis*, the son of Her-Thor, going east, but not in exile, descends into Mesopotamia and civilizes vast territories. He builds Erech (as Unuk/Enoch City). Aryan Goths descended into the plains of Mesopotamia to annex territories which became Sumeria in about 3,335 BC. It is what scholars have called 'the coming of the Sumerians'.¹¹⁸

THE FRIEND OF MAN

Her Thor is called the friend of Man because he wanted to convert the Moon or Shindy Man out of savagery. In Sumerian, Man or Min, is a term for Moon. Due to the dependence of *Genesis* upon Sumerian tradition, the zeal of monotheists to purge their scriptures, as well as discrepancies introduced by copyists or translators, it is possible that the expression 'the daughters of Man' in *Genesis* 6 originally was 'daughters of Moon Man' to refer to Semites or aborigines or to mean 'men who were Moon worshippers' in the serpent cult. The Edenite 'Shindy' and 'Shine' is also from 'Shin', the Semitic Chaldean

name for the Moon, the crescent of which is the symbol of matriarchal aborigines in ancient art. The people civilized by Thor are described as dwarves and depicted as such on a Hittite seal, c.2,000 BC, that Waddell reproduced as Figure 30 (see front cover). However, the Goths may have been much taller than present Indo-Europeans, if not giants. Consideration should be given to whether the dwarves of Middle-earth (Midgard or the garden of Eden) could really have existed.

GIMLI AS ARTHUR'S CAMELOT

Waddell suggested that Gimli or Gimle was the original name from which derived the famous Camylot or Camelot, the capital city of King Arthur's legend. It would have been situated at Himin, Boghazkoy.¹¹⁹

BAPTISM IN 3,000 BC

The Edda discloses the Aryan origin of the ritual of baptism by water as an initiation into Thor's cult of the sun cross and heaven. Figure 51 in *The British Edda* is a Sumerian seal of the king of Gudia dated 2,370 BC which Waddell interpreted as showing Thor as Bil-the-Baptist with life-giving scouring waters sprouting from four jars. A figure sitting on a throne wears a horned head-dress. When Waddell was preparing his book, excavations had already been carried out at Boghazkoy. They revealed scores of steps on the south side leading up to the old temples on the summit.¹²⁰

I think five hundred steps and forty pairs of two ropes lead up to bill-the-Baptist's with bays. The house there, it's raftered, I perceive, small, I see, yet most mighty.¹²¹

Early Kingship fails

The aborigines will remember the slaying of their matriarchal leader by Adam-George (Thor) or St. George of Cappadocia¹²² after Thor is declared king at Carchemish and they only convert reluctantly into law-abiding people.¹²³ This is a short-lived civilization celebrated in antiquity as a lost paradise and for this period there are Sumerian seals showing an alliance between the Lions or Wolves and Goats.¹²⁴

There will be a dramatic revival of the serpent-dragon cult two centuries later, with fetish worship and superstition, comparable to the 'fall of man'. The Chaldeans discarded the worship of the god of heaven, represented by the sun, in favour of the old matriarchal mother and son figure. They borrowed ideas and names from the Aryans, but at the same time vilified and cursed Adam/Thor for having challenged the serpent god and its oracular priestess. In a polytheistic age, Semitic priests of Eden created a human reflex of the deified king 'Adda', 'Dar' or 'In-Dur', bearing the name of 'Admu' or

'Addamu' to be able to condemn him because he overthrew demonolatry and they gave him the title in Sumerian of 'the Man Sig, the Bird (Hawk) Man' (Sakh). In Semitic this Sumerian title for Admu was the 'Revolutionist' or 'caster down'. They represented 'Adamu' as being tried before a god for the sin of casting down a divinity, a vestige of which is the 'original sin' which Christianity has tied up with Eve's disobedience in the Garden of Eden. Waddell reproduced a seal dated c.2,500 BC (Figure 79) representing the trial of Adamu 'son of the god Ia' (Adam) because he cast down the Semitic god Shutu. The lower half of Adamu's body was drawn in a bird form to represent him as the Hawk man. The god before whom this Hawk man is brought is his own deified reflex, and not the Semitic Anu.¹²⁵ A Sumerian cylinder seal appearing to represent the same scene was reproduced in *Encyclopedia of World Mythology* (p. 22) but with the caption 'depicting Zu being judged by Ea'.

CHAPTER SIX

The Phoenician Origin of the Britons

Waddell professed that 'Suria', the Greek name for Cappadocia in Herodotus' time, derived from 'Kur', a Sumerian name for Asia Minor meaning 'Mountain land' and the source of 'Syria' to the Romans.¹ Whereas scholars but speculated that Phoenician seamen explored the amber coasts of Northern Europe as Homer mentioned that the Phoenicians were more or less omnipresent,² Waddell held the view that the Amorites or Syrio-Phoenicians were actually responsible for the Bronze Age in Britain in about 2,700 BC.³ These tin-exploiting Syrio-Phoenicians had great capabilities in navigation. They scoured uncharted oceans of the old Western World in search of mineral resources, i.e. tin, copper, lead, gold, amber, and established posts at their trade ports and mining stations. Waddell expounded that the Phoenicians developed into separate nations and 'welded together the varied aboriginal tribes into free states with their Aryan civilization', but did not use the title 'Phoenician' nor its dialectic equivalent as they called themselves 'Ari', 'Muru', 'Gut', 'Khad', 'Barat', 'Prat', or after their city ports, such as Tyrian, Sidonian, or their colonies, i.e. Karia, Lydia, Phocia, Cilicia, Thebes, Carthage, Mauretania, Gades, etc.⁴ The trade of amber, the richest sources of which were on the Baltic coast of Prussia and of Jutland, in Scandinavia, was controlled by Phoenician merchants. It was sold to the Mediterranean area in the Scandinavian Bronze Age.⁵ Bronze was imported in exchange for amber in Scandinavia.⁶

Phoenician origin of the Britons

In his review of *Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons* (a work published after Waddell moved to Campbell Street, Greenock, Scotland, in 1923), Roland G. Kent introduced Waddell as 'an archaeologist of distinction with an impressive series of publications on India and Tibet to his credit', who had 'applied years of study to the subject'.⁷ The theory central to this work consisted in the fact that the ancestors of the Britons descended from Aryan Hitto-Phoenician people or Troyan Hittites (or Catti) whose patronyme 'Barat' was the source of the name they gave to the island or nation: 'Barat-ana' (Britannia), and who introduced Sun-worship and Bel-fire rites to Britain

in about 2,800 BC.⁸ An anonymous reviewer (E.A.P.) summarised Waddell's theory as follows:

[. . .] he contends that civilization, in his opinion synonymous with Aryanization was first introduced into Britain in the Stone Age, about 2800 BC, or earlier, by Hitto-Phoenician "Catti," or early gothic sea merchants from the Levant, engaged in the tin, bronze, and amber trade and industries, who were Aryan in speech, script, and race [. . .] of the leading clan of Aryans, they bore the patronymic of Barat, or "Brit-an," and settling on the island of Albion conquering and civilizing the dusky aborigines therein, they gave their own patronymic to it, calling it "Barat-ana," or "Britain," or "Land of the Barats or brits." Such is Col. Waddell's theory, which this book is written to elucidate and support.⁹

These Phoenicians were a branch of Catti (Hittite) who created Sumerian civilization and colonised the Indus Valley as Amorites. Waddell discussed Stone Circles in connection with their solar observations.¹⁰ He compiled evidence such as ethnic and place-names, inscriptions on coins, etc.,¹¹ and asserted the Phoenician origin for the Celtic, Cymric, Gothic and Old English languages.¹²

In the 4th century BC, Greeks still possessed an advanced knowledge of European geography. Pitheas Massalia, for instance, surveyed the coasts of Britain and Thulé (Norway), when amber was sold to the Teutons.¹³ In the medieval period Nennius asserted that the first settler in the British Isles was a prince from Troy by the name of Brutus, and that 'Britain' was a derivative. The Welsh chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Histories of the Kings of Britain* also contended the Trojan Brutus colonised Britain in 1,103 BC,¹⁴ but scholars treated Monmouth's writings as 'scholarly mythology'. According to Nennius among the first inhabitants of Ireland was 'a nobleman of Scythia (Elam or Syria) with a great following' who 'had been expelled from his kingdom [. . .] but did not join in the pursuit of the children of God'.¹⁵ This was 'when children of Israel crossed the Red Sea as may be read in the Law'¹⁶ and when the Egyptian king and his people were drowned (ix:15); he wandered in his exodus (42 years in Africa), and reached Ireland from Spain.¹⁷ The Picts came to Britain and occupied the Orkney Isles (v:12), the Irish came from Spain (vi:13), and three sons of a warrior from Spain (Partholon) landed in Ireland and died attacking a fortress of glass in the sea (vii:13); survivors took possession of Ireland.¹⁸ But a plague wiped out 'Partholon' and his people from Ireland (vi:13).¹⁹ Partolon or Partholon was known as Cath-Luan to the Picts of Scotland.²⁰

Waddell believed a second wave of Aryan aristocrats came with Brutus the Trojan 'who was really the Peirithoos of Greek legends', and a number of settlers in 1,103 BC when Britain was called Albion.²¹ They mixed with tribes of darker complexion, hence there was 'no such thing as an absolutely pure-blood Aryan left in the British Isles'.²² The settlers who came with Brutus

encountered the 'giant' descendants of the earlier wave of Aryan settlers called Muru, Amuru or Amorite (Phoenicians), who had erected Stone Circles and tombs (barrows) in prehistoric time, and had come to Cornwall to exploit tin mines.²³ He was criticised for 'accepting the precise historicity' of Monmouth's chronicles.²⁴ However, near Llandudno in North Wales, is an ancient copper mine of nine levels from which it was estimated that 1,700 tons of copper were removed. As 2,500 sledgehammers, the largest of which weighing 64 pounds (29.03 kgs) have been recovered, and that the normal weight of a sledge hammer is 20 pounds (9.07 kg), the question 'Who was capable of using such a tool?' has been asked - as the fact that the Phoenicians extracted minerals in the British Isles is apparently lost knowledge. The answer was 'a giant about three times taller than the average human being today'.²⁵ Ted Twietmeyer, a NASA engineer, concluded that the issue of giants no longer belongs to the realm of speculation.

Waddell's views concerning the second wave of settlers was based on the legend of King Brutus arrival in Albion with three hundred ships in the year 1103 BC, and his building of a town on the Thames river, the name of which was 'New Troy' but distorted as 'Tri-Novant',²⁶ before it was called the 'town of Lud' (London) in Roman time. This legend was preserved by Geoffrey of Monmouth's in *Histories of the Kings of Britain*. In a lecture addressed to the Herodoteans' Classical Society at Cambridge University, on 26 May 1992, Iman J. Wilkens proposed without fear of ridicule that the Kings of England were of 'Trojan' origin, arguing that Brutus' lineage was recorded all the way from Aeneas in the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth with a list of the kings of England from 1,103 BC,²⁷ but accepting this writer's work as authentic was contrary to the opinion of historians in Waddell's time.²⁸ An anonymous reviewer (E.A.P.) stated that in advancing this theory, Waddell asked for trouble and was to expect strong criticism, and even ridicule, as he had 'an enormous amount of prejudice to overcome'.²⁹ P. however commented:

Notwithstanding all this the work is a piece of wide and detailed investigation, and shows remarkable knowledge, industry, and ingenuity on the part of its author. [. . .] However critical or prejudiced the reader may be at the outset or unconvinced at the finish, he cannot fail to find the book interesting and suggestive.³⁰

To cut a long story short, the circumstances in which the first settlers came to Britain, starts with Ascanius, a Trojan descendant of Aeneas who inherited Italy after the Trojan War.³¹ How much time after can be worked out as three or four generations later (according to the account given p. 32 in Dr. Sebastian Evans' translation of Monmouth's book published in 1903) Brute, Ascanius' grand son, was sent to exile to Greece where the descendants of Helenus, son of Priam, beseeched him to be their king and deliver them as they were held in bondage by the Greek King Pandrasus. Brute found an ally in Assaracus, born of a Trojan mother and Greek father, who was favourable

to their cause and had three forts or 'castles'.³² After achieving victory, Brute kept the Greek leader safe but the Trojans went on inflicting slaughter upon the Greeks creating the dilemma that if Pandrasus gave them a part of Greece to sojourn 'in the midst of the Danai' the Trojans would never have enjoyed an enduring peace 'as long as the Greeks remembered the slaying in eternal hatred'. Pandrasus' eldest daughter, Ignoge, was not only taken as a hostage but asked in marriage for the 'Duke' (term with the meaning of 'Prince'³³). Having received gold, silver, ships, corn, wine and oil, and gathered 324 ships laden with provisions, the Trojans departed on a voyage to find a new land wherein to settle.³⁴ They went from Greece by the coast of Africa, Mauritania, sailed by the columns of Hercules (Gibraltar), the Tyrrhene Sea (Atlantic Ocean), Aquitaine and Gaul, and finally, by Chapter xvi, landed at Totnes in Devon, in Albion which was inhabited by 'giants' whom they drove away into caverns, except for one called Goemagot.³⁵ At the columns of Hercules, the annals recorded they were surrounded by 'sirens'. The settlers divided the country between themselves, tilled fields, and built houses. Then the island was named after Brutus.³⁶ 'The country speech which was aforetime called Trojan or crooked Greek', was called 'British' (this Brithonic language was spoken in Brittany, as well as Wales, Ireland, Devon, and Cornwall). Brute then built a city on the river Thames and called it New Troy, but the name was corrupted into 'Trinovantum' in Roman time.³⁷ The narratives continue with Lud, the brother of Cassibelaunus who fought with Julius Caesar when the city was surrounded by walls and towers, and it was called Kaer Lud (City of Lud).

The reliability of Monmouth's book was disputed because it appeared to contain mythological material, but the fact that it was an ancient book in translation given to him by Walter, the Archdeacon of Oxford, in the 'British' language,³⁸ obtained from Brittany, may have been overlooked. Monmouth translated it into Latin at the request of Robert, the Duke of Gloucester.³⁹ The book 'set forth the doings of the kings of Britain in due succession and order from Bruce (Brutus), the first king of the 'Britons' onward to Cadwallader, the son of Cadwallo'. The latter fought the Saxons and Angles in the 6th century AD. Monmouth explained in his prologue that although Bede and Gildas had written about the kings of Britain, there were no books that recorded the history of those who ruled before 'the incarnation of Christ'. There but existed stories 'rehearsed from memory by word of mouth in the traditions of many people'.⁴⁰ Nennius made a similar statement, i.e. that he had undertaken to write down some extracts that had been overlooked because scholars in Britain had no skill and 'set down no record in books'.⁴¹

Discovery and reason for writing on Phoenician origins

The material compiled for *Makers of Civilization in Race & History* from 1908,⁴² represented the 'corner stone' of the works published in 1924, 25 and

27, but was published after the latter⁴³ because Waddell made the decision to start writing a book due to his making a breakthrough which he announced in an article in the *Asiatic Review* in 1917.⁴⁴ This was noted in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.⁴⁵ The discovery consisted in the fact that while the Aryans of India used the title 'Khattiyo' and ancient Hittites 'Khatti', the name 'Catti' also appeared on some of the coins of pre-Roman Briton kings.⁴⁶ The meaning of 'Catti' and 'Khatti' being virtually identical was part of the evidence in his view that the first Britons were Hittite or Syrio-Phoenician. Waddell contended that the fact that ancient imperial people of Asia Minor and Syria-Phoenicia called themselves 'Khatti' and were known to Babylonians and ancient Egyptians by this name was forgotten in scholarship because 'Khatti' was corrupted by Hebrews into 'Heth' and 'Hitt' and translators of the *Old Testament* added to it the Latin affix 'ite', and thereby created the term 'Hittite'.⁴⁷ As the ancient Khatti of Asia Minor and Syrio-Phoenicians also called themselves 'Arri', meaning 'Noble Ones', a title which in his opinion had the same meaning as 'Arya' or 'Ariya' in older Pali,⁴⁸ Waddell identified the 'Khatti Arri' (noble Hittites) as the Eastern branch of Aryans that civilized India. He had observed that in their Epics the Aryans were called 'Khattiyo Ariyo' in early Pali vernacular and in Sanskrit the term became 'Khatriya Arya' as a result of the introduction of an 'r', and then 'Kshatriya Arya', also spelt 'Xatriya' ('Hittites' was also spelt as 'Xatti.') Its equivalent in Hindi, 'Khattri Arya', as well as 'Khattiyo', and 'Kshatriya', had the meaning of 'ruler', in the same way as 'Khatti'.⁴⁹ He concluded this linguistic evidence revealed Syria or Cappadocia as the cradle of the Aryan Bharats who migrated to India, and the Arri race of Khatti, or Catti people, was the same as that 'introduced into India by the Eastern branch of the Aryans',⁵⁰ and that Strabo referred to as 'White Syrians'.⁵¹ He reproduced two sides of a pre-Roman Britain coin of the second century BC on which the word 'Catti' and 'Att' was clearly visible with crosses around the representation of a horse. In support of this theory the Romans called the Goths 'Getae' (for Scyths) and ancient Khatti people (Hittites) were depicted on sculptures in Gothic dress.⁵²

There was further evidence in the fact that Khatti Hittites were represented as tall people wearing Gothic-style dress, conical Phrygian caps and snow boots with turned-up toes on the sculpture at Iasili rock-chambers below Boghazkoy (Pteria), dated to 3,000–2,000 BC,⁵³ and furthermore, ruins of their cyclopean walled cities adorned with sculptures and hieroglyphic inscriptions were found throughout Asia Minor and Syria-Phoenicia, and 'royal roads' intersecting the country like highways radiated from their capital in the core of present-day Turkey.⁵⁴ Waddell stated:

This established the identity of the Khatti or Hitt-ites with the Indo-Aryans and disclosed Cappadocia in Asia Minor as the lost cradle-land of the Aryans.⁵⁵

This now led to my discovery of the key, or rather the complete bunch of keys to the lost early history, not only of the Indian branch of the Aryans and its

parent Aryan stock back to the rise of the Aryan race, but also to the lost history of the Khatti or Hitt-ites themselves, who have hitherto been known no earlier than about 2000 BC, or still later. I had long observed that amongst the most cherished ancestral possessions which the Indian branch of the Khattiyo Ariyo Barats had brought with them from their old homeland to their new colony in India, like AEneas in his exile jealously bringing with him his “rescued household gods” from his old Trojan homeland,⁵⁶ were their treasured traditional lists of their ancestral Aryan kings, extending back continuously to the first Aryan dynasty in prehistoric times. Those treasured ancestral Aryan King Lists they embedded in their great epic the *Maha Bārata* in summary; but in their “Older Epics” (the *Purāna*) they religiously preserved them in full detail. [. . .]. These traditional Aryan kings are implicitly believed by all Brahmins and modern orthodox Hindus to be the genuine lineal ancestors of the present-day ruling Indo-Aryan caste [. . .].⁵⁷

Phoenician origin of inscriptions on the Newton Stone

Waddell’s Phoenician theory of the origin of the inhabitants of the British Isles was supported by his decipherment of Phoenician Cadmean and Ogam inscriptions on the Newton Stone and his interpretation of pre-Roman coins.⁵⁸ The stone that was situated in the Upper Valley of the Don in Aberdeenshire had been known to scholars since 1803, but removed.⁵⁹ Kent stated: ‘it now stands at Newton House in Aberdeenshire’. One script was in ‘Ogam signs’ and the other ‘in an uncertain alphabet’, but ‘no scholars had agreed upon its interpretation’.⁶⁰ The anonymous reviewer stated:

At Newton in the Don Valley in Scotland there is an ancient stone pillar bearing an inscription, the deciphering of which has hitherto completely baffled archaeologists and linguists. The author of this book, who has made a wide study of many scripts, believes he has discovered the meaning of this inscription, which is of a double character. The main one he finds to be in what he calls Aryan Phoenician, the other in Ogam with the same meaning, viz. a dedication to Bel, the god of Sun Fire, by the Kassi and he holds that the pillar was raised by the Phoenician Ikar of Cilicia, the Prat. This inscription may be said to be the text and inspiration of Col. Waddell’s work.⁶¹

The words read by Waddell on the Newton Stone were KaZZi in Cadmean and QaSS in Ogam (a name related to the Kassite Kings of Babylonia), SŠŠĪLOKOYr and SIOLLaGGA (Cilicia); GYAOLWONIE and GIOLN (the ‘Khilani’, or Hitt-ite palace-dweller); PoENIG (the Phoenician); and PrWT (the same as PrAT, and ‘brhat’ of the Bhārata’s of India, and ‘Brit-ain’).⁶² The inscriptions indicated both in Cadmean and Ogam that Part-olon, King of Scots from Cilicia, who called himself a ‘Britton’, was of ‘Hittite’ and ‘Phoenician’ origin. Partolon or Partholon was

known as Cath-Luan to the Picts of Scotland.⁶³ A photo of the Stone was provided.⁶⁴ In Waddell's opinion the monument was a votive 'Fire-Cross' to the Sun-God Bel like 'cup-marks' on circles and rocks were Phoenician invocations to the Sun-god, the latter being comparable to those found on Trojan amulets,⁶⁵ and Sun-crosses, precursors of Celtic and Christian crosses. There also were coins in Britain by Phoenicians of Hittite origin.⁶⁶

Ogam inscriptions on the same monument were a sacred Sun-cult script of the Hittites, early Britons and Scots.⁶⁷ Waddell studied the titles of the Newton Stone inscriptions and their historic significance, disclosing the Phoenician source of the 'Cassi' or 'Catti' title of ancient Briton kings.⁶⁸ He had discovered that the Sanskrit B'RT (Barat) was equivalent to the Phoenician PRT, and the word 'Barat' to 'Briton' and 'Pretan' as spelled in ancient Greek for Britain. He discussed the source of the tribal title 'Barat' or 'Brihat' and its significance for the names 'Brit-on' (B-R-T) and Britannia, and established a Phoenician origin.⁶⁹ A Phoenician coin from Carthage inscribed 'Barat', with on obverse the Doric-type head of 'Barati' or 'Britannia' and a winged Sun-horse (Asva of the Catti Britons) was also included to illustrate this evidence on the basis of a comparative study of terminology.⁷⁰

Reception of the work

Kent stated it was 'an overwhelming pity' that Waddell did not publish portions of his book on Phoenician origins as monographs, in technical periodicals, 'that they might receive proper corrective criticism, which might have directed his unquestionably extensive learning into more valid channels'.⁷¹ He ended his review on a critical note saying that Waddell was 'innocent of the most elementary principles of etymological procedure' because he proposed an origin of the Greek εἷς (meaning 'one') from the Sumerian aš ('one').⁷² The reason that Kent thought Waddell ignored that the Greek term derived from the Proto-Indo-European *sems, was that he did not realise Waddell was expounding a paradigm: i.e. that Sumerian was Aryan (Indo-European) and was actually the proto-Indo-European language from which Greek and English derived, and which scholars had already started to attempt to reconstruct. *sems was speculative as are all such reconstructions, and the Sumerian term was closer to εἷς than *sems. This misunderstanding probably still influences academics to take for granted that Waddell had 'no background in Philology or Linguistics'.

A little section after Appendices in *Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons* reproduced the press opinion and a comment by Sayce as to the book being 'packed with interesting facts from the latest authorities' that indicated his tolerance of Waddell's research. Comments in British and American Newspapers were also reproduced, i.e. from *the Inquirer*:

One is almost constrained to believe the new theory. It provokes thought, and it ought to stimulate research into regions not sufficiently explored.⁷³

Temple's assessment

Sir Richard Carnac Temple (1850–1931), an Orientalist and ethnologist, who made a lifelong study of Indian history and became President of the Anthropologist section of the British Association in 1913, and who retired with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel from the Indian Army in 1904, published 'Waddell on Phoenician Origins' in the *Indian Antiquary* of which he was sole editor from 1892. (Temple had an exceptional range of oriental knowledge and was made President of the Anthropologist section of the British Association in 1913. He edited the *Indian Antiquary* from Switzerland due to ill health.)⁷⁴ This review was thorough and appears to be the only published scholarly assessment carried out for all of Waddell's works. Temple stated that Waddell had worked on this title for twenty years, therefore from 1905:

The well-known Tibetan scholar, L.A. Waddell, has spent the leisure of the greater part of a long official life, and the last twenty years entirely, in studying the fascinating problem of the lost origin of the Aryans, and has at last produced a startling book [. . .].⁷⁵

Well acquainted with Anthropology, Temple ascertained that Waddell's Phoenician theory belonged to the Diffusionist School of anthropologists, the pioneer exponents of which were Grafton Elliott Smith and William J. Perry.⁷⁶ Diffusionists opposed the 'Evolutionist' School of the time. Smith, who taught Anatomy at the University of Cairo, formerly called the 'University of London', had progressed from an interest in mummification to civilization and the theory that inventions had occurred once and had been transplanted to other parts of the world by Solar worshipping cultures or merchants searching for gold or an elixir of life.⁷⁷ Smith used W. J. Perry's ethnographic data for his theory of hyper-diffusion.⁷⁸ Perry, an anthropologist at the University of London,⁷⁹ regarded inventions as accidents and was of the opinion they had taken place in Egypt in the first place and that the Egyptian culture had been transplanted by traders or prospectors of precious minerals because of the belief they had magical properties or conferred long life.⁸⁰

In a letter, dated 7 May 1916, Smith replied to Waddell that he was welcome to make use of two figures for a publication. The letter was tipped into *Migration of Early Culture* (1915).⁸¹ As the latter, Waddell opposed 'evolutionism', i.e. the notion that civilization had emerged independently and separately, and the idea that the rise of civilization was due to similar favourable circumstances in different places in prehistoric times.⁸² Waddell believed in the unity of the world's great civilizations, as he said they were not

independently created but propagated from one source, but obviously, due to his notion that Egypt started out as a dependency of Sumerian civilization, he did not agree with Smith's view of Egypt as the cradle of civilization. The notion that the children of the Sun had migrated in search of gold,⁸³ was compatible with Waddell's idea that the Sumerians exploited gold and other mineral resources up to Tibet and that their religion was a Solar Cult.⁸⁴ Like Montelius who remained an evolutionist, but published works incorporating a diffusionism which explained European cultural development 'ex-oriented Lux', in 1899 and 1903,⁸⁵ some of Waddell's conclusions were based on a comparative study of coins in addition to his decipherment of the Newton Stone.

Opposition to Waddell (1922–25)

Temple made the recommendation that Waddell's book was worth studying despite its subversive character.⁸⁶ He thought that Waddell's vision was magnificent but had reservations about his philological methods.⁸⁷ He suggested more evidence was required:

Indeed, it seems to me that, though at first no doubt the old time scholar and philologist will be inclined to throw the whole book aside as fanciful, there may be substantial truth behind the theory. At any rate, whether right or wrong, Waddell's reading of his crucial inscription – that on the Newton Stone – is honest and therefore worth enquiry, and I call to mind the fate of the first European enquirers into Buddhism, who were totally disbelieved by scholars, with the result that the study of that great religion and the Pali language was put aside for too long a time. On this ground alone I propose seriously to study Waddell's subversive work and to see what it seems to contain without prejudiced comment. Personally I do not think he has proved his case by this book, but that is not to say that it is not capable of proof. It should, however, be stated here that as the truth of the assertion that the Phoenicians spread civilisation is not acknowledged by many competent scholars – the very matter of their dealings with Cornwall is in doubt – it will require 'a lot of proving' as the police say. The late discoveries at Harappa and other places in the Panjab, and on the North Western Frontiers of India, showing communication between the inhabitants of the valley of the Euphrates and that of the Indus some three millennium BC, do not to my mind affect Waddell's arguments as regards the spread of Mesopotamian civilisation through Phoenicians to Britain.⁸⁸

Temple found fault with Waddell because of a misinterpretation on his part from the sentence reproduced below in italics. He seems to have assumed Waddell meant that the 'y' of 'Syria' was a softening of the 'u' of 'Suria' although Waddell meant that the 's' of 'Syria' was a softening of the 'k' of 'Kur'. 'Suria' was the Greek name for Cappadocia in Herodotus' time, was so-called by Seleucid Greeks, and derived from 'Kur' – a Sumerian name for

Asia Minor meaning 'mountain land' and the source of 'Suria' and 'Syria'⁸⁹ – hence 'Kur' was the original term which had been softened into the 'Syria' of the Romans.

And Waddell then observes that "*Kur was the ancient [. . .] name for Syria of the Hittites or White Syrians, and it was thus obviously the original of the Suria of the Greeks softened into Syria of the Romans*". But was there any softening? Surely 'Syria' was only the Roman way of writing the Greek 'Suria'.⁹⁰

If Temple had not been sceptical of Waddell's 'method' because of this misunderstanding, he may not have commented: 'For proof we must wait for Waddell's *Aryan Origin of the Phoenicians*'.⁹¹ This work never existed, probably due to a last minute change of its title to *Aryan Origin of the Alphabet: disclosing the Sumero-Phoenician parentage of our letters ancient & modern* (1927).

Phoenician signs and language of inscriptions

Scholars had ascertained that the inscriptions on the Newton Stone were Pictish or Celtic and 'reversed' (right to left), but Waddell read them as 'non-reversed' (left to right), and recognised the script as the Phoenician of the early Britons.⁹² He was of the opinion that this type of Phoenician was a Trojan or Doric (Classical) Greek language introduced into Britain, then called Albion, by King Brutus the Trojan, according to Nennius, in about the year 1,103 BC.⁹³ Waddell disagreed with the conclusion that the Phoenicians were Semitic on the basis of their study of a retrograde form of Phoenician alphabet in a Semitic dialect, as it was his understanding that the Phoenician kings and merchants used this dialect for the benefit of the communities that surrounded them, but were not Semitic themselves.⁹⁴ The older school rested on the following archaeological remains for its Semitic theory: the Moabite Stone and the bowl to the god Bel/Baal (Lebanon, Phoenicia), both dated 9th century BC; the sarcophagus of Ahiiram, an old Phoenician seaport (Byblos or Gebal, Phoenicia), dated 10th century BC; a reversed Cadmean inscription on the Isle of Thera, Aegean Sea; a statue found in Byblos by Professor Dussaud dated 13th century BC.⁹⁵ However, Waddell made an in-depth study of the 'non-reversed' form of Phoenician 'Cadmean' so called after King Cadmus, the Phoenician of Tyre to whom the Greeks ascribed the invention of the alphabet. He pointed out the Greeks did not believe the Phoenicians were Semitic and the Hebrews referred to them as the 'sons of Ham', not the 'sons of Shem'. He concluded that the Cadmean alphabet was a parent of the alphabets of Indo-European languages.⁹⁶ His view that the Roman alphabet originated from the Phoenicians via the Etruscans, an unknown language and one that became extinct, is not subversive any more as experts assert that the Greeks borrowed the alphabetical principle from the Phoenicians,⁹⁷ the

Etruscans acquired it from Greek colonists, and the Romans from the Etruscans.⁹⁸ The theory of Phoenician origin of Britons may be better received today since British archaeologists have debated the possibility that the ancient inhabitants of Britain and Ireland were not 'Celts' on the basis that Classical writers never called them 'Celts' or 'Gauls'.⁹⁹ Not much is known about them except that in Britain, the Celts shared the customs, beliefs, and language of their continental counterpart. As Celtic languages are regarded as part of the Indo-European family of languages,¹⁰⁰ there would be no obstacle to the identification of the Celts as 'Trojan' or of 'Doric Greek Phoenician' origin on the principle that non-reversed Cadmean was 'Aryan' (Indo-European).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Identification of the First Sumerian Dynasty

Comparative studies and claim of decipherment

Self-taught in Sumerian, and expounding the view that this ancient language belonged to the Aryan (Indo-European) family of languages, Waddell carried out a study of Sumerian King-Lists, as well as applied himself to the comparative study of Sumerian and Indian records (with his knowledge of Sanskrit) because he had studied the evidence that an Aryan migration fleeing Sargon II carried Sumerian king-lists to India and that these records were handed down as a tradition and incorporated in the Maha-Bhārata and Purānas. He carried out comparative studies which permitted him to restore names and fill gaps in Sumerian records, elucidate the mystery of abnormal reigns of years in the Isin Lists, and establish that Sumerian antediluvian dynasties in the latter were duplication of material placed by mistake by Isin priests before the first dynasty of the Kish Chronicle. In this chapter we shall discover how Waddell established that there were no dynasties before the flood and that the first Sumerian Dynasty was that of Ur-Nina.

The Great Migration theory

Waddell's comparative study of Sumerian and Indian records was on the basis that Sumerian lists were incorporated in the Maha-Bhārata and Purānas because Kuru-panchallas (Syrio-Phoenicians from Kur or Kuria, Cappadocia), who possessed a record of Sumerian dynasties migrated towards India in the Great Migration, and that Syria was the Aryan homeland of Indian scriptures. In the Central Asian theory the homeland of the Indo-Aryans was located in Turkestan, the Oxus Valley East of the Caspian Sea and North of Afghanistan.¹ The hope or intention of the Carnegie expedition led by R. Pumpelly in 1903–4 at Anau Oasis near Askabad in Russian Turkestan was to confirm that Turkestan was an Aryan homeland by excavation.² In a layer above stone age level were found remains of an advanced culture, of houses and pottery, like earthenware discovered at old Sumerian and Elamite sites, as well as a copper age culture with clay figurines resembling some from Sumerian, Elamite, and Indus Valley sites. Pumpelly concluded that

Turkestan was the homeland of the Aryans but that a change of climate had transformed grassy plains into a desert. Pottery excavated in the Danube Valley of Europe, i.e. at Hallstatt, Austria, was found to further confirm this theory.³ The Danube region was traditionally conceived as the homeland of the Nordic race on evidence of metal in prehistoric burial grounds. The type of pottery discovered at Anau indicated that Anau people had borrowed their art from elsewhere. Evidence pointed to a contact between Anau and Sumer, as well as Elam in Persia, and that trade existed between the Sumerians and Turkestan, i.e. lapis-lazuli stone was traded from Turkestan.⁴

A majority of Sanskrit scholars, followers of the Central Asian theory, had proposed that the Eastern Branch of the Aryans crossed the mountains of the Hindu Kush to penetrate into Gangetic India (and did so by way of the Upper Punjab), thereby effecting the 'Great Migration' of the Kuru line of Aryans, as in the Vedas they were referred to as 'Kuru-Panch-alas', 'Kur' being a Sumerian term for Cappadocia and Kur-land being situated in Eastern Asia Minor.⁵ However, Waddell explained that he was among a minority of scholars who offered a model of migration to India from Persia via Persia itself and Kandabar,⁶ and that he was not an advocate of the Hindu Kush theory because of the difficulty for the Syrians to cross its high ranges with wives, families and cattle. He drew this view from personal experience as he had traversed part of an improved caravan route to Chinese Turkestan on the Chitral expedition in 1896. Furthermore, the Aryans were alleged to have appeared with a fully-fledged civilization in the Ganges Valley and with their scriptures, 'bulky official king-lists extending back thousands of years previously'.⁷ No trace of civilization that could be dated earlier than the seventh century BC had been detected in India at the time, and there were no inscription that could be dated before the 4th century BC.⁸ These observations had led to the conclusion that Indo-Aryans entered India in about the 7th century BC, this being before the war of partition of the Bharat Aryans. Waddell's comparative studies led him to an identification of the pre-Indian Aryan homeland.⁹ He studied the Purānas which had been rejected by Vedic scholars as mythological because there were no physical traces of the kings mentioned in these scriptures. He found that several of the Aryan kings, together with their descendants in respective chronological positions, were identical to those of the Sumerian King-Lists. The names and titles continued to the end of the Kassi dynasty.¹⁰ This established as historical the first 'semi-historical king of Gangetic India who lived to see the Great War of the Bharats' (or Khattiyo), and permitted to date the Great Migration and identify its origin as being from 'Eastern Kur of Asia Minor or Syria of the Hittites'. It consisted of Sumerian/Aryan stock 'with accretions from Persian blood'.¹¹ The causes for the Great Migration were the war of extermination waged by the Assyrian king Sargon II against 'the states of Eastern Asia Minor to the North and West of Assyria and Babylonia, from Lake Van in Armenia, Cappadocia, to Cilicia and Syria-Phoenicia in the West'.¹² Sargon II captured Carchemish in 717 BC and killed the Hittite King Wisiti-the-Hero. This, according to Waddell,

explained why post-Vedic literature stated that the Kuru-panchalas or Syrio-Phoenicians of the Great Migration were driven away from their homeland or Kuru-land by a curse, and why the 'Asuras' were called 'devils' in Indian literature.

How Sumerian king-lists were recorded in Indian literature

Waddell contended that the official King-Lists and chronicles of the Aryan Sumerians were preserved because the refugees carried them in their great flight of Migration.¹³ The leader of this migration, the son and successor of King Vicitra was Dhrita-of-the-Empire (Dhrita-Rashtra) who became the first king of Gangetic India and who by the time of the Bharat War was very old and blind. Waddell fixed the date for the War of partition to about 670 BC.¹⁴ Indian lists were divided into two sections: Past and Future, the latter starting with kings immediately after the Bharats' War. The 'Past' one was apparently recited to King Dhrita (or Dhata) on his arrival in Gangetic India and closed at the date of about 717 BC. The lists were carefully preserved because they were treasured as sacred by the ancient Indo-Aryans, and they escaped Brahman censorship when the Epics were sanskritized in the Christian era and enlarged by Brahman priests by the introduction of religious dogmatics.¹⁵ Mesopotamia of the Sumerian period and Kur-land was the homeland of the Aryan ruling race whose later Eastern branch migrated to Gangetic India as the Indo-Aryans in about the seventh century BC. Waddell also compared the Indian lists with the Khatti, Hatti or Hittites' records in the interval between the 12th and 7th centuries BC. He observed that the names of Hittite kings in Kuria, especially those subsequent to the expulsion of the Kassi dynasty of Babylon, bore identical names and in the same chronological order as those of later pre-Indian kings of the Indo-Aryan lists in the Kuru dynasty. As regard the Khatti or Hittites, Waddell said it was significant that Indo-Aryan princes of the Bharat line, who fought amongst themselves in the war of partition, were called Khattiyo, which in old Indian Pali and later Sanskrit had the meaning of 'ruler' or 'ruling caste' as the Khatti title of the 'Hitt-ites' also did in both the Hittite and Sumerian languages.¹⁶ The historical king of the Khatti or Hittites WI-SI-TI-the-Hero was recorded on the list as Vicitra (or Wicitra)-the-Hero of the Kuru Line, the father of the First traditional King of Gangetic India (Dhrita-Rashtra).¹⁷

Attracting Sayce's attention

Waddell did not manage to attract Professor Sayce's attention to the fact that his comparative research of Sumerian and Indian lists permitted the recovery

of the phonetic form of lost Mesopotamian names. Sayce wrote on 7 October 1924 to reply to a note sent by Waddell on the 6th, on the subject of the Hittite forms of 'Carchemish'. They had met on 4 October 1924. As Waddell lived at Campbell Street, Greenock, near Glasgow, the distance he had to travel was not as great as if he had been in London. Sayce commented:

I hope you were not tired; the afternoon passed quickly and I would have liked to have heard more about your experiences in the Far East.¹⁸

Waddell wrote in annotation: 'Not about the Kinglist!' as if he was disappointed that Sayce was not interested in his discovery of a parallelism between the Indian records and Sumerian king-lists. Waddell indeed claimed to have made a discovery that could have helped Assyriologists to restore names where there were gaps in the king-lists and where pronunciation was a mystery. He explained that Syrio-Phoenician settlers had carried off their historical records with them in their migration to India and had thereby preserved records of the Sumerian dynasties, some of which were lost in the great gap. He had found the lists to be in the same chronological order from the first Sumerian king to the Kassi dynasty in the later Babylonian period. The phonetic forms of the Sumerian names of kings, priests, gods and places, were provided by ancient Indian Scriptures such as the *Maha-Bhārata*, the *Purāna* and *Rig-Vedas*. What he regarded as a breakthrough was especially the fact that the names of ancient dynasts in the Indian records were identical, as well as their exploits, and whose sons they were, with those of Sumerian lists and chronicles, some of whom had Hittite titles in the Kish Chronicle.¹⁹

Indian lists are not mythical

Waddell stated these King Lists were embedded in the *Maha-Bhārata* and preserved in full detail in the *Purāna*:

There [in the *Purāna*] they cover many hundreds of pages, recording in full detail the main line and numerous branch line dynasties from the commencement of the Aryan period down to historical times; and specifying the names and titles of the various kings, reproduced with scrupulous care, and citing in regard to the more famous of them their chief achievements, thus making the record something of a chronicle of the kings [. . .].²⁰

Importantly, the theory represented an explanation for the absence of physical evidence in India for the presence of Vedic Bhārata kings. Only a summarised list of their reigns was embedded in the *Maha-Bhārata* but the *Purānas* covered them over many hundreds of pages.²¹ This lack of evidence was a reason for European scholars to treat Indian accounts with scepticism. Vedic scholars also rejected Vedic tradition as a fabrication of the Brahmin

priests and bards, and the *Purānas*, as folk-tales. Waddell explained that the excuse was twofold:

Firstly, they say that, as these voluminous King-Lists are not contained in the Vedas, and only a very few of the individual kings therein are mentioned in the Vedas [. . .] these King-Lists must be fabulous. In making such an objection, they entirely overlook the patent fact that the Vedas are merely a collection of psalms, and not at all historical in their purpose, so that one would no more expect to find in them systematic lists of kings and dynasties than one would expect to find detailed lists of kings and prophets in the "Psalms of David." The second argument of Vedic scholars for rejecting these ancient Epic King-Lists is, as they truly say, that no traces whatever of any of these Early Aryan Kings can be found in India. But this fact is now disclosed by the new evidence to be owing to the very good reason that *none of these Early Aryan Kings had ever been in India*, but were kings of Asia Minor, Phoenicia and Mesopotamia centuries and millenniums before the separation of the Eastern branch to India. [. . .] I compared the names of their later main-line dynasties with the names of the later historical Hitt-ite kings of Asia Minor, as known from their own still extant monuments, as well as from the contemporary Babylonian and Assyrian records, and I found that the *father of the first historical Aryan king of India (as recorded in the Maha-Bārata epic and Indian Buddhist history) was the last historical king of the Hitt-ites in Asia Minor*, who was killed at Carchemish on the Upper Euphrates on the final annexation of that last of the Hitt-ite capitals to Assyria by Sargon II in 718 BC. And I further found that the predecessors of this Hitt-ite king, as recorded in the cuneiform monuments of Asia Minor and in the Assyrian documents, back for several centuries, were substantially identical with those of the traditional ancestors of this first historical Aryan king of India as found in these Indian Epic King-Lists. [. . .]. [. . .] The Phoenicians also were now disclosed to be Aryans in race and Khatti Arri or Hitt-ite Aryans by these new historical keys [. . .]. This therefore corroborated the fact found by anthropologists from the examination of Phoenician tombs that the *Phoenicians were a long-headed race, like the Aryans, and of a totally different racial type from the Jews*, [footnote: R.R.E.] to whom they have hitherto been affiliated on merely linguistic arguments by Semitists. [. . .] This "*Panch*" [. . .] was celebrated in the Vedas as the most ardent of all devotees of the Sun and Fire cult associated with its worship of the Father-god Indra, as in the Vedic verses [. . .] and we shall see that the Hitt-Phoenicians were especial worshippers of the Father-god Bel (also called by them "*Indara*") who was of the Sun-cult, and whose name is recorded in the early briton monuments [. . .]. Further, I found that the Early Phoenicians dynasties in Syrio-Phoenicia or "The Land of the Amorites" of the Hebrews, as well as in Early Mesopotamia [. . .] also called themselves by the "*Khatti*" title and also by the early form of "Barat" in their own still extant monuments and documents, and dated back to about 3,100 BC.²²

In Indian records Syrio-Phoenicians were given the title of 'Krivi', a term derived from the Sumerian 'Kur'. Princes of the Bharat line were also called 'Khattiyo' in Indian Pali and Sanskrit, and this was a term with the sense of 'ruler' or 'ruling caste'.²³ It was Waddell's opinion that 'Khattiyo' had its equivalent in the 'Khatti' title of the Hittites and was represented by a fish and a house (read as 'the house of Khad') in Sumerian. He explained that the term 'Kshatriya' (or Kshattriya) was derived from Khad and Khatti, as after some time, an 'r' was added in Khattiyo on the Indian continent. The Kshatriyas were a class of spiritual warriors, guardians of the race, and of knowledge. The largest class in the latter in India was the Vaishyas, a term deriving from 'vish' (fish), and the latter was linked to the Sumerian 'Khad', the pictographic sign of which was also a fish.²⁴

As a result of his comparative studies, Waddell was able to review and restore Sumerian names in the Sumerian King-lists within the possible choice of phonetic values for each syllabic word-sign according to the Sumerian lexicons of Bruennow and Meissner. He found that the early Sumerian dynasty of Uruas' was a suzerain power of Mesopotamia, of Erech and Kish. He wrote:

These historical results are now further confirmed [...] by the following fresh observation [...] proving that the early Sumerian kings of Kish bear on their own extant inscribed monuments, the identical names and titles of the kings of this Uruash dynasty, the Haryashwa dynasty of the Indian Epics.²⁵

The discovery of Telloh

Excavations by the French Expedition of the 'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres', directed by the French Consul at Basra, M. de Sarzec, uncovered a first Sumerian site dating from the Early Dynastic Period or 2,900–2,300 BC at Tello(h), Sipurla, near Lagash, which yielded a mass of records from about 1877, and the Sumerian Capital of the King (founder of the 1st Dynasty of Sumer) whose name was at first read as 'Ur-Nina' by Assyriologists from one of its Assyrian Semitic synonyms (i.e. the name 'Nineveh'), because the glossaries had no Sumerian phonetic value for this sign, and they had, therefore, 'semitized' the name.²⁶ French excavators regarded 'Ur-Nina' as the greatest of early Sumerian dynasts and the founder of the first Dynasty of the Sumerians/Phoenicians (3,100 BC), but his historicity was at first rejected by scholars.²⁷ He is now referred to as 'Ur-Nanshe' in the Louvre Museum.²⁸ The excavations by the French Expedition were carried out for a period of 23 years, and came to an end by 1900.²⁹

Discovery of King-lists with fabulous antediluvian period

Material relating to Sumerian King-Lists was discovered and published by Hilprecht (1906), Scheil (1911), Poebel (1914) and Legrain (1920–21). The Isin lists published by Poebel and Legrain were discovered among a mass of cuneiform clay-tablets in excavations carried out by a joint expedition of the British Museum and University of Pennsylvania, at Nippur, the earliest being in 1893. Five fragments were found with portions of a list of antediluvian dynasties, placed before the First Dynasty of the Kish Chronicle, with a span of 241,200 years and reigns of tens of thousands of years, which appeared superhuman or mythological, and their first postdiluvian dynasty had kings ruling from 1,200 years to gradually lesser reigns. Legrain's fragments contained three additional dynasties.³⁰ They continued from the end of the Kish Chronicle up to the Gutu or late Gothic dynasty and to the end of the Isin Dynasty and the time of 'Khamu Rabi' (Hammurabi) of Babylon (c. 2,000 BC).³¹ The figures were more exaggerated than those of the list of antediluvian kings attributed to the Chaldean priest Berossos,³² but the dynasties pre-fixed to the Kish Chronicle in the Isin Lists appeared to have been compiled on the same model.³³

Waddell contended that "myth-mongering priests" near Babylon (by 2,050 BC) had created false antediluvian dynasties with fabulous ages by duplicating material from the Kish Chronicle, and placing it before the First Sumerian Dynasty of the Kish Chronicle (Ur-Nina's time) in the Isin Lists. Waddell ascertained that some of the misplaced portions included names and titles of kings belonging to the 'great gap' of the Kish Chronicle as he found their corresponding names in the Indian King-Lists, and on the basis of the chronology of the latter, he worked out the proper place of the missing names in the Kish Chronicle:

On scrutinizing the kings' names in these prefixed fragmentary Isin lists by my Indian keys, I observed that the earliest of these names were obviously variant dialectic spellings of the names or titles of the kings of the First and Second Dynasties of the Kish chronicle and its Great Gap, that they followed one another in the same relative order of succession, and that several of these same names or titles were repeated lower down as fresh dynasties. It was thus evident that these so-called "dynasties" prefixed by the Isin priests to the First Dynasty of the Kish Chronicle if not fabricated had been obtained from various old fragmentary Sumerian lists of the names and titles of kings of the Great Gap, and had been strung together and then fictitiously placed in front of the Kish Chronicle First Dynasty.³⁴

Ur-Nina's many names and historicity

Although some names had not been found on monuments, some scholars accepted the Isin Lists for their Sumerian and Babylonian history and chronology as evident in *Cambridge Ancient History* (1924).³⁵ Waddell complained one of them had dismissed the problem admitting 'it had not occupied his attention'.³⁶ At first scholars were more sceptical about the historicity suggested for Mes-Anna-pada than the fabulous antediluvian dynastic spans of the Isin List and they did not question the Flood of biblical narratives. Thureau-Dangin commented in 1918 that 'the names of certain kings expected to be mentioned' in the Isin Lists 'were absent from them'.³⁷ This was a reference to Ur-Nina, who was mentioned on inscriptions excavated at Al-Ubaid,³⁸ as some Assyriologists deciphered his name as 'Mes-Anna-pada' or 'Mesh-Ane-Pada'. Childe's dating for his first Sumerian Dynasty was 3,100–2,620 BC.³⁹ The first Sumerian dynasty was attacked by the Semitic Sargon (II) of Akkad in about 2,525 BC.⁴⁰ Lagash would have been an important city in the Sumerian period in the 4th millennium BC when it was ruled by Ur-Nina and his successors A-anni-Padda (or Enanna-tunn) and Entemena. Other Assyriologists listed the latter as Akurgal and Eannatum.⁴¹ The historicity of the first dynasty of Ur, and of Mes-Anna-Padda and his son A-anni-Padda, and therefore of Ur-Nina of Telloh, was established by the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (1922–34).

Waddell expounded that Ur-Nina's dynasty was the very first one of the Sumerians and revised the name of this ruler as 'Uruas' the Khad'. He also found evidence of a symbolic connection between the Ukusi title of the Kish Chronicle and Boghazkoy, revealing the Cappadocian origin of the makers of Sumerian civilization and the fact that Ur-Nina ruled over a colonial empire, not just a city state.

Present opinion on long antediluvian reigns

The accepted view was that the Isin List was composed in the 2nd half of the Isin Dynasty from a single original which had been copied over a long period of time. A comparative study was carried out by scholars (including Sidney Smith at the British Museum) to establish a lower limit of time, looking at language, form and fundamental ideas. It was concluded the original was composed before the reign of Shu-sin of Ur and before his father Bur-sin and that copies were made under the latter.⁴² After the material was separated according to its locality, it became clear that an ancient scribe had inserted data from local lists into the King-List he was copying, and as a result, Kish, Uruk, and Ur's local lists were amalgamated. As there was a change of style in the last part of the List identical to the antediluvian section, it became

evident to scholars that the antediluvian section had not been written by the scribe who had composed the main body of the King-List and that it was a later addition.⁴³ Opinion as regard the Isin King-Lists therefore changed to the view that the antediluvian texts were copies of a single original and that scribes, who did not find antediluvian data on the lists they were copying, felt it their duty to add it up, if they had heard of it.⁴⁴ It was also understood that the Isin Priests had created extra antediluvian dynasties because their notion of a single kingship over all of the cities in their history was erroneous.⁴⁵ In 1939, Thorkild Jacobsen placed Ur-Nina in his chronological reconstruction at 2,800 BC and also mentioned this ruler under his revised name of Ur-Nanshe(k).⁴⁶ Jacobsen's research was reviewed by Albrecht Goetze (1941).

Jacobsen stated that research on the King-List 'almost came to a standstill', and that it 'was hardly ever used for purpose of chronology', after Professor Cyril John Gadd (1893–1969), from the British Museum, discussed the historical value of the List, because Sumerian texts were treated with scepticism in the academia in the 1930s.⁴⁷ Other prominent names for this subject are M. B. Rowton (1960)⁴⁸ and Dwight W. Young (1991).⁴⁹

Waddell would have published his discoveries on the parallelism of the Sumerian and Indian records in 1914 and announced that the Kish Chronicle was an authentic record of the first Sumerian dynasty from the period of the Guti invasion of Mesopotamia from Asia Minor at 2,600 BC, as well as revealed the lost names of the kings of the great gap on the basis of the Indian records, but he postponed the project because the Isin Lists differed in chronology from the Kish ones.⁵⁰ An additional problem was the fact that Professor S. Langdon did not recognise Ur-Nina's historicity on the basis he found more credibility in the Isin Lists than the records of Telloh.⁵¹ He deciphered an ideogram for the first king of the Erech Dynasty of the Isin List, as 'Ur Nun-gal', followed by Utul-kalam-ma and La-ba-s'e-ir. Waddell complained:

Professor Langdon on failing to find in this semi-fabulous list the names either of 'Ur-Nina' or any of his dynasty [. . .] instead of remarking as one would expect on the apparent shortcomings of this list compiled by the credulous later priests of the insignificant Isin Dynasty [. . .] confidently accepts this Isin list as more authoritative than the actual contemporary records of the great kings themselves, and rejecting the latter declares that these kings were impostors in calling themselves 'kings' and dynasties, merely because he could not find them in his Isin list. [. . .] It appeared to me that not only were 'Ur Nina' and his dynasty recorded therein, but that they were given the very first place in the list of human dynasties, where the supernatural ages end and the natural human ages begin. This observation was based on the general similarity in the form of several of the names, their relative order and number, and the point at which both dynasties end by war. And further examination completely confirmed this identity for all the names [. . .] I give the kings' names of this dynasty in question, which is represented as the 'First dynasty

of Urug or Erech' alongside the names of the dynasty of Uruas' from their own monuments, for comparison.⁵² [. . .] In the Isin list, his name and title is translated by the Professor as 'the deified Dumuzi, a fisherman'. I read it 'Lord Damuzi of the hand-bowl (Pur). This apparently correlates the famous magic divining bowl or cauldron of the original Damuzi or Tamux, with the divining bowl of his later namesake, this 'Tamuz' the grandfather of Uruas'.⁵³

Waddell found evidence for the historicity of 'Ur-Nina' in the Indian Epic King-List that he compared to those of the Sumerian dynasties and revised his Sumerian name as 'Uruas'. Referring to the Weld-Blundell Collection at Oxford, he criticized Langdon for stating that 'no confidence can be placed in records of local scribes unless they are confirmed by the dynastic (Isin) lists', and for the fact that 'he declared Ur-Nina an impostor in calling himself a king' because 'he could not find his name recorded in the Isin Chronicle:'

He thinks that "it (this Isin Chronicle) constitutes the most important historical document of its kind ever recovered among cuneiform records."⁵⁴ He makes it the framework of his chronology and history of Ancient Mesopotamia and Babylonia; and even goes to the length of saying dogmatically – in defiance of the historical axiom that contemporary records are more trustworthy than later ones – that "in the inscriptions before the time of Sargon, no confidence can be placed in records of local scribes unless they are confirmed by the dynastic (Isin) lists."⁵⁵ (!) And merely because he cannot find the great Sumerian emperor Uruash ("Ur Nina") and his dynasty (so prolific in inscribed monuments) in this Isin chronicle, or any other of the early Sumerian kings who have left their inscribe monuments, he declares that Uruash and these other emperors, whose monuments form the bulk of the early Sumerian remains, were but impostors in calling themselves "kings" at all!⁵⁶

Waddell stated he found it 'even more unacceptable' that Sayce agreed with Langdon.⁵⁷ As the fragmentary state of the Isin lists published by Poebel and Legrain also represented a problem, by 1914, Waddell felt he should delay his announcement and hoped another version would be discovered. This happened later as in 1923, WB.444, a practically complete version of the other Isin list, in the form of a prism (held in the Weld-Blundell Collection at Oxford), was published. This list had 'a new antediluvian dynasty of eight kings' but at the same time, also recorded a total period of 241,200 years with average reigns of 30,150 years prefixed to the first Dynasty of the Kish Chronicle'.⁵⁸ Scholars ascertained that this Isin list had been written about 42 years later than the fragments published by Poebel and Legrain.

Waddell's opinion was that the Isin priests had mistakenly duplicated the material from the First and Second Dynasties of the Kish Chronicle and misplaced it in front of the latter as an antediluvian period.⁵⁹ As he was looking at the antediluvian dynasties of the corrupt Isin List on the Weld-Blundell

prism and was revising the reading of the Sumerian signs in the light of Indian records, he discovered that there were no dynasties before the Flood! The antediluvian kings had been created by duplication of material. The corresponding Indian list ended with King Barat (at 3,150 BC). The antediluvian kings of WB.444 (8 kings) and WB.62 (10 kings) were in the same chronological order as the first ten kings of the Kish Chronicle and of the Indian Aryan lists, and the first three kings were identical to the kings mentioned on the bowl of Utug/Utu(k).⁶⁰ When he had restored to its rightful place this list of kings which had been misplaced in the Isin List, the first Dynasty of the Kish Chronicle emerged as the very first Sumerian dynasty with the Ukusi King (Dur, In-Dara, Gaur) (or Ur-Nina/Uruas'), 653 years before Sargon-the-Great, at 3,380 BC. Waddell produced a Comparative Table to show the alignment or parallelism of the kings in the different lists and Indian records, and that the names differed only in phonetic spelling or use of a different title.⁶¹

Waddell deplored the fact that the dynasties prefixed before the Kish dynasty in the Isin Lists and their Semitic Flood myth had been accepted by Assyriologists as genuinely historical, despite the fact that none of these kings were mentioned on any monument in Mesopotamia. Certain names and titles were not recognized by Langdon and Sayce because they had restored them with the wrong phonetic values, but when exposing what he believed were defects in their methods of decipherment, Waddell was apologetic stating that it was unpleasant for him to do so because he was indebted to them. He recognised he owed his own knowledge of Sumerian to the labours of this 'great body of expert scholars'. He offered his solutions 'to further academic advancement' and in the hope they would be 'received with fair and impartial consideration'.⁶² He concluded that the dynasties prefixed to the Kish Chronicle by the priests of Isin were duplications of the First and Second Dynasties of the Kish Chronicle 'misplaced in front of the latter'.⁶³ He stated:

The Isin priests, not being able to equate their names with those in the First and Second Dynasties of the Kish Chronicle, in despair pitch-forked them in front and in the remotest age they could think of, namely before 'the Flood', the Semitic myth of which had just come into vogue in Babylonian literature.⁶⁴

Opinion in scholarly circles

A year after Waddell passed away, the general view in the academia as regards the Sumerian King-List was that Babylonian copyists who did not find antediluvian data on the lists they were copying 'felt it their duty to add it up if they had heard of it'.⁶⁵ This was noted by Jacobsen in a work about which M. B. Rowton viewed as 'likely to remain basic to further research for a long time to come'.⁶⁶ Rowton stated in 1960 that the evidence was 'as yet very incomplete' for the period before Ur III and the main source for dating this

period was the Sumerian King List, the original copy of which Jacobsen had concluded was compiled during the reign of Utuhegal. Rowton reviewed the whole matter. He concluded that the text was already deficient in the original document,⁶⁷ and that the scribe who invented figures 'had a theory about the longevity of certain kings, especially the early ones',⁶⁸ and that he or later copyists 'resorted to approximation in restoring damaged figures'.⁶⁹ Rowton has also reviewed evidence provided by Jacobsen pointing to an older text in which two forms were used correctly, which was copied by a later scribe who did not have an understanding of this correct usage and used the wrong form. As regard the antediluvian section of the Isin list, Rowton added further arguments to Kraus' and Jacobsen's and concluded that the original king-list should be 'dated to the period of Ur III, a little earlier (Utuhegal) or a little later (Isbi-Erra)', and that it was compiled some time after the end of the rule of Akkad over Sumer and the rise of Ur III.⁷⁰ Modern scholars seem to be of the opinion that the earliest names in the list correspond to rulers who became mythological figures, and to hold that the unrealistic durations of reigns in the List was the result of adding the dynasties as if they had existed in succession when kingship was simultaneous with each dynasty ruling its own city.

Jacobsen discussed Ur-Nina of Lagash under the name of Ur-Nanshe(k), as well as his time⁷¹ and level at Telloh.⁷² As there was opposition to research on the Sumerian King-List, 1929 was not the best time for Waddell to have produced a comparative Table of Sumerian and Indian King-Lists:

In late years the King-List has come almost to a standstill, and its evidence is hardly ever used for purpose of chronology.⁷³

Waddell's findings about Ur-Nina

Waddell noted that scholars believed the kings of the Kish Chronicle were not named in the Isin king-list because they had not been able to recognise them, i.e. they had read their inscriptions as 'Ur-zag-ud-du' or 'Urzage', 'Me-silim', '[. . .] aga', 'En-ne-ugun' or 'En-bi-ishtar', 'La [. . .] shi-I' and 'Ud', in addition to 'Bi(d)-ash-na-di' (or Eannatum) and 'Tar-si'. He identified the last two as corresponding to 'Badhryashwa' and 'Divo-Dasa' in the Indian lists, and restored their reading from the Sumerian as 'Pasenadi' and 'Divine Dasa', thereby demonstrating the usefulness of his discovery of the parallelism between the records, to read Sumerian names. Scholars had been uncertain about the chronological order of these Kish kings. For instance, it was speculated that Me-silim was the first, but his Indian counterpart was found at the end of the corresponding dynasty, hence Waddell's findings in Indian records permitted to restore the right sequence of the Sumerian kings as well as their names.⁷⁴ The ruler, whose name Assyriologists such as Radau and Thureau Dangin had read as 'Ur-zag-ud-du' or 'Urzage', was recorded as 'king of Kish' and of other places on a fragment of a votive vase excavated below the foun-

dations of a Temple at Nippur.⁷⁵ It was of a later period than the bowl of Udug/Utu(k) which was also from the same site and which Waddell acquired.⁷⁶ Waddell revised his name according to the Indian Epics and the result was a reading of 'Uru-ag Khad-du' or 'Uruag-the-Khad', revealing this king as identical to 'Ur-Nina' ('Uruas' or 'Uruash-the-Khad'). He explained that the spelling of names differed in Sumerian according to circumstances. As the king dedicated a vase to the Sun-god, his name was spelled with 'ag', a sign for a vase, instead of 'ash' (lord) and the sign 'Khad' was used because of its connection with the Sun, instead of the usual 'Fish-house-father-sign'. Furthermore, 'ag' was phonetically equivalent to 'ash' because the 'g' was pronounced softly in Sumerian like 'sh'. It significantly revealed this king as ruling over more than one city: over Kish as well as Lagash.

Waddell concluded that Uruash/Uruas' (Ur-Nina) was king of Kish, founder of the first Indian dynasty and restorer of the Sun-temple at Nippur, and that he had a much larger dominion than was recognised. This ruler was founder of civilization over two continents as he was King of Kish, Erech, Eridu and Lagash on the Persian Gulf (Eden in Mesopotamia), and of Edin in the Indus Valley.⁷⁷ He reproduced Sumerian inscriptions showing the Sun sign that he read as 'Khad'.⁷⁸ This decipherment was supported by an inscription on a figurine unearthed at Kish by Professor Langdon and read by him as 'Lugal-ud lugal' (Lugal-ud, the king). There were two other word-signs on the 2nd line of the inscriptions which had not been translated and one blurred after the Sun-sign read 'Ud'. In a 4th line, there were two more signs reading 'Tar-si'. He read them as 'the King of the combined Khad (or Khad-du) people, King Tar-si';⁷⁹ as to Me-silim, a King of Kish, Adab and Lagash, this name was a misreading for Me-di, the Sumerian equivalent of 'Mettiyo' in the Indian Epic, found as Me-de (or Me-die) ash-na in the Isin List (ash-na being a title). He was the son of Tarsi and grand-son of Bidasnadi, whereas Entemena was a nephew by a younger brother. He provided other evidence too lengthy to include here.⁸⁰

The comparative table from Waddell's article on the Dynasty of Haryashwa or Sumerian Uruash (Ur-Nina),⁸¹ reproduced here below, highlights the parallelism of Mesopotamian and Indian records (on the basis of the Great Migration). The discrepancy in spelling between Sumerian and Sanskrit was increased by the practice in scholarship of giving Semitic values to ideograms. The table shows six kings of the Lunar and Solar Indian Epic Lists aligned with Ur-Nina's dynasty but with the latter revised as Uruas'-the-Khad.

Comparative table: names of six kings in the Isin list, Lagash and Kish Chronicles and their identification in the Indian Epics⁸²

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Lagash Inscriptions</i>	<i>Erek Isin List</i>	<i>Kish Inscriptions</i>	<i>Indian Epics (Lunar) & Vedas</i>
3100 (1)	Uruas Khad, son of Gunitum	Uruas Nun-gal son of Giszax or Gunni	Uruag Khad-du Urzage	Haryashwa Khattiyo son of Caxus
(2)	A Madgal son of (1)	Abbi-unuma (Herdsman of Land)	—	Mudgala Lord of Cattle son of (1)
(3)	Bi(d)as-nadi son of (2)	La Bisie-in Protector Bisi In-nun nad asna	Bi(d)as-nadi La (Bi) Se-i(r)	Pasenadi a Bad-hryaswa son of (2)
3000 (4)	Ene Tarsi Heavenly Tarsi	Tacisu	Lugal Tarsi	Divo-Dasa (Divine Dasa) Son of (3)
(5)	Medi Mesilim	Medei as-na	Medi (Mesilim)	Mettiyo Mitrayu, s. of (4)
2900 (6)	Uru Kagina	Kiaga	(Ki)-aga (5)	Gyawanna, s. of

CHAPTER EIGHT

Ur-Nina, Ruler of the Gardens of Sumeria

When Waddell corresponded with Theophilus G. Pinches (1856–1934) on the matter of the Sumerians and their origin, the latter had an established reputation as a veteran on the subject of Babylonia and Assyriology as he had many works published between 1884 and 1915,¹ the last of which was *The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection* (1915). Pinches had joined the pioneering group led by Rawlinson which struggled to gain recognition for the non-Semitic nature of the Sumerian language.² Waddell praised Pinches for cracking the code of the Hittite writing system, as well as carrying out the first decipherments of cuneiform tablets,³ together with Sayce and other scholars.⁴

The fact that the Sumerian civilization appeared fully-fledged was treated as a mystery when it was first discovered. Alternative historians, such as Zecharia Sitchin and Eric Von Daniken, have offered ‘ancient extraterrestrial astronaut theories’ as a solution which scholars object to with the argument that mankind was capable of building civilization without external help. Waddell’s suggestion that the Sumerians were architects of civilization descended from Boghazkoy and prior to the latter, from an Aryan homeland, also explains the mystery. Childe spoke of the first inhabitants of Sumer (or Al’Ubaid culture) as colonists who had arrived with a culture of their own, and also suggested they ‘had forerunners of a different nationality’, had mixed with Semites,⁵ and that ‘together they had created civilization in the 4th millennium BC’.⁶ He also viewed the Sumerians as blood-kinsmen of the Hittites.⁷ Waddell similarly contended that the highly civilized ruling race of the Sumerians descended into Ancient Mesopotamia and civilized it before 3,000 BC.⁸ It was partly on the basis of his decipherment of the genealogy inscribed on the bowl of Utu(k) that H. V. Hilprecht studied.⁹ It seems that he was not the only one to believe in the Cappadocian origin of the Sumerians as in a letter dated 12 March 1927, Pinches made a reference to ‘a Turkish theory proposed by Hommel’. After thanking Waddell for sending his *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*, Pinches stated he looked into some of his comparisons and ‘found them exceedingly interesting’. He added:

It is now about 40 years since the same idea came to me, and I spoke to Terrien de Lacouperie about it. As you know, he was all for the Chinese theory of

Sumerian origins, combated by Legg and carried out very elaborately by the Rev. C.J. Ball. De Lacouperie did not like the Aryan idea, and at once asked to what period or stage of the Aryan linguistic development the Sumerian could belong. I was not ready with an answer to this unexpected query, and as my knowledge of really ancient Aryan was absolutely nil, I realized that I could not express an opinion. Later I accepted the Turkish theory of Sumerian origins proposed by Hommel. It will give me great pleasure if I can notice your book in print, the more especially as I shall be able to compare your comparisons with those which I made so long ago.¹⁰

Waddell acquired the Bowl of Utu(k)

Together with the team of the Joint British Museum and Pennsylvania University expedition, Hilprecht unearthed the oldest historical Sumerian record known at the time, the inscribed votive Bowl of Utu(k) or Udug, from below the foundations of the central tower of a Sun-temple at Nippur, dated c.3,245 BC.¹¹ Excavations also yielded 50,000 clay-tablets from the library of this temple. Waddell stated he personally inspected the site.¹² The inscriptions on the bowl were discussed by Hilprecht in *Old Babylonian Inscriptions* (1896) and it was this scholar as well as Sayce, who decided that the two fragments were part of the same vessel. Whereas Hilprecht had no realization of the significance of the inscriptions and identified him as a high-priest of Kish, Thorkild Jacobsen recognized Utu as a ruler.¹³

In a typed letter dated 24 February 1921 with the address 'Sippara, 10 Oxford Road, Kilburn, London', Pinches thanked Waddell for sending back the Berens tablets and congratulated him for his acquisition of the bowl of Utu(k):

Dear Col. Waddell, Many thanks for sending back the Berens Tablets – also for the stamps, but I should have been quite content to let the transaction stand as it was. I did not know that you had made such a thorough study of *Sumero-Akkadian*, and I congratulate you on your success and your acquisition of the *Bowl of Utu(k)*. In all probability you know more of some of the questions connected with Sumerian than I do – I find it very difficult – especially at my age, – to keep abreast of the study in all its different departments and aspects.¹⁴

Pinches still used the original term (Sumero-Akkadian) for Sumerian. Jacobsen made a statement in relation to the bowl fragments without reference to the fact that they were acquired by Waddell:

There was reason to assume that one of the sources has omitted a ruler whom we could have expected to find (in the Isin List). We possess the inscription of a certain Utuk who styles himself 'Ensi(k) of Kish' and dedicates a vase to the city god Zababa.¹⁵

[‘Ensi(k) is from the term ‘Khat-ti (sig)’ read by Waddell as ‘Catti ruler’ or ‘priest-king’ – sometime read as ‘patesi’.]

The inscriptions in archaic Sumerian on the bowl of Utu(k) dated to the 4th millennium BC were a dedication to Sakh, also read as ‘Sagg’ (the source of Jah, Zeus, Jupiter, and Jehovah)¹⁶ by his great-grand-son King Udug/Utu(k), priest-king of Kish City, who deposited the bowl at Khamazi City. The bowl was described as already broken in the text of the dedication.¹⁷ As evident to Waddell, the Sumerians sometimes spelled words alphabetically. Utu’s great-grand-father In-dar or In-duru was represented with the Goat emblem of the Goths spelt by three signs, i.e.: ‘Za-ga-ga’, intended to be read as Zagg. Later Sumerians spelt the name with one syllable as Zakh or Zax. Being of Khatti (Hittite) origin, early Sumerians split up consonantal sounds, i.e. they wrote ‘Ba-a-dur’ or ‘Ba-a-tar, or ‘Wa-a-tar’ for ‘water’. They mixed the alphabetic method with the syllabic one using syllabic signs containing two or more consonants.¹⁸

Votive bowl confiscated as a war trophy

Waddell ascertained that the bowl’s genealogy matched that of the first four kings of the Kish Chronicle.¹⁹ This genealogy was part of the dedication King Utu(k) had made to his great-grand-father, naming his father as well as his grand-father, before secretly burying the bowl under the foundations of the temple. It was significantly associated with the first Sumerian King under his title ‘Sakh’, a title which corresponded to ‘Sig’ in the Eddas. ‘Sa-ga-ga’ was the split up form of ‘Sagg’ which was also written as ‘Sakh’. ‘Thor’ in the *Elder Edda* was the same character as Sagaga or Ur-Nina (reading the latter as Uruas’ on the basis of his comparative studies of the Indian list). The genealogy derived from the dedication is basically as follows:

- (1) **Sagg or Dur**
- (2) **Gin**
- (3) **Enuzuzu**
- (4) **Utu (priest-king who made the inscription)**

The latter correspond to the kings named in the comparative table reproduced below:

Names of Four Generations of Sumerian Rulers from Different Sources²⁰

1 st king	
S	INDARA, GAR, UDU-DUR, SAKH, DAR, DUR, PUR.
U	SAGG, SAGAGA

KD	GAUR from Heaven who made kinship at Kish City.
E	SAGGI, GUSHE-IR, son of UDUIN at Inanna or Biddingir City.
I	UDUIN from Heaven, made Kingship at Urdu City.
KC	UKUSI of Ukhu City.
P and A	ISH-VAKU, SAKKO, title of INDRA or PURU-ravas.
2nd king	
S	GIN (or BAS'UA) (U)
KD	MUKHLA, TASIA, AZAG, Lord of Grain
E	MUKU of plants, GAN, GUN, KAN son of 1, builder of Unuk City
I	AMA, AKU of Jar
KC	AZAG, AMA, BASAM, BAKUS, (AKA) Liberator of wines, Built Kish City.
A	AYUS, AYU, AMA-BASU, BIKUKSHI, son of 1st king.
3rd king	
S	ENUZUZU, INUZUZU, (U)
KD	Illegible
E	IN, Shepherd of vessel
I	ENU, INU, UNNUSHA
KC	NAKSHA, ENZU
A	NAHUSHA, ANENAS, JANAK, son of 2nd king
4th king	
S	UDU, UTU, UDUK (U)
KD	illegible
E	—
I	U-DUKU
KC	devotee of Lord SAGG
A	UDA-Vasu, YADU, YAYATI, son of 3rd KING (Nahusha).

Abbreviations:

S: Sumerian inscriptions; U: Sumerian inscriptions on Udu's bowl; P: Indian records; Pali; KD: Kish Dynasty; E: Erech Dynasty; I: Isin Antediluvian Dynasty; KC: 1st and 2nd Dynasties, Kish Chronicle; A: Aryan.

The first Sumerian king was called 'Lord Sakh, king of the Precious Stone, hidden Vessel of Kish Land, king of that Hidden Vessel'. The bowl was referred to as the 'Serpent-Stone-vessel' because it originated from the serpent-dragon cult. It was a fetish magical cauldron or grail that the Aryan

Lords of the *Edda* acquired as a war trophy. The superstitious and sacrificial practices of the Serpent cult had terrorised the aborigines but had a hold on them.

Waddell identified the bowl of Utu(k) as the legendary Stone bowl of Sumerian legends which had vanished and was a favourite theme in early Sumerian literature. He commented that it was significant that an oral tradition concerning this lost trophy survived, that myths were created from its disappearance, and inspired a mystical Grail quest for the Grail in the Arthurian legends as adapted by medieval bards.²¹

Waddell's decipherment of inscriptions

In the glossaries, 'Sakh' was referred to as the title of King Dar/Tur and the equivalent of Sagg or Sa-ga-ga and of Adar to later Babylonians. Most importantly, he was called 'the Lord Sakh UGU' (of the Hittite city of Ukhu). This represented evidence of Cappadocian origin for the 1st Sumerian dynasty of Kish since Ukhu was Boghazkoy. The inscriptions on the bowl were written in eight lines as follows:

1. *Ash Sa-[ga-ga] In-Dara -Udu-Dur Gurush-a Gar Uku-zu-I Mid Idim Etil Pir Adar*
To King (or Lord) Sagg (or Zagg) Indara, Udu-Dur Gurusha-a-dur (or -Pur u-) Gar Ukuzu'i Mid, Mit Idim Etil Pir (or Bar) Adar
2. *U-Du*
Udu (or Utu or Utuk)
3. *Khat (or -Khut-) ti (sig) (or pa-te-si)*
priest-king or Khatti ruler
4. *Ki/sh-ki]*
of Kish City
5. *Enu-zu-zu (or In-zu-gu)*
(son of) enuzuzu (or Inzuzu)
6. *Gin-zi*
(son of) Gin the established (son)
7. *Kha-ma-zi-ki*
the) Khamazi City
8. *Sa-gaba-du*
choice broken (Bowl) has deposited.²²

These inscriptions read: 'Utu/Udu, priest-king or Khatti ruler of Kish City, son of Emuzuzu, (the latter being) son of Gin, (the latter being) the established son (of In-Dara), has deposited this previous broken bowl at Khamazi City and dedicated it to King (or Lord) Sagg (Zagg or Sagaga), Indara, Udu-Dur Gurusha-a-dur (or -Pur u-)'.

In *The Serpent Grail*, Philip Gardiner and Gary Osborn have used a

different terminology when citing Waddell and discussing the bowl of Utu(k), which they state is a 'very important element' of their research because of its association 'with the earliest serpent cult' (p. 225). They call it 'the Stone bowl of Uda' and refer to the fact it was dedicated to 'King Ukishi, the first King of the Aryan dynasty'.²³ 'Uda' appears to be a different spelling for 'Utu' because they specify that the vase was known as 'the Stone bowl of Uda' because 'it was inscribed by King Uda'.²⁴ This would be in line with Theophilus G. Pinches calling it 'the bowl of Utu(k)' in a letter dated 24 February 1921.²⁵ Utu(k) was the priest-king who dedicated the vase to his ancestor King Sagg, Sakh, Indara, Dur, or Udu-Dur. The latter had the title of 'Ukusi' in the *Kish Chronicle* (which the authors spelled 'Ukishi'). However, the authors' following sentence is a puzzle: 'King Uda or Dur, after whom the bowl is named, is also known as King Sagg or Sakh'.²⁶ The following table from the *Kish Chronicle* may clarify the matter:

Kish Chronicle²⁷

1st Dynasty

- (1) UKUSI of UKHU City (Sakh or Sagaga, also Dar, Dur, Pur, Udu-Dur)

2nd Dynasty

- (2) AZAG, AMA, BAKUS OR BASAM, AKA (liberator of wines who built Kish city)

Son of first king of 1st Dynasty; was also Mukhla, lord of grain; Muku, lord of plants; and Gan, builder of Unuk city.

- (3) NAKSHA, AN-ENUZU son of (2)

- (4) The Devotee (Utu) of Lord Sagaga or Sagg
son of (3)

- (5) ZIMUGUN or GINMUGUN, son of (4).

Gardiner and Osborn link Thor of the Nordic *Edda* to the word 'adder' saying 'Adar' was a title for Thor (p. 224), but Waddell explained 'Adar' was a title of the Sumerian king (whom he associated with Thor but the exploits of the latter are told in a different tradition) and that there existed a Babylonian hymn in which an additional character presented as 'Adar', son of Sakh, had been created due to the fact that the knowledge 'that 'Adar' was a title for Sakh' was lost. It referred to the 'Shu' vessel stone, the precious stone, the Serpent stone and Fire-stone (cauldron) that 'the hero had carried off to the city'.²⁸ In the *Edda*, Thor 'the Victorious' appropriates the bowl from the 'weirds of Urd' at Jōro-velli (Carchemish on the Upper Euphrates) with a punitive expedition against Gald (Kaldu or Chaldee) in Ginung

(Mesopotamia) under the names of Adar and Sig.²⁹ The story that Thor (Sig) consecrated this sacred war trophy in his own cult is present in the *Edda*.

In an article preserved in the Special Collections, entitled 'Dynasty of Haryashwa or the Sumerian Uruas'/Uruash ("Ur-Nina") as imperial kings of Kish, Erech and Lagash in Mesopotamia about 3,100–2,900 BC', Waddell also stated the bowl was in his 'possession' and he enlarged upon his reading of the Sumerian term that assyriologists deciphered as 'Ur-Nina' on the basis of his comparative study of the Sumerian king-lists with Indian ones. He revised the reading 'Ur-Nina' as Uruas'-the-Khad on the basis of his Indian counterpart Haryashwa.³⁰

Ur-Nina was also referred to as 'Mes-Anna-pada', and as evident in the following extract, he was called Urzage and Urzaguddu by other scholars:

The King of Kish, hitherto called Ur-zag-ud-du (Radau, *Early Babylonian Inscriptions*, 23 f) or Urzage (Thureau-Dangin, *Les Inscriptions de Sumer*, 228), records his name as "king of Kish" as well as king of one or more other places illegible, on a fragment of his votive alabaster vase unearthed from below the foundations of the great tower of the Sun-temple at Nippur, near where was found the still earlier Bowl of Udug, containing the earliest known historical Sumerian inscription, a relic which is now in my possession. His name as now revised in the light of the Indian Epic king-lists yields the form Uru-ag Khad-du or "Uruag-the-Khad" [. . .]. This identifies him clearly with Uruash-the-Khad (or "Ur-Nina") the founder of the Uruash or Haryashwa dynasty of "The able Panch" or Phoenicians or "Kad."³¹

Jacobsen explained the Sumerians made statues of king Sagaga and then worshipped them. This statement supports Waddell's theory of the deification of Ur-Nina as Sagaga. Waddell revised the name 'A-Kurgal' (Ur-Lugal's son) as 'A Mad-gal', (and as equivalent to 'Mudgala or Mogallo' in the Indian lists).³² The dedication of King Utu(k) disclosed a genealogy parallel to that given in the Kish Chronicle and Sanskrit lists. Some of the discrepancies in spelling in the latter were due to the fact that the kings were recorded by their solar or lunar titles instead of their personal names.

Her-Thor/Arthur was Udu-Dur/Sagaga (the deified Ur-Nina/Uruas')

Waddell identified the king whose name was inscribed on the bowl as Sagaga, In-Dara and Udu-Dur, as the king who bore the title of Ukusi in the Kish Chronicle, and Her-Thor of the *Edda*. As far as he was concerned, the bowl represented one of the earliest sources of inspiration for the Arthurian legends, and he acquired it as he stated: 'and this fragment of this famous magic bowl bearing that inscription is now in my possession'.³³ However, he did not claim that this bowl was the original of the Grail of the Last Supper,

nor the legendary one in which Joseph of Arimathea collected blood from the crucified Jesus.

Decipherment of a Seal from Telloh

On the evidence of his decipherment of a seal excavated at Telloh, Waddell expounded that 'A Mad-gal' acted as Minister to his father Uruas' (Ur-Nina/Ur-Nanshe/Ur-Lugal) in the Indus Valley. He read the name of this Sumerian dynast as Uruas' on the basis of his comparative studies. The seal was listed in the Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux of the Louvre Museum and reproduced as Figure 5 in *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*³⁴ and Figure 19 in *Makers of Civilization in Race & History* (after Delaporte).³⁵ It is reproduced here in Illustrations. He read part of the Sumerian inscriptions that scholars deciphered as 'Ur-Nina', using alternative phonetic values for the ideogram and deciphered it as 'Uruas'-the-Khad'³⁶ on the basis of his discovery of a perfect alignment between the Sumerian dynast (and his descendants) and the Indian dynast 'B'army-as'wa Haryas'wa' (and his descendants). His discovery of a parallelism between Sumerian and Indian king-lists was what he called his 'Sanskrit keys'. He had observed that the name 'Edin' was spelt on the seal of Telloh with a 'compound ideogram' identical to one figuring on Indus Valley seals. He revised the reading of the name of this king on the Telloh seal on the basis of the Indian spelling (it was a clue to its original pronunciation).

Waddell expounded that Syrio-Phoenicians of the Sumerian seafaring dynasty of Ur-Nina had migrated to the Indus Valley by sea in an earlier wave than that of the popular Aryan influx by land, and that the Indus Valley was a colony of the Sumerians founded by the king recorded in India under the name of Haryas'wa [with title B'army-as'wa meaning 'Brahman seer'] who also was the founder of the first Indian Dynasty. This theory was largely dependent upon his reading on the Telloh seal that a minister (the owner of the seal) governed a 'second Edin' for Ur-Nina/Uruas':³⁷

Now, an unique Early Sumerian "seal" was unearched from the ruined buildings of Uruas'-the Khad (or Phoenician); and it not only belongs, I find, to this king's own reign, but also bears his own name, and gives details regarding his "minister" who governed Edin for him; and the name "Edin" is spelt therein by the identical compound ideogram as in these Indus Valley seals; and the script is in the standard Sumerian of the epoch of Uruas' of Lagash [. . .] Its great size and the fact that it is engraved orthographically and not intended for stamping shows it was not a seal, but a medallion of a victory [. . .] This critically important "seal" has been discussed by various leading Assyriologists with varied conjectural readings of the names in its legend, in the absence of any key to the original form of the personal names to guide them in selecting the proper phonetic value from the polyphonous

word-signs. The latest summary of these attempted translations and restoration of the names in this inscription is:

O Edin-mu-gi, minister of Gir (the god) who assists mothers in child-birth, Ur-Lugal-edina, the physician, is thy servant. [Waddell's footnote: D.C.O. (L), 1920, p. 10]³⁸

On revising, however, the reading of the script on this seal, by my new Sanskrit keys to the form of the names of the Early Aryan Sumerian kings, I found that the inscription reads directly by other recognized phonetic values for these Sumerian word-signs:

As' edin mu-³⁹ gi⁴⁰ tax
As' bar⁴¹ -ama-'ha⁴² -s'a-ra
Uru-as'lugal-edin-na
A-zu us²-zu.

And this gives the literal translation of:

The Lord of *Edin*, I, the capturer, the minister,
Unto the Lord *Barama-'has'a* (or Lord Brahman-Seer)
Uruas', king of Edin –
The seer (or physician), thy servant.⁴³

With just a few signs, the seal probably worn over Magdal's clothes or around his neck, revealed at a glance that he was Minister to the Brahman-Seer Uruas' who was also King of the Mesopotamian Eden.

In the Mesopotamian list, Ur-Nina's son is A-Madgal, and Mudgala in the Indian record. On the seal of Telloh this minister was called 'capturer', a synonym for 'coloniser' or 'conquerer' with the sense of fame.⁴⁴ Waddell identified this minister as 'Madgal' Crown-prince of Emperor Uruash, Lord and Capturer of the Edin colony in Indus Valley, c.3,070 BC.⁴⁵ There was evidence that the land, referred to as Edin and the 'captured land',⁴⁶ stood outside of Mesopotamian Lagash and was in the S'aka country of the Indian Epics, famous for its Sun-worshipping Maga or 'Magi' traditionally located in the Indus Valley.⁴⁷

An ideogram appearing on the left-hand side of this seal had been read by Assyriologists as 'S'a-es'-s'i (-ku) Ku-u-a-di kiki' and translated as 'the Fort or shrine of the Sun-god'.⁴⁸ This ideogram consisted of three conjoined word-signs to be read as three syllabic words: Ga or Gu (dwelling-place or sanctuary); Sir (Sun-god); and Du, Dun or Din (earthwork or fort).⁴⁹ This spelling read as 'the dwelling of the Kuadi of the Sun' included the word-sign 'Kuadi' that was related to 'Khad'. 'Kuadi' was a compound of two well-known Sumerian word-signs: a fish symbol (read as 'Kua' or 'Kha') and 'ad' translated as 'Father-protector of the House'. Waddell claimed that Kuadi or Khad was a favourite title for the founder of the first Dynasty of the Phoenician seafarers,⁵⁰ as it was the same as the Hittite 'Khatti', the Indian 'Khattiyo', and 'Catti' of the Britons.⁵¹ The title had an inherent association with the Sun-cult of the Sumerians.

After reconstructing the real name of the Sumerian Dynast on the seal of

Telloh, Waddell wrote an article entitled 'Dynasty of Haryashwa or the Sumerian Uruash (Ur-Nina) as imperial kings of Kish, Erech and Lagash in Mesopotamia about 3,100–2,900 BC',⁵² in which he expounded that the Sumerian dynasty of the ruler whose name he read as Uruash-the-Khad, and who was called 'Ur-Nina' by Assyriologists, was the same person as the Indo-Aryan Haryashwa-the-Khattiya (or Kohattriya) who was given the title 'Kuru Panch-ala'. This meant 'Able Syrio-Phoenician'. In the Indian Epics the Panch-alas were also referred to as Kad, Qadi, or Cedi, terms with the same meaning as 'Khad'.⁵³

Connection of 'UKUSI' with Ukhu City

Waddell accumulated evidence relative to the fact that the founder of the first Sumerian dynasty of sea-kings did not solely rule, as contemporary scholars believed, over 'a petty kinglet of a single city or city state', but over all of Mesopotamia, as well as colonies beyond Sumer. He pointed out that as Ur-Nina called himself 'King of Kish' as well as 'King of Lagash', he did not rule solely over one city. He believed he was 'Emperor of Mesopotamia'.⁵⁴ In the Kish Chronicle, the first king of the Sumerian dynasty was recorded by his solar title 'Ukusi of Ukhu City' meaning of the 'Sun-Hawk City' (Ukhu City/Boghazkoy).⁵⁵ This represented evidence of the Khatti (ancient Hittite) origin of this Sumerian Dynasty. Boghazkoy was confirmed as the capital of the Hittites by the study of the Royal Hittite archives after their discovery in 1906. In Waddell's opinion, it was significant that the title 'Ukusi of Ukhu City' ('The Sun-Hawk City')⁵⁶ of the first king of the first Sumerian Dynasty was used in the Kish Chronicle published by Profesor V. Scheil (1911),⁵⁷ instead of his personal name (Dur, Tur, Daru or In-Dara). This title was a heraldic symbol with the meaning of 'Eagle' or 'Hawk' associated with the capital of the Hittites (near the village of Boghazkoy in modern Turkey) which also appeared on Sumerian seals in relation to this king after his deification, as well as with the Greek Zeus and the Indian Indra. 'Ukhu' or 'Ikhu' meant 'Eagle' and was written in Hittite by a pictogram of the flying disc or winged Sun above an arm, suggesting a falconer and the Sun-hawk or Sun-Eagle.⁵⁸ Additional confirmation that the Sumerian king was associated with the Eagle of Boghazkoy was that in his deified form as the father god Bel, he was called in Sumerian 'the Hawk Lord Ukuzu'i', and defined as 'the Lord (or god) Sakh (or Zax), the Judge of the Mass of the People'. Zax was a title with the synonyms of Dur or Tur and Bur or Pur. The Ukusi title was also spelt in Sumerian literature as 'Ugu'. 'Ukusi of Ukhu', as recorded in the Kish Chronicle, was equivalent to Ugu, Sakh, Udu-Dur, Dar or Pur of Sumerian literature.

The city that existed near Boghazkoy was given other names and titles in other lists and Sumerian literature, such as Kieshi and Kiissa and its Semitic names were Keshu, Akshak and Upe, the Babylonian name for Opis, cele-

brated by Xenophon in the *March of the Ten Thousand*. A city with a name written with the sign for Ukhu, Akshak and Upe was in existence in the time of the Sumerian king Bidashnadi (Eannatum) (c. 3,050 BC).⁵⁹ Waddell proposed that Ikhu or Ukhu city stood north of Mesopotamia and Carchemish in Asia Minor and that it was the city Herodotus called 'Pteria' (Vidara) – the capital of White Syrians according to Strabo, generally identified with the capital of the Imperial Hittites at the ruins near 'Boghaz-Koi' in the Halys Valley in the heart of Cappadocia on the trade route leading to Cilicia and from Mesopotamia to Sinope Port on the Euxine (Black Sea).⁶⁰ Ukhu City was in Cappadocia in Kur-land (Syria) and was the capital of later Hittites or White Syrians. No Sumerian inscription had been found there but Waddell suggested it was because excavations had been confined to the later fort, two palaces, the oldest of which dated from King Khantilis (2,000 BC) who built the fortifications of cyclopean stone walls.⁶¹ Sculptures at Iasili Rock Chambers were much older in his opinion.⁶² The Eagle was 'figured in the ancient Hittite sculptures at Boghazkoy' and at Eyuk, as well as in a lion-headed form at the Sea-port city of Lagash, on Sumerian seals and sculptures by the grandson of Ur-Nina (Uruash).⁶³

CHAPTER NINE

Menes was Sumerian

The Sumerian Manis-tusu as Menes

The Sumerians were descendants of the GUTI rulers of Asia Minor. Waddell called 'Goths' or 'Guti' the Aryan (Indo-European) rulers among the Hittites of Cappadocia at about 3,000 BC, that he held on the basis of contemporary scholarly opinion to have originated from the Gothic land of the Euxine and Danube Valley of South West Europe.¹ He also referred to the 'Gothic dynasty of Mesopotamia' and 'the early presence of the Sumerians or primitive Goths in Middle Europe'.² Unaware that 'Goth' or 'Gothic' was often used as a synonym for 'Aryan' in the 19th century, Casillo treated the matter derisively stating:

One of Waddell's curious ideas is that *Sargon* and his successors were Goths. After Sargon conquered the Indus Valley, according to Waddell, he issued seals naming him 'Gut' or 'Goth' [. . .]; we are thus asked to assume that the migrant Goths of late Roman times created the 'Golden Age' of Sumeria and played a 'leading part' in the civilization of Egypt and the world [. . .] Pound's recollection of this fantasy is in Canto 94'.³

Sargon I's dynasty was the Fourth Dynasty of the Kish Chronicle (2,521–2,494 BC). Waddell reconstructed his ancestry on the basis of the Kish Chronicles, and how this dynast recovered his throne, annexed Persia and colonised the Indus Valley, on the basis of Babylonian and Indian records. He discussed Sargon's journeys beyond the Western Sea; of Asia Minor and Syria-Phoenicia; of Iona; his conquest of the Indus Valley colony of Edin or 'Garden of Eden', and the seal inscribed with his name discovered in the Indus Valley; and his conquest of the Tin-mines beyond the Western Sea, of Asia Minor and Syria-Phoenicia including Hittite and Amorite land and Ionia.⁴ A chapter was devoted to Sargon's son Manis-Tusu (disclosing his seizure of Egypt from his father, c.2,704 BC, and identifying him as 'Menes' the founder of Egyptian civilization).⁵ Waddell discussed the latter's tragic death in the West in 'Erin' identified as Ireland, on the evidence of inscriptions on an Ebony label at his tomb in Abydos. He explained it remained empty because, on his journey to Ireland, he was stung by a hornet (wasp) and died there.⁶ Waddell commented about his decipherment of the ebony label:

[...] the hitherto unread long record inscribed on the great Ebony label found in the "tomb" of Menes at Abydos in Upper Egypt, and written in the Sumerian script and language of his time, and now deciphered and translated for the first time, narrates in graphic and circumstantial detail how this great admiral and "world emperor" in his old age on "a voyage of exploration with his fleet" made the complete course to "The Furthest West Sunset-Land in the Western Ocean" and there met his tragic death; and it states that his "tomb" in Egypt remained empty, and was merely a cenotaph and "place of the hanging wood-label." And the place-name of the island in the Far Western Ocean, which appears to read "Urani," suggests the place of his death and real tomb as "Erin" or Ireland.⁷

It was known that Menes was responsible for the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt by 3,000 BC and the impetus for the historical dynasties of Egypt, as recorded by the Egyptian Manetho, who lived under the Hellenistic rule of Ptolemy II Philadelphus 308–246 BC.⁸ Menes was regarded as the first pharaoh of the historical period of Egypt that is subdivided in the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms. Childe stated that he believed Menes had reversed a former political supremacy of the North over the South under the Shemsu-Hor period during which the hieroglyphic system of writing was invented.⁹ The dating Childe provided for the time of the Northern supremacy was 4,236–2,776 BC. The beginning of civilization in Egypt could be traced, according to Childe, to the introduction of the Sothis calendar, when the heliacal rising of Sothis (the Star Sirius) appeared on the horizon before dawn in Memphis and Heliopolis.¹⁰ This was a solar calendar consisting of 12 months of 30 days with 5 intercalary days. This innovation marked the beginning of a Solar Age and replacement of a primitive lunar calendar.¹¹

Egypt a Sumerian dependency

Waddell claimed to have discovered linguistic evidence relating to the beginning of the Egyptian dynasties, as at Abydos, where pre-dynastic kings reigned, Petrie had unearthed inscriptions on baked pottery which were assessed as Early Egyptian, but which Egyptologists were not able to read and assumed to be 'aphonic' (unreadable, or that could be given no sound). For Petrie, the dilemma was that he had uncovered evidence as to the existence of alphabetic letters in Early Egypt before the use of hieroglyphs. He had formulated the theory that alphabetic signs were not derived from picture or hieroglyphic writing but had another origin, since the newly discovered alphabetic signs were older than picture writing. Waddell argued that Petrie offered no explanation for the forms of the signs, nor how they came to have fixed vowel and consonantal values. After examining a list of those signs on Petrie's Table V, he ascertained they were Linear Sumerian Syllabic Pictograms of the Sargonic or pre-Sargonic period of Sumer, written in non-

reversed Cadmean Phoenician,¹² and recorded the names of the owners of the pottery. Waddell observed that Cadmean letters were of the same form as Sumerian linear pictographs 'bearing the corresponding vowel and consonantal phonetic values or sounds'. He concluded the alphabet found at Abydos originated from Sumerian picture writing and that signs that scholars had assessed as Egyptian and aphonics owners' marks were Sumerian linear pictograms.¹³ In Waddell's opinion, the inscriptions represented evidence that the Egyptian dynasties started out as a Sumerian dependency.¹⁴ He stated:

[. . .] It is interesting to find in Egypt itself additional proof for the Sumerian origin of the alphabetic letters of Pre-dynastic Egypt. One of the chief arguments used for Professor Petrie's theory that the alphabetic signs preceded and were in nowise related to or derived from pictogram or picture writing is that these alphabetic signs were associated in Pre-dynastic and Early-dynastic Egypt with other contemporary signs or "owner's marks" on pottery which, as they did not resemble the alphabetic signs, were termed "aphonic," in the belief that they represented no sounds or words whatsoever. On examining, however, the list of these "Aphonic Owner's mark" signs in Professor Petrie's Table V, I observed that most if not all of these signs were clearly rough *linear Sumerian syllabic pictograms of the Sargonic or Pre-Sargonic period*. Thus the first line of these supposed "aphonic" signs is seen to contain rough forms of the Sumerian pictogram for S'a (seed, or cereal, BW.323) and *Gi* or *Gin* (cane, BW.92 and *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*, Plate III) – different signs being sometimes classed together in this "Aphonic" table. The 2nd line has Garza (cross or sceptre of the lord, BW.251 and *Phoenician Origin of the Britons* 290, 294f). In 3rd line *Is'* (wood, BW.258) and *Dan* (lord, strong, BW.279); 4th line with variant in 7th line, *Wa* (pair of ears, BW.339 and Plate II, p.54); 5th line with variant in next line, *Uru* (city, BW.39) and *Ad* (father, 163); and so on – the 9th and 10th lines having *Garas* (a mart, BW.177), *Ut* (sunrise, BW.337) and *Ar* (plough, see *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*, Plate I). All these sound-values of those "aphonic" signs are common elements for the front-names in ancient Sumerian personal names, indicating that these signs doubtless recorded the abbreviated names of the owners of the pottery who, writing in Sumerian script were presumably of Sumerian or Sumero-Phoenician extraction [. . .].¹⁵

Waddell's study of Menes' ancestry supplied a synchronism between Mesopotamia and Egypt and fixed Menes' foundation of the Egyptian dynasties to about 2,704 BC at the time the latter was being disputed.¹⁶ He identified Menes as Manis-Tusu, son of Sargon of Agudu (Agade).¹⁷ In the Indian List, Menes appeared under the name of Manasyu meaning 'uniter': Manas-the-Uniter, and Asa-Manja (the shooter). The title 'shooter' was related to his quarrel and disinheritance, explaining why Sargon's younger son succeeded him on the Mesopotamian throne.¹⁸ Waddell compared the name 'Menes'

with its Egyptian, Sumerian and Indian forms. Menes was spelled by the Egyptian hieroglyph read as M-N but also as M-N-J. Egyptologists restored the absent vowel with 'e' to convert it to Roman spelling.¹⁹ But Waddell found it should have been read as Man, Manaj or Manj. In Sanskrit the name was M-N-S-Y-U and A-S-M-N-J (Manasyu and Asa-Manja). He then discovered that it equated with Manis-tusu, the name of Sargon's son in Sumerian, the affix 'tusu' meaning 'warrior'.²⁰ He discussed other proofs of identity as well as pre-dynastic pharaohs in reference to Manetho as the latter pre-fixed ten kings, who reigned at Thinis near Abydos for a period of 350 years before Menes, Sargon being the 10th of these suzerains.²¹ The Palermo Stele of the fifth Dynasty also enumerated ten kings before Menes.²² When he first saw Sargon's Sumerian inscriptions at Abydos (in about 1909 as he stated that it was 'about twenty years ago')²³ having some acquaintance with Egyptian hieroglyphs and Sumerian, Waddell noticed that the signs resembled the early Sumerian script and differed from hieroglyphs. The script also contained signs which did not exist in the Egyptian system of writing.²⁴ Some years later, on 'scrutinizing the inscriptions in detail' he found the script was 'radically of the old cursive Sumerian type' and like that of the Indo-Sumerian seals of the Sargonic and later period.²⁵ Waddell deciphered Sargon's inscriptions at Abydos as SHA' PAR-RIN-Bara KAD GIN U-KUS: The shepherd of the (Sun-) Hawk, of the House of the Pharaoh, KAD (the lofty) GIN, the Ukus (or Ukussi), or SHA-Gin, the Ukussi.²⁶ Sargon was designated as a descendant of the first Sumerian king Ukusi of the Sun-Hawk City (Boghazkoy, Asia Minor), and in the Indian Epics and Vedas the same ruler was recorded under his solar title of 'Ikshwaku'.²⁷ The phonetic value of Ka, the solar title of this king in Egypt was derived from the Sumerian value of the sign Kad or Kat, the final 'd' having dropped out.²⁸ Inscriptions on a vase in the tomb of Sargon's queen were in the Sumerian language and in a reversed script which he deciphered as 'Of the Sun-Hawk House of the Pharaoh KAD, my Lady Ash (Ash-Nini)'.²⁹ Sargon's dynasty lasted 197 years and appears to have ended due to a revolt of tributary kings. Sumerians were a ruling race and in minority to their Chaldean subjects (black-headed people). The overthrow of the following dynasty by the Guti invasion of Mesopotamia (2,495-2,360 BC) was recorded in the Kish Chronicle. The Guti were descendants of remaining Goths from Asia Minor as Sargon also was.³⁰ Centuries previously, their forefathers had created Sumeria under king Azag Bakus. The Guti were typically Aryan and their title 'Gut' was used by most kings from the 2nd of the first Phoenician dynasty onward and this Guty dynasty. Mesopotamia recovered a measure of prosperity with the revival of Guti civilization and of the Sumerian Golden Age.³¹ Professor Scheil announced his discovery of the Guti dynasty in Mesopotamia in 1911 but found no evidence they were the ancestors of the Goths. Waddell contended that the mere suggestion that a typically Aryan people could have existed at such an early period and ruled Mesopotamia, represented a serious threat to Semitic theories, hence 'Assyriologists dropped the Gothic or Aryan question altogether and it was

never mentioned in any modern text books'.³² These Gutu people were also kinsmen of the Britons but their nationality was lost as 'Got' was changed into 'Goth' by Roman spelling. Waddell showed that 'Goti' was a dialectic form of the Khatti, Khadti, or Kudti title of the Hittites and of the Khad title used by the Aryans, of King Uruas' time, and also of the Catti title of the Briton kings.³³ Waddell also identified the Gutu rule in the Indian king-lists and Isin-Lists.³⁴ There were nineteen seals from the Gutu dynasty among the second batch of Indus Valley seals. They were shown on Waddell's Plate XX and their decipherment provided in details in his Appendix XII.³⁵ The Gutu of about 2,500 BC appear to have preserved the tenets of the early Sumerians, their worship of the Sun of Heaven, the one God of the Universe represented in human form on the model of their first king and father of the Sun-cult, Lord Sakh, In-Dara, or Thor Andvara or Sig, of the later Goths.³⁶

PART
III

The Second Garden of Sumeria

CHAPTER TEN

Archaeology of the Indus Valley Civilization

The first questions raised about the Indus Valley civilization were about its appearance and the cause of its downfall. It was assessed to have collapsed in about 1,900 BC. We know that Aristoboulos, Alexander the Great's emissary, found it deserted in the 4th century AD.¹ The Indus civilization spread its wings over 1.25 million square kilometers, in a manner that appeared culturally uniform.² The administrative and religious centres of many towns were built upon a platform of mud and mud-brick, and houses and shops were surrounded by walls for protection from attacks as well as flooding from the Indus.

A seal, first discovered at Harappa in the Montgomery district of the Punjab, Pakistan, among other antiquities, was published by Alexander Cunningham (1814–1903) in 1875.³ Then two seals found at Harappa, on the left bank of the Ravi River, were published in 1886 and 1912.⁴ In 1902, John Marshall (1876–1958), who had read Classics at Cambridge, and had already visited the sites in 1856, was appointed to the post of Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. He was in charge of it until 1928.⁵ Marshall gave instructions to D. R. Sahni to excavate at Harappa, in January 1921. This resulted with finds, so he took the decision to look at the mounds of Mohenjo-daro, on the Lower Indus, in the Larkhana District of Sind, 650 kms to the Southwest of Harappa, where R. D. Banerjee made the discovery of further seals under a Buddhist stupa in 1922–3.⁶ Nineteen seals, recovered from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in the first seasons of excavation by Marshall, were engraved with a pictographic script said to be 'unlike any previously known Indian alphabet', and 'with an unknown form of picture-writing'.⁷ Marshall did not expect the seals to be archaic, but when his findings were announced in *The Illustrated London News* in 1924, the response from the academia was that the civilization was contemporary of the Sumerian one in the 4th or 3rd millennium BC.⁸ The Indus civilization was intensively studied over a period of twenty years, with Marshall's six seasons of excavation (1924–1931),⁹ Ernest Mackay (from 1926), and Mortimer Wheeler, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India (for four years from 1944).¹⁰ M.S. Vats also directed excavations during the period 1926–34.¹¹

Theories on rise and fall of the civilization

The streets of Mohenjo-daro were straight and their intersections were at right-angles. It was evidence of grid-pattern town planning.¹² Such a planning scheme was unique for a city of this antiquity, and the method of drainage at Mohenjo-daro and Chanhudaro was the most complete system yet discovered: the streets had brick-lined drainage channels cemented with mud mortar and lime or gypsum, to make them water tight.¹³ There was evidence that the channels were regularly cleaned by municipal officials, indicating a high level of organization. It was clear that officials had controlled the city in every stage of its development.¹⁴ In Mackay's opinion the builders of the cities had evolved to a fully-fledged status of civilization prior to building them, and therefore were not local. He expected they were militant though the reverse was assumed in early years.¹⁵ The evidence of a strong and militant Central Government in control of the whole of the Indus Valley surfaced later: i.e. strategically-placed walls, gates and watch-towers.¹⁶ The regime was a theocracy that was similar in type to that of Sumer, and the cities' dating was dependent upon Mesopotamian chronology.¹⁷ In Mohenjo-daro a building was found to be large enough to have been a palace with accommodation for a governor, servant quarters, guardrooms and storerooms.¹⁸ The citadel at Harappa suggested a well organized regime, whether priestly or secular.¹⁹ In Mackay's opinion this civilization had arrived fully-fledged in the Indus Valley (as there was no evidence of gradual development), and after more than 1,000 years, suffered a decline due to an 'enervating' climate, floodings, or conditions that made it vulnerable to attacks from neighbouring cultures. There was no evidence that the cities had been sacked or burned, but skeletons were found in contorted positions suggesting a violent death.²⁰ It seems the town was deserted following an attack. It was ascertained that flooding was the result of the Indus and Ravi rivers changing their course, and the reason platforms were built at Mohenjo-daro. The River Indus had actually risen by twenty feet. The earliest levels of the city were unreachable without pumping machinery due to flooding. The city probably extended under the silt deposited by the River Indus.²¹ It was ascertained that when the climate became drier, bricks started crumbling due to being impregnated with salt, but not so rapidly as in modern times. Mohenjo-daro was also much closer originally to the seashore. Mackay wondered whether the large 'bath' on a platform, at Mohenjo-daro, was used for purification rituals such as those of the Hindus in the Ganges. Cotton was spun and woven at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa as the spindle-whorls that were excavated were too small for wool.²² Glass was apparently unknown to the people of the Indus but glazed pottery was retrieved from the lowest levels at Mohenjo-daro. There was no trace of objects made of wood, i.e. door frames or furniture, but there were some of beams on upper floors, roofs or staircase. There were no windows but in hot

climates these were not necessary and it was customary to conceal wealth behind a simple façade of bricks.²³ Pottery vessels with perforations were sunk in the floor probably to function as sinks in kitchens. Pottery jars were used to store food and there were recesses in walls that were probably fitted with wooden shelves. The kitchens also had ovens to make bread as in Mesopotamia. Most houses had a bathroom and a latrine. Channels made of bricks had been built to function like plumbing for water and faeces to run into a street drain, or through an open outdoor channel.²⁴

As the Indus civilization flourished before the hypothetical arrival of Aryans in India, Mackay ascertained that the Harappans were pre-Aryan. Mohenjo-daro was at first assessed as contemporary of the Early Dynastic III period of Sumer, at c. 2,500 BC, then data from the third site of Chanhu-daro highlighted two cultures and provided clues for the period from the abandonment of Harappa to 1,500 BC.²⁵ During Marshall's seasons of excavations, Marc Aurel Stein and N. G. Majumdar discovered additional sites, i.e. at Amri, and evidence of a former culture belonging to the Indus civilization: an 'early Harappan' or 'pre-Indus settlement'. The term 'Indus civilization' is synonymous with 'Mature Harappan' although the latter is subdivided into various phases.²⁶ In the early Harappan period that is followed by the proper Indus civilization or Mature Harappan phase,²⁷ irrigation canals were constructed which were interpreted as evidence of agricultural innovations in 3,600 BC, 'perhaps by farmers from Baluchistan'.²⁸ The name 'Jukhar' was given to those people about whom nothing was known, except for a semblance of kinship between their seal inscriptions and some of Cappadocia/Anatolia of an earlier date.²⁹

Mackay noted that some of the Harappan characters resembled Sumerian and Proto-Elamite signs. He suggested that, like Sumerian, the underlying language of the seals may have evolved from Proto-Elamite.³⁰ A remarkable similarity was also observed between the pottery of the Jhukar people and that of Western Anatolia, and the theocracy found in Mohenjo-daro was compared to that of Sumer.³¹ The Indus civilization at first appeared to share a lot of traits with Mesopotamia.³² Of significance was also the fact that Indus seals dated to 2,334–2,154 BC were discovered at Tello, Susa, and Kish.³³ As more inscriptions were excavated, the material was studied by Smith, Gadd and Langdon. According to G. Possehl, G. A. Barton and E. A. Speiser also noted a similarity between Harappan symbols and Sumerian signs.³⁴ Overall, a lot of evidence supported an association of the Indus Valley civilization with Mesopotamia or Sumer, but the Indus civilization appeared superior to that of Elam (Syria) as well as Sumer. As certain skulls unearthed at Mohenjo-daro were of the same type as others of very early date discovered in Mesopotamia,³⁵ Mackay suggested that the Indus Valley people may have had the same origin as the Sumerians:

It may therefore be assumed that the Proto-Elamite dwellers in the ancient Indus cities, and perhaps also the Sumerians, had a common ancestry.³⁶

According to Mackay, the idea that Proto-Elamites were the original inhabitants of Sumer was also supported by Barton and Speiser.³⁷ He wrote articles about the Sumerian connections with Ancient India,³⁸ and that of the Indus Civilization with Elam, the West and Sumer,³⁹ in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1925), and *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* (1934), respectively, but was unwilling to speculate further until sites had been explored in India, Baluchistan and Persia.⁴⁰ In the 1950s, Donald E. McCown, of the University of Chicago, expounded that both the Sumerians and Indus Valley people could have derived from the Warka culture (which preceded the development of the Sumerian civilization) because the Indus people were genetically related to it.⁴¹

Mackay, who carried out excavations at Chanhudaro (1935–36), investigated the reasons for the abandonment of the cities as well as the question of the origin of the Indus civilization.⁴² Its downfall appeared to coincide with the time when the Babylonians were invaded by the Kassites, Egypt by the Hyksos, and Iran by Aryan Indo-Iranians.⁴³ Mackay suspected that repeated flooding indicated by the stratified ruins and the vagaries of the Indus River brought about the end of the Indus civilization. The water level at Mohenjo-daro prevented him to reach the lowest levels.⁴⁴ Marshall had also been unable to fully excavate Mohenjo-daro due to flooding. Wheeler reached the lowest level of Harappa in 1946 and George F. Dales found thirteen feet of water-logged accumulation at Mohenjo-daro in 1964.⁴⁵ The evidence that ancient engineers attempted to prevent flooding in Mohenjo-daro by the construction of dams or other techniques was discussed in a number of articles in *Ancient Cities of the Indus*. Walter A. Fairservis Jr. also mentioned the dams that Stein discovered.⁴⁶ However, disregarding the evidence of floodings, Wheeler adopted the theory that the Harappans of the Indus 'fell before the advancing Aryans', on the basis of what was interpreted as evidence of invasion in Cemetery H at Harappa, discovered in Marshall's time. The elements found were Iranian, and Vats, one of Marshall's colleagues and author of three volumes on *Excavations at Harappa* (Calcutta, 1940), suggested they were the destroyers of Harappa, although Mohenjo-daro was believed to have become a slum 'long before any evidence of invasion'.⁴⁷ It was after resuming the excavations after the Second World War, that Wheeler drew conclusions about the cities imperial centralization and government.⁴⁸ At Mohenjo-dar and in Rana Ghundai no horse remains had been found. Horse remains usually indicate the presence of Aryans. This seemed to confirm the civilization was not Aryan.⁴⁹ Wheeler ascertained the cities were more archaic than the wave of Aryans dated by that time to 1,700 BC, and that they had been flourishing before any Aryan-speaking people entered India.⁵⁰ On the basis that this antiquity was 'critical evidence', Wheeler concluded the Indus Civilization was indigenous, but he also speculated that after flourishing for 1,500 years the inhabitants of the cities were massacred by an influx of invading Aryans. This assumption was based on the fact that the skeletons referred to earlier, displayed some evidence of wounds.⁵¹ Wheeler disagreed that the citadel

builders arrived with an architectural tradition acquired elsewhere and imposed themselves on a pre-existing population.⁵² His adherence to unilinear evolutionism (in regard the appearance of civilizations) apparently influenced his conclusion that only 'the idea of civilization in Sumer inspired the people of the Indus'.⁵³ For instance, in Mohenjo-daro, a figure identical to the representation of the Sumerian hero Gilgamesh except for the fact of its not holding a lion in each hand by the neck but tigers, was found on a seal, but Wheeler doubted this tradition 'was carried from Sumer to Mohenjo-daro', and stated it was 'easier to postulate an ancestral Gilgamesh native to both civilizations and absorbed independently into the two environments'.⁵⁴ He also refuted the possibility that skills could have been imported from Sumer on the grounds that the Indus people could have built in a similar way because they 'developed a comparable hierarchical polity independently'.⁵⁵ Yet he accepted that trade had existed between the two cultures. Furthermore, Wheeler suggested a priestly rule for Mohenjo-daro which was parallel to priest-controlled industries in Sumer, but preferred to view parallel social phases in both cultures as coincidences.⁵⁶

Creation of the Indus Valley civilization

Because of the antiquity of the Indus cities, Wheeler expounded the Indus Civilization had been created by indigenous people, the Dravidians.⁵⁷ After discussing his excavations, Wheeler concluded that he found the Indus civilization 'individual enough' to be the 'parallel product' of a 'similar stimuli'.⁵⁸ This theory was not widely accepted, i.e. Donald E. McCown argued in 1954, that Wheeler's date of 2,500 BC for the time of flourishing of the Indus civilization was too low, and that there was no reason to suppose that Sumerians could not have reached India at the same date they penetrated Egypt.⁵⁹ The 'similar stimuli' argument and idea that civilizations blossomed independently as a result of a similar environment, was typical of the older School of thought that preceded Diffusionism. Although the 'similar environment' theory (unilinear evolutionism) for the independent appearance of civilization was superseded in the 1950s, Wheeler's 'integrity theory' for the Indus Civilization was not re-examined and his conclusions remained unchallenged. Childe already stated in 1934 that he disagreed with the view that civilization in the Indus Valley was created as an independent 'parallel product' to Sumer and insisted that contact between Sumer and the Indus Valley had been demonstrated.⁶⁰ The reason that Childe stated 'inventions in the Indus Valley could not be regarded as having appeared independently'⁶¹ was obviously in response to similar arguments even before Wheeler was in charge of the Survey. Waddell described the theory as a view that civilization arose independently due to a 'similar temperamental strain' amongst different races, and reaction 'in the very same way when exposed to the same circumstances'.⁶² Wheeler was one of the towering figures of 20th century archaeology, ran the

London Museum between 1926 and 1944, and was influential in the running of the University of London's Institute of Archaeology,⁶³ so it is possible that his conclusions could not be so easily challenged. However, according to the historian K.D. Sethna, the Aryan invasion theory so central to Wheeler's theory, was abandoned in Europe and America, and it was only in India that it was still treated as a historical fact.⁶⁴

Seal inscriptions

Some scholars expected the inscriptions would not reveal much about the Indus Valley civilization and that the short signs were proper names.⁶⁵ Even though 1,500 sites with five major cities were discovered during the last eighty years, scholars have avoided speculating about the Indus people because the Indus Script remained undeciphered.⁶⁶ In total there are about 3,700 objects with inscriptions, most of which on seals and some of which were found in the 1990s.⁶⁷ There was disagreement as to the direction in which the inscriptions should be read but certain graffiti on potsherds discovered at Kalibangan provided a clue.⁶⁸ It is known that it was the seal impression that was read, not the intaglio. Evidence for the direction of writing was worked out from the spacing of the inscriptions: for instance if there was space left out on the left side, it could be assumed the seal was read from right to left.⁶⁹ The Indus Script has about 425 signs (each one representing a syllable as in Linear B) as compared to Hittite hieroglyphs that have 500 signs, and by comparison, Sumerian cuneiform has more than 600. Scholars called this script 'logosyllabic'. The Indus Script represents the biggest challenge of all in archaeological decipherment,⁷⁰ and the identification of the underlying language of the Script is a crucial task as until its code is officially cracked, it remains 'a dead language' and 'unknown'.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered

Circumstances of decipherment

Two series of seals were discovered by R. D. Banerjee (1922–23) below the foundations of Buddhist ruins at Mohenjo-daro dating from the 3rd century BC to 2nd century AD, at various sites and in tombs, side by side with ancient Sumerian and Syrio-Phoenician artefacts, when John Marshall was in charge of the Archaeological Survey of India (1902–28).¹ Illustrations in *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*² show seals Waddell claimed to have deciphered. They are identical to those on photographs published in *Ancient Cities of the Indus* where they are described as ‘bearing figures of bulls and mysterious pictographic symbols unlike any previously known Indian alphabet’.³

In response to an article published by Marshall in *The Illustrated London News* in 1924, scholars suggested the Indus civilization was contemporary of the Sumerian one in the 4th or 3rd millennium BC.⁴ When newspapers announced that two seals with ‘unknown pictographic script’ had been excavated at Harappa, Waddell examined their photographs, and at first glance and in a state of excitement recognised that the symbols were like the early Sumerian he had studied. By comparison to Cuneiform, the Indus script was more cursive.⁵ Waddell reasoned that whereas the script of the Sumerians was straight-edged in style because they had substituted clay to perishable material, the people of the Indus Valley were still accustomed to draw symbols of a more cursive shape because they also wrote with ink on parchments.

Waddell compared the inscriptions to an old cursive type of Sumerian script of the Sargonic or pre-Sargonic period which he reproduced from G. A. Barton’s plates.⁶ He claimed to have been able to read the signs with his knowledge of this type of script (see Column 1 of Illustrations) and to have recognised names cited in Vedic literature. The Abydos inscriptions deciphered by Waddell as ‘The Shepherd of the Sun-Hawk of the house of the Pharaoh KAD Gin, the Ukussi, or SHA-GIN, the Ukussi’,⁷ which differed from conventional Egyptian hieroglyphs,⁸ also resembled this Early Sumerian script. While he worked for the Egypt Exploration Fund, Petrie indeed excavated a necropolis with inscriptions in an unknown script believed to be the earliest known alphabet.⁹ Waddell had been able to decipher them whereas Egyptologists thought they were aphonetic. The fact he could read them with his knowledge of Sumerian indicated to him that the Egyptian dynasties started out as a Sumerian dependency.

Waddell found the task of deciphering the inscriptions a ‘comparatively easy one’ as he had studied the Sumerian language for twenty years.¹⁰ Marshall’s letter dated 12 July 1926 refers to his original solicitation to use some of his material. The discovery of the seals announced in *The Illustrated London News* in 1924, confirmed the claim he had made in regard the Sumerian or Syrio-Phoenician origin of the Aryans of India in *Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons*, or at least this was how he interpreted it. He referred to his ‘first work on this subject’ in the quotation below:

A dramatic sequel to the publication of my first work on this subject – which announced and established the discovery of the Sumerian origin of the Indo-Aryans and their civilization and of the Indian language and writing – was the unearthing some *four months later* of the ruins of two Sumerian cities in the Indus Valley in North-western India. Amongst other objects unearthed there were several sacred seals and burial amulets, inscribed with the old Sumerian cursive writing [. . .] two of the seals were the official imperial state signets of two of the contemporary suzerain Sumerian emperor in Mesopotamia, including the great world-emperor Sargon-the-Great himself, whose conquests in the Indus Valley I cited from the ancient Indian Chronicles; and in the pages of the present work they are cited in detail with their Indian names deciphered for the first time from his own inscriptions in Mesopotamia.¹¹

Nineteen twenties theories were a starting point

Professor S. Langdon of Oxford University sent Waddell a copy dated 10 October 1933 of an extract that was part of Marshall’s report published in 1931.¹² The seals had been placed at Langdon’s disposal and been studied by G. R. Hunter. The extract was Langdon’s introduction to an abstract by Hunter. Marshall’s letter dated 12 July 1926 referred to Waddell’s visit in 1925. It is possible that the latter learned from Marshall that Babylonian epigraphists could have known the Indus system of writing. In any case Langdon’s statement supports the idea that it would be possible to read the Indus Script with some knowledge of Sumerian:

The only possible clue which suggests itself to me is that the Sumerians must have known this script in their intercourse with travellers from India who brought the Indian seals to Sumer. [. . .]. Naturally most of the archaic signs preserved and explained on these tablets are peculiar forms of old Sumerian signs, which can be fitted into their place in the history of Cuneiform epigraphy. [. . .]. It is therefore, entirely possible that the Babylonian epigraphists knew the Indus script.¹³

Langdon also suspected the Indus Script was akin to Proto-Elamite and Sumerian:

Graphically, the script bears a close resemblance to Proto-Elamite, and a less close to Sumerian of the Jemdet-Nasr and Fara periods, except as regards the anthropomorphous signs. The latter bear a close resemblance to Egyptian of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The resemblance of these three scripts seems too close to be accidental, but whether the connection is due to community of descent or borrowing cannot yet be determined. One of the cardinal features of the script is a system of modifying basic signs (a) by internal and external strokes similar to the gunu modifications in Sumerian. These do not always alter the sense or pronunciation (b) by the addition of one or more sort strokes. The latter do modify at least the sound. These strokes are applied on exactly the same principle as in Brahmi, and with the same effect. Indeed the entire Brahmi 'alphabet' is shown to be derived from the script of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. [. . .].¹⁴

Mackay, who worked on excavations from 1926, assessed Mohenjo-daro as contemporary of the Early Dynastic III period of Sumer (c.2,500 BC).¹⁵ He discovered an analogy between the inscriptions on Seal XVII and Proto-Elamite script.¹⁶ As some Harappan characters resembled Sumerian as well as Proto-Elamite signs, and some skulls unearthed at Mohenjo-daro were of the same type as some of very early date in Mesopotamia, Mackay considered the possibility that the people of the Indus Valley and Sumerians had a common Proto-Elamite ancestry, and that the Indus people actually were Proto-Elamite:¹⁷

It may therefore be assumed that the Proto-Elamite dwellers in the ancient Indus cities, and perhaps also the Sumerians, had a common ancestry.¹⁸

Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered (1925) could not benefit from scholarly publications, i.e. Marshall's report did not go to press until 1931, and Childe's recognition in *The Most Ancient East* that 'pre-Aryan India was revealed as the seat of a high urban civilization already linked up with Babylonia by 3,000 BC',¹⁹ was published afterwards, in 1928. Childe specifically published a course of lectures in this work due to the lack of general information about the discoveries.²⁰ He stated:

Still more startling was the effect of Sir John Marshall's publication in England during 1924 of the relics (already described by Day Ram Sahni in 1921) from ruined cities in the Indus Valley; for thereby pre-Aryan India was revealed as the seat of a high urban civilization by 3,000 BC, already linked up with Babylonia and contributing effectively to the formation of that common cultural tradition which we have inherited [. . .]. These and other discoveries received adequate publicity in the daily and weekly papers and were duly described in technical journals. But such notices failed to give the 'man in the street' or even such archaeologists as were not also Orientalists, any adequate idea of the significance and implications of the new finds. Nor was any gener-

ally intelligible and adequately illustrated work available to which those whose interest had been aroused might turn for information [. . .]. I therefore ventured in 1928 to publish as *The Most Ancient East* a course of lectures in which I had tried to set forth the new facts in relation to their general background of already established knowledge [. . .]. But as I then recognized and expressly stated, the pace of excavation would inevitably render such an account largely obsolete in a few years.²¹

Reception of *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*

Waddell sent a copy of the book to Flinders Petrie as soon as it was published, and received an encouraging letter (dated 17 July 1925) from this archaeologist, as he stated that he would be pleased if his evidence convinced Assyriologists:

I have to thank you for your book on the Indo-Sumerian Seals. Unfortunately Sumerian is entirely outside my own work and [. . .]. Your table p. 130 is really the crux: if you can convince the Assyriologists of your readings, the case will be proved, and I shall be as well pleased as yourself.²²

Waddell had already learned from a letter dated 12 June 1925, that the French Assyriologist F. Thureau-Dangin (1872–44) had taken position against his theory of colonisation.²³ In 1926, he was antagonised by George A. Barton, Professor of Semitic languages at the University of Pennsylvania (1922–32) and of New Testament, Literature and Language in the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia (1921–37),²⁴ who studied the archives of Telloh, the development of Babylonian writing, and documents from the dynasty of Agade.²⁵ Barton stated in a condescending tone that Waddell had his book published ‘at all cost’, and that he was ‘convinced he was mistaken’.²⁶ His title ‘On the so-called Sumero-Indian Seals’ refuted the idea that the seals were ‘Indo-Sumerian’. Barton had traced the articles which, he said, gave Waddell ‘his cue’, i.e. John Marshall’s ‘First Light of a Long-forgotten Civilization: New Discoveries of an Unknown Pre-historic Past in India’, and Sayce’s ‘Remarkable Discoveries in India’. Both articles were published in the *Illustrated London News*, on 20 September and 27 September 1924 respectively.²⁷ Sayce commented about the likeness between the art and script of discoveries in the Indus Valley and objects from Elam and Babylonia. He found some seals comparable to the tablets discovered by de Morgan at Susa which were dated to the 3rd millennium BC. Two days after Sayce’s article, C. J. Gadd and Sidney Smith also had articles published in the same Journal. Gadd said that sixteen signs had a similarity with Sumerian signs and the bulls on the Indus seals were like Sumerian drawings. After studying 72 inscriptions, Barton had concluded that ‘only a small number of signs could be called Sumerian or resembled Hittite hieroglyphic

inscriptions', and that their development was distinct and independent from 'Sumerian'.²⁸

The Sumerian signs that Waddell used as a comparison were from Barton's standard plates. They were the fullest and latest of the time.²⁹ The signs were reproduced on Plate 1 in column 1 of 'Sumer-Aryan evolution of the Alphabet' facing page 14 and 54 in *Aryan Origin of the Alphabet*. In column 3, Waddell showed the early alphabetic Egyptian system of writing containing the Egyptian equivalents of (a) the alphabetic signs in Pre-dynastic and Early-dynastic periods from Petrie's *Formation of the Alphabet* (Plates II-IV), and (b) a few hieroglyphs which he said, appeared to be correlated to these letters.³⁰ These early Egyptian signs were those discovered at Abydos by Petrie which Waddell viewed as pre-Sargonic and evidence that Egypt started out as a Sumerian dependency.

Three years previously, Barton had opposed the article in which Waddell proposed the tower of Babel was a great granary. This article had also annoyed Sydney Smith at the British Museum as he accused Waddell of being no 'expert' or having no 'competent' knowledge on the subject. Waddell defended himself by saying he had devoted all of his time over a period of fourteen years 'to the intimate study of Sumerian and cuneiform, and allied scripts', and that 'unlike the self-professed experts' who had criticised him, he 'made no claim to omniscience' or 'infallibility', but was an 'unbiased independent student of the History of civilization working by recognized scientific methods in the vast new-found field of Sumerology'.³¹ He admitted being 'at variance' with what seemed to be an 'established doctrine'.³² Waddell, we find, was not singled out by Barton, as he also waged a war against Albert T. Clay (Yale University). Barton had taken the lead in opposing Clay's theories although he stated that his dissent was not meant 'to reflect upon him as a scholar'.³³ In an article for the Prospectus of the new *American Encyclopaedia of Christianity*, Clay complained that Barton attempted to 'relegate his work to the realm of suppositions and misunderstandings' because he had issues with his views, and that to a new edition of his *Archaeology and the Bible*, he had added an Appendix 'aggressively designed to have the same effect'.³⁴ Clay wrote:

For years I have been endeavouring to show that certain theories and claims popularised and advanced by Professor Barton concerning Semitic origins should be abandoned.³⁵

In his Rejoinder 'The Place of the Amorites in the Civilization of Western Asia', he retaliated to Clay's theory that the 'Amorites possessed a civilization as old if not older than those of Egypt and Babylonia'. Clay had developed his theory in relation to the Amorites in four books and in *The Antiquity of the Amorites* (1924) in the form of a pamphlet which he sent to Barton in September 1924.³⁶ He expected that Barton would 'take issue with his views'.³⁷ Barton stated in footnotes in his article 'The Place of the Amorites'

that he had received Clay's pamphlet but had no reason to modify anything he had written in a paper which he had prepared in advance to oppose it. Clay stated: 'that conveys the impression that he had finished his paper before he had seen what I, and also Professor Torrey [. . .] had written [. . .]'.³⁸ However, Barton modified his paper 'from beginning to end in the light of a pamphlet he had since May 1924'. He had sent his paper to the editors, but when receiving the proof, desired to modify his attack though Clay objected. Barton then withdrew his manuscript but rewrote his article, making use of the August pamphlet in spite of Clay's protest and without 'a semblance of credit'.³⁹

Clay stated Barton's misstatements would have to remain uncorrected as he did not want to waste time on biased critics.⁴⁰ The following quote was written by Waddell after he had been at the receiving end of Barton's aggressivity for a few years:

It would be affectation to ignore that in this and in the companion volume on British Origins, [. . .] I am in opposition to much of what is held to be, if not established doctrine, at any rate good working theory with regard to Sumerian, Phoenician, Indian and British history. I am also at variance with both general and expert opinion as regards the nature and causes of the so-called "Higher Civilization." [. . .] And as regards Origins, I find myself opposed not merely to the theorists who trace most of our culture to Judaism; but also to those who refer it to an effect, manifested rather suddenly some six thousand years ago, of the Egyptian climate on the mixed populations who at that period inhabited the Nile Valley; and also to those who look upon Civilization as arising independently amongst different races at different centres and due to a supposedly widely distributed similar temperamental strain amongst different races reaction in the very same way when exposed to the same circumstances in the early historic and later prehistoric times.⁴¹

The seals' underlying language

Many sites have been discovered in the Indus Valley during the last 80 years,⁴² and about 3,700 objects with inscriptions or seals carved in stone, terracotta, or faïence amulets, have been excavated, some of which in the 1990s.⁴³ Indus Valley inscriptions are still viewed as 'undeciphered'.⁴⁴ The main problem to crack the code of the Indus Script is the identification of its underlying language. There were two choices: the underlying language of the script could either be Proto-Indo-Aryan (preceding Sanskrit, the chief Indo-Aryan language) or proto-Dravidian. Asko Parpola a scholar with the reputation of being the leader of the Danish group of researchers in the field of decipherment of the Indus script (who has adopted the approximate date of 1,200 BC for the penning down of the *Rgveda*)⁴⁵ gave preference to the second option.⁴⁶ He has acknowledged Waddell's claim of decipherment in his catalogue of

attempts at cracking the code of the Indus Script in *Deciphering the Indus Script*.⁴⁷ He stated:

In 1925 it [the prevalent hypothesis of the 1920s] provided a natural starting point for L.A. Waddell, a Tibetologist, who 'read' all the published inscriptions in his book *The Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*. Waddell (1) identified the Indus signs with similar-looking Sumerian signs; (2) read the inscriptions with the phonetic values of the Sumerian signs substituted; and (3) interpreted the resulting sequences as 'revised forms' of the names of Sumerian kings, and of Aryan kings mentioned in the Vedas and in Sanskrit epics. The last step gave him occasion to revise rather radically the entire early history of mankind, as indicated by the subtitle of his book: *discovering Sumerians of the Indus Valley as Phoenicians, Barats, Goths & famous Vedic Aryans 3100-2300 BC*.⁴⁸

In Parpola's opinion, Waddell's method 'could only work' if the two scripts were 'genetically closely related'.⁴⁹ He viewed his method as consisting in 'transferring the phonetic values of signs in a known script to similar-looking signs in an unknown one'.⁵⁰ It revealed names that were present in Vedic literature. Iravathan Mahadevan's reading of the script is also based on the premise that the script contained precursors 'that survived in Indo-Aryan expressions' such as in Vedic literature.⁵¹ Parpola explained that Indian scholars have preferred interpreting Indus signs pictorially (a fish symbol means 'a fish') and assigning them a syllabic value taken from the corresponding word of a chosen language by the principle of acrophony.⁵² In contrast, Waddell's reading of the Indus script as archaic Sumerian revealed the meaning of 'Khad' (or 'house of Khad') for the 'Sumerian Fish-house-father sign'.⁵³

In 1934, G. R. Hunter included in his graphemic analysis of the Indus script 'a good text edition and concordance to the approximate 800 texts then available', which Parpola regarded as 'outdated' because his Finnish team produced new concordances between 1973 and 83.⁵⁴ Parpola attempted to decipher the seals on the basis of the syntactic, semantic, phonetic and phonological properties of the Dravidian language despite his opinion that the Indus script was 'vaguely similar to Proto-Elamite'⁵⁵ and that Linear Elamite is considered similar in structure to Archaic Sumerian.⁵⁶ The theory that appears to have been most widely accepted in modern times is that the Indus Valley civilization was indigenous or Dravidian and that this culture was displaced by Aryans, but little progress appears to have been achieved in decipherment on the basis that the language of the Script was Dravidian, over at least half a century.

Criticism of pan-Sumerian hypothesis

In his article 'To Know the Histories: L.A. Waddell's Sumer and Akkad' in

a journal devoted to Ezra Pound scholarship, R. Sawyer stated that Waddell 'was of the eccentric opinion that Western, Indian and ancient Egyptian culture derived from a common Sumerian ancestry'.⁵⁷ Sawyer said he found Waddell's 'pan-Sumerian thesis' 'far-fetched',⁵⁸ and his view that the civilization was 'a colony' by Sumero-Phoenicians of Aryan extraction 'untenable'. He found fault with the fact that Waddell maintained that the Sargonid dynasty was not Semitic. He commented that Waddell's model consisted of two waves, the first one by sea in around 3,000 BC and the second one by land in about 700 BC, giving the impression that Waddell suggested the Sumerians were still around at this late date:

Waddell at least has the good sense not to confuse these [. . .] Aryan settlers with those who actually did invade India centuries later and came to settle in the Ganges River Basin. However, even these later Aryans (whose arrival in India Waddell dates from about 700 BC) constitute, for our author, a second wave of 'Sumerian' emigrants, who travel, not by sea, as did the first emigrants, but overland from Upper Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Media. [. . .]. He suggests that we can therefore derive from the older texts of the Indo-Aryan literary tradition (e.g. the *Vedas*,⁵⁹ *Purānas* and *Mahabharata*) an obscure knowledge of ancient Sumerian history particularly as it relates to the Sumero-Phoenician colony that supposedly once occupied the Indus Valley. Thus we find Waddell using the old books of the Indo-Aryan tradition to corroborate and supplement the information that he purportedly derives from the mysterious seals unearthed by Marshall at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.⁶⁰

Revival of the Indo-Sumerian hypothesis

A Soviet team of linguists, ethnologists and mathematicians who carried out a study of thousands of Indus Valley inscriptions incised on seals, sherds, amulets and copper plates, arrived at the same conclusions as the Danish Group⁶¹ in respect of the underlying language of the script.⁶² However, A. R. K. Zvide and K. V. Zvelebil, the Editors of the book and reviewers, criticised Yu. V. Knorozov for having assumed his assertions were correct at the stage they should have remained a hypothesis:

[. . .] the assumption that only a Dravidian language is possible as the language underlying the script is certainly untenable until such preliminary attempts to align elements of the script with specific reconstructed linguistic units has been tried. The attempt to "read" concrete phonemic shapes of Dravidian or Proto-Dravidian morphemes into the signs, at the stage at which the authors find themselves, is to say the least premature.⁶³

In his revised summary of the paper he wrote in 1965, Knorozov mentioned that seals and imprints with Proto-Indian inscriptions have also

been discovered in Mesopotamia (at Ur, Lagash, Umma and Kish) and Elan (at Susa). They are dated 3rd to 2nd millennium BC and seem to be in the same language, 'although, possibly different dialects'.⁶⁴ Although Svide and Zvelebil viewed the paper as 'considerably modified for the better', they found reason to suspect Knorozov of a 'à priori' desire 'to equate the script with a language' which 'he had in mind previous to the analysis – namely Dravidian'. They found his decipherment a 'tissue of speculations'.⁶⁵ The option was that the script 'was akin' instead 'to Sumerian, Hurrian and Elamite'. Parpola mentioned 'the Indo-Sumerian hypothesis prevalent shortly after the discovery of the Indus civilization', but stated it is 'out of date' in spite of the Assyriologist James Kinnier Wilson's 'attempts to revive it'.⁶⁶ The title of Wilson's 1974 monograph 'Indo Sumerian: a new approach to the problems of the Indus Script' was in the sense of a proposal to consider the prevalent theories of the 1920s'.⁶⁷ Wilson stated that although Parpola, Koskenniemi and Aalto (1969) were in favour of the 'proto-Dravidian' theory, Sumerian could be the key to solve problems in decipherment for the Indus script.⁶⁸ Wilson noted that in an 'early period of study' contacts between the Sumerian and Indus civilizations were recognised by Langdon, Marshall and Gadd (he referred to their 1931 report, pp. 41, 411, and 453.)⁶⁹ In his opinion, with Sumerian the difficulties with the proto-Dravidian theory discussed by Burrow (1969), Chadwick (1969), Zide and Zvelebil (1970), 'could be avoided', because Sumerian and the Indus Script branched out from a common stem at an early period, and the similarities were sufficient for 'elementary reading'.⁷⁰

Opposition to Dravidian hypothesis

The corner stone of Wheeler's theory was a date for the Aryan wave which had been pushed back to 1,700 BC,⁷¹ but Renfrew stated: 'Wheeler's altered chronology' for the Aryan invasion 'was shaky'.⁷² This revised date (from 1,500 BC) presumably made the theory of the collapse of the Civilization at the hands of invading hordes of Aryans more plausible. However, flooding could have been responsible for this collapse.

Wheeler's conclusions eclipsed the consensus of the 1920s and influenced the view that the underlying language of the script was Dravidian (a decision based on the assertion that the Indus civilization was indigenous). This language belongs to a different group than the Indo-European family of languages.⁷³ In Renfrew's words, 'the weight of scholarly opinion' has been against the interpretation 'that the language of the Indus Valley was Indo-European'.⁷⁴ The absence of horse remains at the various sites influenced Parpola to rule out the possibility that the makers of the Indus civilization were Aryan or Indo-European,⁷⁵ and to favour the proto-Dravidian hypothesis. The choice for the underlying language of the script was either proto-Indo-Aryan (preceding Sanskrit) or proto-Dravidian.⁷⁶ Some attempts

were made on the assumption that the language of the script was related to proto-Elamite, the language of inscriptions in south-east Iran contemporary of the Sumerian civilization.⁷⁷ Parpola has compiled a catalogue of more than a hundred attempts to break the code of the Indus Script and declared them to be invalid.⁷⁸ In Renfrew's opinion no decipherment has been successful, not even Parpola's.⁷⁹ As the 'proto-Dravidian' option had not yielded results, J. V. Kinnier Wilson suggested in *Indo-Sumerian: a New Approach to the Problems of the Indus Script* (1974) that the theories prevalent in the 1920s should be reconsidered.

N. Jha, a well-known historian from the University of Delhi, has attempted to disprove that the Indus civilization was pre-Vedic and challenged Wheeler's contentions that Vedic Aryans played a part in its collapse. David Frawley, Director of the American Institute of Vedic Studies in Santa Fe, New Mexico, has stated that Jha has accomplished significant progress in decipherment for the Harappan civilization (3,100–1,900 BC) and put to rest the Aryan invasion theory as well as the idea of the non-Indian origin of the Vedic civilization.⁸⁰ M. D N. Sahi, from Aligarh Muslim University, has claimed that new archaeological evidence supports the view that Aryans were already present in Harappa in the first half of the 4th millennium BC, and co-existed with the Dravidians. Vedic Scripture state that Vedic Aryans settled on the east of the Sarasvati River. Frawley suggests that as the latter dried up at the end of the Indus Valley culture, Vedic Aryans must have settled down in the area at an earlier time (than ascertained by Sanskritists in the 19th century or Wheeler) and were the authors of the civilization, not its destroyers.⁸¹ Frawley's conclusion is that the authors of the Indus Valley civilization were Vedic Aryans, and that the script of the seals may be akin to Hindu Brahmi.⁸²

Renfrew has blamed Wheeler for the rapid diffusion of the invasion theory which, in his opinion, was rooted in assumptions, as he found nothing in the Rig Vedas implying an invasion or that the 'Aryas' were strangers to the region. Wheeler proposed that the Indus Valley civilization was destroyed by the Aryans and was indigenous, but Renfrew has noted that nothing is particularly 'non-Aryan' about it,⁸³ and has offered a proto-Indo-Aryan origin for Sanskrit in the context of the spread of agriculture starting in 7,000 BC, therefore one which was not the result of an invasion in the 2nd millennium BC, and at a much earlier date, and significantly by a spread of farming in parallel with the diffusion of a Proto-Indo-European language from Cappadocia to Northern Iran, Turkmenia, the Iranian plateau, North India and Pakistan (the Indus Valley).⁸⁴ Renfrew has suggested that the language of the Indus Valley 'could have been Indo-European as early as 3,000 BC',⁸⁵ and that 'a two-wave hypothesis would make more sense of the evidence of an Indo-European speaking population in Harappa civilization, as well as in India'.⁸⁶

Continuity of Vedic Aryans

Subhash C. Kak of Louisiana State University is of the opinion that Vedic literature describes a fundamental restructuration of the indigenous society due to the creation of social elites, not an Aryan invasion. Kak speaks of the civilization as 'Indo-Aryan'.⁸⁷ He believed it possible that a ruling minority was Indo-Aryan and imposed their language and script on a majority consisting of a population of non-Aryan people.⁸⁸ A number of Indian and Western archaeologists have rejected the 'Aryan invasion theory' in favour of the continuity of the civilization, but as 'Vedic Aryans'.⁸⁹ Their argument is that there is evidence of a continuity of the racial group that called itself 'Aryan' in the Indus Valley (before 1,700 BC) but none for an invasion of India as per Wheeler's theory with a scenario of destruction of the civilization by external Aryans. They contend that Vedic literature needs to be re-examined as it was interpreted in Victorian times on the assumption that there was an Aryan invasion. Frawley and Rajaram regard Jha's decipherment of the Indus seals and his work *Vedic Glossary on Indus Seals* as a significant breakthrough.⁹⁰ They have asserted that the Harappan Civilization overlapped with the Vedic Age. The underlying language of the seals, according to Jha, was like that of Sanskrit in Vedic literature and many of the seals have been found to contain words present in the Nighantu Vedic glossary.⁹¹

Waddell had stated that some of the names inscribed on the seals were mentioned in the ancient scripture:

And my pioneering decipherment of these inscriptions published a few months later in my *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered* disclosed that these seals and amulets were chiefly those of ancient Sumerian government officials and priests of this Sumerian colony of about 3,100 to 2,300 BC, the name of which was specified; and some of them were celebrated in the ancient Vedic Psalms of the Hindus as patronizing the Indus Valley.⁹²

The inscriptions disclosed the names of the owners of the seals and they seemed to have been an early wave of people who came by sea, maintained a colony in the Indus Valley with their families and priests for centuries, and were remembered as patrons of their civilization. Waddell recognised the Vedic legacy and Indo-Aryan, or Vedic, nature of the civilization of the Indus Valley. He stated that the name 'Khaiti-City' that he deciphered appeared to have the meaning of 'Hittite-City' as the 'K' of Khatti was dropped by scholars in 'Hittite'.⁹³

CHAPTER TWELVE

Findings about the 'Second Edin'

In view of the fact that 'Mohenjo' was associated with buffalo and cattle in many languages, that the term 'darya' meant 'sea' or 'water' in the Indo-Persian language, and 'Dara' in the Hittite god name In-dara (Indra in Sanskrit) also had this meaning, Waddell ascertained that 'Mohenjo-daro' probably meant 'lagoon of wild buffaloes'. It was 'Udor' in Greek and 'Dwr' in Cymric. The position of Mohenjo-daro was closer to the sea when it was chosen for defensive purposes by seafaring Phoenicians, hence the name. As regard Harappa, it was referred to in the Vedas as 'Hariyupiya'. As it was on a route to Tibetan gold mines, Waddell suggested its position was chosen by merchants for their exploitation of the gold and turquoise industry of Tibet.¹

Animal symbols and owners of the seals

The seals were engraved on steatite, ivory, stone or paste, by a technique called 'intaglio', and were of square or oblong shape; some were used as signets or for the purpose of stamping on parchment with ink. Some were pierced for use as a pendant or grave amulet, and the projecting knob on the back of others was what was left of a handle. Some were for official use, i.e. by rulers, ambassadors, ladies and priests, others for personal use.² Similar seals were found in Mesopotamia, Elam, and Cappadocia, but the technique of the Indus Valley seemed superior. According to J. Kinnier Wilson much has been written on the animal symbols inscribed on the seals and led to the opinion that they were amulets, but scholars are not sure what they symbolised.³ Whereas Wilson suggests the bull was the symbol of rulership of Mohenjo-daro on the basis of Jacobsen's study of the Sumerian King-List which disclosed animal titles for some of the kings such as 'staghorn' for A-lulim, 'dog' for Kalibum, 'lamb' for Qalumu, 'scorpion' for Zuqaqip, 'gazelle' for Mashda,⁴ it was Waddell's opinion that bovine animals symbols figuring on most of the seals were pictographic word-signs and revealed the place-name or home of their owners, the administrators of the Indus Valley. He stated that there usually were three signs below the head of the animal, the first two meaning 'Edin', and the reason the pictograph of an ox or buffalo was used to represent a place or settlement was that cattle formed the chief wealth of the settlement. The size of the herds the farmers of the Indus Valley possessed was vast, as the owner of a seal boasted to be the owner of 60,000 kine. Waddell expounded that the

sign for cattle together with that for 'land' or 'fort' was an ideogram that took the meaning of 'settlement' or 'town'. He asserted that the Sanskrit 'got' and English 'cow' derived from the Sumerian 'gu' or 'ga' for cow. On one seal there was a heavy bovine with crossed ribbing and wide curvature of horns. Such a buffalo was known to the Sumerians as it figures on Sargon's seal (c. 2,800 BC). On the seal of Sibas'ni from Mesopotamia (Waddell's Figure 30 'after Ward, 167'), Gis'zax (Gilgamesh) is represented as taming a buffalo.⁵ Seal I found at Harappa, reproduced in the Illustrations,⁶ is a stamped impression, not a direct photo of the seal, and it will be noticed the animal faces right, whereas they face left on other seals. A humped bull or Zebu figuring on Seal III was a sacred plough animal of the Sumerians and Kassis of Libyan or African origin. The animal on Seal XVI was a goat or antelope.

The bull came to be regarded by early Sumerians as sacred because milk and butter was their chief supply of food. The Father-god Indara was associated with the Bull and Indra was called 'Bull of Heaven' in Vedic hymns, in analogy with the depiction of ancient Goths with horned head-dresses (as demonstrated by Waddell by his reproduction of seals in *The British Edda*).⁷

As he deciphered the seals' inscriptions, Waddell discovered that some of the owners were cited in Indian Epics. He was already familiar with the names of important personalities he found on the seals as they were cited in the Vedic hymns of the Brahmans and other sacred Indian Scripture which he had studied for many years in the source Sanskrit text. He had found references to the fact that the Indus Valley had been exploited by the Marutas (Amorites) and Krivi (Syrio-Phoenicians) for its gold-dust and medicinal plants. The Vedas referred to the Indus region as 'Sindhu' and an abode of the Maruta or Amorites, a Phoenician branch of the Sumerians, who 'rise from the sea, abide in the sea'. In Vedic literature they were called 'Panch', or 'Kuru Panch-ala': 'Able' Syrio-Phoenicians.⁸ Furthermore, Vedic Scripture actually stated these personalities had settled and lived on the Indus. Waddell identified some of the names as those of the administrators of the 'colony' and of priest-kings. A few of the seals were also inscribed with the word 'Maruta'. The Maruta were also associated with the Aswin of Sanskrit accounts, horsemen of the Sun, called 'Nasatya' in Sanskrit and 'Nassati' by the Khatti Hittites.⁹ The seals were the official signets and grave amulets of Sumerian kings and suzerains of the colony, including Sargon I.

The owners of the seals were administrators and governors of a 'colony' established after Syrio-Phoenician geologists discovered gold in Tibet in about 3,100 BC. Settlements resulting from its extraction as well as agriculture attracted Phoenician seafaring merchants.¹⁰ Vedic hymns stated several times that the Indus Valley had been exploited by the Marutas (Amorites) and Krivi (Syrio-Phoenicians) for its gold dust and medicinal plants.

On the basis of Scripture alone, the exact place and time of these personalities had not been discovered, but as a result of Waddell's decipherment they could be dated with a relatively fixed position in relation to the Mesopotamian king-lists due to his comparative study of the records. He

dated the seals to about 3,100 BC.¹¹ Furthermore, an author by the name of R. S. Vadyanatha Ayyar, with whom Waddell corresponded, published a book that traced the origin of Indian laws to Sumer: *Manu's Land and Trade Laws: their Sumerian Origin and Evolution up to the beginning of the Christian era*.¹² This work contributed evidence in support of his theory of colonisation.

Occurrence of terms

Due to the multiple occurrence of the name 'Edin' on Harappan seals (such as on Seal I) and of the name 'Udyana', meaning Edin/Eden, Waddell ascertained that the Indus Valley was known in antiquity as the 'Land of Edin'.¹³ The term 'Edin' may have been associated with the idea of an agricultural enterprise hence the Mesopotamian 'Eden' was called 'a garden' in Genesis, and due to the wonders of this civilization, was later remembered as a 'paradise'. However, as Seal III stated that the owner of the seal belonged to 'the Second Edin', Waddell expounded that the seals disclosed the creation by the First Sumerian Dynasty of not just one 'Eden' but two.¹⁴ The first Edin was the 'Gu-Edin Sanctuary' of the patron Sun-god of the Sumerians situated in the plains of lower Mesopotamia, 30 miles north of his capital on an old confluent of the Euphrates and Tigris, and which can be identified as the Eden of *Genesis*, a sacred site before the founding of Lagash, Sirlapur. In the bilingual Sumero-Akkadian glossaries, Edin was defined as 'the city of the god Bel or Induru' (Hittite 'Indara' and Sanskrit 'Indra'). Seals IV and XV referred to the second Edin as the 'captured land of Edin' and the 'Saki city' or 'land' of the Slave-girl-priestess. On the evidence of his decipherment this Edin was geographically apart from the Mesopotamian Lagash, and outside of Mesopotamia, and could be identified as the S'aka country of the Indian Epics, a land famous for its sun-worshipping (Maga/Magi) traditionally located in the Indus Valley.¹⁵ The second Edin was therefore the agricultural 'garden' of the Indus Valley and second 'Garden' of Sumeria.

Waddell provided the phonetic syllabic value of each word-sign and his reading of the corresponding hieroglyph script in the Sumerian language with its literal translation.¹⁶ The term 'Kaitisig' was either the name of the city of Lower Edin or represented the official title of 'high-priest' written as 'Khattesig' in Sumerian,¹⁷ which was read by Assyriologists as 'Patesi'. He ascertained that 'Khaiti-Siga' probably was the ancient name of the capital of Edin and of Mohenjo-daro, of the Sindhu (Indus Valley), 'Siga' standing for 'city', and 'Edin' being a City-state of the Indus or Province in about 3,000 BC. Khaiti-City also appeared to have the meaning of 'Hittite-City' as the 'K' of Khatti was dropped by scholars in 'Hittite'.¹⁸

The reading of 'Khaiti' as Hittite is supported by the fact that pottery unlike that of the people of Harappa, and seals similar to some found in Western Anatolia, were excavated at a level above that of Harappa,¹⁹ and also

the fact that the name 'Jukhar' was given to those people 'about whom nothing was known', except that there were similarities between some of their seals and some of Cappadocia of an earlier date.²⁰

A third name appears on the seals: that of 'Saki-land' or S'aka-land of the Maga (Magi) sun-worshippers.²¹ On the basis of the seal of Telloh discussed previously, Waddell contended that the colony was ruled at one time by the Sumerian king Uruus', whose name was read as 'Ur-Nina' by Assyriologists and who is mentioned in Vedic and Indian Epics as Haryas'wa'. This king of the first Dynasty of the early Sumerians would have been the son of the Sumerian Epic hero Gilgamesh of Erech (Erek/Uruk/Ur). (c.3,150 BC) for whom Waddell found evidence of historicity.

Vestals and fire-priests

Seal IV, from Mohenjo-daro, was deciphered as 'Us'iz/Us'ij, the slave-girl (vestal) of the Sun, at Uriki' (land of Uri or Aryans). There were slave-girl priestesses or vestals at the Sun temple in Edin, including Us'ij or Us'iz. Waddell commented that the latter was mentioned in Vedic Scripture as Wricaya and was the wife of Aus'ija, or U'sija, whose name was inscribed on Seal I, and had the title of 'Barugu', that he read as B'rigu (Fire-Priest).²² Aus'ija may have been a ruling priest (seer) of Edin. Seal IV could be read in Sumerian as: TAB'MER-U GIM US'-IZ S'AMAS' URI-KI-AS' - translated as 'the sister Meru, the Slave-girl Us'iz of the Sun-shrine at Uriki'. 'Ki' in Sumerian means 'land'. Seal III was deciphered as the official signet of Kan(-we) priest of Khaitisig at E(din). The sign following 'Khaitig', two short horizontal lines, could be read as 'two', 'second' or 'the Sun' and could either be attached to Khaitisig or the following word sign 'Edin'. So it could refer to a 'second Edin' just as a similar sign on the seal of Telloh.

Unbarred horns could also designate 'Edin' in the same way as the head of a buffalo with cross-barred horns.²³ Seal IX was the official signet of As's'ias the Kaz, a different member of the Aus'ija family of priests than the Aus'ija of Seal I.²⁴ 'Edin' was in the sentence AS'S'I-AS' KAZ EDIN (?)-AS' in which Waddell read 'S'i' from a cylindrical sign resembling the Sumerian sign SI or SIG. 'Kaz' may have been a clan, or title (Kazzi) equivalent to the Phoenician 'Kassi' and Indian 'Cattiyo' which he discussed in his Chapter X. The Aus'ijas belonged to the Phoenician Kas'i line. The last stroke was a line that he found on many seals, read as 'As' in Sumerian, and deciphered as 'lord'. The alternative values to KAZ EDIN were HAR SI DU, or GU SI DU, or GA SI DU.²⁵ The presence of Fire-worshipping Magi in the Indus Valley would have been before the accepted date for Zoroaster and his Sun-god Ahura-Mazda and Hormuzd (Iran), a name of Sumerian derivation.

Menes (as known to Egyptians) was Manis-the-warrior, governor of Edin

Waddell claimed that Menes, who is regarded as having founded the Egyptian dynasties, was identical to the Sumerian 'Manis-the-warrior' or 'Manis-Tusu', the son of Sargon I of the third Sumerian Dynasty, and also governed the Indus Valley for his father, revolted against him, seized Egypt (also a Sumerian dependency), established there the first local dynasty, and seceded from Akkad²⁶ (his father's empire) when he was still crown-prince and governor of the Indus Valley colony.²⁷ A list compiled by the Egyptian priest Manetho had ten kings before Menes, including Sargon, who reigned at Thinis near Abydos for 350 years and were Sumerian. Before that of the kings was a list of gods and demi-gods with fabulous longevity and chronology. Waddell claimed that signet seals also documented Menes's rule of the Indus colony:

In his official seals [. . .] in the second batch of seals [. . .] he also styles himself Paru or 'Pharaoh'. And along with these are other official signet seals of his father Sargon, in addition to those I have previously deciphered and published of the first batch of those Indus Valley seals; and in these, Sargon also calls himself 'Pharaoh'. Moreover, Menes' route for his conquest of Egypt is indicated via the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean or Arabian Sea and the Red Sea.²⁸

It was customary for Sumerian emperors to send their eldest son as Viceroy to the Indus Colony of Edin. This was confirmed by the fact that the title present on many seals excavated in the Indus Valley was not 'king' or 'emperor' but 'Under-King Companion' (Shag-man, Shab-man, or Shaman). Nine out of the Indus seals that Waddell deciphered belonged to Menes. He provided details in his Appendix IX.²⁹

Fish-Man and Net symbols; divine 'Khad' symbol of Royal House

Waddell expounded that the word SU-KHA was actually on the Indus Seals, and that the sign for the Fish god 'Kha' called SU could be read as Su-kha with Kha-ad or Khad as the name of that god.³⁰ In the glossaries, the Sumerian 'Ia' or 'Ni' with a divine prefix, deciphered as 'the Net of the Waters' ('Ia sa-a'),³¹ was a title of the Sun-fish Khad defined as 'the male of the Flood Waters' (Ni-tax ra).³² He discussed the 'Net of God' concept of the Sumerians and Indo-Aryans in his Appendix III,³³ and the fact that the Sun-Fish had a connection for the Sumerians with the 'Net of Entry' (into the waters of Rebirth or into spiritual life), and details such as the son of A-Madgal,

grandson of Uruas'the Khad, called himself the 'great Net of the Setting and Rising Sun' on the Stele of the Vultures. These ancient concepts could, according to Waddell, be the origin of various sayings such as that the Babylonians 'sacrificed unto their net' (Old Testament), 'the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net' (New Testament), that Aditya was 'holder of the net' (Brahmanism), and that one of the beautiful names of Buddha was 'the Net' (Buddhism).

The Sumerian name for 'fish' had a sacred solar association. It survived in Sanskrit as 'Kha' for the Sun, heaven and supreme Spirit, as well as the 'Sun-god Vishnu'.³⁴ The Sumerian fish divinity was the origin of the Greek Poseidon and Roman Neptune, as well as Sanskrit: Napat (son of the waters), and Vishnu. Waddell's reading of the fish sign provided a clue for the fact that in Hinduism, Vishnu was traditionally believed to have been incarnated in the form of a fish and subdued the serpent of the Deep in the 'deep waters'.³⁵ He interpreted an inscription on a Hittite seal (as shown on Figure 36 in his 1924 title)³⁶ as the 'Fish-man god' and a parallel to Vishnu in Sanskrit. He associated the fish sign of the Indus seals with effigies of Sun-Fish or fish-Man on Sumerian, Hittite and Babylonian sacred seals as well as on some monuments of the ancient Britons. The meaning of the Sumerian names 'Nin', 'Nun', 'Ia' and 'Induru', as these terms were interchangeable, was 'the fish-man god', and the Chaldean 'Nunnu' was also to be read as 'fish'.³⁷ He ascertained that the Egyptian 'Nu' ('god of the waters') derived from the Sumerian 'Nun', and that the latter was represented as the Father-fish of the House of 'Khad' or 'Su-kha' on the Indus Seals, and was to be read as 'Kha-ad'.

Sumerian glossaries provided a definition for the Fish-god as the god 'Kha-ad' called SU or ZU 'wherein the word 'god' was rendered by GUD', and for 'Kwad' as 'the cities (KIKI) of the House of the fish of the Sun'.³⁸ Waddell was of the opinion that the winged fish symbol (read as KUA or KHAD) together with another sign read as AD meaning 'father', that he read as 'Kwad', 'Khad' or 'Kha-ad', was significant and the source of the Gothic 'Gud' or 'Guth' from which derived the English word 'God'.³⁹ Furthermore, the Phoenician city of Kadesh was regarded as holy, and the name meant the 'city of the House of the Kuadi of the Sun'.⁴⁰ In view of the importance attached to royal blood in antiquity, and as kings believed themselves to be divine, semi-divine, or possess divine authority, it is easy to see how the Fish sign read as 'Khad' charged with symbolic meaning, could have come to be adopted as a Royal House emblem.

The Sun-fish of the Phoenicians also explained fish figures on coins of Gades which had a Sun-temple associated with the Hercules of the Phoenicians, the original of Greek mythology. It also was Waddell's opinion that the Resurrecting Sun-fish of the Sumerians was the source of the fish symbol used by early Christians. This was plausible because some of the Gentiles of Galilea were of Syrio-Phoenician descent. Furthermore, he suggested that the fact that Phoenicians had come to the British Isles was the reason that pre-Christian crosses (classed as Celtic) pre-existed their official

evangelisation. In his opinion, the 'piscine' or 'fish-bowl' built on the south side of the altar in old Christian churches in Britain was a survival of the Sumero-Phoenician Fish Shrine of the pagan Sun-fish of the 'Resurrection and the Life'.

The Fish-god of the Sumerian Father-god Bel was, according to Waddell, 'enterer' of the 'Water of Rebirth' or 'falling into the waters',⁴¹ and baptism was practised in Sumer. Noteworthy is the fact that the Eddic word for 'baptize' is 'Skira' (literally: scour for purity) and that the Scandinavian 'Skiri Jon' for John the Baptist may derive from the Sumerian Sakharra (flood out or scour out/ dust).⁴² Baptism by water was symbolic of a 'Heavenly Man' or 'divine Adam' falling into an entrapment in the watery deep (Tehom, Tiamat, the Deep, the Dragon of the Euphrates).⁴³ The expression 'falling into the Waters' is found in Gnostic concepts representing the origin of the idea of (more than one) 'sons of righteousness' and 'messiahs' at the turn of the Christian era.⁴⁴ Baptismal rites in a number of baptising Jewish sects can also be traced to the anointing of royal figures in Egypt. There were many anointed figures (priest-kings, righteous ones, and judges) in Judaism to be identified as the origin of the Messianic concept which Christians have adopted.⁴⁵

Bel, Oannes, the 'Fish Man'

In his first book, Berossos retold the 'Creation Epic' of Enuma Elish and Marduk's intervention to bring order to 'creation' as well as his struggle with Tiamat, the goddess of primeval waters.⁴⁶ He stated that humans learned about Marduk's exploits 'from Oannes and other monsters from the sea' who taught humans about 'creation' but 'gave them the gift of civilization'.⁴⁷ He stated that 'before civilization, there lived in Babylonia people of different ethnic origins who lived without order just like animals',⁴⁸ and that in the first year of creation (or civilization), there appeared from the Red Sea (Persian Gulf) a monster named Oannes who had the body of a fish, but who, underneath his fish head, had a human head. Berossos also made references to the existence of winged men or beings, as well as 'men with the horns of goats on their heads'.⁴⁹ Some sculptures had been preserved up to his time but their meaning was already lost.⁵⁰ However, it has been recovered by Waddell. The fish-garbed creature was symbolic of Aryan teachers and makers of civilization who taught men the skills necessary for writing, mathematics, and knowledge: i.e. how to build cities and temples, make laws, how to divide land, plant seeds, and harvest fruits and vegetables.

According to Waddell, 'Marduk' was the Babylonian name for Thor's son. In the Sumerian tradition, a demon bull, lion or dragon was slain by Mar-duk, son of In-dur or Bel-the-lord.⁵¹ 'Belu' means 'lord' or 'master' in Akkadian but 'Bel' is generally held to be another name for Marduk, the head god of Babylonia.⁵² As preserved in the Isin Chronicle, the solar archangel Tasia of the later Sumerians, Hittites, Phoenicians, Trojans and Babylonians, as well

as Graeco-Romans, had an historical human original. 'Tasia' was a title for Azag or Bakus (Bacchus or Dionysos to the Romans and Greeks), the son of the first Sumerian king and this personage was the vanquisher of the great Dragon and the original of St. Michael the Archangel. This Tasia, Marduk and Bakus, was indeed identical with Miok (Mukhla), a name equating with the Sumerian Muku of the second version of the Isin Chronicle, and Miklu, the archangel of the Aryans, Phoenicians and Greeks as seen on ancient coins of Cilicia and Phoenicia, and patron saint of the Western Phoenicians who 'named after him their chief tin-port in Britain' (St. Michael's Mount.)⁵³

Resurrection in solar religion

Sun-worship in antiquity may have incorporated a belief in a spiritual Intelligence manifesting its power through the physical Sun. Sun-worship survived in Northern India. Waddell stated:

[. . .] as seen at sunrise along the banks of the great rivers (see Fig. 20), and in the first prayer, the Gayatri, which is changed to 'the god behind the Sun' as an orison by every Brahman, despite the later degraded gross polytheism and demonolatry with bloody sacrifices of modern Brahmanism, which have been incorporated from the matriarchist culture.⁵⁴

The seals documented a concept of a Father-god in heaven Ia (Induru) and Sun-angel (both manifesting through the Sun), and a Resurrection from the Dead. Waddell derived this notion from the pathetic prayers for Resurrection engraved on death amulets. Whereas the Sumerians' cult was viewed as polytheist in scholarly circles, it was his opinion that the seals reflected the purer monotheism of the Early Sumerians a thousand years before Abraham, and that this religion was not less monotheist than Christianity, as the belief in angels does not preclude the latter from being classed as such.⁵⁵

Spirituality of the civilization

The overall perspective derived from *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered* in conjunction with *The British Edda* and *Makers of Civilization in Race & History* is that the Aryans who settled in the Indus Valley were like spiritual crusaders on a mission to carry out the 'Rise of Man', and that they had created civilization in Asia Minor and the Ancient Near-East, and initiated primitive cultures into material and spiritual knowledge, as well as attempted to eradicate their Serpent-Dragon cult. However the Aryan reign was short lived. Its failure was reflected by the downfall of the Indus Valley civilization which also suffered flooding. In later centuries the inhabitants of the Ancient Near-East, Asia Minor, and the Indian Continent remembered this era with a sense of

'lost paradise'. Waddell's decipherment was of far-reaching importance due to his recovery of the earliest chapters of Indian civilization as well as of lost Sumerian history. His discoveries fill the gaps of knowledge in respect of the rise of three dynasties, their race, seafaring abilities, their colonies and commercial enterprises.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Decipherment of the Seals

Seal I was identified or deciphered by Waddell as the Official Signet of AS'S'IAS', the Barugu of Bhrigu (Fire-priest), Lord of Edin.¹ The Vedic Priest 'Aus'ija Kakshivan' reputed author of several hymns in the Rig Veda, styled 'the far-famed merchant' was associated with the Panch-ala (Syrio-Phoenicians). The Vedic Sanskrit name for 'fire-priest' is B'argu, B'argava or B'rigu. The place name EDIN on this seal occurs on most of the others.

Phonetic for As's'ias' (Aus'ija) Kakshivan, the B'rigu Fire-Priest of Edin:

KHA, HA
AS
ASSI
AS
BAR, MAS
U
GU, HAR, GA
EDIN
AS

Seal II from Harappa as identified by Waddell as the official Signet of Kan(-wa) the Barama, the 'ear of God'. The Vedic Fire-priest 'KANWA the Brahman' c.3,000 BC.

Phonetic:
KAN.GAN
BA
AMA
WA.WI.WE.

Seal III was identified as Kan (we) priest of 'Khaitisig' (Kaiti city or Hittite city) at Edin.

KAN, GAN
WE (Me) SIB
AS
KHA, HA
ITI
SIG

TAB EDIN
AS

Seal IV was identified as the Signet of Us'IZ the slave girl² of the Sun at URIKI, the Vedic Us'ij or WRICAYA, the wife of Aus'ija of Seal I.

Phonetic:

SAMA, MAN, TAS
GIR, MER
U, SU
GIM
US, SI
IZ
SAMASTAB
GA
URI, ARI
KI
AS

Seal V was the signet of Prince S'US'ENA of Edin (alternative names: Agdu or S'aki), later King S'u-sin of the Ur Dynasty of Mesopotamia. He was Sushena the Kus'i-ka, brother of Paras'u-Rama and great grand-son of King Gadhi, the Sumerian Gudia, c.2,350 BC. Waddell discussed the genealogy of the Kus'a and Uru Dynasties in the Indian Epics.³ King-List of Gudea's and Ur dynasties from Indian Epics compared with Sumerian.⁴

SU
SE
EN
A, UMUN
ZAG, SAG
GU, GA, TU
SA, AG
DU
AS

Seal VI: This is the official signet of TAX, Minister of SIRGANA OF AGDU (Sirgana being identified as Sargon I of Agade) in the Indus Valley, identified as the Vedic (of Indian Epic) Daxa (Dakska) re S'AKUNI or Sagara of Ayodhya (the latter being identified as Sargon I of Agade). Note: Sargon styled himself 'Emperor of the Four Quarters of the World', Lord of the Lands of the Lower Sea (Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea) and of the Upper or Western Sea (Mediterranean) and of the Tin-lands beyond the Western Sea - the tin mines of the Cassiterides and Cornwall in Ancient Britain.⁵ The name Sargon was adopted by Assyriologists in order to equate it with the Hebrew name for a later namesake, the Semitic Assyrian king Sargon of the Old Testament, who sent Jews into captivity in 8th century BC. The ancient

emperor spelt his name S'AR-GUN-NI or Sar-ga-ni or Sir-gu-ni. Later Semitic scribes wrote his name as S'AR-RU-KI-IN and S'arru-gin. In the latter the first syllabic sign is given its Akkadian Semitic value from which it is assumed that Sargon I was a Semite, instead of merely that the scribes themselves were Semites. Sargon I was one of the most celebrated Aryan emperors, and an Aryan Vedic king like Ur-Nina, Gudea, Dungi, BurSin.

TAX, TAKH, LAX

“

SA, SIR, GAL
GUNU, GANA
GU, GA, HAR
AG, SA
DU
AS

This is the signet inscription of TZ or Dax, Minister of Sirgana of Agdu (Sargon I of Agade) read as: Tax tax sa-(or sr)-ga-a (or gun-a) gu ag-du (or S'aki or Edin)-as

Translation: Tax the Minister of Sir-gana of the Land at Agdu or Saki or Edin.

Seal VII was the signet of King SAGAR or Sargon I of Agade. His name was 'King Sagara of Ayodhya' in the Indian Epic.

SAG, ZAG
ARA
TUB, DUB
GA, TU
AG, SA
DU (Ki)
AS

Seal VIII: This was the official signet of DAMU or GUDAMA, the Guti or Goth son of Dax, the Har(ri). In the Indian Epic he is named Dama of the Daxa line of S'akas.

GU, GUT, HAR
MUD, DAMU
GU, GUT, HAR
TI, TU, TAX, G A
MAR
DAX, TAX, TAKH
GU, GUT, HAR

Waddell read this seal as 'Gu(t)-damu gu-ti mar-dax (or-tax) gut (or har)'.
Translation: Damu the Guti son of Dax the 'Har(-ri). Of this Dama,

descendant of Narishyanta, it is related in an Epic that his bride Sumna, daughter of King Dasarha, was rescued by him from his rivals, one of whom, Vapushmat, in revenge killed the grandfather of Dama, named Marutta, who had relinquished his kingdom and retired into hermitage.⁶

Seal IX is the signet inscription of As's'ias' the Kaz at Edin, As's'ias' the Kaz(-zi) at Edin. This is a different member of the Aus'ija family of priests from As's'ias' the Khas' or seer, of Seal I, who bore the title of Barugu or B'rigu, Fire-priest. Kaz appears to be his clan title of Kazzi, a recognised Phoenician form of Kassi, and the Aus'ijas were of the Kas'I line. The place name may be Edin as before, or Saki, but the cylindrical sign seems open at the top, and thus resembles the Si or Sig sign.

ASSI
AS
KAZ, SUR
GU, GA, HAR
SI
DU
AS

Seal X was read as 'Kan(-wa?) S'ar[. . .] of S'iki (or Sugki)'. This was probably the seal of Kanwa S'rayasas, a Vedic sage mentioned in Vedic literature. It has the S'ar sign of Manis'tusu and a variant of wheat-ear sign. This Sumerian sign is of the Ur-Nina period.

KAN, GAN
SAR, KHAR
...
GU, GA
SI
DU-AS

Seal XI is a signet inscription stating 'S'ar-gad Gal'ha the B'rigu (or Bargu).' This appears to be the seal of the Indian Epic priest 'Galawa the Brigu' of the Kus'ika line, who is associated with Paras'u Rama of that line.

SAR-GAD
SA, GAL
KHA, HA
BAR

S'ar-gad may mean 'King of the Gad (Phoenicians)' or 'King Gadhi (Gudea).'

Seal XII was the signet of S'abtar [. . .] of Edin. This name corresponds to Savitri, the Vedic teacher, in Indian Scripture. This personage is to be identified with the subject of the Death amulet Seal XVIII. The name is that of a guru who penned down or organised the Vedas in the Fifth Age, a Savitri who

was the grand-son of the mythic Daxa. Savitri was a daughter of that Daxa. Sabtar means literally 'Heart' (S'ab) + decide, look after (tar). This discloses the Sumerian source and meaning of the Sanskrit Savitri – vivifier or enlivener, as 'looker after the heart'.

SA, SAB (literally: heart)

TAR (look after)

...

EDIN-AS (Lord of Edin)

Seal XIII is a death amulet or seal of Uggu the Gad, Kad, or Phoenician, identified as the Vedic Uccaih king of Kuru-Panch(alas) (meaning Syrio-Phoenician). This decipherment discloses a celebrated Vedic king of the Kuru-panch(ala) and the fact that early Vedic kings were ex-officio priest-kings or seers. Gad or Kad is a title also used on Seal X. This seal represents evidence of the presence of Phoenicians in the Indus Valley at 3,000 BC. It discloses the meaning of Indian Vedic name Vishnu for the Sun-god and name Sukha for the western ocean paradise of the Sun-god in Brahmanist and Buddhist myth.

SU

KHA HA

KHA

AS

UG UKU

GU HAR GA

GAD KAD

GAR

KHAR GUR

GU GA HAR

TUM

EDIN

AS

The inscriptions read as: SU-kha kha-as' uk-gu gad gar gur gu-tum edin-as.

Translation: O setting Sun Fish, the sage Uggu the Gad lift up from grave, bring to life, at Edin. Please refer to Waddell's appendices for 'Fish title for Sun-god'.

Seal XIV: is the death amulet of MIDAS, the Epic 'Midwas', son of Daxa the S'aka.

SU KHA

KHA

AS

MAN, TAB

MID BAD US

AS

MATU
KUS LUM HUM
GI GIN
TUM

Translation of the amulet inscription of Midas: O Setting Sun Fish, the Seer of the Sun, Midas the dead one, the cut off, bring to Life!

Seal XV is a death amulet of Uzuas' the seer slave-girl of the Temple of the Sun, identified as the Vedic and Epic Us'ij, the Amorite slave-girl priestess of Seal IV.

SU KHA
KHA AS
UZU
AS
MATU
BARA
GIM
GI GIN
TUM
RA UT BABBAR

Translation: O setting Sun Fish! The Seer Uzuas the dead one of the temple (of the slave girl) bring (to Life O Sun!). This is a prayer for Resurrection.

Seal XVI: Death amulet of UKHZU of Dar-saki. This is a prayer for resurrection.

UKH
ZU
MATU ES
IMINA
BARA
GA
DAR (SIGGAUX)
SA AG
KI, DU
AS

Translation: O Thou Sun-Hawk, the dead one at Dara-s'aki, bring to heaven's house!

Seal XVII: Death amulet of USSA the Seer at Edin, the Vedic Us'ana. This is a prayer for resurrection.

SAR INDURU
ZU
KHA
AS

USSA
GI GIN
EDIN
AS

Translation: O Thou all Perfect God, the Seer Ussa at Edin, bring to life!

Seal XVIII: Death amulet of S'ABTAR of Edin: a prayer for resurrection.

SAB SAG SA
TAR KUD KHAS
MATU ES
GI GIN
EDIN
AS

Translation: Sabtar, the dead one at Edin, bring to Life!

Seal XIX: This was the death amulet or Seal of Gurgu surnamed 'Bharadvaja' (or strength of the 'Bharads'). This personage was a Vedic seer and reputed author of a hymn to Indra (3020 BC). He calls Indra in one verse by the title of S'akra, that is the Sakko of the Pali and a favourite title used by Buddha for Indra. The 'Indra' name is clearly derived from the Sumerian title of Sakh for the Father-god In-Dur as the enthroned Lord. The inscriptions are a prayer for resurrection:

SU KHA
IMINA
GUR
GU GA

Translation: O setting Sun-Fish, to Heaven, Gur-gu bring!

Waddell's Chapter IX⁷ includes details on Seals III to XIX. Chap. X discloses Edin as the Sumerian city-state on the Indus with the Capital at Mohenjo-daro and City of the Hittites, and Saki-land as S'aka-land of the Maga (magi) sun-worshippers.

EPILOGUE

The Forgotten Scholar

Last Days

In 1923, Waddell left London to settle down in Campbell Street, Greenock, North of Glasgow, where he lived for a period of ten years in proximity of his sister Maggie, and continued writing. Budge had written on the 8 November 1926 and 12 December 1931.¹ The extract of a letter Waddell wrote to the Editor of the *Times of India* on the matter of Sumerian origin and roots of Aryan words on 5 September 1927, was published by this newspaper on 12 October of the same year.² This letter was in response to a review, published by the *Times of India* on 5 August 1927, in regard *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary* and *Aryan Origin of the Alphabet* published in 1927. He wrote again to the Editor of this newspaper on 2 December 1927 and his letter was published on the 31st.³

Waddell moved for a last time in 1933 to a detached one bedroom house with a view over a Scottish loch from his back garden: to Ardsloy, Rothesay, on the Isle of Bute, where he died in 1938. Bute is a place of natural beauty and calm. I located the house in Eastlands Road in 2003. It was not purchased but owned by the Crichton-Stuart family, Marquesses of Mount Stuart, a family that has been on the Island of Bute for over seven hundred years.⁴ According to the current owner of the property, Waddell created a reproduction of the Himalayas in his garden, but it was removed. Records in the Special Collections show that Waddell ordered 3 Corsican Pine trees, 2 Norway Spruces, 3 Poplars and 2 Honeysuckles from Austin and McAslan Ltd, Glasgow, the invoice being dated 31 May, 1935. The place where he died was recorded in the Special Collections at the University of Glasgow, as Rothesay, and the date as 19 September, 1938.

The title *Troyan Origin of World Civilization* listed as published in 1938 in the *Who Was Who*⁵ was never published as indicated in a letter dated 30 November 1943, in the Special Collections (MR54/80). In the latter, L. D. Pratt, of Cambridge, expressed his regrets to Anne Strachan Robertson about Waddell's death and the fact that his book on the decipherment of Hittite inscriptions was not published. His opinion was that Waddell was 'the greatest archaeologist and writer of modern times'.⁶

A mention is made on the online catalogue of the donation to the University of Glasgow of Waddell's personal library, as well as a portrait of

himself⁷ and a considerable sum of money to fund academic research in Archaeology, as well as the fact that a fragment of ancient pottery was left to the Bute Museum. This appears to have been a reference to the bowl of Utu(k) that Waddell acquired from the excavators of the Joint British–American expedition at Nippur. It received the catalogue number BM 129401/2.⁸ A typescript letter signed by the scholar Theophilus G. Pinches (with his address as 10 Oxford Road, Kilburn, London N.W.) dated 24 February 1921, congratulated Waddell for his acquisition of the fragments.⁹ A letter dated 17 October 1941 to Anne Robertson, in Rothesay, who was a Keeper of Cultural Collections and Coin Cabinet at the Hunterian Museum and later Professor of Roman Archaeology at the University of Glasgow (1974–75), stated in regard Waddell's bequest to the University Library that a Dr. John Ronald Currie, Professor of Public Health at the University of Glasgow (1923–40), was one of the only available trustees to ensure that Waddell's wishes were carried out.¹⁰

The Grail Quest

One of the reasons for the literary oblivion of those of Waddell's works on the history of civilization with an Aryan theme is suggested in Introduction to be in relation to the fact that he did not give up the quest for the Aryans in terms of racial origins when it was abandoned in the 1870s, and it was very influential in his choice of career. His desire for lost knowledge caused him to join the Army and to want to penetrate the mysteries of Lhasa, and as a result he was involved with the Great Game on the borders of Tibet when a Russian invasion was feared. He took part in military expeditions and had first hand experience of battles such as the Tibetan attack upon Changlo Manor at Gyantsé. Waddell's 'McGuffin' was the discovery of secrets of ancient civilization older than Egypt, perhaps even 'Atlanta'. His quest was related to the origin of the Aryans because contemporary science believed them to be the makers of civilization. He had plenty of intellectual confrontations, i.e. in relation to methods of decipherment, and was able to decipher inscriptions which other scholars could not. His comparative studies and decipherment led him to a completely controversial and alternative perspective of ancient history. Furthermore, the titles that are now little known may have been sidelined due his use of the term 'Aryan' as it became associated with the rise of Nazism, especially in the post-Second World War period.

Waddell is a forgotten scholar but also a precursor of real-life charismatic characters comparable to the fictitious Indiana Jones. Like the latter, he was a part-clean-cut academic and part-intrepid army officer following in the footsteps of pioneers in Archaeology, and an idealist, but he was probably more entangled in Grail and Aryan fantasy than any other real-life Indiana Jones characters. When studying the *Edda*, he stumbled upon the story of a grail, which according to his interpretation was confiscated by the Aryan Lords (or

architects of civilization) from the serpent-dragon cult. He associated the loss of this fetish with that spoken of in Sumerian legends concerning the 'Serpent-Stone-vessel'. Sakh, the deified king to whom the bowl was dedicated, was even known as 'Lord Sakh, King of the Precious Stone, hidden Vessel of Kish Land, king of the hidden vessel'. Waddell had identified this ruler as Ur-Nina and Thor of the *Edda*. When the Joint Expedition at Nippur discovered the fragments of the bowl of Utu(k) (because the latter had buried it under the foundations of a temple), Waddell felt compelled to purchase them from the excavators because he believed this 'vessel' was the fetish bowl or cauldron referred to in the *Edda* and Sumerian legends, as well as the inspiration for all grail stories, including those of Arthurian legends which were reworked from an oral tradition that was still remembered in the 12th century.

As to the question of how the stories of the *Edda* could have been introduced to the British Isles - since Waddell claimed they originated from Asia Minor, but were penned down in the British Isles, it could have been with a first wave of Syrio-Phoenician seafarers who built megalithic monuments from about 2,400 BC, or with a second one of Trojan Greeks (descendants of Hittites) who settled in the British Isles a thousand years before Christ. Scholars have identified the routes of diffusion by which Indo-European languages were propagated from Cappadocia to Western Europe. Ancient travellers could have been passing on these stories along the same routes. The view that emerges from Waddell's reconstruction is that an oral tradition relating to the 'Rise of Man' and genesis of civilization in Cappadocia was told at festivals in Britain, but without knowledge of the foreign origin of the stories or of the meaning of place-names which sibyls repeated. In Britain, this pagan tradition disappeared at the hand of Christian missionaries although many records existed. The parchments collected by 'the Learned' (Codex Regius or the *Elder Edda*) discovered in Iceland were probably saved from destruction thanks to the fact that a family from Scotland emigrated there. Myths surrounding the grail had been resurrected with modifications in the 12th century by authors such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his Arthurian legends, when its Cappadocian, Trojan, or Sumerian origins were forgotten.

Appendixes

APPENDIX I: Introduction by Professor S. Langdon to G. R. Hunter's Abstract

This text, apparently extracted from Marshall's 1931 report, was signed and dated 10 October 1933 by S. Langdon, Oxford. Words were underlined by Waddell as indicated:

Dr. Hunter has continued his investigations on the early Indus Valley Script, which he began at Oxford, by copying many more seal inscriptions, which were excavated by Mr. Mackay at Mohenjo-daro since the material, placed at the disposal of Mr. Sidney Smith, Mr. Gadd and myself, was available. In *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, three large folio volumes edited by Sir John Marshall, Probsthain London 1931, the script was investigated by the writers named above. Vol. II, chapter XXII, Sign-List of Early Indus Script, by C. J. Gadd; Mechanical Nature of the Early Indian Writing, by Sidney Smith's chapter XXIII, *The Indus Script by the writer*. Dr. Hunter has made an intensive study of greater material and has arrived at many valuable results of classification. Since Sir John Marshall's book was published, M. G. de Hevesy has called attention to the script of the Easter island. Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française, 1933, Nos. 7-8, *Sur une Ecriture Océanienne*. There can be no doubt concerning the identity of the Indus and Easter Island scripts. Whether we are thus confronted by an astonishing historical accident of whether this ancient Indian script has mysteriously travelled to the remote islands of the Pacific none can say. The age of the Easter Island tablets made of wood is totally unknown, and all knowledge of their writing has been lost. This same script has been found on seals precisely similar to the Indian seals in various parts of ancient Sumer, at Susa and the border land east of the Tigris.

As to progress in the interpretation the way is completely barred by the lack of any conceivable clue for even a guess at a means of interpretation. Here is a civilisation of whose history nothing has survived. It is impossible to suggest even the name of an historical person or place of that time in India. No group of signs can be suggested as having any definite pronunciation and identified with any name which can be suggested. The only possible clue which suggests itself to me is that the Sumerians must have known this script in their intercourse with travellers from India who brought the Indian seals

to Sumer. Fragments of lists of archaic signs have been preserved; on these tablets the Sumerian identify these archaic signs with signs of the classical Sumerian and Babylonian script. Naturally most of the archaic signs preserved and explained on these tablets are peculiar forms of old Sumerian signs, which can be fitted into their place in the history of Cuneiform epigraphy. But a few appear to me to belong definitely to the prehistoric Indus Valley script. I refer to two tablets both in the British Museum, 81-7-27, 49 + 50, published in Cuneiform Texts. Vol. V, p.1.7 and three fragments all apparently from the same tablet, said to have been excavated in the S.E. Palace at Nimroud, K.8520 published by Houghton in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VI454. All these tablets come from Assyria, but the script used in the explanations of the archaic signs is that used in Babylonia circa 2000 B.C., a date not too far below the period in which Indus Valley seals are found at Kish, circa 2700 B.C. It is therefore, entirely possible that the Babylonian epigraphists knew the Indus script. Now the scribe arranges the signs in order of the well known Sumerian Syllabary A in CT.V7 Obv. In there is an extraordinary sign entered as the archaic form of NU, usual meaning negative 'not', Sumerian value nu. This is totally unlike any archaic form of NU and may be the Indus (Indus?) sign 75 or 76 of my sign list.

Naturally if this thesis be true, all that the scribe means to say is that the Indian sign means 'not'; the phonetic value nu cannot be inferred unless the Indian language is Sumerian. Ibid. Rav. 11:2 there are extraordinary forms of the sign SAG 'heart', restored by syllabary AII 52. One of these is identical with No.7 of my list and two of them seem to be mere variants. If so, then the common Indian sign No.87 means 'heart', pronounced sa.sag in Sumerian. I do not mean to say that there is any certainty about this suggestion of the survival of Indian signs in the epigraphical texts of these Babylonian scribes. Sumerian texts of this kind or bilingual Sumerian and Indian inscriptions seem to offer the only possible help to which scholars may have recourse at present; for the Sumerians were the only literary people who knew this writing and language when it was still written and spoken.

Dr. Hunter has presented here all the known material. His knowledge of all the existing variants of the signs is unsurpassed and I am glad to have the opportunity of commending his book to scholars as a trustworthy edition of the texts.

S. Langdon, Oxford, October 10, 1933.¹

APPENDIX II: Waddell's letter re Shinar

Sir, I regret that I was given no opportunity of refuting in the July issue of the Review the intemperate outpourings of your joint correspondents in that issue on my article in the April number, as their misstatements and misrepresentations are calculated to give a false impression, and may meanwhile have misled some of your readers not conversant with the subject and the status of the

writers of that letter. These writers give their letter an official character by prominently inserting the name of their departmental office, presumably to gain for themselves an appearance of authority to which they could not otherwise individually lay claim. But it is a well-known and significant fact that, despite the unrivalled richness of its material, the leading experts and scholars in Assyriology in this country, with the sole exception of two former members of the staff of that office (Dr. Pinches and the late Professor King), have all been found outside that department of our national museum.

First, then, in regard to their assertion that I have no “expert” or “competent” knowledge of the subject, I may mention that I have devoted my entire time during the past fourteen years to the intimate study of Sumerian and cuneiform and allied scripts, and to the history of the people who used these scripts; and in the course of these researches I have personally visited the ancient city under reference, Babylon itself. Unlike, however, the two professed “expert” writers of that letter, I make no claim to omniscience or infallibility on the subject, but am merely an unbiased independent student of the History of civilization, working by recognized scientific methods in the vast new-found field of Sumerology, first discovered within the past four decades or so, and as yet largely unexplored, and in which every year unearths fresh discoveries which necessitate the discarding of many of the old views and theories of Assyriologists. [. . .]

In their rambling letter these “experts,” so [. . .] confuse the points at issue, and ascribe to me statements which I never made, that it is necessary for me here to remind the reader briefly what this commotion is all about.

As fresh material is discovered regarding the “Sumerians,” [. . .] who descended from Asia Minor into Ancient Mesopotamia and first civilized that country before 3000 BC, it becomes sometimes possible to apply the new found knowledge to the solution of numerous outstanding problems in Biblical and Early Babylonians history and geography.²

One of these outstanding unsolved problems was the name “Shinar,” used by the Early Hebrews in their Old Testament as a title for Babylon and Babylonia. No name for Babylon or Babylonia, or “Land of Babylon,” in any way resembling “Shinar” had been found in Babylonian records. On this outstanding problem the late Professor King wrote: “There is little doubt that Shinar is to be identified with the land of Babylonia, but the origin of the name has not been determined.” (L.W. King in “Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible,” 1910, p. 849) And it has remained undetermined up till the date of my article.³ [. . .]

APPENDIX III: Waddell in the Special Collections

Waddell’s date of birth is provided as the 29 May 1854, and his place of birth as Larkhall, on the University website.⁴

The entry in the Special Collections reference code GB 247 (Manuscripts

Collection) relates to papers of L.A. Waddell originally accessioned as *MS17-19-1939 and an article by David Weston entitled 'Manuscripts and archives relative to South Asia in Glasgow University' published in *SALG Newsletter* (London: South Asia Library Group), No. 35 (January 1990), pp. 6–11. In regard books on Assyrian and Sumerian languages bequeathed to Glasgow University Library, a reference is made with the note 'see C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography* and the *Who's Who*'.⁵ Harald Bechteler, an expert in the Oriental field, stated that some papers may be missing in the Special Collections because Waddell sold about 50 Tibetans objects through Sotheby in November 1920.⁶ The works that were left in Waddell's personal library were donated to Glasgow University in 1939.⁷

APPENDIX IV: Undated draft by Waddell in response to Julian S. Huxley and A. C. Haddon's fanciful commentary in *We Europeans* (1935)

Ever since that startling basic discovery of such far-reaching world-importance was made a few years ago, namely that the Aryan Race, already known to be the foremost & most highly evolved of the five races of mankind, was also in fact the Originator, Chief Developer & Chief Diffuser of the world's civilisation down the ages – as conclusively proved & established by an overwhelming mass of positive, concrete & unshakeable scientific evidence, including the earliest known historical inscriptions & other authentic records – there has been evoked a hurricane of windy protests against the Aryans by writers mostly of Non-Aryan Race & of rival richly endowed Semitic coteries & propagandists. [. . .]

[. . .] In their desperation, presumably at their total inability to disprove one iota of the solid mass of concrete proofs for the new scientifically established historical Truth that the Aryan Race originated & chiefly developed the World Civilisation, the two joint authors of a new booklet, "*We Europeans: the Race Question: Theory & Fact*", by Julian S. Huxley & A.C. Haddon, (Sept. 1935) audaciously & arbitrarily; without giving any valid evidence whatsoever, assert in effect that there never was any division of mankind into different races, & in particular, that there never was, nor is, any Aryan Race at all!

Such ridiculous & unfounded assertions might ordinarily be passed unnoticed as beneath contempt & due to the pitiful ignorance of the writers. But, as the two joint authors of this grossly misleading booklet in question are, strange to say, professed ethnologists, & the book is addressed to the general and educated British reader, it becomes imperatively necessary to expose not only the astounding ignorance of these writers in regard even to the physical traits of the Aryan Race & their persistence, but also their trotting out of & acceptance of the long-exploded ancient theories of Aryan origins, as well as

their culpable suppression of the new epoch-making discoveries mentioned above. [. . .] [ends there].⁸

APPENDIX V: Full titles of works by Waddell with a common Aryan theme

- *The Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons: discovered by Phoenician & Sumerian inscriptions in Britain, by pre-Roman Briton coins and a mass of new history* (Luzac: 1924; Williams & Norgate: 1925).
- *The Makers of Civilization in Race & History: showing the rise of the Aryans or Sumerians, their origination & propagation of civilization, their extension of it to Egypt & Crete, personalities & achievements of their kings, historical originals of mythic gods & heroes with dates from the rise of civilization about 3,380 BC, reconstructed from Babylonian, Egyptian, Hittite, Indian & Gothic sources* (Luzac: 1929).
- *The British Edda: the great epic poem of the ancient Britons on the exploits of King Thor, Arthur or Adam and his knights in establishing civilization, reforming Eden & capturing the Holy Grail about 3,380–3,350 BC* (Chapman & Hall: 1930).
- *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered: discovering Sumerians of Indus Valley as Phoenicians, Barats, Goths & famous Vedic Aryans, 3,100–2,300 BC* (Luzac & Co.: 1925).
- *Aryan Origin of the Alphabet: disclosing the Sumero-Phoenician Parentage of our Letters, Ancient & Modern* (Luzac & Co: 1927).
- *A Sumer-Aryan Dictionary: an Etymological Lexicon of the English & other Aryan Languages, Ancient & Modern, & the Sumerian Origin of Egyptian & its Hieroglyphs, Part I (A-F)* (London: Luzac & Co.: 1927).

Illustrations

Plate I – Seal of Mudgala, Lord of Edin . . .

Plate II – A photograph of Waddell . . .

Plate III – Drawings of Seals I–XII and XIII–XIX . . .

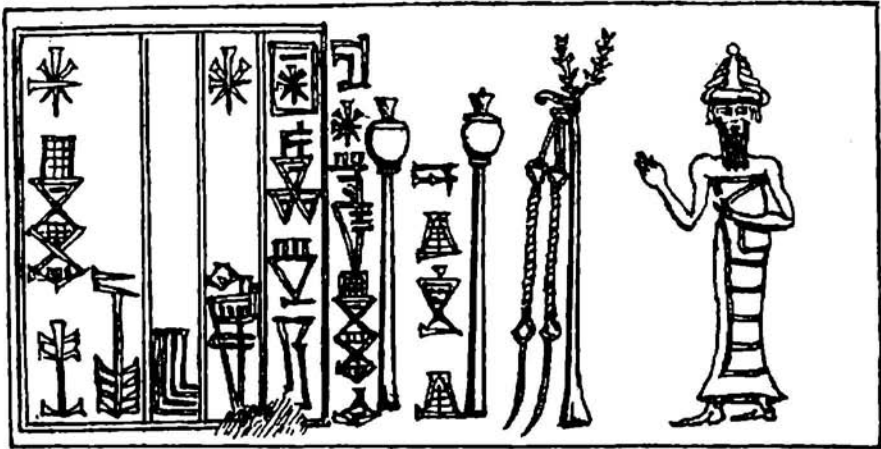
Plate IV – Fragments referred to as the Bowl of Utu(k) . . .

Plate V – Example of Sumerian pictograms and Phoenician Cadmean letters . . .

Plate VI – A Hittite seal *c.*2000 BC . . .

Plate VII – Representation of Zeus' struggle with Typhon . . .

Plate VIII – A map of Cappadocia and Sumerian territories . . .

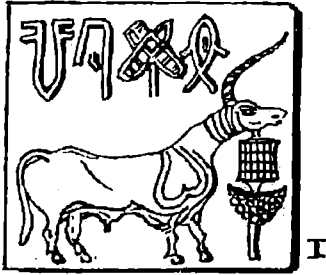


The original caption reads: Note his beard like the ancient Sumerians, and the ox horns on his hat, like the Goths and Ancient Britons.

Plate I Seal of Mudgala, Lord of Edin, Minister to Uruas, from Telloh, after Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux, Musée du Louvre. This is a drawing of the seal published in Waddell's *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered* (Figure 5, p. 35). Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.



Plate II A photograph of Waddell enlarged from *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 1905, (facing p. 252), with Col. Younghusband to his right. (The original picture is very small, hence the poor reproduction quality.) Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.



L.A.W. del.



II

Plate III Drawings of Seals I–XII and XIII–XIX that Waddell claimed to have deciphered, from *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*. Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.



III



V



IV



VI



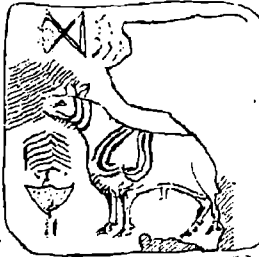
VII



VIII



IX



L.A.W. del.



XII

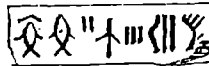


XI

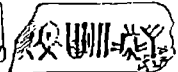
Bovine animals figuring on seals are pictographic word-signs standing for words which reveal the place-names or home of the owners of the seals. There usually are three signs below the head of the animal, the first two mean EDIN and the third LORD, to indicate that the owner of the seal was 'LORD of EDIN'



XIII



XIV



XV



XVII



XIX



XVI



XVIII

L.A.W. del.



Plate IV Fragments referred to as the Bowl of Utu(k), consecrated stone bowl of Eden with Sumerian inscriptions unearthed below the foundations of a temple at Nippur by the Pennsylvania Museum Expedition, dated at the time to c. 3,247 BC, but classed as Early Dynastic III (2,570 BC). Waddell thought this bowl may have been a magical cauldron and fetish that belonged to aborigines and inspired a Sumerian quest as well as 'holy grail' stories because it was confiscated by the makers of civilization, as recorded in the *Edda*, then lost. The fragments were in Waddell's possession, but were donated to the British Museum in 1939.

AN0050446001. Reg. no. 1939, 0612.2. Reproduced with kind permission from the Trustees of the British Museum (15 September 2008).



The fragments which were in the author's [Waddell's] possession.

1 SUMER	2 AKKAD	3 EGYPTIAN		4 5 PHOENICIAN		6 PHYRG.
		Early Alphabetic	Hiero	Thera c. 900 B.C.	Moabite c. 900 B.C.	Moabite c. 900 B.C.
A  521		AA 		AA 		AA 
Ba, Bi 						BB 
Da, Du 						
E  263 E(m)  405						
Fi  325				F 		FF 
Gi  530 Ga  230						
Ha, Hi  160 Kha 						
I  269						I 
Ki, Ka  101						KK 
La  440						
Ma  322						
Nu  79						






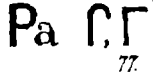





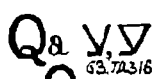





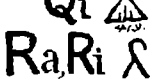






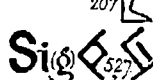





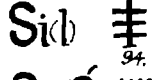





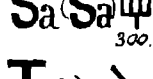





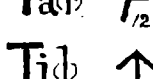
















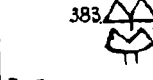









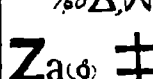







1 SUMER	2 AKKAD	3 EGYPTIAN		4 PHOENICIAN		6 PHRYG MIDAS c. 500 BC
		Early Alphabetic	Hiero	THERA c. 900 BC	MOAB c. 900 BC	
Q U O  365, 337.						
Pa  77.						
Qa  63, 72, 316						
Qi  207						
Ra Ri  207						
Si  527						
Si  94						
Sa (Sa)  300						
Ta  72						
Ti  70						
U V  365						
Wa  383						
Xa Xi  160						
Za  249						

Plate V Example of Sumerian pictograms and Phoenician Cadmean letters:
 Column 1: Sumerian pictogram signs, from Barton's standard plates. Column 2: Akkad cuneiform. Column 3: Egyptian equivalents of alphabetic signs in Pre-dynastic and Early-dynastic periods from Petrie's *Formation of the Alphabet* (Plate II-IV). Column 4: early forms of Phoenician letters in non-reversed Cadmean. Source: L.A. Waddell, 1927, 'Sumer-Aryan Evolution of the Alphabet,' *Aryan Origin of the Alphabet*, facing p. 14 and 54. Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.



875

The original caption reads: Fig. 30. – King Thor civilizing the aborigines of the Lion tribe. From Hittite seal, c. 2000 bc (After Ward.)

Plate VI A Hittite seal c. 2,000 bc commemorating the golden age of civilization, and possibly King Thor civilizing the aborigines of the Lion Tribe (represented as dwarves or elves). The Aryan Goths had settled down in Cappadocia, the land of future Hittites, in about 3,000 bc as assessed by Waddell. Were the Goths really of giant stature by comparison to 'Man' or aborigines? The *Edda* mentions dwarves. This seal was reproduced in *The British Edda* (as Figure 30) to support Waddell's interpretation of the lays. Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.

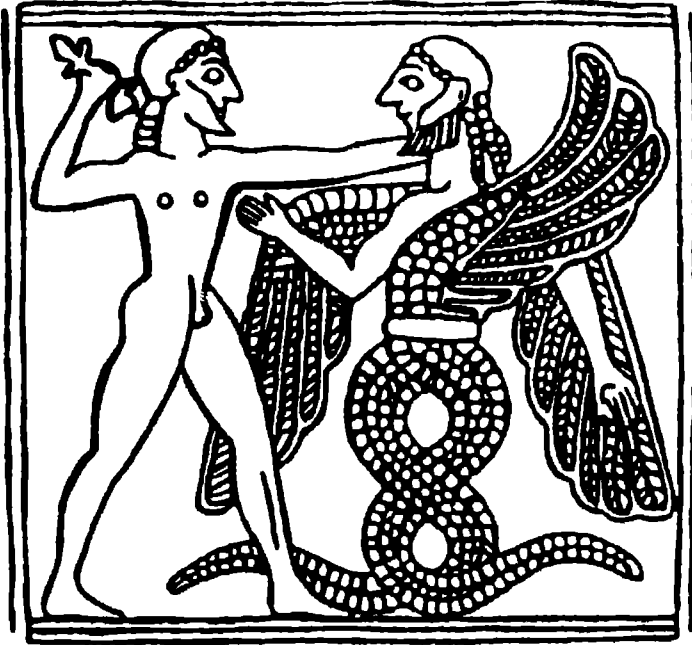
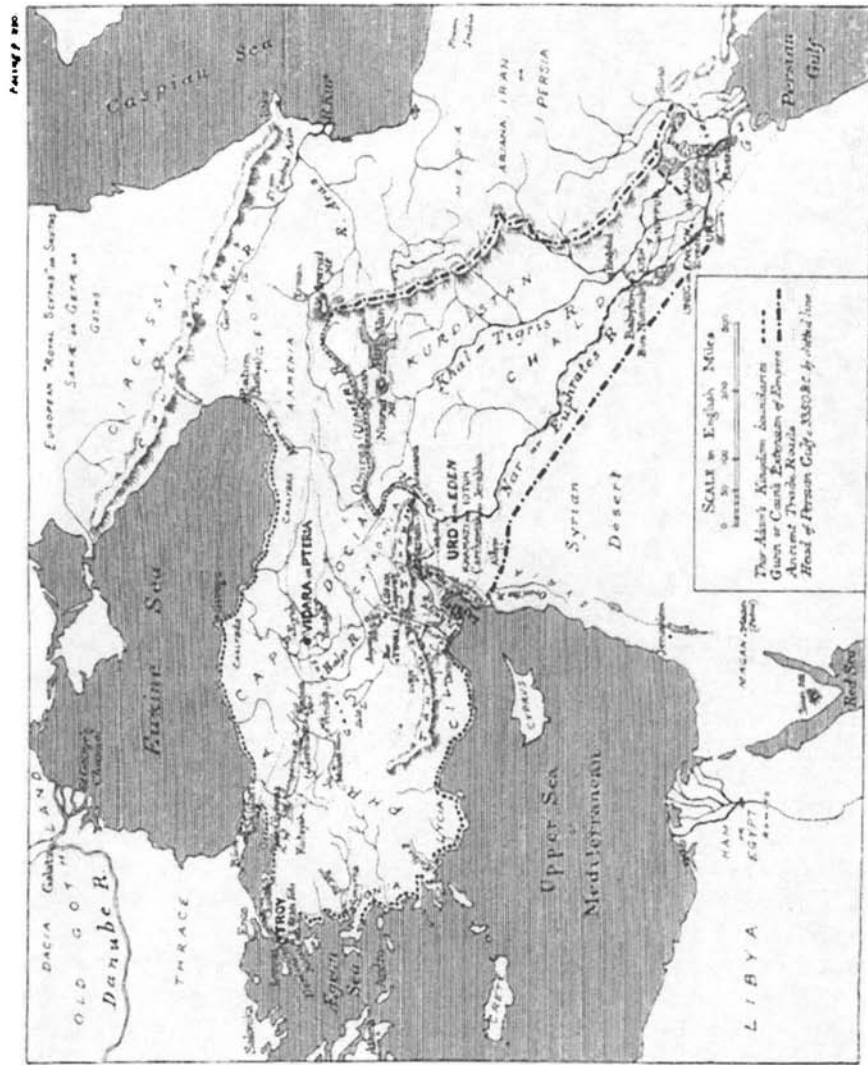


Plate VII. This image is used on the front cover of the book. It is a representation of Zeus' struggle with Typhon as on the frieze of Pergammon, from a Greek vase. Zeus stands for ancient Athenians believed to be the first Indo-Europeans who migrated to Greece from Cappadocia. Typhon is a titan in Greek mythology. The conflict is sometimes associated with a battle interpreted as having taken place between the ancient Greeks and Atlanteans on the basis of Plato. Here Typhon is represented with wings and serpent limbs, symbols which may have originally been pictographic to indicate an association with the serpent-dragon cult, the memory of which is now lost but which is mentioned in the *Elder Edda*. The image was published on the front cover of *The Secrets of the Fifth Kingdom* by C. Sandie (pen name of Christine S. Preston) (1996). The vase could not be located.

Plate VIII A map of Cappadocia and Sumerian territories modified by Waddell to show his identification of place-names mentioned in *The Elder Edda*, i.e. Troy, Vidara, Chaldea, and Urd (Eden) as well as rivers, i.e. the Omiras and Euphrates; also showing original natural boundaries of the Goths' kingdom and extension of their empire within dotted lines down to the Persian Gulf. Reproduced with permission from Special Collections, University of Glasgow.



MAP OF KING ADAMI'S HERITIOR OR ARTHUR'S FIRST ARVAN STATE, 1480-1350 B.C., AND CAIN'S EXTENDED SUSEMIAN EMPIRE, 1340 B.C.

Note: "Urd-Eden" of Danuile mouth, in Euphrates opposite Cappadocia (George at the east end of the Taurus and off Troy the line of Urd-Eden, the traditional line between the Adami and the Goths, the traditional line between the Adami and the Goths, the traditional line between the Adami and the Goths).

Notes

INTRODUCTION The Controversial Scholar

- 1 MB: Bachelor of Medicine (University of Glasgow – 1879); M.Ch: Master in Surgery; FRAS: Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society; CIE: Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire; CB: Companion of the Bath; FLS: Fellow of the Linnean Society; LL.D.: Doctoral level degree: Doctor of Laws; source: *Who Was Who*, Vol. IV: ix–xiv. Waddell was also a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute from 1891.
- 2 Waddell, 1925, Section ‘Works by the same author.’
- 3 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395; he appears to have taken an extra job as editor in Calcutta from 1881–85.
- 4 *The Englishman*, 20 April 1905.
- 5 Waddell, 1905: vi.
- 6 *The Australasian*, June 1905, in Waddell, 1905, press reviews page.
- 7 Waddell, 1892.
- 8 Waddell, 1903: 15–16.
- 9 *The Army and Navy Gazette*, 1 April 1905.
- 10 Waddell, 1924: vi.
- 11 Jones, 2004: 640.
- 12 Katz, 2004: 319.
- 13 Thomas, 1939: 503.
- 14 Bonaccorsi, email 23 March 2006.
- 15 Jones, 2004: 640.
- 16 Buckland, 1906.
- 17 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 18 The email address for enquiries about the Special Collections is <special@lib.gla.ac.uk> on <<http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/collection/waddell.html>>.
- 19 P. (Anonymous), 1925: 446.
- 20 Waddell, letter dated 12 August 1922.
- 21 Waddell, 1922.
- 22 Thomas, 1939: 449–504, in Jones, 2004: 640.
- 23 Waddell, 1924: 4–5.
- 24 Thomas, 1939: 502.
- 25 Renfrew, 1998: 13–14.
- 26 Waddell, 1929: 37.
- 27 Renfrew, 1998: 15.
- 28 Taylor, 1888: 238–43.
- 29 Waddell, 1929: 465.
- 30 Trautmann, 1997: 185.
- 31 Trautmann, 1997: 185.

-
- 32 Dyson, 1994: 160.
- 33 Trigger, 1989: 157–160.
- 34 Drower, 1996: 346.
- 35 Trigger, 1989: 110–111.
- 36 Temple, 1925: 121.
- 37 Waddell, 1925 (a): 122.
- 38 This relates to Grafton Elliot Smith's theory of civilization from Egypt.
- 39 This relates to the 'Evolutionist school'.
- 40 Waddell, 1925 (a): ix–xv.
- 41 Myres, 1911, in Trigger, 1980: 30.
- 42 Trigger, 1980: 30.
- 43 Robinson, 2002: 76.
- 44 Renfrew, 1998: 15.
- 45 Gathercole, 2004: 439.
- 46 Childe, 1934:145.
- 47 Childe, 1934: 19.
- 48 Childe, 1934: 142–45.
- 49 Childe, 1926:18.
- 50 Childe, 1926: 26.
- 51 Childe, 1926: 164.
- 52 Jacobsen, 1971:215–225.
- 53 Mackay, 1948: 11 (2nd edition)
- 54 Childe, 1926: 164.
- 55 Childe, 1926: 200.
- 56 Childe, 1926: 189–190.
- 57 Childe, 1926: 200.
- 58 Childe, 1926: 168–69.
- 59 Childe, 1926: 170.
- 60 Please refer to first dwellings at Byblos at 3,000–2,900 BC, foundation of Tyre in 2,750 BC and conquest of Byblos by Amorites at 2,100 BC in Easterbrook, 2003, map with 'Phoenician Maritime Routes'.
- 61 Gurney, 1925: 5.
- 62 Contenau, 1948: 26.
- 63 Contenau, 1948: 20–24.
- 64 Gurney, 1952: 12
- 65 Bittel's thesis *Die Ruinen von Bogazköy*: 259 in Gill, in Cohen, Joukowsky (eds), 2004: 446. Another work by Bittel: *Hattusha: the Capital of the Hittites* was published in 1970.
- 66 Renfrew, 1998: 54.
- 67 Gurney, 1952: 5.
- 68 Bruce, 1999: 10–15.
- 69 Bryce, 1999: 10–15, 17–19.
- 70 Parpola, 1994: 144.
- 71 Gimbutas, Dexter, 1999: Introduction.
- 72 Dexter, in Gimbutas, 1999: Introduction.
- 73 Bosh-Gimpera, 1961: 8.
- 74 Marija Gimbutas, 1977: 191, 345.
- 75 4.3.1. Kurgan Immigrants <<http://www.bharatvani.org/books/>>, 2nd paragraph.

- 76 Childe, 1926: 125–127.
- 77 Childe, 1926: 115 (footnote citing JRAS).
- 78 Bryce, 1999: 10–15.
- 79 *New Scientist*, in Renfrew, 1998: back page.
- 80 Fagan, 2001: 141.
- 81 Renfrew, 1998: 54.
- 82 Levenda, emails 29 August 2006 and 3 September 2006.
- 83 Levenda, email 3 September 2006.
- 84 Trautmann, 1997: 187.
- 85 Trigger, 1980: 30.
- 86 Trigger, 1989: 164.
- 87 Bahn, 1996: 138.
- 88 Bahn, 1996: 138.
- 89 Levenda, 2002: 77.
- 90 The National Socialist German Workers' party, DAP and NSDAP, created by occultists or to be subsidiaries of 'Thulé Gesellschaft' and 'Germanenorden' according to Levenda, 2002: 77.
- 91 Levenda, 2002: 1– 4.
- 92 Bahn, 1996: 216.
- 93 Childe, 1926: Preface.
- 94 Childe, 1926: Preface.
- 95 Green, 1981: 18.
- 96 Childe, 1926: 212.
- 97 Fagan, 2001: 184.
- 98 Fagan, 2001: 184.
- 99 Fagan, 2001: 149.
- 100 Illustration of swastika on spine of the copy in locked store in the University of Wales Swansea Library.
- 101 Waddell, 1924: vi–vii, Plate I.
- 102 Levenda, 2002: 58.
- 103 Levenda, 2002: 58.
- 104 Turville-Petre, 1951: 28.
- 105 Levenda, 2002: 59.
- 106 Casillo, 1985: 67.
- 107 Casillo, 1985: 70.
- 108 Casillo, 1985: 65.
- 109 Casillo, 1985: 73.
- 110 Casillo, 1985: 68.
- 111 Casillo, 1985: 70.
- 112 Peter Levenda, email 29 August 2006.
- 113 Waddell, 1935, please refer to Appendix IV.
- 114 Strayer, 1984: 389.
- 115 Waddell, 1930: xxxviii.
- 116 Strayer, 1984: 385.
- 117 Strayer, 1984: 385.
- 118 MS Gen 1691/3/33.
- 119 Strayer, 1984, Volume 8: 385.
- 120 Fornkvædi, 1866: 132.

- 121 Strayer, 1984: 389.
- 122 Thury, Devinney (eds), 2005: 61.
- 123 Thury, Devinney (eds), 2005: 203.
- 124 Waddell, 1930: xxxix.
- 125 Levenda, 2002: 61.
- 126 Waddell, 1930: 147
- 127 Lewis, 1927, Inkleing, 1999–2005: 2, site viewed 13/07/07.
- 128 Halliday, Gill, 2004: 32749, site viewed 13/07/07.
- 129 Lewis, 1927, Inkleing, 1999–2005: 2, site viewed 13/07/07.
- 130 Waddell, 1930: xxxviii.
- 131 Thury, Devinney (eds), 2005: 61.
- 132 Waddell, 1930: xl.
- 133 Strayer, 1984: 390.
- 134 Waddell, 1930: xxxvii.
- 135 Waddell, 1930: xxxvii.
- 136 Waddell, 1929: 9. Please refer to Waddell's theory of two waves of Syrio-Phoenicians in *Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons*.
- 137 Waddell, 1930: iii.
- 138 Photograph of the manuscript *Codex Regius*, Waddell, 1930: xxxvi.
- 139 Waddell, 1930: xxxv, xxxvii.
- 140 Waddell, 1930: 289.
- 141 Strayer, 1984: 385.
- 142 Waddell, 1930: xxxv.
- 143 Waddell, 1930: xxxviii.
- 144 Strayer, 1984: 390.
- 145 Turville-Petre, 1951: 187.
- 146 Thury, Devinney, 2005: 62.
- 147 Thury, Devinney, 2005: 65.
- 148 Baugh, Cable, 1951: 101–3.
- 149 Baugh, Cable, 1951, 101–3.
- 150 Baugh, Cable, 1951: 91–92.
- 151 The Scenes reproduced in chapter 5 are not Waddell's original version. As his translation was purposely literal for the use of Grammarians and difficult to read, I have carried out an 'equivalent translation' in which I have replaced Old English terms using his Glossary (2000).
- 152 Cotterell, 1999: 12 map.
- 153 Renfrew, 1998: 54.
- 154 Waddell, 1930: 257.
- 155 Waddell, 1930: 81.
- 156 Waddell, 1930: 81, Fig.58.
- 157 Waddell, 1930: 81.
- 158 Gardiner, 2006: 24.
- 159 Fagan, 2001: 128–131.
- 160 Fagan, 2001: 128.
- 161 Gimbutas, 1999: 52.
- 162 Gimbutas, 1999: 120.
- 163 Gimbutas, 1999: 15.
- 164 Gimbutas, 1999: 5.

- 165 Parpola, 1994: 143.
- 166 Jacobsen, 1939: 2.
- 167 Rowton, 1960: 156.
- 168 Barton, 1926 (a): 8.
- 169 Clay, 1925:120.
- 170 Barton, 1925:2.
- 171 Bahn, 1996: 256.
- 172 Fagan, 1996: 200.
- 173 Dyson, 1994: 159.
- 174 Dyson, 1994: 159.
- 175 Langdon, 1931, 1933: refer to Appendix I.

CHAPTER ONE Quest and Career – A Tour of the Himalayas

- 1 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 2 Special Collections: MS 1691/3/169, 170. The address indicated was 26 Brisbane Street, Greenock.
- 3 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 4 Thomas, Jones, 2004: 640.
- 5 Thomas, 1939: 504.
- 6 Peter Asplin, Special Collections, email 14 October 2004.
- 7 Thomas, 1939: 499.
- 8 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 9 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 10 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 11 Waddell, 1934: vii–ix. (1st edition: 1895).
- 12 Waddell, 1934: xi.
- 13 Waddell, 1934: xi.
- 14 Waddell, 1925.
- 15 Waddell, 1934: viii–ix.
- 16 Hart, James, letter 14 March 1893, in Special Collections.
- 17 Waddell, 1934: vii.
- 18 Waddell, 1924: 4–5.
- 19 Waddell, 1924: 4–5.
- 20 Trautmann, 1997: 172.
- 21 Trautmann, 1997: 6, Chapter I.
- 22 Trautmann, 1997: 6
- 23 Trautmann, 1997: 12.
- 24 Waddell, 1924: 4–5.
- 25 Waddell, 1924: 4.
- 26 Fagan, 2001: 197.
- 27 Taylor, 1889, in Trautmann, 1997: 184.
- 28 Havell, 1918: 20.
- 29 Havell, 1918: 5–15.
- 30 Havell, 1918: 5–8.
- 31 *Manu* iv: 199, Havell, 1918: 23.
- 32 Havell, 1918: 6–23.
- 33 Havell, 1918: 16.
- 34 Havell, 1918: 25.

- 35 Havell, 1918: 17.
- 36 Havell, 1918: 6–23.
- 37 Wenham, 1987: 135.
- 38 Wenham, 1987: 140.
- 39 Wenham, 1987: 139.
- 40 Wenham, 1987: 140.
- 41 Waddell, 1929: 155.
- 42 Wenham, 1987: 140.
- 43 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 44 Waddell, 1934: viii–ix.
- 45 Thomas, Jones, 2004: 640.
- 46 Keegan, 1979: 300.
- 47 Keegan, 1979: 301.
- 48 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 49 Thomas, Jones, 2004: 640.
- 50 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 51 Waddell, 1934: viii.
- 52 Waddell, 1934: xxviii.
- 53 Waddell, 1934: xiii.
- 54 Waddell, 1905: vi.
- 55 Waddell, 1934: Preface.
- 56 Waddell, 1899: 38–39.
- 57 Waddell, 1934: xi.
- 58 Harris, email, 13 April 2004.
- 59 Waddell, 1899: 24.
- 60 Waddell, 1899: 2, 28.
- 61 Waddell, 1899: 29.
- 62 Waddell, 1899: 27–29.
- 63 Waddell, 1899: 2.
- 64 Waddell, 1899: 40.
- 65 Waddell, 1934: 258.
- 66 Waddell, 1934: 258.
- 67 Waddell, 1924: vi.
- 68 Waddell, 1903: 17.
- 69 Waddell, [1895] 1934: xiii.
- 70 Mallory, 1999: 58, Fig. 37.
- 71 Mallory, 1999: 58, Fig. 37.
- 72 Fagan, 2001: 170.
- 73 Fagan, 2001: 168.
- 74 Renfrew, 1998: 64.
- 75 Letters bound as a volume: 19 September and 9 October 1911; 29 February and 9 March 1912, Gen 1691/2/24.
- 76 Fagan, 2001: 170.
- 77 Fagan, 2001: 169–170.
- 78 Fagan, 2001: 169.
- 79 Fagan, 2001: 168.
- 80 Fagan, 2001: 169.
- 81 Mallory, 1999: 61.

-
- 82 Mallory, 1999: 61.
 - 83 Fagan, 2001: 170.
 - 84 Waddell, 1899: 13.
 - 85 Waddell, 1895: 331.
 - 86 Waddell, 1895: 331.
 - 87 Waddell, 1905: xii.
 - 88 Waddell, 1905: v.
 - 89 The main organizations offering 'occult' theories (in England) at the time would have been the Theosophical Society, the Order of New Templars, the Anthroposophical Society and Golden Dawn, Levenda, 2002: 43.
 - 90 Waddell, 1905: 410.
 - 91 Waddell, 1905: 410.
 - 92 Waddell, 1924: v.
 - 93 Waddell, 1929: 465.
 - 94 Trautmann, 1997: 185.
 - 95 Waddell, 1935: letter, refer to Appendix IV.
 - 96 Huxley, 1890: 766.
 - 97 Waddell, 1929: 465.
 - 98 Waddell, 1929: 465.
 - 99 Waddell, 1895 (a) (b) (c), respectively: 57, 41–44, 39–41.
 - 100 Waddell, 1934: xiv.
 - 101 Waddell, 1934: xiii.
 - 102 Waddell, 1934: xiii.
 - 103 Waddell, 1934: vii.
 - 104 Waddell, 1905: 24–5.
 - 105 Waddell, 1934: xvii.
 - 106 Waddell, 1934: xvii.
 - 107 Waddell, 1905: 29–31.
 - 108 Waddell, 1927(c), Review of Ayyar, 1927.
 - 109 Hancock, 2002: 132.
 - 110 Hancock, 2002: 137.
 - 111 Hancock, 2002: 138.
 - 112 Hancock, 2002: 40.
 - 113 Hancock, 2002: 41
 - 114 Hancock, 2002: 131–147.
 - 115 Waddell, 1905: vi.
 - 116 Waddell, 1899: Preface.
 - 117 Waddell, 1899: Preface.
 - 118 Montford, 2006: 54;
 - 119 Waddell, 1905: 5–7.
 - 120 Waddell, 1905: 9.
 - 121 Waddell, 1905: vii.
 - 122 Waddell, 1905: 20.
 - 123 Press Review, *The Australasian*, June 1905.
 - 124 Waddell, 1905: vi.
 - 125 Waddell, 1905: 56.
 - 126 Waddell, 1899: viii.
 - 127 Waddell, 1905: 45–6

- 128 Waddell, 1905: 46.
- 129 Waddell, 1905: 47–8.
- 130 Waddell, 1905:48.
- 131 Waddell, 1905:48 Photo.
- 132 Sub: term for a junior army officer, Waddell, 1905: 49.
- 133 Waddell, 1905: 49.
- 134 Thomas, Jones, 2004: 640.
- 135 Waddell, 1899: 361.
- 136 Waddell, 1899: 318.
- 137 Waddell, 1903: 16.
- 138 Waddell, 1899: chapter I.
- 139 Waddell, 1899: ix.
- 140 Waddell, 1899: ix.
- 141 Waddell, 1899: 121.
- 142 Waddell, 1899: 121.
- 143 Waddell, 1899: 112.
- 144 Waddell, 1899: 121.
- 145 Waddell, 1899: 188–90.
- 146 Waddell, 1899: 193.
- 147 Waddell, 1899: 197.
- 148 Waddell, 1899: 223.
- 149 Waddell, 1899: 230.
- 150 Waddell, 1899: 285–6.
- 151 Waddell, 1899: 298.
- 152 Waddell, [1895] 1934: xxxvi.
- 153 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 154 *The Times*, 22 February 1895, Waddell, 1925, section ‘Works by the same author’.

CHAPTER TWO Excavations in Pataliputra, 1895–1903

- 1 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 2 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 3 L.A. Waddell, 1934: xxxiii–xxxv.
- 4 Waddell, 1903: 16.
- 5 Waddell, 1903: 16.
- 6 Nayanjot, 1998: 129, 130.
- 7 Waddell, 1903: 17.
- 8 Waddell, 1903: 10–16.
- 9 Waddell, 1903: 10.
- 10 Diodorus, Hist. I, II, c.4, in Waddell, 1903: 9.
- 11 Waddell, 1903: 5.
- 12 Bahn, 1996: 167.
- 13 Waddell, 1903: 11.
- 14 Waddell, 1903: 10.
- 15 Waddell, 1903: 13.
- 16 Waddell, 1903: 3.
- 17 Waddell, 1903: 2.
- 18 Hurdman, 1998: 60–61.
- 19 Waddell, 1903: 5.

- 20 Waddell, 1903: 5
- 21 Waddell, 1903: 7 footnote.
- 22 Bongard-Levin, 1986: 22.
- 23 Bongard-Levin, 1986: 23.
- 24 Waddell, 1903: 59.
- 25 Bechteler, email 13 June 2004.

CHAPTER THREE Quest for Manuscripts in Lhasa, 1903–1904

- 1 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 2 Waddell, 1905: vii.
- 3 Thomas, Jones, 2004: 640.
- 4 *Pall Mall Gazette*, 21 November 1903.
- 5 Waddell, 1905: 250.
- 6 Macdonald, 1932, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, not to be confused with *Seven Years in Tibet*, based on Heinrich Harrer's memoirs, who was befriended by the Dalai Lama and who, according to Peter Levenda, was a Nazi SS officer 'of some standing and reputation.' The 1938 SS expedition to Tibet is discussed by Peter Levenda in *Unholy Alliance* (2002), Chapter 6.
- 7 Not the same person as General Macdonald, the military commander of escort, that David Macdonald also refers to in *Twenty Years in Tibet*, p. 19.
- 8 Macdonald, 1932: 17.
- 9 Macdonald, 1932: 17.
- 10 Macdonald, 1932: 18.
- 11 Macdonald, 1932: 18.
- 12 Macdonald, 1932: 36.
- 13 Hutchinson of London in association with the National Army Museum, no date: 64.
- 14 Waddell, 1933: 151–52.
- 15 Waddell, 1905: xxxii.
- 16 Waddell, 1934: xxxiii.
- 17 Dalai Lama, letter 7 December 1933, in Waddell, 1934: xxxiii–xxxv.
- 18 Waddell, 1905: 42–3.
- 19 Waddell, 1905: 70.
- 20 Waddell, 1905: 71.
- 21 Waddell, 1905: 150.
- 22 Waddell, 1905: 150.
- 23 Waddell, 1905: 146–160.
- 24 Waddell, 1905: 155.
- 25 Waddell, 1905: 157–58.
- 26 Waddell, 1905: 160.
- 27 Waddell, 1905: 161.
- 28 Waddell, 1905: 162.
- 29 Waddell, 1905: 205–57.
- 30 Waddell, 1905: 165, Photo.
- 31 Waddell, 1905: 218, Photo.
- 32 Waddell, 1905: 200.
- 33 Waddell, 1905: 217.
- 34 Waddell, 1905: 246, map.
- 35 Waddell, 1905: 205.

- 36 Waddell, 1905: 205.
- 37 Waddell, 1905: 340.
- 38 Waddell, 1905: 208.
- 39 Waddell, 1905: 208, Photo.
- 40 Waddell, 1905: 214.
- 41 Waddell, 1905: 217, Description.
- 42 Waddell, 1905: 218, Photo of group riding.
- 43 Waddell, 1905: 219, Photo.
- 44 Waddell, 1905: 219, Photo.
- 45 Waddell, 1905: 219.
- 46 For more details please refer to Waddell, 1905: 221.
- 47 Waddell, 1905: 222–23.
- 48 Waddell, 1905: 225.
- 49 Waddell, 1905: 226.
- 50 Waddell, 1905: 226–28.
- 51 Waddell, 1905: 226–28.
- 52 Waddell, 1905: 226–28.
- 53 Waddell, 1905: 236.
- 54 Waddell, 1905: 245.
- 55 Waddell, 1905: 247–48.
- 56 Please refer to a photo, Special Collections: A63/22/1, 2.
- 57 Waddell, 1905: 249–54.
- 58 Waddell, 1905: facing 252.
- 59 Waddell, 1905: 283.
- 60 Waddell, 1905: 282, Photo.
- 61 Waddell, 1905: 291.
- 62 It may be on this occasion that the photograph published in *The Army in India 1850–1914 – a Photographic Record* was taken.
- 63 Waddell, 1905: 293.
- 64 Waddell, 1905: 296, Photo of the Convent.
- 65 Waddell, 1905: 297.
- 66 Waddell, 1905: 297.
- 67 Waddell, 1905: 449–50, Appendix I.
- 68 Lobsang Rampa claimed to be a Tibetan high lama before his transmigration into the body of a Devonshire man, in *The Third Eye* (1956).
- 69 Waddell, 1905: 2.
- 70 Waddell, 1905: 2.
- 71 Waddell, 1905: 323.
- 72 Waddell, 1905: 330–419.
- 73 Waddell, 1905: 331.
- 74 Waddell, 1905: 336.
- 75 Waddell, 1905: 338, Photo.
- 76 Waddell, 1905: 341.
- 77 Waddell, 1905: 368, 369, Photo.
- 78 Waddell, 1905: Sketch facing 376.
- 79 Waddell, 1905: 410
- 80 Macdonald, 1932: 40.
- 81 *The Homeward Mail*, 1 April 1905, Special Collections: MS Gen 1691/1/1–5.

- 82 *The Contemporary Review*, June 1905.
- 83 *The Australasian*, June 1905.
- 84 *The Times Literary Supplement*, 1 March 1905.
- 85 *The Times Literary Supplement*, 1 March 1905.
- 86 Waddell, 1905: xii.
- 87 *The Times Literary Supplement*, 31 March 1905.
- 88 Waddell, 1934, Preface to 2nd edition.
- 89 Waddell, 1934: xxviii–xxx.
- 90 Waddell, 1934: xxviii.
- 91 Waddell's spelling.
- 92 Waddell, 1934: xxxi.
- 93 Waddell, 1934: xxxi.
- 94 Waddell, 1905: 29.
- 95 Waddell, 1905: 21.
- 96 Waddell, 1905: 33.
- 97 Waddell, 1905: 35.
- 98 Waddell, 1905: 35.
- 99 Waddell, 1905: 35.

CHAPTER FOUR Sumerian, Decipherment, and 'Shinar'

- 1 Hooker, letter dated 9 September 1905.
- 2 Double exclamation marks by Waddell.
- 3 Clark: letter in Special Collections.
- 4 Dr. Clare Harris mentioned the fact that Waddell taught Tibetan at the University College of London from 1906–8 in an email, 13 April, 2004.
- 5 Archive: List of Fellows and addresses from 1894 to 1937, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Waddell was a fellow from 1891.
- 6 Waddell, 1924: vi, Preface dated 24 January 1924.
- 7 Waddell, 1929: 235.
- 8 Waddell, 1922.
- 9 Waddell, 1927(a): xv–xvi.
- 10 Bahn, 1996: 148.
- 11 Waddell, 1927(b): 4–5.
- 12 Waddell, 1927(b): 6–8.
- 13 Waddell, 1927(b): 7.
- 14 Waddell, 1927(b): facing p. 14 and 54; please refer to Illustrations, Plate III.
- 15 Waddell, 1927(b): 15.
- 16 Waddell, 1927(b): 16.
- 17 Renfrew, 1998: 175.
- 18 Waddell, 1927(b): 56–57.
- 19 Waddell, 1927(b): facing p. 14 and 54.
- 20 Kent, 1925: 173.
- 21 Waddell, 1924: 52–66.
- 22 Renfrew, 1998: 64.
- 23 Renfrew, 1998: 64.
- 24 Renfrew, 1998: 65.
- 25 Bahn, 1996: 172.
- 26 MS Gen 1691/2/24 in Special Collections.

- 27 MS Gen 1691/2/24.
- 28 Gen 1691/2/24.
- 29 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 1
- 30 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 2
- 31 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 3
- 32 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 5.
- 33 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 6.
- 34 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 7.
- 35 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 96.
- 36 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 44.
- 37 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 17.
- 38 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 20.
- 39 Adkins, 2004: xxi.
- 40 Waddell, 1927: xv–xix.
- 41 Waddell, 1927(a): ix–x.
- 42 Waddell, 1927(a): xv–xix.
- 43 Waddell, 1927(a): xi.
- 44 Waddell, 1927(a): xv–xix.
- 45 Adkins, 2004: 75.
- 46 Adkins, 2004: 335.
- 47 Waddell, 1927(a): xv–xix.
- 48 Waddell, 1927(a): xv–xix.
- 49 Waddell, 1927(a): xv–xix.
- 50 Adkins, 2004: 365.
- 51 Waddell, 1927(a): xv–xix.
- 52 Adkins, 2004: 365.
- 53 Waddell, 1927(a): xv–xix.
- 54 Sayce, no date: 417.
- 55 Sayce, no date: 417.
- 56 Waddell, 1927(a): xv.
- 57 Sayce, no date: 416.
- 58 Sayce, no date: 420.
- 59 Sayce, no date: 421.
- 60 Langdon, *Cambridge Ancient History*, in Waddell, 1925(a): x.
- 61 Waddell, 1927(a): xv–xix.
- 62 Waddell, 1925(a): x.
- 63 Waddell, 1929: 2
- 64 Waddell, 1929: facing 2, plate II.
- 65 Waddell, 1929: 4.
- 66 Waddell, 1929: 3.
- 67 Childe, 1934: 150.
- 68 Childe, 1934: 19.
- 69 Childe, 1934: 19.
- 70 Childe, 1926: 16–18.
- 71 Childe, 1926: 19.
- 72 Childe, 1926: 23.
- 73 Childe, 1926: 19.
- 74 Waddell, 1927(a): xv–xiv.

- 75 Waddell, 1929: 6
- 76 Waddell, 1929: 6.
- 77 Waddell, 1927(a): xii.
- 78 Waddell, 1927(a): viii.
- 79 Budge, letter dated 25 May 1915, in Special Collections.
- 80 Budge, letter: MS Gen 1691/3/10.
- 81 Special Collections: WB284.
- 82 General Correspondence Archive (A18), Royal Anthropological Institute, Council minutes, 2 December 1913, f.295.
- 83 Grave Memorial reference IV.J9.
- 84 CWGC: Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Casualty Details and Medal card of Waddell, Frank A, London Regiment 5153, catalogue reference WO 372/20, records created by the War Office, Armed forces, Judge Advocate General, and related bodies, in The National Archives, DocumentsOnline, Image Details, website: 1 of 2.
- 85 First World War.com – Battles – the Battle of the Somme, 1916, website: 1 of 5.
- 86 The National Archives, Documents Online, Image Details, website: 1 of 2.
- 87 Waddell, 1917, *Asiatic Review*, referred to in Waddell, 1924: 197f and Preface.
- 88 Archive on Correspondents (A18), Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: f.405.
- 89 Wenham, 1987: 234.
- 90 Waddell, 1922, Extract of letter reproduced in Appendix II.
- 91 Waddell, 12 August 1922: p.3 of 9.
- 92 Wenham, 1987: 242.
- 93 Waddell, letter dated 12 August 1922: 6 of 9.
- 94 Waddell, 1922: 9 of 9.
- 95 Barton, 1923: 253.
- 96 Sayce, letter: MS Gen 1691/3/141.
- 97 Sayce, letter: MS Gen 1691/3/140.
- 98 Jones, 2004: 477.
- 99 Footnote: 'LSG 1911, ii' (Langdon's Sumerian Grammar, 1911) in Waddell, 1927(a): x.
- 100 Waddell, 1927(a): x.
- 101 Waddell, 1927(a): ix–x.
- 102 Kramer, 1963, quote, in Jacobsen, 1971: 215–225.
- 103 Adkins, 2004: 367.
- 104 Waddell, 1927(a): xxvii.
- 105 Cowan, 1971: 221–225.
- 106 Durbin, 1971: 217.

CHAPTER FIVE Decoding the Dragon and Rise of Man (*The British Edda*)

- 1 Waddell, 1930: xl.
- 2 Thury, Devinney, 2005: 64.
- 3 Waddell, 1930: 295.
- 4 Waddell, 1930: 295.
- 5 Waddell, 1930: 295.
- 6 Waddell, 1930: 17.
- 7 Waddell, 1930: 68–69.

- 8 Watkins, 1995: viii.
- 9 Watkins, 1995: 10.
- 10 Wenham, 1987: 84.
- 11 Waddell, 1930: 82
- 12 Waddell, 1930: 122.
- 13 Waddell, 1930: 128.
- 14 Waddell, 1930: 127.
- 15 Waddell, 1930: 127.
- 16 Waddell, 1930: 127–128.
- 17 Waddell, 1930: 303.
- 18 Gimbutas, 1999: 124.
- 19 Wenham, 1987: xliii.
- 20 Waddell, 1930: 306.
- 21 Wenham, 1987: 104.
- 22 Waddell, 1929: 152.
- 23 Waddell, 1929: 152–53.
- 24 Waddell, 1925: 9, Fig. 5.
- 25 Waddell, 1929: 153.
- 26 Waddell, 1929: 153.
- 27 Waddell, 1930: 263.
- 28 Waddell, 1930: 129.
- 29 Waddell, 1930: xlii.
- 30 Waddell, 1930: 288.
- 31 Waddell, 1929: xlii
- 32 Waddell, 1930: 133–142.
- 33 Waddell, 1930: 133–142.
- 34 Waddell, 1930: lxviii.
- 35 Waddell, 1930: xliv.
- 36 Waddell, 1930: 293.
- 37 Waddell, 1930: 288.
- 38 Waddell, 1929: 24, Fig. 12.
- 39 Waddell, 1929: 25, Fig. 13.
- 40 Waddell, 1930 28–30.
- 41 Waddell, 1930: lxiii.
- 42 Waddell, 1930: 17.
- 43 Wenham, 1987: xxxix.
- 44 Waddell, 1930: 1.
- 45 Waddell, 1930: 264.
- 46 Waddell, 1930: 266.
- 47 Waddell, 1930: xliv.
- 48 Waddell, 1930: xliii.
- 49 Waddell, 1930: 191, Fig. 117.
- 50 Waddell, 1930: 198.
- 51 Watkins, 1995: lii.
- 52 Cotterell, 1999: 60.
- 53 C. Watkins, 1995: lii.
- 54 Cotterell, 1999: 60.
- 55 Watkins, 1995: 298.

-
- 56 Watkins, 1995: 431–32.
 - 57 Watkins, 1995: 298.
 - 58 Waddell, 1930: 303.
 - 59 Waddell, 1930: 303.
 - 60 Waddell, 1930: 302.
 - 61 Waddell, 1930: 305.
 - 62 Waddell, 1930: 17.
 - 63 Waddell, 1930: 308.
 - 64 Waddell, 1930: 50.
 - 65 Waddell, 1930: 52.
 - 66 Waddell, 1930: 54.
 - 67 Waddell, 1930: 333.
 - 68 Waddell, 1930: 50.
 - 69 Waddell, 1929: xv.
 - 70 Waddell, 1929: 74.
 - 71 Waddell, 1925: 35, Fig. 5.
 - 72 Waddell, 1929: 152.
 - 73 Waddell, 1930: 330.
 - 74 Waddell, 1930: 62–64.
 - 75 Fornkvædi, 1866: 152.
 - 76 Waddell, 1930: 312.
 - 77 Waddell, 1930: 64.
 - 78 Waddell, 1930: 57.
 - 79 Waddell, 1930: 56–67.
 - 80 Waddell, 1930: 58.
 - 81 Waddell, 1930: 313.
 - 82 Waddell, 1930: 302.
 - 83 Waddell, 1930: 69.
 - 84 Waddell, 1930: 70.
 - 85 Waddell, 1930: 326.
 - 86 Waddell, 1930: 81, Fig. 58.
 - 87 Waddell, 1930: 127.
 - 88 Waddell, 1930: 129.
 - 89 Waddell, 1930: 128.
 - 90 Waddell, 1930: 84.
 - 91 Waddell, 1930: 83.
 - 92 Waddell, 1930: 84.
 - 93 Waddell, 1930: 232.
 - 94 Waddell, 1930: 86.
 - 95 Waddell, 1930: 328.
 - 96 Waddell, 1930: 88.
 - 97 Waddell, 1930: 103.
 - 98 Waddell, 1930: 103.
 - 99 Waddell, 1930: 105.
 - 100 Waddell, 1930: 106.
 - 101 Waddell, 1930: 107.
 - 102 Waddell, 1930: lxviii.
 - 103 Waddell, 1930: 147.

- 104 Waddell, 1930: 148.
- 105 Waddell, 1930: 157.
- 106 Waddell, 1930: 322.
- 107 Waddell, 1930: 173.
- 108 Waddell, 1929: 90.
- 109 Waddell, 1930: 183.
- 110 Waddell, 1930: 297.
- 111 Waddell, 1930: 175–182.
- 112 Waddell, 1930: 179.
- 113 Waddell, 1930: 175–182.
- 114 Waddell, 1930: 131.
- 115 Waddell, 1930: 183.
- 116 Waddell, 1930: 190–201.
- 117 Waddell, 1930: 206.
- 118 Waddell, 1930: 211.
- 119 Waddell, 1930: 281.
- 120 Waddell, 1930: 59.
- 121 Waddell, 1930: 65.
- 122 Waddell, 1930: 190.
- 123 Waddell, 1930: 206–209.
- 124 Waddell, 1929: 209.
- 125 Waddell, 1929: 147.

CHAPTER SIX The Phoenician Origing of the Britons

- 1 Waddell, 1929: 42.
- 2 Fine, 1983: 73.
- 3 Waddell, 1929: 25–26.
- 4 Waddell, 1929: 26.
- 5 Turville-Petre, 1951: 13.
- 6 Turville-Petre, 1951: 10.
- 7 Kent, 1925: 172.
- 8 P., 1925: 446.
- 9 P., 1925: 446.
- 10 Waddell, 1924: 216–235.
- 11 P., 1925: 446.
- 12 Waddell, 1924: 168–87.
- 13 Turville-Petre, 1951: 13.
- 14 Waddell, 1929: 9.
- 15 Morris, 1980: 21.
- 16 Morris, 1980: 21.
- 17 Morris, 1980: 10.
- 18 Morris, 1980: 20.
- 19 Morris, 1980: 10.
- 20 Waddell, 1924: 394–396.
- 21 Kent, 1925: 173.
- 22 Temple, 1925: 240.
- 23 Temple, 1925: 195.
- 24 Kent, 1925: 173.

-
- 25 Twietmeyer, 2008: 61.
 - 26 Waddell, 1924: 407–10.
 - 27 Wilkens, 1992: 9.
 - 28 P., 1925: 446.
 - 29 P., 1925: 446.
 - 30 P., 1925: 446.
 - 31 Evans, 1903: 7.
 - 32 Evans, 1903: 8.
 - 33 Roberts, 2000: lxxi.
 - 34 Evans, 1903: 21.
 - 35 Evans, 1903: 33.
 - 36 Evans, 1903: 32.
 - 37 Evans, 1903: 35.
 - 38 Evans, 1903: 4.
 - 39 Evans, 1903: 326.
 - 40 Evans, 1903: 3–4.
 - 41 Morris, 1980: 9.
 - 42 1908 is the date based on a statement as to how long Waddell had been working full-time on the problem of origin of the Aryans, in the dated Preface, Waddell, 1924: vi.
 - 43 Waddell, 1925 (a): xi
 - 44 Waddell, 1917, in Waddell, 1924: 197f, and Preface.
 - 45 Thomas, Jones, 2004: 640.
 - 46 Waddell, 1924: 5.
 - 47 Waddell, 1924: 8.
 - 48 Waddell, 1924: 6.
 - 49 Waddell, 1924: 8.
 - 50 Waddell, 1924: 6.
 - 51 Strabo: 542, 12.3.6; 551–4, in Waddell, 1924: 6.
 - 52 Waddell, 1924: 6.
 - 53 Waddell, 1924: 7, Fig. 4.
 - 54 Waddell, 1924: 7.
 - 55 Waddell, 1924: .8.
 - 56 Waddell, 1924: 9.
 - 57 Waddell, 1924: 9.
 - 58 Waddell, 1924: vi–vii.
 - 59 Temple, 1925: 141.
 - 60 Kent, 1925: 172.
 - 61 P., 1925: 446.
 - 62 Kent, 1925: 173.
 - 63 Waddell, 1924: 394–396.
 - 64 Waddell, 1924: vi–vii.
 - 65 Waddell, 1924: 236–61.
 - 66 Waddell, 1924: 289–314.
 - 67 Waddell, 1924: 33–37.
 - 68 Waddell, 1924: 3–51.
 - 69 Waddell, 1924: 52–66.
 - 70 Waddell, 1924: 9, Fig. 5.
 - 71 Kent, 1925: 173.

- 72 Kent, 1925: 173–74.
- 73 Waddell, 1924: Postscriptum.
- 74 Enthoven, Jones, 2004: 80–81.
- 75 Temple, 1925: 121.
- 76 Temple, 1925: 121.
- 77 Bahn, 1996: 152.
- 78 Bahn, 1996: 152.
- 79 Bahn, 1996: 153.
- 80 Trigger, 1980: 26.
- 81 Special Collections: q. 95.
- 82 Waddell, 1925(a): xiv-xvi.
- 83 Green, 1981: 52–53.
- 84 Waddell, 1925 (a): Conclusion.
- 85 Trigger, 1989: 157–160.
- 86 Temple, 1925: 121.
- 87 Temple, 1925: 240.
- 88 Temple, 1925: 121.
- 89 Waddell, 1929: 42.
- 90 Temple, 1925: 124.
- 91 Temple, 1925: 125.
- 92 The statement ‘right to left’ for ‘non-reversed’ is a mistake in Temple, 1925: 141.
- 93 Temple, 1925: 194.
- 94 Waddell, 1927 (b): 2–3.
- 95 Waddell, 1927 (b): 4.
- 96 Waddell, 1927 (b): 9.
- 97 Fagan, 2001: 259.
- 98 Fagan, 2001: 258.
- 99 Fagan, 2001: 182.
- 100 Fagan, 200: 182.

Chapter Seven Identification of the First Sumerian Dynasty

- 1 Waddell, 1929: 37.
- 2 Waddell, 1929: 38.
- 3 Waddell, 1929: 38.
- 4 Waddell, 1929: 38–39.
- 5 Waddell, 1929: 42–43.
- 6 Waddell, 1929:38.
- 7 Waddell, 1929: 40.
- 8 Waddell, 1929: 49.
- 9 Waddell, 1929: 41.
- 10 Waddell, 1929: 41.
- 11 Waddell, 1929: 44.
- 12 Waddell, 1929: 44.
- 13 Waddell, 1929: 44–45.
- 14 Waddell, 1929: 46.
- 15 Waddell, 1929: 47.
- 16 Waddell, 1929: 43.
- 17 Waddell, 1929: 43.

- 18 Sayce, letter dated 7 October 1924, MS Gen 1691/3/140.
- 19 Waddell, 1925 (a): 2.
- 20 Waddell, 1924: 9.
- 21 Waddell, 1924: 9.
- 22 Waddell, 1924: 13.
- 23 Waddell, 1929: 42.
- 24 Waddell, 1929: 42.
- 25 Waddell, 1925 (b): 677.
- 26 Waddell, 1925 (a): 33.
- 27 Waddell, 1925 (a): x.
- 28 Tello website.
- 29 Rusty, 2001 (site): 2.
- 30 Waddell, 1929: 124.
- 31 Waddell, 1929: 123
- 32 Waddell, 1929: 126–27.
- 33 Waddell, 1929: 124.
- 34 Waddell, 1929: 125.
- 35 Waddell, 1929: 125.
- 36 Waddell, 1929: 125.
- 37 Jacobsen, 1939: 3.
- 38 Jacobsen, 1939: 3.
- 39 Childe, 1934: 16.
- 40 Childe, 1934: 16.
- 41 Waddell, 1925 (a): 130.
- 42 Jacobsen, 1939: 128–135.
- 43 Jacobsen, 1939: 70.
- 44 Jacobsen, 1939: 57.
- 45 Jacobsen, 1939: 187–88, 190.
- 46 Jacobsen, 1939: 187–88, 190.
- 47 Jacobsen, 1939: p.3.
- 48 Rowton, 1960: 156–62.
- 49 Young, 1991: 23–25.
- 50 Waddell, 1929: 121.
- 51 Waddell, 1925 (a): x.
- 52 Waddell, 1929: 131.
- 53 Waddell, 1929: 133.
- 54 Footnote: Weld Blundell Collection at Oxford II.1, 1913, in Waddell, 1925 (a): 126–27.
- 55 Footnote: *Ibid*, 7, in Waddell, 1925 (a): 126–27.
- 56 Waddell, 1925 (a): 126–27.
- 57 Waddell, 1925 (a): xi.
- 58 Waddell, 1929: 122.
- 59 Waddell, 1929: 127.
- 60 Waddell, 1929: 129
- 61 Waddell, 1929: 140.
- 62 Waddell, 1925(a): xi.
- 63 Waddell, 1929: 127.
- 64 Waddell, 1929: 131.

- 65 Jacobsen, 1939: 2.
- 66 Rowton, 1960: 156.
- 67 Rowton, 1960: 156.
- 68 Rowton, 1960: 158.
- 69 Rowton, 1960: 158.
- 70 Rowton, 1960: 160–162.
- 71 Jacobsen, 1939: 187–88, 190.
- 72 Jacobsen, 1939: 182.
- 73 Jacobsen, 1939: 3.
- 74 Waddell, 1925 (b): 677.
- 75 Waddell, 1925 (b): 678.
- 76 Waddell, 1925 (b): 678.
- 77 Waddell, 1925 (b): 678.
- 78 Waddell, 1925 (b): 678.
- 79 Waddell, 1925 (b): 679.
- 80 Waddell, 1925 (b): 676.
- 81 Waddell, 1925 (b): 682.
- 82 Waddell, 1925 (b): 682.

CHAPTER EIGHT Ur-Nina, Ruler of the Gardens of Sumeria

- 1 There are many titles by Theophilus G. Pinches (1856–1934) in the Special Collections, University of Glasgow Library.
- 2 Waddell, 1927(a): xv–xix.
- 3 Footnote: ‘PBA 1882 on Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum and Le Louvre’ in Waddell, 1927(b): 64.
- 4 Waddell, 1927 (b): 64.
- 5 Childe, 1926: 18.
- 6 Childe, 1926: 26.
- 7 Childe, 1928: 135.
- 8 Waddell, 1922: 2nd page.
- 9 Waddell, 1929: 92.
- 10 MS Gen 1691/3/130.
- 11 Waddell, 1927 (a): xv–xix.
- 12 Waddell, 1929: 89.
- 13 Goetze, 1941: 633–634.
- 14 MS Gen 1691/3/125.
- 15 Jacobsen, 1939: 182, footnote 36.
- 16 Waddell, 1929: 92.
- 17 Waddell, 1929: 89.
- 18 Waddell, 1927 (b): 61.
- 19 Waddell, 1929: 88.
- 20 Waddell, 1929: 140.
- 21 Waddell, 1929: 91.
- 22 Waddell, 1929: 94.
- 23 Gardiner and Osborn, 2005: 223.
- 24 Gardiner and Osborn, 2005: 223.
- 25 MS Gen 1691/3/125.
- 26 Gardiner and Osborn, 2005: 223.

- 27 Waddell, 1929: 69 with some additions from 1929: 140.
- 28 Waddell, 1929: 90.
- 29 Waddell, 1929: 94.
- 30 Waddell, 1925 (b): 678.
- 31 L.A. Waddell, 1925 (b): 678.
- 32 Waddell, 1929: 104 (in 'Sumerian Inscription Names' column).
- 33 Waddell, 1929: 89.
- 34 Waddell, 1925 (a): 35.
- 35 Waddell, 1929: 109.
- 36 Waddell, 1925 (a): 34.
- 37 Waddell, 1925 (a): 35, Fig. 5.
- 38 Waddell, 1925 (a): 34, x.
- 39 Footnote: M.702-English "Me" and Sanskrit "Ma", in Waddell, 1925: 35.
- 40 Footnote: *Ib.*, 1337, Waddell, 1925: 35.
- 41 Footnote: B.9179, Waddell, 1925: 35.
- 42 Footnote: *Ib.*, 4032, Waddell, 1925: 35.
- 43 Waddell, 1925 (a): 35.
- 44 Illustration of the seal reproduced with the caption: Seal of Mudgala, Lord of Edin, Minister of Lord Ba'rama-has'a Uruas' King of Edin – the Vedic B'arm-as'wa Haryas'wa, about 3,100 BC from Sumerian seaport of Sirlapur on Persian Gulf – After Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux, Musée du Louvre, in Waddell, 1925 (a): 35 Fig. 5. Please refer to the Illustrations.
- 45 Waddell, 1929: 109, Fig. 19.
- 46 Waddell, 1925 (a): 34.
- 47 Waddell, 1925 (a): 34
- 48 Waddell, 1925 (a): 33
- 49 Waddell, 1925 (a): 33.
- 50 Waddell, 1925 (a): 123–24, Appendix I.
- 51 Waddell, 1924: 5.
- 52 Waddell, 1925 (b): 676.
- 53 Waddell, 1925 (b): 676.
- 54 Waddell, 1929: 104.
- 55 Waddell, 1929: 88–101.
- 56 Waddell, 1929: 68.
- 57 Waddell, 1929: 56.
- 58 Waddell, 1929: 71.
- 59 Waddell, 1929: 71.
- 60 Waddell, 1929: 72.
- 61 Waddell, 1929: 77.
- 62 Waddell, 1929: 77.
- 63 Waddell, 1929: 73.

CHAPTER NINE Menes was Sumerian

- 1 Waddell, 1929: xv.
- 2 Waddell, 1929: xxv.
- 3 Casillo, 1985: 71.
- 4 Waddell, 1929: xxxv, on Contents of pp. 196–229.
- 5 Waddell, 1929: xxxvii, on Contents of pp. 256–295.

- 6 Waddell, 1929: xxxiv–xxxvi, on fig. 36, p. 285.
- 7 Waddell, 1929: xvii.
- 8 Childe, 1934: 4.
- 9 Childe, 1934: 8.
- 10 Childe, 1934: 5.
- 11 Childe, 1934: 6.
- 12 Waddell, 1927 (b): Plates I & II, p.5.
- 13 Waddell, 1927(b): 8–9.
- 14 Waddell, 1927(b): 12.
- 15 Waddell, 1927 (b): 12–13.
- 16 Waddell, 1929: 230.
- 17 Waddell, 1929: 232.
- 18 Waddell, 1929: 235.
- 19 Waddell, 1929: 237.
- 20 Waddell, 1929: 237.
- 21 Waddell, 1929: 240.
- 22 Waddell, 1929: 240.
- 23 Waddell, 1929: 246.
- 24 Waddell, 1929: 246.
- 25 Waddell, 1929: 246.
- 26 Waddell, 1929: 249.
- 27 Waddell, 1929: 249.
- 28 Waddell, 1929: 250.
- 29 Waddell, 1929: 251.
- 30 Waddell, 1929: 357.
- 31 Waddell, 1929: 358.
- 32 Waddell, 1929: 358.
- 33 Waddell, 1929: 358.
- 34 Waddell, 1929: 361.
- 35 Waddell, 1929: 366.
- 36 Waddell, 1929:369.

CHAPTER TEN Archaeology of the Indus Valley Civilization

- 1 Bacon, 1971: 213.
- 2 Parpola, 1994: 6.
- 3 Parpola, 1994: 6, Fig. 1.2.
- 4 Bahn, 1996: 254.
- 5 Bahn, 1996: 171.
- 6 Parpola, 1994: 6.
- 7 Possehl, 1979: 227.
- 8 Bahn, 1996: 254.
- 9 Parpola, 1994: 6.
- 10 Bahn, 1996: 256.
- 11 Parpola, 1994: 6.
- 12 Mackay, 1948: 17.
- 13 Mackay, 1948: 35.
- 14 Mackay, 1948: 18.
- 15 Mackay (ed.), 1948: xi–xii.

- 16 Mackay (ed.), 1948: xii.
- 17 Mackay, 1948: 10.
- 18 Mackay, 1948: 14.
- 19 Mackay, 1948: 15.
- 20 Mackay, 1948: 12.
- 21 Mackay, 1948: 6–7.
- 22 Mackay, 1948: 105.
- 23 Mackay, 1948: 121.
- 24 Mackay, 1948: 31.
- 25 Mackay (ed.), 1948: xi.
- 26 Parpola, 1994: 22.
- 27 Parpola, 1994: 21.
- 28 Parpola, 1994: 16.
- 29 Mackay, 1948: 5.
- 30 Mackay, 1948: 11.
- 31 Mackay (ed.), 1948: xi.
- 32 Parpola, 1994: 15.
- 33 Parpola, 1994: 9.
- 34 Possehl (ed.), 1979: 10.
- 35 Mackay, 1948: 11.
- 36 Mackay, 1948: 11.
- 37 Mackay, 1948: 10; and Possehl, 1979: 10.
- 38 Mackay, 1925.
- 39 Mackay, 1934.
- 40 Mackay, 1948: 11.
- 41 McCown, 1954: 179.
- 42 D. Mackay, 1948: xi.
- 43 Mackay, 1948: 4.
- 44 Starr: 211
- 45 O'Flaherty, 1970: 280.
- 46 Fairservis, Jr., 1979: 51.
- 47 O'Flaherty, 1970: 281.
- 48 Bahn, 1996: xii.
- 49 O'Flaherty, 1970: 282.
- 50 Possehl, 1979: 9.
- 51 Hancock, 2001: 98.
- 52 Wheeler, 1960: 101.
- 53 Wheeler, 1960: 101.
- 54 Wheeler, 1960: 101.
- 55 Wheeler, 1960: 101.
- 56 Wheeler, 1960: 102.
- 57 Wheeler, 1960: 100–1.
- 58 Wheeler, 1960: 100–1.
- 59 McCown, 1954: 176.
- 60 Childe, 1934: 224.
- 61 Childe, 1934: 224.
- 62 Waddell, 1925 (a): xvix–xv.
- 63 Fagan, 1996: 200.

- 64 Jayaram, 1997: 2, in *The Hindu*, 16 January 1997 (viewed 20/03/2005).
- 65 O'Flaherty, 1970: 284.
- 66 Robinson, 2002: 268.
- 67 Fagan, 2001: 248.
- 68 Bacon, 1971: 215.
- 69 Bacon, 1971: 215.
- 70 Robinson, 2002: 265.

CHAPTER ELEVEN Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered

- 1 Bahn, 1996: 256.
- 2 Illustrations in Waddell, 1925 (a): 5, 18–19.
- 3 Posselh, 1979: 225–227, Plate III.
- 4 Bahn, 1996: 254.
- 5 Waddell, 1925 (a): 5, Fig. I.
- 6 Waddell, 1929: 246.
- 7 Waddell 1929:249. Gin was the second ruler of the Sumerian Dynasty also referred to as Bakus in the Kish Chronicle. Ukusi was is father's title. The Sun-Hawk was the Eagle emblem of Boghazkoy.
- 8 Waddell, 1929: 246. Please refer to examples in Illustrations.
- 9 In the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 921, M. S. Drower states that this alphabet was discovered at Sinai in 1905. Petrie's controversial theory of the derivation of hieroglyphs was however in relation to inscriptions discovered at Abydos.
- 10 Waddell, 1925 (a): vi.
- 11 Waddell, 1929: x.
- 12 Langdon, 1933: reproduced in Appendix I.
- 13 Langdon, 1933.
- 14 Langdon, 1933.
- 15 Possehl, 1979: 9–11.
- 16 Possehl, 1979: 10
- 17 Mackays, 1948: 10–11; Possehl, 1979: 9–11.
- 18 Mackay, 1948: 11.
- 19 Childe, 1934: xv.
- 20 Childe, 1934: xvi.
- 21 Childe, 1934: 224.
- 22 Petrie, letter 17 July 1925, MS Gen 1791/8/123.
- 23 Thureau-Dangin, letter 12 June 1925.
- 24 *Who Was Who*, Vol. IV: 69.
- 25 *Who Was Who*, Vol. IV: 69.
- 26 Barton, 1926 (a): 81.
- 27 Barton, 1926 (a): 82.
- 28 Barton, 1926 (a): 81–82.
- 29 Waddell, 1927 (b): 15.
- 30 Waddell, 1927 (b): 15.
- 31 Waddell, letter 12 August 1922.
- 32 Waddell, 1925 (a): xv.
- 33 Barton, 1925:2.
- 34 Clay, 1925: 120.
- 35 Clay, 1925: 119.

- 36 Barton, 1925: 1.
- 37 Clay, 1925: 120.
- 38 Clay, 1925: 120.
- 39 Clay, 1925: 121.
- 40 Clay, 1925: 121.
- 41 Waddell, 1925 (a): xv.
- 42 Robinson, 2002: 268.
- 43 Fagan, 2001: 248.
- 44 Robinson, 2002: 265.
- 45 Parpola, 1994: 4.
- 46 Robinson, 2002: 248.
- 47 Parpola, 1994: 346, and Robinson, 2002: 248.
- 48 Parpola, 1994: 38.
- 49 Parpola, 1994: 38.
- 50 Parpola, 1994: 38.
- 51 Parpola, 1994: 60.
- 52 Parpola, 1994: 58.
- 53 Waddell, 1925 (a): Appendix I; 1925 (b): 678.
- 54 Parpola, 1994: 62, 63.
- 55 Parpola, 1994: 53.
- 56 Parpola, 1994: 35.
- 57 Sawyer, 1985: 79–94.
- 58 Sawyer, 1985: 79, 80.
- 59 Vegas: in Sawyer's text, 1985: should read 'Vedas'.
- 60 Sawyer, 1985: 81.
- 61 Please refer to Parpola, 1986: 399–417.
- 62 Zide, Zvelebil, 1976, back cover.
- 63 Zide, Zvelebil, 1976: 62.
- 64 Zide, Zvelebil, 1976: 97.
- 65 Zide, Zvelebil, 1976: 112.
- 66 Parpola, 1994: 38.
- 67 Parpola, 1994: 38.
- 68 Wilson, 1974:1.
- 69 Marshall, 1931.
- 70 Wilson, 1974: 43.
- 71 Possehl, 1979: 9.
- 72 Renfrew, 1998: 189.
- 73 Renfrew, 1998: 125.
- 74 Renfrew, 1998: 187.
- 75 Parpola, 1994: 159.
- 76 Parpola, 1986: 399–417.
- 77 Renfrew, 1998: 185.
- 78 Fagan, 2001: 248.
- 79 Renfrew, 1998: 185.
- 80 Frawley, 1997, Review of Jha, Rajaram, 2000, *The Hindu*, 16 January 1997.
- 81 Frawley, 2006: website.
- 82 Frawley, 2006: website
- 83 Renfrew, 1998: 182.

- 84 Renfrew, 1998: 205.
- 85 Renfrew, 1998: 271.
- 86 Renfrew, 1998: 209.
- 87 Kak, 1992: 3 (site viewed on 20/03/2005).
- 88 Kak, 1992: 8.
- 89 Danino, 2000, Review of Jha, Rajaram, 2000, in *The Organiser*, 12 November 2000.
- 90 Jayaram, 1997: 2.
- 91 Jayaram, 1997: 3.
- 92 Waddell, 1929: x.
- 93 Waddell, 1925 (a): 50.

CHAPTER TWELVE Findings about the 'Second Edin'

- 1 Waddell, 1925 (a): 7.
- 2 Waddell, 1925 (a): 22.
- 3 Wilson, 1974: 39.
- 4 Wilson, 1974: 40–41.
- 5 Waddell, 1925 (a): 22.
- 6 Waddell, 1925 (a): 5.
- 7 Waddell, 1925 (a): 22.
- 8 Waddell, 1925 (a): vii.
- 9 Waddell, 1925 (a): v–vii.
- 10 Waddell, 1925 (a): vi.
- 11 Waddell, 1925 (a): 112.
- 12 Ayyar, 1927, in Special Collections: Waddell 102.
- 13 Waddell, 1925 (a): 105.
- 14 Waddell, 1925 (a): 33.
- 15 Waddell, 1925 (a): 34.
- 16 Waddell, 1925 (a): 28.
- 17 Waddell, 1925 (a): 50.
- 18 Waddell, 1925 (a): 50.
- 19 Mackay, 1948: xi.
- 20 Mackay, 1948: 5.
- 21 Waddell, 1925 (a): 102.
- 22 Waddell, 1925 (a): 72.
- 23 Waddell, 1925 (a): 50.
- 24 Waddell, 1925 (a): 72.
- 25 Waddell, 1925 (a): 72.
- 26 Waddell, 1927 (b): p.4.
- 27 Waddell, 1929: xvii.
- 28 Waddell, 1929: xvii.
- 29 Waddell, 1929: 265.
- 30 Waddell, 1925 (a): 127.
- 31 Waddell, 1925 (a): 127.
- 32 Waddell, 1925 (a): Appendix III
- 33 Waddell, 1925 (a): 128.
- 34 Waddell, 1925 (a): 128.
- 35 Waddell, 1929: 119.
- 36 Waddell, 1924: 247, Fig. 36.

- 37 Waddell, 1925 (a): 126.
- 38 Waddell, 1925 (a): Appendix I.
- 39 Waddell, 1925 (a): 127.
- 40 Waddell, 1925 (a): 127.
- 41 Waddell, 1925 (a): 128.
- 42 Waddell, 1930: 66–67.
- 43 Green, 1987: 16.
- 44 Talmon, 1987 (read in 1995).
- 45 Green, 1987: 16.
- 46 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 16.
- 47 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 17.
- 48 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 44.
- 49 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 45.
- 50 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 44.
- 51 Waddell, 1930: 183.
- 52 Verbrugghe, Wickersham, 1996: 13.
- 53 Waddell, 1929: 144–45.
- 54 Waddell, 1929: 119.
- 55 Waddell, 1925 (a): 125 Appendix II.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN Decipherment of the Seals

- 1 More details in Waddell, 1925 (a): Chapter VI.
- 2 For details on ‘slave girl’ please refer to Waddell, 1925 (a): 52.
- 3 Waddell, 1925 (a): 58.
- 4 Waddell, 1925: 59.
- 5 Waddell, 1925: 63.
- 6 Waddell, 1925 (a): 72.
- 7 Waddell, 1925 (a).

EPILOGUE

- 1 MS Gen 1691/2/7/4.
- 2 Press cutting sent to him by the International Press Cutting Bureau in Special Collections: MS Gen 1691/15/6.
- 3 MS Gen 1691/15/8.
- 4 Stamp, 1995.
- 5 *Who Was Who*, Vol. III: 1395.
- 6 Pratt, letter, Special Collections: MR 54/80.
- 7 Mr. P. Asplin wrote ‘the portrait of Waddell (MS Gen 1691/10/1) is a small sketch. We think there should be something more substantial as it warranted special mention at the time of the bequest.’ Email dated 30 January 2006.
- 8 Karl Gruner believed the ‘bowl’ was in the British Museum but not displayed. He wrote: ‘Dr. Finkel of the Western Asiatic Department had examined it; it was locked in a safe.’ Email dated 8 April 2004.
- 9 Special Collections: MS Gen 1691/3/125.
- 10 Special Collections: MR 54/79.

APPENDIXES

- 1 Langdon, letter dated 10 October, 1933.
- 2 Waddell, letter/article dated 12 August 1922: 2 of 9.
- 3 Waddell, letter/article dated 12 August 1922: 2.
- 4 Special Collections: MR 54/80.
- 5 Special Collections: MR 54/80.
- 6 Bechteler, email dated 13 June 2004.
- 7 Please refer to Weston, 1990: 6–11; Papers of L.A. Waddell accessioned as MS17-19-1939 accompanied the Collection of more than 700 volumes bequeathed July 39, Acc. No.: 1486.
- 8 Waddell: 1935.

Bibliography

- Adkins, Lesley, 2004, *Empires of the Plain*, London: HarperCollins.
- Bacon, Edward, 1971, *Archaeology - Discoveries in the 1960s*, London: Cassell.
- Bahn, Paul G. (ed.), 1996, *Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology*, Cambridge University Press.
- Baigent, M., Leigh, R., and Lincoln, H., 1982, *The Holy Blood and the Holy Grail*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- Barker, M., 1987, *The Older Testament*, SPCK.
- Barton, G. A., 1923, Review of Waddell, L.A., 1922, Historical Origin and economic Purposes of the Tower of Babel and the Name 'Shinar' in Babylonian Inscriptions, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 43, pp. 251–53.
- , 1925, The Place of the Amorites in the Civilization of Western Asia, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 45, pp. 1–38.
- , 1926 (a), On the So-called Sumerian-Indian Seals, *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Vol. 8, pp. 79–95.
- , 1926 (b), Review of Gadd, C.J., *A Sumerian Reading Book*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 46, p. 136.
- Baugh, A., Cable, T., 1951, *A History of the English Language*, London: Routledge.
- Bauval, R. and Hancock, G., 1996, *Keeper of Genesis*, London: Heinemann.
- Bellamy, H. S., 1943, *Built Before the Flood - the Problem of the Tiahuanaco Ruins*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Bellamy, H. S. and Allan, P., 1956, *The Calendar of Tiahuanaco*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Berlitz, C. 1984, *Atlantis - the Lost Continent Revealed*, London: Macmillan.
- Black, J. and Green, A., 1998, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: an Illustrated Dictionary*, London.
- Blavatsky, H. P., 1988, *The Secret Doctrine*, Theosophical University Press, California; original edition: 1888.
- Bogucki, P., 1995, Review of *The Roots of Ethnicity, Archaeology, Genetics, and the Origins of Europe*, by Renfrew, C., *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 99, No. 2 (April), pp. 359–360.
- Bonfante, G. and Bonfante, L., 1983, *The Etruscan Language: an Introduction*, Manchester.
- Bonfante, L., 2000, Etruscan History gets a Rewrite, *Times Higher Educational Supplement*, May, Vol.19, pp. 22–23.
- Bongard-Levin, G. M., 1986, *Maurya India*, Oriental University Press.
- Bonta, S. C., 1996, *Topics in the Study of the Indus Valley Script*, MA thesis for Brigham Young University.
- Bosh-Gimpera, P., 1961, *Les Indo-Européens, Problème Archéologique*, Paris: Payot.
- Buckland, C. E. (ed.), 2004, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, London: S. Sonnenschein.
- Budge, E. A. W., 1925, *The Rise and Progress of Assyriology*, Martin Hopkinson.
- , 1922, *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, London: British Museum.
- , 1904, *The Gods of the Egyptians, or Studies in Egyptian Mythology*, London: Methuen & Co.

- , *The Babylonian Story of the Deluge and the Epic of Gilgamesh with An Account of the Royal Libraries of Nineveh*, London: The Trustees, Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum.
- Burrow, T., 1969, Dravidian and the Decipherment of the Indus Script, *Antiquity*, Vol. 43, pp. 274–78.
- Brown, C., 1996, *Cosmic Voyage*, London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Brown, George W., 1927, 'The Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered by L.A. Waddell' (Review), *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 47, pp. 284–285.
- Bryce, Trevor, 1999, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford: Clarendon, Oxford University Press.
- Casillo, R., 1985, Ezra Pound, L.A. Waddell & the Aryan Tradition of the Cantos, *Journal Dedicated to Ezra Pound Scholarship: MLS Providence*, RI, Spring 15, Vol. 2, pp. 65–81.
- Cassidy, K., 2002, Scholars Build Internet Dictionary to Unravel Sumerian Language, *Near-Eastern Archaeology*, Vol.65, p.4.
- Chadwick, J. and Clauson, G., 1969, The Indus Script Deciphered, *Antiquity*, Vol. 43, pp. 200–7
- Chakrabarti, D. K., 2003, *Archaeology in the Third World: a History of Indian Archaeology since 1947*, New Delhi.
- Charles, R. H., 1913, *The Apocrypha & Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. II, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Charlesworth, J. H., 1985, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha & New Testament*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Childe, V. G., 1926, *The Aryans: a Study of Indo-European Origins*, London: Kegan Paul Trench, Trubner & Co.
- , 1928, *The Most Ancient East*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- , 1934, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.
- Clay, Albert T., 1925, A Rejoinder to Professor George A. Barton, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 45, pp. 119–151.
- Coe, M. D., 1995, On not Breaking the Indus Code, *Antiquity*, Vol. 69: 393–395.
- Cohen, G. M., Joukowsky, M. S. (eds), 2004, *Breaking Ground*, USA: Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Collins, A., 1998, *Gods of Eden*, London: Headline.
- , 1996, *From the Ashes of Angels: the Forbidden Legacy of a Fallen Race* London: Michael Joseph, Penguin Books (UK).
- Contenau, G., 1948, *La Civilisation des Hittites et des Hurrites du Mitanni*, Paris: Payot.
- Cotterell, A. (ed.), 1999, *The Encyclopedia of World Mythology*, Minnesota: Paragon.
- Cowan, H. K. J., Reply to Andras Zakar, 1971, Sumerian-Ural-Altaic Affinities, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 12, No. 2, April, pp. 215–225.
- Cullen, Tracey, 1996, Review Article: Contributions to Feminism in Archaeology, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 100.
- Cunliffe, B. (ed.), 1994, *The Oxford Illustrated Prehistory of Europe*, Oxford University Press.
- Daniel, G., and Paintin, E., 1978, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, London: Macmillan.
- Daniken, E. von, 1969, *Chariots of the Gods*, London: Souvernir Press.
- Danino, M., Review of Jha, N. and Rajaram, N.S., 2000, *The Deciphered Indus Script: Methodology, Readings, Interpretations*, New Delhi, in *The Organiser*, 12 November 2000.

- Dawson, W. (ed.), 1951, *Who's Who in Egyptology*, Egypt Exploration Society.
- Dickinson, O., 1994, *The Aegean Bronze Age*, Cambridge University Press.
- Donnelly, I., no date (first edition in 1880s), *Atlantis: the Antideluvian World*, United States: Indy/Publish.com, McLean, Virginia.
- Drower, Margaret S., 1985, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, London: Victor Gollancz.
- Drower, Margaret S., 2004, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 43.
- Dumézil, G., 1973, *Gods of the Ancient Northmen*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Durbin, M. A., Reply to Andras Zakar, 1971, Sumerian-Ural-Altaic Affinities, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 12, No. 2, April, pp. 215–225.
- Dyson, Stephen L., 1994, Review Article: Archaeological Lives, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 98, No. 1 (January).
- Easterbrook, N., More C., Penfold R. (eds), 2003, *Master Seafarers, the Phoenicians and the Greeks*.
- Eisenman, R., 1996, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the First Christians*, Shaftesbury: Element Books.
- Elfenbein, J., 1998, Review of Parpola, Deciphering the Indus Script, *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 14, pp. 185–188.
- Eliade, M., 1987, *The Encyclopedia of Religion* Vol. 6:295, London: Macmillan Publishing Co.
- Enthoven, R. E., Jones, M. G. M. (Rev), 2004, 'R. C. Temple' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 54, pp. 80–81.
- Evans, Sebastian (transl./ed.), 1903, (Monmouth, G. of) *Histories of the Kings of Britain*, London: J. M. Dent & Co.
- Fagan, Brian M. (ed.), 2001, *The Seven Great Mysteries of the Ancient World – Unlocking Secrets of Past Civilizations*, Illustrated Encyclopedia, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Fairservis, W. A. (Jr.), 1979, The Harappan Civilization – New Evidence and More Theory, in Posselth, G., 1979, *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, India: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
- Fairservis, W. A. (Jr), 1983, The Script of the Indus Valley Civilization, *Scientific American*, Vol. 248, pp. 44–52 (March).
- , 1992, *The Harappan Civilization and its Writing – a model for the Decipherment of the Indus Script*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Feigl, E., no date, Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Anatolia, *A Myth of Terror*, Illustrated Exposé, Salsburg: no publishers.
- Festugière, R. P., 1950, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, Paris: Belles Lettres.
- Fine, John V. A., 1983, *The Ancient Greeks: a Critical History*, Cambridge: Bellknapp Press, Harvard University Press.
- Finkelberg, M., 2001, the Language of Linear A: Greek, Semitic or Anatolian, *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Monograph Series 38, pp. 81–105, Washington D.C.
- Fodor, I., 1976, Are the Sumerians and the Hungarians or the Uralic Peoples Related? *Current Anthropology* Vol. 17, No.1, pp. 115–118.
- Fontenrose, J., 1983, The Building of the City Walls: Troy and Asgard, *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 96, No. 379 (January), pp. 53–63.
- Fornkvædi, N., 1866, *The Edda of Sæmund the Learned from the Old Norse or Icelandic with a mythological index*, London: Trübner & Co.
- Frawley, David, 1991, *Gods, Sages and Kings*, Salt Lake City: Passage Press.
- , Rajaram, N. S., 1995, *Vedic Aryans & the Origin of Civilization: a Literary and Scientific Perspective*, Quebec.

- , 1997, *Advances in Indian History*, a Review of Jha, N. and Rajaram, N. S., 2000, *The Deciphered Indus Script: Methodology, Readings, Interpretations*, in *The Hindu*, 16th January 1997.
- Friedrich, P., 1991, Review of *In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth* by Mallory, J. P., 1989, in *American Anthropology*, New Series, Vol. 93, No.1 (March), pp. 226–227.
- Gardiner, A. H., 1916, The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* Vol. 3, pp. 1–16.
- Gardiner, P., Osborn, G., 2005, *The Serpent Grail*, London: Watkins Publishing.
- Gardner, L., 1999, *Genesis of the Grail Kings: the Pendragon Legacy of Adam and Eve*, London: Bantam Press.
- , 1996, *Bloodline of the Holy Grail*, Shaftesbury: Element Books.
- Gathercole, Peter, 2004, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 11, p. 439.
- Gibb, H. and Kramers, J. (ed.), 1974, *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Gill, D. W. J., 2000, 'A Rich and Promising Site: Winifred Lamb (1894–1963)', *Kusura and Anatolian Archaeology*, *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 50 (2000), pp. 1–10.
- , 'Winifred Lamb (1894–1963)', in Cohen, G. and Joukowsky, M. (eds), 2004, *Breaking Ground: pioneering women archaeologists*.
- Gimbutas, Marija, 1977, Primary and Secondary Homelands of the Indo-Europeans, *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, No. 4.
- Gimbutas, M., Dexter, M. R. (ed.), 1999, *The Living Goddesses*, University of California Press.
- Goetze, Albrecht, 1941, Review of Jacobsen, Thorkild, 1939, *The Sumerian King-List* (in *Assyriological Studies*, No.11), in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 45, No. 4, pp. 633–634 (Oct.).
- Green, Sally, 1981, *Prehistorian: a Biography of V. Gordon Childe*, Moonraker.
- Green, W. S., 1987, Messiah in Judaism: Rethinking the Question (Preface), in Green, W. S. (ed.), Neusner, J. (ed.), Frerichs, E. S. (ed.), 1987, 1988, *Judaism and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*, Library of Congress.
- Guiéu, J., 1973, *Le Livre du Paranormal*, France: Vaugirard.
- Gupta, S. P., 1996, *The Indus-Sarasvati Civilization*, Delhi: Pratiba Prakashan.
- Gurney, O. R., 1952, *The Hittites*, London: Penguin.
- Halliday, W. R., Gill, D. W. J., 2004, Dawkins, Richard MacGillivray (1871–1955), Classical Scholar, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- H., T. H. (anonymous), 1901, Review 49, of *Among the Himalaya* by L.A. Waddell, in *Man*, Vol. 1, p. 64.
- Hagen, S. N., 1904, On the Origin of the Term Edda, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 19, No. 5 (May), pp. 127–134.
- Hancock, G., 1995, *Fingerprints of the Gods*, London: William Heinemann.
- , 2002, *Underworld – Flooded Kingdom of the Ice Age*, London: Penguin Books.
- , 2005, *Supernatural – Meetings with the Ancient Teachers of Mankind*, London: Arrow Books.
- Havell, E. B., 1918, *The History of Aryan Rule in India*, London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd.
- Heidel, A., 1949, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hurdman, Charlotte (ed.), 1998, *World History Encyclopedia*, London: Paragon.
- Hutchinson of London, in association with the National Army Museum (no date), *The Army in India 1850–1914 – a photographic record*, No. 47.

- Huxley, T., 1906, Migrations: 1906 Lectures, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland*, Vol. 36.
- Jackson, J. W., 1869, The Aryan and the Semite, *Anthropological Review*, Vol. 7, No. 27 (October), pp. 333–365.
- Jacobsen, Thorkild, 1939, The Sumerian King-List, *Assyriological Studies* No. 11, University of Chicago Press.
- Jacobsen, William H., Jr., 1971, Reply to Andras Zakar, Sumerian-Ural-Altaic Affinities, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 12, No. 2, April 1971, pp. 215–225.
- James, F. O., 1958, *The Cult of the Mother Goddess*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Kak, Subbash C., 1992, *Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. 32.
- Kaku, M., 1994, *Hyperspace: a Scientific Odyssey through the 10th Dimension*, Oxford University Press.
- Katz, J. B., 2004, F. W. Thomas, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 54, p. 319.
- Keegan, John (Publishers), 1979, *World Armies*, London: Macmillan Press.
- Kelly, D. H., Wells B., 1995, Recent Progress in Understanding the Indus Script, *Review of Archaeology*, Vol. 16, pp. 15–23.
- Kent, Roland G., 1925, Review of *The Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons, Discovered by Phoenician and Sumerian Inscriptions in Britain*, by Pre-Roman Briton Coins and a Mass of New History, by L.A. Waddell (1924), *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 45, pp. 172–174.
- King, L. W., Campbell, R., 1907, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock at Behistun in Persia*, London.
- Knight, C., Butler, A., 2004, *Civilization One – the World is not as you thought it was*, London: Watkins Publishing.
- Kramer, S. N., 1958, *History Begins at Sumer*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- , 1948, New Light on the Early History of the Ancient Near-East, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 52, pp. 156–164.
- Lahiri, N., 1997, John Marshall's Appointment as Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India: a Survey of the Papers Pertaining to his Selection, *South Asian Studies* 13.
- Lal, B. B., 2001, *The Sarasvati Flows: on the Continuity of Indian Culture*, New Delhi: Aryan Books International.
- Layton, B., 1989, *On the Origin of the World (ONORGWLD): Nag Hammadi Codex II (2–7)*, Vol. 2, Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- , 1977, *On the Origin of the World (II, 5 and XIII, 2): The Nag Hammadi Library in English, translated by members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- , 1987, *The Gnostic Scriptures*, London: SCM Press Ltd.
- Levenda, P., 2006, *Unholy Alliance: Metaphysical Origins of Nazi Party*, London, New York: Continuum.
- Lyon, I. B., 1918, Waddell, L.A., *Medical Jurisprudence for India, with illustrative cases*, Calcutta, Simla, Thacker Spink & Co.
- Macdonald, D., 1932, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, London: Seeley Service & Co.
- Mackay, E. J. H., Mackay, D. (ed.), 1948, *Early Indus Civilization*, London: Luzac & Company Ltd.
- , 1936, Excavations at Chanhu-daro by the American School of Indic & Iranian Studies & Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Season 1935–36, *Bulletin of the Museum of fine Arts*, (October), Boston.

- MacLellan, A., 1982, *Lost World of Agharti*, London: Souvenir Press.
- Malan, S. C. (transl.), 1882, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, London: Williams & Norgate.
- Mallory, J. P., 1989, 1999, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans – Languages, Archaeology & Myth*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Marshall, J. H. (ed.), 1931, *Further Excavations of Mohenjo-daro, being an Official Account of Archaeological Excavations at Mohenjo-daro by the Government of India between the years 1927–31*, Vol. 2, London: Probsthain.
- (ed.), 1931, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization: being an official account of archaeological excavations of Mohenjo-daro carried out by the Government of India between the years 1922–27*, Special Collections: f46, f47, f48.
- McArthur, T., 1998, *The English Languages*, Cambridge University Press.
- McCown, Donald E., 1954, Review of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, 1953, *Indus Civilization*, Cambridge University Press, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 74, No. 3, pp. 176–178.
- Michalowski, P., 1983, Studies in Literature dedicated to S. N. Kramer: History as Charter: Some observations on the Sumerian King-List, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 103, No. 1.
- , 1980, Sumerian as an Ergative Language, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 86–103.
- Migne, A., 1975, *Le Livre d'Enoch*, Série: Les Portes de l'Étrange, Paris: Robert Laffont.
- Misra, V. N., 2001, Review of Lal, B.B., *The Sarasvati Flows: on the Continuity of Indian Culture*, in *Man and Environment* No. 2, Vol. XXVI, Indian Society for Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies.
- Monmouth, G. of, Evans, E. (transl.), 1903, *Histories of the Kings of Britain*, first edition: AD 1139, Britain: J. M. Dent & Co.
- Montford, Shé d', 2006, Tibetan Buddhism and the Great Game, *Nexus Magazine New Times*, Vol. 13, No. 5 (August–September), pp. 49–55.
- Moorey, P. R. S., 2006, Review of W. G. Deven's (2003) *Who Were the Early Israelites and Where Did They Come From?* in *Journal of Near-Eastern Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (April).
- Morfill, W. R. (trans.), 1896, *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Morris, John (ed./transl.), 1980, *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals*, London and Chichester: Phillimore with New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Müller, M., 1888, *Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas*, London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Mundkur, B., 1983, *The Cult of the Serpent – an Interdisciplinary Survey of its Manifestations and Origins*, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Murray, T., 1999, Review of Diaz-Andreu, M. and Stig Sørensen, M-I. (1998), *Excavating Women: a History of Women in European Archaeology*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 103 (July).
- Museum (National Army), no date, *The Army in India 1850–1914, a Photographic Record*, London: Hutchinson.
- Mutton, K., 2006, T. Lobsang Rampa: New Age Trailblazer, Part 1, *Nexus New Times* Vol. 13, No. 2.
- , 2006, T. Lobsang Rampa: New Age Trailblazer, Part 2, *Nexus New Times* Vol. 13, No. 3.
- Nasr, S. H., 1981, *Islamic Life & Thought*, New York: State University of New York Press.

- Norvill, R., 1979, *Giants: the Vanished Race of Mighty Men*, Aquarian Press.
- O'Flaherty, W. D., 1970, In Defence of Sir John Marshall, *Journal of Tamil Studies*, Vol. 2/1, pp. 277–285.
- P. (anonymous), E. A., 1925, Review: The Phoenician Origin of Britons, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons by L. A. Waddell, 1924, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 65, No. 5 (May), pp. 446–447.
- Pagels, E., 1980, *The Gnostic Gospels*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Parpola, A., 1986, The Indus Script: a Challenging Puzzle, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 399–417.
- , 1994, *Deciphering the Indus Script*, Cambridge University Press.
- , 1997, Dravidian & the Indus Script: on the Interpretation of Some Pivotal Signs, *Studia Orientalia*, 82, pp. 167–91, Helsinki.
- Pauwels, L. and Bergier, J., 1960, *Le Matin des Magiciens*, Paris: Gallimard.
- Payne, F. A., 1968, *King Alfred & Bæthius – an analysis of the Old English Version of the Consolation of Philosophy*, USA, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Petrie, W. M. F., 1906, *Researches in Sinai*, London: John Murray.
- Possehl, Gregory L. (ed.), 1979, *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd.
- Prince, C., 1997, *The True Identity of Christ*, London: Bantam Press.
- Prince, J. D., 1904, The Vocabulary of Sumerian, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 25, pp. 49–67.
- Pritchard, J. B., 1955, *Ancient Near-Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Prophet, E. C., 1977, *Forbidden Mysteries of Enoch*, with Richard Laurence's translation of the Book of Enoch translated from Aramean, California: Summit University Press.
- Renfrew, C., 1998, *Archaeology and Language: the Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*, London: Pimlico.
- Risley, H., 1911, Residential Address: the Methods of Ethnography, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 41.
- Roberts, Peter (transl.), 2000, *The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, translated from the Welsh copy attributed to Tysilio*, translation from Welsh copy attributed to Tysilio first published in 1811), London: Llanerch Publishers.
- Robinson, A., 2002, *Lost Languages – the Enigma of the World's Undeciphered Scripts*, Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill.
- Robinson, J. M. (ed.), 1977, *The Nag Hammadi Library*, Leiden: Coptic Gnostic Library: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, E. J. Brill.
- Rowton, M. B., 1960, The Date of the Sumerian King List, *Journal of Near-Eastern Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 156–162.
- Rubio Gonzalo, 1999, The Alleged Pre-Sumerian Substratum, in *the Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 51, pp. 1–16.
- Sandmel, S., 1979, *Philo of Alexandria*, Oxford: University Press.
- Sawyer, R., 1985, To Know the Histories: L. A. Waddell's Sumer and Akkad, *Paideuma*, Vol. 14, Spring No. 1, pp. 79–94, USA: University of Maine.
- Sayce, A.H., 1874, The Astronomy & Astrology of the Babylonians, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. 3.
- , no date, Sumer versus Akkad (Chapter), in *unknown publication* in Special Collections.
- , 1898, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, London: Williams and Norgate.

- Schiffman, L. H., 1995, Origin and Early History of the Qumran Sect, *Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. 58:1.
- Schrader, O., 1890, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples: a Manual of Comparative Philology and the Earliest Culture*, London: Charles Griffin.
- Shapiro, H. L., 1930, Review of *The Makers of Civilization in Race and History* by L.A. Waddell, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 12 (December), pp.1168–1169.
- Shryock, J. K., 1935, Review of *The Buddhism of Tibet* by L. Austine Waddell, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (June), p. 225.
- Smith, G. E., 1915, *The Migrations of Early Culture*, London: Manchester University Press.
- Speiser, E. A., 1936, The Name Phoinikes, in *Language*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (April), pp. 121–126.
- , 1941, The Beginnings of Civilization in Mesopotamia, *Antiquity* XV.
- Stamp, Gavin (ed.), 1995, *Mount Stuart House and Gardens*, Isle of Bute: Mount Stuart Trust.
- Stanilawski, D., 1946, The Origin & Spread of the Grid-pattern Town, *The Geographical Review* XXXVI, No.1, American Geographical Society of New York.
- Star, C. G., 1961, *The Origin of Greek Civilization 1,100–650 B.C.*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- Starr, R. F. S., 1944, Review of Mackay, E., *Chanhu-daro 1935–36*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (April), pp. 211–212.
- Strayer, Joseph R. (ed.), 1984, Midgard Serpent, Eddic Poetry, *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Vol. 8, p. 362, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- , 1984, Codex Regius, Eddic Poetry, *Dictionary of the Middle-Ages*, Vol. 8, pp. 385–390, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Sturluson, S., Young J. I. (transl.), 1954, *The Prose Edda: Tales from Norse Mythology*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Talmon, Shemaryahu, 1987, '6. Waiting for the Messiah: the spiritual universe of the Qumran covenanters,' in Neusner, J., Green, W. S., Frerichs, E. S. (eds), *Judaisms & their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era*, Cambridge University Press (1988: Library of Congress).
- Taylor, P. B., Auden, W. H., 1969, *The Elder Edda – A Selection, Translated from Icelandic*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Taylor, Isaac, 1888, The Origin and Primitive Seat of the Aryans, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 17, pp. 238–275.
- Temple, Richard Carnac, 1925, Waddell on Phoenician Origins, *The Indian Antiquary* (Jul.–Dec.).
- Thapar, R., 1975, A Possible Identification of Meluhha, Dilmun, and Makan, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (January).
- , 1996, The Theory of Aryan Race and India: History and Politics, *Social Scientists*, Vol. 24, No. 1/3 (January), pp. 3–29.
- Thomas, F. W., 1939, Colonel L. A. Waddell, Obituary, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp. 499–504.
- , Jones, Schuyler (Rev.), 2004, L.A. Waddell, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 56, p. 640.
- Thury, E. M., Devinney, M.K. (eds), 2005, *Introduction to Mythology: Contemporary Approaches to Classical and World Myths*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trautmann, Thomas R., 1997, *Aryans & British India*, California: University of California Press.

- Trigger, Bruce, 1989, *A History of Archaeology Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trigger, B., 1980, *Gordon Childe – Revolutions in Archaeology*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Tringham, Ruth, 1983, V. Gordon Childe 25 Years After: his relevance for the Archaeology of the Eighties, *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 10, No.1 (Spring), pp. 1–126.
- Turner, R. L., 1926, Review of *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered* by L. A. Waddell (1924), *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London*, Vol. 4, No. 2.
- , 1925, Review of *Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons*, 1924, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London*, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 808–810.
- Turville-Petre, G., 1951, *The Heroic Age of Scandinavia*, London, New York, Melbourne, Cape Town: no publishers.
- Van den Broek, R., 1972, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Vats, M. S., 1940, *Excavations at Harappa*, New Delhi: Government of India Press.
- Velikovskiy, I., 1973, *Worlds in Collision*, London: Victor Gollancz.
- Verbrugge, G. P., Wickersham, J. M., 1996, *Berosos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated: Native Traditions in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt*, USA: Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press.
- Vermes, G., 1995, *The Dead Sea Scroll in English*, Los Angeles: Pelican.
- Waddell, L. A., 1895, *The Buddhism of Tibet: or Lamaism with its mystic cults, symbolism and mythology, and in its relation to Indian Buddhism*, W.H. Allen & Co. Ltd. (London: Luzac: 1899; Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd.: 1934, 1939; W. Heffer: 1958) (used 1934 edition).
- , 1899, *Among the Himalayas*, London: A. Constable & Co. (1st edition: 1899: Westminster, Y.Y.; Amsterdam Book Co.; 2nd edition: 1900: Westminster, Philadelphia; also A. Constable & Co., and J.B. Lippincott Co.; also 1878: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu).
- , 1903, *Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra (Patna): the Palibothra of the Greeks*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretarial Press (other edition: 1975: Sanskaran Prakashak, Delhi)
- , 1904, Map of Lhasa and its Environs, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (March), p. 366.
- , 1905, *Lhasa and its Mysteries – Record of the Expeditions of 1903–4*, London: J. Murray.
- , Crooke, W., 1911, A Note on the Derivation of Miri, *Man*, Vol. 11, p. 86.
- , 1914, Review: 39, of *The Bower Manuscript*, by Hoernle, A. F. R., *Man*, Vol. 14, pp. 81–84.
- , 1916, Review of *History of Defensive Armor: Being Part I of Chinese Clay Figures*, in *Man*, Vol. 16 (February), pp. 29–30.
- , 1917, *Asiatic Review*, in Waddell, 1924, p. 197f and Preface.
- , 1922, article/letter dated 12 August 1922, to Editor of unknown review (possibly *Asiatic Review*) “Shinar” of the Old Testament and the “Tower of Babel” in the Babylonian Inscriptions: a Rejoinder, in Special Collections: MS Gen 1691/3/129.
- , 1922, *Historical origin and economic purpose of the Tower of Babel: and the name “Shinar” in Babylonian inscriptions*, London: Luzac & Co. (COPAC, 16 May 2001: ‘reprinted from the *Asiatic Review*, April 1922’)
- , 1924, *Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons: discovered by*

- Phoenician & Sumerian Inscriptions in Britain, by pre-Roman Briton Coins and a mass of new history*, London: Williams & Norgate (editions: London: Luzac: 1931; London: William & Norgate: 1935).
- , 1925 (a), *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered: discovering Sumerians of Indus Valley, or Phoenicians, Barats, Goths, & famous Vedic Aryans 3,100–2,300 BC*, London: Luzac & Co.
- , 1925 (b), Dynasty of Haryashwa or the Sumerian Uruash (“Ur-Nina”) as imperial kings of Kish, Erech and Lagash in Mesopotamia about 3,100–2,900 BC, in *unknown publication*, December, Special Collections: q297 and 1691/7/8.
- , 1927 (a), *A Sumer-Aryan Dictionary: an Etymological Lexicon of the English & other Aryan Languages, Ancient & Modern, & the Sumerian Origin of Egyptian & its Hieroglyphs*, Part I (A-F), London: Luzac & Co.
- , 1927 (b), *Aryan Origin of the Alphabet: disclosing the Sumero-Phoenician Parentage of our Letters, Ancient & Modern*, London: Luzac & Co.
- , 1927 (c), Review of R. W. V. Ayyar, 1927, *Manu’s Land & Trade Law: their Sumerian origin and evolution up to the beginning of the Christian era*, Special Collections: 0246 Wad 102.
- , 1929, *The Makers of Civilization in Race & History: showing the rise of the Aryans or Sumerians, their origination & propagation of civilization, their extension of it to Egypt & Crete, personalities & achievements of their kings, historical originals of mythic gods & Heroes with dates from the rise of civilization about 3380 BC reconstructed from Babylonian, Egyptian, Hittite, Indian & Gothic sources*, London: Luzac & Co.; (further edition: Sudbury Bloomfield: 1988).
- , 1930, *The British Edda: the great epic poem of the ancient Britons on the exploits of King Thor, Arthur or Adam and his knights in establishing civilization, reforming Eden & capturing the Holy Grail about 3380–3350 BC*, London: Chapman & Hall Ltd.
- , 1930, *Egyptian Civilization, its Sumerian Origin & real chronology, (and) Sumerian origin of Egyptian hieroglyphs*, London: Luzac & Co. (unused as its material is in the work published in 1929).
- , 1933, Review of David Macdonald, 1932, *Twenty Years in Tibet*, in *Man*, Vol. 22, September 1933, pp. 151–52.
- , 1934, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism, with its mystic cults, symbolism and mythology, and in its relation to Indian Buddhism*, second edition: 1934, Cambridge: W. Heffer; (first edition: 1895: W. H. Allen & Co.; 1939: Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd.; 1958: Cambridge: W. Heffer; 1967, 1971: Cambridge: W. Heffer; reprint with different title: *Buddhism & Lamaism of Tibet: with its mystic cults, symbolism and mythology, and in its relation to Indian Buddhims*, 1978: India: Jalandhar City, and New York: Gaurav Publishing House/Apt Books, Inc.).
- , 1935, article/letter (typed draft) to *unknown Journal* (perhaps *Asiatic Review*), ‘Fact versus Fiction on the Aryan Race in reply to Julian Huxley and Professor Haddon’s Fanciful Vapourings’ in Special Collections: MS Gen 1691/3/79.
- Watkins, C., 1995, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*, Oxford University Press.
- Wells, B., 1999, Unbroken Seals Secrets, *Times Higher Educational Supplement* (September 3) pp. 20–21.
- Wengrow, D., 1999, The Intellectual Adventure of Henri Frankfort: a Missing Chapter in the History of Archaeological Thought, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 103, pp. 597–613.

- Wenham, G., 1987, *GsGenesis 1–15: World Biblical Commentary*, Vol. 1, Texas: Word Books Publishers.
- Westenholz, A., 1974, Early Nippur Year Dates and the Sumerian King-List, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp.154–56.
- Westerman, C., 1974, *Genesis 1–11*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- Wheeler, M. R. E., 1960, *The Indus Civilization*, Cambridge University Press.
- , 1946, India's Earliest Civilisation: Recent Excavations in the Indus Basin, *Illustrated London News* (August 10).
- Who Was Who*, Vol. III, 1929–1940.
- , Vol. IV, 1941–1950, Annual Biographical Dictionary first published in 1848, by Adam & Charles Black.
- Wilson, J. V. Kinnier., 1974, *Indo-Sumerian: A new approach to the problems of the Indus Script*, Oxford: Clarendon, Oxford University Press.
- Woolley, C. L., 1965, *The Sumerians*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Young, D. W., 1988, A Mathematical Approach to certain Dynastic Spans in the Sumerian King List, *Journal of Near-Eastern Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 123–129.
- , 1991, The Incredible Regnal Spans of Kish I in the Sumerian King-List, *Journal of Near-Eastern Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (January), pp. 23–25.
- Zakar, A., 1971, Sumerian-Ural-Altaic Affinities, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 215–225.
- Zide, Arlene R. K. and Zvelebil, Kamil V. (eds), 1976, *The Soviet Decipherment of the Indus Valley Script Translation & Critique* (The Hague, Mouton).

Titles Cited

- Ayyar, R. W. Vaidyanatha, 1927, *Manu's Land and Trade Laws: their Sumerian Origin and Evolution up to the beginning of the Christian era*, Madras: Higginbothams, in Special Collections: Waddell 102.
- Barton, G. A., *Babylonian Writing*, ii, p. 137, in L. A. Waddell, 1922, "Shinar" of the Old Testament and the "Tower of Babel" in the Babylonian Inscriptions – a Rejoinder, p. 5 of 9, Special Collections: MS Gen 1691/3/129.
- Bittel, K., *Die Ruinen von Bodazköy*, in Gill, D.W.J., 'Winifred Lamb (1894–1963),' in Cohen, G., Joukowsky, M. (eds), 2004, *Breaking Ground: pioneering women archaeologists*, p. 446.
- , 1907, *Hattusha, the Capital of the Hittites*, New York: New York University Press (unable to obtain: missing in University's library).
- Louvres Museum, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux*, in L. A. Waddell, 1925, *Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered*, Fig. 5, p. 35.
- Childe, V. G., *The Influence of Indo-Europeans in Prehistoric Greece*, in Green, Sally, 1981, *Prehistorian: a Biography of V.G. Childe*.
- Diodorus, Hist. I, II, c.4, in L. A. Waddell, 1903, *Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra*.
- Gardiner, Phillip, advert by Reality Press dated Oct.–Nov. 2006, for *Secrets of the Serpent, in Search of the Sacred Past*, in *Nexus New Times*, Vol. 13, No. 6, p. 24.
- Goetze, A., 1941, Review of Thorkild Jacobsen, 1939, *The Sumerian King-List*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Oct.), pp. 633–34.
- Gupta, S. P., 1996, *The Indu-Sarasvati Civilization*, in Hancock, G., 2002, *Underworld: Flooded Kingdoms of the Ice Age*, p. 104.
- Huxley, Thomas, 1890, The Aryan Question, *Nineteenth Century*.

- Jha, N. and Rajaram, N. S., 2000, *The Deciphered Indus Script: Methodology, Readings, Interpretations*, (reviewed by Frawley, David in *The Hindu*, 16 January 1997).
- Kramer, S. N., 1963, *The Sumerians*, in Jacobsen, William H., Jr., 1971, Reply to Andras Zakar, Sumerian-Ural-Altaic Affinities, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 12, No 2, April 1971 (pp. 215–225).
- Langdon, Stephen, 1933: see Langdon, letter dated 10th October 1933, copy of extract from Marshall (ed.), 1931.
- , *Cambridge Ancient History*, in L. A. Waddell, 1925, *Indo-Sumerian Seals deciphered*.
- , 'LSG 1911: ii,' in L. A. Waddell, 1927, *A Sumer-Aryan Dictionary*, p. x.
- Mackay, Ernest, 1925, Sumerian Connections with Ancient India in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (text unavailable on JSTOR).
- Mackay, Ernest, 1934, The Indus Civilization: some Connections with Sumer, Elam and the West in *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XXI (text unavailable on JSTOR)
- Marshall, J. H., 1924, First Light of a Long-forgotten Civilization: New Discoveries of an Unknown Pre-historic Past in India, *Illustrated London News*, 20 September 1924, cited by Barton, G. A., 1926 (a), On the So-called Sumero-Indian Seals, *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Vol. 8, p. 82 of pp. 79–95.
- McNairn, Barbara, 1980, *The Method and Theory of V. Gordon Childe*, Edinburgh.
- Müller, Max, Lectures Vol. I, 212 (and Asian theory), in Taylor, Isaac, 1888, The Origin and Primitive Seat of the Aryans, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 17, p. 239 of pp. 238–275.
- Myres, John, 1911, *The Dawn of History*, cited by Trigger Bruce, 1980, p. 30.
- Oppenheim, Leo, 1954, The Seafaring Merchants of Ur, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (Jan–Mar.), pp. 7, 12, 14–15, cited by McCown, Donald E., 1954, in his Review of Wheeler, M., 1953, *Indus Civilization*, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 74, No. 3, 1954, p. 178.
- Poebel, A., 1914, *Historical Texts*, University of Pennsylvania, iv, 73f, in L. A. Waddell, 1929, *Makers of Civilization in Race & History*, p. 124.
- Sayce, A. H., 1924, Remarkable Discoveries in India, *Illustrated London News*, 27 September 1924, in Barton, G. A., 1926 (a), p. 82.
- , 1924, 'JRAS' in footnote, in Childe, V. G., 1926, *The Aryans*, p. 115.
- Sinnett, A. P., 1883, *Esoteric Buddhism*, (Theosophical publication listed in the Special Collections).
- Society of Biblical Archaeology (article by), Special Collections: WB284.
- Stein, O., *Megasthenes and Kautilya*, quote in Bongard-Levin, 1986, *Maurya India*, p. 23.
- Strabo: 542, 12.3.6; 551–4, in L. A. Waddell, 1924, *Phoenician Origin of the Britons, Scots & Anglo-Saxons*, p. 6.
- Taylor, Isaac, 1889, *The Origin of the Aryans: an account of the prehistoric ethnology and civilization of Europe*, in Trautmann, Thomas R., 1997, *Aryans & British India*.
- Trigger, Bruce G., *Gordon Childe: Revolution in Archaeology*.
- Twietmeyer, Ted, 2008, Evidence that Giants Walked the Earth, *Nexus*, April–May issue, pp. 61–63.
- Waddell, L. A., 1888, *Researches on Serpent Venom*.
- , 1892, *Discovery of the Exact Site of Asoka's Classic Capital of Pataliputra: the Palibothra of the Greeks, and description of the superficial remains*, Government of Bengal, Bengal Secretarial Press, Calcutta (original report of discovery not read; used 1903 final report).
- , 1893, Birds of Sikkim, *Sikkim Gazette*.

- , 1895(a), Note on the Poisoned Arrows of the Akas, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 24, p.,57.
- , 1895 (b), Some ancient Indian Charms from the Tibetan, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 24, pp. 41–44.
- , 1895 (c), The Tibetan House-Demon, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp. 39–41.
- , 1895 (d), The Fall of the Tsang-po (San-Pu) and Identity of that River with the Brahmaputra, in *The Geographical Journal*.
- , 1898, The Environs and Native Names of Mount Everest, *The Geographica Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 6 (December), pp. 564–569.
- , 1891–1899: 17 articles in *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*.
- , 1902, *Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley*.
- , 1908–21, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Hasting Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.
- , 1911, A Note on the Derivation of Miri, *Man*, Vol. 11.
- , 1912, Evolution of the Buddhist Cult, its Gods, Images and Art, *sAsiatic Quaterly Review*, January.
- Weston, David, 1990, South Asia Library Group (SALG), Newsletter No. 35 January, pp. 6–11, in Special Collections.

Emails cited

- Asplin, Peter, Special Collections, University of Glasgow Library, 14 October 2004, 30 January 2006.
- Bechteler, Harald, 13 June 2004.
- Berry, Alexander, email 2 June 2004.
- Bonnaccorsi, John, from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA, 2006.
- Harris, Clare, Dr., Fellow of Magdalen College, University of Oxford, and author, 1999, *In the Image of Tibet*, Reaktion, email, 13 April 2004.
- Gruner, Karl, 8 April 2004.
- Levenda, Peter, author of *Unholy Alliance*, 2006, 29 August, 2006.

Letters cited

- Budge, Ernest Alfred Wallis, 25 May 1915, 23 August 1920, 14 February 1922, 8 November 1926, 12 December 1931, Special Collections: MS Gen 1691/2/7/4.
- Clark, Margaret, scenario writer, Special Collections.
- Dalai Lama, 7 December 1933, in L. A. Waddell, 1934, *The Buddhism of Tibet*.
- Hart, James H., 14 March 1893, Special Collections.
- Hooker, Joseph (Sir), 9 September 1905, Special Collections.
- Langdon, S., 10 October 1933 to Waddell with copy or extract of Langdon S., 1931, Introduction to G. R. Hunter's abstract, *The Indus Script*, p. ix, x, xi, xii, from Marshall, John (ed.), 1931, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization: being an official account of archaeological excavations at Mohenjo-daro carried out by the Government of India between the years 1922–27*.
- Marshall, John, 12 July 1926.
- Petrie, W. M. Flinders, 17 July 1925, MS Gen 1791/8/123.
- Pinches, Theophilus G., 24 February 1921, MS Gen 1691/3/125.
- Pinches, Theophilus G., 12 March 1927, MS Gen 1691/3/130.
- Pratt, L. D., 30 November 1943, Special Collections MR54/80.
- Royal Anthropological Institute, Council Minutes, 2 December 1913, f.295, in General

- Correspondence Archive (A 18), copy received by email.
- , 26 October 1920, f.405, in Archive on Correspondents (A 18), copy received by email.
- Sayce, A. H., 27 May 1927, Special Collections: MS Gen 1691/3/141.
- , 7 October 1924, MS Gen 1691/3/140.
- Smith, Grafton Elliott, 7 May 1916.
- Stein, Marc Aurel, 2 February 1902, 19 February 1910, 4 April 1911, 19 September and 9 October 1911, 29 February and 9 March 1912, from Merton College, Oxford, in volume bound in Special Collections: Gen 1691/2/24.
- Thureau-Dangin, F., 12 June 1925, from 102 rue de Grenelle, Paris, MS Gen 1691/2/21/1.
- Waddell, L. A., 12 August 1922, (letter or article) to Editor re criticism in July issue and his article published in April issue, “Shinar” of the Old Testament and the “Tower of Babel” in the Babylonian Inscriptions – a Rejoinder, in unknown Review, possibly *Asiatic Review*, in Special Collections: MS Gen 1691/3/129.
- , 5 September 1927, to Editor of *Times of India*, published 12 October 1927.
- , 2 December 1927, to Editor of *Times of India*, published on 31 December, 1927. MS Gen 1691/15/6.
- , 1935, draft to Editor of unknown Journal re Julian Huxley and Professor Haddon’s Fanciful Vapourings, Special Collections: MS Gen 1691/3/79.

Websites cited

- CWGC: Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Casualty Details, <www.cwgc.org/cwgineternet/casualty_details.aspx?casualty=322792>, viewed 25/11/2005.
- First Word War.com, Battle of the Somme, 1916, <www.firstworldwar.co/battles/somme.htm>.
- Frawley, David, 2006, The Myth of Aryan Invasion in India – a synopsis for *Gods, Sages and Kings: Vedic Secrets of Ancient Civilization*, <www.indunet.org>.
- Gimbutas Marija, Proto-Indo-European Culture: the Kurgan Culture during the fifth, fourth and third millennium BC in Cardona et al. (eds), *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*, p. 178 and 4.3.1. Kurgan Immigrants (2nd paragraph), <www.bharatvani.org/books/>.
- Halliday, W. R., Gill, D. W. J. (Rev.), 2004, ‘Dawkins, Richard MacGillivray (1971–1955), classical scholar,’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32749>, viewed 13 July 2007.
- Jayaram, A., Important Advance in Indian History, *The Hindu*, 16 January 1997, <www.mountainman.com.au/news97_7.html>, pp. 1–3, viewed 20 March 2005.
- Kak, Subhash C., 1992, *Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. 32, 04–01–1992, <www.mugu.com/cgi-bin/Upstream/Issues/Anthropology/indus.html>, pp. 1–15, viewed 20 March 2005.
- Katragadda Gopichand, Romancing the Gods – Tales from the Indus Seals, <www.Sulekha.com>, pp. 1–12, viewed 2006.
- Korfmann, M., Troia: <www.Geocities.com>, viewed 2006.
- Lewis, C. S., 1927, quote in Inkling in training, 1999–2005, *C.S. Lewis and the Kolbitar: Lewis’ membership in the Coalbiters founded by J.R.R. Tolkien*, <www.scriptoriumnovum.com/1/kolbitar.html>, p. 2 of pp. 1–3.
- Meadow, Richard, Director of Project at Harappa, interview, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sci/tech/334517.stm>>.

Tello: <www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/ixbingot?id=enc385%20>, and
Urnanshe (King of Lagash) in Louvre useum: <[www.bible-history.com/ancient
art/urnanshe_lagash.html](http://www.bible-history.com/ancient-art/urnanshe_lagash.html)>.*

The National Archives, DocumentsOnline, Image Details, <[ww.nationalarchives.gov.uk
/documentsonline/details_result.asp?Edoc](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/details_result.asp?Edoc)>.

Wilkens, Iman J., <<http://phdamste.tripod.com/trojan.html>>, pp. 1–10, viewed 2006.

Index

- Abel, parallel, 90
as Epli, 93
Apollyon, 91, 94
killed by Gunn, 110, 112
Vali, 114
- Abydos, 74, 153
see also Petrie and Menes
- Adam, 31
Semites linked to, 91, 94
Semitic construction, 115–16
- Adar, title, 100
see also Thor
- Addamu *see* Adam
- Admu, 87
Trial, 115, 116
see also Adam and Adamu
- AEsir (Asians), x, 14
in Snorri Sturluson's Edda, 16
in Thrace, 17, 94, 100
- AEthlings, 88, 107
- Agglutinative, 86
see also Sumerian
- Agriculture, x
Kshatriyas, 29
see also garden, 98
- Akkadians, 79, 80
- Albion, 118, 119, 126
- Alphabet, 154, 155
see also Abydos
- Al Ubaid, *see* Sumerian and Childe
- Amazons, 100
- Amorite, 77
colonised Indus Valley 118, 119, 132, 179
- Anatolia, 75
see also Renfrew and Indo-European languages
- Anglo-Saxons, 15, 16, 88, 120
- Antediluvian world, 7
- Antediluvian dynasties, 19
Isin Lists, 134, 135, 138
- Anthropology, 36, 37, 83, 124
- Ar, Sumerian root 37, 82
- Ari-ki, land of Aryans, 82
- Archaeological Survey of India, 47, 161, 167
- Archives, 8
see also Hittite and Boghazkoy
- Ardsloy, 194
- Arthur, 115
see Thor
- Arthurian legends, 13, 91, 92, 148, 196
- Aryas, Manu's progeny, 38
- Aryans, 7, 11
creators of civilization, 36, 107
- Aryan, sense, 27, 36, 37, 82
Origin/quest, 2, 27, 33, 34, 35, 36
Waddell's use of term, 10
discarded term, 11
Müller, 27
rule of India, 27, 28
see also Kshatriya
- Aryans, existence of, 13
Disappearance, 36
Civilizers, 93
arrival in India, 28
Bharat or Khattiyo, 129
- Asa, Lords, 87, 93
Miot-the-Asa, 96, 99, 111, 114
see also AEsir
- Asoka, 1, 47, 48, 50, 68
- Atlanta/Atlantis, 2, 7, 35, 65, 195
- Ayyar, R. S. Vadyanatha, 38, 180
- Babel, 4, 83, 89, 107
see also Shinar
- Baldr, 90, 93, 107, 109, 110, 110, 112
- Barton, G. A., 5, 20, 75, 85, 163, 164, 167, 170, 171
- Battle of Eden, 9, 92
- Bene Haelohim *see* Sons and Genesis
- Berosos, 134, 184
- Boghazkoy, 8, 9, 10, 17, 17, 18, 81, 91, 102, 115, 150
- Bosch-Gimpera, P., 9
- Bowl of Utu(k), 143, 144
Gardiner and Osborn, 147
- Brahmans, 28
right to class, 29
- Brahmanism, 26, 37
derivation, 38

- Buddha, 1
 of West, 35
 Tashilhumpo, 38
 Buddhism, interest in, 26
 of Tibet, 1, 33, 35, 67
 defilement of, 68, 69
 Buddhism, from Brahmanism, 31
 derivation, 37
 esoteric, 35
 Budge, E. A. W., 82
 Brutus, Trojan, 15, 118, 120, 126

 Cadmus, 75, 126
 Cadmean, on Newton stone, 12, 122, 126
 alphabet, 75
 Cadmean, Egyptian aphonic marks were
 Sumerian, 155
 see also Petrie and Abydos
 Cain, as Gunn in Edda, 90, 91, 101
 Camelot, 91, 115
 Cappadocia, 10, 13
 place names identified in Edda, 17
 capital in, 93
 Carchemish, 8, 17
 bas relief, 95, 96
 Jerablus, 101
 fort Gamish, 111
 Casillo, origin of rumours on Waddell, 12
 Catti, Britons, 121
 Catti, Trojan Hittites/Phoenicians, 117,
 123
 Cattiyo *see* Khattiyo and Catti
 Celts, 18
 Trojan, 127
 Central Asian Turkey, 9
 homeland in Turkestan, 128, 129
 see also Müller
 Chango Manor, 56, 57, 60
 attack on, 61, 195
 Childe, V. G., 6, 7, 11, 38
 Al Ubaid, 81, 142
 Ur-Nina, 135
 Sothis, 154
 Childe, Indus Valley civilization, 165
 Chivalric, institution, 29
 see also Hittites and Kshatriya
 Civilization, secrets in manuscripts, 35
 see also Aryan
 Clay, A. I., 171, 172
 see also Barton
 Cnut, 16
 Codex Regius, 13, 15, 17, 87, 92, 196
 Controversy, Sumerian *see* Rawlinson

 Crichton-Stuart, 194
 Cuneiform, 8, 77
 Cunningham, A., 47
 Cunningham, D. D., 73, 161
 Currie, Dr. J. R., 195

 Dalai-lama, 42, 52, 53
 recognition of work, 54, 69, 70
 Dalai-lama, letter, 53
 Dams *see* Stein
 Danubian, 8, 9
 homeland of Nordics, 128
 Dar *see* Ur-Nina and bowl of Utu(k)
 Darjeeling, 1, 26, 31
 Resort, 32, 34, 38
 Spy, 39, 40, 42, 44
 Decipherment, Indo-Sumerian hypothesis,
 174, 175
 Decipherment, by Soviets, 174, 175
 Decipherment, Shinar, 84
 bowl of Utu(k), 146, 148
 Sargon's inscriptions, 156
 Indus Valley seals, 166, 167, 172
 see also Newton stone
 Deification, 30
 Diffusionism 5, 165
 Dolichocephals, 9
 Donnelly, Ignatius, 7, 66
 Dorian, invasions, 75
 Dragon, Red, 18
 Dragon, slaying, 9
 Myth, 17
 Dravidian, underlying language of seals,
 175
 see also Parpola and Wheeler
 Dwarves, 93, 99
 Hittite seal on cover, 115

 Easter Islands, like Indus script, 197
 Eden, 17, 19, 20, 30, 75, 83, 87, 89,
 93, 94
 victory at Carchemish, 113
 Eve, 116
 Edin, second, 19, 20, 180
 see also Garden
 Egypt, as Sumerian dependency, 154
 see also Petrie and Abydos
 El, ruler of Old Chaldean world, 17
 Matriarch, 89, 90, 93, 103, 105
 Gymi, 106,
 capture of bowl, 111
 musters army, 112
 perishes in water, 113

- Elder Edda, 13
 origin traced, 15
 reconstruction, 18, 87, 195, 196
 European, occupation, 36
 Evans, Arthur, 6
 Excavations, 26, 33, 44
see also Pataliputra and Buddha
 Expeditions, 31
 Lhasa, 35, 44, 52, 54, 62
 Ezra Pound, 214
- First Sumerian Dynasty *see* Ur-Nina
 Fire-priest, 181
 Fish, Oannes, 38
 Fish-god called Zu, 183
see also Khad
 Flood, Noah's, 38
 Flooding, Indus Valley, 164
 Frank (Austine, Waddell), 25
 Battle of the Somme, 83
 Frawley, David
 Indus seals, 176
- Garden of Eden, agriculture, 17, 75
 Sanctuary, 180
 Garden, GYMIS-GARD at Carchemish, 17
 Urd, 89
 Garden, second Edin, 180
 Gautama, 37, 68
 Guardians, knowledge, 29
see also Kshatriya and Watchers
 Gardiner, P. (Osborn, G.), domination of
 serpent cult, 18, 145
 Genesis, 6, 17, 29, 30
 George, St., 92, 95
 Phrygia, 100
 Wall, 102
 of Red Cross, 110, 115
 Gimbutas, M., spread of Indo-Europeans,
 9
 Mother goddess, 18
 Gimli *see* Camelot
 Glasgow, 3
see also Special Collections
 Glari, 97
see also grail
 Glossary, of Old English terms used here for
 new version of lays, 16
 Goths, 94
 Symbols, 95
 He-Goths, 106
 Grail, 92
 capture of fetish, 111
 Sumerian Fire-stone, 112
see also bowl of Utu(k)
 Grail quest, 195
 Great Battle, 18, 110
 of Eden, 112
 Great Game, 1, 2, 38, 39, 195
 Great Migration, 19
 Greeks, Classic blonds, 36
 Green Man, 93
 Greenock, 25, 194
 Gunn, Gunn-Ifo, 104
 Gunn-ever, 106
 Gunn, son of Gunn-Ifo, 107
 Sumerian Gan & Bacchus, 108
 Guti, 16, 17, 18, 156
 Gyantsé, 39, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 64
 GYMIS-GARD *see* Garden
- Haryashwa, 148, 151, 181
see also Uruas'
 Hawk-city *see* Boghazkoy
 Heavenly Man, 184
 Hilprecht, bowl, 143
 Himalayas, Tocharian mummies, 34
 Manu's ship landed in, 38
 Tour of, 42
 Himin, heaven, 17, 93, 101
 attack of, 108
 Hittite, blood-brothers of Sumerians 7,
 142
 hieroglyphs, 75, 77
 royal archives, 81
 Khaiti-city, 177
 writing of sounds, 144
 Kur or Syria, 129
 seal, 95
 seal on cover, 99
 Hooker, Joseph, 44, 73
 Hrozny, H., 8
 Hurrite, 9
 Huxley, Thomas, 4
 controversy, 13
 categories, 36
 science, 81
- Iasili Rock, 17, 121, 152
 Iasily *see* Iasili and Boghazkoy
 Iceland, homeland, 11
 Codex Regius, 13, 196
 Ikshwaku *see* Hawk City and Boghazkoy
 Illustrated London News, 161
 Indian Antiquary, 5
 Indiana Jones, Waddell was real-life, 195

- Indo-European, meaning, 11
see also Aryan,
 origin of languages
see also Renfrew
- Indo-Sumerian hypothesis, 174, 175, 176
- Indus Valley, Edin on seal of Telloh, 149
 seal inscriptions, 166
- Indus-Saraswati, 9
- Intermarriages, Aryan law, 29
 Cohabitation, 29
 Parallel in Genesis, 30
see also Sons
 Sumerians with Semites, 142
- Inis Lists, 20, 77
 antediluvian mystery, 128, 134, 135, 139
- Jacobsen, Thorkild, duplication of material
see Inis Lists
 bowl of Utu(k), 143
 Sagaga, 148
- Jha, N., opposed to invasion theory, 176
- Kachen-junga, 35, 42
see also Darjeeling
- Kaer Lud, 120
see also Troy
- Karma, 37
- Kassi, 181
see also Cattiyo and Khattiyo
- Kassite, 122
- Kazzi, inscription on Newton Stone, 122
- Keta, the Great, 8
- Khad, in original name of Ur-Nina, 140,
 148, 157
 Fish-house-father sign, 140
 title of founder of first dynasty, 150,
 157
 fish sign on Indus seals, 173, 182
 Fish-god called Zu, 183
- Khaiti-city, 177, 181
- Khaiti-siga *see* Khaiti-city
- Khatti, Hittite title, 121
 Lists, 130
- Khattiyo, 121, 122, 130, 133
see also Kshatriya
- Kim, Kipling, 39
 Wheel of Life, 59
- King-Lists, Inis, 134
- Kish, 6
- Kish Chronicle, 134
- Kolbitar *see* Lewis
- Kossinna, Gustav, 6
 Aryans reached Sumeria, 7
 spread to Danubian, 8
 origin of Aryans, 10
 theories used by Nazis, 11
 Sumerians Aryan, 38
- Kramer, Noah, Sumerian is not Indo-European, 86
- Kshatriya, Aryan structure 28, 29
 spiritual warriors, 133
see also Khatti title
- Kshattriya *see* Kshatriya
- Kur *see* Cappadocia
- Kurgan, 7, 9
- Kuru *see* Kur
- Kuria *see* Kur
- Kuru Panch-ala, 128
 Great Migration to India, 129, 130,
 Title, 151
- Kuru Panch-ala, in Indus Valley, 179
see also Amorites
- Lama, 34, 37, 35, 39, 67
- Lamaism, 1, 12, 27, 37, 33, 35, 44, 59,
 67, 69
- Langdon, S., 21, 137, 138, 140, 163, 168,
 175, 197
- Law, Buddha, 37
 Sumerian origin of law, 38
 Dharma, 68
- Levenda, Peter, misconstrued anti-Semitism, 10
- Lhasa, 2, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 45, 50, 54, 62,
 63, 66, 76, 195
- Lobsang Rampa, 63
- Luwite, 9
- Lewis, C. W., 14
- Lord of Edin, 149
- Lucifer, Loki title, 94
- Macdonald, David, 52, 66
- Macdonald, General, 57
- Mackay, E., 8, 161, 162, 163, 164,
 169
- Maggie, 25
- Mahabharata, king-lists, 19
 Aryans, 28
 Great Migration, 128, 131
- Mahayana, 31, 33, 37, 69 *see* Buddhism
- Manis-tusu, 6 *see* Menes
- Manu, parallel to Noah, 38
 Sumerian origin of his laws, 180
- Manuscripts, commission, 44
 Quest, 51, 52, 58, 62
 Tibetan or Tocharian, 76

- Marduk, Berossos, 77
 slaying Tiamat, 95
 struggle, 184, 185
 Marshall, John, 20, 161, 163, 164, 167, 175, 197
 Marutas *see* Amorites and Syrio-Phoenicians
 Matriarch, 17
 see also El
 Matriarchal, 18
 Maurya Dynasty, 1
 Manasyu *see* Menes
 Manistusu or Manis-tusu *see* Menes
 Menes, 74, 155
 Ancestry, 153, 155, 156
 Egypt as Sumerian dependency, 153
 unification of Egypt, 154
 in Edin, 182
 see also Petrie and Childe
 Mes-Anna-pada, 135, 148
 see also Ur-Nina
 Michael, St., 18, 91, 94
 battle of Eden, 112
 vanquisher, 185
 Mudgala, seal of Telloh, 150
 see also Michael
 Mukhla, 92, 101
 see also Michael
 Min *see* Moon
 Minoan civilization, 6, 8
 Monmouth, Geoffrey of, 13, 91, 119, 120, 196
 Montelius, Oscar, 5, 150
 Moon cult, 6, 18, 90, 108
 Min, 114
 Müller, M., 4, 9, 27
 Rig Vedas, 28,
 Mummies, Tocharian, 34
 see also Stein
 Myres, John, 5

 Nasili, 9
 Nazi, theoretical innovations, 10
 appropriated swastika, 11
 term Aryan, 195
 Nennius, 126
 Nesite, Indo-European language, 9
 Net of God *see* Fish and Khad
 Newton Stone, 12, 122
 Inscriptions, 126
 Noah, 4, 38
 Non-semitic nature of Sumerian *see* Rawlinson.
 Nordic, 6, 7
 change in Nordic population, 9
 Icelandic lore, 11

 Oannes, Sumerian and Vedic, 38, 184
 see also Fish
 Obituary, 3
 Old European, mother goddess culture, 18
 see also Gimbutas
 Old Norse, similarity with Old English, 15
 Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 3, 25, 30

 Partholon, 118, 122
 Parpola, decipherment of Indus script, 172, 173, 175
 Parpola, assessment of Waddell's decipherment, 173
 Pataliputra, 1, 33, 44
 ancient name, 47, 50
 Palibothra, 44
 see also Pataliputra
 Penka, Carl, 4
 migration of Nordic Aryans, 7
 Petrie, Flinders, 74, 75
 Table V, 154
 Pre-dynastic alphabet, 155
 Letter, 170
 Petrie, letters before hieroglyphs, 154
 see also Abydos
 Philology, School of 27
 see also Aryan
 Phoenicians, 8, 74, 117
 Phoenician, origin of Britons, 117, 127
 Catti Hittite, 118
 Phoenicians, not Semitic, 86
 Phoenician alphabet, 75, 86
 non-reversed, 126
 Pinches, T. G., 84
 Turkish theory, 142
 bowl of Utu(k), 143, 147, 195, 199
 see also Shinar and Decipherment
 Potala, 37, 64
 see also Lhasa
 Proto-Elamite, 7
 Sumerian ancestry, 164
 Proto-Elamite, language of seals, 21
 Indus script, 169, 173
 Puranas, contain Sumerian dynasties, 19
 not mythical, 131, 132

 Quest, manuscripts, 50
 see also Aryan

- Race versus Science, 4
 Racist, ideologies, 10
 Rawlinson, Henry C., 3
 Cuneiform, 8, 76, 78, 79
 Reeves, Amy Louise, 42, 4, 52
 Renfrew, Colin, 10, 16
 decipherment of Indus seals, 176
 blames Wheeler, 176
 see also Anatolia
 Resurrection, 185
 see also Khad and Fish
 Rimpoché, 2
 Temple of Medicine, 35, 65
 Rise of Man, 113
 Rothesay, 195
 Royal Archives, 17
 see also Hittite
 Runes, magical power, 12
- Sagaga *see* Ur-Nina and Sakh
 Sahi, M. D. N., co-existence of Aryans with
 Dravidians, 176
 Sakh, inscriptions on bowl, 144, 196
 see also Bowl, Dar and Udu-Dur
 Sakya, 49
 see also Scythic
 Sambhava, 60
 Sanskrit, 35
 Sargon I, 6
 conquered Indus Valley, 153
 Sargon II, 8, 129
 Satem, 8
 Sawyer, R., 173, 174
 Sayce, A. H., 8
 Anatolian theory, 9
 Phoenicians related to blonds, 10
 Sayce, Sumerian controversy, 80
 meeting with Waddell, 85, 130
 no interest in parallelism of King-Lists,
 131
 Sayce, 143
 Indus Valley, 170
 see also bowl
 Schlagintweit, E., 44
 see also Himalayas
 Schliemann, 6
 Scythic, origin of Sumerians, 3
 Sakya, 33
 Scythian sculptures, 44
 Syrian, 78
 Catti, 110
 Seals, underlying language, 172
 see also Parpola
- Second coming, Buddha, 38
 see Western paradise
 Secrets, 35, 36
 see also Quest, Aryan, Atlanta, Lhasa,
 Lamaism
 Semitic scholars, sense, 13
 School of, 79
 Serpent-dragon cult, myth, x
 ruler of, 17, 92, 93
 slaying myths, 95, 110
 eradication, 113
 Serpent, priestess, 96
 in field or plain (Phrygia), 100
 Seven, Sages, 38
 Shinar, controversy, 83, 198, 199
 Sigfusson, Sæmund (the Learned), 15
 Sindhu *see* Amorites
 Smith, Grafton Elliott, 5, 124
 Snorri *see* Sturluson.
 Solar cult, 9
 Sumerian, 37
 Sons of God/gods, as Aryan marrying
 indigenous women, 29, 30
 Special Collections, 3, 13, 25, 30, 38, 44, 80,
 148, 199
 Spirituality, Edin, 185
 Spying, 40
 see also Great Game and Lhasa
 Stein, Marc Aurel, 33, 76, 163
 Stein, O., 49
 Sturluson, Snorri, 14
 Elder Edda not written by, 15, 87
 AEsir, 99
 Su-kha, Fish god Kha called Su, 182
 see also Khad and Fish
 Sumerian, 3
 proto-Elamite ancestry, 7
 affinity, 85
 civilization mystery, 81
 identification of first dynasty, 128
 signs used to read Indus script, 167
 origin of Indian laws *see* Ayyar
 origin of Brahmanism, 37
 Sumerians, knew Indus script, 21, 198
 non-Semitic controversy, 79
 Aryan type in museums, 81
 Syrio-Phoenician, great migration, 19, 179,
 196
 see also Amorites
 Swastika, symbol to Phoenicians and
 Hittites, 12, 67
- Taylor, Isaac, 4, 36

- Tello(h), excavations, 80, 81, 101, 133
 seal of Mudgala, 149
- Temple, Richard Carnac, 124
- Temple, reconstructed, 35
 of Medicine, 35, 65
see also Darjeeling
- Tiamat, 17
 chaos before civilization not creation, 18, 90, 95
 struggle with Marduk and watery symbol, 184
- Tibet, 26, 31, 33, 34, 35, 42, 44, 125, 195
see also Darjeeling
- Tibetan, attack, 59
see also Changlo Manor
- Theosophical, 12
- Thor, his wedding on bas-relief at Iasily, 17
 on defensive, 108
 Sumerian Dar and Ur-Nina, 19
 parallel to Arthur, 91, 92
 Dar-Danos, 9, 98,
 as Od-am/Adam, 98
 Tree, 101, 102, 103
 Enthronement, 113
 Territories, 114
 consecration of bowl, 148
 sun cult, 157
- Thulé, Hyperborean Ultima, 11
 Norway, 118
- Tocharian, 33
see also Stein
- Tolkien, J. R. R., 14
see also Kolbitar and Lewis
- Transgression, 30
see also intermarriages, sons, and Aryan Law
- Tree of Life, 17, 59, 103
- Troy, settlement of Aryans in, 10, 93, 98, 102, 118
- Troy, Trinovantum, 120
- Thureau-Dangin, 170
- Typhon, Ty/Baldr, 95
 Pergamon 95
 Zeus versus Typhon, list of illustrations
- Tyre, 126
- Ukhu, 19, 101
 Akshak or Osk-Opni, 108
see also Boghazkoy
- Ukusi, connection with Ukhu, 151
- Unilinear evolutionism, 5
- Ur-Nanshe *see* Ur-Nina
- Ur-Nina, 19
 first dynasty, 128, 134
 historicity, 133, 137
 names, 135, 139
 empire, 142, 181
 identification of first dynasty, 140, 148
 revised name of, 140, 148
 his minister in Indus Valley, 149
- Uruas' the Khad *see* Ur-Nina
- Uruas-the-Khad *see* Uruas'
- Urzage, 148
see also Ur-Nina
- Ur-zag-ud-du *see* Ur-Nina and Urzage
- Utu(k), 4th king who dedicated bowl, 145, 195
- Vedic, legends, 38
 Continuity, 177
- Vestal, slave girl, 181
- Vidar, Pteria, 101, 102
see also Boghazkoy
- Vikings, 16
- Waddell, opposition to, 125
- Watchers, Enoch, 29
see also sons of God
- Water of rebirth, 184
see also Fish and Khad
- Western paradise, 38, 68
see also Buddha
- Wheeler, Mortimer, 20, 21, 161, 164, 165
 indigenous theory, 165
 belief in coincidences, 165
- unilinear evolutionism, 165
- Who Was Who, 3, 30
- Wilson, J. V. K. *see* Indo-Sumerian
- Yeti, 43
- Younghusband, F. E., 39, 42, 54, 55, 62, 64, 67

Lieut.-Col. Laurence Austine Waddell (1854–1938) was a British Army officer with an established reputation mainly due to a work on the 'Buddhism' of Tibet, his explorations of the Himalayas, and a biography which included records of the 1903–4 military expedition to Lhasa (*Lhasa and its Mysteries*). Waddell was also in the limelight due to his acquisition of Tibetan manuscripts which he donated to the British Museum. His overriding interest was in 'Aryan origins'. After learning Sanskrit and Tibetan, and in between military expeditions together with Col. Younghusband, and gathering intelligence from the borders of Tibet in the Great Game, Waddell researched Lamaïsm. He extended his activities to Archaeology, Philology and Ethnology, and was credited with discoveries in relation to Buddha. His personal ambition was to locate records of ancient civilization in Tibetan lamaseries.

Waddell is little known as an archaeologist and scholar, in contrast with his fame in the Oriental field, due to the controversial nature of his published works dealing with 'Aryan themes'. Waddell studied Sumerian and presented evidence that an Aryan migration fleeing Sargon II carried Sumerian records to India. He interrupted his comparative studies of Sumerian and Indian king-lists to publish a work on Phoenician origins and decipherment of Indus Valley seals, the inscriptions of which he claimed were similar to Sumerian pictogram signs cited from G. A. Barton's plates, which are reproduced in this volume.

Waddell's life is reconstructed from primary sources, such as letters from Marc Aurel Stein at the British Museum and Theophilus G. Pinches, held in the Special Collections at the University of Glasgow Library. Special attention is paid to the contemporary reception of his theories, with the objective of re-evaluating his contribution; they are contrasted to past and present academic views, in addition to an overview of relevant discoveries in Archaeology.

Christine Preston is researching for a Ph.D. in the Department of Classics, Ancient History and Egyptology at Swansea University. She is a translator and the author of *Scramble for Katanga* – an historical review on the colonisation of the Congo. In the process of researching the origin of Indo-European languages she came across L. A. Waddell's *The British Edda*, which led her to write this biography. Her current research focuses on the Archaeology of the Indus Valley civilization; Aryan and Sumerian controversies; and decipherment of Indus Script.



Cover Design by Danielle Preston (graphic designer); Superimposed on a map of Cappadocia and Sumerian territories, modified by Waddell to show his identification of place-names in *The British Edda*, is a Hittite seal c. 2000 BC commemorating the golden age of civilization, and possibly King Thor civilizing the aborigines of the Lion Tribe, and a representation of Zeus' struggle with Typhon as on the frieze of Pergammon, from a Greek vase. Full details of these images are provided in the prelim list of illustrations.

sussex
ACADEMIC
PRESS

BRIGHTON • PORTLAND

Buy Sussex Academic Press titles
on the World Wide Web
<http://www.sussex-academic.co.uk>

ISBN 978-1-84519-315-7



9 781845 193157